

Irish Protestant Travel to Europe, 1660-1727

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Hertford College

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy – Modern
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This thesis examines travel to continental Europe as undertaken by several generations of Irish Protestants between 1660 and 1727. Historians draw parallels between the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and other polities in *ancien régime* Europe, but these demand an exploration of contemporary encounters. Research on the Irish in Europe concentrates on Catholics without much regard to Protestant experiences, while work on English or British travel overlooks ways in which Irish Protestant voyages differed. This thesis analyses the experiences of Church-of-Ireland families from the gentry, nobility and aristocracy, especially the Southwells, Percevals, Molesworths, Molyneuxs, Boyles and Butlers. Correspondence, notebooks and financial accounts reconstruct their voyages, mainly to France, Italy, the Low Countries and Germany, and their attitudes towards the practice of travel. Journeys to other destinations are incorporated, as are the voyages of neighbours, acquaintances and employees. Purposes varied, but travel was consistently considered an opportunity for ‘improvement’.

The thesis follows the successive preoccupations of travellers, beginning with demonstrations of ‘fitness to travel’. Wealthy young men were judged according to criteria that privileged anglicisation and Protestantism, though linguistic skill was a more socially-comprehensive standard. Advisors emphasised civil conversation and written observation, but warnings to avoid ‘countrymen’ were ignored. The company of English-speaking travellers and Irish Catholic expatriates created distinctive European experiences. Foreign hosts often saw uncomplicated Englishmen, though some recognised Irish difference. Anglican travellers held qualified membership of a ‘Protestant international’, drawing on a cross-confessional ‘stock of friends’. Travellers received tuition that complicates perceptions of travel as ‘informal’ education and they memorialised experiences through souvenirs and gifts. Voyages encouraged some into English residence and identifications, though others brought improvements home to Ireland. ‘Improvement’, as it related to wealthy Church-of-Ireland families, functioned not as a binary between approved England and disdained Ireland but a triangular exchange in which continental Europe featured prominently.

Thesis Abstract (2,382 words)
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This thesis examines travel to continental Europe as undertaken by several generations of Irish Protestants between 1660 and 1727, a formative period for the Protestant Ascendancy at home. Historians invoke parallels between the Ascendancy and other polities in *ancien régime* Europe, but these surely demand an exploration of contemporary encounters between Irish Protestants and continental societies. Valuable research on the Irish in Europe has concentrated on the soldiers, merchants and priests of the majority Catholic population without much regard to Protestant experiences abroad. Simultaneously, work on English or British travel fails to recognise the ways in which Irish Protestant encounters with Europe might differ from more documented voyages. An analysis of three generations of interlinked Church-of-Ireland families from the gentry, nobility and aristocracy addresses this oversight. The Southwells, Percevals, Molesworths, Molyneuxs, Boyles and Butlers feature prominently. Correspondence, notebooks and financial accounts reconstruct their encounters with the continent and their attitudes towards the practice of travel. Experiences were predominantly of France, Italy, the United Provinces and Germany, though travel to other destinations is incorporated. Moreover, the voyages of neighbours, acquaintances and employees are considered. Motivations for travel might vary between educational voyages in adolescence, adult journeys on government business and travel for the acquisition of health. Distinctions of age and gender fashioned experiences of Europe. It was ultimately as an opportunity for self-improvement, however, that continental travel was conceptualised. These issues are introduced in the first chapter.

The second chapter explores what it took for an Irish Protestant to be considered ‘fit to travel’. It considers how would-be travellers were prepared to observe and experience the continent in ‘improving’ ways. Much historiography treats time spent in Europe in isolation but the chapter begins with relevant aspects of education at university or London Huguenot academies that often foreshadowed male Irish Protestant encounters with the continent. The following section considers the instances of domestic travel that more directly preceded voyages to Europe. Irish-residents sometimes travelled through England in a conscious effort to acquire frames of reference for continental observation, though others maintained that Ireland was comparable with Europe. Such domestic journeys also encouraged the development of skills thought essential to successful European voyages. If British travel was considered preparation for the continent by some, for others it could be a safer and cheaper alternative. The chapter now shifts to consider criteria of ‘fitness to travel’ that were also extended to women and employees. In particular, all might be judged by their proficiency in French. Thus the chapter considers male and female linguistic education at various social levels in Protestant Ireland. In conclusion, it was commonly through demonstrating their education, Anglicisation and steadfastness in the reformed faith that Irish Protestants were deemed ‘fit to travel’.

The third chapter explores, in two related sections, the communication of advice and expertise that cemented European travel as a shared experience across several generations of Irish Protestant families. The first section establishes how individuals came to be regarded by family, acquaintances and, on occasion, by a wider public as experts on continental voyages, examining the ways in which they shared advice with others. Here we assess the contrasting

examples of Sir Robert Southwell, Robert Molesworth and Archbishop William King. The second section considers the content of advice, which was preoccupied by two forms of communication. First, interpersonal conversation was at once the main font of 'improvement' abroad and a source of religious, moral and sexual danger. Experts offered extensive advice on how to get through encounters. Conversation abroad was to be conducted according to rules of civility that overlooked potentially divisive issues, especially religion, and set much by the social standing of participants. Secondly, advisors emphasised written communication. The process of writing down observations inscribed the improvements of travel onto minds, while correspondence with home was supposed to demonstrate that Irish Protestants were travelling profitably. An additional section demonstrates this twin emphasis on spoken and written communication through the exclusion of Iberia from most itineraries. Despite strong Irish Catholic links, Protestant travellers held that Spain lacked conversational civility and material for written observations. In an effort to make sure that wide-ranging advice was followed, parents or guardians sent younger travellers abroad with tutors. A final section examines their recruitment and explores their responsibilities. At least before 1685, Irish Protestants made great use of Huguenot tutors. The chapter concludes that much advice was crafted to help travellers surmount differences, whether of language, custom or religion, that would have been social barriers at home. The language and conduct of civility emphasised the ties that bound elites across religious divides, but we ultimately require the evidence of practice.

The fourth chapter begins to supply such evidence. Warnings against the company of 'countrymen' set themselves against a major practical feature of travel. Protestants of Irish residence considered themselves part of a transient community of travelling English-speakers. Within Anglophone groups, which congregated at urban centres, social standing often trumped considerations of political ideology or confession. Pressures towards sociability and ostentation were high. Irish Protestants sometimes travelled together by design but their small numbers meant that they were often subsumed within larger English groups. Within these 'bands of Englishmen', they employed guides, enjoyed local festivities and pursued elite company. Irish residence appears not to have been a social obstacle. The anglicising impetus of travel, begun in the second chapter's preparations, continued in shared continental experiences. The chapter moves to consider rarer instances of Irish Protestant women in English company abroad. Female encounters with Europe often consisted of medical travel to locations like the Loire valley or Spa, though wives sometimes accompanied their husbands on diplomatic postings. In either eventuality, continental experiences were more sedentary and featured restricted social possibilities. Contact with foreigners was presumed to be less frequent. Women were considered more susceptible to conversational corruption and thought, often unfairly, to lack linguistic preparations. English sociability therefore featured more prominently, especially at common destinations like Paris. Moving on from fellow travellers, the chapter explores the hospitality and supervision provided by diplomats and officials. We also consider Cardinal Howard, who offered hospitality to English-speaking travellers.

In the company of English travellers and expatriates, Irish Protestants often experienced Europe as 'a world of English'. Irish residence complicates this picture, furnishing travellers with Irish Catholic contacts. Merchants helped with finance and transportation. Priests were of similarly practical use, concentrated in urban centres, but travellers also considered them more suitable company. At Irish seminaries, travellers and priests spoke of their common home, fostering conversation that might even move onto theology. Such engagement was unlikely in Ireland. Finally, Irish Catholic soldiers in foreign or English service enlivened Protestant travel, though they did not facilitate experiences like merchants or priests. Comparisons with English and Scottish travel suggest that Irish Catholics might offer their

Protestant countrymen hospitality 'for the Irish nature's sake', but links depended upon residence rather than converging outlooks. Gravitation towards England might deprive families of Irish Catholic contacts abroad. While contemporaries and historians acknowledge fears that travellers might return as 'Italianate' or 'Frenchified', foreign experience also played a counter-intuitively anglicising role for some Irish residents. This aspect was always tempered by Catholic contacts from home, however. English ethnicity and Irish residence shaped distinctive encounters with Europe.

The fifth chapter considers interactions with foreign hosts, who rarely receive treatment beyond the anecdotal. Here, three factors were at work. Apparent Englishness, shared Protestantism and cross-confessional acquaintance are addressed in turn. First, hosts often considered Irish Protestants as uncomplicated Englishmen, for good and ill. They based identifications on the fact that Irish Protestants spoke the English language and socialised in English company, aspects readily apparent on fleeting visits. Deeper acquaintances, however, might recognise Englishmen with peculiar Irish residence. Others even saw Irishmen. Secondly, the chapter considers whether Irish Protestant travellers engaged with a 'Protestant international'. 'Confessional geography' extended into the practical experiences of travellers; continental space was divided along religious lines. It is less clear, however, that Church-of-Ireland travellers were unproblematic members of a 'Protestant international'. Interactions with Huguenots were not always smooth and Protestant travellers of varying religious practice were not equally at ease. 'Confessional geography' and a 'Protestant international' predominated in descriptions of lands and populaces, but were less prominent in social interactions with the multi-confessional 'beau monde' sought abroad. Here, the standards of conversational civility more usually held sway. Finally, the chapter considers interaction with a cross-confessional 'stock of friends', which relied on mutual acquaintances, shared interests and lines of contact forged by earlier travellers. We consider interaction between the Southwell and Perceval families and the Florentine grand ducal court over several generations. Ties of acquaintance and reciprocal hospitality, initially on account of shared natural-philosophical interests, outweighed confessional rivalry. Shared interests, mutual civility and elevated social standing similarly combined to allow cross-confessional acquaintance between hosts and other Irish Protestant travellers.

The sixth chapter interrogates the nebulous 'improvements' of travel by considering continental tuition. There was no practical binary between 'formal' education at home and 'informal' training abroad. We begin by exploring the 'academy improvements' sought by wealthy eldest sons, usually during early periods of settlement in France before further travel. Principally, they involved history, languages and mathematics alongside noble accomplishments like fencing, dancing and horse-riding. Irish Protestants had attended French academies since at least the early 1640s, though numbers may have risen after the Restoration. A section establishes what can be gleaned of teaching methods and curricula. We explore expected bodily and mental improvements, but also practical disappointments. These accomplishments represent another way in which English-speaking travellers shared continental experiences. Irish Protestants followed wider trends in retreating from French academies after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. They sought similar accomplishments in neighbouring territories.

The chapter broadens to consider foreign learning pursued by servants, girls and younger brothers. Servants might benefit from available tuition at centres like Saumur. Few girls travelled at an age appropriate for instruction, but the absence of separate provision meant that those who did used tutorial networks familiar to male relatives and acquaintances. Though continental accomplishments were central to the upbringing of eldest sons, foreign masters conversely ensured that girls lost no ground in their domestic education. Younger brothers sought tuition abroad for similar reasons, looking to avoid lost time, though they

might also attend universities. In conclusion, although academies attracted a diverse foreign attendance, wealthy Protestants were alone as representatives of Ireland. 'Academy improvements' added a new gloss to the domestic hegemony of Church-of-Ireland landowners, drawing travellers from Ireland into a community of shared foreign experience that increasingly united the gentry and nobility of the Three Kingdoms.

The seventh chapter establishes that textual sources are only partial evidence of European encounters. Objects acquired as souvenirs, as gifts or on commission documented foreign experience. Perceived 'trifles' are as eloquent as great artworks. The first section establishes context. Travellers observed and interacted with objects at 'sites of knowledge' that included cabinets of curiosities, libraries and armouries. Admission relied on a familiar combination of social status and civil behaviour. Encounters with specific sites or objects became shared experiences among fellow travellers or across generations in the same families and acquisition memorialised visits. Travellers bought or produced catalogues, they copied manuscripts, they drew curious objects and they exchanged items with fellow natural-philosophical enthusiasts. Souvenirs attested to socially- as well as intellectually-prestigious company. A second section establishes that travellers incorporated continental Catholicism into this observational approach. They observed, and sometimes even acquired, devotional objects in a spirit of cultural curiosity. Ornate manifestations of confident Catholicism lacked parallels at home and complemented cabinets and libraries on itineraries, though preparations for travel hoped to ensure that 'popish' theatricality would be observed safely. Ironically, the outlandishness of visible Catholic devotional culture was of the Irish Protestant community's own making, since their hegemony frustrated similar practices at home. Apparent comfort with material manifestations of continental Catholicism suggests, however, the growing confessional confidence of a nascent Protestant Ascendancy.

Thirdly, the chapter establishes that travel to particular places was documented by souvenirs, gifts and objects acquired on commission. Each category is considered in turn. A wealth of regional produce provided personal mementoes. Travellers bought guidebooks and local histories, alongside maps, prints and engravings, at appropriate locations to memorialise visits. Gifts afforded family, friends and patrons a degree of foreign experience that reached beyond the vicarious and testified to a traveller's foreign experience. Regional produce was acquired on commission, requested by knowledgeable acquaintances at home. The purchase of printed material offers a clear example. Finally, we consider gift-exchange between travellers and hosts. Such interactions are usually overlooked in favour of 'cultural sponging'. Exchange established and deepened attachments to the continental 'beau monde', cementing communities of obligation and shared interests, but gifts often relied on Irish connections. It would be difficult to assert that such gifts were chosen for their Irish connotations, but we can certainly establish that Irish residence allowed travellers to furnish hosts with unusual items. The importance of background endured, even in interactions that historians commonly characterise as 'cosmopolitan'. Two trends are evident among some families. Travellers exhibited growing comfort with material Catholicism, while splashing out on increasingly lavish purchases. These might represent broad social change, with the establishment of Protestant Ascendancy and the homogenisation of a Grand Tour, but confession and consumption were equally bound up with elevated social station and changing residence, themselves issues affected by travel.

The eighth chapter concludes the thesis by considering, briefly, the process of returning home. For some, travel had been an exercise in anglicisation: prepared at English universities, travellers had acquired English frames of reference; they had experienced the continent in English company; expatriates and hosts often assumed their unproblematic membership of English groups. Some travellers returned with condescending attitudes towards their provincial-seeming Irish home, pursuing English careers and residence. Others, however, saw

a reason never to leave Ireland again, or a chance to enhance the continental reputation of their country. Still more viewed their European experiences not as a compulsion towards Englishness, but as a source of inspiration for the material and cultural improvement of Ireland. Responses to European experience were predictably varied, but a broader conclusion can be drawn. Improvement, at least as far as it related to wealthy Church-of-Ireland families, did not function as a binary between approved England and disdained Ireland but a triangular exchange in which continental Europe was directly involved.

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My interest in early-modern Ireland has developed at several institutions. I owe much to the inspiration and early guidance of John Morrill, David Smith and Mike Sewell at Selwyn College, Cambridge. Tim Harris encouraged my interests at Brown University. At Oxford, many people have made Hertford College a welcoming and fruitful place to study Irish history. Roy Foster, Gabriel Glickman, Tony Craig, James Golden, Erika Hanna, Ciaran O'Neill, Tim Wilson and, especially, Mark Williams have offered encouragement, guidance and friendship. I am particularly indebted to my supervisor, Toby Barnard, who has been an inspirational scholar and a generous source of unparalleled archival knowledge.

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Note on the text

Translations from French, Italian and Latin are my own unless stated. Original quotations are reproduced in footnotes. I have consulted Giovanni Torriano, *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese, a dictionary Italian & English* (London, 1659). This was owned by the Southwells.

Original spellings are maintained in quotations, though clarification is added in square brackets. Contractions are extended where meanings might be unclear, also in square brackets. I have standardised names or titles with variant spellings, such as ‘Perceval’ and ‘Ormond’. One of Southwell’s diplomatic correspondents alternates between ‘Thomas Lloyd’ and ‘Thomas Floyd’. I maintain Lloyd.

Naming traditions are confusingly consistent over four generations, especially in the Southwell and Perceval families. Robert Southwell (c.1608-77), his son Robert (1635-1702; knighted in 1665), his son Edward (1671-1730) and his son Edward (1705-55) risk particular confusion, which they sow in some archives, though I have tried to be clear in text and notes. I only refer to *Sir* Robert after 1665. I differentiate between Lady Katherine Perceval (1637-79) and Lady Catherine Perceval (1687/8-1749) to avoid confusion, though this also follows their preferred spellings.

Contemporary dating of letters is maintained. New and Old Style are both included where possible. For documents created between 1 January and 25 March, I include both years (e.g. 1677/8).

Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BL Add	British Library, Additional Manuscripts
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Cl.P	Royal Society, Classified Papers
<i>DIB</i>	<i>Dictionary of Irish biography</i>
<i>DNB</i>	<i>Oxford dictionary of national biography</i>
<i>DUM</i>	<i>Dublin University magazine</i>
EL	Royal Society, Early Letters
Gal.	Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze, Collezione Galileiana
IC	Northamptonshire County Record Office, Isham Correspondence
MM	Royal Society, Miscellaneous Manuscripts
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NAL	National Art Library
NLI	National Library of Ireland
NLW	National Library of Wales
NA Prob.	The National Archives, Probate
PRONI	Public Record Office of Northern Ireland
RBO	Royal Society, Register Book Original
SP	National Archives, State Papers
TCD	Trinity College, Dublin

1. Introduction

In the summer of 1678, sixteen-year-old Kate Perceval assumed the regular duty of writing from France to her grandmother Helena Southwell, at home in Kinsale, Co. Cork. Kate's mother, Lady Katherine, was unable to write, laid low by the illness that had driven her to the continent on medical advice. The family had settled in Saumur in search of healthier air with a housekeeper, a maid and several servants. Though her thirteen-year-old sister Helena was too scared to be alone with French Protestants, whom she feared as secret Catholics, Kate was ready to find humour in confessional divides. She wrote from the town of Richelieu in the Loire valley that 'we have our owne devotions, butt the Coachman made us laugh ... telling us that ye Priest of ye Parish had waitted 2 houres at Mass for us & would nott begin out of respect till my mother came soe that the Coachman was faine to round him in the eare.' The local man was left to explain to the priest that 'we did nott use to goe to Mass at all nor any of our people butt himself.'¹ The Percevals and their servants instead attended Huguenot services in Saumur, though their integration was far from complete.

Direct experiences of continental Europe by Irish Protestants like the Perceval family have been underplayed by three tendencies in late seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historiography. As long ago as W.E.H. Lecky and as recently as Ian McBride, travel or migration to Europe have featured most prominently in explanations of 'How Catholic Ireland survived'.² Under the auspices of the 'Irish in Europe' project, several essay collections have, over the last decade, established the many and sometimes unexpected connections that Irish merchants, seminarians and exiles forged and maintained with

¹ Kate Perceval to Helena Southwell, Richelieu, 21 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.35.

² W.E.H. Lecky, *A history of Ireland in the eighteenth century* (London, 1892), i, p.250; John J. Silke, 'The Irish abroad, 1534-1691' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne, *A new history of Ireland, III: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), pp.587-633; Ian McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland: the isle of slaves* (Dublin, 2009), pp.223-9.

continental communities.³ In Thomas O'Connor's words, such an undertaking is necessary because Ireland's 'historical experience has been severed from its European context.' He calls for a reorientation of 'Irish historiography away from purely national issues and the obsession with England, to European questions'.⁴

Herein lies the first tendency that has so far obscured the European encounters of families like the Percevals. Flight from 'the obsession with England' has eclipsed Irish-resident Protestant families who maintained religious, political, cultural, social and economic ties across the Irish Sea. As Roy Foster writes, 'the England complex would remain with them to the end'.⁵ So far, with very few exceptions, the 'Irish' considered by the 'Irish in Europe' project have been confined to the Catholic community. This omission is understandable: work has focused on the important question of 'How Catholic Ireland survived' and reflects the fact that Protestant travellers to the continent were in a minority. Resultant scholarship will prove invaluable, establishing the world in which Protestant travellers moved. But it risks replicating the mistake made by the parish priest of Richelieu, who assumed that the Irish-resident Percevals would be coming to Mass. For historians of Irish Protestantism, a turn towards European interactions cannot provide an escape from the 'obsession with England'. Rather, it offers an opportunity to analyse triangular interactions between Ireland, England and the continent.

Secondly, a much older tendency that might also be termed an 'obsession with England' has worked against recognition of the particular aspects and implications of Irish Protestant journeys to Europe. Extensive English historiography on travel, though the basis for much of what follows, tends to overlook the differences that Irish residence, interests and

³ Thomas O'Connor (ed.), *The Irish in Europe, 1580-1815* (Dublin, 2001); O'Connor and Mary Ann Lyons (eds.), *Irish migrants in Europe after Kinsale, 1602-1800* (Dublin, 2003); eadem (eds.), *Irish communities in early modern Europe* (Dublin, 2006); eadem (eds.), *The Ulster earls and baroque Europe: refashioning Irish identities, 1600-1800* (Dublin, 2010).

⁴ Thomas O'Connor, 'Ireland and Europe 1580-1815: some historiographical remarks' in O'Connor (ed.), *Irish in Europe*, pp.9, 18.

⁵ R.F. Foster, *Modern Ireland, 1600-1972* (London, 1989), p.194.

identifications may have made to journeys. John Stoye's sixty-year-old account of seventeenth-century English travellers, still the most comprehensive study of travel in the period, subsumes isolated Irish Protestant examples without acknowledgement of their potential difference.⁶ More recently, Jeremy Black has illuminated the world of undifferentiated 'British' travellers at the eighteenth-century high-point of the Grand Tour.⁷ Broadly, travellers of Irish residence or background have been used to represent typical English practices.

The similarities and differences between Irish Protestant and English travel present a subject for examination rather than a reason to move on. English surveys refer to the shared experience of European travel when discussing the homogenisation of a national gentry and aristocracy over the early modern period.⁸ At an individual level, too, continental voyages are afforded prominence in the 'education' or 'construction' of the 'English gentleman'.⁹ Connolly and Hayton demonstrate the value of studying the uneven extension of metropolitan English norms into 'provincial' Ireland, though the role of travel in these processes is as yet largely unaddressed.¹⁰ We will find that Irish Protestant encounters bore many commonalities with English experiences, but that these similarities were consciously embraced or rejected by contemporaries for particular ends. One advisor, advocating travel to a young nobleman of Irish background, referred to 'the design to live like Englishmen'.¹¹ Though work on Irish

⁶ John Stoye, *English travellers abroad, 1604-1667: their influence in English society and politics* (New Haven; London, 1989).

⁷ Jeremy Black, *The British abroad: the Grand Tour in the eighteenth century* (Stroud, 2003).

⁸ Lawrence Stone and Jeanne C. Fawtier Stone, *An open elite? England, 1540-1880* (Oxford, 1984); Felicity Heal and Clive Holmes, *The gentry in England and Wales, 1500-1700* (Basingstoke, 1994).

⁹ George C. Brauer, *The education of a gentleman: theories of gentlemanly education in England, 1660-1775* (New York, 1959); Keith Dent, 'Travel as education: the English landed classes in the eighteenth century', *Educational studies*, 1:3 (1975), pp.171-80; Michèle Cohen, 'The Grand Tour: constructing the English gentleman in eighteenth-century France', *History of education*, 21:3 (1992), pp.241-57.

¹⁰ S.J. Connolly, *Religion, law and power: the making of Protestant Ireland, 1660-1760* (Oxford, 1992), p.66; D.W. Hayton, *The Anglo-Irish experience, 1680-1730: religion, identity and patriotism* (Woodbridge, 2012), p.45.

¹¹ Francis Parry to Sir John Perceval, 24 Jun 1701, BL Add MS 47025, f.42v.

Catholic migration and the English Grand Tour both overlook Irish Protestant experiences, they combine to provide the historiographical context of this study.

The third way in which Irish Protestant travel has so far been underplayed is potentially the most promising. Cadoc Leighton, Sean Connolly and Ian McBride have pioneered comparisons between the Protestant Ascendancy in Ireland and the confessional polities of *ancien régime* Europe.¹² David Hayton and James Kelly suggest that subsequent debates over whether Ireland was ‘more characteristic of an *ancien régime* or a colony’, in which comparative approaches have come ‘to be associated with supposed attempts to deny the brutality and injustice’ of English conquest and the penal laws, have frustrated potentially enlightening analysis of Ireland alongside continental ‘composite’ monarchies.¹³ Nevertheless, comparative approaches have started to bear fruit. McBride aims ‘to write the history of Ireland from the outside in – to begin, that is, with the central features of eighteenth-century Europe and to trace the ways in which they were mapped onto the Irish situation’. He achieves this through a series of persuasive ‘comparative exercises’.¹⁴ But these comparisons have not yet been extended to an analysis of interactions between Irish Protestants and their continental neighbours, though Tony Claydon and Stephen Conway have undertaken similar work for England and Britain respectively.¹⁵ Irish Protestant political and social hegemony may resemble polities across Europe, ‘a local variant, albeit unusual, of that more familiar entity: a component of an *ancien régime* “composite state”’.¹⁶ This surely demands investigations into how Irish Protestants interacted with their European neighbours at first hand.

¹² C.D.A. Leighton, *Catholicism in a Protestant kingdom: a study of the Irish ancien régime* (Basingstoke, 1994), pp.20-41; Connolly, *Religion, law and power*; McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*.

¹³ D.W. Hayton and James Kelly, ‘Introduction. The Irish parliament in European context: a representative institution in a composite state’ in Hayton, Kelly and John Bergin (eds.), *The eighteenth-century composite state: representative institutions in Ireland and Europe, 1689-1800* (Basingstoke; New York, 2010), pp.7-8.

¹⁴ McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, p.20.

¹⁵ Tony Claydon, *Europe and the making of England, 1660-1760* (Cambridge, 2007); Stephen Conway, *Britain, Ireland and continental Europe in the eighteenth century: similarities, connections, identities* (Oxford, 2011).

¹⁶ Hayton and Kelly, ‘Introduction’, p.13.

Isolated work has begun such a project. Most notably, in articles and a book chapter, Toby Barnard has successively identified and opened up the neglected field as part of broader studies of early-modern Irish Protestant experience.¹⁷ Patrick Little and Raymond Gillespie have continued to integrate travel into discussions of the Irish Protestant community. Gillespie's piece, in one of the several 'Irish in Europe' collections, represents a rare and valuable consideration of Protestant voyages alongside better-understood Catholic experiences.¹⁸ Little recognises, in his consideration of the New English community, that the attitudes of Protestant Irish-residents are sometimes difficult to separate 'from those of the English themselves', but that this should not excuse a tacit incorporation of Irish experiences into English or British analyses. 'A certain distinctiveness does emerge', suggesting that 'while the "British" context is fundamental to understanding how the New English operated in Ireland, the European context may help to explain why the perspective of the Protestants in Ireland sometimes differed quite radically from that of their cousins across the Irish Sea.'¹⁹ Irish Protestant experiences need to be analysed apart from, but also alongside, better-understood Irish Catholic and English encounters with the continent.

Taken together, these historiographical beginnings suggest that an exploration of Irish Protestant travel will add to the valuable work of the 'Irish in Europe' project, but that it should also address older questions on the nature of Protestant communities in early-modern Ireland, whom Jim Smyth memorably describes as 'like amphibious animals'. Protestantism, English ethnicity and Irish residence shaped distinctive encounters with the continent, informing how travellers prepared, where they went, whom they met and the ways in which

¹⁷ Toby Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities, 1660-1760' in Tony Claydon and Ian McBride (eds.), *Protestantism and national identity: Britain and Ireland, c.1650-1850* (Cambridge, 1998), pp.216-22; idem, *Making the grand figure: lives and possessions in Ireland, 1641-1770* (New Haven; London, 2004), pp.310-44.

¹⁸ Raymond Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities: a comparative approach to Irish communities in baroque Europe' in O'Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Ulster earls*, pp.166-82.

¹⁹ Patrick Little, 'The New English in Europe, 1625-60' in Tadhg Ó hAnnracháin and Robert Armstrong (eds.), *Community in early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), p.166.

they represented encounters in written accounts, souvenirs and gift-exchange. We can use travel to look again at an Irish Protestant community usually considered only within the confines of its island home. If Protestants of Irish residence were amphibious, we can gain a fresh perspective by following them across the Channel.

This study examines only members of the Church of Ireland. Partially, this fulfils its intention to consider the role of European encounters in the construction of an Ascendancy that privileged wealthy members of the established church. Above all, however, Presbyterian travellers are excluded because there is insufficient space to do justice to their varying experiences. For the period 1625-60, travellers from Ulster may have been influenced by ‘practices and fashions’ already set by those from Scotland.²⁰ In our later period, too, patterns of attendance at universities in the Low Countries imply European encounters that differed from those of Church-of-Ireland members.²¹ Irish Anglican examples and Scottish comparisons suggest that Irish Presbyterian travellers probably engaged very differently with continental hosts, but their particular experiences must await more detailed study.

Travel in a familial context

English historians have tended to isolate European experiences, perhaps in an attempt to convey the broad range of continental interactions. Beginning when faceless travellers arrive on the French or Dutch coast and divorcing them from the families and understandings that had encouraged or persuaded them into a continental voyage, studies have frequently ignored the very issues that give wider relevance to fascinating but limited vignettes like the Percevals’ non-attendance at Mass. A more focused study of a group of families allows us to place travel in its social, cultural and educational contexts. Travellers came to the continent with aims and preconceptions, they interacted with hosts and expatriate ‘countrymen’

²⁰ Little, ‘New English’, p.166.

²¹ Robert Whan, ‘Presbyterians in Ulster, c.1680-1730: a social and political study’ (Queen’s University, Belfast, PhD thesis, 2009), pp.190-9; McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, pp.17-18.

according to pre-existing concerns and they returned home to familial hopes. Limiting our attention to a cluster of families over several decades, we will also be able to chart generational change and the ways in which it was informed by foreign experience.

Most evidence for Irish Protestant travel to Europe survives in the papers of wealthy landed families, whether as correspondence, notebooks or financial records. As Barnard finds for the early eighteenth century, ‘Stray references’ suggest ‘that more travelled from Ireland into Europe than is often assumed.’²² The same is true earlier in our period, when young men like James Annesley, in France in 1664, appear fleetingly in the records of others.²³ Pursuing a more holistic approach to continental experience, our focus is partially determined by what survives in analysable quantities. Within available material, however, we can trace a network of interrelated families and individuals who discussed, wrote about and undertook travel together in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. It is never difficult to establish ties, whether of blood, marriage or acquaintance, between wealthy Church-of-Ireland families. We can, however, discern a ‘discourse community’ that spoke and thought about European voyages.²⁴ Such a community emerges, in particular, from the papers of James Butler, marquess and later first duke of Ormond, Sir Robert Southwell, Archbishop William King and Robert Molesworth, later first viscount. Again, this network is partially a product of available material. Ormond, Southwell and King are among the most documented figures in early-modern Ireland, while Molesworth’s opinions on travel survive in his widely-circulated *Account of Denmark*. Nevertheless, as we will see in our third chapter, it is clear that contemporaries considered these figures experts on European voyages.

Southwell’s immediate family and his close relations, the Percevals, provide several instances of continental travel and advice over successive generations between 1659 and

²² Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.326.

²³ De Prata to Edward Montagu, earl of Sandwich, Lyons, 23 Aug/2 Sep 1664, Bod. Carte MS 223, f.92v.

²⁴ Susan M. Fitzmaurice, *The familiar letter in early modern English: a pragmatic approach* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia, 2002).

1726. At the beginning of our period, they had been rooted in and around Kinsale, Co. Cork for over half a century, but their gradual transition to English residence will be a major theme. In his twenties, Sir Robert travelled to France, Italy, Germany and the United Provinces in 1659-62. In a diplomatic capacity, he was sent to Portugal in the 1660s, to Brussels in 1671 and to Brandenburg in 1680. His son, Edward, visited the United Provinces in the company of government officials in 1691 and 1696, also in his twenties, though he made a belated first trip to Paris in 1718. Edward travelled with his son, also Edward, to France and Lorraine in 1723. Two years later, the twenty-year-old returned on a more comprehensive tour of France, Italy and Germany and the Low Countries.

The Southwells were closely related to the Percevals, with whom they often shared residence, correspondence and travel advice. Sir Robert's sister, Katherine, married their Cork neighbour Sir John Perceval, who died prematurely in 1665. Sir Robert thereafter supervised the upbringing of his nephews, Sir Philip, Robert and John. Sir Philip travelled to France and Italy between 1676 and 1679, beginning in his late teens. There he socialised with another Cork landowner, Robert King, second baron Kingston. In middle-age, Lady Katherine sought the healing air of France in 1677, bringing her teenage daughters Kate and Helena to the Loire valley and Paris. Robert Perceval travelled through Wales as a possible alternative to continental experience, though John refused the opportunity to study in France. In 1705-7, John's son, the future first earl of Egmont, travelled to France, Italy, Geneva and the Low Countries in his early twenties. He returned to France and the Low Countries with his wife in 1718 and to Paris with their young children in 1725. In most instances of travel over three generations, the Southwells and Percevals advised and were accompanied by other Protestants from Ireland, whether kin, acquaintances or employees. Travellers varied by age, gender and purpose.

The Southwells began our period as Irish clients of the Butlers, from 1661 the dukes of Ormond. Sir Robert shared advice, contacts and educational expertise with James Butler, the first duke. Within Ormond's family, too, we find a wealth of continental experience. Butler, then marquess, was prominent in the exiled court of Charles II over the 1650s.²⁵ In later generations, young Butlers ventured to the continent with tutors. Ormond's grandson, the future second duke, travelled to Orange from the age of ten in the 1670s. Charles Butler, the teenage future second earl of Arran, travelled to Paris in 1685 with Maximilien Misson, a Huguenot tutor. The pair returned to the continent two years later with Samuel Waring, a squire from Co. Down, moving through the Low Countries, Germany and Italy. Their journey was later published as Misson's popular *New voyage to Italy*. The Butlers rubbed shoulders abroad with their Irish rivals, the Boyles, whose continental experience stretched back into the 1630s. In particular, Lionel Boyle, the teenage third earl of Orrery, travelled to France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and Italy between 1685 and 1689. Orrery coincided with Charles Butler and Samuel Waring in Rome.

Other connected Church-of-Ireland families similarly enjoyed continental experience over several generations. The Molesworths, who held lands in Co. Dublin and Yorkshire, offer a breadth of examples across many family members. Robert, later first viscount, undertook a voyage in his twenties between 1684 and 1688, at least to the Low Countries, France and Italy. His subsequent diplomatic posting to Denmark produced a famous book that lays out his attitudes towards educational travel, but it also exposed his young family to the continent. In the next generation, Robert's son John would also hold ambassadorial positions that afforded Italian experience to other family members, including his wife and teenage younger brothers.

²⁵ M.R.F. Williams, 'The King's Irishmen: the roles, impact and experiences of the Irish in the exiled court of Charles II, 1649-1660' (Oxford, DPhil thesis, 2010).

Families more exclusively resident in Ireland offer further instances of travel over two generations. Trinity College and natural-philosophical networks predominate. William King, the archbishop of Dublin, offered advice to many. He never travelled beyond England but set himself up as an authority on European experience. Those who could claim first-hand knowledge within the same circles included the Molyneux brothers, William and Thomas. They travelled in their twenties to the United Provinces, the Rhineland and Paris in the mid-1680s, a voyage precipitated by Thomas's study at Leiden. William's son, Samuel, ventured to the Low Countries and Germany in 1712-14 during his mid-twenties. The elder and younger St. George Ashe, embedded in the same Dublin networks, offer further trans-generational encounters. The elder Ashe, in his early thirties, travelled to Vienna during the Williamite Wars. His teenage son visited Italy from 1717 under the supervision of George Berkeley. Berkeley, like the elder St. George a Trinity man, Church-of-Ireland prelate and natural-philosophical enthusiast, had previously made a shorter journey to Italy in 1713-14 during his late twenties. As a demonstration of this closed world, Berkeley was also a great correspondent of Sir John Perceval, the first earl of Egmont.

The improvements of travel

Taken together, these connected families represent a wealth of continental experience over several generations. They offer instances of travel to diverse destinations. Family backgrounds vary, from Anglo-Irish landowners to solely Irish residents. We find examples of travel in middle age, adolescence and even childhood. The Percevals, in particular, allow us to assess rarer female voyages. We ought, perhaps, to avoid referring to these travellers as 'Grand Tourists' because the term implies, alongside a homogeneity of experience not yet complete in the late seventeenth century, three restrictions on travel. Considerations of wealth, age and gender were important to Irish Protestant travellers. A lack of funds was one

reason why Almeric de Courcy, twenty-third baron Kingsale, and Sir Thomas Southwell, of the family's Limerick branch, were denied European experience. For aristocrats like the Boyles and the Butlers, there was no point travelling unless one might do so lavishly. Age, too, was a real restriction. Robert King, the future third baron Kingston, and Coote Molesworth were considered too young join elder brothers abroad, despite their pleadings. Younger sons like John Perceval were left to follow elder brothers vicariously. Throughout our period, advisors continued to balance the desire for voyages to shape minds and bodies with the fear that travellers might venture abroad at an overly impressionable age. Parents and guardians arrived at different conclusions for young men, who tended to be sent abroad between their early teens and mid-twenties.

Heavily-theorised travel to the cities and courts of France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries was a male preserve, usually undertaken over three or more years. The special significance that contemporaries afforded to adolescent voyages by wealthy men, considered a rite of passage whose improving effects were best documented in journals and frequent letters home, means that they furnish the historian with sources that must form the backbone of any study. But a sole focus on those who visited Europe along these lines would ignore diverse continental experience within the same circles of family or acquaintance. Within families that encouraged educational travel for young men, and especially older brothers, many relatives and dependants went back and forth to the continent for other purposes. Travel on medical advice was increasingly common, especially among women, in a culture that ascribed much to climate and quality of air. Military life entailed extended periods in Europe, especially for Molesworths fighting in the War of the Spanish Succession. Diplomatic careers provided personal experience of the continent and allowed the neighbours and relations of an official to travel more cheaply. Finally, many travelled in domestic service. Though they leave fewer traces, we find hints of more socially-diverse experiences.

We need to appreciate this variety, which would be missed by an exclusive focus on Grand Tours, in order to place travel in meaningful familial contexts.

Destinations were as diverse as purposes. France, Italy and the German courts indeed attracted wealthy young men as part of a nascent Grand Tour. Spain was excluded because it was thought to lack improving company and note-worthy sights. The Low Countries were more often popular for the ease and comparatively low cost of a short journey, for their universities or, from the 1690s, as a military theatre as war became something of a spectator sport for young hopefuls like Edward Southwell. Nevertheless, travellers to the United Provinces and the Spanish (later Austrian) Netherlands tracked down curiosities, sought out the company of local notables and kept travel notebooks just as they would have done in France, Italy and Germany. A few months in the Low Countries provided a taste of the foreign for travellers like the Molyneuxs, who might lack the leisure and means required for a four-year voyage. It also provided a closer market for foreign books, artworks and other souvenirs. Female medical travellers, especially in three generations of the Perceval family, similarly pursued local curiosities and impressive company on journeys primarily motivated by health.

Without the unifying notion of an adolescent male Grand Tour, these experiences may be considered as diverse voyages of ‘improvement’. The ‘creed’ of improvement, so prevalent among ‘the English in Ireland’ but also some Catholic landowners, extended beyond the productivity of estates to the formation of the individual.²⁶ Improvement so construed was not, by the late seventeenth century, reducible to English cultural imperialism, a monotonous dialogue between approved England and disdained Ireland. In wealthy Church-of-Ireland families, but also for some of their dependants and employees, we find a triangular discourse that directly involved continental Europe. In discussions of continental improvement,

²⁶ Toby Barnard, *Improving Ireland? Projectors, prophets and profiteers, 1641-1786* (Dublin, 2008), p.13.

however, we should remember that European travel was universal in neither ambition nor necessity among wealthy Irish Protestants. Families and individuals advanced without foreign experience. Considering a potential match for his sister, John Perceval turned to another Cork landowning family. William Moore, the eldest son of the first baronet, Emanuel, had ‘never travelled, nor appears to have wanted it, having had the good example of his father at home always before him’.²⁷ Nor did the acknowledged benefits of voyages always outweigh their practical miseries. James Smyth, son of the bishop of Kilmore, wrote to his brother from the United Provinces in 1710, assuring him that he intended to go through with his French and Italian plans, ‘but if I ever get home, they shall brake my neck sooner than get me abroad for all the improvement one finds.’²⁸ Perceval and Smyth both acknowledge, however, that benefits were commonly thought to flow from foreign travel.

Equally, we should not succumb to the anachronistic approval sometimes embedded within the historiographical use of terms like ‘cosmopolitanism’. Foreign contact was not an inherent positive, favouring ‘openness’ or ‘broadening minds’. Though contemporaries certainly extolled the anti-parochial virtues of European experience, contact with foreigners might equally confirm prejudices or deepen a love of home. Archbishop King advised William Domville, another young graduate of Trinity College, Dublin, that he did not ‘Travell meerly to see fashions or satisfy Curiosity’. Domville ought ‘to Transfere what is good’ abroad ‘into yr. Countrey and to avoid the Mistakes and vices that Impoverish theirs’. ‘If you learn to valu yr. own Country more by seeing others,’ King concluded, ‘Twill be a good effect of yr. Labour and Charges.’²⁹ These were standard sentiments. As Black

²⁷ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Burton, 26 Jun 1683, HMC, *Report on the manuscripts of the earl of Egmont* (London, 1905-9), ii, p.133.

²⁸ James Smyth to William Smyth, [late 1710], NLI MS 41582/1, letter 11.

²⁹ William King to William Domville, Dublin, 3 Feb 1717, TCD Lyons MS 2535, f.73.

succinctly observes for the eighteenth century, travellers often returned as ‘better-informed xenophobes’.³⁰

Periodisation and structure

The period 1660-1727 follows regnal dates, of course, but it is also an appropriate frame for several reasons. This was a period over which a nascent Protestant Ascendancy asserted itself in Ireland.³¹ Though James McGuire admits that ‘The phrase “Protestant Ascendancy” is first used in the later decades of the eighteenth century’, he confirms that ‘the reality it describes is a product of the 1650s’.³² A radical transferral of land ownership, political power and social influence paved the way for ‘the making of Protestant Ireland’.³³ If we are to complement recent work on *ancien régime* parallels with an investigation into first-hand European contact, this period represents a half-century in which wealthy Anglican dominance was ensured in Ireland. More specifically, the period allows us to sample three generations of experience within well-travelled families, thereby charting interactions between travel and issues of residence, social standing, identifications and self-understandings. Robert Southwell left Ireland on St. Patrick’s Day, 17 March 1659. His grandson Edward returned from France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries in October 1726.³⁴ Edward came home to a family now well-established in their English residence, enjoying incomes, social position and political influence that Robert had not known at his Kinsale childhood home. These were changes in which travel exercised great influence. It is further hoped that a study of 1660-1727 might contribute to the broader historiography of travel from the British Isles, since it

³⁰ Jeremy Black, *The British and the Grand Tour* (London, 1985), p.106; John Ingamells, ‘Discovering Italy: British travellers in the eighteenth century’ in Andrew Wilton and Ilaria Bignamini (eds.), *The Grand Tour: the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century* (London, 1996), p.29.

³¹ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*.

³² James McGuire, ‘Richard Talbot, earl of Tyrconnell (1603-91) and the Catholic counter-revolution’ in Ciaran Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game: losers in Irish history* (Dublin, 1989), p.73.

³³ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*.

³⁴ Robert Southwell, *Diary and commonplace book of travels in France* (1659), BL Add MS 58219, f.3; Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, London, 20 Oct 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.205.

addresses an existing gap between the royalist exile of the 1650s and the high eighteenth-century Grand Tour.

Thematic chapters follow the successive preoccupations of travellers. The thesis begins by considering the preparations required before an aspirant was deemed, in contemporary parlance, 'fit to travel'. Those who were denied foreign encounters are as important here as those who were permitted to leave home. The next chapter assesses the advice that travellers received from various sources: first, we consider how expertise was accrued and shared; secondly, we delineate the two major themes of advice, which focused on conversation and observation. Following travellers to the continent, two subsequent chapters consider the realities of interpersonal interaction: the first explores contact with 'countrymen', whether Irish Catholic or English; the second examines relationships with foreign hosts. A sixth chapter deals with tuition received by travellers abroad, seeking to pin down some of the nebulous 'improvements' of travel. A seventh considers ways in which travel was memorialised, primarily through the acquisition of souvenirs and gifts for those at home but also through participation in gift-exchange with hosts. We conclude by exploring, briefly, the careful process of returning home, considering the wider implications of Irish Protestant travel for issues of residence, social standing and self-identification. Each discussion will consider potential change over time and introduce English and Scottish parallels where appropriate.

2. 'Fit to Travel'

In July 1677, the Cork solicitor Robert Thyrry wrote to Lady Katherine Perceval of his fourteen-year-old son, admitting that 'There is nothing I ambition more then to give him learneing and Education, for noe other Estate I have for him'. Thyrry confessed that he had 'a great charge of children and nothing to maintaine them but gods providence'. He had heard, however, that Lady Katherine intended 'speedily for ffrance, in order to reside there for some tyme'. Reminding her of his 'long experience of your generosity and vertue', he hoped 'that your Lad[yshi]p may be pleased to bring my son with you as one of your serv[an]ts in your intended travells'. Thyrry presumed that a trip to France would provide the boy with an education that he could not afford at home but, in order to persuade the Percevals to add to their household, he assured Lady Katherine that his son was 'learneing of Authors and fitt to travell'.³⁵ Linking prior education and profitable continental experience, the letter was calculated to appeal to wealthy Irish Protestant sensibilities.

Whether or not Thyrry managed to place his son in the Percevals' service, he provides an entry into conceptions of continental travel. It was never enough that aspirants to 'learneing and Education' simply travel to the continent. This chapter explores the preparations that would allow travellers to experience Europe in 'improving' ways. Thyrry was attuned to ideas that had long circulated among Irish Protestants and their English and continental acquaintances. Sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English travellers underwent periods of 'intense self-scrutiny to determine the legitimacy and nobility of their calling abroad', but this scrutiny extended to the fitness of others.³⁶ One striking example is Thomas Palmer's

³⁵ Robert Thyrry to Lady Katherine Perceval, Ballinlinge, 17 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.23; Richard Caulfield (ed.), *The council book of the corporation of Kinsale, from 1652 to 1800* (Guildford, 1879), p.137.

³⁶ Alison Games, *The web of empire: English cosmopolitans in an age of expansion, 1560-1660* (Oxford, 2008), p.23.

1606 flowchart of ‘persons ... inhibited travaile’.³⁷ Such methods retained currency for Irish Protestants throughout our period. Meeting Robert Southwell in Paris in 1659, the future secretary of the Royal Society, Henry Oldenburg, assured Robert Boyle that the twenty-four-year-old was ‘very ingenious and well inclined, apt to make good use of travelling’.³⁸ More than fifty years later, thirteen-year-old Coote Molesworth required further education ‘to file & finish him that he may be fit to be sent’ to Italy ‘about a year hence’.³⁹ Travellers could not arrive unprepared and expect improvement. As Southwell noted in Italy, ‘some are wiser that stay at home then who travel’ because ‘they who advance in learning differ one from the other as those who have made good use of their travel’.⁴⁰ Jean Gailhard, who accompanied Southwell’s nephew to France, agreed that ‘it had been better for some Gentlemen not to have travelled, because they come home worse than they went.’⁴¹

For the sons of wealthy Irish-resident families like the Southwells or the Molesworths, the demonstration of fitness to travel followed a standard path of preferred reading, approved forms of education and time spent in England. The Molyneuxs and Pettys will demonstrate, though, that appropriate preparations varied between families in ways that hint at broader political and cultural horizons. We begin by exploring how young men prepared for continental experience, in processes that were heavily theorised, but ideas of fitness to travel were not restricted to privileged eldest sons. Wives and daughters in the same families underwent educational preparations, but employees and servants were also judged on their fitness to travel abroad. In both cases, linguistic ability provided a more comprehensive standard. The notion that one should undergo preparation before travel thus permeated

³⁷ Thomas Palmer, *An essay of the meanes how to make our trauailes, into forraine countries, the more profitable and honourable* (London, 1606).

³⁸ Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, Paris, 17 May 1659, *The correspondence of Henry Oldenburg*, ed. A. Rupert Hall and Marie Boas Hall (Madison and Milwaukee, 1965-86), i, p.252.

³⁹ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 6 Nov 1710, NLI, Clements Papers, microfilm p.3752.

⁴⁰ Robert Southwell, Notebook during his stay in Italy, 1660-1, BL Egerton MS 1632, f.16.

⁴¹ Jean Gailhard, *The compleat gentleman: or directions for the education of youth as to their breeding at home and travelling abroad. In two treatises* (London, 1678), ii, p.196.

several levels of Irish Protestant society and carried the central assumption that time on the continent, under whatever pretence, was a serious opportunity for self-improvement. Those who were not allowed European experience are therefore as relevant here as those who travelled.

Educational preparations for travel

Most work on early-modern travel isolates time on the continent, beginning with itineraries rather than prior education.⁴² Historians examine ‘travel as education’, but do not always assess how voyages fit into broader educational contexts. Parks and Cohen both thoroughly investigate the ‘improvements’ on offer to young English gentlemen in Europe but largely fail to consider the preparations and preconceptions that they carried to the continent.⁴³ Brauer is a notable exception, including European voyages among other ‘practices’ undertaken by a young gentleman ‘as part of his training.’ He is concerned with educational theory, however, omitting prolonged discussion of individuals.⁴⁴ Time on the continent is not quarantined, as studies by Stoye and Frantz aim to chart the effects of European voyages, but what preceded continental experience mostly passes without comment.⁴⁵ This omission perhaps results from efforts to convey the diversity of continental interactions, but our focus on Church-of-Ireland families allows us to consider travel in its broader context.

Thyrry’s link between education and travel was all-pervasive among those of higher social standing. Where the solicitor hoped that time on the continent would provide his son with learning that he could not provide at home, however, travel took its place among

⁴² Black, *British abroad*; James Buzard, ‘The Grand Tour and after (1660-1840)’ in Peter Hulme and Tim Youngs (eds.), *Cambridge companion to travel writing* (Cambridge, 2002), pp.37-52.

⁴³ George B. Parks, ‘Travel as education’ in Richard Foster Jones (ed.), *The seventeenth century: studies in the history of English thought and literature from Bacon to Pope* (London, 1969), pp.264-90; Cohen, ‘Grand Tour’, pp.241-57.

⁴⁴ Brauer, *Education of a gentleman*, p.156.

⁴⁵ Stoye, *English travellers*; R. W. Frantz, *The English traveller and the movement of ideas, 1660-1732* (Lincoln, NE, 1967).

successive educational stages for eldest sons in landowning families like the Percevals. They undertook voyages after school and often university, but before marriage and entry into adult life.⁴⁶ Gailhard demonstrated these stages in linked treatises, his ‘directions for the education of youth as to their breeding at home and travelling abroad’. The cumulative process began early. Discussing his brother’s standard route, among English-educated Irish Protestants, through Westminster School to Oxford, Sir Thomas Southwell told his Limerick-based guardian ‘to take care about sending my brother Jack betwixt this and Christmass for England to Westminster schole. where I hope he will improve him self better and be in a little while fit to come to the College’.⁴⁷ Other members of his kin network, including John Perceval and Edward Southwell, took the same route, often followed by time at the Inns of Court. Robert Molesworth used identical language to describe the English education of his youngest son, telling his wife Laetitia that ‘little Bysse must stay & study till he be fit for ye university.’⁴⁸

For the sons of many wealthy families, time at university preceded and informed European travel. University did not foreshadow all young male Irish Protestant voyages: Lionel Boyle travelled at fifteen and James Butler spent time in Orange before Oxford. Indeed, from our small sample, aristocratic voyages may have occurred earlier than those undertaken in gentry families. The Boyles and Butlers might more easily afford the tutor required during adolescent rather than early adult travel, but perhaps they also needed to be home sooner for the purposes of strategic marriage. Nevertheless, for Irish-resident gentry or nobility like the Southwells and Percevals, time at university prefaced travel with valuable linguistic and geographical preparations. For those sons who attended university in Ireland or England prior to travel, their experiences were influential enough to deserve lengthy examination.

⁴⁶ Henry French and Mark Rothey, *Man’s estate: landed gentry masculinities, 1660-1900* (Oxford, 2012).

⁴⁷ Sir Thomas Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 10 Sep 1682, Christ Church, Oxford MS 427, letter 36.

⁴⁸ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 10 Jun 1710, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

Unfortunately, little evidence survives for Irish Protestants who attended Trinity College, Dublin before travelling to Europe. Trinity students suffer by comparison with those who attended university in England, where records survive in Christ Church, Oxford and in the papers of the first duke of Ormond and Sir Robert Southwell. English evidence suggests that this lack of documentation for the Dublin-educated represents a major gap in our knowledge of preparations for continental voyages. Nevertheless, Trinity College contemporaries made acquaintances that would shape later travel. Brought together by mathematics and natural philosophy, as well as their ministry in the Church of Ireland, St. George Ashe would appoint George Berkeley to guide his son through Italy in 1717. In Dublin, students came under the influence of senior figures with an interest in travel. Archbishop William King's correspondence with William Domville and Samuel Molyneux stemmed from their time at Trinity and shaped continental encounters. Molyneux also received tuition from Berkeley while studying in Dublin.⁴⁹ Moreover, many Trinity men who would go on to travel, including the Molyneuxs, Ashe and Berkeley, participated in the Dublin Philosophical Society.⁵⁰ Involvement exposed them to notions of experimental observation and natural history that informed European experiences. We lack evidence of more explicit preparations at Trinity, but they were clearly a priority. When a poor graduate was recommended to the service of a visiting Spanish duke in 1684, William Molyneux reported that 'our College is very much concerned, that so scurvy a pattern should go abroad from amongst them to be seen by foreigners.'⁵¹

The Irish Protestant community at Oxford was small but well-documented. Between 1669 and 1759, the university had only Irish chancellors in the two dukes of Ormond and the first earl of Arran. Porter probably dismisses the edges of the British Isles too swiftly when

⁴⁹ K. Theodore Hoppen, 'Samuel Molyneux's tour of Kerry, 1709', *Journal of the Kerry Archaeological and Historical Society*, 3 (1970), p.60.

⁵⁰ K. Theodore Hoppen, *The common scientist in the seventeenth century: a study of the Dublin Philosophical Society 1683-1708* (Charlottesville, VA, 1970).

⁵¹ William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, Oct 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.489.

he notes that ‘Scotland and Ireland had their own universities and supplied very few matriculants’.⁵² Barnard more carefully explains that ‘Oxford and Cambridge, owing to the anglican monopoly and the higher costs, attracted only those from Ireland with aristocratic incomes to equal their aspirations.’⁵³ This was especially true at Christ Church, where John Fell ‘strove with unremitting vigour to attract the aristocracy and gentry’ under his deanship.⁵⁴ Records from Fell’s time are replete with references to the aristocratic character of the college and the importance of cutting a noble figure there.⁵⁵ Perhaps thirty per cent of ‘elite’ Oxford students attended Christ Church between 1650 and 1689.⁵⁶ Unsurprisingly, then, the Dean’s Register attests to the noble or genteel quality of many Irish matriculants at Christ Church. Of seventy-nine students whose birthplace was listed as ‘Ireland’ between 1660 and 1727, nineteen entered the college as noblemen and thirty as gentlemen commoners.⁵⁷ These students of ‘quality’ included sons from influential Irish families like the Annesleys, Veseys, Synges, Cholmondeleys, Boyles, Percevals and Southwells.

Social standing lent the Irish Protestant contingent at Christ Church influence beyond their numbers. Under the deanship of Fell and Henry Aldrich, tutors indulged favoured students from among the higher ranks with time and effort. Irish Protestants at Christ Church certainly stuck together: John Perceval and Sir Thomas Southwell gave Sir Robert Southwell informed updates on the education of Almeric de Courcy, while Henry Aldrich listed a Cholmondeley, probably George, among Sir Thomas’s friends.⁵⁸ Sir Philip Perceval felt such an attachment to the Christ Church community that from Nantes he asked his brother to send

⁵² Stephen Porter, ‘University and society’ in Nicholas Tyacke (ed.), *History of the University of Oxford, Volume IV, The seventeenth century* (Oxford, 1997), p.58.

⁵³ Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, p.217.

⁵⁴ E.G.W. Bill, *Education at Christ Church Oxford 1660-1800* (Oxford, 1988), p.30.

⁵⁵ Christ Church MS 426.

⁵⁶ Porter, ‘University and society’, p.62.

⁵⁷ Christ Church Dean’s Register 1660-1757, DP i.a.3; Joseph Foster, *Alumni Oxonienses: the members of the University of Oxford, 1500-1714* (Oxford and London, 1891-2).

⁵⁸ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 10 Jan 1678[/9], BL Add MS 46956A, f.7; Henry Aldrich to Southwell, Christ Church, Oxford, 11 Oct 1683, Christ Church MS 427, letter 22.

him a list of current students.⁵⁹ Despite the anglicised education that this small community received, traces of Ireland remained in the eyes of their English contemporaries.⁶⁰ Protestants like John Perceval were subject to Irish stereotyping, however humorously intended. Letters from his Christ Church contemporary, Nicholas L'Estrange, often joke about his background. The nephew of the famous press censor teased Perceval about the purpose of a journey to the capital in 1678. 'If you have (as I fear) a bratt or 2 in store at London', wrote L'Estrange, 'Ill send you 2 or 3 old shirts for clouts, for I know all Irish men love to bring up their children cleanly.'⁶¹ Barnard notes similar stereotyping of the Edgeworth family in the eighteenth century as evidence of the 'tensions which resulted from tuition divided between Ireland and England.'⁶²

The small Irish Protestant community at Christ Church was formed by the choices of educational experts. As Sir John Perceval remembered, Sir Robert Southwell had 'a peculiar art in directing the education of youth'; the Virginian diarist William Byrd II saw a 'powerfull knack of Education'.⁶³ Guiding the upbringing of noblemen like the Percevals and Sir Thomas Southwell, Sir Robert adhered to Christ Church. He reassured Sir Thomas's guardians in 1681 that he would 'make it my care to place him where I have formerly placed two Nephews [Sir Philip and John Perceval], & where I would alsoe putt my onely Son if his yeares were capable of it.' Bowing to Southwell's knowledge and English footing, the guardians had acknowledged that 'yu are better able to prescribe & direct the way & manner of his Education than wee are'.⁶⁴ Irish-resident families often sent sons to Christ Church in

⁵⁹ Sir Philip Perceval to John Perceval, Nantes, 25 Sep 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.110.

⁶⁰ Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, pp.1-24.

⁶¹ Nicholas L'Estrange to John Perceval, Christ Church, Oxford, 4 Apr 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.112.

⁶² Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p.216.

⁶³ 'Some Notices of John Earl of Egmont', BL Add MS 47072, f.6; William Byrd II, 'Cavaliero Sapiente. Southwell', *Another secret diary of William Byrd of Westover, 1739-1741. With letters & literary exercises, 1696-1726*, ed. Maude H. Woodfin, trans. Marion Tinling (Richmond, VA, 1942).

⁶⁴ Sir William King, John Pigott and John Bourke to Sir Robert Southwell, Rathkeyte, 30 Sep 1681; Southwell to King, Pigott and Bourke, Kinsale, 8 Oct 1681 (draft), Christ Church MS 427, letters 27, 28; Sir Philip Perceval was not at Cambridge, despite James Anderson, *A genealogical history of the house of Yvery, in its different branches of Yvery, Luvel, Perceval and Gournay*, (London, 1742), ii, p.379.

batches: Hugh and George Cholmondeley arrived in 1678 and 1680, and George and John Vesey matriculated in 1697.⁶⁵ Sir Robert Southwell's son Edward was destined for Christ Church from an early age. A Christ Church student had been Southwell's thwarted preference as tutor to his nine-year-old son.⁶⁶ William Petty warned that 'Neddy's going to Oxford is according to fashion, but I feare the old fashion.'⁶⁷ Nevertheless, at thirteen Edward made preliminary visits to Merton in 1684 and matriculated there three years later.⁶⁸ In 1699, Sir John Perceval was sent to Magdalen College under John Hough, bishop of Oxford and 'a particular friend to Sr. Robert'.⁶⁹ Where Petty saw only educational 'fashion', Southwell enjoyed a trusting relationship with John Fell, a previous bishop of Oxford and dean of Christ Church, which ended with Fell's death in 1686.

While Fell lived, Sir Robert Southwell and Ormond thought Christ Church the place for Irish Protestants to receive a sure grounding in faith and learning. This is clear in the education of Almeric de Courcy, the orphaned twenty-third baron Kingsale. Charles II removed Almeric, 'an Irish Catholic[,] from the guardianship of one of his relatives of the same Religion and sent him to Oxford to be brought up in the Protestant sect', as a Nunzio di Fiandra report informed the Vatican.⁷⁰ De Courcy was placed under Ormond's wardship, but the duke deferred to the expertise of Almeric's Kinsale neighbour, Southwell.⁷¹ In 1676, they sent the boy to Christ Church at the tender age of twelve, where he came under the watchful eye of John Fell, bishop of Oxford. Fell assured Southwell that he would personally

⁶⁵ Christ Church DP i.a.3.

⁶⁶ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 17 May 1681, Christ Church MS 426, letter 40.

⁶⁷ Sir Thomas Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 10 Sep 1682, Christ Church MS 427, letter 36; Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 18 Jan 1686/7, *The Petty-Southwell correspondence, 1676-1687*, ed. Henry William Edmund Petty-FitzMaurice, marquess of Lansdowne (New York, 1967), p.252.

⁶⁸ Philip Madox to Sir Robert Southwell, Whitehall, 19; 22 Jul 1684, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 53, ff.54, 57; Diary of the Hon. Edw[ard] Southwell, 1659-99 [sic], BL Egerton MS 1628, f.15v.

⁶⁹ BL Add MSS 47025, ff.16v-40v; 47072, ff.7, 103.

⁷⁰ Nunzio di Fiandra 65, Brussels, 4 Jan 1676, Archivio Vaticano (NLI microfilm p.2644), f.12v: 'Irlandese Catt[olic]o dalla tutela d'un suo parente dell'istessa Relig[i]one e mandatolo a Oxford peressere allevato nella setta Protestante'.

⁷¹ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 12 Dec 1681, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.46/1; 'Authority for the Guardianship of Lord Courcy', Dublin Castle, 9 Dec 1679, HMC, *Calendar of the manuscripts of the marquess of Ormonde, K.P., preserved at Kilkenny Castle* (London, 1902-20), v, pp.250-2.

‘Endeavour to make my selfe & this place as Usefull to him as I can’. De Courcy would ‘find Persons of his Condition, that will be no ill Example for him’ at Christ Church. Fell promised that ‘if he prove a Good man there will be little Hazard of his being A Good Protestant; for few are Proselytes to Riot who are not first Apostates to Virtue.’⁷² As De Courcy settled in at Oxford, John Benson, his tutor and another vigilant cleric, repeatedly warned Southwell about letters from Almeric’s aunt, ‘whose womanish zeal prompts her to a weak endeavour’ in ‘zealous endeavours from London’, to which the young lord was vulnerable on account of ‘his youth and weakness’ as well as his Irish Catholic ‘Nature’. Benson shied away from her purposes, but we may safely infer that she was attempting to keep Almeric’s Catholicism alive and ‘hinder ye quiet progress he now makes both in Religion behaviour and study.’⁷³ Ormond too was concerned lest De Courcy indulge ‘other thoughts of himself & family & fortune then will doe him good.’⁷⁴

Benson developed a programme of Protestantisation, reporting that Almeric was ‘very perfect in our Catechism since his first coming. and our first morning work after his prayers is ye reading in our Bible.’ Pupil and tutor suffered ‘no business to hinder our being at Church where his progress in Musick makes him diligent in Responses and adverting to ye prayers.’ Benson and Southwell even made sure that Almeric’s servant was ‘very conformable in Religion and manners.’ Indeed, the servant apparently stayed with De Courcy on account of ‘ye happiness of being freed from that Religion wherein he had bin educated till his coming hither’ from Ireland.⁷⁵ In 1680, four years after Almeric’s arrival at Oxford, a resigned Ormond took it ‘for granted that hee is past profiting in learning what is taught there & if hee bee well establisht in poynt of Religion I can in his behaulf console my self for his

⁷² John Fell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, [7 Dec 1675?], BL Add MS 46952, f. 239.

⁷³ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 18 Jan; 25 Oct; 2 Dec 1677; 27 Jan 1678, Christ Church Oxford MS 426, letters 9, 19, 21, 23.

⁷⁴ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 27 Sep 1679, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.33/1.

⁷⁵ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 18 Jan 1677; 16 Dec 1679, Christ Church MS 426, letters 9, 32.

want of proficiency in his other studys'.⁷⁶ But the young baron was to be an English nobleman as well as a Protestant, living 'in ye eie of several of ye nobility' at Christ Church. Benson excused some extraneous costs because, with Ormond's impending visit to Oxford in summer 1677, Almeric was to 'be newly apparel'd according to his quality & so great company.'⁷⁷ When De Courcy misbehaved, his proselytisation was thought fragile. Benson was grateful for Southwell's 'seasonable letter of excellent advice' in late 1679. Then fifteen, Almeric had adopted 'the conciet that a Title of honour was support enough without ye Pedantry & trouble of book-learning', 'beating & domineering' his servant and becoming 'much addicted to Tennis-courts'. Ormond had implored Southwell that 'the youth there [in Oxford] needes good advice' and apologised for such 'a vary tastlesse correspondence.'⁷⁸ Recalling John Fell's link between virtue and Protestantism, Benson confessed to Southwell that his 'greatest concern' was 'least laziness & ignorance usher in that Religion wch Patronizeth both & is commonly embrac'd by ye most stupid & voluptuous.'⁷⁹

Ormond and Southwell trusted Christ Church with the proselytisation of an influential Irish Catholic. The college would continue in this role while John Fell lived. One 'Mr. Bourke, a young nobleman, the heir and hopes of a great family', was sent to Fell 'by the King to be brought up in learning, and in the Protestant religion' in 1682. Burke's tutor worried to John Perceval that the child might 'be neglected, as my Lord Courcy was, whether by want of correction or how, you know partly'. Perhaps he referred to the influence of De Courcy's aunt in London. Grounding 'in the principles of religion' would render Burke 'a public benefit to the world, especially to Ireland, the country wherein he is like to enjoy a

⁷⁶ Ormond to Southwell, Dublin, 19 Feb 1680, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.43/1.

⁷⁷ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 22 Aug 1676; 26 Jun 1677, Christ Church MS 426, letters 3, 14.

⁷⁸ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 27 Sep 1679, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.33/1; Ormond to Southwell, Dublin, 8 Nov 1679, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.34/1.

⁷⁹ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 11 Nov and 16 Dec 1679, Christ Church MS 426, letters 31, 32.

plentiful fortune'.⁸⁰ The boy was possibly Ulick Burke, future viscount of Galway, whose family background and age (twelve in 1682) would fit.⁸¹ More easily identifiable is Donogh MacCarthy, the fourteen- or fifteen-year-old fourth earl of Clancarty, who was presented to the duke of York on his visit to Oxford in May 1683 and recited 'a copie of English verses'.⁸² After his father's death, Clancarty had been placed by his devoutly Protestant mother into the care of John Fell.⁸³ If the bishop of Oxford's death in 1686 prompted a reassessment of these Irish Catholic wardships at Christ Church, Dickson observes that 'Conformity as a result of the imposition of Protestant guardians on a Catholic minor ... was regarded as an archaic and exceptional way of achieving this by the eighteenth century.'⁸⁴ Wardships must also have appeared unsuccessful tools of anglicisation and proselytisation. If 'Mr. Bourke' is Ulick, all three of our examples fought for James II in their twenties and sat as peers in the Jacobite parliament of 1689.⁸⁵ Clancarty soon abandoned his Protestantism, though De Courcy, buried in Westminster Abbey in 1719, must have continued to conform.

If wardship brought uncertain results for young Catholic noblemen, the Southwells and Percevals consistently saw English university education as a necessary precursor to Protestant continental travel. The elder Robert Southwell underestimated his great nephew's continental voyages but accurately portrayed his preparation when informing St. John Champante of Dublin, the father of a potential wife, that Sir Philip Perceval would be 'furnisht wth. the learning of Engl[and]' at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn 'then to spend one yeare or less in travaile abroad haveing already ye French tongue'.⁸⁶ Before misbehaviour and inadequate finances

⁸⁰ William Nichols to Sir John Perceval, Christ Church, Oxford, 16 May 1682, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.110.

⁸¹ Richard Hawkins, 'Burke, Ulick, viscount of Galway', *DIB*.

⁸² Anthony Wood, *The life and times of Anthony Wood, antiquary, of Oxford, 1632-1695, described by himself*, ed. Andrew Clark (Oxford, 1891-1900), iii, p.48.

⁸³ Éamonn Ó Ciardha, 'MacCarthy, Donogh, fourth earl of Clancarty', *DIB*.

⁸⁴ David Dickson, 'Jacobitism in eighteenth-century Ireland: a Munster perspective', *Éire-Ireland*, 39:3&4 (Fall/Winter 2004), p.87.

⁸⁵ John D'Alton, *Illustrations, historical and genealogical of King James's Irish army list, 1689*, 2 vols. (Dublin, 1860); *An exact list of the lords spiritual and temporal who fare in the pretended parliament at Dublin in the kingdom of Ireland* (London, 1689), p.1.

⁸⁶ Robert Southwell (father) to St. John Champante, Kinsale, 7 Dec 1675, BL Add MS 46952, f.240.

judged otherwise, Sir Robert Southwell presumed that his Limerick kinsman, Sir Thomas, would ‘presently goe to travell’ after Christ Church.⁸⁷ The family connection between Oxford and European voyages persisted into the eighteenth century, as Sir John Perceval ‘quitted the University’ in 1701 ‘with design to travell.’⁸⁸

The connection between university and subsequent travel is borne out by evidence of educational materials. A commonplace book kept by Robert Southwell during his time at Queen’s over the 1650s unfortunately reveals little more than a determination to master Latin verse, a poetic record of university events. His 1658 manuscript on travel, though, which must represent reading undertaken at Oxford and Lincoln’s Inn, shows recent and intimate familiarity with printed travel advice like Francis Bacon’s essay ‘Of travel’, Henry Peacham’s *Compleat gentleman* and Francis Osborne’s *Advice to a son* alongside quotations from Juvenal and Cicero.⁸⁹ Peacham and Osborn set travel as the culmination of a far longer process of genteel education and the latter had been printed in Oxford amid great undergraduate popularity and official hysteria while Southwell was at the university.⁹⁰ Such materials passed through generations in the family. A 1656 course of English legal history, laid out for Southwell by Thomas Barlow, a Queen’s College fellow and Bodley’s Librarian, was lent to John Perceval as he made the same transition from Oxford to Lincoln’s Inn in 1679.⁹¹

Some time at university was spent acquiring knowledge that would greatly inform domestic and continental travel. The prominent educational position of maps and globes continued there, but had begun earlier. The Percevals’ chaplain and live-in tutor, Henry

⁸⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir William King, Kings Weston, 5 Oct 1683, NLI MS 664, letter 7.

⁸⁸ BL Add MS 47072, f.8.

⁸⁹ Robert Southwell, Poetic commonplace book, Bod. MS Eng. Poet. f6; ‘An Abridgement of a Manuscript of Sir Robert Southwell’s concerning travelling. Writt. 1658. Feb. 20.’, King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152; Francis Bacon, *The essays*, ed. John Pitcher (London, 1985); Henry Peacham, *The compleat gentleman* (London, 1634); Francis Osborne, *Advice to a son* (Oxford, 1656).

⁹⁰ Siegmund A. E. Betz, ‘Francis Osborne’s *Advice to a Son*’ in Robert Shafer (ed.), *Seventeenth century studies* (Princeton, 1937).

⁹¹ ‘Barlow’s method of studying the law’, NLW MS 17122D, pp.18, 32; H.D. Emanuels, ‘The Gwysaney manuscripts’, *National Library of Wales journal*, 7 (1951-2), pp.326-43.

Roby, hoped for his thirteen-year-old charge that ‘Ryswick the famed Place for negotiating a general Peace [that year in 1697] will never be forgot by Sr. John Percival or his Brother, who have a Map of the World hanging by their bedside in Town, & the World twice in 6 Maps at Kingsweston in the Parlour to revive their Ideas in the Country.’⁹² Sir Robert Southwell, then resident in Gloucestershire, evidently displayed foreign maps at home; he also encouraged their use at university. With his European and educational expertise, Southwell was well placed to recommend appropriate materials. Sir Philip Perceval’s Oxford tutor asked for ‘some larger booke for ye Maps’ and knew that Southwell was ‘very skilfull what to send, & if you thinke of a Booke of Value, It will be a Jewel by Him, & I hope he will not esteeme it for the Ornament of his Shelfes, but his minde.’⁹³ When Southwell sent ‘Globes’ to Robert Perceval at Cambridge, after an indulgent period of tennis ‘for want of Maps’, pupil and tutor found them ‘wanting in severall things’.⁹⁴ John later found ‘A book of the Maps of England’ alongside European histories, some of which were in French, among his brother’s possessions.⁹⁵ John was not as concerned by deficiencies, asking Southwell to let him have the globes that Robert had left at Sir Robert’s London home. These he presumably used during his Christ Church education, but also for vicarious travel. He told Southwell that he would ‘accompany’ Sir Philip ‘on ye globe & Mapps’, begging Sir Robert for ‘word in your next where my Brother is, for I have had noe newes neither of nor from him this great while.’⁹⁶ The English education of Sir Thomas Southwell involved Moses Pitt’s *English Atlas*.⁹⁷ Aimed at ‘our English nobility and gentry [who] were not less curious and inquisitive into Geography than those of other countreys where it was so much valued’, Pitt’s

⁹² Henry Roby to Sir John Perceval, Lenham, 23 May 1697, BL Add MS 47025, f.2v. Roby’s room is mentioned in an inventory of the Percevals’ house at Burton, Co. Cork as early as 1686: BL Add MS 47038, f.23.

⁹³ Benjamin Woodroffe to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 6 Jan 1673/4, BL Add MS 46951A, f.1.

⁹⁴ Robert Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ’s College, Cambridge, 22 Oct 1674; 6 May 1675, BL Add MSS 46951B, f.34; 46952, f.87.

⁹⁵ John Perceval, ‘A list of those things which formerly belonging to my Brother Robert Perceval Esqr. I received from my Unckle Sr Robert Southwell’, [c. Nov 1677], BL Add MS 46954B, f.246.

⁹⁶ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 28 May 1676; 23 Sep 1678; 20 Oct 1678, BL Add MSS 46953, f.74; 46955B, ff.125, 152.

⁹⁷ Sir Thomas Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 10 Sep 1682, Christ Church MS 427, letter 36.

volumes covered Scandinavia, some of eastern Europe, Germany and the Low Countries before his project fell through.⁹⁸ One of John Perceval's Oxford acquaintances was involved, sending a 'specimen' of the atlas to him at Lincoln's Inn in the hope that he would place it 'on the table in your chamber, that when any gentleman comes in they may administer occasion of discourse concerning this book'.⁹⁹

How much travel knowledge might have been imparted less formally at university? At the celebration of Encaenia in 1677, when John Perceval and Almeric de Courcy were both at Oxford, students from Magdalen and Merton debated 'whither travelling be good for English Gentlmen'.¹⁰⁰ European knowledge may also have spread in college tutorials, especially at Christ Church. In rooms in which Sir Robert Southwell could admire a portrait of the Persian ambassador on a visit in 1682, it is hard to believe that Henry Aldrich did not share continental experiences with well-born pupils like Sir Thomas Southwell and James Butler, future second duke of Ormond, though he played no major role in the proselytisation of Almeric de Courcy.¹⁰¹ A man who apparently 'enjoyed entertaining and was a witty and expansive talker', Aldrich had certainly spent time at Cologne in 1673 and his architectural influences suggest time in Italy and therefore France.¹⁰² John Fell discussed travel with a favoured English student, Sir Thomas Isham, a contemporary of John Perceval who would meet Sir Philip in Rome. Fell exclaimed that 'When you have seen what Italy can show, there will be no pomp or gaiety of this world left undiscovered.'¹⁰³ Here, as in other matters, the bishop of Oxford set the tone.

⁹⁸ E.G.R. Taylor, 'The English Atlas of Moses Pitt, 1680-3', *Geographical journal*, 95:4 (Apr 1940), p.293.

⁹⁹ W. Nichols to John Perceval, Oxford, May 1680, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.94.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Richardson to Sir Thomas Isham, [undated]; Gilbert Clerk to Isham, Shangton, 15 Dec 1677, Northants CRO, IC 1067; 1073.

¹⁰¹ Thomas Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 28 Jul 1682, Christ Church MS 427, letter 34.

¹⁰² G.V. Bennett, *The Tory crisis in church and state, 1688-1730: the career of Francis Atterbury, bishop of Rochester* (Oxford, 1975); W.G. Hiscock, *Henry Aldrich of Christ Church, 1648-1710* (Oxford, 1960), p.13.

¹⁰³ John Fell to Sir Thomas Isham, [Oxford], 11 Jan 1677, Northants CRO, IC 4793; Gerard Burdon, 'Sir Thomas Isham, an English collector in Rome in 1677-8', *Italian studies*, xv (1960), p.21.

Other tutors at Christ Church may also have shared their European knowledge. Francis Atterbury, tutor to Charles Boyle at Christ Church in the early 1690s, compiled a detailed notebook of travel descriptions.¹⁰⁴ There is no internal evidence to support an auctioneer's claim, pasted to the manuscript, that the volume contains 'notes on various places on the continent apparently made by the Bishop during a foreign tour'. Instead, it seems a product of careful reading. Atterbury included short entries on exotic locations, but the majority comprises cramped descriptions of European destinations lifted entirely from printed material, which Atterbury always acknowledges.¹⁰⁵ Accounts of the Netherlands, Germany, central Europe and Greece are taken from Edward Browne and descriptions of Italy rely on Richard Lassels.¹⁰⁶ Atterbury's piece on Vienna, for instance, records nothing beyond Brown, despite selection and rearrangement.¹⁰⁷ One wonders whether his readings were shared with pupils like Boyle, or even whether the neatly-presented notebook was used as a teaching aid. Such speculation about Christ Church life and its relevance to continental experience must remain tentative because the discussions provoked by tutorial hospitality rarely produced written evidence. Nevertheless, time at university involved not only use of travel literature, maps and globes, but also conversations about European travel.

Domestic travel

Knowledge of the places that travellers left behind naturally influenced their experiences and self-identifications during continental voyages. The 'amphibious' position of Irish Protestant families, however, meant that the 'home' against which they judged Europe was never automatically defined, instead representing political and cultural choices on the part of

¹⁰⁴ *The epistolary correspondence, visitation charges, speeches, and miscellanies, of the Right Reverend Francis Atterbury, D.D. Lord Bishop of Rochester* (London, 1783-7), ii, pp.1-21.

¹⁰⁵ Atterbury's notebook, Christ Church MS 475.

¹⁰⁶ Edward Browne, *A brief account of some travels in divers parts of Europe* (London, 1687); Richard Lassels, *The voyage of Italy, or, A compleat journey through Italy*, 2 vols. (London, 1686).

¹⁰⁷ Christ Church MS 475, f.10v; Browne, *Brief account*, pp.131-159.

travellers and their friends. For many families, the consolidation of a notion of ‘home’ was crucial in demonstrating fitness to travel. Irish Protestants of sufficient means also used ‘domestic’ travel around the British Isles to prepare for Europe. The Molyneux family and Archbishop King advocated direct comparisons between Ireland and the continent, fitting with their ‘colonial nationalist’ constitutional politics.¹⁰⁸ The Southwell and Perceval families conversely favoured practical experience of England as a preface to European travel and a continuation of anglicised education. Their frame of reference for European experiences was to be English rather than Irish. Especially early in our period, however, their Irish residence meant that familiarity with England required conscious improvement through travel. More complicated cases include the Molesworths, who prioritised English experience despite professing emotional attachment to their Irish estate, and the Pettys, who pursued comprehensive knowledge of the British Isles against which to judge the continent.¹⁰⁹ All used Irish, English, Scottish or Welsh travel to develop the practical skills essential to successful European voyages. ‘Domestic’ travel also acted as a safer alternative for those deemed unfit for continental journeys. Travel through the British Isles was variously and intimately related to European experiences.

Several historians of English travel link domestic and foreign voyages. Black finds that eighteenth-century travel journals began in the southern counties of England, while Ghazvinian traces sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century ‘curiosity travel’ around England and the continent without distinction.¹¹⁰ Wenger notes, however, that ‘students of the Grand Tour have rarely commented on the importance of *English* travel as a prerequisite for one’s voyage to the Continent.’ Consequently he is among the first to do so, calling Perceval’s

¹⁰⁸ William Molyneux, *The case of Ireland’s being bound by acts of parliament in England, stated* (Dublin, 1698); P.H. Kelly, ‘Archbishop William King (1650-1729) and colonial nationalism’ in Brady (ed.), *Worsted in the game*, pp.84-94.

¹⁰⁹ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Hansworth, 24 Jun 1704; London, 12 Jul 1709; Edlington, 29 Jul 1709; 29 Nov 1712, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

¹¹⁰ Black, *British abroad*, p.12; John H. Ghazvinian, “‘A certain tickling humour’: English travellers, 1560-1660’ (Oxford, DPhil thesis, 2003), pp.242-8.

journey through England and parts of Scotland ‘a kind of dress rehearsal for the obligatory Grand Tour of Europe that would follow’, but his editorial remit precludes elaboration.¹¹¹ Dent and Bignamini raise similar points for the eighteenth century in broad surveys, though again they do not treat individual experience in detail.¹¹² Existing work on indigenous travel within England never links its subject to continental voyages and usually fails to consider ‘domestic’ voyages by non-English residents of the British Isles. Moir’s ‘discovery of Britain’ follows Englishmen as they discover themselves, though Barnard and Beaumont demonstrate that Irish Protestant travel through England deserves further study.¹¹³ So far, historiographical omissions reinforce Moir’s verdict that domestic voyages represented ‘travel for its own sake; journeys undertaken for themselves rather than as some necessary evil to be endured for some other end’. Protestants of Irish residence or background, however, did not move through the British Isles in ‘an age of unsophisticated touring’.¹¹⁴ Domestic journeys were often undertaken with later continental travel firmly in mind.

Some families undertook British journeys to acquire a frame of reference for European experiences. In 1658, before his voyage, Robert Southwell drew on reading to note that ‘The preparations for travell are first the knowledge of the place you leave, as also the history & government of it’.¹¹⁵ He directed Sir Philip Perceval’s travels to similar effect in 1676, proposing his ‘seeing first some parts of England, that you may value things, which deserve it, here at home, and have some Standard in your mind for the like things, when you observe them abroad.’¹¹⁶ Aside from his Oxford education, Perceval had spent much of his early life

¹¹¹ Mark R. Wenger (ed.), *The English travels of Sir John Percival and William Byrd II. The Percival diary of 1701* (Columbia, 1989), pp.12, vi. His italics.

¹¹² Dent, ‘Travel as education’, p.173; Ilaria Bignamini, ‘The Grand Tour: open issues’ in Wilton and Bignamini (eds.), *Grand Tour*, p.32.

¹¹³ Joan Parkes, *Travel in England in the seventeenth century* (London, 1925); Esther Moir, *The discovery of Britain: the English tourists, 1540-1840* (London, 1964); Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp.326-44; D. M. Beaumont, ‘An Irish gentleman in England: the travels of Pole Cosby c. 1730-35’, *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 149 (1996), pp.37-54.

¹¹⁴ Moir, *Discovery of Britain*, pp.xii, 34.

¹¹⁵ King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, f.2v.

¹¹⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.103.

in Cork, so Southwell's description of England as 'home' jarred with his need to create 'some Standard' in Sir Philip's mind for what most of England was actually like. There is a sense that Perceval would not have been able to see 'the like things' in Ireland, perhaps influenced by Southwell's own return home in 1662, when he found Ireland 'most insipid and voyd of Curiosity'.¹¹⁷ We will return to such disappointments, but for some they fostered the idea that England alone was comparable to Europe.

Southwells and Percevals continued over several generations to advise that knowledge of England, gained through travel, was the ideal preparation for European experiences. The most noted instance of a journey through parts of Britain embarked upon by a Protestant of Irish background as a direct preparation for continental travel is undoubtedly that of Sir Philip's nephew, Sir John Perceval, future earl of Egmont. Sir John was born at Burton, the family seat in Cork, and home-educated until the age of thirteen, when he was sent to a French school in London and then to Westminster before Oxford. His knowledge of England, too, required expansion through travel. Undertaken in the company of William Byrd II, the voyage is documented by Perceval's diary and Byrd's letters.¹¹⁸ Southwell had chosen Byrd as 'a West Indian Gentleman of good Fortune & learning, & a Student at the Temple; now resident in Virginia. He was a particular friend of Sr Roberts, Fellow of the Royal Society very curious, & of general acquaintance.' Southwell told Sir John that he 'should first make a progress round England, that after seeing what was most remarkable at home in arts and natural curiosities, he might be better qualified to make observations abroad, and more welcome to the conversation of foreigners.'¹¹⁹ Wenger claims that Southwell paraphrased Locke's recent essay, *Some thoughts concerning education*, but Southwell's wording had not

¹¹⁷ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Kinsale, 19 Sep 1661, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, p.434.

¹¹⁸ Wenger (ed.), *English travels; The correspondence of three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684-1776*, ed. Marion Tinling, 2 vols. (Charlottesville, 1977).

¹¹⁹ BL Add MS 47072, ff.6-8.

changed much since his counsel to Sir Philip Perceval twenty-five years previously.¹²⁰ In the late 1670s, Locke associated with the Southwells and Percevals at Christ Church, Oxford and in France, so all were probably of an English (perhaps Oxonian) cultural milieu in which consistent travel advice was shared.¹²¹ Southwell's diplomatic protégé, Francis Parry, recommended to Sir John 'some observations ... relating to your own country which in no wise you ought to be a stranger to, when you launch out into foreign parts.' If Perceval would allow knowledge of England to make 'the greatest impression, all other Notions will be made to conform to them'. Indeed, he had been sent 'to Survey England' in order 'to lay a good foundation for the conduct of your whole life'.¹²²

Perceval's English travel should have directly preceded a continental voyage. That it did not confirms Southwell's central role in preparations for Europe. Sir Robert's death in 1702 coincided with Perceval's return to London from his English expedition, and the young man 'was a considerable time in suspense whether to comence his travells or stay at home till he had more knowledge of the World, whereby he might be better received abroad, and be more capable of making such observations as at his return might give him Credit.'¹²³ Perceval did not travel until 1705, delayed by a period in the House of Commons and the Privy Council in Ireland.¹²⁴ Ideally, foreign travel would have prepared him for such duties. The need to ensure an English frame of reference was passed down within the Southwell and Perceval families after the death of Sir Robert and is evident in the care taken by his son, the elder Edward Southwell. Edward was so concerned that his eighteen-year-old son, also Edward, should experience Europe properly that he accompanied him on his first journey to the continent in 1723. Returning home, the elder Edward sent his son 'to see every thing between

¹²⁰ Wenger (ed.), *English travels*, p.12; John Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education* (London, 1693), p.256.

¹²¹ Locke was responsible for John Perceval's finances at Oxford: Locke, *Diary for 1679*, BL Add MS 15642.

¹²² Francis Parry to Sir John Perceval, 24 Jun 1701, BL Add MS 47025, f.42v.

¹²³ BL Add MS 47072, f.14.

¹²⁴ Wenger (ed.), *English travels*, p.7.

London & Yorke' because he 'thought it was necessary to be acquainted with his own Country: before he takes another Voyage abroad: which he may be likely to do in the spring'.¹²⁵ Sadly, no record of this domestic journey survives in family papers. Parental supervision allowed travel at all ages, as the children of Sir John Perceval would demonstrate in Paris in the 1720s, but male adolescent or early-adult educational voyages, undertaken with a tutor or alone, required careful preparation that often involved an English preface.

The Southwells and Percevals gradually transferred their primary residence from Ireland to England over our period. Purchasing a clerkship to the Privy Council in 1664, Robert Southwell moved from Kinsale to London. Diplomatic missions kept him away for much of the mid-1660s and in 1671, but by the early 1670s he had purchased a property in Spring Gardens. At least in the early 1660s, the Percevals had also kept a London home, though they retained primary residence in Cork.¹²⁶ In 1679, Southwell completed the purchase of a house at Kings Weston, near Bristol, which he preferred as 'the place which my Father himselfe pitched on'.¹²⁷ Kings Weston became a base for Irish-resident Percevals, Limerick Southwell kin and Cork neighbours in England.¹²⁸ Sir Robert's son, the elder Edward, rebuilt the Elizabethan house in the early 1710s with chimney pieces carved in Cork, though by mid-century the younger Edward had perhaps cemented the family's West Country transition through involvement in Bristol politics and efforts to sell Kinsale lands.¹²⁹ Sir Robert saw it as a duty of care to Sir Philip Perceval, before his untimely death in 1680, to find him a similar English 'footing'.¹³⁰ Sir John Perceval, later first earl of Egmont, was Irish-born but,

¹²⁵ Edward Southwell to William King, Kings Weston, 3 Sep 1724, TCD Lyons MSS 1995-2008, f.2114.

¹²⁶ Helena Le Grand, 'Life of Sir Robert Southwell etc' [before 1702], BL Egerton MS 1634, f.21.

¹²⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 30 Apr 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.135.

¹²⁸ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.166; Sir Robert Southwell to Solomon Foubert, Kings Weston, 23 Dec 1682, Christ Church MS 427, letter 1; *Autobiography of the Rt. Hon. Sir Richard Cox, Bart. Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from the original manuscript, preserved at the Manor House, Dunmanway, County Cork*, ed. Richard Caulfield (London, 1860), p.12.

¹²⁹ Kerry Downes, 'The Kings Weston book of drawings', *Architectural history*, 10 (1967), pp.7-88; Edward McParland, *Public architecture in Ireland, 1680-1760* (New Haven and London, 2001), pp.1, 6; David Dickson, *Old world colony: Cork and south Munster, 1630-1830* (Cork, 2005), p.103.

¹³⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 6 Dec 1679, BL Add MS 46956B, f.107.

after the untimely death of his father John in 1686, lived under Southwell's guardianship in London and Kings Weston. The identification of England as one's 'own Country' was less problematic, then, in successive generations. The elder Edward Southwell, who spent his early life at Kinsale as a 'little Irish man', was mourned as 'a friend of Ireland'.¹³¹ Despite changing residence, English travel remained essential to male preparations for Europe in families that retained their Irish background. The younger Edward Southwell became 'acquainted with his own Country' by seeing 'every thing between London & Yorke', but he still described himself as 'Hibernus' in Padua. Questions of residence and identification will recur.

The travels of Almeric de Courcy indicate why journeys through England might have been deemed safe and improving for young men of Irish background. Periodic trips to various destinations in England featured heavily in plans to turn the young baron into a Protestant and anglicised nobleman. In June 1677, he and Benson saw Worcester, Hereford, Gloucester 'and ye parts thereabout' and in September he accompanied Fell into Sussex. It can be no coincidence that Benson took Almeric to three famous cathedral cities. Though evidence of further trips is thin, such journeys were a regular part of De Courcy's education before his matriculation in 1678. Benson informed Southwell that the trip into Sussex would 'conclude any other travailing till ye next Sumer' and Sir Robert had been allocating Almeric money 'for his Pocket in case of a voyage' throughout his stay at Oxford. De Courcy enjoyed these excursions. The journey to the cathedral cities had been 'so long promis'd and expected'. Almeric grew 'weary of Oxon' and indulged 'a rambling fancy' that was 'too apt to breed dislike of this place'.¹³² Sir Thomas Southwell's experiences of Oxford would encourage a

¹³¹ Sir John Perceval to William Byrd II, Bath, 28 Dec 1730, *Byrd correspondence*, i, p.439.

¹³² John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 5 Jul; 9 Sep 1677; 15 Dec 1680; 6 Feb; 25 Sep 1681, Christ Church MS 426, letters 15, 18, 35, 38, 43.

similar ‘fancy of removing’.¹³³ De Courcy was eager to get on with ‘ye prosecution of his iourney’ when invited to stay with Southwell in London for Christmas 1680 and seemed ‘very much satisfied with ye news’ of a summer voyage to Ireland the following year.¹³⁴

De Courcy’s tutor and guardians were selective in their enthusiasm for domestic educational travel. Benson incorporated edifying journeys but was wary of trips that might endanger Almeric’s proselytisation. The threat of his aunt’s influence clearly affected considerations, as Benson hoped that the boy’s ‘recreations’ in Oxford might ‘divert all thoughts & desire after London iourneys, which I fear would greatly retard our more serious affairs.’¹³⁵ Travelling around England correctly, however, was central to De Courcy’s anglicised and Protestant education. Here, perhaps, we can explain why an English frame of reference was so sought after by certain Irish-resident families, to the extent of expensive and time-consuming domestic journeys. Aside from any social benefits of appearing culturally anglicised and the need to acquire frames of reference for the continent, knowledge of England might help Irish Protestants to provide ‘a mighty guard upon that highest Jewel of your Religion’.¹³⁶

Although carefully-chosen English destinations were central to De Courcy’s Protestant upbringing, European travel was out of the question. As Almeric tired of Oxford, educational conventions demanded that his guardians consider continental experience, so usual a supplement to university among wealthy English-educated Irish residents. Ormond discarded the possibility for reasons that neatly encapsulate Irish Protestant attitudes. ‘To travell his fortune is too small to doe it with any advantage to him,’ he confirmed to Southwell, ‘& in his travell hee will bee as much exposd to perversion in Religion as in Ireland & something

¹³³ Henry Aldrich to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ Church, Oxford, 11 Oct 1683, Christ Church MS 427, letter 22.

¹³⁴ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 15 Dec 1680; 26 Jul 1681, Christ Church MS 426, letters 35, 41.

¹³⁵ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 1 Jun 1676, Christ Church MS 426, letter 1.

¹³⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.60.

more by splendid sights, & seeming mortifications of Popish churches & churchmen'. Ormond happily sent his own safely-Protestant grandson, James Butler, abroad from the age of twelve, but the duke concluded that De Courcy should stay at Oxford until 'it shall bee determined what to doe with him'.¹³⁷ Advice exhorted Protestant travellers to guard against 'pervertion in Religion' but, in the case of De Courcy, a forced convert from a powerful family, the potential improvements of travel were not worth the risk.

Acquiring skills

Journeys through England or Ireland afforded travellers 'some Standard' against which to view the continent, but also offered practice in skills that made for successful foreign travel. Domestic travellers were encouraged to record and relate all that was 'remarkable' and 'curious', practising approaches that would become central to European experiences and their retelling. Observational training was neither new nor restricted to travellers. From the sixteenth century, figures central to the rise of the 'new science' had been 'teaching the eye to see'; 'a new intellectual elite sought to teach Europeans how to see the world.'¹³⁸ Irish-resident natural-philosophical enthusiasts like Sir Robert Southwell, the Molyneuxs, St. George Ashe and George Berkeley encouraged such approaches among their families, dependants and pupils. The training of Irish Protestants for travel, however, particularly related to issues of residence and confession. Journeys through Ireland, England, Scotland or Wales also fortified their bodies against the hardships of longer voyages.

Rehearsals for 'the art of travelling' began early. Throughout our period, children practised epistolary description. Thirteen-year-old Almeric de Courcy sent Southwell an account of his journey into Sussex.¹³⁹ Coming up to Oxford for Hilary Term 1683, Sir

¹³⁷ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 19 Feb 1680, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.43/1.

¹³⁸ Joan-Pau Rubiés, 'Instructions for travellers: teaching the eye to see', *History and anthropology*, 9:2-3 (1996), p.140.

¹³⁹ John Benson to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 9 Sep 1677, Christ Church MS 426, letter 18.

Thomas Southwell took his thirteen-year-old brother William on a detour to Cirencester. Sir Thomas described the cathedral vault, where a guide regaled ‘any Curious’.¹⁴⁰ These accounts made trips worthwhile in Sir Robert Southwell’s eyes. Peter Stallybrass and Allon White use his advice to his fourteen-year-old son Edward, visiting Bartholomew Fair in 1685, to explore observational guidance and the laying out of appropriate frames of reference.¹⁴¹ Southwell was not alone. In 1679, Sir William Petty and his son Charles began a trip around the British Isles in order that his son might ‘before hee bee 8 yeares old ... give a good account of all that is remarkable in the 3 kingdomes.’ Visiting Kinsale on their forty-seven-day Irish leg, the Pettys were ‘full of observacons of what wee saw there on the sea and the Land’. William wrote on Charles’s behalf that ‘Hee intends to continue his Travells into the North of Ireland and thence to Edinbrough in Scotland, and thence with severall intermediate excursions to terminate at London.’¹⁴²

Besides practising epistolary description, early journeys hardened children to the physical demands of travel. Charles Petty was to become the consummate traveller by the age of eight. Sir William assured Southwell that his son ‘hath already learned to ride through such ways and weathers as I dare not, To bee content with such meat, drink and lodging as comes next to hands, As also to goe to bed and rise at com[m]and &c.’¹⁴³ Correspondence between Petty and Southwell often reveals the former as an educational maverick, but here he followed broader and long-lasting practices. Parents would continue to take pride in their children’s aptitude to travel. Sir John Perceval enthused that his son Johnny, whom he had brought to Paris in 1726, was ‘very Curious’, grew ‘very fond of Antiques’, improved his drawing and did not neglect his ‘learning’; Johnny was ‘the Eagerest lad for travelling I ever

¹⁴⁰ Sir Thomas Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 17 Jan 1682[3], Christ Church MS 427, letter 2.

¹⁴¹ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, *The politics and poetics of transgression* (London, 1986), pp. 118-124.

¹⁴² Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 18 Oct 1679, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.79-80.

¹⁴³ Ibid.

knew'.¹⁴⁴ Later that decade, 'Ned Molesworth [gave] his Mama a very pritty acct. of his Expedition to Portsmouth'.¹⁴⁵ Though the appropriate age for continental voyages had long been a vexed question, parents commonly introduced the young to observational travel in the comparative safety of the British Isles or under their own supervision abroad.

Domestic journeys were most influential when they immediately preceded journeys to the continent. Preparatory travel commonly involved the observation of curiosities, the hospitality of local gentry and, in England, a written account of Oxford and Cambridge. This latter feature was also common among Irish Protestants who toured England not as preparation but as a destination in itself. Edward Bond, a cloth merchant from Armagh, travelled from Bristol to London, Yorkshire and back to Dublin via Holyhead in 1706, finding Cambridge 'not so good as Oxford'.¹⁴⁶ The comparison was a familiar one; one correspondent from Kilkenny joked in 1678 that John Perceval spoke 'too like an Oxfordian to be beleiv'd in all you say of Cambridge'.¹⁴⁷ For some Irish residents, English journeys also allowed reconnection with English roots and interests.

Sir Philip Perceval's domestic travel, less comprehensive than the journeys of later relatives, covered the West Country ('some parts of England'), Cork and Dublin between June and September 1676. His English and Irish voyage formed part of a wider European whole, coming after Southwell's advice that his nephew was already 'embarquing in Travel, which at this your age, and capacity of observing things in the World, must bee the great Tryall and experiment of your life.'¹⁴⁸ The domestic leg was undertaken with Gailhard, his guide, and functioned similarly to later continental travels. The pair visited sights like Stonehenge and toured local towns with paid guides, treating the countryside as a network of

¹⁴⁴ Sir John Perceval to younger Edward Southwell, Paris, 7 May 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.169v.

¹⁴⁵ Coote Molesworth to Richard, third viscount Molesworth, [London?], 29 Jul [c.1728-30], NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

¹⁴⁶ 'Edw: Bond from Armagh in Ireland his book', PRONI D228/F/1.

¹⁴⁷ Arthur Bushe to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 16 Jul 1678 [not 1668, as in HMC], BL Add MS 46955B, f.37v.

¹⁴⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.102.

noble seats.¹⁴⁹ Sir Philip's travels reinforced his family's place in MacCarthy Morrogh's 'Munster/south-west England entity'.¹⁵⁰ Perceval and Gailhard enjoyed the hospitality of local notables, especially at Bristol while they waited for favourable winds, and visited Sir Robert Southwell's new purchase at Kings Weston, 'the most delighting place I think I ever saw'. Sir Philip even gave charity 'to Irishmen who playd upon the harp' in Bristol. With Perceval at home in the West Country, Gailhard feared that 'our staying in these parts, is a hinderance to the proposed ends' of instilling civility in his charge, because 'his friends here making much of him aweakens in him a former manner of life and conversation which I hope in due time shall be left of'.¹⁵¹

Moving into Ireland, Perceval and Gailhard continued their trial run of continental travel. During a later dispute, Sir Robert would remind his nephew that Gailhard was 'a Person that I took upon recommendation of our freinds, and some prooffe of him by your selfe after the journey into Ireland'. The crossing also provided a test of physical fitness to travel. Though his tutor reported that 'Sir Philip held one well att sea and was not sick', Perceval narrated a miserable voyage. The pair visited relatives and acquaintances in Co. Cork and Dublin. Sir Philip confessed that, had his uncle 'known before I came out of England what a long progress I should have made in this Country', he 'would scarcely have permitted mee to take this oportunity of seeing so manny frinds'.¹⁵² In truth, Southwell had more serious preparations in mind. Prior travel to Ireland would ensure that Perceval's European voyage turned to maximum advantage, improving his estate as well as his person. Sir Philip was to see 'the scope and territory which you are there to possess, the Inhabitants thereof, and the

¹⁴⁹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Salisbury, 9 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.104.

¹⁵⁰ Michael MacCarthy Morrogh, *The Munster plantation: English migration to southern Ireland, 1583-1641* (Oxford, 1986), p.281.

¹⁵¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Bristol, 14 Jun 1676; Jean Gailhard to Southwell, Bristol, 19 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, ff.108, 112-4.

¹⁵² Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676; Jean Gailhard to Southwell, Kinsale, 11 [Jul] 1676; Perceval to Southwell, Dublin, 25 Jul 1676; Perceval to Southwell, Spring Gardens, 7 Sep 1676; Southwell to Perceval, Spring Gardens, 14 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46953, ff.103, 129, 141, 160, 264.

Neighbours you are to live by'. He should also 'observe the situation and fabrick of your future Dwelling, that if you meet any contrivances abroad that may bee applicable to the use and ornament of your Home, or Estate, you may bring home the Improvements with you'. Perceval indeed took the opinions of employees and tenants, projecting improvements, though his brother Robert presumed that his 'chief designe' in Ireland would be 'enquiring who are his friends and who his foes'. Sir Philip also set up his predicted entry into public life after travel, waiting on Orrery but complaining that 'he was very indifferent to me'. Completing his Irish travel, Perceval admitted that Dublin was 'a place I little expected to see perhaps these many years', though Oxford and London had long been on his path to Paris and Rome.¹⁵³

If Sir Philip Perceval's English and Irish journeys prepared him for continental voyages and connected him to a network that straddled the Irish Sea, domestic travel within the Molyneux family served more scholarly purposes. Though Perceval had studied in London and Oxford, the Dublin-educated Molyneuxs relied on travel to experience 'the learning of Engl[and]'. There are fewer indications that William, Thomas and, later, Samuel consciously pursued English frames of reference for Europe. They lacked a domineering influence like Sir Robert Southwell or Robert Molesworth, but their scholarly endeavours also suggest that they saw Ireland, as well as England, as comparable to Europe.¹⁵⁴ Here they followed Robert Boyle's 1665 'General heads for a natural history of a countrey, great or small', which held that any countries were comparable if observed along strict guidelines by 'the Inquisitive and Curious'.¹⁵⁵ Finishing an epistolary account of the United Provinces, Thomas Molyneux

¹⁵³ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676; Robert Perceval to Southwell, Monmouthshire, 2 Jul 1676; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Dublin, 25 Jul 1676; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Kinsale, 18 Aug 1676; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, London, 9 Sep 1676, BL Add MS 46953, ff.103, 123, 141, 152, 166.

¹⁵⁴ Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities', p.170.

¹⁵⁵ Robert Boyle, 'General heads for a natural history of a countrey, great or small, imparted likewise by Mr. Boyle', *Philosophical transactions (1665-1678)*, i (1665-6), pp.186-9.

asked his brother ‘how far you are gone in the description of Ireland.’¹⁵⁶ William had begun his account as an Irish contribution to Moses Pitt’s atlas, though his queries might ‘be given as to any other Country whatsoever’. When the wider project fell through, William evidently continued work on his ‘heap of rude materials’.¹⁵⁷

William Molyneux’s son, Samuel, took up the project of an Irish natural history, recirculating his father’s queries.¹⁵⁸ Consequently, Samuel undertook domestic journeys that viewed Ireland as the equal of England, comparable with other destinations. On one occasion, he travelled through Kerry with Sir William Petty’s son, Henry. Denied the comprehensive British tour afforded to his elder brother Charles, perhaps Henry undertook this smaller journey as some substitute in later life.¹⁵⁹ Samuel sometimes struggled to compare Ireland with other destinations. In Connacht in 1709, he complained that ‘this is the way of most places where one is directed to see any thing Remarkable in this Kingdome one[’s] Expectation is much frustrated and often you meet with such a thing where Least looked for or directed to’. Samuel was determined, though, to observe settled Ireland as the equal of England. He came across ‘Multitudes of barbarous unciviliz’d Irish’ in Galway and ‘wild Barbarous boggy Countrey’ in Antrim, but visited noble seats in Co. Dublin that would ‘make no bad figure in England’, a canal in Westmeath that was ‘as fine as any ... in Engl[an]d’, clay in Kerry ‘Equal the English’ and inns around Dundalk ‘as good as most in England’. Perhaps the complexities of incipient patriotism reside in the fact that the parts of Ireland considered ‘wholly civilized’ were still those that most closely resembled England.¹⁶⁰ When Samuel travelled to the continent, Archbishop King reminded him that Ireland offered

¹⁵⁶ Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, 21 Jan 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.476.

¹⁵⁷ Hoppen, *Common scientist*, pp.21-2, 200-1.

¹⁵⁸ Hoppen, *Common scientist*, pp.192-4.

¹⁵⁹ Idem, ‘Molyneux’s tour of Kerry’, p.65.

¹⁶⁰ [Samuel Molyneux], ‘Journey to Connauaght [sic] April 1709’, TCD MS 883/2, ff.79, 86, 101, 103, 118, 131.

a direct comparison: in the United Provinces in 1713, ‘it wou’d be worth your while to compare wt you observe with what we have at home’.¹⁶¹

The Molyneuxs, encouraged by King, insisted that Ireland offered direct comparisons with Europe, but the observational opportunities and academic circles of England still featured prominently in their preparations for continental travel. Hoping that Thomas’s letters would ‘contain the diary of all your observations of any things remarkable’, William advised that ‘This method I would have you observe, not only when you are in Holland, but now whilst you stay in England’. His counsel arose from personal experience. Though William had never been ‘farther than England’, he wished ‘that I had observed any such method, either to myself, or some trusty friend, of noting down what was observable in the various places I was in.’ He had not, and was now ‘at a loss for several things I would give my little finger to retrieve, but cannot without visiting all those places over again.’ Thomas agreed that England should be observed according to the same methods as Europe. He avoided a detailed account of Oxford because the ‘curiosities’ there were ‘already so well described in books ... and so lately seen by yourself’. For Cambridge, however, he was ‘the more particular, because there is no book that gives any information of it.’ Thomas added a third dimension to the usual comparisons, though, comparing both universities to Trinity College, Dublin, a trait that he would continue in Paris.¹⁶² His nephew Samuel’s correspondence during English travel similarly portrays ‘a man on a journey of edification and self-improvement’ in 1713. Samuel described the ‘Curiositys’ of London, which he was shown by Francesco Bianchini, an Italian antiquarian and Catholic priest, and family contacts introduced him to Oxford.¹⁶³ Here we see the varying position of England in Irish Protestant thought: while the Southwells

¹⁶¹ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 10 Jun 1713, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, ff.164-5(102v-104).

¹⁶² William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 5 May 1683; Thomas to William, London, 15 May 1683; [Cambridge], 22 Jun 1683; London, 17 Jul 1683, *DUM* (Oct 1841), pp.313, 315, 321-3; Gillespie, ‘Contrasting communities’, pp.169-70.

¹⁶³ *The London letters of Samuel Molyneux, 1712-13*, ed. Paul Holden, Ann Saunders and Sheila O’Connell (London, 2011), pp.37-8, 47, 49; Paul Holden, “‘One of the most remarkable things in London’: a visit to the Lord Treasurer’s Library in 1713 by Samuel Molyneux”, *Electronic British Library journal*, 10 (2010), p.1.

and Percevals travelled through England, physically and conceptually, to the continent, the Molyneuxs crossed from Ireland to view England and Europe together.

Progressing around Britain in 1701, Sir John Perceval and William Byrd paid similarly attention to the observational and epistolary skills necessary for later continental travel. Between July and October, they moved from London, through East Anglia, up the east coast to York and Newcastle. After a short but revelatory foray into Scotland, they travelled down the west coast through Chester and the midlands to London. Byrd was keen to show that he was carefully preparing Perceval, nine years his junior. Before the standard trip to Cambridge, Byrd assured Sir Robert Southwell that ‘We are not negligent in our observations, but lay about us for matter to put into our journall.’ The visit to Cambridge left them with plenty of such ‘matter’, Byrd boasting that ‘I fore-see that our journals are like to swell into a volume, and we begin to prefer our performances to those of the florid Mr. Brome already.’ On the road, Perceval and Byrd read John Brome’s *Travels over England, Scotland and Wales* and Thomas Smith’s *De republica anglorum*, the latter ‘which we enter upon first, because it contains the most general information.’¹⁶⁴ They borrowed heavily from such books. Sir John’s description of Pool’s Hole in the Peak District draws on Brome and information on other curiosities is taken from Camden’s *Britannia*.¹⁶⁵ Lockridge suggests that Byrd’s English travel diary was inspired by Bacon’s ‘Of travel’ but it is far simpler to establish that Byrd was meeting the direct educational requirements of Sir Robert Southwell, a devotee of ‘ye writings of my Lord Bacon, wch. next to the Scripture he read most of all other.’¹⁶⁶

In their accounts of the English universities, Perceval and Byrd, like others before them, prioritise ‘the learning of Engl[and]’ in advance of continental travel. Sir John compared

¹⁶⁴ William Byrd II to Sir Robert Southwell, Harwich, 17 Jul; Norwich, 26 Jul; Cambridge, 5 Aug 1701, *Byrd correspondence*, pp.210-3.

¹⁶⁵ Wenger (ed.), *English travels*, p.147.

¹⁶⁶ Kenneth A. Lockridge, *The diary, and life, of William Byrd II of Virginia, 1674-1744* (Chapel Hill, 1987), p.32; BL Add MS 1634, ff.13-13v.

Oxford and Cambridge in terms of their churches, libraries, colleges and schools. In all he found Cambridge wanting, though he admitted on a tour of the colleges, led by Sir Robert Southwell's acquaintance John Colebatch, that King's College chapel was 'justly term'd one of the finest buildings in Europe.'¹⁶⁷ Perceval's entry into academic discourse was sold by Byrd as good preparation for the socialising effects of continental travel. Cambridge, where they dined with the vice-chancellor, provided conversational as well as observational preparation for travel. More generally, the Virginian noted that 'We talk French sometimes' on the road. Byrd promised Southwell that 'youll live to see him a credit to your instructions, and a great ornament to his country'.¹⁶⁸ This was somewhat ill-fated, as Sir Robert died the following year.

Sir John Perceval's travels around Britain are eloquent on the Anglo-Irish position of his family. Though he and the Virginian Byrd were 'aristocrats of the periphery', Perceval connected with his English roots as well as English learning.¹⁶⁹ Instructions from the antiquary Peter Le Neve told him to expect in Norfolk 'the Estates And Seat of Sr. Robert Southwell Knt. your Ancestor in the time of Hen: 8' and the place 'where liv'd in Queen Eliz. time Thomas Southwell Esq. & in K. James's reign Sr. Hen. Southwell Kt.' He would see Wood Rising, 'wch. So long entertain'd the Family of the Southwells'.¹⁷⁰ The anglicising effects of Perceval's pre-European British travels are best illustrated by his foray into Scotland. Safely back in Cumbria, he told a friend that he had 'been in the ancient Kingdom of Scotland, where my first days accomodations were so bad, that they deterr'd me from advancing further to Edinborrough as I at first intended.' Sir John's reasoning followed standard anti-Scottish stereotypes found in England. He mocked his hostess as 'a dirty

¹⁶⁷ Wenger (ed.), *English travels*, pp.68-74.

¹⁶⁸ William Byrd II to Sir Robert Southwell, Harwich, 17 Jul; Cambridge, 5 Aug 1701, *Byrd correspondence*, pp.210, 213.

¹⁶⁹ Lockridge, *Byrd*, p.32.

¹⁷⁰ Wenger (ed.), *English travels*, pp.170-8; Peter Le Neve to Sir John Perceval, 24 Jun 1701, BL Add MS 47025, ff.45v-53.

Female without Shoose or Stockings, who it seems was our Landlady' and imitated her accent, in which she ambitiously offered 'geud breed & geud Wine'. Perceval condemned Scotland in general, 'since tis well known, that set a louse upon a table, & he shall dutyfully direct his course Northward towards his Mother Country.'¹⁷¹ Socialising with dons, reconnecting with family history and penning an anti-Scottish diatribe, Sir John Perceval's domestic travels helped him to meet what Francis Parry, Sir Robert Southwell's diplomatic protégé, had told him was the central purpose of educational voyages. This was the 'design to live like Englishmen.'¹⁷²

British travel as an alternative

Other Irish Protestants might travel through Britain not as a precursor to continental voyages but as a safer or cheaper alternative. Robert Perceval visited Wales in 1676. As a second son, Robert was afforded travel fit for his standing. While his elder brother, Sir Philip, embarked upon an expensive three-year continental voyage, his younger brother, John, followed 'on ye globe & Mapps'. Discussing Sir Philip's preparations for continental travel, Robert recognised that 'I was not born to an estate and soe may not understand what belongs to the managing of one'.¹⁷³ John concurred, acknowledging that he was 'a younger sonne left without fortune', but envied 'ye great entertaynment my Brother [Sir Philip] finds in his Travells & ye variety of places he frequently visitts'. John wished that he had been 'born to such an Employment as might require a harmless ramble about some parts of ye World; butt that not being a thing permitted me either by my quality nor calling', he admitted that 'ye Grapes are sower because I can not conveniently come att them'. Travel was, he regretted,

¹⁷¹ Sir John Perceval to Digby Cotes, 18 Sep 1701, BL Add MS 47025, ff.54v-55v.

¹⁷² Francis Parry to Sir John Perceval, 24 Jun 1701, BL Add MS 47025, f.42v.

¹⁷³ Robert Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Monmouthshire, 2 Jul 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.123.

‘an accomplishment butt onely fitt for elder Brothers’.¹⁷⁴ Sir Robert Southwell intended such distinctions. The boys’ less active uncle, George Perceval, agreed in 1674 that ‘different estates they have, & ought therefore to have different education’. Continental travel had always been the path laid out for the eldest son, as George hoped ‘ere Sr Phillip quits English ground in order to his travels to give him a visit’, two years in advance of his departure.¹⁷⁵

Robert Perceval’s behaviour prior to his Welsh journey suggests that he might not have been deemed fit for foreign travel, regardless of his family standing. Ironically, his tutor at Christ’s College, Cambridge lamented that ‘his thoughts will be often pilgrims all the while & either wandring upon the coast of Africa or visiting the great Mogul.’¹⁷⁶ But a trip to visit Sir Philip at Oxford perhaps did most damage to his chances of lengthy travel. Robert had welcomed his brother to Cambridge in June 1675. Sir Philip made the usual tour and judged that ‘were it not for Christ trinity Kings and St. Johns Colledges Cambridge would bee butt a very poore university.’ The pair returned to Oxford together. Robert began similarly, describing the city and noting ‘the humour of this University’, in which ‘they are very free of their judgments espetially of Cambridge, and have noe regard of what others say of themselves, yett persist in ce[n]suring according as they think fitt’. He commented on the colleges, as was the norm. Southwell approved of his exemplary travelling, filing Robert’s letter as ‘his observations on ye Place’, but moods soured when Perceval began to enjoy Oxford life too much. He refused to return to Cambridge, justifying himself by the rule ‘wch the Oxonians give out, wch is, that noe body looses any thing by coming thither’.¹⁷⁷ His tutor and Southwell united in their condemnation, the former regretting that ‘his Oxford journey did

¹⁷⁴ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 23 Sep 1678; Lincoln’s Inn, 20 Dec 1679, BL Add MS 46956B, ff.125, 129.

¹⁷⁵ George Perceval to Robert Southwell (elder), Dublin, 3 Nov 1674; Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell (younger), Dublin, 3 Nov 1674, BL Add MS 46951B, ff.50, 52.

¹⁷⁶ Thomas Lynford to Sir Robert Southwell, Cambridge, 9 Feb 1674[/5], BL Add MS 46952, f.39.

¹⁷⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Cambridge, 7 Jul 1675; Robert Perceval to Southwell, Oxford, 20 Jul; 19 Aug 1675, BL Add MS 46952, ff.104, 119, 143.

a litle discompose the young gentleman himself as well as his cloaths for I could not perceive any great willingness in him to study for some time after his return unto us.¹⁷⁸

Disapproval of Robert Perceval's conduct in life was clearest in immediate responses to his death, a drunken murder on the Strand. Southwell encouraged Sir Philip and John to draw lessons from the culmination of a life in which 'my poore unfortunate Nephew, thought it his Master-peice to blind and delude me', 'despising or undervaluing all my Councells, and whatever else his dearest freinds could advise'. Sir Robert hoped that 'this great Example will have deepe Impression'.¹⁷⁹ John promised that his brother's death would 'occasion all his freinds to take more care how they live in this troublesome & uncertayn World, by drawing neere unto God'.¹⁸⁰ Learning of the murder in France, Sir Philip assured his uncle that he had intended 'before I had bin ten days older to have beggd you to suffer [Robert] to come over into this country thatt so hee might have travelld with mee, which might have binn a means to have weaned him from his extravagant acquainta[nce]'.¹⁸¹ Southwell had probably steered Robert towards domestic travel with precisely opposed reasoning. His conduct in the safe company of Cambridge, Oxford and London indicated that foreign encounters would be too dangerous.

Whether Robert Perceval travelled to Wales as a result of his position in the family, his misbehaviour or financial constraints, the journey was at times a substitute for continental experience. He stayed with the bishop of Llandaff at Mathern, across the Bristol Channel from Kings Weston, presumably in hope of moral improvement. Southwell had met the bishop, William Lloyd, in Portugal. While Sir Robert was envoy in the 1660s, Lloyd

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Lynford to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ's College, Cambridge, 2 Oct 1675, BL Add MS 46952, f.183.

¹⁷⁹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 7 Jun 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 7 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46953, ff.239-40, 243.

¹⁸⁰ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 9 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46953, f.252.

¹⁸¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 23 Jun/3 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46953, f.284.

ministered to the English factory at Lisbon.¹⁸² Letters survive from trips through Monmouthshire and Glamorganshire. Perceval treated Wales according to principles recommended for foreign travel. He ‘omitted not to make sure of everything I thought remarkable’ in his diary, but disdain for his second-rate destination meant that ‘reading it over I found many trivials things and very few worth a mans imprinting in his memory’. Clearly bored, Robert asked his brother to send ‘any Small Tract or book come newly out’. His one surviving description is of Abergavenny, a town ‘encompassed round about with the high hills (in likenes to Rome or Jerusalem)’. Continental travellers were encouraged to draw comparisons, though Robert’s drew on his reading at Cambridge rather than experience. In his only mention of the Welsh, Perceval noted that the highest hill near Abergavenny ‘was splitt at the top a great way downwards’, causing ‘the Papist there about’ to ‘belive that it rent asunder upon the passion of our Saviour, and have there-on Publick mass twice a yeare’. Robert observed that ‘some of them are soe superstitious, that they will not bury their dead unless they have some of that Earth to putt in the Grave with the dead Body’. These observations were what ‘stuck by’ him from Wales.¹⁸³ Robert’s focus on the theatricality of local Catholic practices precisely echoed the ways in which travellers told friends at home about Europe, but his birth and behaviour denied him such an opportunity.

French academies in London

A third of the way through our period, a new option arose for Irish Protestants with links to London. Attendance at French academies, appearing in the English capital from 1680, might precede or replace foreign travel. Such academies would spread to Dublin in the eighteenth century, but for our period they remained another aspect of the English-based education of

¹⁸² Stuart Handley, ‘Lloyd, William (1636/7–1710)’, *DNB*.

¹⁸³ Robert Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Mathern, [22 Jul 1676]; Robert Perceval to John Perceval, [Mathern?], 5 Aug 1676, BL Add MS 46953, ff.138, 148.

some affluent Irish residents.¹⁸⁴ Little work has been carried out on these finishing schools, with the exception of Manchée's seventy-year-old article on the Foubert family's Royal Academy.¹⁸⁵ Nevertheless, they offered wealthy families a valuable resource, rendering sons 'fit to travel' more expediently or taking on difficult cases who were not granted continental experience. In this way, they served the same ends as domestic travel, though differently. Evidence from Irish sources suggests that academies must have functioned similarly for English families with even easier access to London, though deeper investigation is required.

The Southwells extensively used Solomon Foubert's academy, set up in London in 1681. Foubert's celebrated Parisian institution was closed on account of his Protestantism in 1679, but its fame allowed for easy transferral to London with royal support.¹⁸⁶ Sir Philip Perceval's Huguenot companion, Alexandre de la Rasigade, reported the closure of the academy as they travelled through France. Rasigade took the news personally ('God wants us to sleep everywhere'), but there is no indication that Southwell was then acquainted with Foubert.¹⁸⁷ The support offered to Foubert by the Royal Society probably brought him into contact with Sir Robert, then a prominent member. The Royal Society afforded Foubert 'all the encouragement our recommendation could procure' to establish the academy in London 'by subscription of worthy gentlemen and noblemen for the education of youth and to lessen the vast expense the nation is at yearly by sending children into France'.¹⁸⁸ Southwell explained the new institution to Sir William King of Limerick, who apparently had little knowledge of the educational options available in England, as a 'very famous Academy in

¹⁸⁴ Máire Kennedy, *French books in eighteenth-century Ireland* (Oxford, 2004), p.29.

¹⁸⁵ W.H. Manchée, 'The Fouberts and their Royal Academy', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 16 (1937-41), pp.77-97.

¹⁸⁶ Manchée, 'Fouberts', p.79.

¹⁸⁷ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 15/25 Jan 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, f.11: 'Dieu veuille nous dormir partout'.

¹⁸⁸ Manchée, 'Fouberts', p.82.

London Governed by a french Gentleman Monsr. Foubert, where riding, french, Mathematicks, & all exercises are taught which are usually learnt in Travell.¹⁸⁹

If Southwell was unfamiliar with Foubert before his arrival in London, their friendship blossomed quickly. By Christmas 1682, Sir Robert requested his advice on Sir Thomas Southwell, acknowledging that he ‘would not be thus free but to soe good a friend as your selfe’. A draft of the letter reveals the seventeen-year-old’s problematic behaviour: he was ‘a Comely & Sprightly & ~~Sober~~ youth’. Sir Robert decided against candour, affording Foubert ‘some prospect of Sir TS ... my friend’. The teenager would ‘persevere in nothing, but runs from thing to thing before he halfe knows it’ and ‘speaks much more then he considers’. These were minor complaints often made about adolescents, but the letter was drafted just as Sir Thomas arrived at Kings Weston ‘to passe his Christmas’.¹⁹⁰ Matters would escalate during the holiday and deepen Foubert’s involvement, but for now the letter illustrates Southwell’s growing respect for the refugee’s educational opinion. The pair would maintain correspondence through the 1680s. Foubert suggested the employment of a nine-year-old Huguenot servant and interacted frequently with Lady Katherine Perceval, sourcing ‘a Coppell of Riding hatts’ for the Southwells at Kings Weston.¹⁹¹

Though Robert Perceval’s birth and behaviour had limited him to supervised Welsh travel, Foubert offered Sir Robert Southwell a new educational option. Almeric de Courcy’s increasingly awkward upbringing as an anglicised Protestant was dumped on the Huguenot. The young baron had become disdainful of bookish education, ‘swell’d with ye aiery notion of a bare title’ and physically abusive of his servants.¹⁹² Ormond had ruled out a European voyage but De Courcy might nevertheless receive some of the benefits of travel by boarding

¹⁸⁹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir William King, Kings Weston, 5 Oct 1683, NLI MS 664, letter 7.

¹⁹⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to Solomon Foubert, Kings Weston, 23 Dec 1682 (draft), Christ Church MS 427, letter 1.

¹⁹¹ Solomon Foubert to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 22 Sep, 2 Oct and 18 Oct 1688; John Sampson to Southwell, London, 13 Oct 1688, BL Add MS 38015, ff.322-8.

¹⁹² John Benson to Southwell, Oxford, c. Jan 1681, Christ Church MS 426, letter 37. ‘Servants’ is often misread as ‘sisters’, e.g. D’Alton, *Irish army list*, p.158.

at Foubert's academy. Benson resigned the seventeen-year-old 'into ye hands & care of Mon[sieu]r Foubert', with whom Almeric might 'at last seriously reflect on those great advantages wch were daily tender'd in Oxford for ye advancement both of Religion & Learning.' De Courcy received special treatment from Foubert, as Benson had 'hop'd he would undertake ye management of his L[ordshi]ps affairs together with his Person, wch with much seeming readiness he embrac'd.'¹⁹³ A young Irish Catholic nobleman, too fragile for continental travel, was handed over to a Huguenot refugee as part of an anglicised and Protestant upbringing.

Like domestic travel, Foubert's academy was not simply an alternative to European voyages. It might also prepare travellers for more profitable foreign experiences. Immediately after Sir Robert Southwell's request for Foubert's advice, his kinsman Sir Thomas's behaviour over Christmas 1682 soured familial relations. Sir Robert told the seventeen-year-old's Oxford tutor that it had become his kinsman's 'familir dialect' to 'Sweare, or Dam himselfe, or talke baudy'. Sir Thomas gambled with the servants 'noe matter of what Sort'. He stole the kitchen maids' bed clothes to 'leave them Naked' and boasted that 'he had layne with' Southwell's housekeeper. He incited arguments among the servants, one threatening 'to pistoll the other'. Fuelling his behaviour, Sir Thomas had enjoyed a 'punch boule (made of Brandy)'.¹⁹⁴ Sir Robert received no response from Aldrich, though he also recruited Sir Thomas's Irish guardians to 'afrighten my young man before he waded farr into Evill habitts'.¹⁹⁵ Unlike Robert Perceval, however, Sir Thomas's position as a landed eldest son meant that European travel was not easily dislodged from his educational itinerary.

Almost a year after the Christmas binge, Sir Robert Southwell confirmed that Sir Thomas should 'presently goe to travell' after Christ Church. At the same stage, Sir Philip Perceval had recently attended Lincoln's Inn before eleven months at Angers, learning

¹⁹³ John Benson to Southwell, Oxford, 25 Sep 1681, Christ Church MS 426, letter 43.

¹⁹⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Henry Aldrich, Kings Weston, 22 Jan 1682/3, Christ Church MS 427, letter 3.

¹⁹⁵ Sir Robert Southwell to Humphrey Prideaux, Kings Weston, 4 Apr 1683, Bod. MS Tanner 41, f.192.

French and genteel ‘exercises’ at a ‘place of settlement’ before further travel. Foubert’s academy, however, had ‘of late’ provided a cheaper option. Sir Robert deemed that ‘this place may be very proper to passe 6 Monthes in as many Englishmen doe, ye better to prepare them for the improovemt. of Travell.’ As with De Courcy, Foubert helped an Irish nobleman to draw closer to English norms. Sir Thomas’s guardians agreed that ‘the Academy will (as yu propose) bee the fittest place for his Education.’¹⁹⁶ Family finances eventually dictated, however, that Foubert serve as an alternative rather than preparation. In October 1684, Sir Robert recalled that, after Oxford, he had ‘proposed travelling and the necessity of a governor, but [Sir Thomas’s] estate would not supply a larger allowance, so the project fell to the ground.’ Sir Robert ‘then proposed him [Foubert’s] Academy, preferring it to the Inns of Court as being a place of some discipline’. Oxford would have been ideal, but Sir Thomas would not return to that ‘place of pedantry’.¹⁹⁷

As a corrective for faltering education, in preparation for Europe or as a cheaper alternative to travel, Sir Robert Southwell trusted Solomon Foubert. Others agreed. Arlington sent the fifteen-year-old James Butler back to Oxford after his father’s death in 1680 with ‘some repugnancy ... because I know ye discipline of Fouberts academy would have turned more to acc[oun]t with him, yn that of ye Colledge, & the excercises have done him more good, for his taile [i.e. build, bearing] wants it as wel as the strenght [sic] of his constitution’.¹⁹⁸ As with John Fell’s Christ Church, though, attachments relied on personal trust. Foubert died in early 1696 and his son took over the academy, but options proliferated.¹⁹⁹ That year, Southwell chose to send Sir John Perceval and his brother Philip for two years at ‘a french School then in great vogue, kept by Mr. Demure in Greek Street

¹⁹⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir William King, Kings Weston, 5 Oct 1683; King to Southwell, Killpenn, 6 Jun 1684, NLI MS 664, letters 7, 8.

¹⁹⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to John Pigott, Kings Weston, 18 Oct 1684, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.142.

¹⁹⁸ Arlington to Ormond, Arlington House, 17 Aug 1680, Bod. Carte MS 128, f.387v.

¹⁹⁹ Manchée, ‘Fouberts’, p.84.

near Soho Square'.²⁰⁰ He asked Hans Sloane to check on them.²⁰¹ Henry Petty had blazed the trail, 'fixt with Mr de Meurs' at the age of twelve in 1687 for Latin, 'good company', 'wise moralls' and, principally, 'Because his Mother will have it so.'²⁰² Families similarly used other French institutions in Westminster and London. Rather than bringing his brother Coote to Italy via the Netherlands, John Molesworth left him 'at a famous french school at London to file & finish him' through 'boarding and schooling'.²⁰³ Coote was 'too young to be capable' as his brother's secretary in Florence, spending two years at 'the school of Monsr. La Place, in Queen's Square, Ormond Street, to learn Latin, but chiefly French, to qualify him for going abroad, in publick business.'²⁰⁴ Like domestic journeys, Huguenot academies might provide either a safer and cheaper option for those morally or materially 'unfit' for travel, or a preparatory stage for the capable. Their growing repute raises an overarching question, however: if these institutions, within minutes' walk of each other, offered many of the quantifiable educational benefits of European travel by the 1680s, why did families persist with expensive, time-consuming and dangerous voyages?

'My little Irish man speaks nothing butt french'

So far, domestic travel and London academies have been the preserve of the sons of wealthy families, whether as preparation that made them 'fit' for continental journeys or as a suitable substitute. A more socially-comprehensive respect in which people were deemed fit or unfit to travel related to knowledge of European languages. Of course, acquired familiarity with foreign tongues was a main benefit of continental voyages. Sir Robert Southwell, Robert Molesworth and the Royal Society welcomed French academies to London precisely because

²⁰⁰ BL Add MS 47072, f.6.

²⁰¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Hans Sloane, Kings Weston, 13 Oct 1697, Royal Society EL/S1/23.

²⁰² Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Piccadilly, 4 Jun 1687, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, p.271.

²⁰³ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 6 Nov 1710, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

²⁰⁴ Coote Molesworth, Family history and pedigree, Feb 1765, in the possession of Mrs. Ann Molesworth; partly reproduced in Hugh Mayo, 'Robert Molesworth's *Account of Denmark*: its roots and its impact' (Syddansk Universitet, University of Southern Denmark, Odense, PhD thesis, 2000), pp.219-20.

linguistic improvement had previously drawn many travellers across the Channel unnecessarily. Nevertheless, aptitude in continental languages, especially French but also Italian or Dutch according to destination, might dictate whether someone was ‘apt to make good use of travelling’ in the first place. Though the acquisition of frames of reference or attendance at academies fell within the domain of privileged young men, knowledge of European languages was a standard against which all potential travellers could be judged, whether heirs, sisters, wives, employees or servants.

The only work on contemporary Irish familiarity with modern European languages forms part of Máire Kennedy’s study of eighteenth-century French books. Many of her findings seem equally applicable to the more affluent sections of late seventeenth-century Ireland. Kennedy’s contention that French was significant in the education of wealthy boys and girls from the early eighteenth century can probably be pushed back into the preceding decades, at least for the Southwells, Percevals, Molyneuxs and Molesworths, though we may dilute the assertion that ‘In the middle and higher levels of society in Ireland many were accomplished in French.’ Kennedy’s portrayal of teaching methods, that ‘Native French tutors and governesses were sought by wealthy families’, undoubtedly holds.²⁰⁵ Our predominant focus here on the French language might seem partial, but a ‘peaceful linguistic conquest of the continent’ was the finest demonstration of the ‘cultural hegemony achieved by Louis XIV’s France’ in the second half of the seventeenth century.²⁰⁶ For Irish Protestants who could afford to travel lavishly, moving among courtly and academic circles, French allowed access to the continental ‘beau monde’. Bysse Molesworth wrote from Stockholm at the age of twenty, noticing that the ladies of the Swedish court, whom he often met, could not ‘speak English but all French very well; & it happens well for me that ye last 3 Months I was in London I apply’d my self to French, (hearing yt I was to come abroad) so that I can make

²⁰⁵ Kennedy, *French books*, pp.164, 49, 31.

²⁰⁶ T.C.W. Blanning, *The culture of power and the power of culture: old regime Europe, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 2002), p.50.

shift to understand & be understood a little.’ This foresight had clearly worked in Bysses favour, as ‘The ladies are all very fair & most of ‘em handsom, much more free & civill then ye generallity of ‘em are in England’.²⁰⁷ For household staff, too, however, we will find that knowledge of French enabled interactions abroad.

French instruction was part of the education of male gentry and nobility from an early age. John Locke, revered by Robert Molesworth and an acquaintance of the Percevals and Molyneuxs, held that the language ought to be taught ‘by talking it into children in constant Conversation’.²⁰⁸ A young son’s proficiency in French might prompt family boasts. Sir John Perceval repeatedly told Robert Southwell, making his way through France and Italy, that the young Philip Perceval, aged between three and five, ‘grows up apace & will soon be able to bid you Welcome home in ffrench’.²⁰⁹ Travelling for himself, Sir Philip told Southwell that Sir Robert’s son Edward, staying with his aunt Lady Katherine Perceval in Kinsale for much of his early life, ‘begins to talke french’ just after his fifth birthday. Southwell’s eldest son, Rupert, was ‘an absolute frenchman’ aged seven.²¹⁰ After his untimely death, he was remembered for speaking ‘French with the same ease almost as English’.²¹¹ Later generations of Percevals would make similar boasts.²¹²

Early proficiency in French among the sons of wealthy families, though subject to exaggeration, often arose through the employment of French-speaking tutors. Robert Southwell seems to have received little instruction in French during schooling in Cork, Hampshire and Middlesex over the late 1640s and early 1650s.²¹³ For his sons, however, he took great care in the appointment of a French tutor and expected speedy results. In April

²⁰⁷ Bysses Molesworth to John Molesworth, Stockholm, 25 Jul 1719, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

²⁰⁸ Locke, *Some thoughts concerning education*, p.288; William Molyneux to John Locke, Dublin, 11 Sep 1697, *The correspondence of John Locke*, ed. E.S. de Beer (Oxford, 1976-89), vi, pp.191-3.

²⁰⁹ Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell, Ballymacow, 29 Nov 1659; London, 22 Nov 1661, BL Add MSS 46937, f.157; 46938, f.148.

²¹⁰ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 9 Sep 1676; Angers, 1 May 1677; Nantes, 18 Sep 1677, BL Add MSS 46953, f.166; 46954A, f.118v; 46954B, f.102.

²¹¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Helena Southwell, Spring Gardens, 31 May 1678, BL Add MS 38015, f.204.

²¹² M. Perceval to [Lady Catherine Perceval], London, 22 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, f.240v.

²¹³ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.5-5v.

1677, Southwell noted that ‘Rupy begins this day with a French man we have in the House, but ‘tis not Mr. Cuttrau for he disappointed us.’²¹⁴ A year later, Sir Philip Perceval presumed success, inferring from Rome that ‘Rupy and my little Irish man speaks [sic] nothing butt french by this time.’²¹⁵ Seven-year-old Edward was still resident in Kinsale. In the education of Sir Philip and his brothers, Southwell had taken similar care. He had ‘entertaind ... in his house Mr. James Pearant a frenchman to teach them that language’, but ‘Sr. Robert also would examine them himself’.²¹⁶ Sir William Petty similarly prioritised the appointment of a French-speaking tutor, bragging that Charles, at the age of six or seven, had ‘a wonderful proportion of French’. When Charles’s advances slowed, his father discovered the ‘leake in the Ship’: his tutor, Mr. Mesnil, had fallen in love with Lady Clancarty’s ‘French woman’.²¹⁷ William Molyneux, another follower of Locke, chose the Huguenot immigrant William Binauld, later a noted Dublin printer and bookseller, as tutor to his son Samuel, no older than nine in the late 1690s.²¹⁸ Later publishing in support of the Huguenot interest in France and Ireland, Binauld was an intriguing choice.²¹⁹ Richard Coote, earl of Bellomont and Robert Molesworth’s brother-in-law, consulted Locke directly on the choice of Frenchmen as tutors.²²⁰

Early progress in the French language, however hyperbolised, was strengthened by schooling away from home. Robert Molesworth found opportunities near his English lands at Edlington. In March 1700, he ‘resolvd to dispose of our boyes to some school or other assoon [sic] as I am able’, though Laetitia ‘woud admire how very well they talk french to ye french

²¹⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 30 Apr 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.135.

²¹⁵ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 27 Apr/7 May 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.136.

²¹⁶ BL Add MS 47072, f.2.

²¹⁷ Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, mid-Feb 1679; London, 25 Mar 1682, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.67, 97-8.

²¹⁸ William Binauld, *Epître à Mr. Molyneux* (London, 1715).

²¹⁹ Máire Kennedy, ‘Foreign language books, 1700-1800’ in Raymond Gillespie and Andrew Hadfield (eds.), *The Oxford history of the Irish book, Volume III, The Irish book in English, 1550-1800* (Oxford, 2006), p.371.

²²⁰ Bellomont to John Locke, London, 25 May 1697, *Locke correspondence*, vi, pp.131-2.

folks here.²²¹ The ‘french folks’ in southern Yorkshire were Huguenots whom Molesworth had encouraged to settle on his estate, though the plan fell through acrimoniously when they were ‘debauched’ into joining other immigrants near Peterborough. Molesworth’s plans were saved by ‘a brave conveniency (but tis threescore miles more north then Edlington) for boarding & teaching our 4 boyes: my Lord Lonsdale has set up at his own town a sort of Academy for none but gentlemen’s sons’. Between 1681 and 1684 John Lowther, first viscount Lonsdale, had built Lowther Newtown in Cumbria. The reputation of the school there was clear: Molesworth’s phrase, ‘for none but gentlemen’s sons’, appears Lonsdale’s own correspondence.²²² Molesworth was encouraged to send his sons there by the ‘near kinswoman’ of a family friend, who was ‘married to ye French master of that school’. Molesworth praised the school at Lowther Newtown as ‘a brave conveniency because it keeps their french.’²²³ Alongside the London academies, the Huguenot Refuge also provided provincial educational opportunities after 1685, whether in the employment of tutors or attendance at new centres of learning. Six-year-old Pole Cosby, from Stradbally in Queen’s County, moved twelve miles with his sisters Sarah and Betty to the Huguenot settlement at Portarlinton in 1709 ‘to School to learn french’. They ‘lodged at one Capt Frankforts a frenchman’s whose whole family talked french and some of the co’d not speak any English so we three learned french naturally and when we left Portarlinton we spoak it as well as English.’ When the Cosbys moved to York the following year, Pole attended ‘a Lattin and French School’ kept at Brotherton by the vicar Charles Daubuz, a Frenchman whose father had been a Huguenot minister. Pole boarded there for four years.²²⁴

Advances in French continued for those who attended university. The many sheets of simplistic and error-strewn French verse that surround Robert Southwell’s 1658 manuscript

²²¹ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 11 Mar 1700, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

²²² J.V. Beckett, ‘Lowther, John, first Viscount Lonsdale (1655–1700)’, *DNB*.

²²³ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 17 May 1700, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

²²⁴ ‘Autobiography of Pole Cosby, of Stradbally, Queen’s County, 1703-1737(?)’, *Journal of the County Kildare Archaeological Society*, 5 (1906-8), pp.85-6.

on travel suggest that the young man may have undertaken linguistic preparation at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn before leaving for Calais the following year. The King's College, Cambridge catalogue suggests that the manuscript is an abridgement of Southwell's, but it appears to be in his own hand. Though the document opens with formal advice on travel, which Southwell surely took with him to Europe, later entries were perhaps made on the continent; it remains unclear whether Southwell wrote French verse as linguistic practice before travel or recorded it as he journeyed through France.²²⁵ Progress was certainly slow: 'he could never venture to speak' until six months into his journey, 'tho he understood French in a Book'.²²⁶ In Paris, Southwell depended in some exchanges on Latin, in which his Oxford commonplace book suggests aptitude.²²⁷

Clearer evidence of the continuance of French at university comes from the next generation. Despite a rising parental expectation that French and Italian would be taught at Oxford, modern languages remained separate from 'serious' scholarship in the late seventeenth century. They only became a formalised part of the curriculum in 1724. Nevertheless, Oxford boasted a small community of competent linguists.²²⁸ Sir Philip Perceval informed Southwell of 'a little french man who dos teach att several Colledges in this towne', adding that he would see him in his rooms 'once or twice a week after supper time to read or talke with mee'. Extracurricular sessions would 'bee no hindrance in the least to anny of my other studys' but Perceval's tutor took French seriously.²²⁹ Benjamin Woodroffe asked Southwell to send, as an aid to these sessions, 'some noble History for him in French, as D'avila or wt other you may judge most conducive to ye good designes you

²²⁵ King's College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152.

²²⁶ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.10.

²²⁷ Bod. MS Eng. Poet. f6.

²²⁸ Mordechai Feingold, 'The humanities' in Tyacke (ed.), *History of Oxford*, iv, pp.270, 273; C.H. Firth, *Modern languages at Oxford, 1724-1929* (London, 1929), pp.2-3.

²²⁹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 21 Jan 1673[4], BL Add MS 46951A, f.8.

have for Him'.²³⁰ Sir Philip's 'little french man' was probably Hippolytus du Chastelet de Luzancy, 'a late convert to the English church' living in Christ Church on a pension.²³¹

John Perceval also spent time with Luzancy, 'upon whom' Southwell hoped he would 'wait often enough to support your ffrench.' Much of John's work with Luzancy involved epistolary technique. He wrote to Sir Robert of his Oxford routine in French, a letter that his uncle deemed 'in soe compleate a Stile that I sent it to your Brother Phillip, but he will Soone discerne that mr. Luzancy was more the author then you, whereof cleare your Selfe if you can.' John indeed saved himself, leaving Southwell 'glad the French Letter you sent me was soe entirely your own'.²³² Lady Katherine and Sir Robert forwarded letters to encourage John's improvement. In August 1678, his mother sent two: one from Etienne de Brais, the Huguenot minister of Saumur, was a 'very good arthograf' and another from Anne Le Fevre, governess to his sister Helena, attested that 'no woman' was 'able to writ french better'. Southwell told his nephew that 'because the Letters are writ in good ffrench she desires you should see them'.²³³ John agreed that they were 'soe well writt that when I have occasion to write in that language, I think I had best lay them before me & endeavour to imitate'.²³⁴ Robert Perceval fell under a similar regime in Cambridge. In 1676, Lady Katherine received 'a very good French l[ette]r from Robin which I am very well pleasd with'.²³⁵ Robert complained, however, that the only method 'to preserve my Frensh' at Christ's College was conversation with an unnamed fellow Irishman, 'who for want of discoursing with some body has Allmost lost his frensh'.²³⁶

²³⁰ Benjamin Woodroffe to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 6 Jan 1673[/4]; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Oxford, 21 Jan 1673[4], BL Add MS 46951A, ff.1, 8

²³¹ Wood, *Life and times*, ii, pp. 337-8.

²³² Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 3 Mar 1676/7; 9 Oct; 30 Oct 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.51; 46954B, ff.145, 190.

²³³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 21/31 Aug 1678; Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 29 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.80, 90.

²³⁴ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 2 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.101.

²³⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, [c.1676], BL Add MS 46953, f.224.

²³⁶ Robert Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Cambridge, 17 Dec 1674, BL Add MS 46951B, f.142.

James Butler, the future second duke of Ormond, learned French at Christ Church, Oxford in more explicit preparation for European travel. His stay in the late 1670s, from the age of thirteen, fell between continental voyages. Butler had recently returned from Orange, but his grandfather, the first duke, wanted him to maintain the language because it would ‘shortly be time to send James into France’ again.²³⁷ Ormond left his Oxford education ‘entirely’ to the ‘direction’ of Southwell and Fell, as he had with De Courcy. His one intervention was to insist that ‘by M. Drelincourt’s going with [James] & some French servant or servants he may be kept in the practise [sic] of the French language and mien’. The Huguenot tutor Peter Drelincourt may have known Ormond through the duke’s contact with his father Charles, the Charenton pastor and religious writer, during the royalist exile. Drelincourt was employed as James’s tutor between 1678 and 1681 but continued under Ormond’s patronage thereafter, rising in the Church of Ireland.²³⁸ The duke’s means allowed greater flamboyance, but he followed the common prioritisation of regular French conversation at university. Ormond was unusual, though, in stating his reasons, admitting that he himself only affected the French language and manner ‘because they are undeniably the most gracefull, & because it may an advantage ag[ain]st an enemy to be perfect in their dialect’.²³⁹ Time at Christ Church was essential preparation, but Drelincourt threatened plans. He quarrelled with college tutors, acted violently towards another Christ Church student and failed to control his pupil.²⁴⁰ Ormond was ‘much scandallisd & offended’ by ‘the miscariage of Mnsr Drelencourt’, almost resolving ‘to have no more to doe with ffrench men in that

²³⁷ Ormond to Arran, 7 Feb 1680/1, Bod. Carte MS 147, f.134.

²³⁸ Jane McKee, ‘The integration of the Huguenots in the Irish Church: the case of Peter Drelincourt’ in Randolph Vigne and Charles Littleton (eds.), *From strangers to citizens: the integration of immigrant communities in Britain, Ireland and colonial America, 1550-1750* (Brighton; Portland, OR, 2001), pp.442-50.

²³⁹ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 21 Jan 1678/9, Bod. Carte MS 70, ff.480-1.

²⁴⁰ Feingold, ‘Humanities’, p.271; Henry Aldrich to Ormond, Christ Church, Oxford, 31 Mar 1679; John Fell to Ormond, London, 9 Apr 1679, HMC *Ormonde*, v, pp.11-13, 39-40.

function', but Fell persuaded him 'that the mater was not so bad as represented'.²⁴¹ The duke was keenly aware of the fashion for French tutors.

Kennedy suggests that learning French afforded wealthy Irish families in the eighteenth century a sense of cultural prestige. Ormond's implication of educational trends and more widespread boasts of childhood proficiency at a young age suggest that this might be pushed back to the later decades of the seventeenth century. But James Butler demonstrates that French learning at university, often on the eve of European voyages for wealthy sons, might more practically aid travel. Four years later, Sir Robert Southwell informed Sir Thomas's Oxford tutor that 'If there were any way for him to gett a little ffrench without the interrupting of other things, he would presently travell when he goes into France, whereas else he must for a yeare be there only at Schoole.'²⁴² Again, French at Oxford was extracurricular; again, families reduced the cost of foreign travel through domestic options. Sir Robert's determination that Sir Thomas acquire 'a little ffrench' also suggests, however, that his Limerick education was less linguistic than the upbringing enjoyed by the Southwells and Percevals of Co. Cork, London and the West Country, the Molesworths of Co. Dublin and Yorkshire, and the Molyneuxs of the Irish capital. For the eighteenth century, Kennedy certainly shows that levels of education in French varied provincially.²⁴³ University was the place to rectify this omission, rendering Sir Thomas fit to travel.

French was prominent in the education of wealthy young men, but linguistic skills were also prized among wives and daughters in the same families. For those few women who visited the continent, this aptitude was sometimes linked directly to fitness to travel. Lady Katherine Perceval oversaw the linguistic education of her sons, selecting exemplary letters from her own French correspondence and judging their efforts. What was her linguistic grounding? A memorandum book kept by Lady Katherine's father indicates that, in 1665, he

²⁴¹ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 23 Apr 1679, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.25/1.

²⁴² Sir Robert Southwell to William Breach, Kings Weston, 5 Oct 1683, Christ Church MS 427, letter 21.

²⁴³ Kennedy, *French books*, p.128.

was making unremarkable monthly payments to ‘ye ffrenchman’.²⁴⁴ By this point, she had left the family home at Kinsale, but her brother was schooled in England over the 1650s; any French tuition would have been hers. Lady Katherine must have maintained her linguistic skills, presumably through reading and possibly in conversation. Travelling to France at the age of forty, she understood preaching, befriended locals and kept up French correspondence.

Lady Katherine Perceval’s French left her ‘apt to make good use of travelling’ that she undertook solely for medical reasons but, for other women, linguistic knowledge might relate more directly to overall fitness to travel. Mary Middleton married John Molesworth in September 1718 and was immediately expected to improve her command of foreign languages, befitting her new role as a diplomatic wife. Laetitia Molesworth had employed a ‘frenchman’ in the 1690s, when her eldest girls were in their teens, suggesting that language tuition was already established within the family.²⁴⁵ Mary, who came from an Essex family, may not have received the same grounding. Within a year of marriage, John insisted that she improve her linguistic ability before she left for the continent. By his ‘commands’, Mary wrote, ‘I go one with french but dont I make very little progress not haveing any body to converss with’. She struggled with ‘a book a long time and git but little’, settling on ‘a new Method, and that is Translateing which I think more improves one’. John adopted the same approach as the Percevals: Mary begged him to ‘send me no more french letters it is a great torment to lose one word, and I am not half the Mistress of that Language as you imagin and what is worst I find I shall never learn’.²⁴⁶ Mary’s difficulties in adulthood contrasted unfavourably with other female members of the family. Robert Molesworth’s daughter, the poet Mary Monck, who had probably learned French from the family employee in the 1690s, taught herself Latin, Spanish and Italian before 1715 ‘in a Remote Country Retirement,

²⁴⁴ Robert Southwell’s memorandum book for 1661-7, NLI MS 14910.

²⁴⁵ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, London, 6 Dec 1698, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

²⁴⁶ Mary Molesworth to John Molesworth, London, 12 Sep and 1 Dec 1719, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

without any Assistance but that of a good Library', though her European experience was similarly confined to reading.²⁴⁷

The equation of linguistic skill with fitness to travel extended beyond the sons and daughters of wealthy families, manifesting even more clearly in the cases of servants and employees. Here we might consider John Lugg, who travelled to France with Lady Katherine Perceval, and William Edgar, who did not. Lady Katherine took Lugg on the recommendation of her mother, Helena Southwell, as 'a Marchant of Kinsale who has formerly bin acquainted with France'.²⁴⁸ Such familiarity was probably common, with the flourishing state of Co. Cork's ports towards the end of the seventeenth century, and families used mercantile contacts for the practicalities of travel.²⁴⁹ It transpired, however, that Lugg's knowledge of France did not extend to the language, on which the Percevals set a premium. Sir Philip, then with his mother in Saumur, informed Sir Robert Southwell that Lugg 'seemd a very unnessesary moovable being master onely of as much french as would keep him from starving.' Sir Philip echoed his Huguenot companion's earlier verdict, that the merchant was 'un meuble inutile en france'.²⁵⁰ After Lugg, Lady Katherine was more careful about her employees' fitness to travel. The following year she asked her mother to tell William Edgar, a member of their estate staff, 'that he need not come for his want of the french Language would make him soe much at a los that it would be very inconvenient'.²⁵¹ The idea that familiarity with French rendered one 'apt to make good use of travelling' was not, however, simply imposed by employers. Deborah Fowler, the Percevals' housekeeper, attended sermons at Saumur during the 1677 Synod of Anjou, writing that 'we have a church veri

²⁴⁷ Robert Molesworth (ed.), *Marinda. Poems and translations upon several occasions* (London, 1716), dedication.

²⁴⁸ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 12 Jun 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Bath, 10 Jul 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.260; 46954B, f.9.

²⁴⁹ Dickson, *Old world colony*, p.113ff.

²⁵⁰ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Nantes, 12/22 Oct 1677; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Saumur, 29 Oct 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, ff.152v, 168.

²⁵¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 17 May 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.155.

neare us which my lady is early at and sum of us'. Lady Katherine's education meant that she could instantly benefit from Huguenot preaching. Fowler acknowledged that she and other employees could 'understand veri littell', but she hoped that 'we may in good time'.²⁵² Some servants would receive French tuition during travel.

Conclusions

Lady Katherine Perceval's efforts to reach France from Kinsale provide an apt metaphor for late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Irish Protestant preparations for continental travel. She wanted to sail directly from Cork to La Rochelle, a 'much speedier' voyage advised by the sovereign of Kinsale, John Mountfort. Her brother warned her, however, to cross the Irish Sea and sail instead from England for fear of pirates.²⁵³ In ideological and cultural terms, too, real and imagined dangers encouraged Irish Protestants to reach Europe through England. The Percevals and Southwells, and to a lesser extent the Molesworths, set out to acquire English frames of reference, making these a precondition of travel. These families gravitated towards England in terms of schooling and, increasingly, residence. Others, like the Molyneuxs, felt that Ireland was comparable with Europe. For all, though, 'the learning of Engl[and]' was a point of access to the continent. The Cork solicitor Robert Thyrry's link between learning and European travel suggests that these notions were current at several levels of society, but expensive preparatory education and domestic travel were beyond the means of all but the wealthiest male Irish Protestants. Physical wellbeing and proficiency in European languages, especially French, nevertheless provided more widespread ways in which men, women and children might be 'apt to make good use of travelling'. A common language deemed one 'fit' or 'unfit' to travel.

²⁵² Deborah Fowler to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 2 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.198.

²⁵³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 8 Jun 1677; Southwell to Perceval, Spring Gardens, 16 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.245v, 272.

These conclusions are allowed by deep consideration of a small ‘discourse community’ of Irish Protestants. They are necessarily tentative, therefore, but broader studies have proved unable to include preparations for European travel. Nevertheless, it is clear that, for Protestant families of Irish residence or background, we need to complicate what Cohen calls ‘the construction of the English gentleman in France’.²⁵⁴ For the Irish ‘aristocracy of the periphery’, the first steps towards anglicised socialisation through travel were taken in the British Isles rather than on the continent. It was in his journey through England and Ireland, rather than his subsequent time in France and Italy, that Sir Philip Perceval began ‘the great Tryall and experiment of your life’.

How might Irish Protestant preparations compare with those of ‘peripheral’ travellers from elsewhere in the Three Kingdoms or the English Atlantic? Familiarly, preparations are rarely considered in existing historiography. As with our Irish examples, Scottish outlooks probably differed according to individual and family circumstances. In 1714, decidedly after the union, John Macky reminded ‘the Young Gentry and Nobility of Great-Britain’ to acquire ‘a *full idea* of your own Country’, which would enable ‘suitable parallels, when you shall go to Travel into other Nations; and will likewise guide you in your *Conversation* amongst Foreigners, to keep up the true Value of your own Kingdom’.²⁵⁵ We should not confuse prescription with practice, however. Scottish travellers like Sir John Lauder in 1665 inevitably reached western Europe through England, but the isolated evidence of his journals suggests that, more like the Molyneuxs than the Southwells, he saw the sights of London as the first observations of a foreign tour.²⁵⁶ We are twice denied an example of Virginian travel to Europe by William Byrd. His potential voyage with Sir John Perceval in 1702, for which they had acquired skills and frames of reference in England, was postponed. When Perceval

²⁵⁴ Cohen, ‘Grand Tour’.

²⁵⁵ John Macky, *A journey through England. In familiar letters from a gentleman here, to his friend abroad* (London, 1714), p.i. His italics.

²⁵⁶ Donald Crawford (ed.), *Journals of Sir John Lauder, Lord Fountainhall, with his observations on public affairs and other memoranda, 1665-1676* (Edinburgh, 1900), p.1.

finally set off in 1705, Byrd was in America. The Virginian would return to London but when Edward Southwell proposed that ‘Bird and I should have gone’ to Paris in 1718, he was ‘not just now in town’.²⁵⁷ It is likely, however, that the settler populations of Ireland and America were keener than travellers from Scotland to acquire English frames of reference.

At a time when Irish Catholic educational voyages to the continent were often underground enterprises and, from 1695, officially banned, Church-of-Ireland members needed to demonstrate firm anglicisation and Protestantism before travel. Despite Almeric de Courcy’s proselytisation and nobility, he could not be exposed to the ‘pervertion’ of Catholic Europe. For McBride, building on flourishing scholarship led by O’Connor, Catholic travel to the continent partly answers the eighteenth-century question of ‘How Catholic Ireland survived’.²⁵⁸ De Courcy’s experience suggests that contemporary Protestants came to similar conclusions. But if continental encounters helped Irish Catholics to resist drives towards anglicisation and Protestantism at home, the wealthier elements of the Protestant community undertook journeys with precisely opposed thinking. European voyages connected Irish Protestants to the continent in ways that we will now explore, but they were often considered as part of an anglicising process that began in England. Participation rendered one ‘apt to make good use of travelling’, the final end of which was to ‘live like Englishmen’.

²⁵⁷ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, London, 31 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, f.244.

²⁵⁸ McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, pp.223-9.

3. Expertise and Advice

In 1723, Edward Southwell accompanied his eighteen-year-old son, also Edward, to France and Lorraine.²⁵⁹ Archbishop King commended him for taking such care over the young man's education but the duke of Grafton saw through the scheme. The Lord Lieutenant told King 'that it was his opinion, that [Southwell's] son was only a pretence and that it was the love [he] had of running about put [him] on this progress.'²⁶⁰ Grafton was probably right. In the late 1680s, Edward Southwell had been denied what was becoming a standard continental addition to university education, at least among eldest male members of his family. Against Sir Robert's cautious approach to 1688, he had rushed off in his 'Campaine Habbitt' to join the Williamite cause at seventeen and in 1690 had joined his father, administrating the war effort in Ireland.²⁶¹ Political events denied Edward Southwell a lengthy period of educational travel but he made up for lost time, twice visiting the United Provinces with government officials in the 1690s. In 1714, at the age of forty-three, he made a belated first trip to France; four years later, he found Paris 'a more diverting place then Bath or Tunbridge or even Wexford waters'.²⁶² In truth, King also surmised Southwell's real reasons for accompanying his son five years later, noting that 'you only want Italy and Spain to compleat yr. Travells for which I suppose you will take another opportunity'.²⁶³

Active parenting was otherwise rare because adolescent male educational travel was commonly treated as a rite of passage in which removal from the family was paramount.

²⁵⁹ Edward Southwell, *Journal of travels in Lorraine and France* (1723), BL Add MS 34753.

²⁶⁰ William King to Edward Southwell, Dublin, 2 Dec 1723, TCD Lyons MS 2537, f.30.

²⁶¹ Richard Mulys to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 10 Dec 1688, NAL Forster MS 47.A.42, f.9; Philip Madoxo to Southwell, London, 4 Oct 1688; Philip Madoxo to Edward Southwell, London, 5 Jun 1690, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 54, ff.136, 218.

²⁶² Edward Southwell to William King, London, 9 Oct 1718, TCD Lyons MSS 1995-2008, f.1881.

²⁶³ William King to Edward Southwell, Dublin, 2 Dec 1723, TCD Lyons MS 2537, f.30.

Travellers were to return as men, taking an immediate part in adult affairs.²⁶⁴ Sir Robert Southwell regretted the illnesses that had supposedly confined his travels to a ‘Lower sphere and somewhat more feminine’. Ideally, travel was instead to furnish the young with ‘materials to enter into Manly Conversation’.²⁶⁵ Explanations still assumed preparations for a life in service to one’s prince and nation, maintaining sixteenth-century Baconian language. A more tangible indication of travel’s role in the transition to adulthood, though, is that many who ventured abroad in their late teens or early twenties were married within weeks or months of their return. European travel was to effect lasting changes. Although Edward Southwell’s continental experience was piecemeal, his father sent him abroad for the first time in 1691 with the warning that the world would ‘from this very Crisis pronounce of you for the Rest of yr life.’²⁶⁶ Sir Robert elsewhere described educational travel as ‘the harvest of a man’s life’, invoking Burghley, and in his own appropriately natural-philosophical terms as ‘the great Tryall and experiment’ of life.²⁶⁷

As harvest, trial or crisis, voyages were supposed to be transformative but this naturally led to anxieties over the kind of transformation encouraged by exposure to foreign lands. Warneke charts sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century English fears of corrupting European voyages.²⁶⁸ Anxieties certainly persisted among Irish Protestants in later decades. John Perceval hoped that his brother would ‘bring what many have left behind, who have only brought the worst (if any) accomplishmt from’ France.²⁶⁹ Despite Edward Southwell’s supervisory solution, parents and ‘friends’ more usually sought to shape continental

²⁶⁴ Chloe Chard, *Pleasure and guilt on the Grand Tour: travel writing and imaginative geography, 1600-1830* (Manchester, 1999), p.36; Cohen, ‘Grand Tour’; Bruce Redford, *Venice and the Grand Tour* (New Haven; London, 1996), p.15.

²⁶⁵ Sir Robert Southwell to [Gabriel Towerson]; Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MSS 38015, f.34; 46953, f.103.

²⁶⁶ Sir Robert Southwell [annotated by Edward Southwell], ‘From Sr. R.S. fathers advice on my going to Holland’, London, 19 Jan 1690/1, BL Add MS 38015, f.390.

²⁶⁷ King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, f.3; Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.102.

²⁶⁸ Sara Warneke, *Images of the educational traveller in early modern England* (Leiden, 1995)

²⁶⁹ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Oxford], 28 Sep 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.179.

encounters through letters of advice. Such correspondence often spells out practices that would be assumed of young Irish Protestants on the continent and in later life.²⁷⁰ Epistolary advice was usually bestowed upon wealthy first-born sons, the objects of most theorising, but some of its themes were common across families. We will begin by establishing the bases of expertise from which advice was offered, moving to explore its common prioritisation of conversation and observation. These emphases are demonstrated by the exclusion of Iberia from most itineraries. The chapter will conclude with the employment of travelling tutors, who reinforced parental advice for the young or impressionable.

Travel advice was bestowed by authoritative individuals, who accrued expertise in various ways. Familiarly for early-modern approaches to learning, advice tended to set personal experience in opposition to vicarious encounters through reading. Prominent Irish Protestants, especially those involved in the Royal Society or the Dublin Philosophical Society, prioritised knowledge earned through first-hand observation. We will focus on the expertise stockpiled and shared by Sir Robert Southwell, Robert Molesworth and Archbishop William King. Partially, as we established in the introduction, this is a product of surviving material, but contemporaries clearly saw Southwell, Molesworth and King as authorities on travel. They were experts who sought to shape continental encounters.

Sir Robert Southwell

Untimely deaths set Sir Robert Southwell in a position of authority over two generations of the Southwell and Perceval families. Educational expertise and, from the late 1660s, residence comparatively close to English centres of learning also left him to supervise the upbringing of neighbours and more distant kin. Southwell was thought particularly knowledgeable on continental travel, predominantly on account of first-hand experience. He

²⁷⁰ Henry French and Mark Rothery, “‘Upon your entry into the world’: masculine values and the threshold of adulthood among landed elites in England 1680-1800”, *Social history*, 33:4 (Nov 2008), pp.402-422; Peter Burke, *The art of conversation* (Cambridge, 1993), p.92.

visited France, Italy, Germany and the Low Countries in 1659-62. Knighted in 1665, he returned to the continent three times in a diplomatic capacity. Though diplomatic frustrations led Southwell to consider bidding ‘a Diew to Forreigne Pilgrimages since I am soe unfortunate in them’, he was posted to Brussels in 1671 and Brandenburg in 1680.²⁷¹ His father-in-law, Sir Edward Dering, sent his twenty-three-year-old son Charles with Southwell on the latter journey, ‘taking this opportunitie to let him see this part of Europe under so good a guide.’²⁷² Relatives deferred to Southwell on account of his continental experience. Faced with the ‘strange Revolutions’ of 1688, his cousin Richard Mulys realised that ‘yu saw somthing like it in Portugall But my weakness can make no conjecture soe as to frame Judgmt upon it: But stand & Gaze’.²⁷³ Advising others, Southwell drew on personal experience. During his first travels he directed Edward Howard towards the English-speaking contacts that had shaped his own time in Italy. Years later, Southwell advised his nephew Sir Philip Perceval on the value of conversational flattery, imparting ‘my owne pratice when I was in Travell’. This included ‘the methods that I used to Ingratiate my selfe with the best sort of People’.²⁷⁴

Southwell’s pool of expertise moved beyond personal experience. There is little evidence that he received familial guidance before his first travels in 1659. Southwell’s father described himself as an unrefined provincial and never travelled beyond London, where he tellingly sought a fellow Cork man, Robert Boyle.²⁷⁵ Nor did the younger Southwell’s advice from Sir John Perceval, that it was ‘a pittie that soe considerable a parte of Europe as Germany is should passe unsaluted’, require continental experience beyond the examination

²⁷¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Thomas Lloyd, Lisbon, 12/22 Jan 1667/8, BL Add MS 35099, f.59.

²⁷² Sir Edward Dering, Account Book of April 1680 to April 1683, *The diaries and papers of Sir Edward Dering, second baronet, 1644 to 1684*, ed. Maurice F. Bond (London, 1976), p.117.

²⁷³ Richard Mulys to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 10 Dec 1688, NAL Forster MS 47.A.42, f.9.

²⁷⁴ BL Add MS 38015, ff.36-9; Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.59v-60.

²⁷⁵ Robert Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 31 Oct 1671, BL Add MS 38015, f.127; Southwell to Robert Boyle, Kinsale, 30 Mar 1676, *The Correspondence of Robert Boyle*, ed. Michael Hunter, Antonio Clericuzio and Lawrence Principe (London, 2001), iv, pp.407-8.

of a map.²⁷⁶ Southwell ascribed his travels to Ormond's 'instigation', though it is unclear whether the duke offered advice.²⁷⁷ Certainly, the young man's diligent preparation of 'Agendas' for Paris and Rome suggests that he took much of the enterprise upon himself, beyond the encouragement of Robert Boyle and Henry Oldenburg.²⁷⁸ Perceval promised, however, that 'you will meet with those in your travels that will be better able to advise you'.²⁷⁹ English-speaking travellers indeed exchanged information on routes, contacts and strategies. Southwell met the Englishman William Paget at Lyons in October 1659.²⁸⁰ Paget had been on the continent for at least three and a half years and shared such practical wisdom as 'the best living in Rome', the treatment of injured horses, 'the way to Profitt' with cardinals and the maintenance of 'repute with an Italian'.²⁸¹ During the Interregnum, many English, Scottish and Irish travellers killed 'otherwise unpleasant time' on the continent, accruing expertise and establishing networks that laid the foundations for later generations.²⁸² Southwell, who left Ireland in the dying days of the Cromwellian regime, remained an authority on travel until his death in 1702, after which his example remained.

Beyond what could be assembled from experience and conversation, reading contributed to Southwell's continental expertise. Unfortunately, his library is dispersed. Nor do we have a record of his books without the additions of his son Edward and great-grandson, the twentieth baron de Clifford.²⁸³ We can, however, pinpoint Southwell's reading and thinking about travel at various stages, beginning with his 1658 compilation of printed advice. The manuscript relies on reading presumably undertaken at Oxford and Lincoln's Inn, though

²⁷⁶ Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell, Ballymacow, 29 Nov 1659, BL MS Add 46937, f.157.

²⁷⁷ [Robert Southwell to Ormond], draft, 16 Apr 1661, NAL MS Forster 47.A.39, f.8v.

²⁷⁸ BL Add MS 58219, ff.36, 36v; Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, Paris, 17 May 1659, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, p.252.

²⁷⁹ Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell, Ballymacow, 29 Nov 1659, BL MS Add 46937, f.157.

²⁸⁰ BL Add MS 58219, f.49; Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, 30 Oct 1659, BL MS Add 38015, f.7.

²⁸¹ Colin Heywood, 'Paget, William, seventh Baron Paget (1637–1713)', *DNB*; BL Add MS 58219, ff.49–50v.

²⁸² Edward Chaney, *The Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion: Richard Lassels and 'The Voyage of Italy' in the Seventeenth Century* (Geneva, 1985), p.99; Michael G. Brennan, *English Civil War travellers and the origins of the Western European Grand Tour*, Hakluyt Society Annual Lecture, 2001 (London, 2002).

²⁸³ Thomas Thorpe, *Catalogue ... containing the greater portion of the united libraries of Sir Robert Southwell ... his son, the Hon. Edward Southwell, and the late Lord De Clifford* (London, 1834).

later French entries suggest that Southwell may logically have taken it with him to the continent. Beginning with the maxim, sometimes attributed to St. Augustine, that ‘The world is a book full of profitable instructions, & the best study of it is by travell’, Southwell asserts that ‘The cheif advantages of travelling are education experience & languages’. Without citation, he draws on seventeenth-century English works for detailed instructions. Observational directions are lifted from Bacon’s essay ‘Of travel’, listing royal and ecclesiastical courts, infrastructure, seats of learning, military buildings, cultural events and ‘whatever else is curious’. Bacon’s ‘Of expense’ suggests how to limit costs abroad, alongside Francis Osborne’s *Advice to a son*. Directions on good company, in which knowledge is gleaned but religious divisions avoided, are taken from Bacon, Osborne and Henry Peacham’s *Compleat gentleman*. Southwell mixes conduct literature with quotations from Cicero and Juvenal, as well as the biblical example of Abraham. The compilation ends with a maxim taken from Bacon’s *Advancement of learning*, that ‘Silence is the virtue of fools’.²⁸⁴ The 1658 manuscript today forms part of Isaac Newton’s papers and Southwell seems to have shared his collated advice with his fellow member of the Royal Society. Certainly Newton’s 1669 letter to Francis Aston, another young traveller with an interest in natural philosophy, quotes or paraphrases Southwell’s manuscript without acknowledgement, even in passages not lifted from Bacon, Peacham or Osborne. Newton’s debt is especially clear in advice on cautious conversation and careful observation.²⁸⁵

Southwell continued to read about European voyages. After educational travel and the bulk of his diplomatic work, his commonplace book for 1674-85 covers a period mostly passed in London and Gloucestershire. Entries are infrequently attributed, combining reading and Whitehall conversation with politicians and foreign ambassadors. They suggest,

²⁸⁴ King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, ff.2, 4, 4v-6, 8v, 9v; Bacon, *Essays*, pp.113, 145; Osborne, *Advice to a son*, pp.59, 66-9, 75; Peacham, *Compleat gentleman* (London, 1634); Bacon, *Of the advancement and proficience of learning*, trans. Gilbert Watts (Oxford, 1640), p.315.

²⁸⁵ Isaac Newton to Francis Aston, Trinity College, Cambridge, 18 May 1669, *The correspondence of Isaac Newton*, ed. H.W. Turnbull et al. (London, 1959-77), i, pp.9-12.

however, that Southwell remained attuned to the behavioural requirements of travellers during a period in which he advised several family members. He recorded wisdom on friendship and conversation in Italy, on which he advised Sir Philip Perceval, noting that a traveller should ‘find out some principle that may carry you from one End to the other.’²⁸⁶ Perhaps some undated entries were made with Perceval’s voyage in mind. Southwell recorded that ‘Civility makes you welcome where ever you come and Costs nothing the Carryage’, an observation taken from Erasmus and included among entries on Rome, German travellers, Spanish families and Rycaut’s *Present state of the Ottoman empire* (1665).²⁸⁷ Pleading that he could not entirely avoid bad company in France, but perhaps too that he had listened to his uncle’s advice, Perceval thought ‘it a fault to bee behinde hande with a Turke in matter of civilty, which you know costs a man so little the carryage’.²⁸⁸

Southwell did not publish advice on travel or accounts of his foreign experiences, though correspondents urged him into print. In 1675, Francis Parry told Southwell that he had finished his ‘introduction to the present State of Portugall, a Subject that well deserves a particular treatise, and to be done by yorselfe who have full knowledge of all circumstances, and more then sufficient abilities regularly to compose them.’²⁸⁹ Southwell’s embarrassing conflict over precedence with the earl of Sandwich in Lisbon probably heightened his reticence, though Carte posthumously used some of Southwell’s letters in his *History of the Revolutions of Portugal*.²⁹⁰ On educational travel Southwell’s ideas were derivative, so perhaps there was little to add to a crowded and long-established genre. Equally, his

²⁸⁶ Sir Robert Southwell, Memoranda and diary, 1674-1685, BL Egerton MS 1627, f.107 [MS 1627 claims to be Philip Madoxe’s diary, which is actually MS 1633]; Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.59.

²⁸⁷ BL Egerton MS 1627, ff.81, 81v, 82, 86v.

²⁸⁸ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 5/15 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.216.

²⁸⁹ Francis Parry to Sir Robert Southwell, Lisbon, 20/30 Jul 1675, BL Add MS 35099, f.175.

²⁹⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.32-33v; Sir Robert Southwell to Thomas Lloyd, Lisbon, 12/22 Jan 1667/8, BL Add MS 35099, ff.58-9v; Thomas Carte, *The History of the Revolutions of Portugal, From the Foundation of that Kingdom to the Year MDCLXVII. With Letters of Sir Robert Southwell, During his Embassy there, to the Duke of Ormond; Giving a particular Account of the deposing Alfonso, and placing Don Pedro on the Throne* (London, 1740).

renowned political caution, vaunted as ‘prudence and sagacity’ by Byrd, may again have influenced matters.²⁹¹

Political caution certainly limited the publishing ambitions of other travellers. Samuel Molyneux’s immediate family had a recent tradition of forays into print, but he was unwilling to publish potentially sensitive observations in 1714. King had read Molyneux’s letters ‘greedily’ and hoped that they would be ‘beneficial ... to the publick’ but warned that ‘many things in them’, presumably relating to Hanover, ‘will not well relish with some in power in Brittain & here’ in Ireland. The archbishop urged his correspondent to ‘consider well how in what manner you publish them’ and to ‘do nothing hasty’. King promised to ‘take another view of your whole piece together, and give you my remarks’. Molyneux assured him, however, that he had only included ‘disobliging truths’ because he had ‘no thought’ that his letters were ‘worth making publick’.²⁹² Robert Molesworth had not been so cautious in his *Account of Denmark*, which inadequately veiled his criticisms of the English establishment. Publication in 1694 damaged his political career; financial difficulties followed as patronage and preferment were withdrawn.²⁹³ Travellers were conscious that publication left them at the mercy of readers, who might infer domestic criticism in foreign observations. The most famous Irish Protestant entry into travel literature begins, from its 1735 edition on, with a fictitious letter from Lemuel Gulliver, complaining that his 1727 account has been misprinted and misinterpreted.²⁹⁴

Despite personal silence, Southwell involved himself in literary production. In 1663, he told Henry Oldenburg that Thomas Windsor, the governor of Jamaica, had ‘Call’d in at Kinsale where lying at my ffathers house, he gave him a relation of ye service he did in Cuba,

²⁹¹ Toby Barnard, *Irish Protestant ascents and descents* (Dublin, 2003), pp.70-1; Byrd, ‘Cavaliero Sapiente. Southwell’.

²⁹² William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 25 May 1714; Molyneux to King, London, 28 Jun 1714, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, f.290(166v); 1995-2008, f.1494.

²⁹³ D.W. Hayton, ‘Molesworth, Robert, first viscount Molesworth (1656-1725)’, *DNB*.

²⁹⁴ Jonathan Swift, *Gulliver’s travels*, ed. David Womersley (Cambridge, 2012), pp.7-14, 641-3.

by wch. Coppy it is putt in print'. Southwell sent Oldenburg the account 'in ye Mercurius Hibernicus, wch for this fortnight has beene ye p[r]actice to print, and not before.'²⁹⁵ Southwell, then resident in Dublin, had presumably conveyed Windsor's relation to Samuel Dancer's short-lived newspaper, printed in the city.²⁹⁶ While in Lisbon, Southwell helped to share the observations of Portuguese travellers with English and Irish readers. On behalf of the Royal Society, he asked António Álvares da Cunha 'questions specifically directed to the provinces of Brazil, Seurat, Goa, etc' and sent home reports from Jerónimo Lobo's travels in North Africa.²⁹⁷ Indirect involvement in the production of travel literature continued into Southwell's presidency over the Royal Society, during which he received the dedication of John Ray's 1693 *Collection of curious travels & voyages*.²⁹⁸

Southwell shared his expertise through the 'confidential' medium of the familiar letter.²⁹⁹ Thanks to the fullness of the Phillipps collection, now dispersed, the networks through which he imparted travel advice can be reconstructed in rare detail. Letters were sent to male and female correspondents of all ages but the longest and most formalised set-pieces reached young men, the only travelling demographic whose experiences were extensively theorised. Sir Robert supervised a journey through southern Spain made by his brother-in-law, Edward Dering, in 1669; he oversaw the continental experiences of his nephew Sir Philip Perceval between 1676 and 1679; he helped his sister Lady Katherine Perceval and her daughters Kate and Helena to France in 1677; he brought Charles Dering and Arthur Bushe, 'the second son of a minor Co. Kilkenny landed family', to Brandenburg in 1680; he gave itemised lists of advice to his son Edward before two trips to the United Provinces in the 1690s; finally, he

²⁹⁵ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Dublin, 4 Feb 1662/3, Royal Society EL/S1/16.

²⁹⁶ Robert Munter, *The history of the Irish newspaper, 1685-1760* (Cambridge, 1967), p.7.

²⁹⁷ Henry Oldenburg to António Álvares da Cunha, London, 13 Apr 1668; Oldenburg to Jerónimo Lobo, London, 13 April 1668; Sir Robert Southwell to Oldenburg, Lisbon, 6/16 Mar 1668/9; Oldenburg to Southwell, [London], 27 May 1669, *Oldenburg correspondence*, iv, pp.315, 317; v, 433, 564; C.F. Beckingham, 'Introduction' in M.G. da Costa (ed.), *The Itinerário of Jerónimo Lobo*, trans. Donald M. Lockhart (London, 1984), pp.xxiv, xxviii, xxx.

²⁹⁸ John Ray, *A collection of curious travels & voyages*, 2 vols. (London, 1693).

²⁹⁹ Donald H. Reiman, *The study of modern manuscripts: public, confidential, and private* (Baltimore, 1993).

held such an influence over his great-nephew Sir John Perceval's plans that his death in 1702 forced the young baronet to delay continental travel.³⁰⁰ Sir Robert Southwell's example began a family tradition of inter-generational advice. Edward prepared and supervised his own son's travels between 1723 and 1726, journeys that were also guided by Sir John Perceval, who was by then familiar with France, the Low Countries, Germany and Italy. Perceval hoped that the younger Edward Southwell's 1725 account of Geneva might serve as a 'patern' for his son Johnny of 'how to write when it becomes his turn to Voyage as you do.' Perceval trusted that Southwell would 'live to instruct my Grand Children how to travell advantageously.'³⁰¹

Sir Robert Southwell shared travel advice beyond his immediate family. Taking Arthur Bushe under his wing, he called on the young man to observe the practicalities of diplomatic business at Brandenburg but also 'The temper of the Germans'; passing through Holland, Bushe should supply his 'want of observation by curious inquiries' into religious and political issues.³⁰² Planning to send his son to the United Provinces in 1686, Sir William Petty asked Southwell to 'Give me your owne Routier, Remarques and Advices, with allowance for the present face of things'. The two adults then encouraged a correspondence between their fifteen-year-old sons Charles and Edward on the subject of the former's Dutch experiences.³⁰³ Beyond Irish residents, Southwell used his accrued foreign knowledge in an effort to regain the patronage of the Howard family. Before a branch of the Southwells had

³⁰⁰ Francis Parry to Sir Robert Southwell, Seville, 16 Apr 1669; Parry to Joseph Williamson, Lisbon, 7/17 Jul 1669; Southwell to Sir Daniel Harvy, [Whitehall], 31 Aug 1670; Philip Madox to Southwell, Spring Gardens, 24 Feb 1679/80, HMC *Egmont*, ii, pp.88-9; S.J. Connolly, 'A woman's life in mid-eighteenth-century Ireland: the case of Letitia Bushe', *Historical journal*, 43:2 (Jun 2000), pp.434, 440-1; Sir Robert Southwell, 'Instructions to my son Edward Southwell when in Holland', London, 5 Jan 1690/1; Edward Southwell, 'From Sr R.S. fathers advice on my going to Holland', London, 19 Jan 1690/1, BL Add MSS 35100, ff.26v, 29v; 38105, ff.123, 388-390v.

³⁰¹ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 1 Dec 1725; 21 Mar 1725/6; Charlton, 14 Sep 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.39, 114v-118, 203.

³⁰² Sir Robert Southwell, 'Instructions given to Mr. A. B.', 1 Mar 1679/80, HMC *Egmont*, ii, pp.90-1.

³⁰³ Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 1 Apr 1686; Charles Petty to Edward Southwell, London, 18 Oct 1687; Edward Southwell to Charles Petty, [Nov 1687], *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.187, 299, 311.

left Norfolk for the Munster plantation at the turn of the seventeenth century, they had been clients of the English Catholic aristocrats. In Rome, Southwell met Bernard Howard, who became ‘exceedingly my friend’. Southwell hoped ‘by his meane I shall enter ye same interest or acquaintance with the rest of the Brothers’.³⁰⁴ This he did while still travelling in 1661, visiting the duke of Norfolk’s palace at Padua and touring the Low Countries with Bernard’s brother, Henry.³⁰⁵ Southwell even wrote to another brother, Edward, ‘Of Such English as Your Honour will meete in Italy’, detailing the destinations and contacts that had filled his own journeys.³⁰⁶ Writing to Henry Howard around 1670, Southwell promised to tell his fellow diplomat and Royal Society member ‘as much of Portugall as I am able to informe, and the Soldosa memoria that I have of that place’.³⁰⁷ In the next generation, with a Howard in the College of Cardinals, the family connection would facilitate Sir Philip Perceval’s Roman experiences.

Southwell also contributed to a community of shared European knowledge that centred on his Oxford college, Queen’s, suggesting that the anglicising influences of attendance at English university might follow Irish residents to the continent. Thomas Barlow, Provost of Queen’s College from 1658, was at the heart of an epistolary circle that encouraged former students to pool knowledge. He asked Southwell to share his English legal reading list with another Queen’s man, Henry Compton.³⁰⁸ Soon after his return from the continent, Southwell wrote to his Queen’s contemporary, Gabriel Towerson, that he stood ‘obleiged unto you to write something concerning my travaile abroad, and the improovements to be acquired in such an Enterprise’, though he modestly suggested that illness on the road had left him ‘improper

³⁰⁴ Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), draft, BL Add MS 38015, f.22.

³⁰⁵ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.20.

³⁰⁶ BL Add MS 38015, ff.36-9.

³⁰⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to Henry Howard, [London], [c.1670], BL Add MS 38015, f.119. ‘Saudosa memoria’ would translate as ‘nostalgic’ or ‘wistful memory’.

³⁰⁸ NLW MS 17122D, pp.18, 32.

to do it'.³⁰⁹ Francis Parry also benefited from Southwell's college obligations, accompanying Sir Robert as secretary to Portugal and ultimately filling the Lisbon post himself. Parry recognised that he was 'beholding to a Queens Colledge man for this honourable imployment' and Barlow sent him away with requests for books 'very seldom' to be 'had here in England'. Parry would write 'but three lines to the Colledge' into the 1670s and, decades later, advised Southwell's great-nephew on domestic travel.³¹⁰

Robert Molesworth

Between 1659 and 1702, Sir Robert Southwell remained an authoritative figure amongst family and acquaintances but only shared expertise in person or in correspondence. Robert Molesworth provides a contrast, not only because the microfilmed Clements Papers represent virtually all of his surviving letters.³¹¹ Molesworth's authority arose from the same experiential source. He travelled to France, Italy and the Low Countries between 1684 and 1688 in his late twenties. Though the only direct evidence for this comparatively delayed voyage features in an autobiographical fragment, Molesworth later referred to his 'Experience and view of the varities of the world' when discussing gardening. Advice to his son John about the weather in Turin suggests that he spent time there.³¹² His subsequent diplomatic posting to Copenhagen exposed his young family to foreign travel, as would John's ambassadorial positions in Italy. The self-financing obligations of an early-modern diplomat drained the family funds, but conversely allowed other Molesworths to experience Europe relatively cheaply and easily.³¹³

³⁰⁹ Robert Southwell to [Gabriel Towerson], BL Add MS 38015, f.34.

³¹⁰ Thomas Barlow to Francis Parry, Queen's College, Oxford, 5 Apr 1665 and 9 May 1668; Parry to A. Say, [Madrid], 16 Aug [1665], Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 328/3, ff.475, 505, 522v; Parry to Barlow, Lisbon, 19/29 May 1670, BL Add MS 35100, f.76v.

³¹¹ A.P.W. Malcomson (ed.), *The Clements Archive* (Dublin, 2010), p.xiii.

³¹² Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, London, 12 Jul 1709; Robert Molesworth to John Molesworth, Brackenstown, 30 Jun 1720, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752, p.3753.

³¹³ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, [London], 2 Feb 1711/2; Helen Jacobsen, *Luxury and power: the material world of the Stuart diplomat, 1660-1714* (Oxford, 2012).

Molesworth's thoughts on travel spread beyond his family and friends. They appeared in the preface to his *Account of Denmark*, a controversial work that drew on his experiences in Copenhagen to lament the decline of Gothic liberty in Europe and, by less-than-subtle implication, in England.³¹⁴ Molesworth's direct experience of the continent, recognised as the source of his authority by some readers, allowed him the range to consider political systems. The Scottish academic George Turnbull gushed to Molesworth that 'your notions of government & politicks are founded upon solid history & observation'.³¹⁵ Even four decades after his death, Richard Hurd's *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel* declared Molesworth 'the greatest master' on the subject of educational voyages, having 'profited so much by this practice' and 'given so convincing a proof of its utility' in the *Account of Denmark*.³¹⁶ This proof spread widely over the eighteenth century, especially in northern Europe and the American colonies.³¹⁷

The preface to Molesworth's *Account* addresses the theoretical pros and cons of educational travel. These seem to rely on Bacon and Harrington, though Mayo observes that Molesworth's ideal voyage resembles what we know of his own, lasting four to five years and undertaken in manhood rather than by adolescent 'great Boys'.³¹⁸ Little evidence suggests how Molesworth shared more personalised travel knowledge among family and friends, though he may have learned about the New World from an acquaintance in Denmark.³¹⁹ Correspondents imply that Molesworth gained fame as far away as Antigua, but within his own home he lamented that he was 'no longer any more then a bare adviser: whose

³¹⁴ Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account'; Colin Kidd, *British identities before nationalism: ethnicity and nationhood in the Atlantic world, 1600-1800* (Cambridge, 1990), pp.225-6.

³¹⁵ George Turnbull to Robert Molesworth, Edinburgh, 14 May 1723, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

³¹⁶ Richard Hurd, *Dialogues on the uses of foreign travel; considered as part of an English gentleman's education: between Lord Shaftesbury and Mr. Locke* (London, 1764), pp.1-2.

³¹⁷ Paul Ries, 'Robert Molesworth's "Account of Denmark": a study in the art of political publishing and bookselling in England and on the Continent before 1700', *Scandinavica: an international journal of Scandinavian Studies*, 7 (1968), pp.108-25; Kidd, *British identities*, p.266.

³¹⁸ Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.136, 216, 222; Robert Molesworth, *An account of Denmark, as it was in the year 1692* (London, 1694), pp.viii, ix [my pagination].

³¹⁹ Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.354-65.

word passes like another ordinary bodyes but when ever [his children] are in necessity then they all cry out to me for help.³²⁰ This was surely parental exaggeration, but Molesworth did share the advisory burden in a large family. His eldest son John's diplomatic postings to Florence and Turin allowed him to guide the European experiences of younger siblings, especially Coote and Bysse.³²¹ Robert approved that John had become 'a good judg of wt is doing in ye Southern parts of Europe', since his time in Italy had helped him towards 'acquisitions of knowledg'. The decision about whether Coote was fit to travel was left to him, as were other practical details.³²²

Archbishop William King

Southwell and Molesworth oversaw journeys on account of their first-hand experience but there were other routes to expertise. Archbishop King never travelled to Europe. His autobiographical account of Trinity College, Dublin complains of poverty that would have prevented any continental dimension to his education.³²³ In later life, medical trips to Bath and political engagements in London, where he desired nothing 'more eagerly yn to be at home', represented King's furthest voyages. He nevertheless established himself as an authority on travel. The archbishop acquired the reputation of 'a man from whose conversation you would sooner receive Instruction than Entertainment', combining wide reading and discussion with travellers to overcome his lack of foreign experience.³²⁴ He thereby advised younger men whom he knew though Trinity College, including Samuel Molyneux, William Domville and George Berkeley. Where Southwell and Molesworth could

³²⁰ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 8 Jul 1710; Andrew Doyle to Richard Molesworth, Antigua, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752, p.3753.

³²¹ William Molesworth, 'John Molesworth (1679-1726) as a patron of art: complacency, connoisseurship and commissions', (Trinity College, Dublin, MLitt thesis, 2010).

³²² Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 6 Nov 1710; Robert Molesworth to John Molesworth, London, 19 May 1721 OS; Brackenstown, 5 Mar 1722/3, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752, p.3753.

³²³ William King, 'Quædam vitæ meæ insigniora' in Charles Simeon King (ed.), *A great archbishop of Dublin William King. D.D. His autobiography, family, and a selection from his correspondence* (London, 1906), p.7.

³²⁴ King (ed.), *Great archbishop*, pp.115, 275, 315-9.

mix theoretical approaches with practical guidance on routes and contacts, gained first-hand, King generally limited himself to religious, moral and educational counsel.

King was a voracious questioner of travellers. Invited to dine with the archbishop after 1708, William Southwell, brother of Sir Thomas, discussed his experiences in the War of the Spanish Succession. This was probably not their first meeting, as King had written knowledgeably about Southwell's captivity during the Williamite Wars.³²⁵ Returned from the continent, the hero of the September 1705 siege of Barcelona joked about the ignorance of Irish Catholic clergymen abroad. George Berkeley similarly waited on the archbishop 'after his travels', probably to France and Italy in 1717-20, and laughed at Catholic relic-worship. King apparently found it 'astonishing to think how much Popery had abused the Faith & Understanding even of Learned Men with evident absurdities & falsehoods.'³²⁶ William Domville's 1717 epistolary account of Italy corroborated Southwell and Berkeley, serving as 'a demonstration' to King 'that Popery dare not stand the Test of Learning or the Liberty of Reasoning'. Popular ignorance arose 'from designe and Pollicy in those Countreys'.³²⁷ These snippets of conversation survive in King family history because of their anti-Catholic humour, but the archbishop surely discussed other issues with travellers. He reminded the younger Edward Southwell, then in Venice, that 'the last time I saw you', they had discussed the reasons for English involvement in the War of the Spanish Succession. King asked 'a great many, but never cou'd get a satisfactory Answer'.³²⁸ Debriefings of returned travellers were common. In 1685, William Molyneux headed straight from the United Provinces to see John Flamsteed, who wished 'to be partaker of what you have learned in your late travells'.³²⁹ The younger Edward Southwell was entertained at Charlton in 1726 by Sir John Perceval,

³²⁵ William King, *The state of the Protestants of Ireland...* (London, 1691), pp.170-1.

³²⁶ James King, 'Some anecdotes relating to A-B. King' in King (ed.), *Great archbishop*, pp.315-6, 318.

³²⁷ William King to William Domville, Dublin, 3 Feb 1717, TCD Lyons MS 2535, f.75.

³²⁸ William King to Edward Southwell, Dublin, 5 May 1726, TCD Lyons MS 750/8, f.92.

³²⁹ John Flamsteed to William Molyneux, Greenwich Observatory, 11 Sep 1685, *The correspondence of John Flamsteed, first Astronomer Royal*, ed. Eric G. Forbes, Lesley Murdin and Frances Willmoth (Bristol, 1995-2002), ii, p.244.

who wanted everything in person despite a full correspondence. The elder Edward similarly had his ‘Sons travells to talk over with him’.³³⁰ King was unusual, however, in relying on conversations to attain authority.

The archbishop made the most of meetings with returned travellers, and asked detailed questions during voyages, thanks to his collection of books on continental themes. King saw reading as a path to ‘self-betterment’.³³¹ Using library holdings reconstructed by Matteson but depending on subjective definitions, just over one hundred books in his collection of over 8,500 were accounts of travel to Europe or beyond, though religious and theological matters naturally predominate. Over three hundred were either histories of other nations, European periodicals or accounts of the present state of foreign countries, the latter often drawn from authorial journeys.³³² An assessment of King’s holdings on travel, of which almost the majority documented French voyages, deepens the impression presented by Sir Robert Southwell’s dealings with Portuguese adventurers: Irish readers might expose themselves to non-English travel writing. Histories of popular reading on travel often draw conclusions solely from English literature but ‘elite’ readers like King or John Locke drew equally on French accounts.³³³ King was part of a learned, often Church-of-Ireland-clerical circle in the early eighteenth century within which ownership of French-language books was common.³³⁴

Lacking marks of readership, for which Matteson searches in vain, we must turn to King’s correspondence for engagement with literature on travel or foreign affairs. Letters to Samuel Molyneux, who travelled from Dublin to England, the Low Countries and Hanover in 1712-14, are particularly indicative. Molyneux’s father, William, had died in 1698, but a

³³⁰ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell (younger), Charlton, 14 Sep 1726; Perceval to Edward Southwell (elder), Charlton, 23 Nov 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.202v, 211v.

³³¹ Susan Reilly, ‘William King and the idea of “improvement”’ in Christopher J. Fauske (ed.), *Archbishop William King and the Anglican Irish context, 1688-1729* (Dublin, 2004), p.157; Robert S. Matteson, ‘Archbishop William King and the conception of his library’, *The Library*, 6:13 (1991), pp.238-54.

³³² Robert S. Matteson, *A large private park: the collection of Archbishop William King 1650-1729*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 2003).

³³³ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, pp.13-66; Ann Talbot, ‘The great ocean of knowledge’: the influence of travel literature on the work of John Locke (Leiden, 2010).

³³⁴ Kennedy, *French books*, pp.52-3.

parental relationship developed between the archbishop and Samuel.³³⁵ In July 1713, King sent Molyneux thirteen specific questions, ‘somethings relating to the Low Countreys, that I cou’d never be satisfied in’. Writing from Bath, the archbishop would not have had access to his library. Nevertheless, his first four questions, the most detailed, bear arresting similarities to a two-volume *History of the Republick of Holland*, one of perhaps twelve descriptions of the seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century United Provinces that could then have been in the archbishop’s collection. Though King’s catalogue suggests two copies of the *History*, the one traceable set bears no marks of readership.³³⁶ King does not quote directly but follows the *History*’s focus on lengthy civil cases and courts of appeal in his first question. ‘I know they presente very much the methods of the Civill Law’, he writes, and ‘I know’ they have an appeals system ‘which is a tedious remedy’. The archbishop asks how these are practically shortened, a gap in the *History*’s account. The *History* also vaunts the disinterested administration of justice, omitting any checks on judicial power. Perhaps this begs King’s inquiry as to how the Dutch ‘prevent the Corrupcon of Judges and secure the Impartiall administraction of Justice’. King’s fourth question on federalism (‘Is every province suprem...’) follows three on civil law, the themes of chapters twenty-nine and thirty in the *History*’s second volume.³³⁷

Without more convincing evidence of readership, this is unsatisfactory. The July 1713 letter suggests, though, that King treated young Trinity graduates as a web of continental informers. This network is not mentioned in Richardson’s account of the archbishop as a ‘European man of letters’, though he identifies King’s ‘pursuit of knowledge through empirical experimentation and observation’, reminiscent of Southwell and Molesworth.³³⁸ In

³³⁵ Holden *et al.* (eds.), *London letters*, pp.139-43.

³³⁶ Matteson, *Large private park*, i, p.487.

³³⁷ *The History of the Republick of Holland, from its first foundation to the death of King William* (London, 1705), ii, pp.167-8, 170-2; William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 25 Jul 1713, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, f.189(116).

³³⁸ Joseph Richardson, ‘William King – European man of letters’ in Fauske (ed.), *William King*, p.112.

the same collection of essays, Reilly notes King's 'keen interest in travel' but the two aspects are not united.³³⁹ Engagement with Irish-resident travellers drew King closest to Europe, which he never visited. He might, he told Samuel Molyneux in the July 1713 letter, have proposed 'a great many such questions'. The archbishop asked similar favours of others, finding books through William Domville in 1717, but King's was also a balder fact-finding network. He asked John Molesworth to check in Paris that one Patrick Kelly had been ordained there because there was 'so little virtue in these kind of People, that I can't trust to any thing they pretend.' King saw travellers as mines of knowledge. 'You see what the effect is of letting me know that you valu my advice', he warned Molyneux, 'it makes me give you new trouble every Letter'.³⁴⁰

'The mouth is the Fountaine of Our Weal or our Woe'

Expertise on European travel was acquired and distributed in different ways, but the content of advice was remarkably consistent. Many histories of travel, especially those dealing with more established eighteenth-century patterns, presume that European experiences were dominated by an appreciation of aesthetics. Such concerns were certainly prominent for travellers of our period, too. Robert Boyle lamented that most travelled 'to observe Buildings & Gardens & Modes, & other Amusements of a superficial & almost insignificant Curiosity'.³⁴¹ Architectural and horticultural concerns featured increasingly prominently in diaries and letters, especially by the elder and younger Edwards Southwell and Sir John Perceval, but they have tended to edge out the social history of travel. It is strikingly clear that advice was preoccupied by interpersonal conversation, simultaneously a font of improvement and a source of corruption. 'Fitness to travel' was mainly a standard of fitness

³³⁹ Reilly, 'King and the idea of "improvement"', p.149.

³⁴⁰ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 6 Jan 1712; Bath, 25 Jul 1713; King to [John] Molesworth, Dublin, 23 Oct 1725, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, ff.100(72v), 191(117); 750/8, f.48.

³⁴¹ Robert Boyle to Gilbert Burnet, London, 10 Jul 1686, *Boyle correspondence*, vi, pp.188-90.

to engage with host communities: linguistic skill allowed exchanges, knowledge of home prepared travellers to impress and sturdy Protestantism reduced resultant risks. Parents, relatives and acquaintances knew that encounters with foreigners and expatriates shaped experiences abroad and determined to control meetings as best they could, whether through letters of advice or travelling tutors.

Conversations abroad were supposed to be conducted ‘civilly’. Good hosts or companions were in turn reflexively described as ‘civil’. Irish Protestant travellers, to judge by their diaries and letters, received unending ‘civilities’ from Dutch military camps to Italian courts. Richard Lingard, the Church-of-Ireland dean of Lismore, shrewdly observed, in a treatise written for James Lane, son of Viscount Lanesborough, that ‘None is more melted with a civilitie then an Englishman’.³⁴² Bearing ethnic self-identifications in mind, it is therefore worth examining conversational civility as a background to the conduct expected of travellers. Ideas of civil conversation were imported from sixteenth-century Italian and seventeenth-century French texts, though building on medieval English notions of urbane and genteel ‘civilitas’.³⁴³ Beyond printed conduct literature, however, civil conversation was also learned practically in company.³⁴⁴ Socialising with dons at Cambridge, where ‘philosophy flew about the table faster then the wine’, Sir John Perceval began ‘to make good discoveries of himself in company.’³⁴⁵ Improving company was idealised, however, and excluded many who were physically present, especially servants.³⁴⁶ These ideas were old by our period, chiming with the educational priorities of sixteenth-century humanists, but they received impetus from late seventeenth-century conditions. Hurley finds that English population

³⁴² Richard Lingard, *A letter of advice to a young gentleman leaving the university, concerning his behaviour and conversation in the world* (London, 1671), p.31.

³⁴³ Burke, *Conversation*; Anna Bryson, *From courtesy to civility: changing codes of conduct in early modern England* (Oxford, 1998); John Gillingham, ‘From *civilitas* to civility: codes of manners in medieval and early modern England’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 12 (2002), pp.267-89.

³⁴⁴ Phil Withington, *Society in early modern England: the vernacular origins of some powerful ideas* (Cambridge, 2010), pp.171, 180, 184, 187, 199.

³⁴⁵ William Byrd II to Sir Robert Southwell, Cambridge, 5 Aug 1701, *Byrd correspondence*, p.213.

³⁴⁶ Burke, *Conversation*, p.92; Elizabeth Goldsmith, *Exclusive conversations: the art of interaction in seventeenth-century France* (Philadelphia, PA, 1988), p.5.

growth, especially in London, and the turmoil of 1641-60 renewed the ‘question of how best to live together successfully as a society’.³⁴⁷ Hill suggests that this resulted in an elite post-Restoration culture of self-censorship, in which division was avoided and emotions outwardly dissembled.³⁴⁸

In Ireland, mid-century turmoil had been acute. Protestant communities were left to navigate the hazards of Interregnum and Restoration. The elder Robert Southwell supported the king ‘when it was more dangerous & lesse benefitall to doe so’ but he also became a major creditor of parliamentary forces. His son left Ireland in 1659 perhaps partly to avoid the fallout from the ebbing of Cromwellian power.³⁴⁹ Their Cork neighbour, Sir John Perceval, rose under the Protectorate but was excused a major public role by his Cambridge contemporary Henry Cromwell, who remarkably understood the dangers of ‘engaging too deeply in the Measures of that Government’.³⁵⁰ Uncertainties of allegiance infiltrated everyday interactions, leaving Irish Protestants fearfully aware of ‘dangerous talk’.³⁵¹ The elder Southwell compiled on 24 July 1664 a list of ‘treasonable words’, warning against the conversational use of ‘Herritick’, ‘scismatic’, ‘tyarant’, ‘infidell’ and ‘usurper’.³⁵² Caution was essential, preserving his local reputation ‘in the Midst of the people among [whom] I & my children must remain during our lives.’³⁵³

If the upheavals of the Interregnum, the Restoration and the Williamite Wars left Irish Protestants considering ‘how best to live together as a society’, the legislative and social rise of the ‘Protestant Ascendancy’ suggests that their answer involved living apart from the Catholic majority. Developing notions of polite conversation and long-established ideas of

³⁴⁷ Alison E. Hurley, ‘Peculiar Christians, circumstantial encounters, and the making of conversation in seventeenth-century England’, *Representations*, 111 (2010), pp.35-6.

³⁴⁸ Christopher Hill, *The world turned upside down: radical ideas during the English revolution* (London, 1972), p.311.

³⁴⁹ Ormond to Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 30 Oct 1667, NAL Forster 47.A.39, f. 27.

³⁵⁰ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, p.345.

³⁵¹ David Cressy, *Dangerous talk: scandalous, seditious, and treasonable speech in pre-modern England* (Oxford, 2010).

³⁵² NLI MS 14910.

³⁵³ Robert Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Kinsale, Apr 1659, BL MS Add 46937, f. 99

civility were crucial in maintaining this distance. By the early eighteenth century, politeness and sociability ‘could be added to the list of assets the upholders of the English and Protestant interests in Ireland uniquely possessed’.³⁵⁴ But the paradox of Irish Protestant self-improvement through travel was that this ‘prestige factor’ was gathered largely in conversation with Italian and French Catholics.³⁵⁵ The ‘improving’ conversation pursued abroad was both inclusive and exclusive, ‘the most sophisticated means whereby “civil” gentlemen could express and elaborate their common culture in an exclusive social milieu’.³⁵⁶ The printer’s advertisement to Lingard’s *Letter of Advice* observed of ‘conversing persons’ that ‘it is to be wished that they would Communicate their experiences a little more’, but exclusivity was intentional.³⁵⁷ Wealthy Irish Protestants sought the company of social equals abroad but used those experiences to support social differentiation at home, whether from Protestants who could not afford travel or Catholics who did not do so in an approved manner. Abroad, exclusivity required the company of the social and intellectual ‘beau monde’.³⁵⁸

Advisors and tutors facilitated improving conversation, providing letters or making introductions. They understood, as Elias has established, that courts were a source of civil behavioural codes. John Molesworth used his ambassadorial position in Turin to give his brother Coote ‘the Advantage of this Winter’s frequenting a refin’d Court’.³⁵⁹ Sir John Perceval agreed, commending the younger Edward Southwell’s plans because ‘to travell to purpose men should fix at Courts, and not loose [sic] their time in lesser towns where nothing but the outside of Houses and inside of Churches is to be seen.’³⁶⁰ Beyond courts, cities were

³⁵⁴ Toby Barnard, ‘The languages of politeness and sociability in eighteenth-century Ireland’ in D. George Boyce, Robert Eccleshall and Vincent Geoghegan (eds.), *Political discourse in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Ireland* (Basingstoke, 2001), p.193; Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, pp.65-73.

³⁵⁵ Norbert Elias, *The civilizing process: the history of manners and state formation and civilization*, trans. Edmund Jephcott (Oxford, 1994).

³⁵⁶ Bryson, *Courtesy to civility*, p.159.

³⁵⁷ Lingard, *Letter of advice*, printer’s advertisement.

³⁵⁸ Henry Oldenburg to Pradilleis, Paris, 20 Oct 1659; Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Augsburg, 23 Jun/4 Jul 1726, BL Add MSS 38015, f.3; 47031, f.191v.

³⁵⁹ John Molesworth to Robert Molesworth, Turin, 10 Dec 1721, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

³⁶⁰ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell (elder), Paris, 22 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.84.

perceived as the ‘seminaries of civility’ where conversational improvement occurred.³⁶¹ Jean Gailhard promised that, in northern Italy, Sir Philip Perceval would ‘converse with that wise, subtle and dexterous nation as I can procure it to him’; Perceval’s mother made sure that he saw ‘as much french Company as possibly he can’ in Paris.³⁶² Beyond visits to rural aristocratic seats, conversational improvement was not available in the countryside. George Berkeley must have used an interpreter to interrogate southern Italian peasants about tarantulas in 1717, when city-dwelling Italians would have struggled to communicate with their countrymen.³⁶³ But Berkeley was unusual: most Irish Protestants pursued the conversation of courtly and urban intellectual circles.

At times, the presumed effects of civil foreign company appear as a panacea. ‘The temptations of the Divill and all wicked company’ during London bouts of ‘Drink and Gaming’ had been ‘the Rock upon which’ Robert Perceval ‘Splitt’.³⁶⁴ After his murder, Sir Philip suggested to his uncle Southwell that French travel might have ‘weaned him from his extravagant acquainta[nce]’. Ideally sought by well-prepared Protestants, the ‘beau monde’ might even improve the Catholic maid-servant Margaret Cahan. She eloped to Paris with John King, brother to her employer, outraging family members scandalised enough by the affair. But even a hostile treatise by the bishop of Dromore admitted that she might have become ‘a well accomplish’d Lady, as having, for these several Years past, had all the Advantages that the Court of St. *Germain*s could afford, for Improving her to a Degree answerable to her present Quality’. Prior to travel, Cahan had been ‘very far from having any

³⁶¹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.344.

³⁶² Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 28 Mar 1677; Southwell to Lady Katherine Perceval, Spring Gardens, 3 Feb 1678, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.63; 46955A, f.52v.

³⁶³ George Berkeley, Journals of travel in Italy, 20 May 1717, *The works of George Berkeley, bishop of Cloyne*, ed. A.A. Luce and T.E. Jessop (London, 1948-57), vii, p.274; Peter Burke, *The historical anthropology of early modern Italy: essays on perception and communication* (Cambridge, 1987).

³⁶⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 7 Jun 1677; Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Bath, 9 Jul 1677; Lady Katherine Perceval to John Perceval, Foy, 14 Sep 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.239; 46954B, ff.3, 107.

Accomplishments, either of Body or Mind'.³⁶⁵ Protestants were prepared to consider that time spent near Jacobites and the personification of arbitrary government might render a reviled Irish Catholic woman of low social standing fit for their company.

Conversation was supposed to improve travellers by allowing them to throw off their parochial origins. Robert Southwell surmised that 'the Sight of ye World (I meane some neerer parts, well civiliz'd, and of polite practice) does very much open a man's head, and take him off from a narrow dotage on his owne spott', especially when a traveller 'extends his view and practice to ye Conversation of Men.'³⁶⁶ Archbishop King similarly proclaimed to Samuel Molyneux that it was 'a great advantage to converse with men of different sentiments' abroad, concluding that 'this is one of the greatest advantages of Travelling'. King imparted the same to the younger Edward Southwell, warning that 'Men that have not gone abroad are apt to be shocked and stare at Every thing that is forign & Imagine every habit and Custome, that they have not seen at home absurd and Rediculous'. He concluded that this was 'great folly' but warned that it was 'not possible without conversing with Strangers to be cured of this Evil.'³⁶⁷ The anti-parochialism of travel might banish what the first earl of Cork had thought an infection, 'the leaven of Ireland'.³⁶⁸ James Butler's father, the earl of Ossory, approved when the boy's grandfather, Ormond, sent him to France aged ten, since 'the only way to render him considerable is to have him bred up and live at a quite different rate then the young nobility of our parts doe'.³⁶⁹

Exclusive conversation bred young Irish Protestants into 'considerable' men, sometimes in explicit preparation for public life. Sixteen-year-old Lionel Boyle was ready for the next

³⁶⁵ [Tobias Pullen], *A vindication of Sr. Robert King's designs and actions, in relation to the late, and present Lord Kingston. Being an answer to a scandalous libel, lately sent abroad under the title of Materials for a Bill of Discovery against Sir Robert King* (Dublin, 1699), pp.104-5.

³⁶⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to [Gabriel Towerson], BL Add MS 38015, f.34.

³⁶⁷ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 6 Jan 1712/3; King to Edward Southwell, Dublin, 21 Jan 1717, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, f.101(73); 2535, f.63.

³⁶⁸ Nicholas Canny, *The upstart earl: a study of the social and mental world of Richard Boyle, first earl of Cork, 1566-1643* (Cambridge, 1982), p.71.

³⁶⁹ Ossory to Ormond, 6/14 Feb 1674/5, Bod. Carte MS 220, f.482.

social step in Geneva: his tutor declared that he ‘must certainly appear at Court, for growing in age as he does it is time for him to see companies’. During travel, Lionel was to be brought ‘into such companies where he may learn good breeding & good manners ... those things which can make him an accomplished gentleman’.³⁷⁰ The young earl of Orrery did not attend university before travel, but the role of conversation was equally clear for those who had. Lingard and Molesworth concurred in print that conversation, coupled with observation, would help young men to ‘pare off’ the pedantry risked at university. Out-dated teachings required ‘a great deal of time to get rid of, and until they be filed off by conversation in the World abroad, a man’s Learning does but render him more useless and unfit for Society.’³⁷¹ Even Sir Robert Southwell acknowledged that ‘the world at large is a place of much more Improvement then the University’.³⁷²

Masculinising effects were clearest for Molesworth’s son Coote, who joined John in Turin hoping to ‘be introduced to the polite world’. Coote trusted that the good company to which his ambassadorial brother could grant access would help him, ‘by being more Conversant with people then I have hitherto had the opportunity of being, [to] throw off that bashfullness and awe which I have foolishly contracted’. John agreed that ‘If I knew where impudence could be purchas’d it would be of great use to [Coote]: there use to be no dearth of that commodity in Courts’, where he still hoped that his reticent brother might pick up ‘any tolerable share of it’. We ought perhaps to speak of foreign conversation’s role in transitions to adulthood, rather than its masculinising effects. For the female members of John Molesworth’s family in Turin, company was ‘the most effectual method for their improvement.’ Forbidding ‘the Ladies’ such an advantage put John’s brother, the younger

³⁷⁰ Germain Colladon to Margaret, dowager countess of Orrery, Utrecht, 17 Oct 1686; Geneva, 7 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, ff.597, 652.

³⁷¹ Lingard, *Letter of Advice*, p.1; Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, p.xl.

³⁷² Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 17 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.217.

Robert, 'in mind of the boy that was forbid to go into the water till he coud swim.'³⁷³ Civil conversation was deeply implicated in youthful travel as a rite of passage for both sexes, though the society of English-speakers was more acceptable for female travellers, whose foreign contact was under-theorised.

Although continental conversation was perceived as a font of improvement, it was equally feared as a potential source of corruption for ill-equipped travellers. As Lingard put it, 'the mouth is the Fountaine of Our Weal or our Woe'.³⁷⁴ Even after his conversational coming-of-age in safely Protestant Geneva, Lionel Boyle's grandmother demanded that his tutor 'be very carefull never to lett my Grandson be without you in any company while you are in Ittaly'. Germain Colladon's assurance that he would make it his 'chief business to take care that [Lionel] may not be spoiled by bad conversation' was obviously not enough.³⁷⁵ For older travellers, for whom close supervision would have frustrated continental experience as a rite of passage, detailed advice replaced parental representatives. Letters of advice help us to reconstruct the otherwise-unspoken behavioural norms expected of genteel or aristocratic children, adolescents and, by implication, adults, though prescription inevitably differed from practice.³⁷⁶ Among readers 'of the same age group as the authors, a whole raft of existing shared assumptions could be appealed to; the recalcitrant young, on the other hand, had to be won over or bludgeoned into submission'.³⁷⁷ Advisors tried to ensure that Irish Protestants abroad avoided 'Gross absurdities in Conversation' while defending them from potential corruption.³⁷⁸

³⁷³ Coote Molesworth to [Laetitia Molesworth], draft [c.1720]; John Molesworth to Robert Molesworth (elder), Turin, 10 Dec 1721; Robert Molesworth (younger) to John Molesworth, London, 14 Feb 1721, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752, p.3753.

³⁷⁴ Lingard, *Letter of advice*, p.13.

³⁷⁵ Germain Colladon to Margaret, dowager countess of Orrery, Utrecht, 17 Oct 1686; dowager countess to Colladon, [Sion], 7 Dec 1687, NLI MS 36, ff.597, 667.

³⁷⁶ Burke, *Conversation*, p.92.

³⁷⁷ Roger Charles Richardson, 'The generation gap: parental advice in early modern England', *Clio* 32:1 (Autumn 2002), p.23.

³⁷⁸ Lingard, *Letter of advice*, p.4.

The most striking aspect of epistolary advice is religious. In formulations largely unchanged from sixteenth-century counsel, travellers were induced from the outset to seek divine blessing and remain unshakeably Protestant despite the semi-magical powers of Catholic deception, by now an old prejudice.³⁷⁹ In the Irish Protestant context, the upheavals of the seventeenth century were repeatedly blamed on the Catholic clergy's ability to sway the native peasantry.³⁸⁰ Ormond's reluctance to send Almeric de Courcy abroad arose from the modest success of his Christ Church Protestantisation, but those who were allowed to travel were urged to remain steadfast during continental encounters. Sir Robert Southwell warned Sir Philip Perceval, entering Italy in 1678, that 'the more opportunity you have of Conversation in that Country', the very source of Perceval's anticipated improvement, 'the more Vigilant must you bee of a mighty guard upon that highest Jewel of your Religion.' Catholics would twist sociable conversation, as many would 'aime at nothing more than to pervert strangers, first gaining upon their Affections with all the Arts of Civillity and pretence of Candor imaginable In order to their Worke'.³⁸¹ Matriarchal figures like Helena Southwell, Lady Katherine Perceval and Margaret, countess dowager of Orrery demanded that their young relatives fulfil their religious obligations abroad.³⁸²

Faced with Catholic perversion of 'the Arts of Civillity', Irish Protestants were to avoid the potentially divisive issue of religion altogether. Robert Southwell copied a passage into his 1658 compilation from Osborne's *Advice to a son*, warning young men abroad to 'Shun all disputes but concerning religion especially, yet where it is obtruded mould your arguments rather into queries than peremptory assertions, professing it more the business of a Traveller

³⁷⁹ Peter Lake, 'Anti-popery: the structure of a prejudice' in Richard Cust and Anne Hughes (eds.), *Conflict in early Stuart England: studies in religion and politics 1603-1642* (Harlow, 1989), pp.73, 75.

³⁸⁰ [Sir Robert or Edward Southwell], 'Discourse concerning the securing the Government of the Kingdome of Ireland to the Interest of the English Nation' (c.1695), BL MS Add 28724. I agree that Edward is more likely: Dickson, *Old world colony*, p.255.

³⁸¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.60.

³⁸² Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 9/19 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.207v; Richard Boyle, first earl of Burlington and second earl of Cork, to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 3 Feb 1685/6, NLI MS 36, f.578.

to learn than to teach'.³⁸³ Southwell passed this advice to Sir Philip Perceval, inflected by his own experiences: 'you must never begin any Discourse of Religion', he warned of Italian conversation, 'But decently put by, whatever of that kind is began by others'.³⁸⁴ Prohibition of religious topics fed into the broader conviction that travellers should avoid lengthy discussion of weighty issues, moulding their words to fit the company and circumstances. This was common advice given on social interactions at home and abroad; 'a *promiscuous* conversation is the safest', one that deals with 'things *distant* and *remote*'. Lingard advised that conversation be 'a mixture made up of *civilities* and *freedome*, suited to the condition of the person you converse with, a quality as to *modes* and *circumstances* we fetch from beyond the Seas, for the meer *Englishman* is supposed to be *defective* in it'.³⁸⁵ King warned Samuel Molyneux that riskier conversational strategies might leave travellers 'afit to lose the other benefits' of interaction with persons 'of quality'. Since 'a stranger hath nothing else to trust to but the good nature of those he converses with', King stressed 'w[ha]t caution is necessary in such circumstances'.³⁸⁶ As Southwell recorded in 1658, 'patience and evasion are as necessary for a traveller as his passport'.³⁸⁷

Fears over corrupting company extended beyond religion into moral behaviour. King told Samuel Molyneux and the younger Edward Southwell, in near-identical terms, to be careful of their 'Company and chuse such for yr. more intimate conversation, as will neither cheat you of yr. money, nor go about to corrupt you in yr. principles of religion or morality.' Molyneux, at least, pleased King with his 'choice ... of company to spend your time in'.³⁸⁸ Fears were often sexual. Robert Molesworth worried that his son Bysse was 'a sightly lad &

³⁸³ King's College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, ff.6-6v.

³⁸⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.60.

³⁸⁵ Lingard, *Letter of advice*, pp.18, 24, 30; Withington, *Society*, p.183; Burke, *Conversation*, p.105; Hurley, 'Peculiar Christians', p.47.

³⁸⁶ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 20 Feb 1712/3, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, ff.120(81v)-121(83).

³⁸⁷ King's College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, f.5v.

³⁸⁸ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 6 Jan 1712; Bath, 10 Jun 1713; King to Edward Southwell (younger), Dublin, 21 Jan 1717, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, ff.110(72v), 164(102v); 2535, f.63.

must be well watched to keep him in the innocence' with which he headed for Italy.³⁸⁹ Molesworth applied anxieties that he voiced in print, worrying that ill-prepared travellers might return with 'a filthy Disease, for which they sometimes exchange their Religion'.³⁹⁰ Other advisors were less explicit but similarly motivated. King recognised that 'there are Divertismts and pleasur's, that very well become Youth' and that he 'cou'd not debare' young Edward Southwell 'from any of these', but hoped that they would 'be enjoyed with innocency'. 'One vicious Act', the archbishop warned, 'may ruin yr. Constitution, sink yr. Estate, lose yr. Reputation and not only cut off yr. days but destroy you to Eternity.'³⁹¹ As Williams Conyngham ably demonstrated, a venereal disease caught abroad might accomplish most of these feats. There was nothing new in fearing the sexuality of southern European Catholics.³⁹² Robert Boyle had first-hand experience of a proposition by 'gown'd Sodomites' during the Florentine carnival of 1642.³⁹³ Potential transgressions flowed from the company that travellers kept.

Advisors, and sometimes travellers, sought to control the minutiae of conversation to ensure that exchanges were improving rather than corrupting. Before travel, Robert Southwell noted that he should 'Enquire especially after' matters of religion, justice, war, trade, empire and the court.³⁹⁴ His diligent preparation of 'Matters to be informed in' continued across the Channel.³⁹⁵ The questions sent by Archbishop King to Samuel Molyneux were similar attempts to shape what the young Dubliner discussed and observed. Like Southwell's self-direction, King diverted Molyneux's mind towards 'the customs and manners of the people, their genius, polity, governments, interests, riches and strength' and, somewhat unnecessarily given Samuel's 'genius', 'the naturall curiositys and raritys of the

³⁸⁹ Robert Molesworth to John Molesworth, London, 27 Feb 1721/2, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

³⁹⁰ Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, p.viii.

³⁹¹ William King to Edward Southwell (younger), Dublin, 21 Jan 1717, TCD Lyons MS 2535, ff.63-4.

³⁹² Lake, 'Anti-popery', p.75; Warneke, *Educational traveller*, pp.201-4.

³⁹³ Michael Hunter, *Boyle: between God and science* (New Haven and London, 2009), p.51.

³⁹⁴ King's College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, ff.7-7v.

³⁹⁵ BL Add MS 58219, f.2.

Countreys you pass'.³⁹⁶ Commonplace books acted as frames for future conversation, though travellers also kept them as memorials for 'travel-talk' at home.³⁹⁷ Letters might serve a similar purpose. Gailhard hoped that Sir Philip Perceval's correspondence with his French language master would provide 'a stock of thoughts and conceptions which might for the future prove beneficiall and usefull to him.'³⁹⁸ Pre-European domestic travel was often explained as the acquisition not only of frames of reference but also deployable knowledge with which to impress foreign hosts.

Advisors and tutors tried to shape encounters with continental inhabitants by resorting to national stereotypes as a conversational aid. William Paget told Robert Southwell how to avoid losing 'repute with an Italian'.³⁹⁹ Southwell in turn warned Sir Philip Perceval that 'As to the Italian Temper you will find it grave and compos'd and studious in avoyding all sort of Indiscretion'.⁴⁰⁰ Stereotypes were sold as the product of observation. Perceval formalised the likely behaviour of foreigners into a table of thirty-five 'Observations' in his commonplace book, ascribing national characteristics to the French, Spanish, Italians and Germans. With the German reputation for travel and the Spanish presence in Italy, these were groups with whom Perceval would come into most contact.⁴⁰¹ 'In temper', for instance, the French were like a 'jester and Injurious', the Spanish 'grave and respectful', the Italians 'pleasant and Jealous' (contradicting what Perceval had heard from Southwell) and the Germans 'lusty and fantastick'.⁴⁰² These were not yet the fruit of Perceval's encounters but copied from a draft of Gailhard's *Compleat gentleman*, published the year after Sir Philip and his tutor parted. Gailhard wrote much of the manuscript at Angers as tutor to Sir Thomas Grosvenor in 1670-

³⁹⁶ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 10 Jun; 25 Jul 1713; Dublin, 25 May 1714, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, ff.164(102v), 189(116), 291(167).

³⁹⁷ Burke, *Conversation*, p.120; William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 5 May 1683, *DUM* (Sep 1841), p.313.

³⁹⁸ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Mar 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.57.

³⁹⁹ BL Add MS 58219, ff.49-50v.

⁴⁰⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.59.

⁴⁰¹ Neil Kenny, *The uses of curiosity in early modern France and Germany* (Oxford, 2004); Thomas James Dandeleit, *Spanish Rome, 1500-1700* (New Haven; London, 2001).

⁴⁰² Sir Philip Perceval's commonplace book, c.1669-77, BL Add MS 47113, f.15v.

1, waiting ‘about seven years’ before seeing ‘fit to impart it to the world.’⁴⁰³ Perceval’s version assigns numbers that almost all correspond to the 1678 publication, though a character of ‘manners’ (French ‘courteous’, Spanish ‘proud’, Italian ‘civill’, German ‘Rusticall’) appears in the manuscript alone.⁴⁰⁴ After several pages of ‘Advise concerning travell’, rehearsing the usual themes of his uncle Southwell’s counsel, the table prepared Perceval for the unpredictability of foreign conversation. Gailhard introduced the printed version as ‘a character of some Nations, out of which a Traveller may receive some Lights and Directions how to behave himself when he comes amongst them’. Discrepancies were dismissed as ‘the vulgar imperfections, and the particular good qualities of the better sort.’⁴⁰⁵

Advisors sought to control the company in which conversation occurred. English-speaking travellers were to be avoided as detrimental to linguistic improvement. Overseeing the eighteen-year-old earl of Derby’s French travels in 1673, Ormond demanded that he ‘continue as much a Stranger as civilly he can to Our owne Country men till he shall have attained some reasonable Knowledge in the Language of the Country.’⁴⁰⁶ Sir Philip Perceval acknowledged to Southwell that ‘you have very often tould mee, how unnecessary is the acquaintance of our owne countrymen while wee are abroad’. Plotting Perceval’s route through France, Gailhard excluded Saumur and Blois, which had ‘att present too many English and Scotch.’ Sir Philip’s second travel companion, Rasigade, reminded him that it was ‘at Whitehall rather than in France that one should frequent English company.’⁴⁰⁷ Advocating flight from English-speaking company, advisors echoed virtually all theorising

⁴⁰³ Jean Gailhard to Theophilus Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, Angers, 8 Jun 1670, *Hastings collection of manuscripts from the Huntington Library, California*, Harvester film guide, i, 1477-1701, HA 3339; Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, i, ‘To the Reader’; Mark Goldie, ‘Gailhard, Jean (fl. 1659–1708)’, *DNB*; Stuart Handley, ‘Grosvenor, Sir Thomas, third baronet (1655-1700)’, *DNB*.

⁴⁰⁴ BL Add MS 47113, f.15; Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.178-81.

⁴⁰⁵ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.178, 183.

⁴⁰⁶ Ormond to James Forbes, Clarendon House, 7 Aug 1673, Bod. Carte MS 50, ff.103-3v.

⁴⁰⁷ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 9/19 May 1677; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Angers, 19 Jul 1677; Alexandre de la Rasigade to Southwell, Angers, 27 Aug 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.150; 46954B, ff.5v, 62: ‘c’est plutot a Whitehall qu’en france quil faut frequenter la compagnie Angloise.’

on educational voyages printed since at least the sixteenth century. In so doing, however, they underplayed a major practical feature of Irish Protestant travel.

Attempting to dictate conversational subjects and the composition of company, advisors were at pains to ensure that travellers conformed to appropriate gestural codes. Ormond hoped that his grandson would maintain ‘the French language & mien’ at Oxford, but most presumed that travellers would perfect French manners over periods of settled tuition early in a voyage. They thus acquired the language and gestures needed in later conversation. The dangerous blunders of fellow travellers served as shocking inspirations. Gailhard related the cautionary tale of Archibald Campbell, future first duke of Argyll, who had fallen foul of French gestural codes. ‘Within these 12 days’ of 6 June 1677, ‘mylord Lorn[e] was like to have been assassinated in Saumur by severall young frenchmen upon a slight ground. the day before the lord walking in a publick place his sword was entangled with another man’s’. Campbell under-estimated the affront, ‘having little of french’, and worsened matters by sending his servant to apologise. Some local gentlemen were not ‘satisfied with that civility’ and organised a gang to attack Campbell. Gailhard reported that ‘had he not gotten into a boat and crossed the water he had been in great danger of being killed’.⁴⁰⁸ Adaptation to local conversational and behavioural practices, though prudent and encouraging improving conversation, raised fears that travellers would return ‘Frenchified’ or ‘Italianate’.

Concern over gestural codes extended to table manners, which Elias considers central to the development of civility.⁴⁰⁹ Food and drink provided opportunities for sociability with foreign hosts and also, in practice, generous expatriates. The earl of Derby’s tutor, James Forbes, wished to Ormond that his charge would stop dining in his Parisian chamber and instead ‘Eat in Company wth. some French Gentlemen of very good Quality that live in the

⁴⁰⁸ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 27 May/6 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.186.

⁴⁰⁹ Elias, *Civilizing process*.

same house'.⁴¹⁰ Dinners were a chance to sink or swim in company according to one's speech and comportment. Sir Robert Southwell sent his son Edward to the Netherlands with pertinent advice in 1691. Lest he embarrass himself, the twenty-year-old was to 'put on more Caution then ever' and line his stomach before dinners in illustrious company. Sir Robert explained that, seeking the continental nobility, Edward was 'going to stare at a great Theater, soe take it for Granted, there will be Eyes even uppon you, to observe how you acquitt yr selfe as to yr Conduct & prudentialls; & from this very Crisis pronounce of you for the Rest of yr life.'⁴¹¹

Attention to company, speech and gesture was intended to ensure that continental conversations were a source of improvement rather than corruption, but it also protected reputations at home and abroad. Sir Robert Southwell ended his longest letter of advice to Sir Philip Perceval, who drew on his uncle's contacts as well as his principles, by stressing that 'though you leave mee here behind, yet you carry with you my Reputation in your hands; and as all measures are taken in the World from the success and Event of Things, soe your Guardian is at your mercy, and Fame will use him, as you use your selfe.' Family as well as individual reputation was at stake, such that 'If you doe Bravely, I shall have Honor, but if otherwise, I shall alsoe miscarry, and beare reproach'.⁴¹² Approved behaviour in acceptable company was a boast for the whole family. John Molesworth, on a medical trip to Spa in 1719, found when he 'pass'd through Leyden that Coote had left a very good Character there, both for his Conduct, Capacity, and Application.' John's younger brother, so diligent at the university, might earn 'the greatest Reputation' and 'the best fortune of us All.'⁴¹³

⁴¹⁰ James Forbes to Ormond, Paris, 16 Aug 1673, Bod. Carte MS 243, f.89.

⁴¹¹ Sir Robert Southwell [annotated by Edward Southwell], 'From Sr. R.S. fathers advice on my going to Holland', London, 19 Jan 1690/1, BL Add MS 38015, f.390.

⁴¹² Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.103.

⁴¹³ John Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Liège, 3 Oct 1719 NS, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

‘Communication by writing’

Near the beginning of his 1659 French notebook, Robert Southwell observed that ‘Communication by writing’ was ‘looked on as one of the greatest miracles in the World’.⁴¹⁴ He had prepared for the rigours of continental conversation and would spend decades advising later generations to the same end. Southwell recognised, however, that writing turned foreign interaction towards a traveller’s long-term improvement and preserved reputations at home. These were the respective functions of notebooks and letters, both fervently encouraged by advisors. ‘Communication by writing’ deepened and demonstrated the improvements of conversation. It ‘visibly ordered experience’.⁴¹⁵ Wealthy Irish Protestant families encouraged their children to practise giving ‘a good account of all that is remarkable’ from an early age. This skill was developed further during foreign travel. Germain Colladon assured relatives at home that he and fifteen-year-old Lionel Boyle had ‘kept a diary of our travels, & MyL[ord] can give an account of the places he has seen pretty well for a young man of his age.’⁴¹⁶ As travellers passed through their twenties and beyond, descriptive skill was increasingly assumed but no less crucial to successful voyages.

Travellers were urged to keep notebooks. These are variously called diaries, journals, commonplace books or notebooks by contemporaries, historians and archivists, but served the common purposes of solidifying improvements in the short-term and recording encounters and observations for later reference at home. Their unifying characteristic was ‘usefulness’ in the organisation of knowledge.⁴¹⁷ Sir Robert Southwell reminded Sir Philip Perceval that, in France and Italy, he ‘must indispensably keep’ a journal, ‘a good Stock of materials, which I have ever told you must bee gather’d from a Sharpe Observation upon

⁴¹⁴ BL Add MS 58219, f.7v.

⁴¹⁵ Clare Brant, *Eighteenth-century letters and British culture* (Basingstoke, 2006), p.229.

⁴¹⁶ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Utrecht, 17 Oct 1686, NLI MS 36, f.597.

⁴¹⁷ Peter Beal, ‘Notions in garrison: the seventeenth-century commonplace book’ in W. Speed Hill (ed.), *New ways of looking at old texts: papers of the Renaissance English text society, 1985-1991* (Binghamton, 1993), p.134.

every Thing that occurs; and fixing the most memorable points, by writing in your Diary.’ The physical act solidified foreign improvements, ‘For by the paines of writing all will stick with you soe particularly and fresh in memory.’⁴¹⁸ By contrast, Sir Philip’s brother Robert found in his diary of Welsh travel ‘many trivial things and very few worth a mans imprinting in his memory.’ This lack of note-worthiness was a criticism commonly levelled at Spain.

Writing ‘imprinted’ improvements onto well-travelled minds by allowing recollection of encounters and experiences long afterwards. Southwell told his nephew that ‘those short hints which you Register will when you are hereafter at home & at Leisure call to your mind many Things, which will otherwise bee forgott.’⁴¹⁹ His focus on the domestic utility of foreign memories demanded that, ‘among all the fine Sights abroad’, Perceval ‘look up to the Northerne Starr, and ever have Home in his thoughts, Soe as from everything observable to be framing little Channels, to drain and draw down the benfit thereof, unto his own particular affairs.’⁴²⁰ William Molyneux similarly presumed that his brother was ‘delighted, I dare say, with every variety of pleasing objects’ abroad, but warned that Thomas would soon ‘be forced even to take up with your old dull friends of Ireland, and rest here. This consideration should make you have your thoughts constantly fixed on us here, and take the other world but at random’. But if the world was random, it was ordered in a traveller’s letters and notebooks.

Those who could not call upon a stock of travelling experiences regretted their disadvantage. Although William Molyneux advised Thomas to keep a written record as ‘the first and chief rule that I would have you propose to yourself’, he had not done so himself in England five years earlier. He was now ‘at a loss for several things I would give my little finger to retrieve, but cannot without visiting all those places ever again.’ Unusually, William advised his brother that his ‘letters to me may very well contain the diary of all your

⁴¹⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676; 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MSS 46953, f.103; 46955A, f.59.

⁴¹⁹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.59.

⁴²⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Spring Gardens, 14 Nov 1677; Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 11 Feb 1678, BL Add MSS 46954B, f.213; 46955A, f.59.

observations of any things remarkable, for I shall constantly lay them safely up'. Trusting impressively in the postal system, he would save Thomas 'the trouble of writing many things twice over – first in your own diary, and then to me; for you may with more ease still, as you compleat a sheet of observations, send it over as a letter to me'.⁴²¹ For others, that very repetition would 'imprint' improvements onto young minds, though perhaps William thought more highly of his brother's intellect. Sir John Perceval had not lost his notebooks but suffered for his generosity. He commended the younger Edward Southwell for his keeping 'a Journal which will hereafter [be] usefull to you as it will also be entertaining to those you shew it to'. Perceval recalled that he had done 'the same 19 years ago', on his travels of 1705-7, but had 'frequently regretted my giving it to a Person who took the same Rout, and after composing out of it any Acc[oun]t of his own travells made away with mine.'⁴²²

The emphasis placed by some historians on commonplace books in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century constructions of the 'self' might imply that they were intensely personal, 'private' documents.⁴²³ Sir John Perceval's lament over lost notebooks and his envious assumption that Edward Southwell would entertain acquaintances with diary entries deny any presumption of privacy. For generations in Perceval's family, such documents were instead shared among a select group; to borrow Reiman's term, they were 'confidential'.⁴²⁴ Manuscript commonplace books were often passed around 'a strictly limited circle of family or friends' or bequeathed as 'monuments' to their compiler's 'personal taste and learning'.⁴²⁵ John Perceval looked forward to borrowing Sir Philip's travel notebooks upon his return and gutted the commonplace books of their dead brother Robert for 'what ever I find

⁴²¹ William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 5 May 1683, *DUM* (Sep 1841), p.313.

⁴²² Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 12 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.72.

⁴²³ Lucia Dacome, 'Noting the mind: commonplace books and the pursuit of the self in eighteenth-century Britain', *Journal of the history of ideas*, 65:4 (Oct 2004), pp.603-25.

⁴²⁴ Reiman, *Modern manuscripts*.

⁴²⁵ Beal, 'Notions in garrison', pp.133-4.

remarkeable, & worth Observation ... in my own Miscelanys'.⁴²⁶ Perhaps the developing neatness and formality of more coherent manuscript travel narratives, rising from Robert Southwell's rough notebooks to a pinnacle of presentation in the younger Edward Southwell and Sir John Perceval, who clearly reworked their journals at home, demonstrate an increased willingness to preserve and share observations, though evidence of personal interactions abroad dwindles.

Another way in which notebooks participated in the written communication of experiences was as a store of information for inclusion in letters home. Sir Philip Perceval was to 'Write often to all your Freinds' to 'entertain them with the observations of your Dyary'.⁴²⁷ Correspondence rarely included all topics deemed worthy of note in journals and the discrepancies can be illuminating. Letters home entertained friends and demonstrated the expensive improvements on offer abroad. These were the ends of correspondence as explicitly stated to younger travellers, though they remained implicit in the reassuring letters of older writers. The development of epistolary skill was a key part of growing up. Letter-writing was a constant preoccupation for the Perceval brothers at Oxford and Cambridge. Adolescent or early-adult continental travel was the great trial of letter-writing abilities, a time to develop and prove epistolary, as well as oral, conversation. Sir Robert Southwell encouraged John Perceval to follow Sir Philip's example, as he had 'very good hopes of your Brothers Improvements abroad and in point of writing a Letter I know noe young gentleman that can out-doe him.' Sir Philip's continental correspondence would help him to 'become Master of a Stile, and acquire a facility in writing', a gentleman 'dexterous enough at his Pen'.⁴²⁸ Epistolary improvement was an aspect of travel as a rite of passage. Lionel Boyle's grandmother worried that Colladon was not allowing his pupil to develop. The tutor

⁴²⁶ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 7 Sep 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.98.

⁴²⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.103.

⁴²⁸ Thomas Lynford to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ's College, Cambridge, 11 Dec 1675; Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676; Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Bath, 9 Jul 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 30 Aug 1677, BL Add MSS 46952, f.246; 46953, f.103; 46954B, ff.3, 82.

apologised for dictating Lionel's letters home, promising that future correspondence would be 'quite of his own sence & making'.⁴²⁹ Their perfunctory style suggests that subsequent letters were indeed more the young earl's own.

Travel correspondence was intended to satisfy the curiosity of those left at home, allowing them to travel vicariously. William Dobyns asked Sir Philip Perceval, a cousin and erstwhile fellow law student in London, not to keep him 'a stranger to your pleasures & your designes or acquaintance you have' abroad.⁴³⁰ Archbishop King, we have seen, used travellers as a network of informers, slaking his thirst for continental knowledge. He hoped that, having 'seen a good many places and conversed with sevl sorts of men', Samuel Molyneux would be 'able to resolve any doubts that may occur to your fr[ien]ds that have not had the same advantages.'⁴³¹ Young correspondents were supposed to tailor letters to their readership, just as they modulated spoken conversation according to company. William Molyneux asked Thomas not to 'stick too close to the fancy of writing your travells' for publication, but to focus instead on books, encounters and curiosities 'that may relate more particularly to *my* particular fancy.'⁴³² The younger Edward Southwell ran through the antiquities of Rome for Sir John Perceval in 1726 'to refresh your memory, and must now speak of new Discoverys, for in every thing else your Lordship is a thorough master, and I but a Raw Schollar, who ought rather to ask Questions then deliver my opinion.' Southwell described the duke of Parma's excavations, begun since Perceval's visit.⁴³³

Relatives at home described letters as vicarious travel, tallying with the impression that the seventeenth-century family was a greater repository of aspiration, achievement and reputation than the individual.⁴³⁴ John Perceval followed his brother 'on ye globe & Mapps'

⁴²⁹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Utrecht, 17 Oct 1686, NLI MS 36, f.597.

⁴³⁰ William Dobyns to Sir Philip Perceval, Lincoln's Inn, 2 Jan 1676/7, BL Add MS 46954A, f.3.

⁴³¹ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 25 Jul 1713, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, f.189(116).

⁴³² William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 5 May 1683, *DUM* (Sep 1841), p.313. *DUM*'s italics.

⁴³³ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 9 Apr 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.139.

⁴³⁴ Miriam Slater, *Family life in the seventeenth century: the Verneys of Claydon House* (London, 1984).

and looked forward to borrowing his notebooks, venturing that ‘an elder Brother shall travell for ye service & advantage of ye younger.’⁴³⁵ Roles were reversed among the Molyneuxs. William, the elder, hoped that he might have ‘also some advantage’ from Thomas’s travels, ‘and that in the lonely condition I am ... we may be as it were yet together’.⁴³⁶ Sir John Perceval thanked Edward Southwell for his accounts of Italy, ‘so just and Circumstantial that I think I accompany you where you go, and I know not if it be not owing to them that these 2 months past tho settled I have dreamed more of Travelling than ever I did in my Life.’⁴³⁷

Young Lionel Boyle was told to write his own letters because correspondence with family and acquaintances was, in Sir Robert Southwell’s formulation, supposed to be ‘a picture of your mind, and a prospective through which they see the happy progress you are making.’ This directive survived. Sir John Perceval told the younger Edward Southwell that it was not ‘only the Entertainment your Letters afford that makes me so desirous to hear from you, there is something more of consequence I desire to learn by them and that is your keeping your health, and escaping all the bad Accidents that Travellers are lyable to.’ For some younger travellers, this aspect of letter-writing was yet another way in which continental voyages followed university education. John Perceval did not travel, but his grandfather’s advice for Oxford demonstrates consistent priorities. The elder Robert Southwell advised that ‘when you write unto your deare Mother or any other of your dearest friends’, John should ‘let your letter be such as may plainly shew the fruite & effects of your studdyes & learning & such as may make them understand that their care & charges expended on you is not lost & that every sentence in your letter may shew the Contrary’.⁴³⁸ Travel correspondence sought to justify even greater expenses.

⁴³⁵ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 23 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.125.

⁴³⁶ William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 5 May 1683, *DUM* (Sep 1841), p.313.

⁴³⁷ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 12 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, ff.71v-72.

⁴³⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676; Robert Southwell (elder) to John Perceval, Kinsale, 30 Nov 1676; Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 12 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MSS 46953, ff.103, 200; 47031, f.72.

Letters are never the outward manifestation of inward thought, ‘a picture of your mind’, but Sir Robert Southwell’s assumption of ‘happy progress’ betrays a key feature of travel correspondence: it rarely includes instances of misbehaviour or deviation from advice.⁴³⁹ A lack of written communication was itself misbehaviour, for which Robert Perceval was often chided.⁴⁴⁰ An emphasis on displayed improvement might favour prosaic accounts lacking personal response. Lionel Boyle’s dutiful relations of Switzerland are dismissed by MacLysaght as ‘disappointing, being no more than the stilted and colourless productions of a schoolboy’, but they attest to the strictures of travel correspondence.⁴⁴¹ The idealised nature of epistolary accounts was perhaps assumed by all but rarely acknowledged. Arguments between tutor and pupil can be illuminating, but it was commonly in the interests of both to conspire in missives. Brant claims that eighteenth-century letters ‘allowed travellers a space in which to feel comfortable with uneven identities’, but her description cannot fit our correspondence as envisioned by advisors, tutors and travellers.⁴⁴² The letter home was often a purposefully restrictive medium, an idealised ‘picture’ of personal improvement.

Sir Robert Southwell advised his nephew to send ‘a picture of your mind’ to family and friends, acknowledging that letters home were shared beyond the addressee. Schneider underlines ‘the collective nature’ of early-modern ‘letter writing, transmission, and reception’.⁴⁴³ On the authorial side, this is sometimes clear. Sir Philip Perceval’s letters often seem translations of Rasigade’s French-language equivalents.⁴⁴⁴ Edward Dering and Francis Parry wrote joint letters from southern Spain.⁴⁴⁵ More frequently, however, we find evidence

⁴³⁹ Black, *British abroad*, pp.189-90; French and Rothery, ‘Entry into the world’, p.407.

⁴⁴⁰ Robert Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ’s College, Cambridge, 18 Nov 1675, BL Add MS 46952, f.220.

⁴⁴¹ Lionel Boyle to Margaret, countess dowager of Orrery, Geneva, 5 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, f.651; Edward MacLysaght (ed.), *Calendar of the Orrery papers* (Dublin, 1941), p.v.

⁴⁴² Brant, *Eighteenth-century letters*, p.245.

⁴⁴³ Gary Schneider, *The culture of epistolarity: vernacular letters and letter writing in early modern England* (Newark, DE, 2005), p.22.

⁴⁴⁴ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Nantes, 12/22 Oct 1677; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Saumur, 29 Oct 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, ff.152v, 168.

⁴⁴⁵ Francis Parry and Edward Dering to Sir Robert Southwell, Seville, 16 Apr 1669, BL Add MS 38015, f.27.

for extended readership. Archbishop King used Samuel Molyneux's account of Hanover to 'disabate' opponents in Dublin. He 'made no scruple of reading or shewing yr. Letter to most of my acquaintance', who were duly 'Choaked'.⁴⁴⁶ Sir John Perceval knew that 'all my family will be the better for' the younger Edward Southwell's Italian letters, which he discussed with his wife and children in Paris.⁴⁴⁷ Conversely, authors had to be explicit when restricting circulation. Lady Katherine Perceval and the elder Edward Southwell both failed to get correspondence burned.⁴⁴⁸

Iberian incivilities

Communication, both spoken and written, was the root of continental improvement and corruption. Its centrality is demonstrated by the exclusion of Spain and Portugal from most itineraries. Protestant encounters with Iberia were rare beyond the necessary journeys of merchants, soldiers and diplomats throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This contrasted with strong Irish Catholic connections to Spain, whether clerical, commercial or migratory.⁴⁴⁹ Historians usually explain the lack of Protestant travel with reference to discomfort, inaccessibility and the Inquisition.⁴⁵⁰ Robert Southwell certainly deemed Portugal too distant in 1659-62, even with the incentive of accompanying Catherine of Braganza to England; nor is there any evidence that he tried to fulfil Richard Fanshawe's claim that his itinerary included 'possible Spaine'.⁴⁵¹ Southwell suffered as an envoy in the late 1660s from the practical difficulties of hot, 'dull and uncomfortable' Iberian travel. But his diplomatic

⁴⁴⁶ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 2 Dec [1713], TCD Lyons MS 2537, f.27.

⁴⁴⁷ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell (younger), Paris, 30 Oct 1725, BL Add MS 47031, f.25.

⁴⁴⁸ Lady Katherine Perceval to William Taylor, [Saumur], 23 Jan/2 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.27; Edward Southwell to William King, London, 7 Jan 1722, TCD Lyons MSS 1995-2008, f.2022.

⁴⁴⁹ Patricia O'Connell, 'The early-modern Irish college network in Iberia, 1590-1800' in O'Connor (ed.), *Irish in Europe*, pp.49-64; Karin Schüller, 'Irish migrant networks and rivalries in Spain, 1575-1659' in O'Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Irish migrants*, pp.88-103; María Begoña Villar García, 'Irish migration and exiles in Spain: refugees, soldiers, traders and statesmen' in O'Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Irish communities*, pp.172-99; Igor Pérez Tostado, *Irish influence at the court of Spain in the seventeenth century* (Dublin, 2008); Óscar Recio Morales, *Ireland and the Spanish empire, 1600-1825* (Dublin, 2010).

⁴⁵⁰ Stoye, *English travellers*, p.235; Black, *British abroad*, p.73.

⁴⁵¹ Sir Richard Fanshawe to Robert Southwell, Paris, 6 Aug 1659, BL Add MS 58219, f.31.

privileges, under which he employed a chaplain and had Anglican services in his Lisbon home, cast him only as an observer of a 1669 Lisbon auto da fé.⁴⁵² There is no indication that Edward Southwell attempted travel to Spain, the gap in his experience identified by King.⁴⁵³ Practical and religious considerations were important, but advisors were also turned against Iberia by its perceived lack of civil conversation and noteworthy sights, the twin sources of improvement.

Irish Protestant experience of Spain survives outside the well-preserved travel notebooks or descriptive letters that attest to encounters with Italy, France, the Low Countries or Germany because the self-improving purposes that prompted such documents, ‘a good Stock of materials’ for use ‘at home & at Leisure’, were not thought achievable in Iberia. Despite otherwise prolific record-keeping, Sir Robert Southwell noted nothing of his journey home by land from Portugal in 1669; nor does much survive of the two voyages between Lisbon and Madrid made by John Sampson, Southwell’s long-serving employee.⁴⁵⁴ Attachment to a diplomatic retinue was a rare way in which ‘young men of good family’ might see Iberia.⁴⁵⁵ Edward Dering joined his brother-in-law Southwell on his mission to Lisbon. While Sir Robert worked, Dering travelled to Seville and Cadiz with Parry, who had recently tutored a son of Lord Ashburnham on an educational voyage around France, Italy and Spain.⁴⁵⁶ Dering treated the trip as educational travel, promising Southwell ‘an exa[c]t discription’ of the ‘Processions and Sollemnities’ of Seville during Holy Week, the sight of which being ‘ye very designe of this journey’.⁴⁵⁷ It was more usual, though, for first-hand Iberian knowledge

⁴⁵² Robert Southwell to Ormond (draft), 16 Apr 1661, NAL Forster MS 47.A.39, f.8(5); Francis Parry to Joseph Williamson, Lisbon, 3 Apr; 7/17 Jun 1669, BL Add MS 35100, ff.24, 29v; Southwell to Arlington, Lisbon, 5/15 Nov 1667 in Carte, *Revolutions of Portugal*, p.209; L.M.E. Shaw, *Trade, Inquisition and the English nation in Portugal, 1650-1690* (Manchester, 1989), p.128; Phyllis S. Lachs, ‘An English account of an auto da fé: Lisbon, 1669’, *Jewish quarterly review*, 57:4 (Apr 1967), pp.319-26.

⁴⁵³ William King to Edward Southwell (elder), Dublin, 2 Dec 1723, TCD Lyons MS 2537, f.30.

⁴⁵⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Thomas Lloyd, Lisbon, 10/20 Jun 1667; 1/11 Jan 1667/8; Francis Parry to Ball, Lisbon, 30 May/9 Jun 1669, BL Add MSS 35099, ff.38v, 47; 35100, f.29v.

⁴⁵⁵ Stoye, *English travellers*, p.261.

⁴⁵⁶ Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 328/3.

⁴⁵⁷ Francis Parry and Edward Dering to Sir Robert Southwell, Seville, 16 Apr 1669, BL Add MS 35100, f.27.

to reach Irish Protestants through military life, especially during the War of the Spanish Succession. William Southwell regaled King and Mary Monck educated herself about her brother Richard Molesworth's wartime surroundings.⁴⁵⁸

Iberian travel was not as formalised as voyages to France, Italy, the Low Countries or Germany, literally more note-worthy destinations. Enthusiasm for Spain's Moorish architecture only emerged in the late eighteenth century, partly in reaction to the over-popularisation of destinations that were still fresh in our period, when the country's Islamic past excited little interest.⁴⁵⁹ Sir Robert Southwell indulged young Nathaniel Coxe's unusual desire to visit Spain and Portugal, promising to press the argument with his father. Southwell, then in Whitehall, probably knew Thomas Coxe as the royal physician and a fellow of the Royal Society. He predicted that he would 'run with ye Streame and tell me those are places dry and melancholy to ye view, and that onely time and digging in ye mine will produce ye advantages they conceall'.⁴⁶⁰ Southwell was a good judge of fashions. Gailhard observed that 'Gentlemen who travel to see the World, and improve themselves, make no long stay' in Iberia.⁴⁶¹

Spain withheld its advantages. Parry joked that 'what ever excellencies the Spaniard hath he keeps to himselfe, fearing he should loose them if they should be discovered.'⁴⁶² Eighteenth-century British travel accounts discredited Spaniards as 'barbaric', but for our earlier period we can be more precise: the indigenous people lacked conversational civility and noteworthy sites.⁴⁶³ Parry bemoaned the inflated vision of Spain received from historians, 'the pretended witnesses of truth'. The country was 'in plaine English, barren' and 'almost a

⁴⁵⁸ [Monck], *Marinda*, pp.143-56; 'The Memoriall of Richard Lord Molesworth', NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

⁴⁵⁹ Tonia Raquejo, 'The "Arab Cathedrals": Moorish architecture as seen by British travellers', *Burlington magazine*, 128:1001 (Aug 1986), pp.555-63.

⁴⁶⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to 'Mr. Coxe', [London], 12 Sep 1670, BL Add MS 38015, f.124. This was probably Nathaniel, son of Thomas Coxe, FRS from 1663 and Charles II's physician from 1665. 'Mr: Nathaniel Coxe – sonne to Dr: Coxe' was at Naples in Dec 1674 (SP93/1, f.255); Southwell talks of Coxe's further travel.

⁴⁶¹ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.175.

⁴⁶² Francis Parry to Bony[?], [Madrid], 16 Aug [1665], Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 328/3, f.521v.

⁴⁶³ Ana Hontanilla, 'Images of barbaric Spain in eighteenth-century British travel writing', *Studies in eighteenth-century culture*, 37 (2008), pp.119-43.

desart'. He complained about travel and lodging but reserved his sharpest criticism for behaviour in company, a Spaniard's 'words marching out of his mouth, not thronging like a ffrenchmans'. His 'pride makes him despise strangers' and he shunned sociable civility: 'when he is at home he is in paradise, & he does penance every where else'.⁴⁶⁴

Parry reflected views upheld by Irish Protestant travellers and their guides. Appended to the 1671 edition of Gailhard's *Present state of the princes and republicks of Italy*, 'The character of Spain' is of uncertain authorship but deemed Iberian journeys similarly futile. Although 'all rational people will shew themselves civil to Strangers who pass thorough their Countrey', in Spain 'no such thing is thought upon'. Visitors were fleeced. The Spanish were 'not very sociable'. Their mannerisms 'wholly take away the pleasure of Society, & banish Liberty, wherein doth consist the sweetness of Conversation'.⁴⁶⁵ Both Parry and the 'Character of Spain' attacked their subjects for 'seldome travelling', an indication of how these qualities were supposedly inculcated.⁴⁶⁶ Perceval and Gailhard recorded Spaniards as 'troublesome' in conversation, overly proud, 'very secret' and speaking little.⁴⁶⁷ As the Iberian appendix to Gailhard's Italian treatise concluded, 'Benefit and pleasure are the two great ends of Travellers, but in *Spain* neither is to be had, the people of it not being sociable, and there is hardly any thing worthy of a mans curiosity, or at least the pains to go to see it'.⁴⁶⁸ No wonder it took the captivating pageantry of Holy Week in Seville for Edward Dering to realise that Spain was 'much abetter then I expected'. The only Iberian 'civility'

⁴⁶⁴ Francis Parry to Bony[?]; Parry to M. Bowman, [Madrid], 16 Aug [1665], Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 328/3, ff.521v-522.

⁴⁶⁵ Jean Gailhard, *The present state of the princes and republicks of Italy with observations on them* (London, 1671), pp.214, 217, 223.

⁴⁶⁶ Francis Parry to M. Bowman, [Madrid], 16 Apr [1665], Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 328/3, f.522; Gailhard, *Princes and republicks of Italy*, p.220.

⁴⁶⁷ BL Add MS 47113, ff.14-17v; Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.178-81.

⁴⁶⁸ Gailhard, *Princes and republicks of Italy*, p.233.

that he records is given by Englishmen abroad.⁴⁶⁹ Spain was not thought to offer the sights and civilities sought by Irish Protestants.⁴⁷⁰

Travelling tutors

To ensure that advice was followed, parents or guardians often sent younger travellers abroad with tutors, responsible for daily practicalities and grander improvements. Sir Robert Southwell informed Sir Philip Perceval that he had found Jean Gailhard, ‘a French gentleman’ whose ‘experience enables him to governe the course of your Travels; As where to goe; how long to stay; what things to learne; what acquaintance to make; and how to keep the Ballance of Expences even.’ Southwell warned that ‘hee must bee Pilot, and being answerable to mee and all your freinds and Relations for his happy conduct and success therein, you must needs conforme your selfe to his Rules and Directions in the same.’⁴⁷¹ Expecting a travelling tutor to undertake education, route planning, financial management and religious and moral supervision, Southwell echoed other patriarchal figures like Ormond and Burlington.

Parents expended much energy searching for suitable tutors. Ormond was dissatisfied by the ‘ridiculous management’ of James Butler’s finances in Orange by De L’Angle, of whom he received ‘a wors & wors character’. De L’Angle had been recommended by the Church-of-England clergyman John Durel, who had once studied at the Huguenot academy of Saumur, but Ormond engaged his network of continentally-attuned correspondents to find a new man in 1678. He asked Arlington ‘to use his friends & indevours to find a fiter Governour’. Lord Longford proposed one Oglanby, ‘a man fited by travell & other quallifications to be a Governour to a youth’. Ormond also considered Sir Robert Southwell’s

⁴⁶⁹ Francis Parry and Edward Dering to Sir Robert Southwell, Seville, 16 Apr 1669, BL Add MS 38015, f.27.

⁴⁷⁰ Ana Clara Guerrero, ‘British travellers in eighteenth-century Spain’, *Studies on Voltaire and the eighteenth century*, 305 (Oxford, 1992), p.1632: into the eighteenth century, Spain offered little to ‘the enlightened traveller’.

⁴⁷¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 5 Jun 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.102v.

suggestion of Henshaw, probably a son of Thomas, Southwell's friend and fellow Royal Society member.⁴⁷² Ormond eventually chose Peter Drelincourt, who also had connections to Durel, to watch over James at Oxford.⁴⁷³ One St. Hélène would accompany him abroad. Lady Katherine Perceval had written from Saumur to ask Southwell to help a local Protestant family, the St. Hélènes, which he evidently did.⁴⁷⁴ But what were parents and guardians looking for? They differed on minor aspects of a travel companion's approach. While Ossory was determined that his son, then ten, should have 'a fitt person to travel with him, whose trade has not bin a tutor, or who is not a pedant', Gailhard and Colladon took a more academic approach to European improvement.⁴⁷⁵ All agreed, however, that the ideal man required prior continental experience. As Ormond judged of the young earl of Derby, 'to live abroad without the Assistance & advice of some person who has the Language & Experience will be as impossible with any hope of Advantage to him by his Travayle or without great disadvantage & danger to his person & honour.'⁴⁷⁶

Tutors were expensive safeguards. Ormond was prepared to spend one hundred to three hundred pounds a year on a new governor for James Butler, 'or more if neede bee'.⁴⁷⁷ Between 1685 and 1689, the Boyles paid Colladon twenty-two crowns a month on top of lodgings, food and other costs.⁴⁷⁸ Sir Robert Southwell gave Rasigade one hundred pounds a year in his looser role as companion to Sir Philip Perceval.⁴⁷⁹ Such costs may explain why less wealthy travellers tended to delay voyages until they might cope with continental pressures alone. This may hold for Robert Southwell (twenty-four in 1659), William and

⁴⁷² Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 14 Aug; 19 Aug; 11 Sep 1678, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, ff.7-11v; Vivienne Larminie, 'Durel, John [Jean] (1625-1683), *DNB*.

⁴⁷³ Brian Armstrong and Elisabeth Labrousse (eds.), 'Une lettre de Jean Durel à Charles Drelincourt', *Bulletin de la société de l'histoire du protestantisme français* (1976), p.263-279.

⁴⁷⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Saumur, 1 Jan 1677/8, BL Add MS 46954B, f.267.

⁴⁷⁵ Ossory to Ormond, 6/14 Feb 1674/5, Bod. Carte MS 220, f.482.

⁴⁷⁶ Ormond, 'Instructions for Mulys', 17 Nov 1673, Bod. Carte MS 50, f.111.

⁴⁷⁷ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 14 Aug 1678, NAL Forster 47.A.40, f.7v.

⁴⁷⁸ Travelling expenses of earl of Orrery (1685-9), NLI MS 13215. This was over five times what the Boyles paid Lionel's valet de chambre.

⁴⁷⁹ Sir Robert Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Bath, 9 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.3v.

Thomas Molyneux (twenty-seven and twenty-two in 1683) and Robert Molesworth (twenty-eight in 1684). Molesworth endorsed this approach in print, criticising the fact that ‘We send them abroad Children, and bring them home great Boys’ because ‘the returns they make for the Expences laid out by their Parents, are suitable to their age’. The travelling he recommended was ‘that of *Men*’.⁴⁸⁰ The threshold between supervision and independence was around twenty-one, judging by Sir Philip Perceval. According to Gailhard, Perceval then began to tell ‘others I have nothing to doe with his travells’. Sir Philip thought himself ‘free to doe what he please’s being master of his person and estate’. He was ‘no child now but knowes without being told what company is fitt for him to keep and how to govern himself’. Sir Robert Southwell acquiesced, replacing Gailhard with Rasigade, ‘another Governor, or Companion, or what [Sir Philip] please to make him.’ Rasigade’s ‘great, and happyest Skill’ would lie in gaining ‘such Creditt and soe much freindship with [Perceval] as that you may governe as a favourite & not as a Tutor.’ Southwell’s nephew was ‘now in that pitch of Age, and other Circumstances, which usually make young men think themselves capable of governing others and [take it as] a sort of affront, to think that they need to be governed.’⁴⁸¹ Travellers who left home in their twenties generally did so without supervision.

The importance and the expense of travelling tutors meant that parents or guardians often turned to trusted acquaintances. Robert King, second baron Kingston, was ‘assisted by the Prudence and good Management’ of Francis Quail, a doctor of divinity who had already served as King’s tutor at home.⁴⁸² Jeremy Hall acted as tutor at home and abroad to several Boyles.⁴⁸³ St. George Ashe entrusted his son to George Berkeley, whom he knew through Trinity College, the Dublin Philosophical Society and their common calling in the Church of

⁴⁸⁰ Robert Southwell to Ormond, The Hague, [c.1661], NAL Forster MS 47.A.39, f.9(6); Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, pp.viii-ix.

⁴⁸¹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Jun 1677; Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Bath, 9 Jul 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Bath, 10 Jul 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.274; 46954B, ff.3, 7v.

⁴⁸² [Pullen], *Vindication of Sr. Robert King*, p.109.

⁴⁸³ Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp.29-30, 314-5.

Ireland. Berkeley had experience, having served as chaplain to Lord Peterborough on his Italian embassy three years beforehand. Where parents chose countrymen, they often settled on churchmen, but Irish Protestants often turned to Huguenot travelling tutors, especially before 1685. Gailhard and Rasigade accompanied Sir Philip Perceval through France and Italy; James Butler was supervised in Orange, Oxford and France by De L'Angle, Drelincourt and St. Hélène; Charles Butler travelled with Maximilien Misson to Germany and Italy; Lionel Boyle fell under the watchful eye of Colladon in France, the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and Italy. In the Boyle family, especially, the employment of French Protestant travelling tutors reached back to the 1630s. Sometimes, as with countrymen, existing Huguenot domestic tutors accompanied pupils abroad: Charles Petty travelled to the United Provinces with Mesnil in 1687.⁴⁸⁴

Huguenot supervision of Irish Protestant travellers spread beyond the theoretically-developed experiences of sons. Lest her thirteen-year-old daughter Helena 'be frightned out of her small wits' on the journey to meet her family in the Loire valley, Lady Katherine Perceval engaged Anne Le Fevre, a 'very well bred Gentlewoman' of Saumur, to 'convey' her from Paris. Helena required 'wise and good company that knows how to struggle with the difficulties that travellers must meet'. A family employee, John Sampson, had brought Helena to France, but Lady Katherine felt that her daughter should travel with 'friends that have Women in their company'. When Le Fevre arrived in Paris, though, 'the Childe feared she was a Roman Catholic'; Sampson would not hand Helena over until Lady Katherine satisfied him to 'the contrary'. She soon did so, as Le Fevre had been tutoring her other daughter, Kate, for some time in Saumur.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁸⁴ *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.279, 304.

⁴⁸⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 25 Mar/4 Apr 1678; Lady Katherine Perceval to Southwell, Terfort, 21/31 Aug 1678; Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 29 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.91-2; 46955B, ff.80, 90.

For a process afforded such importance, there are relatively few direct indications of how and why parents chose individual Huguenot travelling tutors. Gailhard had lived in England since about 1660 and, judging by printed dedications to men like Thomas Coxe and Joseph Williamson, was known to the Whitehall and Royal Society circles from which Sir Robert Southwell drew his closest acquaintances.⁴⁸⁶ Southwell, a pious man who anchored travel advice in religious imperatives, may have sympathised with the ‘very sober’ approach implied by Gailhard’s theological publications, which revealed ‘a dogmatic predestinarian Calvinist’.⁴⁸⁷ Most importantly, perhaps, Southwell was probably impressed by the tutor’s experience of guiding young Englishmen around Europe. When Gailhard was approached, his *Compleat gentleman* was still in manuscript but his 1668 *Present state of the princes and republicks of Italy* and the following year’s *Present state of the republick of Venice* proved his aptitude.⁴⁸⁸ Gailhard had recent practical experience, guiding Sir Thomas Grosvenor around France, Italy and much of central Europe in the early 1670s. The reasons for choosing Gailhard’s replacement, Alexandre de la Rasigade, are less documented. Rasigade may have lived in Westminster at his death in 1720, but it is unclear when he moved there or whether he did so directly from his ancestral home in Languedoc.⁴⁸⁹ Rasigade was well-positioned to provide contacts as Perceval turned south from the Loire valley. Between Toulouse and Montpellier, Perceval ‘passed by Mr. Rasigades brothers houses where I found my selfe as wellcome as If I were att Burton’, his Cork home.⁴⁹⁰ Southwell was probably most concerned to establish ‘how fortunate a person [Rasigade had] beene, in Conducting some English

⁴⁸⁶ Jean Gailhard, *Two discourses. The first concerning a private settlement at home after travel. The second concerning the statesman, or him who is in publick employments* (London, 1682).

⁴⁸⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 20 May 1676, BL Add MS 46953, f.68; Jean Gailhard, *The right of the Church asserted, against the power usurped over it* (London, 1660); idem, *The controversie between episcopacy and presbytery: stated and discussed, by way of letters, at the desire of a person of quality and learning* (London, 1660); Goldie, ‘Gailhard’.

⁴⁸⁸ Gailhard, *Princes and republicks of Italy*; idem, *The present state of the republick of Venice, as to the government, laws, forces, riches, manners, customs, revenue, and territory of that common-wealth, with a relation of the present war in Candia* (London, 1669).

⁴⁸⁹ Will of Alexander Boyer de Rasigade (1720), NA Prob. 11/575, f.179.

⁴⁹⁰ Sir Philip Perceval to Lady Katherine Perceval, Montpellier, 24 Dec/3 Jan 1677/8, BL Add MS 46954B, f.271v.

Gentlemen abroad in their Travailes'.⁴⁹¹ They included Sir Edward Villiers.⁴⁹² As with epistolary advice, prior experience lent tutors authority.

Conclusions

That an Irish Protestant of social standing was deemed 'fit to travel' did not mean that he or, more rarely, she was left to experience the continent on his or her own terms. Written and oral advice, bestowed by experts, cemented European travel as a shared experience across several generations of families like the Southwells, Percevals, Molesworths and Molyneuxs, enabling untravelled correspondents like Archbishop William King to build up continental knowledge. Advice interacted with print, manuscript and personal experience to shape behaviour on the continent and its memorialisation with the ultimate end of improving rather than corrupting an Irish Protestant traveller.

Travel advice shows remarkable consistency over time and for different destinations. Robert Southwell drew on sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century works for his 1658 compilation, which formed the basis of Isaac Newton's letter to Francis Aston a decade later. William King used a template letter of advice for young Irish Protestants travelling to the Low Countries, France and Jamaica in the early eighteenth century. The archbishop addressed Samuel Molyneux, already in the United Provinces, and the younger Edward Southwell, contemplating France and Italy, in identical terms. The two travellers, heading into very different political, cultural and religious contexts, would both arrive 'in a New World' where 'opportunitys of improving your self' would also prove 'usefull to yr. Countrey'. Although King was sure they would 'meet with many things, that you may turn to Advantage', he advised that it was 'a loose world where you are at present, and worse where you intend to Travell, both as to principles and practice'. Though the young men intended for

⁴⁹¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Alexandre de la Rasigade, Bath, 9 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.3.

⁴⁹² Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 28 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.63.

the Protestant United Provinces and Catholic France, the archbishop wished them ‘proof against’ the same dangers.⁴⁹³ King recycled his template with more geographical accuracy for his nephew, Lieutenant William King, who left London to take up a position in Jamaica in 1723. The young officer too was ‘going into a new World, where I understand most people are lost by mismanaging themselves’.⁴⁹⁴ The themes of travel advice remained consistent. The prioritisation of observation and conversation endured, reiterated by acknowledged experts in families or ‘discourse communities’ over several generations.

The ability to apply these consistent approaches to the changing realities of European travel demanded, though, that family and acquaintances gather and bestow advice based on up-to-date knowledge of continental conditions. Here we might revisit Robert Southwell’s dealings with the Howard family. The English Catholic Howards had deep Italian connections. Southwell was entertained by the duke of Norfolk’s household at Padua and travelled with various brothers in Rome, northern Italy and the Low Countries. Southwell’s contemporaries in the Howard family had extensive continental experience. Several were educated at Douai during the 1650s and travelled through Italy either side of the Restoration.⁴⁹⁵ This generation built on foundations famously laid by ‘the collector earl’ Thomas Howard.⁴⁹⁶ Despite the English family’s wealth of Italian knowledge, however, Southwell was asked to provide Edward Howard with a manuscript guide to ‘Such English as Your Honour will meete in Italy, and of some few others.’ The document judged the characters and usefulness of contacts, from English merchants and diplomats to Irish Catholic priests.⁴⁹⁷ In the uncertain period following the king’s return, the Howards desired up-to-date

⁴⁹³ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 10 Jun 1713; King to Edward Southwell, Dublin, 21 Jan 1717, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, f.164(102v); 2535, f.63.

⁴⁹⁴ King (ed.), *Great archbishop*, p.243.

⁴⁹⁵ John Martin Robinson, *The dukes of Norfolk* (Chichester, 1995), pp.117, 119, 124, 133; Henry Kent S. Causton, *The Howard papers, with a biographical pedigree and criticism* (London, 1862), p.89.

⁴⁹⁶ David Howarth, *Lord Arundel and his circle* (London, 1985); Edward Chaney, ‘Evelyn, Inigo Jones and the collector Earl of Arundel’ in Frances Hunter and Michael Hunter, *John Evelyn and his milieu: essays* (London, 2003), pp.37-60.

⁴⁹⁷ BL Add MS 38015, ff.36-9.

information on reliable contacts in Italy from a recent traveller on whom they could model their own experiences. Emulation, then, might not lead to unchanging approaches but rather to highly responsive pragmatism. While inexperienced advisors like Archbishop King pedalled unchanging behavioural advice, first-hand knowledge allowed men like Southwell and Molesworth to add directions and useful contacts.

An examination of travel advice raises questions that the rest of the thesis must address, not least among them the relationship between prescription and practice. The most pressing issue is also the most basic: the company of foreign Catholics was taken to improve Protestants of Irish residence. Much advice was crafted to help travellers ignore or surmount differences, whether of language, custom or religion, that were social barriers at home. Travellers were to ignore religious polarities in favour of non-confrontational, improving discussion just as wealthy Church-of-Ireland Protestants consolidated their confessional hegemony at home.⁴⁹⁸ But any treatment of the relationships between Irish Protestants, English-speaking fellow travellers, Irish Catholics and continental hosts ultimately requires evidence of practice, rather than the implications of advice.

⁴⁹⁸ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*.

4. ‘A World of English’?

Extensive contact with ‘countrymen’ was broadly disdained in various forms of advice, but we should not to confuse prescription with practice. Travellers predictably sought familiarity in new surroundings. Extending their Italian stay in 1718, George Berkeley and the younger St. George Ashe were relieved to have in Rome ‘about thirty English gentlemen and noblemen, most of them of good sense and very sober.’ Berkeley predicted that this would make their extended stay ‘as agreeable as it is possible to be out of England’.⁴⁹⁹ Throughout our period, travellers congregated with similar sentiments, whether male or female, young or old. ‘Indeed’, wrote Sir John Perceval on a journey to Spa with his wife Catherine in 1723, ‘the pleasure that persons of the same Country have to meet in foreign Countrys prompts them to rejoyce with Each other and it is impossible for them when not sick to forbear enjoying each others company’.⁵⁰⁰ The company of English-speaking men and women was a main practical feature of Irish Protestant travel to Europe, but types of sociability varied according to the age, gender, means and purpose of an Irish-resident traveller.

What did Irish Protestants mean when they referred to their ‘countrymen’ abroad? We should be wary of explicit identifications, especially for a community so ‘amphibious’ as the Irish Protestant. National labels could be adopted casually for seemingly banal reasons. In childhood, Rupert Southwell was honoured as ‘an absolute frenchman’ for his linguistic ability, while his younger brother Edward was a ‘little Irishman’ on account of his residence with his aunt in Co. Cork. But Sir Philip Perceval’s description of his cousin Rupert is less flippant than it might seem: Archbishop King told Samuel Molyneux that mastering ‘the Languages of the Countreys

⁴⁹⁹ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 28 Jul 1718, *Berkeley and Percival: the correspondence of George Berkeley and Sir John Percival*, ed. Benjamin Rand (Cambridge, 1914), pp.171-2.

⁵⁰⁰ Lord Egmont’s travels, BL Add MS 47059, f.4v.

where you are to travel' was 'next [to] being naturalized'.⁵⁰¹ Linguistic ability, usually in French but sometimes in Italian too, was an important barometer of 'fitness to travel' because continental conversations with foreign hosts were very rarely conducted in English.⁵⁰² Where traveller and local did not share French or the particular indigenous language, as with Robert Southwell in Prague, the academically-inclined might hope for 'the singular fortune of finding someone who speaks Latin'. Southwell sometimes relied on Latin in Paris, as his French improved, but in Florence he 'got very soon into the speaking of Italian'.⁵⁰³ The creation of what linguists might call a more familiar 'speech-domain' was, then, a significant consequence when English-speakers gathered abroad.⁵⁰⁴ These were exclusive as well as inclusive domains. On the road from Dreux to Paris, one of Southwell's coach companions called 'de Marette the Carrier ... a Crosse old Rogue'. The traveller said 'it to his face, speaking English'.⁵⁰⁵

The degree to which Irish Protestant travellers made ethnic or religious distinctions among the transient communities of English-speakers on the continent varied. They might speak easily of Irish Catholics as their 'countrymen', perhaps invoking the specific early-modern sense of a common regional origin. Robert Southwell included several Irish Catholic priests in the list of potential contacts, prepared for Edward Howard in 1661 under the heading 'Of Such English as Your Honour will meete in Italy, and of some few others'.⁵⁰⁶ Southwell's sister, Lady Katherine Perceval, insisted more forcefully on ethnic definitions of Englishness, desiring 'a right English man' to

⁵⁰¹ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 20 Feb 1712/3, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, f.121(83).

⁵⁰² Peter Burke, *Languages and communities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2004), pp.85-8, 115-7.

⁵⁰³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Prague, 13 Nov 1661, Gal. 254/110: 'Non sò niente della lingua, e non serco di saper perche fin a qui ho havuto fortuna singolare di trovar quelcaduno qui parla latino'; BL Egerton MS 1634, f.11; Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, 25 Feb 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.477; St. George Ashe to Edmond Halley, Vienna, 9/19 Jul 1691, Royal Society EL/A/41; *The Montgomery manuscripts*, ed. George Hill (Belfast, 1869), p.411.

⁵⁰⁴ Peter Burke, 'Introduction' in Burke and Roy Porter (eds.), *The social history of language* (Cambridge, 1987), p.7.

⁵⁰⁵ BL Add MS 58219, f.15.

⁵⁰⁶ BL Add MS 38015, ff.36-9.

complement her household in the Loire valley.⁵⁰⁷ She distinguished in Saumur between the ‘many English & some of my own Country Men’ who begged her for money, the latter presumably Irishmen and perhaps even from Cork. In letters of advice and in the practice of continental travel alike, however, Irish Protestants envisaged a broader community of English-speakers from the British Isles. After all, one of the primary theoretical and actual dangers of their company was its pernicious impact on the acquisition of local languages, as Thomas Molyneux confessed from Leiden. Had he not ‘generally kept company with English or such foreigners that have talked to me nothing but Lattin’, his Dutch travels would have been ‘much more pleasant and satisfactory than they possibly can be now.’⁵⁰⁸

It is worth our distinguishing between English-speaking travellers to highlight the ways in which families or individuals used both their Irish residence and their self-identification as Irish or English to facilitate and enliven continental travel. This combination might differentiate the practicalities of their European voyages from those undertaken by English or Scottish residents, though they often travelled in the company of both. On those few occasions that historians consider Robert Southwell’s voyage of 1659-62, for instance, he is treated as uncomplicatedly English.⁵⁰⁹ This ignores important aspects of his European experience. A mixture of English, Irish Catholic and continental acquaintances might distance the foreign encounters of Irish Protestants from those of ‘a right English man’.

⁵⁰⁷ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 5 Feb 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.43.

⁵⁰⁸ Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, 25 Feb 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.477.

⁵⁰⁹ Discussing attitudes towards Catholicism, of all things, Stoye has Southwell stand as ‘an Englishman’ in *English travellers*, p.164; A. Lytton Sells, *The paradise of travellers: the Italian influence on Englishmen in the seventeenth century* (London, 1964).

Travellers ‘of note’

Transient ‘English’ communities abroad were defined socially, as well as nationally and linguistically. While there were Englishmen at Turin in 1678, they were apparently ‘not men of quality’ and were thus unworthy of Sir Philip Perceval’s society or Alexandre de la Rasigade’s ink.⁵¹⁰ Similarly, Samuel Molyneux reported from The Hague in 1714 that ‘we have a vast number of English here but not many of note’.⁵¹¹ Needless to say, any English servants brought to the continent were not considered conversable company by the gentry and nobility. Strikingly, exclusive Anglophone communities abroad often prioritised questions of social station over those of political favour or ideology.

In letters home, Irish Protestants and their companions might advertise the orthodoxy of their company. At the very beginning of our period, of course, definitions of orthodoxy were themselves unusually malleable. Leaving Ireland in the last year of the protectorate, Robert Southwell was advised by William Paget to winter at Caen, where ‘he ses there is very good Company and a resort of such persons as are discontented with England.’ Settling in similar environs at Montpellier, Southwell would relate to Henry Oldenburg ‘the effect of what acquaintance I here make: for ye present I think tis a place of much liberty but for my owne part I have to play ye salamander & untoucht amid ye hottest fire’.⁵¹² With the return of the king, Southwell’s attempts to avoid controversy in conversation resulted in political jokes. Before leaving Ireland in March 1659, Southwell had spoken of ‘the Protector’ in bland terms, as seems to have been common among English travellers during the later years of the Interregnum, but recording conversation with Englishmen in January 1661 he observed that

⁵¹⁰ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Turin, 9/19 Oct 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.144v: ‘Il y avoit quelques anglois qui sont venus de Genes, mais non pas gens de qualité’.

⁵¹¹ Samuel Molyneux to William King, The Hague, 12 Sep 1714, TCD Lyons MSS 1995-2008, f.1519.

⁵¹² Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, [Montpellier], 30 Oct 1659, BL Add MS 38015, ff.7v, 10v.

‘Cromwel had the highest Art in the world to make an honest man a knave’.⁵¹³ As questions of allegiance to the crown arose once more in the late 1680s, Germain Colladon argued that Lionel Boyle should proceed to Geneva because there were ‘several English Gentlemen very good Royalist [sic] in that place’, including Sir Uvedale Corbet, with whom Charles Butler and Samuel Waring would spend much time in Venice, Rome and Florence.⁵¹⁴

After 1688, most Irish Protestant travellers were outwardly wary of contact with Jacobite sympathisers and socialised separately. In Rome for Holy Week in 1718, George Berkeley reported that ‘The well affected part’ of the British gentry and nobility met at a coffee house in the Piazza di Spagna but that ‘the rebels have another part to themselves.’⁵¹⁵ Often divisions were thin. In 1718, Sir John Perceval lodged in the same Ghent inn as Peregrine Osborne, the exiled Jacobite duke of Leeds. Though Perceval assured Daniel Dering that ‘you may believe I did not join Company with them’, he reported that ‘They lead merry lives Sitting up till 3 in the morning and dining at 5 in the afternoon’. Perceval similarly wrote home in 1725 about ‘a Magnificent Ball and Supper lately given by the Duke of Beaufort to the Irish and English settled at St Germain’s’. Henry Somerset entertained over two hundred but Perceval ‘to be sure was not invited’. Sir John and William Godolphin, marquess of Blandford, who had refused his invitation, determined that ‘every body would think this Ball a Compliment to the Pretender’, something that would curtail Beaufort’s influence in parliament ‘if he be in his Interest’.⁵¹⁶

In practice, however, socially-exclusive conversation might include a broad range of political opinions. Robert Southwell spent time in Rome with Algernon Sidney, recording jokes, anecdotes and book recommendations shared by the exiled republican. With good

⁵¹³ Michael G. Brennan (ed.), *The origins of the Grand Tour: the travels of Robert Montagu, Lord Mandeville (1649-1654), William Hammond (1655-1658), Banaster Maynard (1660-1663)* (London, 2004), p.153; BL Add MS 58219, f.3v; BL Egerton MS 1632, f.35v.

⁵¹⁴ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Brussels, 20 May 1687, NLI MS 36, f.618.

⁵¹⁵ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 26 Apr 1718, *Berkeley and Percival*, p.170.

⁵¹⁶ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Antwerp, 21 Jun 1718 OS; Paris, 29 Dec 1725, BL Add MSS 47028, f.232v; 47031, f.67.

reason, Southwell praised Sidney as an expert in the personalities of Roman ecclesiastical politics. He was ‘very good and free Company’, offering ‘a very agreeable and free conversation’.⁵¹⁷ Southwell was privileged, however, as Sidney had ‘noe mind to returne home’ and ‘converses here with few of the English’, who in turn had ‘little divotion to treat with him.’⁵¹⁸ Southwell and his English fellow travellers were on good enough terms with Andrew White for the former French and Cromwellian double-agent to joke one ‘raigny evening’ that the party ‘played ye Italian and having a mind to lay a Civility of visitt, chose such a Circumstance as made it seeme more obleiging.’ White, himself from a Limerick Catholic background, told Southwell of his secret missions for the Protectorate and even offered career advice on how to ‘come to be taken notice of as for a proper man for businesse.’⁵¹⁹ Similarly without problem, Edward Southwell regularly visited Margaret, Lady Fingall in 1696. She had been implicated in the Popish Plot revelations and Southwell found her in a Brussels convent.⁵²⁰ Robert Knight, the notorious cashier of the South Sea Company, had fled with funds into French exile after the bursting of the bubble. When Sir John Perceval visited in 1726, Knight wished that he were ‘in such a Situation of life as to enjoy’ his company ‘very often’.⁵²¹

Aside from these exiled figures, the majority of English-speakers with whom Irish Protestants came into contact were young, male travellers like themselves. This self-aware group created social pressures to which they reacted variously. Robert Southwell, more interested in discussions with the Florentine mathematician Vincenzo Viviani, chafed against the obligations laid on him by his English fellow travellers. Arriving in Florence, Southwell

⁵¹⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632; BL Add MS 38015, f.38; R.W. Blencoe (ed.), *Sydney papers: consisting of a journal of the earl of Leicester, and original letters of Algernon Sydney* (London, 1825), pp.41-7; Jonathan Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English republic, 1623-1677* (Cambridge, 1988), pp.151-63.

⁵¹⁸ Robert Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, BL Add MS 46938, f.70.

⁵¹⁹ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.41v, 8-10; BL Add MS 38015, f.17; E.S. de Beer, ‘The marquis of Albeville and his brothers’, *English historical review*, 45:179 (Jul 1930), pp.397-408; Alan Marshall, *Intelligence and espionage in the reign of Charles II, 1660-1685* (Cambridge, 1994), pp.276-7.

⁵²⁰ Edward Southwell, *Journal of a visit to the Netherlands* (1696), BL Add MS 58220, f.3, 6v, 11.

⁵²¹ Robert Knight to Sir John Perceval, Paris, 8 Jul 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.196v.

judged that he should stay for an evening with his travel companions before making his excuses and heading to Viviani's house. Perhaps influenced by perceptions of Italian sexuality, the young man worried what English travellers might make of his relationship with the thirty-eight-year-old Florentine: 'I do not know how the others will interpret this, your excessive kindness, or my excessive daring but I do not care what risk [I would run] or what thing I would sacrifice for this enjoyment'.⁵²² Regardless of how Southwell's companions may have read his relationship with Viviani, the young traveller was evidently aware that he risked losing their good opinion.

Robert Southwell probably feared the kind of reports that would later be sent home about his nephew Sir Philip Perceval's antisocial behaviour in Rome. Bruno Talbot, the Catholic travel companion of the young Northamptonshire gentleman Sir Thomas Isham, noticed in Rome that Perceval 'sayeth very little [and] loveth resarvednesse and solitarinesse', surmising that 'hee may bee either a wit or a foole'. Talbot found that 'Sir phillip piercivalle is very grave and much of the temper of him, one of our ballads describe [as] a young academick newly comme from the Scoals who thinks alle other men asses, and fools'.⁵²³ Perceval's tutor, Gailhard, agreed on the evidence of many months in France: 'to my greef', he reported, 'I have perceived hitherto he doth not much care for the society of strangers'.⁵²⁴ Both may have had a point. Perceval described Rome, such a hive of Anglophone sociability, as a 'place of which I beginn to bee very weary' and 'one of ye mallincollyest cittys I have ever ben in'.⁵²⁵

Lionel Boyle, though still a teenager, took his social obligations more seriously. His financial accounts reveal substantial expenditure on ensuring a 'grand figure', especially

⁵²² Robert Southwell to Vicenzio Viviani, Rome, 7 Mar 1661, Gal. 161/161: 'Non só ch'interpretatione ferranno gli altri de questa sua troppo gentiliza, e del mia troppo ardire. ma non me curo che risca, o che cosa sacrificarei per questo gusto'. I translate 'ardire' as 'daring', though it is possible that Southwell meant 'ardore' (fervour).

⁵²³ Bruno Talbot to Sir Thomas Isham, Rome, 7 May; 18 Jun 1678, Northants CRO, IC 1086; 1099.

⁵²⁴ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f. 275.

⁵²⁵ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 10/20 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.64.

when buying new suits of clothes before his entrance into continental cities. Arrival at Geneva, where Lionel made his first entries into polite adult company, deserved new clothes and a haircut.⁵²⁶ Boyle was jealous of English travellers of greater means and dreaded what they might think of him. Germain Colladon reported that he and his charge were forced to stay in cheap accommodation in Turin, ‘at which several English gentlemen that are here doe wonder’. As for Lionel, ‘It grieves him to see some English gentlemen here make a better figure then he can doe whether it be for cloathes or for money’.⁵²⁷ Social calculations might be even more precise. Feeling the pressure of ‘ye advance for his Cloaths & vouage to Italy’, Robert Molesworth deemed that Bysse was furnished with suits, shirts and other equipment ‘in sufficient proportion, & good enough for my 7th Son’. This imperative towards appropriately ostentatious sociability held sway wherever there were communities of young English-speakers abroad, whether or not they were highly mobile. Consumed by his medical studies at Leiden in 1718, Bysse’s brother Coote wrote that ‘As to my keeping Company, no body ever did, or can do it less then I have done; Insomuch that the Common questions amongst the English are – What is become of Molesworth? Does he lock himself up? Is he affraid of being whip’t?’⁵²⁸ Coote saw himself as part of this peer group, styling himself ‘Londino-Britannus’ in the university matriculation book.⁵²⁹ If Dolan finds that European travel was an opportunity for eighteenth-century women to escape the social pressures of home, the same cannot hold for earlier young men.⁵³⁰

When Irish Protestants travelled together, their relative scarcity on the continent meant that it was often by design. John St. John, a resident at the Tuscan court, informed Sir Robert

⁵²⁶ NLI MS 13215, ff.11, 34, 51.

⁵²⁷ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Turin, 31 Dec 1687; Geneva, 28 Jan 1689, NLI MS 36, ff.669, 723.

⁵²⁸ Robert Molesworth to [John Molesworth], London, 27 Feb 1721/2; Coote Molesworth to John Molesworth, Leiden, 6 Feb 1718, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

⁵²⁹ Edward Peacock, *Index to English-speaking students who have graduated at Leyden University* (London, 1883), p.69.

⁵³⁰ Brian Dolan, *Ladies of the Grand Tour* (London, 2001).

Southwell in 1678 that he was ‘of your Countrey of an English extraction’. St. John had left Ireland twelve years previously for ‘the best education in externe parts’, settling to observe ‘what is Italy and their manner of liveing’. But in his four years in Florence, Sir Philip Perceval was ‘the first Person of quality’ whom St. John had ‘mett wth of our countrey in these parts’.⁵³¹ Before our period, familiar and socially-acceptable company was relatively scarce abroad, so joint expeditions by several Irish Protestants required prior, often parental, organisation. Strictly supervised by the first earl of Cork, Lionel Boyle’s grandfather Roger and great-uncle Lewis had travelled with their cousin Boyle Smith and the Huguenot tutor Isaac Marcombes along a rigid itinerary to France, Geneva and Italy between 1636 and 1639.⁵³² Their brothers Francis and Robert made a very similar voyage with the same tutor between 1639 and 1644, a journey that has received plenty of attention from historians of science.⁵³³ Similar filial expeditions occurred during our period. Within the same family, Lionel Boyle’s father Roger and uncle Henry travelled with their tutor Jeremy Hall and their father’s ward, Folliott Wingfield, from 1662.⁵³⁴ Much later, Coote and Byssie Molesworth travelled together to join their brother in Italy. Brotherly journeys were often the preserve of large families like the Boyles and Molesworths, however. John King had ‘earnestly desir’d with Tears’ to join his brother Robert in France but their uncle and guardian had refused ‘to expose his Brother’s whole Family at once, and in their Nonage too, to the many and great

⁵³¹ John St. John to Sir Robert Southwell, Florence, 21 Sep/1 Oct 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.122: St. John’s letter, with a conspicuous waste of paper that suggests a request for patronage, reports that he was a ‘stranger’ to Southwell but had known his father in his ‘minority’. St. John may be related to the erstwhile lord deputy, Oliver St. John (1559-1630).

⁵³² Patrick Little, *Lord Broghill and the Cromwellian union with Ireland and Scotland* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.13, 19-21, 222, 227; Canny, *Upstart earl*, pp.45, 96.

⁵³³ R.E.W Maddison, ‘Studies in the life of Robert Boyle, part vii: the Grand Tour’, *Notes and records of the Royal Society of London*, 20 (1965), pp.51-77; idem, *The life of the honourable Robert Boyle F.R.S.* (London, 1969), pp.26-45; Malcolm Oster, ‘Biography, culture and science: the formative years of Robert Boyle’, *History of science*, 31 (1993), pp.177-226; Hunter, *Boyle*, pp.43-56.

⁵³⁴ SP29/54/52, 53; Kathleen M. Lynch, *Roger Boyle, first earl of Orrery* (Knoxville, TN, 1965), p.113.

Hazards of travelling into Foreign parts.’⁵³⁵ John Perceval similarly warned Robert Southwell of the dangers of sending his only surviving son, Edward, abroad.⁵³⁶

Irish Protestants from different families travelled together by prior arrangement. Samuel Waring seems to have been chosen to travel with Charles Butler in 1687 on the strength of his achievements at Trinity College, Dublin, though little evidence survives of any selection process undertaken by Butler’s grandfather, the duke of Ormond.⁵³⁷ Waring’s notebooks suggest, though, that he was sometimes afforded the scope to explore towns on his own or in the company of Maximilien Misson, without the young aristocrat.⁵³⁸ The younger Edward Southwell and his companion, probably Charles Hamilton, also travelled together through France and northern Italy with parental approval from 1723.⁵³⁹ They enjoyed the hospitality of Sir John Perceval and his young family in Paris, where the two travellers lodged in adjoining apartments. Perceval showed them local sights like the Sorbonne and Versailles.⁵⁴⁰ Reaching Rome late in 1725, they parted ways irrevocably after a quarrel on 22 December. If Edward Southwell explained in letters home, they do not survive in family correspondence. A report from a secret service agent based in Rome is more enlightening, however. Southwell and Hamilton came to blows during an intense political discussion in their coach, breaking its polished glass and causing great (but unrecorded) speculation as to the subject of their

⁵³⁵ [Pullen], *Vindication of Sr. Robert King*, pp.9, 31.

⁵³⁶ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 2 Feb 1685/6, HMC *Egmont*, ii, pp.176-9.

⁵³⁷ Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, p.247.

⁵³⁸ PRONI D695/228, f.49.

⁵³⁹ Edward Southwell only describes his companion as ‘Mr. Hamilton’. This was probably Charles Hamilton (c.1704-86), youngest son of the sixth earl of Abercorn and future landscape gardener. Their fathers seem well acquainted in political correspondence (PRONI T2541/FA/1). Southwell and Hamilton both attended Westminster School in the mid-to-late 1710s and matriculated at Oxford aged fifteen in 1721/2, at Queen’s and Christ Church respectively: G. F. Russell Barker and Alan H. Stenning, *The record of old Westminsters: a biographical list of all those who are known to have been educated at Westminster school from the earliest times to 1927* (London, 1928), i, p.416; ii, p.870. PRONI’s Abercorn Papers do not document Charles Hamilton before the 1750s. His first journey to Rome must have occurred before he became MP for Strabane in 1727, so participation in Southwell’s voyage between April 1725 and October 1726 fits as a shared post-university experience before public life. Southwell entered the Irish parliament, for Downpatrick, in 1727. Hamilton’s second voyage to Rome in 1732 appears in John Ingamells, *Dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (Yale, 1997).

⁵⁴⁰ Edward Southwell (younger), *Travels of the Hon. Edw. Southwell* (1725), Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Anglais 194, ff.28v, 34v, 40, 40v, 46, 59, 62; idem, *Journal of travels in France and Italy* (1725-6), BL Egerton MS 3805, f.2.

argument.⁵⁴¹ Travelling without Hamilton to Naples just over a month later, Southwell ‘breath’d an unusual air of Liberty’. On his return to Rome he took ‘a separte Lodging and we are no further troublesome to each other.’ Southwell continued ‘with only a Valet de Chambre and footman.’ Sir John Perceval acknowledged that ‘there is no travelling with profit or pleasure where humours dont agree’ but warned that Hamilton’s father would ‘surely be very angry with him’ for wasting the opportunity.⁵⁴² Southwell and Hamilton might sometimes travel with young Englishmen or Irish Protestants on the road or gather with them in cities, but until Naples they appear always to have been in each other’s company.⁵⁴³

Sociability abroad was not always by arrangement. As our period progressed one might be more certain of Irish Protestant company at common destinations like Paris and the English military camps. Sir Philip Perceval and Edward Southwell bumped into relatives in English service coming into port at Rome and Ostend respectively.⁵⁴⁴ George Berkeley was particularly keen to locate Irish Protestant company abroad. By the time of Berkeley’s voyages in 1713-14 and 1717-20, the prolonged exposure of the Southwell, Perceval, Molesworth and Molyneux families to European travel meant that this had become easier within his social milieu. Parting with his employer, Lord Peterborough, at Genoa in 1714, Berkeley undertook ‘a very pleasant journey’ to Paris via Turin and Lyons in the company of John and Richard Molesworth, the former returning from his diplomatic posting to Florence. At Paris, Berkeley visited Edward Southwell, who was making his first trip to France. There

⁵⁴¹ Secret service report from Baron Philippe von Stosch, alias ‘John Walton’, Rome, 29 Dec 1725, SP85/15: ‘Ma derniere Lettre etoit en date du 22me Decemb[re] Ce meme jour Mrs Hamilton et Southwel prirent querelle ensemble dans leur Carosse en parlant de Politique et les coups quils se donnerent l’un a l’autre briserent les glaces. Ils se sont reconciliés depuis faisant grand mystere du veritables sujet de leur demelée.’ We might wonder why these rumours caught the attention of an agent watching the Jacobite court.

⁵⁴² Edward Southwell (younger) to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 4/15 Feb 1725/6; Perceval to Southwell, Paris, 12 Mar 1725/6; Southwell to Perceval, Rome, 9 Apr 1726 NS, BL Add MS 47031, ff.101v-102; 118; 141.

⁵⁴³ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 4/15 Feb 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.101v. Southwell visited Padua with one ‘W. Graham’, both describing themselves as ‘Hibernus’ in the matriculation book, but Graham is not mentioned in journals or letters home: Horatio F. Brown, *Inglese e Scozzesi all’ Università di Padova dall’ anno 1618 sino al 1765* (Venice, 1921).

⁵⁴⁴ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 28 Mar/7 Apr 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.97; BL Add MS 58220, ff.18v, 46, 46v.

he also met an unnamed ‘Irish gentleman of my acquaintance who designs returning to England through Flanders and Holland: being glad of an opportunity to see those countries, I have taken a place in the Brussels coach with him.’⁵⁴⁵ On his second European voyage, Berkeley was disappointed to miss Sir John Perceval and family at Paris but in Rome he toured the antiquities and shopped for books with William Domville, fresh from Trinity College, Dublin.⁵⁴⁶

One aspect of Protestant group travel that did not change over our period was the absence of Irish Catholic fellow travellers. Partially, this might be explained by the fact that Catholics more often encountered Europe through longer-term migration or specific journeys for business, education, seminarian training or military employment. Irish Catholic families of social standing might also undertake ‘improving’ travel of the kind embraced by Church-of-Ireland families, however. Barnard’s examination of the Bellings family, for whom ‘a cosmopolitan culture’ gained through European travel in the 1660s and 1690s fed into a process in which, by the early eighteenth century, ‘A passionately English family of Ireland became overwhelmingly English again’, bears strong resemblances to the Southwells.⁵⁴⁷ Irish Protestant willingness to ignore parallel Catholic travel obviously chimed with ideas about who was ‘fit to travel’, criteria that privileged anglicisation and steadfastness in the reformed faith. They were by no means averse to using Catholic mercantile, clerical and military

⁵⁴⁵ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Paris, 13 Jul 1714, *Berkeley and Percival*, p.138; Molesworth, ‘John Molesworth’, pp.70-1; Edward McParland, ‘Edward Lovett Pearce and the new junta for architecture’ in T.C. Barnard and Jane Clark (eds.), *Lord Burlington: architecture, art and life* (London, 1995), pp.157-8. Chaney suggests that Berkeley’s ‘Irish gentleman’ was Alexander Sandilands or Henry Isaac Gervais, members of Lord Burlington’s travelling entourage: *Evolution of the Grand Tour: Anglo-Italian cultural relations since the Renaissance* (London, 1998), p.360.

⁵⁴⁶ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 28 Jul 1718, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp.171-2; 11 Jan 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.249. Chaney claims (*Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p.340) that ‘Mr Domville’ was ‘almost certainly Compton Domville rather than Swift’s friend, William, as claimed by Berkeley’s editors’. This seems incorrect. In January 1717, Compton, in his forties, is less likely to be shopping in Rome with a group of young Englishmen than William, fresh from university and placed at Bologna on 22 November 1716: William King to William Domville, Dublin, 3 Feb 1717, TCD Lyons MS 2535, f.73. Chaney cannot name ‘Mr. Domville’ as Compton until he finds him in the Padua matriculation book over two years later on 27 March 1719: *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p.363.

⁵⁴⁷ Toby Barnard, ‘Sir Richard Bellings, a Catholic courtier and diplomat from seventeenth-century Ireland’ in Brian Mac Cuarta (ed.), *Reshaping Ireland, 1550-1700: colonization and its consequences* (Dublin, 2011), pp.331-4.

contacts to facilitate encounters with Europe, but the supposedly ‘improving’ practice of continental travel itself was not something generally shared with Irish Catholic fellow travellers.

Cities and ‘midnight assemblies’

Groups of Irish Protestants travelling on the continent might be well-acquainted but they were invariably very small. More commonly, young Irish-resident men grouped together for convenience and company with Englishmen on the continent, often serendipitously. This might happen on the road, allowing a more sociable journey and reducing expenditure on transportation. Samuel Waring frequently recorded with satisfaction the cost per head of shared coach journeys.⁵⁴⁸ From Calais to Paris, George Berkeley took ‘the stage-coach with a company that were all perfect strangers to me. There were two Scotch, and one English gentleman’, a trio that were ‘good company on the road’.⁵⁴⁹ But late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century European travel, merging into the more institutionalised Grand Tour, tended to treat the continent as a network of cities, and it was at these ‘civilised’ locations that travellers spent their most significant periods in English company. Waring was rare and driven by his interest in forestry and agriculture when he paid attention to the Dutch, German and Italian countryside, which even he recorded only as intervals between cities.⁵⁵⁰ Travel was, as Sweet observes, ‘an inherently *urban* experience’.⁵⁵¹ As yet, there was little romanticisation of the landscape.⁵⁵² Though Sweet’s new study begins in 1690, gravitation towards cities was, if anything, more pronounced in the preceding period. Paris, the cities of

⁵⁴⁸ PRONI D695/226, ff.30, 53.

⁵⁴⁹ George Berkeley to Thomas Prior, Paris, 25 Nov 1713 NS, *The works of George Berkeley, D.D. late Bishop of Cloyne in Ireland* (London, 1784), i, p.xxix.

⁵⁵⁰ PRONI D695/225, 226, 228; [Samuel Waring], *A short treatise of firr-trees: containing plain and particular directions (with observations) for the planting and improving therof* (Dublin, 1705); E. Charles Nelson, ‘A short treatise of firr=trees... (Dublin, 1705) by Samuel Waring’, *Archives of natural history*, 19:3 (Oct 1992), p.305; Waring drafted some of his treatise: PRONI D695/227, ff.56-61.

⁵⁵¹ Rosemary Sweet, ‘British perceptions of Florence in the long eighteenth century’, *Historical journal*, 50:4 (2007), p.840; eadem, *Cities and the Grand Tour: the British in Italy, c.1690-1820* (Cambridge, 2012).

⁵⁵² Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p.40.

northern Italy and Rome exerted the strongest pull. Irish Protestants joined English-speaking groups who gathered at these locations to socialise, to contact local notables and to experience together the sights and events of a particular city. They made sure to be in time for local festivities.

Over several generations, this form of young, male travel was particularly clear in the cities of Italy, the ultimate destination of the most lavish voyages. Robert Southwell explored Rome as part of ‘a band of English gentlemen’ in 1660-1.⁵⁵³ He initially stayed at the White Lion in the Piazza di Spagna, already renowned as a base for English travellers.⁵⁵⁴ Eight English-speakers including Southwell shared the cost of a guide, Giovanni Battista, for fifteen days, paying him with a dinner and ‘a pistoll a peice’. Southwell would later recommend him, ‘a fleming that is a very good Antiquary’, to one of the Howard brothers.⁵⁵⁵ Battista showed the group around sites like the palace of Cardinal Columna, where Southwell was evidently delighted to be singled out for his ‘strickt observation of all things’.⁵⁵⁶ This group of English-speakers, or variations on it, waited together on cardinals and scholars. Southwell tired of the endless round of visits into which they descended, as he had of the obligations of English company. Viviani, who had apparently never been to the city, could not have imagined ‘the difficulty of making two visits in a day in Rome’, with its short days and long roads. Southwell would not leave the city, however, until its carnival was over.⁵⁵⁷

In less urban environments, Southwell often travelled without a comparable ‘band of Englishmen’. Through the countryside from Rome to Bologna he went ‘almost alone’ and

⁵⁵³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, Gal. 254/88: ‘furano una mano de Cavallieri Inglessi qui’.

⁵⁵⁴ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 7 Nov 1660, Gal. 254/86; Stoye, *English travellers*, p.127.

⁵⁵⁵ BL Add MS 38015, f.38v.

⁵⁵⁶ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.34-5.

⁵⁵⁷ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, Gal. 254/88: ‘VS. non può imaginare la difficulta de fare due visite in un giorno a Roma. gli giorni tanto curte, la strada tanto longa dun luoga a l’altro...’; Rome, 4 Feb 1661, Gal. 161/160.

from Florence to Venice he travelled only with a courier on horseback.⁵⁵⁸ Between Milan and Prague, Southwell was ‘always alone without a companion, apart from my servant, and those who came by fortune’.⁵⁵⁹ During a week’s journey between Saxony and Frankfurt, through ‘a most horrid Country of mountaines snow and woods’, stories of robbery and murder persuaded him to travel ‘frequently with my armes Cockt’. His fear on the road was heightened by the fact that he ‘was alone as I have allwayes bin’, though perhaps in a concession to his English company in France and Italy he erased the addition ‘since I left Ireland’ from his draft letter to Ormond. Southwell travelled through central Germany with ‘onely my man and the Charateer, who neither understood me nor I him so yt. I could not heare ye notorius pranks of yt. place.’⁵⁶⁰ One of his companions was socially unfit for conversation and the other linguistically, but Southwell kept in touch with the travelling English community and indigenous hosts that he had left behind in Italy.⁵⁶¹ His journey through parts of Germany was, by comparison, ‘a most Solitary dead time’.⁵⁶²

Robert Southwell’s pattern of urban English sociability, taking in antiquarian guides, local festivities and the indigenous ‘beau monde’, was shared by later generations. As continental travel was popularised over the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the opportunities for keeping the company of young Englishmen and recruiting local guides proliferated.⁵⁶³ Conway observes ‘clannishness’ among his largely undifferentiated ‘British and Irish’ Grand Tourists of the mid-eighteenth century, but congregational instincts obviously predate his period.⁵⁶⁴ Sir Philip Perceval was among a group of fifteen at Venice in time for twenty days of the 1678 carnival, attending theatre, opera, masques and balls

⁵⁵⁸ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 9 Apr 1661; Venice, 25 Sep 1661, Gal. 254/93; 97: ‘sono venuto qui quasi solo’, ‘non havendo altra compagnia che un Currier a Caval.’

⁵⁵⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Prague, 13 Nov 1661, Gal. 254/110: ‘sono stato semper solo senza compagno sinon del mio servitore, e quelli chi vengono alla fortuna’.

⁵⁶⁰ Robert Southwell to Ormond, The Hague, [draft, mid-1661], NAL Forster MS 47.A.39, f.9(6).

⁵⁶¹ Robert Harper to Robert Southwell, Rome, 2 May 1661, BL Add MS 38015, f.16.

⁵⁶² BL Egerton MS 1634, f.19.

⁵⁶³ John Towner, ‘The Grand Tour: a key phase in the history of tourism’, *Annals of tourism research*, 12:3 (1985), pp.297-333.

⁵⁶⁴ Conway, *Britain, Ireland and continental Europe*, p.200.

together.⁵⁶⁵ In Rome, in time for Holy Week, he slotted into a coterie of young English-speaking travellers surrounding Cardinal Norfolk.⁵⁶⁶ Perceval rented a carriage, ‘very finely dressed up’, formerly used by Sir Thomas Isham and took lodgings, by the Oratorio dell’Angelo Custode, that Isham had tried to secure the previous winter.⁵⁶⁷ In June, Perceval hired a Roman antiquary.⁵⁶⁸ Lionel Boyle’s accounts record small payments ‘to see whats to be seen & to the man who shewed us ye Towne’ in cities like Geneva, Pisa and Florence, but he joined others to engage the more costly services of an antiquary in Rome.⁵⁶⁹ Boyle spent much of his time there with Cardinal Norfolk, Charles Butler, Samuel Waring and a fluctuating group of Englishmen in early 1688. Waring clearly had experience of engaging an antiquary as part of a band of travellers, later referring familiarly to the lot of ‘a Poor Cicero or Antiquary abroad, how, when surrounded with a club of curious observers, he is in a manner confounded with their cross questions, when any thing of moment presents it selfe to their view.’⁵⁷⁰ Berkeley told Sir John Perceval that ‘the functions of the Holy Week’ in 1718 had drawn to Rome ‘a great confluence of strangers from all parts of Europe, particularly several of the nobility and gentry of Great Britain, enough to fill two coffee houses.’⁵⁷¹ He and the younger St. George Ashe engaged a paid Roman guide, visiting cardinals and frequenting English and Irish company.⁵⁷²

By 1725, the younger Edward Southwell found himself in extensive English company during his encounters with Roman society. Like his grandfather and so many others, he initially stayed in the Piazza di Spagna before finding more permanent lodgings. Exploring the city in parties, Southwell recorded that ‘We of the English Nation went in a full Body to

⁵⁶⁵ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Venice, 9/19 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.57.

⁵⁶⁶ BL Add MS 46955A, ff.57v, 76, 97, 100.

⁵⁶⁷ Bruno Talbot to Sir Thomas Isham, Rome, 7 May 1678, Northants CRO, IC 1086.

⁵⁶⁸ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v.

⁵⁶⁹ NLI MS 13215, ff.44, 48.

⁵⁷⁰ Samuel Waring to Maximilien Misson (drafts), PRONI D695/227, f.52.

⁵⁷¹ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 26 Apr 1718, *Berkeley and Percival*, p.170.

⁵⁷² *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, pp.247, 249, 250, 252, 260.

St Peters' to observe the Christmas celebrations for the jubilee year of 1725, all standing together by the inner portico. Southwell hired the same antiquary as Sir John Perceval ('your Old Friend Ficheroni'), presumably together with other English-speaking travellers, and compiled a formalised, non-chronological account of Roman curiosities.⁵⁷³ Visits to Padua, Pisa, Lucca and Naples were undertaken in Anglophone company besides Hamilton. Southwell compared his youthful, sociable travel to the more sedentary French journey undertaken by Sir John Perceval with his wife and young children. Southwell had 'dined about 16 successive days abroad at Naples, with Irish Officers, with the [merchants of the] Factory and other English Gentlemen, and the evenings were taken up in assemblies, Balls, Operas, Comedies &ca, and the mornings in seeing Churches and Curiosities'. Southwell, aged twenty, concluded by asking his forty-two-year-old second cousin whether he did not 'Envy me every merry hour I enjoyed after nine at night?' Perceval was beyond what he saw as youthful pleasures. He envied Southwell 'every thing you have seen and done except your midnight Assemblys', 'partys agreeable to younger Persons' and of which he had 'now no more notion than the man in the moon'.⁵⁷⁴ The cousins constantly updated each other and other relations on the transient English populations at their respective destinations, whether they were gathering 'a vast concourse', 'a very small English Brigade' or 'loosing our English Gentry very fast'.⁵⁷⁵ They attempted exhaustive lists of the 'English at Paris in Sept 1723' and 'The English still here' in May 1726.⁵⁷⁶

Aside from visits to local notables and trips to appreciate curiosities, antiquities or festivities, what did young Irish Protestants and Englishmen do in each other's company?

⁵⁷³ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 11/22; 26 Dec 1725, BL Add MS 47031, ff.45v, 59v.

⁵⁷⁴ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 4/15 Feb 1725/6; Perceval to Southwell, Paris, 12 Mar 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, ff.102, 115.

⁵⁷⁵ Edward Southwell (son) to Sir John Perceval, Paris, 27 Sep 1723, BL Add MS 47030, f.18; Edward Southwell (father) to Sir John Perceval, London, 31 Dec 1725, BL Add MS 47031, f.68; Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 18 Mar 1725/6 and The Hague, 5 Jun 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.122, 184.

⁵⁷⁶ BL Add MS 34753, f.31; Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 7 May 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.69v.

Surviving commonplace books reveal conversations, mutual errands and book recommendations. Robert Southwell's French and Italian diaries contain observations, discussions and jokes shared among travelling English-speakers, but particular entries are often difficult to attribute. Where speakers are given, the variety of conversation is apparent: 'Dr. Gibbs ses after ye English ye Spaniards are ye best Stage Actors...'; 'Mr. Harper told of ye Spanish Custome when they had busines to doe...'; 'Mr. Altam told of a Parson who begging almes to build a chappel...'; 'Denham sed of ye division betweene ye K[ing]'s servants when abroad...'; 'Mr. Howard sed upon seeing the fish sellers...'⁵⁷⁷ All of these snippets formed part of discussions in Rome or Florence, reinforcing the urban nature of English sociability abroad.

Within these groups, book-sharing 'helped to cement social bonds'.⁵⁷⁸ Some appear transparent attempts to uphold anglicised and Protestant values. Waring records diverse English-speaking company during the extraordinary 'Libertinism' of the 1688 Venetian carnival; perhaps temptation motivated his acquaintance there, 'Captaine Roe, who gave me the bible'.⁵⁷⁹ Other books served more sociable functions. Southwell asked Viviani to send two volumes that he had left in Florence, 'il Baletto, e la Comedia in Picolo', to Rome for Dr. Gibbs, the English professor of rhetoric at La Sapienza.⁵⁸⁰ Gibbs was prominent in Anglophone sociability in Rome. Southwell had composed 'St. George for England or A Carroll in honour of the Gibesaeon Muse'. Listing works by the Venetian historian Paolo Paruta under the heading 'Good Bookes', Southwell later noted that Algernon Sidney 'gives this Authour a great encomium of a just person in all his judgments. next great politician to

⁵⁷⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.5, 25, 29v, 65v.

⁵⁷⁸ Raymond Gillespie, *Reading Ireland: print, reading and social change in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 2005), p.13.

⁵⁷⁹ Maximilien Misson, *A new voyage to Italy* (London, 1695), i, p.189; PRONI D695/226, f.3; 228, f.98.

⁵⁸⁰ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 1 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/98; Blencoe (ed.), *Sydney papers*, p.34.

Machavel’.⁵⁸¹ Not all, however, took advantage of opportunities to pool knowledge. Southwell’s nephew, Sir Philip Perceval, spent time with John Covel in Paris but was only able to tell his uncle that ‘hee is a gentleman yt. has traveld in Turkey, and they say gives a very good account of that country’.⁵⁸²

Often upon prompting from home, Irish Protestants gathered with each other or with English travellers for worship. Sometimes this involved seeking English churches at foreign destinations. At Amsterdam, Waring and his fellow travellers attended ‘an English Church’ on Sunday, 8 November 1687, finding ‘theire manner of service ... very decent and devout’.⁵⁸³ Waring almost certainly visited the English Reformed Church at the Begijnhof, where his admiration of the ‘fundamentally Presbyterian’ congregation reminds us that travellers abroad rarely found a perfect fit for their religious views but often settled for an approximation. Attendance at the Begijnhof ‘called for major adjustments from all except Presbyterians.’⁵⁸⁴ But at Geneva, Lionel Boyle ‘received ye holy Communion last Sunday together with my Lord Denbigh’ just as his grandmother had ‘desired’.⁵⁸⁵ At other locations, opportunities for worship were curtailed. Despite the prominence of the small English community at Livorno, for instance, their freedom of Anglican worship was a matter of international acrimony for decades in the late seventeenth century.⁵⁸⁶ The Boyles, as ‘hotter’ Protestants, may have driven some resultant domestic religious sociability abroad. In Rome

⁵⁸¹ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.21, 38v.

⁵⁸² Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 18 Jan 1678/9, BL Add MS 46956A, f.9.

⁵⁸³ PRONI D695/225, f.9.

⁵⁸⁴ Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: a history of English and Scottish churches of the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Leiden, 1982), pp.400-7; A.C. Carter, *The English Reformed Church in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century* (Amsterdam, 1964), pp.10, 19, 115. The Church of England did not establish Christ Church until 1698 and it is less likely that Waring visited the Separatist/Independent meeting house, the only other possibility for English-speaking worship in Amsterdam. His description (‘the women sitt all together on Chaires in the bodie of ye: Church the men in pews placed rownd by the walls’) fits the interior of the Begijnhof: Keith L. Sprunger, ‘Puritan church architecture and worship in a Dutch context’, *Church history*, 66:1 (March 1997), pp.38, 44, 46, 48.

⁵⁸⁵ Lionel Boyle to dowager countess of Orrery, Geneva, 7 Sep 168[8], NLI MS 36, f.712. ‘Lord Denbigh’ was Basil Feilding, the fourth earl (1668-1717).

⁵⁸⁶ Stefano Villani, ‘L’histoire religieuse de la communauté anglaise de Livourne (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)’ in Albrecht Burkardt (ed.), *Commerce, voyage et expérience religieuse XVIe-XVIIIe siècles* (Rennes, 2007), pp.257-74.

on Easter Sunday 1688, Waring continued his usual round of visits to Englishmen ‘after reading prayers att my Lord Orreries’.⁵⁸⁷ English-style worship coexisted unevenly with travellers’ problematic involvement in the services of local Protestants and inquisitive attendance at Catholic masses.

Mealtimes were occasions at which English-speaking communities abroad might reinforce the counterintuitive nature of European travel as an impetus towards anglicisation. Waring recorded that one contact at Venice, Mr. Browne, kept a ‘house for dietters English’.⁵⁸⁸ Irish Protestant travellers were frequently part of groups who came together to eat reassuringly anglicised meals. English expatriates of sufficient means provided visiting travellers with familiar dining. At Livorno in 1688, Waring and Charles Butler ‘mett with many English, which with ye: forrest &c made us almost thinke our selves in England againe’. Villani indeed uncovers the presence in later seventeenth-century Livorno of ‘a little epitome of England’.⁵⁸⁹ The hospitality offered by one merchant, John Horsey, multiplied the home comforts of the bustling port. The travellers received a dinner of soup, veal, plum pudding, quails, artichokes, beans, peas and strawberries, ‘the first time we teasted any of the three last this yeare’.⁵⁹⁰ At the house of James II’s representative in Rome, Sir John Litcott, Waring similarly dined with young travellers and their tutors on the Tuesday after Easter.⁵⁹¹ Among the guests were Charles Butler, Maximilien Misson, Lionel Boyle, Germain Colladon, Sir Uvedale Corbet, Alexandre de la Rasigade and Algernon Capel, earl of Essex.

⁵⁸⁷ PRONI D695/228, f.47.

⁵⁸⁸ PRONI D695/228, f.98.

⁵⁸⁹ Stefano Villani, ‘“Una piccola epitome di Inghilterra”. La comunità inglese di Livorno negli anni di Ferdinando II: questioni religiose e politiche’, *Cromohs*, 8 (2003), pp.1-23; idem, ‘Donne inglesi a Livorno nella prima età moderna’ in Lucia Frattarelli and Olimpia Vaccari (eds.), *Sul filo della scrittura. Fonti e temi per la storia della donna a Livorno* (Pisa, 2005), pp.377-99; Lucia Frattarelli Fischer and Stefano Villani, ‘“People of every mixture”: immigration, tolerance and religious conflicts in early modern Livorno’ in Katherine Isaacs (ed.), *Immigration and emigration in historical perspective* (Pisa, 2007), pp.93-107; Gigliola Pagano de Divitiis, *English merchants in seventeenth-century Italy* (Cambridge, 1997), pp.121-5.

⁵⁹⁰ PRONI D695/226, f.36. For John Horsey (1665-1736): Michela D’Angelo, *Mercanti inglesi a Livorno 1573-1737. Alle origini di una ‘British Factory’* (Messina, 2004).

⁵⁹¹ Gary M. Bell, *A handlist of British diplomatic representatives, 1509-1688* (London, 1990), p.169.

Litcott served ‘a plentiful English dinner, a bagpuddin to be shure’.⁵⁹² A similar group was hosted by Sir Thomas Dering, the English envoy at Florence. Waring deemed that Dering’s food was ‘ye: same almost with us’ at home, ‘only ye: sup milke ye: first dish’.⁵⁹³

The provision of home comforts crossed confessional divides. Leaving for Bologna, Robert Southwell missed ‘a noble intertainment for the Kings incoronation’ provided ‘to all Inglish’ in Rome by the Catholic Lord Somerset in May 1661.⁵⁹⁴ In 1688, Cardinal Howard invited a group that included Waring, Butler and Misson, as well as English fellow travellers like Corbet, to his Dominican monastery of Monte Coelio outside Rome. Waring was fascinated by the rituals of monastic dining, ‘which being with the formalitie of a frierie I was ye: more Curious in observing all yt: was don’. He was more at home with the food, which included ‘large roasted ribbs of beife’ and ‘two good large plum puddings’. After dinner, the guests played nine-pin bowling in the gardens with ‘ye: Car[dinal] looking att us’ and were shown around the monastic church and grounds after vespers.⁵⁹⁵ Berkeley and the younger St. George Ashe were similarly entertained by the English Jesuits at Lecce, where they received ‘English comforts, civilities, coach, present of Ham, wine. English cheese etc.’⁵⁹⁶ Anglicised prandial hospitality may have been expected of religious orders who welcomed perceived countrymen.⁵⁹⁷

⁵⁹² PRONI D695/228, f.48. Evidently, haggis was not yet a marker of Scottishness.

⁵⁹³ PRONI D695/226, f.40.

⁵⁹⁴ Robert Southwell to Vincezio Viviani, Bologna, 9 Apr 1661, Gal. 254/93; Robert Harper to Robert Southwell, Rome, 2 May 1661, BL Add MS 38015, f.16. Sir Charles Somerset (1587/8-1665), known as ‘Lord Somerset’ during the civil wars, seems most likely given his reputation as a traveller and committed Roman Catholic, even though Michael G. Brennan claims that after the Restoration he ‘lived quietly at Troy until his death in 1665’: *The travel diary (1611–1612) of an English Catholic, Sir Charles Somerset* (Leeds, 1993), p.38.

⁵⁹⁵ PRONI D695/226, ff.26-8; Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, p.220; idem, *Grand figure*, p.317.

⁵⁹⁶ 30 May 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.288.

⁵⁹⁷ Liesbeth Corens, ‘Catholic nuns and English identities: English Protestant travellers on the English convents in the Low Countries, 1660-1730’, *Recusant history*, 30:3 (2011), pp.441-459.

Roast beef and the infinitely various boiled pudding were already stereotypically English fare.⁵⁹⁸ Misson's brother, Henri, reported on his travels through England that 'two Dishes are their Dinners; a pudding, for instance, and a Piece of roast Beef'. 'Give an *English* Man a *Pudding*', he continued, 'and he shall think it a noble Treat in any Part of the World.'⁵⁹⁹ The standard and composition of meals were gauged according to particular kinds of company, just as we have observed that oral and written conversations were tailored to their context. Pennell suggests that 'conduct had to be tuned to each situation and encounter. Meals and foodstuffs were essential props in such orchestrations'.⁶⁰⁰ The provision of stereotypically English meals during the Italian journeys of Irish Protestants like Samuel Waring, Lionel Boyle and George Berkeley demonstrates that the anglicising aspects of European travel were practically enforced in quotidian settings. Perhaps English stereotypes of the Irish Protestant gentry, which increasingly assigned them native Irish traits, were put into temporary abeyance by the shared experience of foreign travel.⁶⁰¹ On the way to Spa in 1723, Sir John Perceval observed that when 'persons of the same Country' met abroad, they gave 'marks of their mutual esteem by dinners and suppers, so much the fashion of some countrys and especially of our own.'⁶⁰² Such entertainment might reach beyond mutual esteem to shared self-perceptions.

'A freindship begun abroad'

What about behaviour in the company of 'countrymen' that might have met with less approval at home? Letters are rarely an enlightening source, often serving rather as an

⁵⁹⁸ Menno Spiering, 'Food, phagophobia and English national identity' in Thomas M. Wilson (ed.), *Food, drink and identity in Europe* (Amsterdam, 2006), pp.31-48; Ken Albala, *Food in early modern Europe* (London, 2003), pp.169-70; Joan Thirsk, *Food in early modern England: phases, fads, fashions 1500-1760* (London, 2006), p.236.

⁵⁹⁹ Henri Misson, *M. Misson's memoirs and observations in his travels over England. With some account of Scotland and Ireland*, trans. John Ozell (London, 1719), pp.313-7. His italics.

⁶⁰⁰ Sara Pennell, 'The material culture of food in early modern England, c.1650-1750' (Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1997), pp.221, 250, 276, 286.

⁶⁰¹ Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, pp.1-24; Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p.212.

⁶⁰² BL Add MS 47059, f.4v.

idealised demonstration of improvement. Notebooks, where they survive, can shed more light but entries tend to be shrouded in euphemism or obscurity. Who, for instance, was the ‘Signora Felice’ whom Robert Southwell and Algernon Sidney visited in Rome in 1660? Their visit was ‘begun with discourse’ on sexual attraction, but to what did it lead? Southwell’s notebook falls silent.⁶⁰³ We search in vain for the candour exhibited by Sir Philip Perceval’s English contemporary, Sir Thomas Isham, known ‘by alle the Romans’ as ‘the bel inglese’. With Bruno Talbot he shared a mistress, the appropriately-named Gabriella Boncompagni, and exchanged news of sexual conquests in Rome and Venice. Both men possibly acquired a venereal disease.⁶⁰⁴ Official reports are sometimes helpful, as with Edward Southwell’s Roman fight, but spies and diplomats were usually unconcerned by everyday misbehaviour unless powerful parents prevailed.

We otherwise rely on interruptions in the normal pattern of travelling events to reveal snippets of disapproved conduct. Sir Philip Perceval and Robert King, second baron Kingston were near neighbours in Cork and ended up in the Loire valley together in summer 1677, apparently without design. A few years earlier, Kingston’s father had claimed land in northern Co. Cork held in trust for Sir Philip Perceval by the elder Robert Southwell.⁶⁰⁵ As a newly-arrived ‘stranger’, the first baron Kingston feared that local people would find him ‘in the wrong’ against Southwell, ‘a very punctuall just person’.⁶⁰⁶ This was the opinion that lingered within the Southwell and Perceval families. Jean Gailhard initially reported from Angers that ‘we have here my lord Kingston of Ireland, out of whose company I see as yet no inconveniencie, sir Philip being more a man and of a riper iudgment’. Indeed, Perceval ‘copyed an exact account ... of the present posture of Ireland as to incomes, expences,

⁶⁰³ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.46v.

⁶⁰⁴ Burdon, ‘Thomas Isham’, p.10; Gabriella Boncompagni to Sir Thomas Isham; Bruno Talbot to Dr. Robert Bellarmine; Talbot to Isham, [Rome], 18 Jun 1678; Talbot to Isham, [Rome], Northants CRO, IC 1077a, 1086, 1099, 4583.

⁶⁰⁵ William Worth to Robert Southwell, Cork, 11 Jan 1674/5; Richard Conron to Southwell, Burton, 22 Jan 1674/5 and 30 Nov 1675; Southwell to Conron, Kinsale, 2 Dec 1675: BL Add MS 46952, ff.8, 21, 232, 234.

⁶⁰⁶ John King, first baron Kingston to Robert Southwell, 21 Oct 1674, BL Add MS 46951B, f.30.

pensions, souldiers &c: which he borrowed from that person.’⁶⁰⁷ Sir Robert Southwell soon intervened, however, warning his nephew that ‘when I was in Ireland I was told, and all your relations there entertained it with great sence and sorrow, that a Certain Person was goeing over to Angiers, whose acquaintance could not be for good’. Southwell, like other family members and Gailhard, would not name Kingston, ‘that madd Lord’. He was ‘an acquaintance, whose principles were foretold, whose father was menacing Warr against us but a litle before his Death. And which I doe with Sorrow foresee, will from a freindship begun abroad entayle and perpetrate [a] very inconvenyent one at the returne home.’ Southwell would reiterate that ‘the freindship there begun, might be the motive of too much intimacy, when you are neighbours here after. And indeed by a generall rule our owne Countrymen are extreamly to be avoyded when wee are in Travell for else the whole voyage in endangered.’⁶⁰⁸

How did Perceval and Kingston begin their friendship abroad? Surviving evidence from Kingston’s side does not examine their daily behaviour. *A vindication of Sr. Robert King’s designs and actions, in relation to the late, and present Lord Kingston* was written by Tobias Pullen, bishop of Dromore, to clear Kingston’s uncle from accusations of intentionally mismanaging the upbringing of his brother’s sons. Pullen does not countenance ways in which Kingston’s continental experience strayed from a desire ‘to improve himself Abroad’.⁶⁰⁹ Sir Philip Perceval’s letters home are similarly unenlightening, serving only to protest his innocence of misbehaviour. He was ‘as farr from having anny intimasy with [Kingston] as I am att this present from Jerusalem’, since the baron was a person ‘whose

⁶⁰⁷ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 28 Feb; 28 Mar 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.40, 63.

⁶⁰⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, draft, [mid-May 1677]; Southwell to Lady Katherine Perceval, Spring Gardens, 29 May 1677; Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 14 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.158*-158**, 176v, 265.

⁶⁰⁹ [Pullen], *Vindication*, p.29.

company I would as willingly quitt as I would goe to sleep when I am a sleepy'.⁶¹⁰ For their exploits we turn to Gailhard, who became increasingly candid in his assessment of Perceval's pursuits at Angers in a desperate attempt to save his employment. Gailhard's puritanical temperament and exacting pedagogy sat awkwardly with Perceval, who repeatedly clashed with him over his company. Sir Philip eventually accused his tutor of stealing money donated to the Huguenot poor, a charge which Sir Robert Southwell was inclined to believe.⁶¹¹ Until this rupture, the Frenchman had concealed any evidence of academic or behavioural shortcomings in thrice-weekly updates to Southwell. By June 1677, however, Gailhard resorted to 'a full account of the disposition Sir Philip is in att present, whilst there is hope of applying a timely remedy'. Equally, his later letters sought to convince Southwell that Perceval's behaviour was 'my misfortune and not my fault'.⁶¹² They illustrate that travellers might deliberately reject the advice to which they were subjected.

Perceval apparently told others that Gailhard had 'nothing to doe with his travells'. His tutor reported that 'he saith he is free to doe what he please's being master of his person and estate' and that, at the age of twenty-one, he was 'no child now but knowes without being told what company is fitt for him to keep and how to govern himself'. Gailhard believed that Perceval and Kingston had 'agreed to goe together the grand tour', in the contemporary sense of a journey through provincial France, 'and have contrived together how to bring it about'. Perceval's servants gossiped that their master 'was resolved to spend and to live high, having an estate able to beare it'. Within twelve days he indeed spent lavishly on two expensive suits, one of 'the finest spanish cloth' and 'another of camlet'. In sum, Gailhard complained that Perceval 'doth not regard my advice as before and wants sincerity very much'. Sir Philip perverted dissimulation, a noble technique advised for travellers, to cover his corrupting

⁶¹⁰ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 15 Jun; 1 Aug 1677, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.216; 46954B, f.25.

⁶¹¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 4/14 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.39; Southwell to Perceval, Spring Gardens, 24 Jan 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.32v.

⁶¹² Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3/13 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.214-215v.

encounters with Kingston. Perceval was ‘a gentleman able to conceale his mind’ and, when questioned about his company by Gailhard, he had ‘had time to prepare for the conversation he knew we should have together’. Sir Philip knew ‘too well (in somethings when sincerity is absolutely necessary) how to conceale his mind or to dissemble if I may speake more properly’.⁶¹³

Gailhard judged that Perceval was ‘somewhat inclined to bad company’, a tendency that Kingston apparently did little to cure.⁶¹⁴ Sir Philip was led into ‘some Excesses’ by his Cork neighbour’s ‘ill Example, and the Fire of his own Temper’. He engaged ‘in some dangerous Disputes, which were determined by his Sword’. In one, ‘he wounded a Gentleman dangerously, and was himself much hurt’, though we must rely on a later family genealogy where contemporary correspondence is prudently silent.⁶¹⁵ Gailhard found Kingston ‘not onely very much to want breeding but also to [ha]ve within himself unsound principles and dispositions’. The second baron entertained ‘even the hard drincking germans’.⁶¹⁶ Gailhard was angry to discover that Perceval ‘dined supped and did lay with that person’, resolving to ‘avoid his coming into the company of his countrymen’ but in particular to force him to ‘break off acquaintance with that person’. This was not easy over many months at Angers, where many English and Scottish travellers made lengthy stays. Perceval still met Kingston ‘sometimes att tennis and in the walkes’. On such occasions Sir Philip was put at risk by his ‘temper’ and ‘that frailty in his fancy ... a long and habitual custom’. Gailhard’s only solution to the problem of Kingston was to ‘goe if that person stay’s and to stay if he goe’s’.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹³ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 9/19 May; 27 May/6 Jun; 3/13 Jun; 17/27 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.150, 185, 214-5, 274v. The ‘grand tour’, in Gailhard’s sense, referred to travel around France, as opposed to the ‘giro d’Italia’. For distinctions between dissimulation and dissembling, see Jon R. Snyder, *Dissimulation and the culture of secrecy in early modern Europe* (Berkeley, 2009).

⁶¹⁴ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3/13 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.214.

⁶¹⁵ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, p.380.

⁶¹⁶ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, [Angers], [early Aug 1677]; [c.13 May 1677], BL Add MSS 46954B, f.36; 46954A, f.154.

⁶¹⁷ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 9/19 May; 27 May/6 Jun; 17/27 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.150v, 185, 274-274v.

Unmentioned in family correspondence, Perceval saw Kingston again in Paris in December 1678.⁶¹⁸

Gailhard claimed to represent ‘the true state of things’ but may have exaggerated misdemeanours in order to discredit Perceval’s accusations of embezzlement. The tutor marshalled evidence well, complaining that he had ‘suffered as hard a usage from him as from any gentleman I ever travelled with’ and promising that ‘severall can be wittnesses, he sayd he hath no ground of complaint against me’.⁶¹⁹ There are indications, however, that such behaviour was fairly common among Irish Protestants abroad, though the nature of most evidence precludes extensive documentation. It was a standard tutorial complaint that teenagers of land and title grew haughty and dismissive of authority and educational ‘pedantry’. Perceval’s nephew, Sir John, fought with Charles Hamilton in Rome. Young Lionel Boyle developed a gambling addiction. Few approached the debauchery of Williams Conyngham, however. Allegedly treated three times for venereal disease before the age of fourteen, Conyngham’s ‘rake’s progress’ continued onto the continent in his early adulthood and left a trail of scandalised letters. Concerned family and friends were particularly worried by his mean company and his unauthorised marriage to a Dutch woman, who bore his child, in 1718.⁶²⁰ Despite the paucity of evidence and their smaller numbers, there is little reason to suppose that post-Restoration Irish Protestant travellers strayed far from the eighteenth-century British vices documented by Jeremy Black.⁶²¹

It would be easy to form an impression of wealthy rakes abroad but misbehaviour in company was never the preserve of the social elite. Robert Southwell’s servant, whom he brought from Ireland, mistakenly approached a Roman prostitute looking to buy eggs and

⁶¹⁸ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v: tip given ‘au Valet de My Lord Kingston’.

⁶¹⁹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3/13 Jun; 17/27 Jun; 20/30 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.215, 274, 282.

⁶²⁰ Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp.66-8, 335; Patrick Walsh, *The making of the Irish Protestant Ascendancy: the life of William Conolly, 1662-1729* (Woodbridge, 2010), pp.19, 21; NLI MSS 41578/3, 41579/1, 6.

⁶²¹ Black, *British abroad*, pp.202-229.

was quickly disabused, but such contact was surely common even if unrecorded.⁶²² The company in which the Percevals' servant Thomas misbehaved is opaque. Thomas served Sir Philip in England and travelled with him to Ireland, where Lady Katherine found him 'disorderly'.⁶²³ He settled with his young employer at Angers in 1677. Gailhard claimed that Thomas was there led astray by a Frenchman newly taken into Sir Philip's service, 'an instrument of division, rude and troublesome'. The behaviour of the new servant, possibly a Burgundian named Le Brett, tended 'to the prejudice of Thomas', who bragged in the kitchen of Sir Philip's new plans for extravagance abroad.⁶²⁴ Perceval's mother and uncle wondered after the split from Gailhard whether Sir Philip should also part ways with Thomas, who was relegated to staying in France with Lady Katherine rather than entering the more dangerous environs of Italy with his young master.⁶²⁵

Remaining in the Loire valley, Thomas fell into a cycle of illness. Lady Katherine left him in Saumur when she moved to Terfort lest she should 'carry an Hospitall wth. me'. Her lack of sympathy flowed from the reasons she perceived for Thomas's malady. Explaining his fits, Lady Katherine knew that 'he has has dun him selfe som hurt by his use of wine'. She was equally concerned that the mental effects of bad company were rendering him useless, lamenting 'Tom never being able to write my l[ette]r or accounts or understand affairs of that nature it being above his spheare'. Besides the wine, 'that wch has bin alsoe a great injury to him is his neglect of reading & writing and a habitt of Idlenes and falloing tennis courts & drinking companions'.⁶²⁶ Whom Thomas was finding to drink with during his long months in the Loire valley remains unattested but perhaps his parallel tuition in French

⁶²² BL Egerton MS 1632, f.7v: 'My man went once And asked a Woman if shee sold fresh eggs seeing Hens at ye dore. ses she, Sigr. I sell my selfe'.

⁶²³ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Bath, 10 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.8v.

⁶²⁴ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 27 May/6 Jun; 3/13 Jun; 17/27 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.185, 214v, 274v; Le Brett's name is taken from several household expenses for Sep 1677; elsewhere, Rasigade records wages for the 'valet Bourguignon' (46956A, ff.122-148v).

⁶²⁵ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Bath, 10 Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.8v; Perceval to Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.46.

⁶²⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 21/31 Aug; 25 Aug/4 Sep; 28 Sep/8 Oct; 13/23 Nov 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.80, 82v, 128v, 176.

was useful. When not supervising Lionel Boyle, Colladon met with the tutors of other young travellers; perhaps servants in places of Irish, English and Scottish Protestant congregation enjoyed a similarly parallel social world.⁶²⁷ Near Bristol on his preparatory English journey, Sir Philip had given Thomas sixpence ‘to drinck with’ a servant of their host, Sir Hugh Smith.⁶²⁸ The pleasures of company were socially comprehensive.

‘No Women what ever’?

Compared with the peripatetic company kept by their male relations, the experiences of the far smaller number of Irish Protestant women and girls abroad tended to be more sedentary. Even by the middle decades of the eighteenth century, women often went no further than accompanying their husbands to Dublin or London.⁶²⁹ In our period, rare female encounters with Europe were usually confined to medical journeys, as undertaken to the Loire and Spa within generations of the Perceval family, or stationary periods in particular cities, as with the diplomatic wives Laetitia and Mary Molesworth in Copenhagen and Turin. When Sir John Perceval returned to the continent with his wife and children in 1718 and the 1720s, his lengthy stays at Paris and Spa contrasted with his mobility as a younger man through the Netherlands, Germany and Italy in 1705-7, much to the amusement of the younger Edward Southwell. Women were expected to spend less time in foreign company, though travellers like Lady Katherine Perceval certainly engaged with local communities in various ways. Nevertheless, the presence of female travellers encouraged distinctive forms of sociability among transient English-speaking communities at common destinations. Irish Protestant women helped to transpose abroad a genteel culture of ‘calling’ similar to that found in late

⁶²⁷ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Turin, 12 Feb 1688, NLI MS 36, f.680.

⁶²⁸ BL Add MS 46953, f.155.

⁶²⁹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.311.

seventeenth-century London by Whyman.⁶³⁰ By 1726, Sir John Perceval's wife Catherine had 'full employment on her side to Answer the Civilities of the Ladies whose Visits are numerous' during a period in English company at the Hague.⁶³¹ Such sociability was particularly clear at Spa, where male and female medical travellers congregated. Sir John produced a list of English company there, which far exceeded that of 'foreigners', but regretted that 'the entertainments which Englishmen where-ever they meet make each other runs the weeks acco[un]t pretty high.'⁶³²

Aspects of a more stationary, perhaps a more feminine, form of English-speaking sociability abroad are clear in the records of the Perceval family, since Lady Katherine travelled to France in 1677 with her two daughters, her housekeeper Deborah Fowler and her maid Betty Willis in a distinctly female household.⁶³³ Lady Katherine knew that the presence of other women of similar social standing would inform how they passed their time in the Loire valley, writing with disappointment of Saumur and Terfort that there were many Englishmen 'but no Women what ever' in July 1678.⁶³⁴ This was an unusual situation but one that had persisted for some time. In November 1677, Sir Philip Perceval had noticed that Saumur was 'a towne thatt is selldome without Englesh Ladys in itt although att present there is none butt my mother, wh[ich] I much wonder att.' This probably frustrated the sociable intentions implied by accounts kept for the thirteen-year-old Helena Perceval. Arriving late because of sea-sickness, she had come to Saumur 'unfurnished of all things'. Helena required an array of gowns, petticoats, ribbons, stockings and materials with which to have clothes made locally.⁶³⁵

⁶³⁰ Susan Whyman, *Sociability and power in late-Stuart England: the cultural worlds of the Verneys, 1660-1720* (Oxford, 1999), pp.87-109.

⁶³¹ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, The Hague, 10 Jun 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.187v.

⁶³² BL Add MS 47059, ff.4v-7v.

⁶³³ Amanda E. Herbert, 'Gender and the spa: space, sociability and self at British health spas, 1640-1714', *Journal of social history*, 43:2 (Winter 2009), p.366.

⁶³⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Terfort?], 20 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.44v.

⁶³⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Foy, 4 Sep 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.95; Helena Perceval's accounts for 18 Sep 1677 to 25 Mar 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.94.

These ‘necessaries’ saw more use in Paris, where Anglophone company of both sexes was more easily guaranteed. There Sir Philip joined his mother and sisters on his way home from Italy but, even in the same city, male and female English-speaking sociability might differ. Sir Philip, then twenty-three, spent time with travelling Englishmen of a slightly younger age, such as Edward Henry Lee, the sixteen-year-old earl of Lichfield. Dining with the precocious George Granville, baron Lansdowne, Perceval deemed him ‘the fynest gentleman I have seen of all our young Englishmen thatt are abroad’.⁶³⁶ Caleb Banks was also ‘very kind’ to Perceval, who was acquainted with Banks’s tutor John Locke from Christ Church.⁶³⁷ These young travellers gathered with Sir Thomas Lynch, then between stints as governor of Jamaica, and John Covel, an academic traveller returning from the Levant.⁶³⁸ Sir Philip’s mother, aware of her son’s antisocial tendencies, was delighted to see that they ‘all visit him often & he acquitts him selfe passibly well among them wch. I gather from the consiquences he has also a great many French acquaintance’. Flushed with the apparent success of educational travel, she reported to her brother, Sir Robert Southwell, that Sir Philip was ‘much more sociable and ... complacent and obligeing in his conversasion then you have seen him so yt I hope all your pains will not be lost’.⁶³⁹

The Perceval women in Paris participated in forms of sociability that met the same improving ends as those of Sir Philip, but which were sometimes a female preserve. While her son kept male company, Lady Katherine went ‘with [her] Girles’ to find ‘my Lord FitzHardings Daughter[,] my Lady Mary Bartley & my Lady Mordens Daughter, dancing’. Sir Thomas Lynch’s wife, Vere, played a central social role. Sir Robert Southwell was told that ‘my Lady Linch would make your Neeces dance alsoe tho Nell was butt a young

⁶³⁶ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 8/18 Feb 1679; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Paris, 12/22 Feb 1678/9, BL Add MS 46956A, ff.29v, 31; Elizabeth Handasyde, *Granville the polite: the life of George Granville, Lord Lansdowne, 1666-1735* (Oxford, 1933).

⁶³⁷ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 27 Feb/9 Mar 1679, BL Add 46956A, ff.41-41v; John Lough (ed.), *Locke’s travels in France, 1675-1679* (Cambridge, 1953).

⁶³⁸ John Covel’s travel journals, BL Add MS 22914, f.92v.

⁶³⁹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 27 Feb/9 Mar 1679, BL Add 46956A, ff.41-41v.

beginner yett there is some hopes she will proceed well'.⁶⁴⁰ Southwell replied that he was 'very proud of, and ... glad to see that you have Remembrance of little England, by Dancing Country-Dances at Paris.'⁶⁴¹ Forms of sociability were adapted to company and the anglicising influence of English fellow travellers seems as clear for female Irish residents as male. In a later generation, Lady Catherine Perceval was similarly a facilitator of English-style sociability as numbers proliferated. Especially in Paris, however, events were not solely Protestant affairs. In February 1726, her husband, Sir John, reported that the Catholic 'Lord Fingal gave a Ball in our Lodgings and made my Wife Queen. She had the trouble of bespeaking the Entertainment, the Honour of Inviting the Company and the pleasure of seeing it pass with approbation.' Lady Catherine found that 'her acquaintance with the Ladys here finds her amusement at night', but she was equally sensible that the concerts they attended together were 'a great advantage to [her] Daughters improvement.'⁶⁴²

While male English sociability abroad was a practical feature that often contradicted theory, female forms of sociability flowed more directly from expectations that women would keep less foreign company. Partially, this reflects the fact that women's voyages were underdeveloped theoretically, lacking much attention in relevant literature. But it was also surely linked to the perception that women and children, supposedly in possession of weaker minds, would be more susceptible to the potential corruption of foreign conversation. The irony that English men travelled in large part to acquire conversational polish from 'effeminate' Frenchmen and socially-engaged Frenchwomen, though well-observed by Cohen, was unproblematic for contemporaries.⁶⁴³

⁶⁴⁰ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 17/27 Jan 1678/9, BL Add MS 46956A, f.17.

⁶⁴¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Lady Katherine Perceval, Spring Gardens, 3 Feb 1678/9, BL Add MS 46955A, f.52.

⁶⁴² Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 30 Oct 1725, BL Add MS 47031, ff.24v, 162.

⁶⁴³ Michèle Cohen, 'Manliness, effeminacy and the French: gender and the construction of national character in eighteenth-century England' in Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (eds.), *English masculinities, 1660-1800* (London, 1999), pp.44-61.

Travellers were certainly aware that restricted social possibilities differentiated Irish Protestant women's experiences of Europe from those of men. Robert Southwell lamented that illness had rendered his 1659-62 voyage 'somewhat more feminine'.⁶⁴⁴ Coote Molesworth recruited presumptions about limited female sociability to his own ends, suggesting to his mother that he might provide company in Turin for his sister-in-law Mary, 'who will not meet with much agreeable conversation in a strange country, or at least not allways have it at hand'.⁶⁴⁵ Female 'fitness to travel' might be judged according to linguistic ability but some of these assertions stemmed from the presumption, often unfair, that women were less able to converse in anything but English. In 1718, Sir John Perceval took his wife and other ladies in their party to 'publick ordinarys' in the United Provinces so 'that they might know the manner of living in the Countrys we went thro', but he 'found I had Occasion for all my French to interpret for them and Strangers with whom they conversed.' The Ladies apparently agreed that their destinations ought 'to be seen by Englishmen, but not to be dwelt in, and that the manners of the People' were 'in the main disagreeable', though 'civilities from people of distinction' reminded them 'not to Speak universally the Same of all, which is a fault too often committed by us.' At a dinner held by a French officer at Paris in 1725, extra guests were invited because 'it was fit somebody who speak English should be there to entertain' Lady Catherine Perceval.⁶⁴⁶

Despite presumptions about female lack of engagement, earlier Percevals suggest that women were more mobile than men during periods of heightened international tension. In early 1678, the Commons had voted money for a French war and an army was being raised, so Sir Philip Perceval seemed justified in worrying in April that 'wee have wars with france',

⁶⁴⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to [Gabriel Towerson], BL Add MS 38015, f.34.

⁶⁴⁵ Coote Molesworth to [Laetitia Molesworth?], [c.1720], NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

⁶⁴⁶ Sir John Perceval to Charles Dering, Rotterdam, 25 Jun 1718 OS; Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 9 Sep 1725 OS, BL Add MSS 47028, f.234; 47030, f.163.

even though conflict did not materialise. Invasion fears persisted at home.⁶⁴⁷ Despite the situation, Perceval believed that ‘a passport from the french Court, may easily bee obtained’. His uncle Southwell’s diplomatic connections would procure him permission to ‘pass through france in as much safety as through my owne country’. Under threat of war, however, Perceval told his mother that ‘itt will bee much easier to gett one for your selfe, then for mee’.⁶⁴⁸ Travellers were perhaps less useful state informants than they had been in the sixteenth century, but French authorities would have been justified in restricting Sir Philip’s mobility.⁶⁴⁹ His account of the French fleet at Rochfort, ‘where they were soe intent on the building of New Ships as that noe holydays were excused from ye work’, found its way to Ormond alongside an analysis of troop numbers and other evidence of French mobilisation.⁶⁵⁰

Women continued to combine efforts to recover health, which tended to focus on a single location, with attempts to gain or demonstrate improvement from time spent abroad. Lady Katherine Perceval made trips to see local curiosities around Saumur. She had a sedan chair but disliked ‘to be carryed soe far by Cristians’.⁶⁵¹ Her daughters were better able to profit. Besides their tuition in language and deportment, which we will analyse later, Kate and Helena explored their surroundings. Helena sent her grandmother an account of wine production, though she deemed that ‘they make itt soe ill that I beleive [as] many as sees itt made loves itt nott the better’.⁶⁵² Sir John and Lady Catherine Perceval travelled on medical advice to take the waters at Spa in 1723, hoping to rid her of a persistent ‘cholick’ with ‘a perfect cure of so rooted a disorder’. It was certainly thought ‘no new thing for the Air of

⁶⁴⁷ Mark Knights, *Politics and opinion in crisis, 1678-81* (Cambridge, 1994), p.19; Tim Harris, *London crowds in the reign of Charles II: propaganda and politics from the Restoration until the exclusion crisis* (Cambridge, 1987), p.140; John Gibney, *Ireland and the Popish Plot* (Basingstoke, 2009).

⁶⁴⁸ Sir Philip Perceval to Lady Katherine Perceval, Rome, 3/13 Apr; 20/30 May 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.109, 174v.

⁶⁴⁹ Ghazvinian, ‘English travellers’, p.61.

⁶⁵⁰ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Toulouse, 5/15 Dec 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.253; Southwell to Ormond, [London], 22 Dec 1677, NLI MS 2369, f.4089.

⁶⁵¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to William Taylor, [Saumur], 23 Jan/2 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.28.

⁶⁵² Helena Perceval to Helena Southwell, [Terfort?], 23 Oct/2 Nov 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.154.

France to cure Cholicks bred in England.⁶⁵³ Indeed, repeated travel might build up ‘a Stock of health’ for men and women, young and old.⁶⁵⁴ But there was plenty of time on their lengthy journey and subsequent voyages for husband and wife to visit local curiosities as well.⁶⁵⁵ Irish Protestant women saw continental travel as an opportunity for improvement, as did their male relatives and acquaintances, but advantages were derived more exclusively from tuition, sight-seeing and English-speaking sociability. Intended forms of sociability flowed from the stated purpose of voyages. Young men travelled to the continent to improve themselves through observation and conversation with ‘men of different sentiments’. By contrast, the medical improvements that women more regularly pursued in the Loire valley or at Spa required contact with foreign air or water rather than foreign people. But distinctions, of course, blurred in practice.

Representatives

A final element of the English or, on occasion, Irish Protestant company kept by travellers was provided by diplomats and other officials. A recent flowering of social and cultural approaches to early-modern diplomacy has shown that it was incumbent upon office holders to provide generous hospitality and a watchful eye for passing countrymen.⁶⁵⁶ John Molesworth undertook both duties during his Italian postings.⁶⁵⁷ An official welcome was certainly afforded to Irish Protestants. Robert Southwell cut to the social heart of matters,

⁶⁵³ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Trinity College, Dublin, 19 Sep 1723, BL Add MS 47030, f.16v; Daniel Dering to Sir John Perceval, London, 10 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.71.

⁶⁵⁴ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Charlton, 14 Sep 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.202v.

⁶⁵⁵ BL Add MS 47031, ff.136, 138.

⁶⁵⁶ Jennifer Mori, ‘Hosting the Grand Tour: civility, Enlightenment and culture, c.1740-1790’ in Mary Hilton and Jill Shefrin (eds.), *Educating the child in Enlightenment Britain: beliefs, cultures, practices* (Farnham, 2009), pp.117-30; Mark Netzloff, ‘The ambassador’s household: Sir Henry Wotton, domesticity, and diplomatic writing’ in Robyn Adams and Rosanna Cox (eds.), *Diplomacy and early modern culture* (Basingstoke, 2011), pp.155-71; Jacobsen, *Luxury and power*.

⁶⁵⁷ In the mid-1720s, Molesworth dealt with the earl of Macclesfield regarding Italian sculpture and his son’s behaviour abroad: NLI Clements, p.3752; BL Stowe MS 750, ff.284, 401; Molesworth, ‘John Molesworth’, pp.115-132. Macclesfield mobilised ‘the resources of British diplomacy to regain his son’ from ‘involvement with an Italian woman’: Black, *British abroad*, p.219.

recommending Giles Jones, the English consul at Venice and a man who ‘receives to his house onely the best sort of yt. Nation, and has estreamed good and genteile accomodation, and very reasonable. He is a hearty round dealing man and fitt to be knowne because in severall things he can be serviceable.’⁶⁵⁸ Jones also served as a forwarding address for Southwell’s correspondence.⁶⁵⁹ Edward Dering was relieved to receive recognisable civility from the English consul at Seville in 1669 and Sir Philip Perceval dined with equivalents at Nice, Milan and Turin among English travellers in 1678.⁶⁶⁰ Samuel Waring recorded the English consuls at Geneva and Rome as ‘very Obleidging’ and ‘courtious’. He regularly waited on the English envoy at Florence, Sir Thomas Dering.⁶⁶¹ The younger Edward Southwell was entertained by Ephraim Skinner, the English consul at Livorno and ‘a very polite Man’, surveying his collection of prints and curiosities.⁶⁶² The Percevals worshipped at the English ambassador’s chapel in Paris in late 1725 and on Good Friday 1726, where they heard preaching in English, an opportunity that Lionel Boyle had taken in 1686.⁶⁶³

The assistance and entertainment offered by English officials became something more when a relative or acquaintance gained employment in the diplomatic service. Young men were brought on foreign postings ‘for the journey’s sake’, as a cheap route to continental experience.⁶⁶⁴ Sir Robert Southwell took Edward and Charles Dering respectively to Iberia in the mid-1660s and to Brandenburg in 1680, the latter journey also with Arthur Bushe. Robert Molesworth brought his Co. Dublin neighbour Richard Bolton to Copenhagen in 1689 but refused to take any direct responsibility for the twenty-five-year-old’s continental improvement. Bolton fell in love with a local woman, Anna Catherine Bille, though his

⁶⁵⁸ BL Add MS 38015, f.37.

⁶⁵⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/100.

⁶⁶⁰ Francis Parry and Edward Dering to Sir Robert Southwell, Seville, 16 Apr 1669, BL Add M 38015, f.27; BL Add MS 46955A, ff.19, 23; 46955B, ff.135, 144.

⁶⁶¹ PRONI D695/226, ff.39, 40; D695/228, f.97.

⁶⁶² BL Egerton MS 3805, ff.29v, 31.

⁶⁶³ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 9 April 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.138.

⁶⁶⁴ Philip Madoxe to Southwell, Spring Gardens, 24 Feb 1679/80, HMC *Egmont*, ii, pp.88-9.

neighbour was 'extreamly concernd lest his freinds shou'd imagine because he is with me that I govern him principally in this affair of his mistress'. Molesworth decided that 'ye young gentleman is too old to be my pupill'.⁶⁶⁵ Molesworth's son John took greater care over the prospects of his younger brothers Bysse and Coote, whom he brought as secretaries to Turin.⁶⁶⁶ Bysse's father had previously secured him a place in Carteret's retinue at Stockholm in 1718. Carteret insisted that John replace Coote with Bysse as his secretary in 1721 in order to 'breed him up to business', so Coote visited 'the most remarkable towns in Italy' and 'came home through France'.⁶⁶⁷ While our focus rests on Irish Protestants, it had long been English practice to add promising young men to diplomatic retinues.⁶⁶⁸

It was not only the young who might benefit from diplomatic attachments. The elder St. George Ashe had travelled to England, France and the Netherlands between spring and November 1686, when he had recently returned 'from a second ramble into France'. Little survives of these journeys, though they served to enlarge his network of natural philosophical contacts at hubs like Oxford and Leiden. The English ambassador at Paris, Sir William Trumbull, introduced Ashe to 'a number of French scientists'.⁶⁶⁹ Ashe undertook his most documented voyage between 1689 and 1692 as chaplain to William Paget, the English ambassador to Vienna who had, decades earlier, shared advice with Robert Southwell at Lyons. Ashe considered his time with Paget as his 'banishment' during the Williamite Wars, perhaps killing 'otherwise unpleasant time' like Robert Southwell at the Restoration and Coote Molesworth, sent to Leiden with 'parties running high'.⁶⁷⁰ George Berkeley, another Dublin university man, Church-of-Ireland cleric and natural philosophical enthusiast, seems a

⁶⁶⁵ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Copenhagen, 18 March 1689/90, NLI Clements, p.3752; Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.273, 350-2.

⁶⁶⁶ Molesworth, 'John Molesworth', pp.39, 70n.

⁶⁶⁷ John Molesworth to Robert Molesworth, Turin, 10 Dec 1721, NLI Clements, p.3752; Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.219-20.

⁶⁶⁸ Stoye, *English travellers*, p.261.

⁶⁶⁹ St. George Ashe to Benbridge, TCD, 23 Nov 1686, Royal Society EL/A/37; Hoppen, *Common scientist*, p.168.

⁶⁷⁰ St. George Ashe to Henry Dodwell, Augsburg, 3/13 Feb 1689/90, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 29, letter 13; Chaney, *Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, p.99; Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.219-20.

similar case. Between 1717 and 1720, Berkeley led Ashe's son on an unusually comprehensive tour of Italy. His first experience of continental travel, however, was as chaplain to Charles Mordaunt, earl of Peterborough. Berkeley had secured the post on the recommendation of a third Dublin clergyman, his 'good friend the Dean of St. *Patrick's*'. Jonathan Swift was a regular political correspondent with the like-minded Peterborough.⁶⁷¹

One man who deserves consideration as a facilitator alongside English diplomats is Philip Howard, Cardinal Norfolk.⁶⁷² With the paucity of official English diplomatic representation in Rome, travellers relied heavily on the hospitality and introductions that such a highly placed English Catholic could provide. For his own young relatives, Howard advocated travel to the Low Countries. He warned that Italy was 'much to hotte, and otherwise not fitting for youth', more appropriately seen at 'a more mature adge'.⁶⁷³ The cardinal was well placed to introduce other travellers to the Roman 'beau monde', however. Howard had been at court in England between 1660 and 1674 as the queen's chaplain, receiving a cardinal's hat the following year. In 1679, he succeeded Barberini as 'Cardinal Protector of England'. Robinson observes 'a constant coming and going of English visitors at his palace' in Rome, where Cardinal Norfolk remained until his death in 1694.⁶⁷⁴

Where possible, Irish Protestants highlighted kinship with Howard in order to guarantee his hospitality and an entry into Roman society. The Boyles reminded the cardinal of their familial connections, 'upon the account of haveing his civility', in a letter from the dowager countess. They warned Lionel and Colladon to press the issue in person.⁶⁷⁵ The Southwells and Percevals were not so blatant in pressing their kinship with Howard, which stemmed

⁶⁷¹ George Berkeley to Alexander Pope, Livorno, 1 May 1714, *The correspondence of Alexander Pope: 1704-1718*, ed. George Sherburn (Oxford, 1956), i, pp.221-2; *Berkeley and Percival*, p.19.

⁶⁷² Phyllis S. Lachs, *The diplomatic corps under Charles II and James II* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1965), p.54; Bell, *Handlist*, p.168.

⁶⁷³ Cardinal Norfolk (under coded name) to Henry Howard, duke of Norfolk, [Rome?], 30 Aug 1681, Arundel Castle, Volume of Autograph letters 1632-1723, f.424. I am grateful to Gabriel Glickman for this reference.

⁶⁷⁴ Robinson, *Dukes of Norfolk*, pp.133, 137, 139.

⁶⁷⁵ Burlington to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 2 Dec 1687; dowager countess to Germain Colladon, [Sion], 7 Dec 1687; dowager countess to Cardinal Norfolk, Sion, 7 Dec 1687, NLI MS 36, ff.663, 667, 667a.

back to sixteenth-century Norfolk. Robert Southwell spent time with several of the cardinal's brothers during his travels of 1659-62, presumably meeting Philip Howard at Whitehall over the 1660s and 1670s. Sir Philip Perceval and Rasigade repeatedly mention that the cardinal often spoke of Southwell in Rome.⁶⁷⁶ We might also infer a natural philosophical connection, as so often with travel networks. Henry Howard, sixth duke of Norfolk, had worked closely with Oldenburg to communicate observations gathered on a diplomatic posting to Morocco, emboldening the Royal Society's secretary to ask the new cardinal if he might add acquaintances to his retinue in 1675.⁶⁷⁷ Such connections perhaps added to the conviction with which Southwell commended his nephew to the cardinal.

Young travellers looked to Cardinal Norfolk for introductions to the people and curiosities of Roman society. Howard granted Sir Philip Perceval complete access to the papal ceremonies on Maundy Thursday, to which he was also accompanied in his 'Cortege' by James Hamilton, then earl of Arran, and his tutor James Forbes.⁶⁷⁸ Perceval was introduced to the pope, Innocent XI, 'having binn recommended by our Cardinall.'⁶⁷⁹ Howard brought Waring and his party to other cardinals, accompanying them to villas outside Rome.⁶⁸⁰ But Cardinal Norfolk's obligations towards travellers extended beyond facilitation and towards pastoral care. He gathered a fluctuating congregation of English-speaking noblemen and gentlemen. When Perceval arrived in Rome in March 1678, he joined a group that included the retinues of the earl of Arran and Robert Sutton, second baron Lexington, as well as slightly more modest travellers like Sir Thomas Isham.⁶⁸¹ Charles Butler, Samuel Waring and Lionel Boyle dined with the cardinal in similar company. Howard was

⁶⁷⁶ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 7 Apr 1678; Sir Philip Perceval to Southwell, Rome, 4 Jun 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.96v, 190v.

⁶⁷⁷ Cardinal Norfolk to Henry Oldenburg, Antwerp, 28 Jul [1675], BL Sloane MS 4279, f.177; Royal Society Cl.P/19/34, 75-77.

⁶⁷⁸ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 9 Apr 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.100; Forbes worked for Ormond as travelling tutor to the earl of Derby (1673-5).

⁶⁷⁹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 10/20 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.64v.

⁶⁸⁰ PRONI D695/226, f.24.

⁶⁸¹ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 9 Apr 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.100; Burdon, 'Thomas Isham', p.9.

paternalistic. Perceval's occasional travel companion, the duke of Somerset, was killed by local men between Genoa and Livorno for behaving impertinently to their wives 'according to the french way.'⁶⁸² Howard was 'much afflicted upon this account' and came to Perceval's lodgings 'where hee satt and talked with mee halfe an hower', a consolation for which Sir Philip was grateful.⁶⁸³

Perceval benefited from the cardinal's acquaintance months before the first allegations of the Popish Plot in August 1678. Norfolk's name was placed at the centre of papal designs for a Catholic England by several supposed witnesses.⁶⁸⁴ He was charged with high treason. The accusations were found to be baseless, but it is still striking that such a devoutly Protestant family as the Boyles might pursue the company of Cardinal Norfolk in 1687. Partially, this is explained by the Howard's personality, as well as his aristocratic birth. Perceval, Rasigade and Waring often described him as courteous and obliging.⁶⁸⁵ The cardinal's attitude towards religious conversation chimed with travel advice, playing down a divisive subject. Waring noted that 'his humour is very easie & as sweet, courtious, almost to a fault familiar'. He was always 'dwelling upon religion & making distinctions', something that was 'odd & would surprise a stranger', but Waring was 'perswaded he does it only for discourse sake & drollerie'.⁶⁸⁶ This was not always true of English Catholics abroad. An English correspondent of Sir John Perceval's cousin William, a Church of Ireland clergyman, heard from a clerical countryman at Lucca 'ye usual Cant about ye History of ye Reformation, mingl'd with great Zeal & Piety in him'; 'talking so of Religion' was 'ye folly with these sort of people.'⁶⁸⁷ By contrast, Howard's importance to the Italian experiences of young men like Perceval, Butler,

⁶⁸² Bruno Talbot to Sir Thomas Isham, Rome, 30 Apr 1678, Northants CRO, IC 1082.

⁶⁸³ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 7 May 1678; Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 7/17 May 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.136, 155.

⁶⁸⁴ Douglas C. Greene (ed.), *Diaries of the Popish Plot* (New York, 1977), pp.102, 222-3, 235.

⁶⁸⁵ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 8/18 Jun 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.7v; PRONI D695/228, f.128.

⁶⁸⁶ PRONI D695/226, f.23; Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.318.

⁶⁸⁷ William Curzon to William Perceval, Livorno, 9 Jul 1700, PRONI D906/59.

Waring and Boyle adds to the sense that kinship, social standing and common English self-identifications, as well as plain utility, often counted for more than religious or political entanglements among a travelling Anglophone community. It is possible, however, that these young men were naive. Howard's 'bonhomie' might often mask counter-reforming evangelisation, in which he had some success with travellers.⁶⁸⁸

Travel was sometimes denied to those Irish residents who could not demonstrate adequate Protestant anglicisation. Equally, wealthy families might spend vast sums acquiring English frames of reference through schools, universities and domestic travel. Once abroad, travellers ostensibly held to inculcated precepts. Now it seems that, while Irish-resident Protestants might sometimes join others of similar background abroad, they were often inextricable from English networks of sociability and assistance. Colladon's verdict on Geneva in 1689 begins to seem appropriate for Irish Protestant encounters with Europe throughout our period: here was 'a world of English'.⁶⁸⁹ The preparations and practices surrounding continental travel appear part of a profoundly anglicising experience and it is appropriate to wonder whether continental travel might have unified the disparate gentry and aristocracy by distancing its members from their local roots through common experiences abroad.⁶⁹⁰ In the Irish Protestant case, continental destinations were plainly encountered in overwhelmingly English company. Might this have furthered many travellers in their 'design to live like Englishmen'? Before turning to such questions we need to recognise that Irish residence or background furnished Protestants with Catholic contacts that complicate such characterisations.

⁶⁸⁸ Eoin Devlin, 'English encounters with papal Rome in the late counter-reformation, c.1685-c.1697' (Cambridge PhD thesis, 2010), pp.43, 60, 61, 79-80, 83.

⁶⁸⁹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Geneva, 15 Feb 1689, NLI MS 36, f.726.

⁶⁹⁰ Stone and Fawtier Stone, *Open elite*, p.258; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry in England and Wales*, pp.274, 317.

Irish Catholics: ‘a ready door’ to Europe?

Irish Protestant travel was often distinguished from the voyages of English counterparts by the use of Irish Catholic communities on the continent, exploiting the presence of three mainstays of the ‘Irish in Europe’ project: merchants, priests and soldiers.⁶⁹¹ The idea that local connections from home might influence a traveller’s experiences is relatively unexplored. Some English historians have produced regionalised studies of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, but they tend to concentrate on the ways in which travel influenced the locality, in terms of artistic collection or genteel self-perceptions, rather than tracing lines of contact through which localities enabled and influenced European experiences.⁶⁹² More promising is Skinner’s short work on Scots in Italy, though he does not elaborate on the implication that noble expatriates, obliging merchants and concerned diplomats provided ‘a ready door’ to European experience for fellow Scots.⁶⁹³ Brown writes that Scots ‘felt at home when they encountered their fellow countrymen in positions of influence or authority’ in eighteenth-century Venice, though he does not delve into the ways in which familiarity affected experiences.⁶⁹⁴ Irish residence shaped Protestant encounters with Europe by furnishing travellers with similar networks of help and hospitality from among continental Irish Catholic communities. The use of contacts was often geographically determined: travel to coastal areas favoured interaction with merchants; visits to seminarian centres like Rome or Prague were aided by clerical communities; the help of soldiers was often enlisted near theatres of war.

⁶⁹¹ O’Connor, ‘Historiographical remarks’.

⁶⁹² Andrew Moore, *Norfolk and the Grand Tour: eighteenth-century travellers abroad and their souvenirs* (Norwich, 1985); Peter McKay, ‘Northamptonshire travellers in Italy, 1690-1775’, *Northamptonshire past and present*, 9 (1995-6), pp.121-32; Anne French, *Art treasures in the North: northern families on the Grand Tour* (Norwich, 2009).

⁶⁹³ Basil Skinner, *Scots in Italy in the eighteenth century* (Edinburgh, 1966), p.6.

⁶⁹⁴ Iain Gordon Brown, ‘Water, windows, and women: the significance of Venice for Scots in the age of the Grand Tour’, *Eighteenth-century life*, 30:3 (Fall 2006), pp.27, 29.

Merchants

Irish Protestants might use Catholic mercantile links to facilitate the practicalities of travel, especially finance and transportation. These were of particular help in the later seventeenth century, when the structures of credit and hospitality that would support the eighteenth-century Grand Tour were still under construction.⁶⁹⁵ The Southwell and Perceval families were well-positioned to take advantage of the Cork trading networks analysed by Cullen and Dickson, especially given the elder Robert Southwell's involvement with the Kinsale corporation.⁶⁹⁶ Local merchant houses helped to move the sickly Lady Katherine Perceval and her 'family' to the French Atlantic coast in 1677. Perhaps with these connections in mind, Lady Katherine was persuaded by 'Dr. Gerrarld' and other Kinsale residents to land at Nantes and proceed to Orléans, Saumur or Angers to the 'great advantage' of her health.⁶⁹⁷ As we have seen, she brought the Kinsale merchant John Lugg. Lady Katherine's son, Sir Philip, arranged for the merchant Sarsfield to greet his mother, prepare a room for her at his own home and offer her 'advice and money'.⁶⁹⁸ The ambiguities of Irish mercantile communities are evident. While Rasigade described Sarsfield as 'un Marchand d'Irlande', Lady Katherine judged that 'noe Welch Man could be kinder'.⁶⁹⁹ Regardless, Sarsfield was part of a family network that stretched to Nantes, Rouen and Ostend from its base at the Percevals' local ports of Cork, Youghal and Kinsale.⁷⁰⁰

Once the Perceval household moved inland along the Loire, their French experiences were sedentary enough to continue using Irish mercantile links to the Atlantic coast. Lady

⁶⁹⁵ John Booker, *Travellers' money* (Stroud, 1994), pp.21-39.

⁶⁹⁶ Louis M. Cullen, 'The Irish merchant communities of Bordeaux, La Rochelle and Cognac in the eighteenth century' in Cullen and P. Butel (eds.), *Négoce et industrie en France et en Irlande aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles* (Paris, 1980), pp.51-63; David Dickson, 'The Cork merchant community in the eighteenth century: a regional perspective' in Cullen and Butel (eds.), *Négoce et industrie*, pp.45-50; Dickson, *Old World colony*.

⁶⁹⁷ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 12 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.260.

⁶⁹⁸ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Nantes, 18 Sep 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.100v: Sarsfield was to assist 'Madame de percevale de conseil Et d'argent' and to offer her 'chez luy une belle chambre'.

⁶⁹⁹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Nantes, 11 Oct 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.150.

⁷⁰⁰ Jan Parmentier, 'The Irish connection: the Irish merchant community in Ostend and Bruges during the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries', *Eighteenth-century Ireland: Iris an dá chultúr*, 20 (2005), p.41.

Katherine advised her mother to write to ‘Mr Edmond Gould the Elder at Rochell’, carefully noting that in case ‘the English may not be understood you may lay Por Monsieur Edmond Gould L’esn   Merchand a la Rochell and he will send it to me.’ To her brother, she instead advocated postage ‘to Nantes directed to Mr. Geraldine or to Rochell to Mr. Creagh & then they will find me out’.⁷⁰¹ Like the Sarsfields, the Goulds and Geraldines were prominent Old English families whose trading networks centred on their ancestral Cork home.⁷⁰² As they moved around northern France, the Perceval household continued to draw on bills of exchange with the merchants at La Rochelle.⁷⁰³ The Percevals generally avoided the social company of Irish Catholic merchants, however, despite their hospitality and utility. Gailhard excluded Nantes from Sir Philip’s itinerary on account of ‘English and Irish merchants there who drinck hard’.⁷⁰⁴ Sir Philip later advised his mother to stay at the Pelican, ‘the best Inn in Nants’, rather than lodge with local merchants for too long, ‘for they will expect greatt grattifications allthough you stay there butt a night’.⁷⁰⁵ Consequently, though sometimes crucial to the logistics of travel, Cork merchants are not prominent in the social aspects of European voyages. There is evidence that members of the Catholic trading dynasties utilised by families like the Percevals might also travel to destinations like Padua, but none that they ever considered travelling together.⁷⁰⁶

Catholic mercantile contacts only supplemented Irish Protestant and English financial and logistical support. St. George Ashe, for instance, made great use of the Hamburg merchant Francis Stratford, a Cork-born Protestant whom he knew through Trinity College,

⁷⁰¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, 8 Jan 1677[/8]; Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Foy, 17 Sep 1677, BL Add MSS 46953, f.221v; 46954B, f.120.

⁷⁰² Dickson, ‘Cork merchant community’, p.47; MacCarthy Morrogh, *Munster Plantation*, pp.1, 196n.

⁷⁰³ Kate Perceval to Helena Southwell, Paris, 8/16 Dec 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.194.

⁷⁰⁴ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 9/19 May 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.150.

⁷⁰⁵ Sir Philip Perceval to Lady Katherine Perceval, Crosaic, 2/12 Oct 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.136.

⁷⁰⁶ Brown, *Ingesi e Scozzesi*. At Padua from Cork merchant families: ‘Gualtero Coppinger Hibernus’ (1689); ‘William Goolde Hibernus de Kinsale’ (11 Mar 1692); ‘Barnaby Coppinger of Youghall in Ireland’ (13 Jan 1699). Merchants and bankers were not yet considered ‘persons of quality’: Booker, *Travellers’ money*, p.31.

Dublin.⁷⁰⁷ Ashe and Stratford surpassed the usual traveller-merchant relationship of convenience. Stratford is described as a pre-existing friend, not least when sending Ashe ‘a glass of excellent Mum’, the local drink, ‘all ye way from Brunswick’.⁷⁰⁸ They co-operated to represent Ireland abroad, sending Richard Cox’s new *Hibernia Anglicana* and Roderic O’Flaherty’s *Ogygia* to the Nuremberg scholar Jacob Wilhelm Imhoff. Ashe had met Imhoff, who was working on a genealogy that included the Butlers, on his journeys to and from Vienna. Traveller and merchant saw some success. Since Ashe’s journey in 1689, they had communicated with Imhoff in French; by late 1693, however, Stratford surmised that ‘Since you are soe well versed In our History I am perswaded you can not be a stranger to our Language’.⁷⁰⁹ Livesey suggests that Protestant mercantile experience closely mirrored that of Catholic traders, though Dickson emphasises that cross-confessional commercial partnerships were ‘almost unknown’.⁷¹⁰ Stratford’s historical preoccupations indicate that, away from commercial matters, this might sometimes be otherwise. Irish Protestant travellers probably socialised more easily with merchants of the same confession and background.

St. George Ashe was rare in combining cultural and logistical co-operation with an Irishman who shared his faith and residence. When not using Catholic mercantile networks, Irish Protestants more commonly trusted their financial and transportational arrangements to English traders. Though Cullen asserts the dominance of the Irish among English-speaking merchants in southern Europe, they did not monopolise the arrangements of Irish Protestant visitors to Italy (as they may have on the French Atlantic coast).⁷¹¹ The burgeoning English merchant community at Livorno, in particular, provided logistical and financial aid alongside

⁷⁰⁷ George Dames Burtchaell and Thomas Ulick Sadleir (eds.), *Alumni dublinenses: a register of the students, graduates, professors and provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593-1860)* (Dublin, 1935).

⁷⁰⁸ St. George Ashe to Arthur St. George and Stafford Lightburne, Vienna, 9/19 Dec 1690, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letter 3.

⁷⁰⁹ St. George Ashe to Jacob Wilhelm Imhoff, Augsburg, 28 Nov 1689; TCD, 11 Oct 1692; Francis Stratford to Imhoff, Hamburg, 25 Oct 1693, BL Add MS 24929, ff.5, 33, 39.

⁷¹⁰ James Livesey, *Civil society and empire: Ireland and Scotland in the eighteenth-century Atlantic world* (New Haven; London, 2009), p.132; Dickson, ‘Cork merchant community’, p.47.

⁷¹¹ Cullen, ‘Irish merchant communities’, p.52.

the anglicised hospitality offered by John Horsey. English merchants at Livorno sustained the flow of goods, letters and money that connected travellers to home. Robert Southwell used them to send a ‘chest of things and books’ from Tuscany back to England in 1661.⁷¹² Sir Philip Perceval drew on Livorno merchants for credit sixteen years later, perhaps influenced by Gailhard’s familiarity with the English community there.⁷¹³ The use of English rather than Irish merchants for such undertakings tended to reflect changing patterns of family residence, as it often required a presence in London.

‘Our Irish fathers’

The clergy formed another group of Irish Catholic contacts prevailed upon by Irish Protestants abroad. Like merchants, they supported the practicalities of travel. Catholic priests figured more prominently, however, in the social aspects of some voyages. Their utility sprang from concentration in urban centres like Paris, Rome and Prague. Irish Protestant travellers recorded them as practical contacts. Before leaving Ireland, Robert Southwell compiled a list of ‘Names’, including the address of Fr. Daniel McSweeney at the College of Rheims, though he did not record a subsequent meeting.⁷¹⁴ For ‘The Adresse of my letters at Rome’, he listed John Creagh, a Limerick man and chaplain to the pope, and Garrett Farrell, based with Cardinal Albizzi.⁷¹⁵ This use of Irish Catholic clergymen suggests perceived subservience to Protestant travellers but also, given contemporary paranoia about the reliability of the postal system, underscores the trust placed in Catholic Irishmen abroad.

Gregory Fallon, a theological scholar and bursar at the Spanish College of the University of

⁷¹² Vincenzo Viviani to ‘Arrigo Broune’, Florence, [mid-1661], Gal. 158/95; ‘Arrigo Broune’ and ‘Arrigo Mellish’ to Vincenzo Viviani, Livorno, 8 Nov 1661, Gal. 162/15.

⁷¹³ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Jun 77; Alexandre de la Rasigade to Southwell, Nantes, 12/22 Oct 77, BL Add MSS 46954A, f.275; 46954B, f.155.

⁷¹⁴ BL Add MS 58219, f.1v.

⁷¹⁵ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.75-75v. For Creagh (‘Giovanni Creveo Hibernese’), Benignus Millett, *The Irish Franciscans, 1651-1665* (Rome, 1964) and M.R.F. Williams, ‘Between king, faith and reason: Father Peter Talbot (SJ) and Catholic royalist thought in exile’, *English historical review*, 127:528 (Oct 2012), p.1079; for Farrell, ‘Gerard Ferrall’ in Thomas O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists, 1600-70: religion and politics in Flanders, France, Ireland and Rome* (Dublin, 2008), p.358.

Bologna, wrote of Robert Southwell as his ‘dear patron’ and served as a forwarding address.⁷¹⁶ Southwell himself found that Fr. James, ‘an Irish Priest’ and Roman antiquary, would ‘be more at the Beck’ than other guides but was ‘not soe well verst as ye others in ye Antiquities.’⁷¹⁷ Sir Philip Perceval gave charity to the ‘Irish fathers’ in Rome.⁷¹⁸ Despite this recurring sense of social superiority, Protestant travellers placed great trust in Catholic clerical countrymen. On occasion, perhaps this arose from loyalty demonstrated during the Interregnum.⁷¹⁹

If Irish Protestants presumed that trusted Irish Catholic priests would be at their beck and call, they also considered them more desirable company than their mercantile countrymen. Their foreign training and horizons may have rendered them more agreeable learned conversation than Catholics with whom Protestant landowners would have come into contact at home. Descriptions of clergymen abroad frequently include conversational styles, as in Robert Southwell’s recommendations to Edward Howard: a Dominican at Milan, Fr. Luke Tobin, was ‘decent officious and well bread’; at Bologna, the learned Fallon was ‘one of ye worthiest and most Cordiall Gentman yt. belongs to Ireland’; in Rome, Creagh was ‘a hearty old man’ who ‘discourses with some garb, and lives well; but never made me drink in his house’.⁷²⁰ Waring similarly described Fr. Quin of Venice as ‘an old smudling Preist’.⁷²¹ One April afternoon in Rome, he and Charles Butler ‘went with two of our Irish fathers’ to see various ‘curiosities, consisting most of Sea Shells Corralls & the like’.⁷²² Irish Catholic

⁷¹⁶ ‘Gregorio’ Fallon [calendar reads ‘Fallou’] to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 16 Apr 1661, Gal. 161/166: ‘il mio cariss[i]mo patrone’; Benignus Millett, ‘Calendar of Volume 13 of the Fondo di Vienna in Propaganda Archives: Part 2, ff. 201-401’, *Collectanea Hibernica*, 25 (1983), p.34; Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 1 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/98.

⁷¹⁷ BL Add MS 38015, f.38v.

⁷¹⁸ Two livres and five sols ‘aux pauvres et aux religieux irlandois’; one crown and three sols ‘a un pauvre Anglois ou aux peres irlandois de St isidore’ (BL Add MSS 46955A, f.180v; 46956A, ff.122-48v).

⁷¹⁹ Robert Southwell attributed his travel to Ormond’s ‘instigation’; perhaps he drew on Catholic links proved during the royalist exile: Williams, ‘King’s Irishmen’.

⁷²⁰ BL Add MS 38015, ff.36v, 37v.

⁷²¹ PRONI D695/228, ff.98, 128. ‘Smuggling’ in the late seventeenth-century sense of cuddling, fondling or caressing.

⁷²² PRONI D695/226, f.24.

priests clearly hosted their Protestant countrymen genially and, unlike merchants, were invited to share improving experiences, but arrangements may have been considered mutually beneficial. Chaney infers from internal correspondence that, in return for hospitality, Scottish Jesuits hoped to court young Protestant countrymen and soften their attitudes towards Catholicism.⁷²³ Perhaps some Irish contacts had similar goals. Certainly, Creagh received letters from the Catholic hierarchy in Ireland, who lived ‘in perpetual fear’ but were ‘confident that the Irish are strong and firm in the faith’, as he welcomed Southwell with conviviality.⁷²⁴

What did travellers and clergymen discuss in such amicable terms? Talk of their common home created a cordial atmosphere and drink often smoothed interactions. A sense of shared origins was heightened by the fact that many seminarian or collegiate communities remained remarkably isolated from their host societies, preserving a recognisable Irishness abroad.⁷²⁵ Creagh may have introduced Robert Southwell in November 1660 to another St. Isidore’s man, Fr. John Heslenan from Connacht.⁷²⁶ Heslenan considered it ‘a gracious Question’ when Southwell asked ‘how being a Stranger soe farr off, of a Country in such misfortune [he] should arrive at thier charges’. It also, the young Protestant noticed, ‘opened him’ to franker conversation.⁷²⁷ Two months later, Southwell visited the Irish Jesuits in Rome, speaking particularly with Fr. John Young. Young had been an eye-witness to the horrors of wartime plague in Waterford nine years previously, but the pair treated the religious divisions of home lightly.⁷²⁸ Young observed that drinking was ‘strangly us’d in Ireland’, explaining that he had ‘told them in preaching that was yt. made them Protestants. for ye fathers by that excesse dying young left their Children young who then fell into

⁷²³ Chaney, *Grand Tour and the Great Rebellion*, p.103

⁷²⁴ Anthony MacGeoghegan, bishop of Meath, to John Creagh, 16 Sep 1661: Millett, *Irish Franciscans*, p.521.

⁷²⁵ Jan Pařez, ‘The Irish Franciscans in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Prague’ in O’Connor and Lyons (eds.), *Irish migrants*, pp.104-17.

⁷²⁶ Millett, *Irish Franciscans*, pp.65, 121-4, 126n, 527.

⁷²⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.11.

⁷²⁸ Millett, *Irish Franciscans*, p.300n.

wardship and were soe made goe to Church.’ Somewhat hypocritically, Young regaled Southwell with his own prodigious exploits on a visit to Lucerna, where he and ‘an other Jesuite they drank in every house’. Southwell’s reaction moved Young to plead that he should ‘be not Scandalizd yt. I drink soe oft’. The often sickly young traveller’s description of Creagh, that he ‘never made me drink in his house’, begins to seem a compliment when contrasted with Young, who ‘would make me drink but excused his bad wine’.⁷²⁹ Sir John Perceval would remember that Southwell drank sparingly.⁷³⁰ Besides Young, Southwell shared stories and jokes with other Irish Jesuits that day, including the less than ingenious solutions tried by a man who ‘could not pisse’.⁷³¹

The hospitality of Irish Catholic priests reached beyond their concentration in Rome to other seminarian centres. Robert Southwell remembered decades later that he had been welcomed to Prague by ‘the Irish Franciscans’ at the College of the Immaculate Conception, who ‘made him a great Entertainment in the Hall, & shewd him a Fire in a Chimney, wch. was a rarity in those parts.’⁷³² The hearth stuck long in the mind of a traveller who regretted the transition from warm nights and Chianti in Tuscany to sleeping fully-clothed and drinking beer in Prague.⁷³³ But such visits, though enabled by a common Irish background, did not necessarily engender feelings of uncomplicated commonality. Pole Cosby visited the Prague Franciscans in 1723. He was welcomed ‘at the Irish monestary with very great civility’, eighty priests ‘as glad & full of joy to see us as if we were their own kin’. In Munich, too, he ‘met with several Irish priests who were joyful to see a countryman.’ Such encounters, however, could not have ‘led Cosby to rethink his definition of nationality, much less his

⁷²⁹ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.32; Add MS 38015, f.37v.

⁷³⁰ BL Add MS 47072, f.11.

⁷³¹ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.33-34.

⁷³² BL Egerton MS 1634, f.17v. Pařez, ‘Irish Franciscans’; David Worthington, *British and Irish experiences and impressions of central Europe, 1560-1688* (Aldershot, 2012), pp.171-4.

⁷³³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Prague, 13 Nov 1661, Gal. 254/110: ‘in luogo del buon vino di Canti, bevo la biera a tasse pieni, e in luogo di dormir nudo sul la matterassa, per 5 notte già hò dormito vestito sul la pallia ed in terra.’

attitude to Catholicism.’ Most of the Franciscan buildings in Prague he condemned as ‘but ordinary & very Irish all over, very dirty’.⁷³⁴ Cosby may have drawn on pre-existing Irish experience, since the Stradbally Franciscan friary was on land claimed by his family and had long been in a ‘dilapidated’ and ‘uninhabitable’ state.⁷³⁵ We ought also to remember that Irish seminaries facilitated rather than encouraged travel to particular continental destinations. Large religious communities in Spain went comparatively unused in such an unfashionable country.⁷³⁶

Beyond reminiscences of home and varying degrees of inebriation, the continental Catholic connections afforded by Irish residence might facilitate serious theological discussion. During Robert Southwell’s convivial visit to the Irish Jesuits in Rome, the young Protestant discussed approaches to celebrating the mass. Young told him that ‘he dayly effected death and that he every day sed masse as if it were his first masse and his last. ye first, yt. is with diligence, and care ... And ye last as If I were never to doe soe sacred an office any more.’ In turn, the ever-sober Southwell ‘told him ye thought of death ought to strike ye hearts of all’. Young became animated, exclaiming ‘Ah Sr. happy is he whose heart is Struck with soe Inspired a Though[t]’ and ‘ah Sr. Qui potest capere capeat with a wistfull regard.’ Protestant traveller and Catholic priest drew on common Biblical knowledge in theological discussion.⁷³⁷ More formally, in Rome on the Sunday after Easter 1688, Waring went ‘to ye: frierie of ye: franciscans of St Isidore ye Irish where we heard theire disputations’, probably with Misson and Charles Butler. Always looking to memorialise his travel, Waring records that ‘the thesises I braught with me’.⁷³⁸ But the theological discussions encouraged by a common Irish background were not always amicable and might vindicate

⁷³⁴ ‘Autobiography of Cosby’, pp.97-8; Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p.128.

⁷³⁵ Millet, *Irish Franciscans*, p.78.

⁷³⁶ For rare Irish Protestant travellers to Spain, like Robert Black in the late 1720s, Irish Catholic communities provided the usual welcome and assistance: Livesey, *Civil society*, p.143.

⁷³⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.31v; Matt. xix. 12: ‘he that is able to receive it, let him receive it’.

⁷³⁸ PRONI D695/228, f.49. The theses are not in PRONI’s Waring papers.

standard advice on avoiding religious topics. Visiting the Irish Franciscans in Prague, ‘most extreemly ignorant & very zealous of their superstitious religion’, Cosby had ‘many arguments ... with them’. It was ‘well they did not destroy me for being an Heretic, as they often called me, & told me I would be infallably damned, but when we did not talk of religion they were very fond.’⁷³⁹

Though Robert Southwell met most frequently with Irish Catholic priests in Rome, he reached an early pinnacle of engagement in Paris. There he met the Cork-born Franciscan theologian John Punch several times in May and June 1659.⁷⁴⁰ Possibly after discussion with Punch, Southwell composed ‘3 reasons why the Church of Rome maintaines her selfe soe free from scismes in matters of Religion’. The observations appear between anecdotes attributed to the Franciscan. Their genesis is uncertain as travel notebooks collected the views of others alongside personal reflections without distinction. In his hand and from a Protestant viewpoint, however, Southwell records that ‘I apprehend’ the three pillars of Catholic unity. They were the ‘diversity’ of religious orders, ‘the denyall of the Scriptures to be used by the Layety’ and ‘terror’ of the Inquisition. A ‘Scolasticall dunce’ might be ‘hid in a monastery’ so that ‘none but the best of their number appear’, but ‘with us’ any ‘dull’ person might be a minister. Southwell’s fear of Catholic persuasion, the perversion of civility against which he warned Sir Philip Perceval, was thus quite considered. He also suggests, remarkably, that unmediated access to scripture was ‘a dangerous liberty though lawfull yett not expedient’. ‘For the Inquisition’, as yet, Southwell could only note that ‘It is not received here in France’.⁷⁴¹ In the Interregnum context, perhaps his Irish background encouraged interest in the maintenance of denominational unity. None of this intellectual engagement with Catholicism appears in letters home, however, which dwell instead on the theatrical aspects of ‘popish’ worship. In Rome, for instance, he told Sir John Perceval, there was ‘noe expence

⁷³⁹ ‘Autobiography of Cosby’, pp.97-8.

⁷⁴⁰ O’Connor, *Irish Jansenists*, p.364.

⁷⁴¹ BL Add MS 58219, ff.23-5.

... but what is designed for Ostentation and shew'.⁷⁴² This was a common trope in Protestant travel correspondence, but Southwell clearly engaged more critically with Catholicism in conversation with 'popish' countrymen abroad. Punch would provide a letter of introduction when he left Paris for Montpellier.

How new would contact with Irish Catholic priests have been for Protestant travellers? Personal and business relationships cut across confessional tensions at home. Domestic divides between Protestant and Catholic were, in practice, 'bridged by a range of contacts'.⁷⁴³ These sometimes stretched to cordial relationships between Church-of-Ireland landowners and local Catholic priests, increasingly recognised as 'a vital instrument of social control'.⁷⁴⁴ Robert Molesworth, for all his apparent anti-clericalism, gave 'Father Welsh something towards the rebuilding his house' because he was his 'very good freind'.⁷⁴⁵ Amicable relationships at home were probably not yet the norm. Florentine accounts of Kinsale, which we will soon examine, convey a fractious relationship between the elder Robert Southwell and his Catholic tenants during the late 1660s. Regardless, domestic relationships between Church-of-Ireland landowners and Catholic priests are unlikely to have fostered a sense of commonality or theological debate. Wealthy families depended on the dispossession of Catholics but they mixed more easily abroad.⁷⁴⁶ The younger Robert Southwell did draft a letter to one Irish Catholic priest, hoping that 'ye Amity wch. we have made here abrode in Italy, may be confirmed betweene us in Ireland'.⁷⁴⁷ There is little evidence of fulfilment.

⁷⁴² Robert Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, BL Add MS 46938, f.69.

⁷⁴³ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, pp.126-7.

⁷⁴⁴ Dickson, 'Jacobitism', p.85.

⁷⁴⁵ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Edlington, 17 Jun 1704, NLI Clements, p.3752; Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account'.

⁷⁴⁶ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.312, 318, 320, 326.

⁷⁴⁷ BL Add MS 38015, f.25. Southwell calls the addressee 'Rd. Fr.'

‘Some officers of my Country’

Soldiers, whether in English or foreign service, constituted a huge body of Irish Catholics on the continent at certain points, but their contributions to Protestant travel were limited. Soldiers were unlikely to coincide with travellers seeking pleasure or self-improvement. Several regiments moved through Angers, which suffered the billeting of 1,200 Irishmen on one night in 1674; three years later, Sir Philip Perceval spent eleven months learning French and genteel ‘exercises’ in the town.⁷⁴⁸ One less explicit way in which Protestant travellers may have encountered erstwhile soldiers was through charity occasionally given to Irish beggars, though evidence is not detailed.⁷⁴⁹ Social meetings with soldiers in French service were not unknown, however. In June 1714, Edward Southwell was in a bookshop in the market place of Valenciennes when ‘Came in Lt Morris of Tipperary of la Marques Regt & F Blake of Gallway’. The Irish group ‘Staid till 7.’ Soon afterwards, at Cambrai, Southwell was visited by Daniel O’Donnell and several Irish officers of his French regiment. Edward hints at the limits of seemly company, however. The soldiers ‘Invited mee to supper: but I came away at 4.’⁷⁵⁰ Perhaps contact was easier a year after the treaty of Utrecht, but never unproblematic.

It may have been easier to justify the company of Irish soldiers in foreign service other than France. At Brussels in 1723, Sir John Perceval met Major Worth ‘of a German Regiment’. He was ‘of Ireland, but of long service under the Emp[eror], and tho a Papist yet no adherer to the Pretender’s part, as haveing always served against France.’ Worth knew ‘the world, is on the best foot in Brussels, & was extreamly obliging to’ the Percevals.⁷⁵¹ In

⁷⁴⁸ Pierre-Louis Coudray, “‘Irlandois de nation’: Irish soldiers in Angers as an illustration of Franco-Irish relationships in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ in Nathalie Genet-Rouffiac and David Murphy (eds.), *Franco-Irish military connections, 1590-1945* (Dublin, 2009), p.96.

⁷⁴⁹ Sir Philip Perceval gave 16 pence to ‘one Irishman’ in late 1677, either in Saumur or on his way to Bordeaux: BL Add MS 46954B, f.231.

⁷⁵⁰ [Edward Southwell], *Journey from London to Paris, June-July 1714*, Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4569, ff.14v, 15.

⁷⁵¹ BL Add MS 47059, ff.2v-3.

later years, Sir John and Lady Catherine sent him ‘books of Controversie’, including, at the soldier’s request, Tillotson’s *Discourse against transubstantiation*. Worth joked that more attentive reading would have made him ‘one of the best Protestants in the World.’⁷⁵² The company of Irish soldiers in English service required less explanation. At Dunkirk in 1661, Robert Southwell ate ‘with some officers [of] my Country, who have a particular kindnesse to me for the Irish Natures sake.’⁷⁵³ There is no indication of his dining companions. Edward enjoyed similar hospitality in 1696, travelling to English military camps in the Low Countries with government officials. He often met his cousin William Southwell and other Irish officers.⁷⁵⁴ Irishmen in English or foreign service, whether Protestant or Catholic, lent travel some familiarity but did not facilitate voyages in the manner of merchants and priests.

Sir Robert Southwell used Irish Catholic military contacts during his diplomatic posting to Lisbon. In December 1667 he wrote to two officers, Dempsey and Shanon, who shared his natural-philosophical interests. Southwell invoked the Royal Society, ‘who doe curiously enquire about all natural things’ in Portugal. He had been given a list of tasks by his fellow enthusiasts, including the acquisition of travel books, the resolution of specific Portuguese questions and the establishment of correspondence with Lisbon.⁷⁵⁵ Southwell had achieved little before his imminent return to England spurred him into delegation. Colonel Dempsey was to collect samples from a waterfall near his camp, test its properties and produce ‘an Intire Narrative of the same’. He was advised to recruit ‘the best Philosophers in Your Regiment’.⁷⁵⁶ From Captain Shanon, Southwell sought an account of ‘the rarities of this

⁷⁵² Captain J. Worth to Sir John Perceval, Ostend, 21 Aug 1724 NS; Perceval to Worth, Charlton, 25 Aug 1724; Sir John Perceval to Worth, London, 24 Dec 1724; Worth to Perceval, Brussels, 8 Mar 1724[5] NS; Perceval to Worth, [Charlton], 30 Mar 1725, BL Add 47030, ff.87, 88, 122, 140, 141v.

⁷⁵³ Robert Southwell to [Henry] Howard, Dunkirk, [late 1661], BL Add MS 38015, f.40.

⁷⁵⁴ BL Add MS 58220, ff. 18v, 46, 46v.

⁷⁵⁵ ‘A Memoriall for Sr Robert Southwell in Portugall’, London, 20 Sep 1665, Royal Society Cl.P19/15, ff.30-30v.

⁷⁵⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to ‘Colonel Dempsey’, Lisbon, 10 Dec 1667, Royal Society, EL/S1/19. Lt.-Col. Lawrence Dempsey, an Irishman in the English brigade posted to Portugal in 1662-8. Dempsey died in the Jacobite army eight days before the Boyne: John Childs, *The army of Charles II* (London, 1976), pp.164, 169,

Country whether of Nature or of Art'. Appealing to Shanon's 'Philosophicall Spirit', he focused on clay and vegetation, requesting 'as much of the earth as a Mule can bring' for experimentation in England. Shanon was to be 'a very good Schollar and stick close to your booke to give me a full account'.⁷⁵⁷ Southwell appears not to have asked English officers for such assistance. He received the credit, as Oldenburg and Boyle looked forward to 'Sr R. Southwells collections in Portugal, both as to written accounts, and divers curiosities'.⁷⁵⁸

'For the Irish Natures sake'?

How far did contact with Catholic countrymen set Irish Protestant travel apart from English experiences of the continent? There is certainly little mention of Irish Catholic contacts in existing historiography on English travel, although such interpersonal issues have not always been a prominent concern for scholars. Uncovering links also requires a level of manuscript research not always evident in studies of English travel that rely on print, whether formal contemporary accounts or published reports that privilege what Victorian and Edwardian editors deemed of 'historical interest'.⁷⁵⁹ English travel in the decades following the Restoration, moreover, still awaits 'a systematic study'. Without a major reassessment of English practices, valuable though it might prove, Irish Protestant experiences can be compared with those of English contemporaries of similar social standing. We can, for instance, set Robert Southwell's Restoration voyage alongside English travellers. There is little evidence that English travellers drew on Irish Catholic networks to the same extent, suggesting that help and hospitality were indeed offered 'for the Irish Natures sake'. Newly equipped with a periwigg in place of his usual cap, Banaster Maynard went under his own

238; HMC, *Report on the manuscripts of J.M. Heathcote, esq., of Conington Castle, Co. Hunts* (London, 1899), pp.55, 106, 112, 114, 122, 170; D'Alton, *Irish army list*, i, pp.111, 115.

⁷⁵⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to 'Captain Shanon', Lisbon, 10 Dec 1667, Royal Society, EL/S1/20. Shanon is more obscure than Dempsey: Childs, *Army*, p.170.

⁷⁵⁸ Henry Oldenburg to Robert Boyle, London, 14 Apr 1668, *Oldenburg correspondence*, iv, p.318.

⁷⁵⁹ W. Page claims that the post-Restoration period is of 'less historical interest': HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.v.

steam to seek a papal audience in January 1661 and was lucky to be introduced by John Creagh, 'the Pope's Confessor who as fortun fell out was an Ireish man.'⁷⁶⁰ Irish-resident travellers like Robert Southwell were, by contrast, aware of the advantages that their background might confer, making full use of connections to men like Creagh. Individual Irish Catholic contacts are rarely mentioned in English sources and there is little indication that English travellers visited Irish Catholic colleges, seminaries or other institutions during voyages.

The same cannot be said for English Catholic contacts, though the degree to which English Protestant travellers made use of such networks depended on their personal circumstances. William Hammond, a Protestant mercantile gentleman, benefitted from family connections to Henry Holden, the Catholic royalist and Sorbonne divine who acted as 'an influential and hospitable figure for English exiles (especially, but not exclusively, Catholic ones) at Paris during the 1650s.'⁷⁶¹ Even without such contacts, English Protestant travellers sought the institutions of their Catholic countrymen and countrywomen abroad. Francis Mortoft toured the English College at Rome in 1659, though he was critical of 'the pictures of theire Martyrs, as they cal them' and did not record personal conversation with individual English seminarians.⁷⁶² More convivially, Banaster Maynard 'and all the English that were in Rome Din'd at the English Colledge on St. Thomas Day' 1661.⁷⁶³ Edward Browne visited a 'Monastery of the English Nuns' at Paris in May 1664, relating from experience the procedure for 'When you would speak with a Nun'.⁷⁶⁴ Such procedures were familiar to many English Protestant travellers. Convents in the Low Countries 'were reckoned dangerous hotbeds of popery, yet at the same time they were among the travellers' favourite and most

⁷⁶⁰ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, pp.232, 257.

⁷⁶¹ Ibid., pp.150, 154, 162.

⁷⁶² Malcolm Letts (ed.), *Francis Mortoft: his book* (London, 1925), p.162.

⁷⁶³ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.260. Robert Southwell does not record the dinner, but may have been returning from Naples: Gal. 254/88.

⁷⁶⁴ Edward Browne, *Journal of a visit to Paris in the year 1664*, ed. Geoffrey Keynes (London, 1923), p.15.

highly appreciated attractions.’⁷⁶⁵ Englishmen similarly visited English convents at Gravelines and Dunkirk ‘out of curiosity’.⁷⁶⁶ Visitor and nun might find ‘a shared feeling of Englishness, crossing the confessional divide’ but Corens also considers social ties. Well-connected nuns often hailed from families of quality at home.⁷⁶⁷ Like Irish Protestants and Catholics, perhaps English men and women might find a qualified sense of cross-confessional commonality in foreign settings.

A fluid exchange of expertise among travellers meant that boundaries between Irish Protestant and English experiences were never rigid. Maynard’s papal audience suggests, for instance, that Englishmen might expect some help from Irish Catholics abroad, even if their meetings were more often serendipitous. Mutual influences also work against too definite a division. Irish Protestants sought English advice and company, but guidance could also work the other way. Much of the evidence for Robert Southwell’s Irish Catholic contacts in Italy survives in his recommendations to the English Catholic Edward Howard, as Southwell’s desire to ingratiate himself with the powerful dynasty meant that he produced an exhaustive guide. Perhaps Howard’s confessional background left him more amenable than Protestant Englishmen to using such links, but there is no evidence of whether he followed Southwell’s directions.

Beyond comparisons with English travel, we might place Irish Protestant voyages alongside those undertaken by other gentry or ‘aristocrats of the periphery’.⁷⁶⁸ Connolly suggests that late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century ‘Ireland was not radically different from Scotland, Wales, or the more settled of the American colonies, or indeed from more remote parts of provincial England’ as ‘an example of the uneven penetration of a

⁷⁶⁵ Corens, ‘Catholic nuns’, pp.442-3.

⁷⁶⁶ John Lough, *France observed in the seventeenth century by British travelers* (Stocksfield; Boston, 1985), p.191.

⁷⁶⁷ Corens, ‘Catholic nuns’, p.451.

⁷⁶⁸ Lockridge, *Byrd*, p.32.

provincial élite by the standards of metropolitan society’.⁷⁶⁹ Hayton ‘tentatively’ suggests, similarly, that ‘many of the manifestations of Protestant “Irishness” in the first half of the eighteenth century paralleled nothing so closely as English provincial self-consciousness.’⁷⁷⁰ Livesey demonstrates the value of comparing responses amongst provincial elites in the various ‘peripheries’ of the English world.⁷⁷¹ If some Irish Protestant encounters with Europe counter-intuitively served as an impetus towards anglicisation, Scottish, Welsh and American cases would contribute towards a fuller understanding of the process.

The historiography of Scottish travel seems broadly similar to work on the ‘Irish in Europe’ in that it tends to follow migrants, though they more often leave for northern Europe.⁷⁷² Isolated work by Skinner and Brown indicates the need for a study of Scottish travellers who returned home. Sticking to near-contemporaries, we might compare Robert Southwell’s travel with Sir John Lauder’s 1665-7 voyage to France. Lauder did not use Irish or English Catholic networks. Instead, he relied on links to other Scots abroad, especially the hospitable Francis Kinloch of Paris. At Kinloch’s house and in his longer months in Poitiers, Lauder spent his time in young, male, Scottish company, with whom he saw sights, shared travel advice and got up to many ‘sports’. What Lauder called the ‘rarest stuff’ is omitted from the printed version, succumbing to the combined prudery of a Victorian editor and a more contemporary censor of the manuscript, but when the narrative resumes he is often hung over. Lauder only briefly met Henry Boyle, ‘a son of my Lord Arreray or Broll, a very sharp boy w[i]t[h] his governour Doctor Hall’, on the Channel crossing. He showed two Englishmen around Poitiers merely so ‘that they s[h]ould find the Scots as civil and obliging as any’. Lauder sought out argumentative ‘discours’ in Latin with local French curés, whom he found to be ‘woluntary blind’, and he openly laughed with his group of Scottish

⁷⁶⁹ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p.66.

⁷⁷⁰ Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, p.45.

⁷⁷¹ Livesey, *Civil society*.

⁷⁷² Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (eds.), *Scottish communities abroad in the early modern period* (Leiden, 2005).

Presbyterians in view of Catholic devotion to relics in ‘the land of graven images’. Nevertheless, Lauder predictably partook of the hospitality and conversation of Fr. Broune, a Scottish Jesuit ‘who was wery kind to us al’. His Calvinist countrymen were ‘so curious as to go hear Midnight Masses.’⁷⁷³

The structure of Scottish Presbyterian travel, at least as far as it is apparent from Lauder’s experiences, implies that comparisons between journeys undertaken by the gentry and nobility of the non-English ‘peripheries’ might prove enlightening. Were Scottish Presbyterians able to preserve the ‘Scottishness’ of their European encounters in ways that were not open to Irish Protestants? For now, though, we can observe that men like Lauder were not well-positioned, nor perhaps well-inclined, to use the Irish Catholic networks that characterised the travels of Robert Southwell, Lady Katherine Perceval and Samuel Waring. In this sense, these familiar travellers exploited their ‘Irish Nature’, though potential comparisons must remain here as sketches.

Little Irishmen, friends of Ireland, Hibernii

A final point to note about Irish Catholic contacts is their apparent decline among some families during our period, especially the Southwells. Most examples of co-operation with Irish Catholics have emerged from the voyages of the siblings Robert Southwell and Lady Katherine Perceval in the 1660s and 1670s. This wealth of contacts seems traceable to residence. The parochial importance of their father, the elder Robert Southwell, may have strengthened their position in dealings with Catholic mercantile networks from Cork but it did not furnish many foreign contacts, for whom the younger Robert relied certainly on natural philosophical connections and perhaps on Ormond. Seeking the indigenous ‘beau monde’, he was often left to find his own way. Lady Katherine Perceval’s 1677 use of

⁷⁷³ Crawford (ed.), *Lauder journals*, pp.2, 4, 5, 15, 17, 19, 22, 30, 35, 36, 55, 110, 118, 129, 132, 145.

merchants with Cork connections also seems attributable to residence. Though she sometimes relied on the acquaintances of her brother, by then at Whitehall, her use of Irish Catholic contacts was probably dictated by the fairly narrow possibilities afforded by long-term residence in Cork. Feeling the supposed benefits of French air, Lady Katherine belatedly realised her ‘mistake of placeing my selfe in a Towne the Ayre of which I can speake as a sincere truth has never agreed with me this 16 years’. But living in Kinsale may more truthfully have affected the form of her travel, rather than its necessity.

We ought not to downplay the help and hospitality afforded to Irish-resident Protestants by their Catholic countrymen abroad, links that sometimes were forged ‘for the Irish Natures sake’. Equally, however, these contacts relied on the uncomplicated convenience of a common residential background. Robert Southwell’s explanation of ‘Nature’ might refer literally to his Irish birth rather than converging outlooks. The functionality of relationships between Protestant travellers and Catholic expatriates is clear in his dealings with ‘Dr. Creagh an Irish Physician’ in Paris. Creagh disagreed with French doctors over treatment of Southwell’s ‘swelling ... below which they say is growne ... a fleshy susbtance’, an injury caused in riding near Kinsale.⁷⁷⁴ Decades later, Southwell’s daughter recorded that ‘The very words of Countryman Sunk so deep, that he presently resolved to throw ye Frenchmen of, as those who cared not what might become of him.’ Helena Le Grand suggests the practicalities that often underlay such sentiments, however. Had Southwell not recovered, ‘Dr. Creagh who was of Limerick might probably answer it elsewhere.’⁷⁷⁵

The Southwells’ use of Irish Catholic contacts faded once they removed from Irish residence, becoming absentee landlords based in the West Country. Sir Robert Southwell, living mainly in London over the 1670s and entirely in Gloucestershire from 1679, furnished his son Edward with Whitehall contacts. Several, especially William Blathwayt, facilitated

⁷⁷⁴ Robert Southwell (father) to Sir John Perceval, Kinsale, 3 Jun 1659, BL Add MS 46937, f.132.

⁷⁷⁵ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.9-9v. Perhaps the Parisian doctor put Southwell in contact with the pope’s chaplain, also a Limerick Creagh.

journeys to the United Provinces over the 1690s. Irish Catholic contacts had not completely disappeared. In 1714, Edward used ‘Dean Maguire’ as a Parisian guide and met soldiers in the French service. Equally, however, he visited English nuns, Carthusians and Benedictines.⁷⁷⁶ In the mid-1720s, the continental experiences of Edward’s own son, the younger Edward, followed the furrowing paths of an English Grand Tour without reliance on Irish Catholic networks, even though he travelled with other Protestants of Irish background. At Padua on 12 June 1726, the young Edward entered himself as ‘Hibernus’ in the university matriculation book, a de facto visitors’ book that prompted travellers to ‘a quickened sense of origins.’⁷⁷⁷ Though Southwell valued his Irish heritage, by this stage the influence of Irish networks is difficult to detect. As Barnard observes, ‘The Southwells belonged to a family whose sense of itself and whose wider relationships were shaped and reshaped by frequent travel.’⁷⁷⁸ We will demonstrate this in detail, but ought equally to recognise that the forms of travel undertaken by members of the Southwell family in turn reflected changes in self-identification, prospects and residence.

Warneke follows the evidence of contemporary printed works to explore widespread fears of ‘Italianate’ or ‘Frenchified’ returning travellers.⁷⁷⁹ In the Irish Protestant case, however, the potentially anglicising effects of continental travel must rank alongside these more conventional fears when we consider the transformative potential of voyages to Europe. Over several generations, Church-of-Ireland encounters with European destinations were informed both by an ethnic self-identification as the ‘English of Ireland’ and by the fact of Irish residence. Continental experience very often occurred in the context of English sociability, but links to Irish Catholic networks, sometimes supported by a sense of common origins, might set Irish Protestant encounters apart from those of English and Scottish fellow

⁷⁷⁶ Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4569, ff.4, 5v, 18v.

⁷⁷⁷ Brown, *Ingesi e Scozzesi*, entry 1817; McParland, *Public architecture*, p.6.

⁷⁷⁸ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.310.

⁷⁷⁹ Warneke, *Educational traveller*.

travellers. Irish and English contacts, both Catholic and Protestant, enabled and enlivened European encounters, but foreign conversation was considered the ultimate font of improvement or corruption. We now turn to two-sided encounters with hosts.

5. Travellers, Hosts and Identifications

Irish Protestant contact with ‘countrymen’ abroad was informed by English self-identifications and Irish residence, but what were the bases of interaction with foreign hosts? Conversation with indigenous people was a potential source of improvement, but it also threatened dangers against which travellers were warned. Hosts rarely, however, receive detailed treatment in histories of early-modern travel. This gap is identified by Towner and Bignamini, and Sweet and Calaresu have begun to fill it for eighteenth-century English or ‘British’ travellers.⁷⁸⁰ Unfortunately, once again, there is a comparative lack of engagement with such issues for the seventeenth century. Studies examining how Irish Catholic migrants integrated into, or remained apart from, continental societies are numerous. Familiarly, though, the particular experiences of Irish Protestants who travelled and returned home remain unexplored. Where interactions with hosts are addressed in existing English historiography, scholars tend to assemble a wealth of anecdotes.⁷⁸¹ This approach probably reflects not only the attraction of vignettes, but also the fact that engagement with indigenous communities is an inexhaustible topic. Our tighter Irish Protestant focus lends some manageability, but we still require organisation.

Writing from the court of the elector of Brandenburg at Cleves in 1696, Edward Southwell captured two reasons why foreign hosts might offer welcome, conversation and perhaps patronage to visiting Irish Protestant travellers. Southwell explained to his father that he had ‘been so kindly entertained, not only upon ye Generall account of my Country, but

⁷⁸⁰ Towner, ‘Grand tour’, pp.302, 326; Bignamini, ‘Open issues’; eadem, ‘The Italians as spectators and actors: the Grand Tour reflected’ in Clare Hornsby (ed.), *The impact of Italy: the Grand Tour and beyond* (London, 2000), pp.29-47; Sweet, ‘British perceptions of Florence’; eadem, ‘The changing view of Rome in the long eighteenth century’, *Journal for eighteenth-century studies*, 33:2 (2010), pp.145-64; Melissa Calaresu, ‘Looking for Virgil’s tomb: the end of the Grand Tour and the cosmopolitan ideal in Europe’ in Jas Elsner and Joan-Pau Rubiés (eds.), *Voyages and visions: towards a cultural history of travel* (London, 1999), pp.138-61

⁷⁸¹ For an example of ‘anecdotal treatment’, see Black, *British abroad*; for its inadequacy, see Cohen, ‘Grand tour’, p.241.

upon the perticular stock of friends you have here.’ Sir Robert’s diplomatic mission to Brandenburg in 1680 had left a favourable impression.⁷⁸² Sixteen years later, men ‘who were many of them at Court in yr time’ assured Edward ‘of the great opineon & Esteem they had had’ for his father, leaving him ‘so well pleased with my Journy here’. Southwell found that ‘my name had many friends’ in Cleves and that his father ‘had allways a great share of ye discourse.’⁷⁸³ St. George Ashe similarly invoked the memory of Sir Robert’s mission in dealings with Jacob Wilhelm Imhoff of Nuremberg.⁷⁸⁴ But secondly, Edward Southwell recognised that he had not enjoyed special treatment in Cleves. The electress of Brandenburg, Sophia Charlotte, was a sister of the future George I and received ‘all our nation with great Civility’.⁷⁸⁵ Contact with Irish Catholic merchants, priests or soldiers often depended on Irish residence or even a shared sense of ‘Irishness’ abroad, but indigenous hosts invariably offered hospitality to Irish Protestants on the basis of their perceived, and often projected, Englishness. Protestant travellers were rarely received as representatives of Ireland. Finally, Edward Southwell declined to mention from Cleves a third potential reason for hospitality: Church-of-Ireland travellers were welcomed by fellow Protestants, especially in French Huguenot communities. These three bases of interaction with hosts – apparent Englishness, shared Protestantism and cross-confessional acquaintance – will be considered in turn.

In such discussions, ‘identity’ as a historiographical concept remains ‘blurred but indispensable’.⁷⁸⁶ We might bring matters into sharper focus, though, by considering ‘identifications’ rather than static ‘identity’. Identifications, whether by oneself or others, rely on action and contingency, expressing how certain kinds of self-understanding, feelings of

⁷⁸² Southwell’s correspondence as envoy to Brandenburg (Feb-Oct 1680), BL Add MSS 47134-5; Charles II, ‘Instructions for Our Trusty and Well beloved Sr Robert Southwell Knt, whom Wee have appointed Our Envoyé Extraordinary to the Elector of Saxony. May ye 21th 1680’, All Souls College, Oxford MS 241, ff.230-4v.

⁷⁸³ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Cleves, 19/29 Aug; Dieren, 21/31 Aug 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, MS 133c.6.

⁷⁸⁴ BL Add MS 24929, letters 11, 31, 50.

⁷⁸⁵ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Cleves, 19/29 Aug 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133c.6.

⁷⁸⁶ Charles Tilly, ‘Citizenship, identity and social history’, *International review of social history*, 40, supplement 3 (1995), pp. 1-17.

commonality or projection onto others are the products of particular situations and can rise and fall according to context.⁷⁸⁷ As Barnard finds for Irish Protestants, ‘Changed company and conditions elicited fresh postures.’⁷⁸⁸ An emphasis on identifications obviously leaves room for the underplayed views of foreign hosts. The ways in which others viewed Irish Protestants abroad surely deserve consideration alongside self-perceptions.

‘Understanding that I was an Englishman...’

Irish Protestants frequently received hospitality from foreigners who described themselves as ‘friends’ or ‘patrons’ of the ‘English nation’. ‘Civility’ was offered to groups of ‘Englishmen’, of whom Irish Protestants were seen as an uncomplicated part. Such were Robert Southwell’s encounters with the Italian Catholic hierarchy in 1660. He and his English fellow travellers were surrounded by ‘a bevy of cardinals’ in Rome.⁷⁸⁹ Southwell would remember that he had ‘had great access to Severall of the Cardinalls, but more particularly with Cardinall Ursino [i.e. Orsini], who entertaind him some days at Neptuno 20 miles from Rome at the hunting of the wild Boar.’⁷⁹⁰ Aware of the traveller’s interest in natural philosophy, the cardinal indicated ‘many curious things’ on his estate and proved himself ‘a person of great curiosity and infinite civility’.⁷⁹¹ Southwell and Orsini even discussed ‘ye Presdestination point’, unmentioned in letters home.⁷⁹² Another cardinal, Pietro Sforza Pallavicino, similarly welcomed Southwell and a ‘band of Englishmen’ to his residence, offering them a ‘great Carresse’ and hoping that they ‘wuld not speake ill of Rome’. Southwell records their conversations on Roman learning and religious virtue, during

⁷⁸⁷ Frederick Cooper and Rogers Brubaker, ‘Identity’ in Cooper, *Colonialism in question: theory, knowledge, history* (Berkeley; London, 2005), pp.59-90.

⁷⁸⁸ Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, p.235.

⁷⁸⁹ Sells, *Paradise of travellers*, p.188.

⁷⁹⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.13. Virginio Orsini entertained Southwell at the Palazzo Orsini at Nettuno.

⁷⁹¹ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, Rome, 30 Mar/9 Apr 1661, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.451-3; Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 19 Feb 1661, Gal. 161/158.

⁷⁹² BL Egerton MS 1632, f.36.

which Pallavicino ‘asked our Names and unto what particular studyes we were addicted too.’ The cardinal declared ‘a particular passion for the English of which he recited many saints and of their particular affection to Rome’. ‘They say’, Pallavicino told the group, ‘et totos divisa orbe Britannos but yet not from my affections’. The party came away promising to read the cardinal’s book on the Council of Trent.⁷⁹³ Again in English company, Southwell visited Cardinal Barberini, ‘esteemed to be the Protector of the English here in Rome’, and found that the cardinal and his nephew ‘would seem to prefer others before an Italian’.⁷⁹⁴ This civility flowed from the source that Southwell himself pursued. ‘An Italian that has travelled’, he told Sir John Perceval, ‘is a very compleate person, and has a very graceful complisance’. Southwell was aware, though, that welcomes might be superficial. ‘Those that are bread at Rome’, he continued, ‘doe with a kind of aversion admitt a stranger to any intimacy, still lying on their guard, yet paying the conversation they have with you, with the highest ceremonies in the world, which is the thing that maintains the distance.’⁷⁹⁵ During his time among the Roman cardinals, he nevertheless surmised that ‘the Italians hig[h]ly prefer ye English man’.⁷⁹⁶

The evangelising motives lurking in Cardinal Howard’s ‘bonhomie’ extended to high-ranking native clerics. Certainly, Pallavicino’s litany of English saints and the prominent place afforded to his ecclesiastical history hint at a purposefully cordial relationship with Southwell and his English companions. In the next generation, such motives may have risen as high as the pope. Sir Philip Perceval related to his uncle Southwell in August 1678 that he had, with Howard’s introduction, ‘binn to waite uppon’ Innocent XI, who had asked him

⁷⁹³ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.52v-53. Pallavicino’s quotation is from Virgil’s first Eclogue, line 67: ‘et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos’. Philemon Holland’s translation of Camden renders the line as ‘And Britans people quite disjoin’d from all the world besides’: William Camden, *Britain, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland...* (London, 1610).

⁷⁹⁴ Letts (ed.), *Mortoft*, p.76; BL Egerton MS 1632, f.14.

⁷⁹⁵ Robert Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, BL Add MS 46938, f.70.

⁷⁹⁶ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.5v.

‘many questions concerning England’.⁷⁹⁷ A 1742 family history claims that the pope had instead dwelt on Perceval’s ‘great Interest in *Ireland*, which he would have willingly added to that of the Catholic Party, of which he flattered [Perceval] he would be the Leader’, using ‘his Persuasions to that Purpose in vain’.⁷⁹⁸ There is no evidence of this alleged conversion attempt in contemporary correspondence, so it may comprise later embellishments made by Perceval and his family, a mythology built up over decades. Equally, however, it might represent a contemporary attempt by Sir Philip to leave religious temptations out of his correspondence, which was shared between many at home. While we ought not to suggest any organised campaign on the basis of isolated evidence, hosts at various levels of the Roman Catholic hierarchy apparently viewed youthful travel, like the families and tutors of travellers themselves, as central to the intellectual, social and religious formation of future public figures. Some, it seems, sought to influence this process accordingly. Any assessment of this Roman soft power would require inference from scant evidence but, when parents and guardians worried that Catholics might pervert ‘the Arts of Civillity’, they might not always have been completely paranoid.

Beyond these potentially counter-reforming imperatives, hospitality was offered on account of perceived English nationality by well-disposed individuals throughout Europe. Lionel Boyle and Edward Southwell both encountered Alvaro da Fonseca, a Sephardic diamond merchant who straddled Amsterdam and London and acquired English nationality in 1675.⁷⁹⁹ Visiting Amsterdam in 1696, Southwell praised ‘the universall Civility Mr. ffonseca and his family shew the English’, to the extent that ‘he has been for many years the Patron of the English Nation.’⁸⁰⁰ This generosity, though, was reciprocal. Lionel Boyle’s accounts for July 1687 register ‘a dinner which my Lord out of Civillity was forced to give to Mr

⁷⁹⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 10/20 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.64.

⁷⁹⁸ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, p.381.

⁷⁹⁹ Edgar Samuel, ‘Fonseca, Alvaro da (1657?–1742)’, *DNB*.

⁸⁰⁰ BL Add MS 58220, f.11.

ffonsecas family' in Brussels when they 'came to his Chamber to see ye procession of ye Sacramt: of miracles goe by'.⁸⁰¹ In Paris in July 1718, Sir John Perceval visited Bernard de Montfaucon, then a standard call for visitors from England, finding the Benedictine scholar 'one of the most learned men in France, and very Civil to the English whom he loves, and Says they are his good friends', at least in part because of the subscriptions they had advanced for his forthcoming book.⁸⁰² Conclusions on the reasons behind host anglophilia would be so rooted in personal circumstances, as with Fonseca and Montfaucon, as to offer little insight. It is clear, though, that Protestant travellers of Irish residence or background might be treated as uncomplicatedly English.

The ascription and adoption of Englishness worked negatively as well as positively, suggesting more than a flag of convenience for Irish Protestants abroad. Englishness involved obligations, such as expected sociability with countrymen, so chafing to Robert Southwell, or the meal that Lionel Boyle was 'forced' to provide for the FONSECAS. More seriously, depending on local circumstances, it might render Irish Protestants targets of anti-English feeling. Exploring the country around Leiden, Thomas Molyneux surmised that 'there is not a people in Europe ... whom the generality of the Dutch think worse of and hate more than the English.' This prejudice was 'so manifest' that Molyneux could not believe he had not read of it in existing English travel literature. Fellow travellers assured him that several inns in Leiden had refused lodging to Englishmen and he himself 'met with several passages that sufficiently confirm me in the belief of this grudge they bear us.' Molyneux suggested seven reasons for local anti-English feeling, focusing on military and economic rivalry but also speculating that the contents of Dutch gazettes, which had recently dealt with the Popish Plot, the frequency of capital punishment and memories of the regicide, made the English seem 'a

⁸⁰¹ NLI MS 13215, f.33.

⁸⁰² John Chamberlayne to Sir John Perceval, Petty France, 22 Jun 1718; Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 31 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, ff.234, 243v.

cruel nation'. Only a lack of paper brought an end to Molyneux's speculations on Dutch antipathy, for which he claimed ample evidence.⁸⁰³

Anti-English sentiment was entirely situational and dependent upon contemporary context, as Molyneux acknowledged in his identification of short- and medium-term causes that grew from a combination of print and personal experience. Cool welcomes were subject to change. Claydon cites instances, during the War of the Spanish Succession, of the 'civil, affable and obliging' impression left by Dutch hosts on English visitors, 'whom they look on as a sort of Countrymen'.⁸⁰⁴ Claydon, of course, draws on the printed travel literature that Molyneux claimed had left him unprepared for hostility in the United Provinces, but earlier Anglo-Dutch military co-operation had had a similar effect, at least at high social levels. At The Hague in May 1696, Southwell and his companions found that Willem Hadriaan van Nassau-Odijk showed 'great civility & kindness ... to all the English'.⁸⁰⁵ English political concerns might similarly improve the welcome offered to Irish Protestants in Italy. In early 1714, George Berkeley found in Turin that 'all orders of people, clergy and laity, are wonderfully civil; and everywhere a man finds his account in being an Englishman, that character alone being sufficient to gain respect'.⁸⁰⁶ As Berkeley observed when prompted by the hospitality of a local priest at Tarentum during his second Italian journey in 1717, there seemed 'every where great respect for & knowledge of the English, owing to our commerce, fleets & armies'.⁸⁰⁷ Though Molyneux's observations, in particular, offer a useful starting point, the nuances of Dutch and Italian public opinion move beyond our designs. Irish Protestants might be lumped together with the English for ill as well as good in the eyes of hosts.

⁸⁰³ Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, [early Aug 1684], *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.486.

⁸⁰⁴ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, pp.60-1.

⁸⁰⁵ Edward Southwell, Journal of a tour in Holland (1696), BL Add MS 21495, p.12; Katharine Fremantle (ed.), 'A visit to the United Provinces and Cleves in the time of William III', *Nederlands kunsthistorisch jaarboek*, 21 (1970), p.49.

⁸⁰⁶ George Berkeley to Thomas Prior, Turin, 6 Jan 1714 NS, *Works of George Berkeley* (1784), i, p.xxxi.

⁸⁰⁷ 31 May 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.291.

Whether local treatment of Irish Protestants was warm or cold, it often relied upon an ‘understanding that I was an Englishman’, which Thomas Molyneux encountered when visiting the telescope-maker Constantijn Huygens at The Hague. Huygens’s realisation, with which Molyneux apparently did not take issue, meant that the Dutchman ‘beyond my expectation, talked to me in my own language, and pretty well’.⁸⁰⁸ Such instances are worth noting alongside Burke’s observation that situational language-use acts as ‘the record of the identity that came to the fore’ on a given occasion, though most hosts spoke in French, Latin or their own tongue.⁸⁰⁹ Just as a common language may have provided a social cement for fellow travellers, so it encouraged hosts to treat Irish Protestant visitors as ‘right English’. For those with some knowledge, however spurious, of Ireland’s ethnic divisions, linguistics also mitigated against describing English-speaking Protestant visitors as Irish. In Paris in May 1659, Southwell noted that one ‘Mr de Sicardy speaking of the Irish sed Illi non possunt scribere quod dicunt’, suggesting that the Frenchman equated the Irish language with Irish nationality (alongside the possibility that Southwell spoke Latin to Parisian hosts as his French improved).⁸¹⁰ Identifying the ‘Irish’ along linguistic lines, De Sicardy followed many Irish Protestants. In a two-sided exchange recorded by Southwell, perhaps the traveller’s voice is captured in his Parisian host’s vocabulary.⁸¹¹

Most hosts were inclined to view guests who arrived in English company and spoke the English language as uncomplicated Englishmen. Sweet suggests that Scottish, Irish and Welsh travellers were, from the perspective of eighteenth-century Italians, ‘all *milordi inglesi*’.⁸¹² We ought not to rely too singularly, it is true, on specific words selected by hosts to describe the nationality of visitors. The tendency to see only Englishmen represented as much a stricture inherent to host languages as a function of the company, routes and tongue

⁸⁰⁸ Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, 15 Aug 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.486.

⁸⁰⁹ Burke, *Languages and communities*, p.6.

⁸¹⁰ BL Add MS 58219, f.18.

⁸¹¹ Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, pp.179-207.

⁸¹² Sweet, ‘British perceptions of Florence’, p.839.

that Irish Protestants shared with English fellow travellers. Langford finds a ‘reluctance’ to distinguish between ‘English’ and ‘British’ in eighteenth-century Romance languages.⁸¹³ But Sweet and Langford both describe the eighteenth-century high-point of an institutionalised Grand Tour, when travellers moved along a reifying itinerary and when the tendency to self-identify as ‘British’ was more prevalent. More readily associated with the Ulster Scots, ‘British’ was certainly not a term with which Church-of-Ireland members identified in the century after the Restoration, save for occasional references during the crisis of 1688-91.⁸¹⁴ Nevertheless, in brief meetings with Roman cardinals or Dutch astronomers, late seventeenth-century Irish Protestants were taken as ‘Englishmen’, a presumption reinforced by their company and language. These attributes were readily apparent on fleeting visits.

Within the more personalised contact networks still used during the development of a high Grand Tour, some hosts differentiated between Irish-resident and English visitors. Contacts in Lyons, Montpellier and Florence identified Robert Southwell’s Irish origins between 1659 and 1661. At each destination, this greater familiarity arose in the context of shared interests or longer-term residence. Southwell travelled from Paris to spend the winter of 1659-60 in Montpellier. There he waited for spring and a safe passage via Mont Cenis into Italy, in search of ‘the health of his boddie and improvement of his mind by travayle’. On his way down in native company, Southwell gathered impressions of ‘The French Humour in the Coach’.⁸¹⁵ Pausing at Lyons, he met Liergues, a local lawyer ‘who at first asking me some questions that I satisfied him in concerning Ireland, fell into a good Humour’ and showed Southwell various curiosities ‘wch he sed he did not to every one’.⁸¹⁶ There is no indication as to the nature of these questions, but they may have drawn inspiration from the famous

⁸¹³ Paul Langford, *Englishness identified: manners and character, 1650-1850* (Oxford, 2000), p.12.

⁸¹⁴ Connolly, *Religion, law and power*, p.118; Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, p.208; Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, p.42.

⁸¹⁵ BL Add MS 58219, ff.31, 47.

⁸¹⁶ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Montpellier, 20/30 Oct 1659, BL Add MS 38015, f.8; *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, p.324.

travels of Liergues's brother, Balthasar de Monconys.⁸¹⁷ Reaching Montpellier, Southwell felt 'the powerfull influence' of Henry Oldenburg's introductions.⁸¹⁸ Oldenburg had spent the previous winter there as tutor to another Irish Protestant traveller, Richard Jones, son of Lady Ranelagh.⁸¹⁹ They met Southwell at Paris in the summer of 1659 and the trio, linked by the patronage of Robert Boyle, pursued their shared interest in natural philosophy.⁸²⁰ At Montpellier, Oldenburg had 'revelled in the learned society he found in the academies', making contacts that he passed on to Southwell.⁸²¹ Oldenburg asked Pradelleis, a lawyer and the Moderator of the Academy of Montpellier, to introduce Southwell to the local 'beau monde' but protect him from 'the loves and desires of Frenchwomen'.⁸²² Southwell also carried the recommendation of Fr. John Punch, whom he had met in Paris, to a local Catholic priest.⁸²³ Southwell's stay in Montpellier is not documented by his surviving French commonplace book, but correspondence with Oldenburg suggests that he successfully infiltrated this 'beau monde'.⁸²⁴

Driven to 'knock off with Montpelier' in March 1660, Southwell maintained correspondence with those he left behind. One Catholic correspondent wrote to 'Monsieur Southouell gentilhomme Anglois', then in Marseilles. Southwell was 'one of those illustrious foreigners for whom the whole world conceives all the esteem imaginable' and his correspondent promised that 'the sea which divides France and Ireland' would not prevent

⁸¹⁷ *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, p.326.

⁸¹⁸ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Montpellier, 20/30 Oct 1659, BL Add MS 38015, f.10; *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, p.325

⁸¹⁹ Henry Oldenburg to Samuel Hartlib, Lyons, 18/28 Oct 1658; Oldenburg and Richard Jones to Pradelleis, Mèze, 22 Jan 1659, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.186-9, 198-200.

⁸²⁰ Richard Jones to Robert Southwell, Paris, 17 Nov 1659, BL Add MS 38015, f.11: 'I have had the unhappynesse to loose your good company'; 'if here or else where I light upon some secret, which is rare, and wch may serve you, you have but to command it.'

⁸²¹ Marie Boas Hall, *Henry Oldenburg: shaping the Royal Society* (Oxford, 2002), p.41.

⁸²² Henry Oldenburg to 'Monsr de Pradillies, Advocat', Paris, 22 Sep/2 Oct 1659, BL Add MS 38015, f.3; for a transcript and translation from the French, see *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.312-3. Oldenburg tactfully wrote this last instruction in Latin, to protect Southwell from 'veneres cupidinesque Galliarum'. The above translation is the Halls'.

⁸²³ 'Fr Joannes Poncius' to 'Le tres Rd. Pere Antoine Leurin Gardien des PP observantius de Montpelier', Paris, 3 Oct 1659 (Latin), BL Add MS 38015, f.3v.

⁸²⁴ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, 20 Feb/1 Mar 1659/60, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.355-6.

him from assuring Southwell of his ‘care, zeal and eagerness’ in friendship.⁸²⁵ Southwell had evidently spent much of his time in Montpellier eating and drinking with French and Swiss fellow travellers, with whom he shared classical reference points.⁸²⁶ This letter from one such companion demonstrates that Irish Protestant travellers might still be seen as Englishmen, though possessing a peculiar fact of residence. In this way, particularly familiar hosts or non-English-speaking fellow travellers might follow common seventeenth-century ethnic self-identifications as ‘the English of Ireland’.⁸²⁷ Tending to write to ‘English gentlemen’, foreign correspondents in fact echoed the practice of Irish-resident travellers’ relatives or acquaintances from home. Helena Perceval and Richard Mulys both wrote to Sir Philip in Angers as ‘Monsieur Percivale Chevalier Anglois’ and John Locke addressed Thomas Molyneux in Leiden as ‘Monsieur Molineus, Gentilhomme Anglois’, though correspondents knew to make addresses intelligible to foreign couriers.⁸²⁸

Seeing more than a residential detail, some hosts identified Southwell as Irish. This was, in fact, at his instigation. After Montpellier, Southwell’s next extended stay was at Florence over summer 1660, when he developed lasting acquaintances that we will soon examine. Leaving to see more of Italy, Southwell asked Vincenzo Viviani to write to him ‘only’ as ‘Gentilhuomo Irlandesi’.⁸²⁹ Viviani continued to refer to Southwell this way in correspondence with others.⁸³⁰ Another academician, Carlo Antonio Manzini, followed, referring to ‘S. Ruberto Sanduel da Kintale d’Ibernia’ in a letter to Viviani, further suggesting

⁸²⁵ ‘Gentil’ to Robert Southwell, Montpellier, 30 Mar 1660, BL Add MS 38015, ff.12-12v: ‘vous soiez de ces illustres etrangers pour qui tout le monde Concoit tante Lestime Imaginable’; ‘Je pourray avoir le bien de vous temoigner, de n’oublieray ni soin, ni zeile, ni Empressement, et que La mer mesme qui divise La france et L’Irlande ne me retiendra point, pour vous donner des assurances de ce que Je vous dis.’ Catholicism is inferred from his description of customs normal to ‘ceux de Nostre religion’ during Lent and Easter.

⁸²⁶ ‘Gentil’ lists French and Swiss company: ‘Ce Soir toute L’auberge a bu a Vostre Santé’; ‘Comme horace dans une ode pour Virgile...’

⁸²⁷ Though fading by the turn of the eighteenth century: Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, p.207; Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, p.29.

⁸²⁸ Helena Perceval to Sir Philip Perceval, 30 Mar 1677; Richard Mulys to Sir Philip Perceval, 12 Apr 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.83, 112; John Locke to Thomas Molyneux, Utrecht, 22 Dec 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.489; Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, [Kinsale?], 8 Jan 1677, BL Add MS 46953, f.221v; William Molyneux to John Flamsteed, Dublin, 13 May 1684, *Flamsteed correspondence*, ii, p.165.

⁸²⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 2 Nov 1660, Gal. 161/146.

⁸³⁰ Vincenzo Viviani to Arrigo Broune, 1661, Gal. 158/95.

that greater personal familiarity engendered a heightened sense of origins.⁸³¹ In the years after Southwell's departure from Italy, as he received government employment in London and a knighthood, Viviani ceased to describe his correspondent as Irish. In the mid-1660s, the Florentine addressed Southwell as 'Nobile Inglese Alla Corte Londra'.⁸³² We can only speculate on this change, which may reflect a growing distance as Southwell affected to have forgotten Italian, but it might also indicate that Viviani was attuned to Southwell's rising social station and English residence, both of which we will explore as consequences of his travel.⁸³³

The ways in which hosts identified Irish Protestants depended on various familiarities: with the English, with the Irish and with the individuals concerned. These were areas in which traveller projections and host presumptions intersected. This thesis began with the parish priest of Richelieu, who presumed in 1678 that the Irish Percevals would be Catholics. The region would have been very familiar with foreign Protestants, who had long attended the various academies of the Loire valley, and carried fresh memories of its own confessional strife. We might wonder, then, whether the Percevals' Irish origins informed the priest's mistake. A few years previously, the area had suffered the unpopular billeting of Irish Catholic soldiers in the French service. Perhaps this memory, alongside other experiences, conditioned the priest to see Irish people as Catholic in shorthand familiar to contemporary English-speakers.⁸³⁴ More usually, Labrousse establishes that 'For French people, the typical Englishman was the [travelling] "milord", obviously an Anglican', though perhaps the origins and femininity of the Perceval household combined to confuse in Richelieu.⁸³⁵

⁸³¹ Carlo Antonio Manzini to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 6 Sep 1661, Gal. 161/170.

⁸³² Vincenzo Viviani to Robert Southwell, [Florence?], 18 Jul 1667 (draft), Gal. 158/122; undated draft after 1665, 160/150.

⁸³³ Sir Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Portsmouth, 29 Dec 1665, Gal. 162/199: 'Mi sono scordato della lingua Italiana, mà non dalla sua amicitia'.

⁸³⁴ Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, p.32.

⁸³⁵ Elisabeth Labrousse, 'Great Britain as envisaged by the Huguenots' in Irene Scouloudi (ed.), *Huguenots in Britain and their French background, 1550-1800* (Basingstoke, 1987), p.150.

Berkeley's amazement at the reception afforded in early eighteenth-century Italy to Englishmen, among whom he was numbered, must too relate to the knowledge base available to the communities through which he passed. While many hosts were familiar with the English, whose military and mercantile power was apparent on the peninsula by 1717, some knew comparatively little of Ireland. Travelling through Castellaneta, near Taranto, with the younger Ashe, Berkeley thought it 'Odd to find the fame of Whig & Tory spread so far as the inland parts of South Italy & yet one of the most knowing fathers asked whether Ireland were a large town.'⁸³⁶ Berkeley apparently mentioned his Irish origins in conversation. In more urban settings, knowledge of Ireland was ensured by the many Irish colleges, seminaries and merchants. The ways in which hosts referred to Irish Protestant visitors depended on so many variables, even before we consider the reliability of travellers' recollections. Did Innocent XI talk to Sir Philip Perceval about England or Ireland?

We ought not to sift the terms used by hosts for swift or accurate responses to nuanced Anglo-Irish self-perceptions, which broadly moved over the early eighteenth century towards an incipient but ever-qualified patriotism, at least among 'the strident' (if not 'the diffident and obscure') who maintained Irish residence.⁸³⁷ We can nevertheless begin to set the ways in which continental individuals and communities identified Irish Protestant travellers alongside existing work on English perceptions. Barnard suggests that the increasing English identification of traditional Irish stereotypes with members of the Protestant Ascendancy, as established for the very late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries by Hayton, 'may have stigmatised the troublesome English in Ireland as Irish before the latter so described themselves'. He warns, however, that the development of patriotism 'was not simply, or primarily, a reaction to the animus of outsiders.'⁸³⁸ Conversely, as recognition of Irish origins relied on unusual familiarity, the majority of continental hosts tended, at fleeting

⁸³⁶ 1 Jun 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.292.

⁸³⁷ Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, pp.25-48; Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p.213.

⁸³⁸ Barnard, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p.212; Hayton, *Anglo-Irish experience*, pp.1-24.

acquaintance, to see only Englishmen. We have also, in fact, uncovered little evidence that interactions abroad between individual English and Irish Protestant travellers were ethnically or nationally problematic. While those who could afford to travel were a tiny minority, they nevertheless represent a large chunk of the coming political nation in its formative years. For this narrow group, might the ‘understanding that I was an Englishman’, which they confronted abroad, in fact have delayed the construction of Irish patriotism when they returned home? We will need to consider the activities and residence of returned travellers, issues that arise in our final chapter.

A ‘Protestant international’?

Irish Protestant travellers found welcome as representatives of an ‘English nation’, but to what extent did they seek and encounter a wider ‘Protestant international’ among continental reformed communities? Claydon and Conway have both recently described a sense of confessional commonality that might render England or, in Conway’s discussion, Protestants in Britain and Ireland ‘part of a European community of the reformed’.⁸³⁹ Claydon, in particular, uses printed travel books to suggest that English people after the Restoration embraced a ‘confessional geography’ that separated the continent into Catholic and Protestant lands. Close connections to the latter often ‘confused any simple or narrow nationality’. Authors, for instance, conventionally contrasted the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands, reinforcing existing conceptions of ‘a divided Europe’ in which English readers had a preordained side.⁸⁴⁰ These geographical divisions, also familiar to Dutch and German Protestant travel literature, retained purchase ‘So long as Catholicism seemed vigorous and

⁸³⁹ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, pp.7, 52, 60-2; Stephen Conway, ‘Christians, Catholics, Protestants: the religious links of Britain and Ireland with continental Europe, c.1689-1800’, *English historical review*, 124:509 (Aug 2009), p.835.

⁸⁴⁰ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, pp.13-66, esp. pp.56-7, 60.

expansionary’.⁸⁴¹ But how far can work on printed travel literature, however large its readership, reflect individual experiences of contact with fellow Protestants abroad?

It is now a commonplace of work on travel that manuscript journals drew heavily on printed works: ‘the compilation of a travel narrative was regarded as the production of an informed personal commentary, filtered through an extensive and expected (but often unacknowledged) use of earlier sources.’⁸⁴² We should therefore expect to find in these unpublished works a continent similarly divided by belief. Lionel Boyle’s letters home from Switzerland have been dismissed as ‘disappointing’ but they do suggest that the young earl had absorbed the conventions of ‘confessional geography’. Relating his journey from Heidelberg, through Strasbourg and the Swiss cantons, to Geneva in late 1687, the sixteen-year-old noticed local religious affiliations. An unenthusiastic correspondent, Boyle divided ‘Protestant’ and ‘papist’ cantons, though he found them identically ‘pleasant & well built’.⁸⁴³ Contemporaneously, Waring described the religious divisions of Germany, noting anomalies like the Mannheim ‘Church of Concord’, where Lutherans, Calvinists and Catholics came to ‘preach & make use of it by turns’.⁸⁴⁴ He paralleled the printed work of his companion, Misson, in its focus on German confessional divisions.⁸⁴⁵ Waring’s Ulster background may have afforded him a particular ‘sensitivity to the religious geography’ of the region, which he delineated through ‘the many crosses we see about ye popish towns’.⁸⁴⁶ Claydon seems correct to suggest that conceptions of ‘confessional geography’ remained ‘curiously frozen’ over our period.⁸⁴⁷ Relating a journey from Antwerp to The Hague in June 1726, Sir John Perceval declared that ‘It was a great pleasure to see our selves once again upon Protestant

⁸⁴¹ Gerrit Verhoeven, ‘Calvinist pilgrimages and popish encounters: religious identity and sacred space on the Dutch Grand Tour (1598-1685)’, *Journal of social history*, 43:3 (Spring 2010), pp.615-34; Conway, ‘Religious links’, p.862.

⁸⁴² Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.34.

⁸⁴³ Lionel Boyle to dowager countess of Orrery, Geneva, 5 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, f.651.

⁸⁴⁴ PRONI D695/225, ff.30-1; Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p.26

⁸⁴⁵ Misson, *New voyage* (1695), pp.29-93.

⁸⁴⁶ Gillespie, ‘Contrasting communities’, p.172.

⁸⁴⁷ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p.21.

ground'.⁸⁴⁸ Territorial religious divisions in fact became an object of study. Archbishop King asked Samuel Molyneux, then entering Germany in 1714, to compile 'some observacons on the thriving and outward aspect of the Countreys and if possible discover the causes of the difference and particularly what influence religion seems to have on the temporall hapiness of a Countrey'. This would, King warned, require 'a judicious observer'.⁸⁴⁹ But, as so often, the intended lesson was inherent to the object of study. In 1718, Perceval and his wife had 'cursorily run over Flanders and Holland, and seen the Advantages which liberty and Freedom in the exercise of Religion bring to Mankind.'⁸⁵⁰

Travel, rather than the vicarious experience of reading, lent immediacy to 'confessional geography'. Claydon asserts that great architectural works and roadside shrines 'amounted to a wholesale sacralisation of the landscape', contrasting Catholic territories with English experience of Protestant lands. The prior experience of our travellers suggests that 'huge theatres of Catholicism' would have made a similar impression on Protestants from Ireland.⁸⁵¹ 'Architecturally submissive' Irish Catholic places of worship had a small 'visual impact', 'tucked away' in Dublin and 'discreet, to avoid the attention of the authorities' in Co. Cork.⁸⁵² The Church of Ireland, by contrast, maintained visual dominance as best as limited funds allowed. Its mission, indeed, 'required visibility'.⁸⁵³ Catholic churches were conspicuously commandeered, as Florentine descriptions of Kinsale in 1669 will demonstrate below. The confident visual pervasiveness of continental Catholicism would have seemed outlandish to Protestant travellers from Ireland, despite their residence amongst a 'popish' majority at home.

⁸⁴⁸ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, The Hague, 5 Jun 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.181.

⁸⁴⁹ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 10 April 1714, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, ff.259-60(151-150v).

⁸⁵⁰ Sir John Perceval to John Chamberlayne, Amsterdam, 9 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, f.238v.

⁸⁵¹ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p.42.

⁸⁵² McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, p.238; Robin Usher, *Protestant Dublin, 1660-1760: architecture and iconography* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp.90-2; Eamonn Cotter, 'Architectural change and the parish church in post-Reformation Cork' in Elizabeth FitzPatrick and Raymond Gillespie (eds.), *The parish in medieval and early modern Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp.266-76.

⁸⁵³ Toby Barnard, 'Fabrics of faith: the material worlds of Catholic Ireland and Protestant Ireland, 1500-1800' in Ragnhann Ó Floinn (ed.), *Franciscan faith: sacred art in Ireland, AD 1600-1750* (Dublin, 2011), pp.24-5.

Beyond the built environment, the practicalities of daily interaction with foreign hosts made the divisions of ‘confessional geography’ personally apparent to Irish Protestant travellers. Perceval remembered his relief, during his travels of 1705-7, upon reaching Geneva, where he ‘made no scruple as some did to communicate with the establish’d Church of that City, but gave God thanks that he found himself again in a protest[an]t Country, after spending so much time in Popish ones where he could joyn in no publick worship’.⁸⁵⁴ Many other young male travellers worshipped with local Protestant communities. Before 1685, alongside English and Dutch travellers, many visited the Huguenot temple at Charenton outside Paris.⁸⁵⁵ Passing through on their way to Saumur, Richard Jones and Henry Oldenburg worshipped there once in June 1657.⁸⁵⁶ Sir Philip Perceval also made one visit to Charenton with Gailhard, who in print recommended that a traveller make such a trip ‘to give God thanks for his protection so far, and to crave his blessing upon the whole Journey’. There, he would be among a ‘numerous Assembly’.⁸⁵⁷ Returning to Paris with his mother and sisters, the whole Perceval family attended at Christmas 1678.⁸⁵⁸ As he observed the Huguenots ‘reduced almost to nothing’ in late 1685, Thomas Molyneux remembered being ‘present’ the previous year ‘in a congregation, I am sure, of above three thousand’ at ‘the famous temple of Charington, nigh Paris’.⁸⁵⁹

In Catholic lands, controls on the behaviour of Irish Protestant travellers made the confessional division of continental lands readily apparent. One example is the eating of meat on Fridays and during Lent. Gailhard advised a careful choice of landlord because ‘in a Protestant house one may have flesh, if he hath a mind to it upon Fridays, and other forbidden

⁸⁵⁴ BL Add MS 47072, f.22.

⁸⁵⁵ Browne, *Visit to Paris*, pp.10, 13; BL Add MS 22914, f.87v; Verhoeven, ‘Dutch Grand Tour’, p.625.

⁸⁵⁶ Henry Oldenburg to John Milton, Saumur, 27 Jun/7 Jul 1657, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.121-3.

⁸⁵⁷ BL Add MS 46953, ff.190-1; Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.33.

⁸⁵⁸ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 3 Jan 1679, BL Add MS 46955B, f.196v.

⁸⁵⁹ Thomas Molyneux to Samuel Molyneux (father), Paris, [Oct/Nov 1685], *DUM* (Nov 1841), p.606.

days, which many of the contrary Religion would not give.’⁸⁶⁰ Lent was variously observed by locals, as two English sources demonstrate. Before Easter 1659, Mortoft found ‘most of the Italians so devout that [their] churches are seildom empty of People all the day long’, but Locke’s diary for 1679 suggested that ‘The observation of Lent at Paris is come almost to nothing’.⁸⁶¹ Nevertheless, Protestant travellers to Catholic lands continued to require licenses to eat meat before Easter. On 10 March 1686, Lionel Boyle made a journey within Paris ‘to gett leave to eat flesh in lent’.⁸⁶² Waring’s 1688 Italian license survives in his papers, though the ‘legitimate causes’ approved by local authorities were likely a formality.⁸⁶³ Nevertheless, here was a personalised, bodily way in which the literary convention of ‘confessional geography’ reached into the daily lives of travellers.

The link between an awareness of ‘confessional geography’ and membership of a ‘Protestant international’ seems clear in much printed material usually used by historians of travel (or, perhaps more properly, of travel literature), but the connection is sometimes obscured in manuscript evidence of unpublished personal experience. While a clear sense of ‘a European community of the reformed’ arises from the observations that fill work destined for print, daily interactions prove more complicated. This is clear in the Perceval family’s prolonged engagement with Huguenot and Catholic society in Saumur. Lady Katherine arrived in the area on medical advice, moving around the town and surrounding villages in search of healthy air. Recovery was the main purpose behind her French travel, as she wished to her mother in Kinsale that ‘it were Gods Will that I were now with you in any part of Ireland that were capable of affording me health’.⁸⁶⁴ In this spirit, the household briefly removed ninety miles south from Saumur, via Poitiers, to Availles-Limouzine, where the

⁸⁶⁰ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.41-2.

⁸⁶¹ Mortoft, *His book*, p.144; Locke’s diary entry for Friday 5 Jan 1679, BL Add MS 15642, f.33v.

⁸⁶² NLI MS 13215, f.17.

⁸⁶³ Ridolfo Guidarelli to Samuel Waring, 7 Mar [1688/9?], PRONI D695/214: ‘Per cause legittime si concede licenza al Sig. Samuel Waring di poter mangiar Carne...’

⁸⁶⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 16 Jun 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f. 5.

waters were ‘soe much famed’ as ‘very good for ye spleene, & the gravell, & ye Stomack’.⁸⁶⁵

The trip to Availles testifies to Lady Katherine’s immersion in local society. Kate reported that ‘Docter Beauchevreau and many of Somurs has [sic] made use of them selves and advised my mother to them’.⁸⁶⁶ Beauchevreau came from a professional family that provided elders to the reformed church in Saumur, and much evidence of the Percevals’ religious engagement with provincial Huguenot life survives.⁸⁶⁷ Lady Katherine’s arrival in Saumur coincided with the 1677 Synod of Anjou and Rasigade found her delighted to profit from daily preaching. The first address that she attended was delivered by Isaac Bérard de Beaujardin, the local minister, and members of the Perceval family and household continued to hear sermons and theological disputations.⁸⁶⁸

Lady Katherine Perceval forged a strong relationship with Etienne de Brais, professor of theology and rector at the Saumur Protestant academy. De Brais also served as town pastor between July 1678 and his death the following June.⁸⁶⁹ He was clearly a committed Protestant. A year before the Percevals arrived in Saumur, De Brais had faced trial for failure to comply with a 1662 *arrêt* that forced professors at the local academy to style themselves ‘ministre de la religion prétendue réformée’ rather than ‘docteur en théologie’. Three years later, Protestant scholars made a publically defiant show of his funeral.⁸⁷⁰ There is no indication that De Brais and the Percevals were acquainted before the Irish household’s arrival in the region but, after ten months around the town, Lady Katherine could write separately to her brother and her mother of ‘Mr. du Bray the minister who is much my freind

⁸⁶⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Saumur, 25 Jun 1678; Perceval to Helena Southwell, Poitiers, 29 Jun 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.16, 17.

⁸⁶⁶ Kate Perceval to Helena Southwell, Richelieu, 11/21 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.34v.

⁸⁶⁷ Philippe Chareyre, ‘Les protestants de Saumur au XVIIe siècle, religion et société’ in *Saumur, capitale européenne du protestantisme au XVIIe siècle* (Fontevraud, 1991), p.65.

⁸⁶⁸ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Saumur, 19/29 Oct; 13 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, ff.166v, 202.

⁸⁶⁹ Eugène Haag, *La France protestante: ou, Vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l’histoire depuis les premiers temps de la réformation jusqu’à la reconnaissance du principe de la liberté des cultes par l’Assemblée nationale...* (Paris; Geneva, 1846-59), ii, p.499; Chareyre, ‘Protestants de Saumur’, p.64.

⁸⁷⁰ Jean-Paul Pittion, ‘Les académies réformées de l’Édit de Nantes à la Révocation’ in Roger Zuber and Laurent Theis (eds.), *La Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes et le protestantisme français en 1685* (Paris, 1986), p.202.

and is very helpfull to me in all my bussines here'.⁸⁷¹ At her removal a few miles from Saumur to Terfort, she received 'much civillity here from the Toune' and that 'at least 40 of them have made me visits here espescelly Mr de Brais wh[o] by his l[etter]', which she enclosed for her youngest son's edification, 'you will se[e] is a great courtier'.⁸⁷² With typical austerity, Sir Robert Southwell silently chose to relay to John Perceval that his mother, almost thirteen years a widow, found De Brais 'too much a Courtier'.⁸⁷³ Later, the two men joked about the Huguenot's sway over their relative.

Both in their early forties, and probably both in waning health, Etienne de Brais and Lady Katherine Perceval shared a pronounced piety. Sir Philip Perceval made sure that his mother was settled 'in a very pretty house, nott far from the Church', a convenience that her housekeeper, Deborah Fowler, also noted with satisfaction.⁸⁷⁴ Lady Katherine made sure to 'go to Church in towne ye Sab[aoth]', though recurring illness meant that various family and household members could not always attend.⁸⁷⁵ Amid the Synod of Anjou, Lady Katherine reassured her mother that 'wee have a protestant Church close by the house and a sermon 2 or 3 a week'.⁸⁷⁶ Thanks to adolescent tuition, Lady Katherine and De Brais also shared a language. Writing to her in French as the household relocated to Terfort, the pastor regretted Lady Katherine's 'very painful afflictions and illnesses' but comforted her with 'the Word of God' and praised her as 'a great example of virtue and piety to your family and to the Church of God'.⁸⁷⁷ As Lady Katherine crossed the Channel, De Brais shuddered to think of her

⁸⁷¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 25 Aug/4 Sep 1678; Perceval to Helena Southwell, [Terfort], 13/23 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.82v, 112.

⁸⁷² Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 21/31 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.80.

⁸⁷³ Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Garden, 29 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.90.

⁸⁷⁴ Deborah Fowler to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 2 Nov 1677; Sir Philip Perceval to John Perceval, La Rochelle, 25 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, ff.198, 215.

⁸⁷⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Terfort], 20 Jul; [31 Aug/10 Sep] 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.44v, 95.

⁸⁷⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, 9/19 Nov 1677, BL Add 46954B, f.207v.

⁸⁷⁷ Etienne de Brais to Lady Katherine Perceval, Saumur, 9 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.29-30: 'Il y a long temps que vostre vertu est exercée par des afflictions & des maladies tres douloureuses ... un grand exemple de vertu & de pieté pour vostre Famille & pour l'Eglise de Dieu'.

‘person exposed to so many different hazards’.⁸⁷⁸ Here was a depth of local association not always open to peripatetic young male travellers.

Despite the friendship of the local minister, the Percevals’ introduction to Huguenot society and worship in Saumur was not entirely smooth. To begin with, we ought to guard against a monolithic view of the national Huguenot community.⁸⁷⁹ Accommodation with Catholic ritual distinguished syncretic worship in Saumur from Protestant practice elsewhere in France, but the mixture still did not agree with Lady Katherine’s evidently high Anglicanism.⁸⁸⁰ She found that Huguenots would ‘not administer the sacrament to any kneeling pretending that the church of Roome would boast that they did adore with them the Bread and wine and that they would force them to comply to all the rest of their superstitions & Idolatries’. The ‘most uncharitable’ of the local Protestants deemed Lady Katherine ‘a Papist becaus I use the Forme of Common Prayer in my famely and others of them too scrupulous becaus I allow not of their carding danceing & buying on the Saboath’. ‘Mean time’, she complained to her mother, ‘the Papists think me a Hugonot & a Herritick but thanks be to God I am what I am’.⁸⁸¹ In general, Huguenots tended to overlook the ‘peculiarities of the Anglican *via media*’, but the inhabitants of Saumur acquired first-hand knowledge.⁸⁸² De Brais’s vision of Lady Katherine as an example to Protestants was clearly unwelcome. Despite local opposition to her Anglican piety, she chose ‘to communicate with [the Saumur Huguenots] (tho with great regret at the irreverence of the postur) rather then be deprived of the greatest comfort and advantage my soule can receive’, the Eucharist.⁸⁸³ Young male travellers on their way to the next city might more readily have viewed these

⁸⁷⁸ Etienne de Brais to Lady Katherine Perceval, Saumur, 2/12 Apr 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, f.75: ‘je tremble quand je me represente vostre personne exposée a tant de hazards differents’.

⁸⁷⁹ Anne Dunan-Page, ‘Introduction’ in Dunan-Page (ed.), *The religious culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750* (Aldershot, 2006), p.10.

⁸⁸⁰ Chareyre, ‘Protestants de Saumur’, pp.32-41.

⁸⁸¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 16 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f5v.

⁸⁸² Labrousse, ‘Great Britain as envisaged by the Huguenots’, p.143.

⁸⁸³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 16 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f5v.

differences as curiosities, but Lady Katherine had to live through them in regular worship. She found the best approximation for her beliefs, as Waring had done at the English Reformed Church in Amsterdam and so many travellers did elsewhere.⁸⁸⁴

Necessary religious accommodation, indeed French travel itself, carried social dangers for Lady Katherine Perceval. After nearly ten months in France, she received ‘a kind long letter’ from Theodore Vesey, the Church-of-Ireland vicar of Kinsale.⁸⁸⁵ The letter cannot be traced but Lady Katherine was particularly surprised by one section, ‘which concerned an undeserved report rais’d of me in that place concerning my changing my Religion’. She protested to her mother that ‘by the blessing of Almighty God as I have hitherto lived a true protestant soe through his favour I hope to dye in the same’. She had never ‘given any occasion to any one in the world to speake that great untruth of me’. The Irish rumours may have been spread by Catholics, as Lady Katherine assured her mother that ‘if they think my civillity to theire persons or charity to theire necessities proceed from a love to their Religeon tis allsoe a very grose mistake’. Lumping all Catholics together in her hour of Protestant anxiety, she promised that ‘as for my dealing with them since my coming into france I can take it on my deathe that I never exchanged on word with any Priest or Fryer of what order soever nor any nun’. Lady Katherine claimed that ‘Neither have any of that Religeon scarce come aneer me since I came into France soe that I have not so much as bin invited by a thought of my owne or a word from any of them to tourne from my owne which by the Grace of God I shall continew in to the last moment of my life’. Though ludicrous, her last protestation suggests that she made some distinction between the dangers posed by clerical and lay Catholics. But she wished Vesey to know that she was ‘alsoe out of danger of the other I meane the Hugonots’. Though Conway correctly observes that Protestant solidarity

⁸⁸⁴ Barnard, ‘Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities’, pp.221-2.

⁸⁸⁵ William Maziere Brady, *Clerical and parochial records of Cork, Cloyne and Ross* (Dublin, 1863-4), i, p.179.

generally rose during periods of Catholic threat, individual Anglican travellers remained aware that they fitted neatly into neither camp.

The rumours of Catholic conversion did not die as quickly as Lady Katherine surely hoped. She was, perhaps, not blameless in their spread, confessing to her mother in November 1678 that she had ‘not writt a word this twelve monthes to my freinds at Dublin’.⁸⁸⁶ By that point, amid the spiralling Popish Plot revelations, fears for Lady Katherine’s Protestantism increased. From Lyons, Sir Philip Perceval saw ‘how unkind some of our frinds att Dublin have benn in regard to my mother’ and hoped that ‘my Grandmother Percivale dos nott beleive all thatt a great many Idle persons may have tould’.⁸⁸⁷ Lady Katherine’s mother-in-law was indeed troubled by the reports. Writing to her grandson, John, newly installed at the Inns of Court in London, she worried that ‘these are very troublesome times and I could wish I knew which ware the safest place for you too bee in’. Of Lady Katherine, she admitted that ‘I doe wonder my Daughter yr. Mother dare stay in a popish Country these times with your Brother & Sisters’ and prayed ‘God derect them’.⁸⁸⁸ The Popish Plot forced the Percevals to manage their return from France the following year to avoid further rumours.

As a pious Anglican, Lady Katherine Perceval’s qualified acceptance of Saumur Protestantism, even amid claims that she had ‘turned papist’, suggests that it might sometimes be more appropriate to talk, as have historians of the Huguenots, of a Calvinist rather than a Protestant ‘international’.⁸⁸⁹ Reformed travellers from the British Isles were not equally at ease with the Calvinist worship that they found in France. Though the Percevals were assailed for their use of the Book of Common Prayer, the Scottish Presbyterian Sir John

⁸⁸⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 30 Oct/9 [given as 7] Nov 1678, 46955B, f.162.

⁸⁸⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Helena Southwell, Lyons, 29 Oct/8 [given as 9] Nov 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.158.

⁸⁸⁸ Lady Katherine Perceval (d.1681; widow of Sir Philip Perceval, 1605-47) to John Perceval, [Ireland], 7/11[?] Dec 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.192.

⁸⁸⁹ Labrousse, ‘Great Britain as envisaged by the Huguenots’, pp.143, 147, 149; Dunan-Page, ‘Introduction’, p.11; Menna Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism, 1541-1715* (Oxford, 1985).

Lauder took more easily to Huguenot worship. He found in Poitiers that ‘The forme of the protestant churches differs not much from ours’.⁸⁹⁰ The many Scottish teachers employed at Protestant academies in provincial France, especially in Saumur, represented one among several links to Huguenot communities.⁸⁹¹ It would be helpful to know whether Presbyterian travellers from Ireland similarly slotted more neatly into Huguenot communities than Church-of-Ireland examples, though instances are currently lacking. Even within the Church of Ireland, we need to distinguish between families like the Boyles, with a history of ‘hot’ Protestantism and gravitation towards Protestant academies in the Loire valley and Geneva, and the Percevals, who had not travelled before the late 1670s and seemingly preferred higher Anglicanism. Lutheran worship might have better suited preferences in families like the Percevals, but the dynamics of German travel precluded local engagement. Travellers treated the empire as a network of courts, rarely looking beyond them.

The varying degrees to which Huguenot immigrants conformed to the Church of Ireland suggest that complicated relations continued between Anglican Irish-residents and reformed co-religionists from France in a reversed context, even if Huguenot anti-Catholicism and Irish confessional demographics meant that immigrants always sided with the ‘Protestant interest’.⁸⁹² Work on the 1640s and 1650s indicates that, during a period of confessionalised turmoil at home, some Irish Protestants felt themselves particularly connected to a continental struggle against Catholicism.⁸⁹³ Coincidentally, perhaps, this was also a period with comparatively little travel to Europe. If our interest is in practices as much as representations,

⁸⁹⁰ Crawford (ed.), *Lauder journals*, p.32.

⁸⁹¹ Matthew Glozier, ‘Huguenots and Scots: some seventeenth-century theological, social and military connections’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 27:5 (2002), pp.692-704.

⁸⁹² Jean-Paul Pittion, ‘The question of religious conformity and nonconformity in the Irish refuge’ in C.E.J. Caldicott, H. Gough and J.-P. Pittion (eds.), *The Huguenots and Ireland: anatomy of an emigration* (Dún Laoghaire, 1987), pp.285-95; Ruth Whelan, ‘Persecution and toleration: changing identities of Ireland’s Huguenot refugees’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, 27 (1998), pp.20-35; McKee, ‘Integration of the Huguenots’.

⁸⁹³ Ole Peter Grell, ‘Godly charity or political aid? Irish Protestants and international Calvinism, 1641-1645’, *Historical journal*, 39 (1996), pp.743-53; Little, ‘New English’; Ruth Connolly, ‘“A Wise and Godly Sybilla”: Viscountess Ranelagh and the politics of international Protestantism’ in Sylvia Brown (ed.), *Women, gender and radical religion in early modern Europe* (Leiden, 2007), pp.285-306.

we should pause before applying notions of a ‘Protestant international’ too comprehensively to relations between Huguenots and the Church of Ireland in later decades, though solidarity undoubtedly persisted at moments of crisis. For all of her reservations in Saumur, Lady Katherine Perceval prayed in 1678 for ‘peace for all the poore protestants here & elsewher of France theire Hearst [sic] dye within them at the news of a war because that their King will perhaps persecute them about theire Religeon’.⁸⁹⁴

As a further qualification on the Percevals’ membership of a seamless ‘Protestant international’, we should consider that Church-of-Ireland travellers kept the company of leading French Protestants for social as well as religious reasons. Lady Katherine arrived in Saumur to regain her health but, once there, desired appropriate company. Beyond Sunday worship, her search for equals drew her towards Huguenot society during the week. Members of the Protestant churches of Anjou, including that of Saumur, ‘belonged to the middle classes, the merchants, professional classes and lesser noblesse and country gentry: very few of the peasantry and labouring classes are found in the Registers.’⁸⁹⁵ The Percevals, moreover, drew their company from the higher reaches of Catholic as well as Protestant society in the town. In the same letter in which she feared for local Protestants, Lady Katherine told her mother that she was ‘very Civilly treated by boath Religions’ and that her daughter Kate was often ‘abroad’ with ‘the Senechalls Daughter Made[moiselle] Aprill’, a Catholic.⁸⁹⁶ Leaving Saumur for Availles-Limouzine, Lady Katherine found that to tell her mother of ‘all the Friends that pretended to be sorry for our coming away it would take up two [sic] much time’. She thought herself unworthy of ‘all that Friendship & Civility wch they have exprest for me’, reporting that ‘All the ministers wch are 3 and almost all the Protestants there came to take their leaves of me on Sunday’. The ‘Catholicks’, she

⁸⁹⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, 5 Feb 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.43v.

⁸⁹⁵ C.E. Lart, ‘The Protestant Churches of Angers and Saumur’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 15 (1933-4), p.38.

⁸⁹⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, 5 Feb 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.43v; Chareyre, ‘Protestants de Saumur’, p.45: the town never had a Protestant seneschal.

continued, ‘also have bin very oblidging to mee butt none tweeks [i.e. is agitated] more then my Landlady’.⁸⁹⁷ The Protestant academy in Saumur drew many young men to the town for at least partially confessional reasons. Arriving for a more bodily kind of improvement, though, Lady Katherine and her daughters drew their company from both sides of the local religious divide.

None of this suggests that Church-of-Ireland travellers were more complicated members of a ‘Protestant international’ that their English counterparts utterly embraced, but instead that English travel might benefit from further scrutiny of unpublished experience alongside valuable work on printed travel literature. The Irish case suggests that ‘confessional geography’ was more powerful in the description of lands and populaces, holding less relevance for personal interactions with the continental ‘beau monde’. Church-of-Ireland travellers might relate to reformed hosts as part of a ‘Protestant international’, especially at times of confessional confrontation, whether personal or national, but they had other lenses through which to perceive foreigners. Chief among these were the standards of ‘civil’ behaviour thoroughly recommended as the hallmark of profitable travel. Conversational civility allowed cross-confessional acquaintance, which we now move to discuss.

A ‘perticular stock of friends’

While Irish Protestants abroad might enjoy hospitality on account of their reformed faith or their perceived Englishness, travel was enabled by diverse personal connections forged by earlier travellers, mutual acquaintances or shared interests. Reliance on such contacts, as with Irish Catholic facilitators, was more common in the earliest decades of our period, before the more uniform practices of a high Grand Tour. Here, a focus on the Southwell and Perceval families is particularly helpful because their extensive surviving correspondence allows a full

⁸⁹⁷ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Poitiers, 29 Jun 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.17.

appreciation of travelling networks, though other experiences are included where possible. The Southwells and Percevals demonstrate that shared confession facilitated relations with indigenous Protestants, especially Huguenots, but equally that lines of contact cut across ideas of ‘confessional geography’ and a ‘Protestant international’. The two families drew on a ‘stock of friends’ that was diversely assembled, but its continuity ensured that continental travel remained a shared experience across several generations. Sir Robert Southwell forged contacts on his various continental travels that enabled and influenced the experiences of later travellers, just as his own encounters fed into the behavioural advice on offer to younger relatives and acquaintances.

Sir Robert Southwell maintained reciprocal relationships with foreign dignitaries who might facilitate travel. Letters of recommendation from such figures allowed travellers to ‘fix at Courts’, a priority for those who would ‘travell to purpose’. Such was Southwell’s acquaintance with Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa, count of Castel Melhor.⁸⁹⁸ Southwell arrived in Lisbon in late 1665 with instructions to obtain a secret meeting with Castel Melhor, one of the more prominent conspirators in a 1662 coup, but the relationship soon developed into genuine friendship.⁸⁹⁹ A year and a half into his stay, Southwell shared anti-Spanish and pro-Portuguese jokes with the count, who offered advice on statecraft and ‘other Storyes’.⁹⁰⁰ A second coup forced Castel Melhor into exile in September 1667, though by the mid-1670s he was well-established in Turin with the good opinion of the Florentine grand ducal court.⁹⁰¹ When the count moved to London in 1677, Southwell was ‘taken up in conducting about my old friend’ on a successful social tour of the capital.⁹⁰² By then, Castel Melhor was well-

⁸⁹⁸ A.H. de Oliveira Marques, *History of Portugal, volume I: From Lusitania to Empire* (New York and London, 1972), pp.298, 332-3. Castel Melhor was prime minister between 1662 and 1667.

⁸⁹⁹ Charles II, ‘Instructions to our Trusty & wellbeloved Sr. Robert Southwell Knt. one of the Clerks of our privy Councell going first in the quality of Our Envoye to the king of Portugall & afterwards in the like quality to the queen Regent of Spaine’, 20 Dec 1665, Envoys’ Instructions, 1664-85, Bod. MS Rawlinson A 255, f.27.

⁹⁰⁰ ‘Conde’s observations, 6 June 1667’, BL Egerton MS 1627, ff.56v-57.

⁹⁰¹ Fernando Palha, *O conde de Castel Melhor no exilio, ensaio biographico* (Lisbon, 1883), pp.24, 29.

⁹⁰² Sir Robert Southwell to Ormond, [London], 18 Sep; 22 Sep 1677, NLI Ormonde Papers, MS 2367, ff.3983-4.

placed to provide introductions for Southwell's nephew to Turin, Milan, Venice, Rome and Naples in 1678. His recommendations 'made all things easy' and afforded Sir Philip Perceval 'a full prospect' of various courts. In Turin, Castel Melhor's letter allowed Perceval to sample 'the civility which they use to all strangers joyned to the great familiarity and freedome with which they live in this Court', leaving him 'so in love with itt' that he departed with 'great regret'.⁹⁰³ As with the elder Edward's reception at Cleves, Sir Robert Southwell's diplomatic career, itself favoured by educational travel, furnished later generations with foreign contacts in a virtuous circle. Castel Melhor's return to Portuguese public life in 1685 and Southwell's death in 1702 meant that Sir John Perceval and the younger Edward Southwell would have to procure their Italian introductions elsewhere.

One Italian court to which Sir Philip Perceval did not require Castel Melhor's introduction was Florence, because the Irish-resident family had already built up a useful 'stock of friends' there. Initially, it might seem that family relations with Florence and her ruler were no different from those enjoyed with other 'friends' of the 'English nation'. Sweet finds that 'Travellers in the late seventeenth century always remarked upon the extent to which Grand Duke Cosimo III was particularly well disposed towards the British and how he welcomed them more warmly to Florence than any other nation'.⁹⁰⁴ From its inception, however, the relationship between the Southwell and Perceval families and the courts of two grand dukes, Ferdinando II and Cosimo III, relied heavily on personal contact, mutual interests and reciprocal obligations. Robert Southwell arrived in Florence in the summer of 1660, hoping to establish links between the 'experimenters' of the grand ducal court and his natural philosophical patron, Boyle. Southwell's visit was well-timed, coinciding 'with one of

⁹⁰³ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Turin, 20/30 Jan 1677/8; Venice, 9/19 Feb 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.25, 57v.

⁹⁰⁴ Sweet, 'British perceptions of Florence', p.841.

the most active periods' in the history of the Accademia del Cimento.⁹⁰⁵ Oldenburg's recommendations had gone far in Montpellier, but links were weaker with Florence. There Southwell lacked 'the benefit of friends' and settled his 'reputation in a lower class'. His interest in natural philosophy soon paid off, however. 'Obtaining entrance into a meeting of their virtuosi,' he told Boyle, 'I also put in an oar, and shot my bolt among them; and then got not only the occasion of choosing good acquaintance, but heard, that at the court some favourable words passed of me'. He was soon received by Ferdinando and his brother Leopoldo, an active patron of the 'experimenters'.

Southwell threw himself into the various opportunities for learning at the Florentine court, sending Boyle copious details about experimental 'secrets'.⁹⁰⁶ Over the summer, he was 'invited by Prince Leopoldo, to come every night and see the observations they tooke with severall Prospective glasses, of Saturne'.⁹⁰⁷ Southwell arranged to become a pupil of Vincenzo Viviani, beginning a close relationship with the court mathematician and his fellow 'virtuosi', Carlo Dati and Lorenzo Magalotti.⁹⁰⁸ Leaving for Rome and Naples in October 1660, Southwell continued writing to Viviani and looked forward to his return to Florence in early April, when they would 'enter into an Ocean of Talking'.⁹⁰⁹ One of the main reasons for Southwell's return was the marriage of Prince Cosimo to the Bourbon princess Marguerite Louise d'Orléans. Andrew White, the Irish former spy who had been advising Southwell on 'ye most assured way to com to fortune' since their meeting in Rome, recommended pausing at Florence 'untill yu see the solemnitys of that marriage it being

⁹⁰⁵ W.E. Knowles Middleton, *The experimenters: a study of the Accademia del Cimento* (Baltimore and London, 1971), p.285.

⁹⁰⁶ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, Florence, 10/20 Oct 1660, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.428-31.

⁹⁰⁷ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.457-60. The editors date the letter to before Sep 1661 because they claim that Southwell was then back in Kinsale, but he did not return from the continent until late Feb 1662 and then only to London.

⁹⁰⁸ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 2 Nov 1660, Gal. 161/146; Middleton, *Experimenters*, pp.31-9.

⁹⁰⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 9 Apr 1661, Gal. 254/93: 'si piache a dio Mercurdi, o Giovedi verro da lei a Fiorenza; dove entrerémo in un Oceano di Parlar.'

worthy ye stay.’⁹¹⁰ Southwell was indeed ‘very well satisfied with the noble solemnities’, recalling that ‘The entrance was very glorious, and in great order of 200 Gentement [sic] on horseback, there were some halfe a douzen strangers besides my selfe that were among them.’⁹¹¹ Medici weddings were lavish spectacles and Southwell would also have witnessed a mounted ballet, *Il mondo festante*.⁹¹² The young traveller performed his role with regard to natural philosophical collaboration, reporting to Boyle that ‘Your academy in London’, the nascent Royal Society, ‘begins to be much talked of here, and the Prince Ses you make great advances as he understands it’.⁹¹³ Boyle, however, did not play his part, inexplicably failing to reply to grand ducal correspondence.⁹¹⁴ The Florentine links that Southwell forged would be of more lasting value to his own family.

Relations between Southwell and the experimenters of the Tuscan court were mutually beneficial. The traveller went to great lengths in the service of Viviani’s *De maximis et minimis* (1659), an attempt to predict the contents of a lost volume by the Ancient Greek mathematician Apollonius. Southwell served as a ‘travelling salesman’ on his long itinerary home from Italy in 1661.⁹¹⁵ Correspondents wrote to Viviani from Bologna to confirm that Southwell had delivered copies.⁹¹⁶ Southwell also gauged circulation. He spoke with booksellers on his way through north-eastern Italy but found that, ‘asking after your book de Maximis et Minimis, none was aware of it’. With the Blaeu booksellers of Amsterdam he had

⁹¹⁰ Andrew White to Robert Southwell, [Nettuno?], 12 May 1661, BL Add MS 38015, f.17.

⁹¹¹ Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), draft [after 26 Apr 1661], BL Add MS 38015, f.21.

⁹¹² Marcello Fantoni, ‘The Grand Duchy of Tuscany: the courts of the Medici 1532-1737’ in John Adamson (ed.), *The princely courts of Europe: ritual, politics and culture under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 2000), pp.272-3.

⁹¹³ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.457-60.

⁹¹⁴ Middleton, *Experimenters*, p.289; Vincenzo Viviani to Robert Southwell, Pistoia, 16 Oct 1660, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.431-4.

⁹¹⁵ Boschiero, ‘Southwell and Viviani’, p.99; Middleton, *Experimenters*, p.282.

⁹¹⁶ Giovanni Battista Riccioli to [Vincenzio Viviani], [Bologna?], 4 Aug 1661; Carlo Antonio Manzini to Viviani, Bologna, 6 Sep 1661, Gal. 161/168, 170; Robert Southwell to Viviani, Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/100.

more success, opening initial channels in the hope that they might stock the work.⁹¹⁷ Viviani also requested Southwell's 'advice in the presenting some of his books to the English virtuosi' of the newly-founded Royal Society.⁹¹⁸ The Florentine sent a copy to the Bodleian Library via Southwell.⁹¹⁹ Thomas Barlow wrote in Latin to thank Viviani, hoping that the mathematician was 'looking after our Southwell'.⁹²⁰

Besides ingratiating himself with Viviani and the Accademia del Cimento, Southwell's carriage of *De maximis et minimis* to other Italian academicians like Giovanni Battista Riccioli and Carlo Antonio Manzini acted as a token of admission to their learned company. Manzini enthused to Viviani about Southwell, an officious and erudite young man who had looked for him at his Bolognese home and eventually found him in the Duomo.⁹²¹ Southwell also used his copies judiciously to forge other contacts. Travelling through the Holy Roman Empire in late 1661, he abandoned his plan to give one to the emperor's mathematician, who didn't seem to understand Euclid. Foreshadowing Ashe almost three decades later, Southwell found in those parts 'no-one who has enough of a reputation to make a foreigner revere them'.⁹²² This ideal reflected the kind of company that Southwell sought abroad, and his copies of Viviani's work facilitated interactions.

Fellow travellers recognised the strength of Southwell's links to Florence. Southwell told Viviani that, whenever a question relating to Tuscany arose in English company in Rome,

⁹¹⁷ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Oct 1661, Gal. 161/174: 'dimandando per il suo libro de Maximis et Minimis, nisuno non l'habbia conosciuto'; 30 Oct 1661, Gal. 254/109.

⁹¹⁸ Vincenzo Viviani to Robert Southwell, Pistoia, 16 Oct 1660, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.429-34.

⁹¹⁹ Vincenzo Viviani, *De maximis et minimis geometrica divinatio in quintum conicorum Apollonii Pergæi adhuc desideratum ... Pergæi liber primus (secundus)* (Florence, 1659), Bod. shelf-mark L 2.20 Art, carries the inscription 'Liber Bibl: Bodliana ex dono Clariss: Viri Vincentij Viviani (magni Al etruviae Ducis Mathematici) Authoris Apr. XXVI. CD. IX. LXI ... Insigni Viro D:ro Thomae Barlow pro Bibliotheca Bodliana Oxoniensi, hoc suum opus commendat Auctor.'

⁹²⁰ Thomas Barlow to Vincenzo Viviani, Queen's College, Oxford, XVI Cal. Jun. 1661, Gal. 254/94: 'Oro ut has ad Southwellum nostrum curares'.

⁹²¹ Carlo Antonio Manzini to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 6 Sep 1661, Gal. 161/170: 'giovine offitioso, et erudito, salutato à nome di V.S. ma pch doppo l'havermi cercato à Casa mia, e non trovato, m'incontrò nel Duomo'.

⁹²² Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, 30 Oct 1661, Gal. 254/109: 'ho trovato nisuno ch'a assai riputatione per ciamar un forestiero per riverirlo.'

‘they all run to me and call me a subject of the Grand Duke’.⁹²³ Some tried to benefit from reflected favour. The year after Southwell’s departure, Sir Philip Carteret and his tutor recruited two English Livorno merchants to write to Viviani in the hope that he would ‘accommodate them in your house, as you did with Mr. Southwell’.⁹²⁴ Connections to the Medici court clearly impressed fellow travellers and Southwell’s father, belying his self-portrayal as a provincial, exhorted his son to secure lasting evidence. Southwell was in ‘such favour’ at the grand ducal court, which ‘promised some good effect in [his] own country, and in the English court’, where his father was determined that he should spend some time to profit from family connections there. The elder Robert presumably referred to their position as clients of the Butlers but perhaps also to Henry Brouncker, a gentleman of the bedchamber to the duke of York. As Helena Southwell would tell her son in 1664, ‘hee is your kinsman and I would have you let him know it, in hope that it might doe you sum good’.⁹²⁵ Southwell’s father asked whether, on the way home through Florence, ‘it would be possible to obtain from the Grand Duke some sort of letter of recommendation to our King’. Southwell was embarrassed by his father’s directness, consulting Viviani about whether the request would be too much, but the younger man also recognised that ‘such a letter would let it be known that I am known in Florence’.⁹²⁶ Southwell even suggested the ‘tone’ of the

⁹²³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzio Viviani, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, Gal. 254/88: ‘io predico con grandissime laude della parte de gli Fiorentini; talmente, che d’essere nel una cosa del Stato di Toscana, corranno tutti a mi et me chiamano subjecto del Gran Duca.’

⁹²⁴ Thomas Banks to Vincenzio Viviani, Livorno, 19 Nov 1662; Thomas Clutterbuck to Viviani, Livorno, 20 Nov 1662, Gal. 162/16-17; D’Angelo, *Mercanti inglesi*.

⁹²⁵ Helena Southwell to Robert Southwell, [Kinsale], 1 Mar 1664, BL Add MS 38015, f.88.

⁹²⁶ Robert Southwell to Vincenzio Viviani, Rome, 17 Jan 1661, Gal. 161/153: ‘Il Sigr. Padre m’ha scritto una letera, e pare essessinamente alegre, che a Fiorenza io sono stato con tanta felicità, e in tanto favore degli Principi, augurando della qualcha buon effecto nella propria paiese, e nella corte d’Angleterre; dove lui e resolutto che io restasse quelque tempo. havendo la multi amici, e in particolare il gran Conseliere per Cugino, al quale scrisse una lettera par il Sigr. Bernard Gascone.’; ‘Il mio padre pero me demenda – Non farete bene de cercare, si del Gran Duca potete procurare una lettera de recomendatione in quelcha maniera al nostro Re?’; ‘Questa é una Cosa in quale vorrai che il mio caro Signior m’advisera. e si l’ardire dun tal supplica non serra giudicata troppo.’; ‘Il vero é; che senza un tal recommendatione non manquero potessere de trovare quelcha favore; ma, una letera cosi, ferra cognoscere che deja io sono conosciuto a Fiorenza’

letter, which might portray him ‘as a subject and a young man of some hope’.⁹²⁷ Forthrightness worked, as Ferdinando indeed wrote a letter of recommendation to Charles II. Even then, Southwell had reservations. Andrew White assured him that he liked ‘very well of ye letter yu have from ye Gran Duke ye wch yu may safely deliver for its well penn’d.’ With Southwell in Florence and White outside Rome, copies of the letter evidently existed.⁹²⁸ Southwell revealed later in life, however, that he had ‘never thought fit to deliver it.’⁹²⁹ Other evidence of travel would suffice.

In later years, the Southwells maintained their connection to the Medici court. Sir Robert corresponded with Viviani for decades, producing an archive that Boschiero uses to illustrate the mutually-beneficial transnational ‘friendships’ forged between seventeenth-century natural philosophers.⁹³⁰ Connections were also maintained by face-to-face meetings. Cosimo’s travels through Europe during the late 1660s, undertaken before his accession in 1670, brought him into contact with the Irish-resident family on three occasions. Sir Robert met the Tuscan prince and his train of ‘about 45 persons’ while posted to Lisbon in 1667. Rather than receive Southwell, however, Cosimo sent Magalotti, who has been described as ‘the first Italian Anglophile’.⁹³¹ Though the prince let it be known to Southwell that ‘he had knowne him at fflorence and had for him a particular respect’, he had ‘resolved to receave noe vissitts in his house’.⁹³² The Southwells were clearly not yet in unassailable esteem, but Sir Robert made sure to visit the prince in Paris as he made his way back from his posting to Portugal by land in July 1669.⁹³³ Between these two meetings, Cosimo improbably received

⁹²⁷ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 21 Feb 1661, Gal. 161/159: ‘Per la tenore di quella letera ... come un subjecto e giovene de quelcha speranza.’

⁹²⁸ Andrew White to Robert Southwell, [Nettuno?], 12 May 1661, BL Add MS 38015, f.17.

⁹²⁹ Ferdinando II to Charles II, Florence, 24 Mar 1661 (draft), Gal. 258, f.40; BL Egerton MS 1634, f.16.

⁹³⁰ Luciano Boschiero, ‘Robert Southwell and Vincenzo Viviani: their friendship and an attempt at Italian-English scientific collaboration’, *Parergon*, 26:2 (2009), pp.87-108.

⁹³¹ Piero Rebor, *Interpretazioni anglo-italiane: saggi e ricerche* (Bari, 1961), p.180.

⁹³² Francis Parry to Joseph Williamson, Lisbon, 11/21 Jan 1668/9; Parry to Thomas Lloyd, Lisbon, 11/21 Jan 1668/9; Parry to Williamson, Lisbon, 3 Feb 1669, BL Add MS 35100, ff.16-19.

⁹³³ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.39v.

the hospitality of Southwell's father and the Percevals at Kinsale, when blown off his course to England.

From the 1669 visit to Kinsale onwards, relations between the Southwells and the Medici particularly demonstrate the cross-confessional nature of their acquaintance. Two Italian manuscripts prepared for the prince by travelling courtiers, Magalotti and the doctor Giovanni Battista Gornia, treat their unexpected Irish trip in detail.⁹³⁴ Landing on 25 March 1669, Magalotti records that they were greeted by 'a servant of Mr Sothwell, father of the knight Sothwell, envoy of the king of England in Lisbon', finding that the elder man was 'landlord of all the surrounding territory'. Cosimo immediately heard mass at a place 'prepared' by his courtiers. The next day, Sir Robert Southwell's nephews and nieces, among them thirteen-year-old Sir Philip Perceval, arrived to pay their respects to the prince, who then went on foot to visit Lady Katherine ('miledi Parcival').⁹³⁵ According to Magalotti, the elder Southwell and other local Protestants offered 'their services in the politest manner' but Cosimo was forced to use an interpreter, 'for they spoke nothing but English'.⁹³⁶ Gornia similarly praises the elder Robert Southwell, 'a man of great riches and very good appearance'. Many courtiers arriving in Kinsale, he records, remembered Southwell's son, Sir Robert.⁹³⁷ Both accounts proceed to economic and geographical descriptions of the port, town and fortifications of Kinsale.

⁹³⁴ Anna Maria Crinò (ed.), *Un principe di Toscana in Inghilterra e in Irlanda: relazione ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici tratta dal Giornale di L. Magalotti, con gli acquerelli palatini* (Rome, 1968), pp.4-9; Giovanni Battista Gornia, 'Viaggio fatto dal serenissimo Principe Cosimo Terzo di Toscana per la Spagna, Inghilterra, Francia, ed altri luoghi negli anni 1668 e 1669', Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4570, p.6. I have consulted two translations of Magalotti: Lorenzo Magalotti, *Travels of Cosmo the third, Grand Duke of Tuscany, through England during the reign of King Charles the second (1669)* (London, 1821), pp.98-108; Anne O'Connor, 'An unexpected visitor: Cosimo de' Medici's visit to Cork in 1669', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, 111 (2006), pp.1-6. I loosely follow O'Connor's translation of Crinò's text. Translations of Gornia are my own.

⁹³⁵ 'I nipoti del detto cavaliere Sothwell': the 1821 translation and O'Connor both give 'nipoti' as grandchildren, but earlier in the text 'cavaliere Sothwell' refers to Sir Robert, who then had no grandchildren, rather than his father. Given what is to follow, Sir Philip Perceval, Sir Robert's nephew, was clearly among the children.

⁹³⁶ Crinò (ed.), *Principe di Toscana*, pp.4-5.

⁹³⁷ Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4570, p.6.

The Florentine accounts change their tone in discussing the elder Robert Southwell's relationship with local Catholics. 'Most of the inhabitants', Magalotti found, 'are English'. They enjoyed the confiscated wealth of 'the Catholics of Kinsale, who still number around two hundred scattered in the surrounding area'. The dispossessed lived 'an unhappy life in the countryside, in huts made of mud and poorly covered with straw', sleeping on mats and subsisting on fish, rarely having 'the opportunity to eat bread'. They were 'considered almost as people from a conquered land after the uprising in that kingdom and treated as slaves, obliged to work the land and indeed to pay the landlord from their meagre earnings. They pay these to Southwell, the proprietor of that district, as rent for a hut and a few square yards of land'. The local Catholics celebrated mass 'in a house where they meet clandestinely, to avoid the harassment to which they would undoubtedly be subjected were they to be discovered'. Meanwhile, the largest church in the town, 'built originally by Catholics, is now profanely used in the service of the Anglican sect'. Magalotti listed, perhaps pointedly, the ancient Catholic noble families of Cork.⁹³⁸ Gornia too noted the earthen houses of 'the Irish', covered with straw, and contrasted them with 'the houses of the English made of stone'. He was surprised that the Protestant church was 'without altars, figures of Christ or crosses'. 'Their religion', he suspected, 'is not unlike that of the Calvinists'. Gornia also noticed the 'few Catholics', who were 'living miserably in burrows, begging and ill-treated'.⁹³⁹ Unlike Magalotti, however, he did not link Southwell explicitly to these abuses.

The Florentine descriptions of Kinsale, at once recognising Irish Protestant civility and criticising the treatment of local Catholics, may have been remarkably informed. Magalotti's digression on 'the state of religion' in England, which was only finalised as late as 1689, drew on the English confessional panorama outlined in Anthony Bruodin's 1669 *Propugnaculum catholicae veritatis* ('Bulwark of Catholic truth'), so it is possible that

⁹³⁸ Crinò (ed.), *Principe di Toscana*, pp.6-8.

⁹³⁹ Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4570, p.7.

Magalotti's sympathetic treatment of his Kinsale co-religionists was similarly influenced long after the event by Bruodin, an Irish Franciscan based in Prague.⁹⁴⁰ Millett observes that 'some of Bruodin's works are among our few sources of knowledge of the fate of Irish catholic victims of religious persecution, but are not always reliable'.⁹⁴¹ Both descriptions of Kinsale were nevertheless in keeping with Cosimo's wider interest in 'confessional geography'. Sir Robert Southwell noted a few years after the Florentine visit that the 'P[rince] of Tuscany would in England know 3 things. What Opineon in Religion has most followers. What Clothes to putt on in ye morning, & how to distinguish the Whores from the Honest.'⁹⁴² If Cosimo's travels prepared him for his grand ducal reign, the first of these priorities lasted. Waring described him as 'godly' when visiting the Tuscan court with Charles Butler in 1688 but some historians have been less generous, finding a counter-reforming 'bigot'.⁹⁴³ Cosimo's reign is portrayed as the 'zenith' of a 'markedly religious court culture'.⁹⁴⁴

When Sir Philip Perceval arrived at the grand ducal court nine years after the landing at Kinsale, family acquaintance and reciprocal hospitality outweighed confessional divides. Perceval waited 'uppon the Grand Duke who was mighty civil to mee and was pleased to remember hee had seen mee wh[ich] I esteem more then the present hee sent mee though itt was a liberall one.' Cosimo, he told Lady Katherine, 'asked how you did and where you were'. Though he did not tell his mother, the grand duke also noticed how much Sir Philip had grown since he had seen him in Ireland. Perceval later wrote to his uncle Southwell that 'the Grand Duke talked a great while of you' and 'asked who was Roy of Ireland'. Sir Philip surmised that 'hee is my Ld. Ossorys frind', since 'his Highnes has my Lds. picture att Large,

⁹⁴⁰ Stefano Villani, 'La religione degli inglesi e il viaggio del principe. Note sulla Relazione Ufficiale del viaggio di Cosimo de' Medici in Inghilterra (1669)', *Studi Secenteschi*, 45 (2004), pp.188-9.

⁹⁴¹ Benignus Millett, 'Irish literature in Latin, 1550-1700' in T.W. Moody, F.X. Martin and F.J. Byrne (eds.), *A new history of Ireland, III: early modern Ireland, 1534-1691* (Oxford, 2009), p.580.

⁹⁴² BL Egerton MS 1627, f.49.

⁹⁴³ PRONI D695/228, f.37; Marcello Fantoni, 'Il bigottismo di Cosimo III: da leggenda storiografica ad oggetto storico' in M. Verga, V. Becagli and F. Angiolini, *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III* (Florence, 1993), pp.389-402.

⁹⁴⁴ Fantoni, 'Grand Duchy of Tuscany', p.272.

and in my thoughts tis admirably well painted'.⁹⁴⁵ Cosimo, though, had been primed. A month beforehand, Southwell had told Viviani that Perceval would be arriving from Rome, confident that the mathematician would present him to the grand duke, who had met the young man 'once in Ireland when he was of tender age'.⁹⁴⁶ Reciprocity continued, as Viviani much later recommended that Tommaso del Bene, a Florentine envoy to London in 1695, seek out 'Robert Soduell', 'the most esteemed patron and the dearest and most loyal friend of all the many knights whom I have had the fortune to serve from beyond the mountains'. Viviani retold the story of early meetings between Southwell, now president of the Royal Society, and the grand ducal court.⁹⁴⁷ Del Bene evidently made contact, as he was elected to foreign membership of the Royal Society on 30 October that year.

The connection between the Southwells and the Medici court was by now strong enough to outlive Sir Robert and Viviani, who died in 1702 and 1703 respectively. In 1707, Sir John Perceval was received in Florence 'with much curtesie' because Cosimo, 'the good Old Duke', remembered 'the civilities he had rec[eive]d from Old Mr. Southwell Sr. Roberts father when cast by stress of weather into kinsale'.⁹⁴⁸ Following standard advice to travellers, courtly conversation avoided confessional differences. In the Tuscan as well as the English-speaking context, perhaps, 'confessional geography' was a subject more suited to literary output than personal interactions. When a Florentine courtier did raise such divisive topics with an Irish Protestant, in a letter of 1672, Boyle seems to have felt that Magalotti, a man of 'troubled religious anxiety', had committed 'an unwarranted intrusion into his religious

⁹⁴⁵ Sir Philip Perceval to Lady Katherine Perceval, Florence, 7/17 Sep 1678; Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Florence, 10/20 Sep 1678; Perceval to Southwell, Florence, 10/20 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.107, 109, 110v.

⁹⁴⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Whitehall, 2 Aug 1678, Gal. 165/141: 'una volta s'è comparso in Hibernia mentre ch'era d'età tenera.'

⁹⁴⁷ Vincenzo Viviani to Tommaso del Bene, [Florence], 13 Oct 1695, Gal. 160/2: 'il più stimato Padrone e il piu caro e fidele Amico di quanti Cavalieri d'oltre a Monti io abbia avuto la sorte di servir'.

⁹⁴⁸ BL Add MS 47072, ff.21-2.

beliefs.⁹⁴⁹ Even if the accounts of Kinsale were embellished with help from Irish Catholic sources in the decades after 1669, Magalotti and Gornia still wrote in the context of an increasingly warm relationship between the Southwells and the grand ducal court. But the long-standing connection could not, it seems, outlive Cosimo III. When the younger Edward Southwell visited Florence in December 1725, two years after the grand duke's death, he lodged at the Black Eagle inn for eight nights. Southwell 'filled 40 large pages' of his journal with the sights of the city, by now so popular with English travellers, but neither there nor in his letters to Sir John Perceval did he record a meeting with the new grand duke, Gian Gastone. A dearth of local contacts obliged him 'twice to dine with our Resident', in which position Francis Coleman had replaced John Molesworth the previous year. Citing Addison, Southwell's only comment on the Medici dukes was to predict their imminent fall.⁹⁵⁰

The Southwells, the Percevals and the Medici provide an extended example, but their initial combination of shared interests and elevated social position, as demonstrated by letters of introduction, reciprocal hospitality and civil behaviour in company, served as the foundation for many other relationships between Irish Protestants and continental hosts, whether Catholic or reformed. In several instances, natural philosophy or antiquarianism provided common reference points.⁹⁵¹ Knowledgeable travellers acted as emissaries in the name of the Royal Society, or more rarely the Dublin Philosophical Society, to other learned 'academies' on the continent. Others emulated Robert Southwell's dealings with the Accademia del Cimento. In 1689-91 and afterwards, St. George Ashe's interactions with Jacob Wilhelm Imhoff of Nuremberg, whom he met on his way to Vienna, were predicated upon the Irishman's desire to begin correspondence with various German philosophers and

⁹⁴⁹ Anna Maria Crinò, 'An unpublished letter on the theme of religion from Count Lorenzo Magalotti to the Honourable Robert Boyle in 1672', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 45 (1982), pp.271-8; Rebora, *Interpretazioni*, p.164.

⁹⁵⁰ BL Egerton MS 3805, ff.37v-58v; Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 11/22 Dec 1725, BL Add MS 47031, f.45.

⁹⁵¹ Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities', p.170.

mathematicians, with whom Imhoff had links in the Academia Naturae Curiosorum. Ashe constantly invoked the name of the Royal Society. Upon his return, he wrote self-deprecatingly from Dublin of his residence in ‘this corner of Europe’, which he contrasted with ‘the great world, and principally Germany’.⁹⁵² The Molyneux brothers, Thomas and William, alternatively conceived of their journey through the Netherlands, the Rhineland and Paris in 1684, at the birth of the Dublin Philosophical Society, as an opportunity to gauge and to spread the fame of ‘the name Dublin ... amongst foreigners on a learned account’.⁹⁵³ While traveller and host might share ‘secrets’ or begin ‘a happy Cement of correspondence’, scholarly exchange also facilitated the practicalities and the comforts of travel.⁹⁵⁴ Shared interests might also, as with the Southwells, the Percevals and the Medici, begin an acquaintance that outlasted common reference points.

Interactions with high-status hosts of varying origin and confession might indicate that Irish Protestant travellers were ‘cosmopolitan’ in their practices, especially where their experiences were facilitated by members of a continental ‘Republic of Letters’.⁹⁵⁵ We ought to be careful, however, before ascribing ‘cosmopolitanism’ to our travellers. The term sometimes carries an anachronistic sense of approval for contemporary ‘openness’, while it risks glossing over the Irish origins and English identifications that continued to shape continental experience. As the eighteenth century wore on, the proliferation of bankers offering lines of credit, the expansion of the diplomatic service, whose informal duties included watching over countrymen abroad, and the tentative development of local facilities for catering to travellers’ needs would combine to suggest that personalised contact networks were no longer necessary, though they might continue to distinguish the experiences of

⁹⁵² St. George Ashe to Jacob Wilhelm Imhoff, Trinity College, Dublin, 27 Mar 1694, BL Add 24929, f.45: ‘car estant mis (comme Je Suis) dans ce coin d’Europe, rien ne m’es icy si cher, que de recevoir souvent des marques de souvenir de mes amis qui demeurent dans le grand monde, & principalement d’Allemagne’.

⁹⁵³ William Molyneux to Thomas Molyneux, Dublin, 14 Jun 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), p.483.

⁹⁵⁴ BL Add MS 38015, f.24.

⁹⁵⁵ Margaret C. Jacob, *Strangers nowhere in the world: the rise of cosmopolitanism in early modern Europe* (Philadelphia, 2006), pp.41-65.

some.⁹⁵⁶ In our earlier period, however, the ‘understanding that I was an Englishman’, a qualified commonality with fellow Protestants and a diversely-assembled ‘stock of friends’ combined to furnish Irish Protestant travellers with foreign company.

⁹⁵⁶ For the rise of local guides and guidebooks, see Peter Burke, *A social history of knowledge* (Cambridge, 2000), pp.71-2; Sweet, ‘British perceptions of Florence’; eadem, ‘Changing view of Rome’; Calaresu, ‘Virgil’s tomb’.

6. Academies and Masters

Travel is frequently considered an ‘informal’ addition to the ‘formal’ education of schools, universities and the Inns of Court.⁹⁵⁷ The vagueness of ‘improvements’ sought in the company of foreign hosts or through personal observation tends to reinforce this conception, but young travellers received various degrees of instruction that complicate such a binary. Irish Protestants sought various forms of continental learning and were not devotees of a single kind of institution. Many concurred Gailhard’s printed advice, pursuing different kinds of knowledge at the best respective locations. Social and intellectual accomplishments were cast alongside material souvenirs as acquisitions that travellers might ‘shew and keep ... when they are come home’. ‘When a Traveller comes into a place’, wrote Gailhard, ‘he will do well to enquire what things are esteemed in’t, and sent into Foreign parts: others learn what fine things are taught in such places’.⁹⁵⁸ Just as travellers were supposed to seek out notable intellectuals or prominent social figures at their destinations, so they were encouraged to view particular kinds of learning as products of specific locations.⁹⁵⁹ We will begin by outlining the heavily-theorised ‘academy improvements’ on offer to the elder sons of wealthy families at institutions in France, Italy and the Low Countries. We will also consider, however, the forms of university, academy and privately-tutored learning available to elder and younger sons, as well as daughters and even servants in larger travelling households. Through this lens, the nebulous ‘improvements’ of travel are sometimes perceived more clearly, if partially, for various journeys within the same families.⁹⁶⁰

⁹⁵⁷ Dent, ‘Travel as education’.

⁹⁵⁸ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.141-2.

⁹⁵⁹ Anne Goldgar, *Impolite learning: conduct and community in the republic of letters 1680-1750* (New Haven; London, 1995), p.194; this assumption also informed prejudices about scholars of different nationalities.

⁹⁶⁰ Cohen, ‘Grand tour’, pp.242, 247-8.

‘Academy improvements’

It was broadly and consistently presumed that the eldest sons of wealthy families would return with ‘academy improvements’. In 1683, Sir Robert Southwell explained to the Limerick-based guardians of his young kinsman Sir Thomas about ‘riding, ffren[c]h, Mathematicks, & all exercises ... which are usually learnt in Travell’ but in 1699 the bishop of Dromore assumed more knowledge of ‘those Improvements that are to be acquired by Travelling into Foreign Kingdoms.’⁹⁶¹ By 1725, Charles Boyle, earl of Orrery, was on solid ground in referring to ‘those improvements in foreign countries’ which his son’s eighteen years ‘now soon require he should do’.⁹⁶² Gailhard’s *Compleat gentleman* proves a detailed guide to these accomplishments.⁹⁶³ They included ‘exercises’ like riding, dancing and fencing, as well as more intellectual pursuits like mathematics, often reduced to its military applications as ‘fortification’, itself a discipline that required drawing. Modern languages, of course, were a priority. These accomplishments, their history and their perceived benefits are delineated in the second part of Gailhard’s work, which he kept in manuscript during his employment by Sir Philip Perceval.

While some behavioural ‘parts’ were to be absorbed in the course of a journey through continental courts, institutions and private seats, a preparatory grounding in bodily and intellectual accomplishments was acquired beforehand during sedentary periods. Any division between the two forms of continental improvement, between behavioural practice gleaned in company and knowledge acquired through direct teaching, misses the fact that static spells at approved locations were conceived as preparation for the rigours of company. Brauer misleadingly asserts that attendance at continental academies was ‘not directly related

⁹⁶¹ Sir Robert Southwell to William King (guardian of Sir Thomas Southwell), Kings Weston, 5 Oct 1683, NLI MS 664, letter 7; [Pullen], *Vindication*, p.32.

⁹⁶² Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.314.

⁹⁶³ For more recent summaries: Dent, ‘Travel as education’, p. 175; Cohen, ‘Grand Tour’, p.243.

to the grand tour'.⁹⁶⁴ Gailhard found that 'men differ in their opinions' on 'the place of settlement', but that 'all agree that one must be chosen to stay at, and to learn the Language, Fashions, and Exercises; which cannot be done if one be constantly a Travelling'.⁹⁶⁵ Irish Protestant, English and Scottish travellers all agreed, alongside Dutch and German counterparts, though individuals differed on whether Paris or provincial France was more desirable. Ormond advocated the capital for James Butler.⁹⁶⁶ Gailhard, however, argued that 'one must have learned the Language, some customs of the Nation, and gotten some experience before he be ripe for *Paris*; where a Novice cannot enjoy that society which is to be had in other Towns'. Parisians were impatient with foreigners, their city expensive and full of 'debauched' Englishmen. Along the Loire, Orléans, Blois, Saumur and Angers were 'seated in a pleasant and plentiful Country, their language is well spoken amongst people of some fashion, good and able Masters of Exercises are found in them, and the people thereof are very kind and civil to strangers'. Many agreed that these provincial locations allowed a traveller to avoid the temptations of the capital.⁹⁶⁷ Angers, Gailhard decided, 'ought to have the preference' on account of its size, pleasant situation, polite society and 'very able Masters in all manner of Exercises'.⁹⁶⁸ He foreshadowed these publicised principles during a previous employment in 1670 and stuck to them with Sir Philip Perceval, settling him in Angers for almost eleven months.⁹⁶⁹

Those inclined towards natural-philosophical approaches might stress that 'academy improvements' were not the only end of youthful travel. Advice that Sir Philip Perceval entered into his manuscript commonplace book bears the hallmarks of Gailhard and Sir Robert Southwell, emphasising the instruction of 'Judgement' and a dedication to 'Sciences

⁹⁶⁴ Brauer, *Education of a gentleman*, p.187.

⁹⁶⁵ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.33.

⁹⁶⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Ossory, 10 Mar 1679/80, HMC *Ormonde*, v, p.289.

⁹⁶⁷ Jeremy Black, *France and the Grand Tour* (Basingstoke, 2003), p.39.

⁹⁶⁸ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.34-5.

⁹⁶⁹ Jean Gailhard to Theophilus Hastings, earl of Huntingdon, Angers, 8 Jun 1670, *Hastings collection of manuscripts from the Huntington Library, California*, Harvester film guide, i, 1477-1701, HA 3339.

which you ought to make your choise studdy of'. By contrast, 'fencing dancing and ye like must be onely an accessary which yet you ought not wholly to neglect because not onely you see company in ye schooles butt allso thereby you avoid idlenes the mother of vices.'⁹⁷⁰ Archbishop King, whose library contained much conduct literature despite his own lack of progeny, echoed the title of popular works by Gailhard and Henry Peacham when he reminded the younger Edward Southwell of 'the true Design of Travelling which is not meerly to satisfy curiosity of seeing variety, or Learning the exercises yt. are necessary for a Compleat Gent.' These latter included 'fencing Riding, Dancing, &c' and were 'by no means to be neglected', but the ultimate aim of travel was 'to enlarge a mans Mind, and furnish him with observations, which he may afterwards turn to the advantages of life and by which he may Improve himself his fortune and his Countrey.'⁹⁷¹ Tutors and advisors would not dismiss 'academy improvements' as intellectually irrelevant, however, and for historians to do so would risk anachronism: 'while the polite accomplishments might be the "ornaments" of a gentleman's education, they were "Marks of Distinction" which could not be denied to those of rank.'⁹⁷² In an apparent job application to Ormond that outlines ideal travel, Peter Drelincourt described dancing, horse-riding and fencing as 'very necessary to know' for a young man 'of family'.⁹⁷³ Other Huguenot tutors agreed, even if Gailhard differentiated in print between those he thought 'more, and others less necessary'.⁹⁷⁴

Even for influential figures of a natural-philosophical bent, the exercises taught at academies served a functional purpose in providing the behavioural, gestural and even elocutionary patterns that convinced in good company. Sir William Petty was not an

⁹⁷⁰ BL Add MS 47113, f.6.

⁹⁷¹ Matteson, *Large private park*; William King to 'Mr. Southwell' [presumably younger Edward], Dublin, 21 Jan 1717, TCD Lyons MS 2535, f.64.

⁹⁷² Cohen, 'Grand Tour', p.243.

⁹⁷³ Peter Drelincourt, 'About education of men of family', NLI MS 2493, f.57: 'fort necessaire a savoir'.

⁹⁷⁴ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.47.

uncomplicated fan of institutional learning.⁹⁷⁵ He convinced his son Charles that ‘the Universityes are almost necessary, but not for Substantiall learning’. Charles would instead attend university with the aim of fitting into good company in later life, ‘to learn the Language which is spoken there’.⁹⁷⁶ Beforehand, however, Sir William sent Charles on a Dutch voyage, the focal point of which, barring illness, would have been an academy at The Hague.⁹⁷⁷ This would ‘make fools believe he is more than he is, [so] as to appeare something at the University after he comes home’.⁹⁷⁸ Other privileged travellers might attend foreign academies after university, like Sir Philip Perceval. But if universities equipped students with the spoken language of authority in later life, academies offered something similar in terms of carriage and gesture.⁹⁷⁹ Dent describes these improvements as ‘social skills’ that underlined the ‘informal value of travel abroad’, but they were learned in more formal academy settings as well as through osmosis in company.⁹⁸⁰

Huguenots like Gailhard, Misson and Drelincourt were particular advocates of ‘academy improvements’ because France and its satellites had become the centre of noble exercises over the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Many of the French tutors employed by English and Scottish travellers had themselves attended such institutions.⁹⁸¹ Motley describes French academies as a ‘vector’ for the Italian Renaissance and an educational emphasis on bodily exercises flowed from Italy.⁹⁸² In May 1688, Waring described the famous Collegio dei Nobili at Parma, ‘the first thing we saw with our guid’, as ‘one of the most convenient,

⁹⁷⁵ Ted McCormick, *William Petty: and the ambitions of political arithmetic* (Oxford, 2009), pp.67-8.

⁹⁷⁶ Charles Petty to Edward Southwell, London, 18 Oct 1687, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, p.305.

⁹⁷⁷ Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Piccadilly, 4 Jun; 6 Sep 1687; Charles Petty to Edward Southwell, London, 18 Oct 1687, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.271, 284, 303.

⁹⁷⁸ Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Piccadilly, 8 Apr 1686, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, p.188.

⁹⁷⁹ On the importance of gesture to English social distinctions: John Walter, ‘Gesturing at authority: deciphering the gestural code of early modern England’ in Michael J. Braddick (ed.), *The politics of gesture: historical perspectives, Past and present* supplement 4 (Oxford, 2009), pp.96-127; Anna Bryson, ‘The rhetoric of status: gesture, demeanour and the image of the gentleman in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England’ in Lucy Gent and Nigel Llewellyn (eds.), *Renaissance bodies: the human figure in English culture, c. 1540-1660* (London, 1990).

⁹⁸⁰ Dent, ‘Travel as education’, p.175.

⁹⁸¹ Pittion, ‘Académies réformées’, p.200.

⁹⁸² Mark Motley, *Becoming a French aristocrat: the education of the court nobility, 1580-1715* (Princeton, 1990), p.123.

pleasant, noble yt: I have yett seen for yt: purpose'. He had 'not yett seen any thing yt. pleased me better in all Italie'.⁹⁸³ Well before our period, though, France had supplanted Italy as the centre of 'academy improvements' for English-speaking travellers, as well as for German and Dutch students.⁹⁸⁴ French academies were founded as part of a continental trend that sought to free young noblemen from the moral and physical dangers of foreign travel, particularly to Italy, and allow them to learn comparable 'accomplishments' at home.⁹⁸⁵ Such imperatives were common in England, especially in the early seventeenth century, but they did not meet with much success.⁹⁸⁶ The French use of such institutions as a preface as well as a replacement for voyages abroad also foreshadowed Irish Protestant and English approaches, with the transplantation of Huguenot academies to London from the 1680s.⁹⁸⁷

'The triumph of a convention'?

Stoye suggests that a trend for attendance at French academies began among the English aristocracy with Henry Clifford, fifth earl of Cumberland, at Paris in 1609, describing its long-term flourishing in the capital and the provinces after 1630 as 'the triumph of a convention'.⁹⁸⁸ Throughout most of the seventeenth century, though, English, Irish and Scottish attendees were vastly outnumbered by native French students and travellers from Germany and the United Provinces. Later in the eighteenth century, English-speaking

⁹⁸³ PRONI D695/226, f.45.

⁹⁸⁴ Motley, *French aristocrat*, p.134; Corinne Doucet, 'Les académies équestres et l'éducation de la noblesse (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue historique*, 628 (Oct 2003), p.819; Verhoeven, 'Dutch Grand Tour', p.619.

⁹⁸⁵ Ellery Schalk, *From valour to pedigree: ideas of nobility in France in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries* (Princeton, 1986), p.184; Doucet, 'Académies équestres', p.818; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility' in De Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A history of the university in Europe, Volume 2: Universities in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1996), pp.432-3; Roger Chartier, 'Les stratégies éducatives au XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles' in Chartier, Dominique Julia and Marie-Madeleine Compère (eds.), *L'éducation en France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1976), p.181.

⁹⁸⁶ Stoye, *English travellers*, p.38; De Ridder-Symoens, 'Mobility', p.433; Ghazvinian, 'English travellers', pp.271-3.

⁹⁸⁷ Jonathan Dewald, *Aristocratic experience and the origins of modern culture: France, 1570-1715* (Berkeley; Oxford, 1993), p.85.

⁹⁸⁸ Stoye, *English travellers*, pp.31-32, 281-321; Games, *Web of empire*, pp.29-31.

students would begin to dominate at certain locations, especially on the banks of the Loire.⁹⁸⁹ But continental academies were already familiar to prominent Irish Protestant families before 1660.⁹⁹⁰ Several members of the Boyle family included periods at the Protestant academy of Saumur in travels during the 1630s, a period when ‘peace brought cultural exchange and grand tours’.⁹⁹¹ It is unlikely that Robert Boyle attended the academy at Geneva in the early 1640s but Hugh Montgomery, future third viscount, returned from the continent to Down in 1641 ‘accomplished in the French tongue, dancing, fencing, touching the lute, riding the great horse, and other academy improvements’. Of particular use during the rebellion were the ‘fortification and other martial arts, wh[ich] (with other parts of the mathematics) he had learned abroad.’⁹⁹² The 1640s, of course, saw little educational travel from Protestant Ireland, but the following decade brought ‘a veneer of normality’.⁹⁹³ Richard Jones, Robert Boyle’s nephew, spent almost a year from June 1657 at Saumur, learning French, Latin and Greek with his tutor, Henry Oldenburg, and history, theology, riding and fencing at the academy.⁹⁹⁴ Fashionable instruction in ‘genteel and martial skills’ built on long-held priorities. Barnard observes that ‘if this training was designed to equip the young for the service and civility now de rigueur in courts and country mansions, it also confirmed the traditional values in families like the Butlers. The latter still prided themselves on their own dynastic history, delighted in fighting and cherished their links with ducal, princely and ruling houses.’⁹⁹⁵

If academy improvements built on long-standing values, we can still discern a rise in attendance at French institutions after the Restoration. The period 1661-84 saw a marked

⁹⁸⁹ Doucet, ‘Académies équestres’, p.831; Dominique Julia, *Atlas de la Révolution Française: 2. L’Enseignement* (Paris, 1987), p.53; Conway, ‘Connections’, p.363.

⁹⁹⁰ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.312.

⁹⁹¹ Little, ‘New English’, pp.160-1, 166.

⁹⁹² Hunter, *Boyle*, p.312; Hill (ed.), *Montgomery manuscripts*, p.153. The manuscripts were written by Hugh’s cousin, William Montgomery of Rosemount, between 1696 and 1706: Raymond Gillespie, ‘The making of the Montgomery manuscripts’, *Familia*, 2:2 (1980), pp.23-9.

⁹⁹³ Little, ‘New English’, p.166.

⁹⁹⁴ *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.xxxvi, 119-56; Hall, *Oldenburg*, pp.31-4.

⁹⁹⁵ Toby Barnard, ‘Introduction: the dukes of Ormonde’ in Barnard and Jane Fenlon (eds.), *The dukes of Ormonde, 1610-1745* (Woodbridge, 2000), p.39. Some French historians argue for similar continuities in the academy education of the native ‘noblesse d’épée’: Dewald, *Aristocratic experience*, pp.82, 87.

increase in the Dutch and English presence at Saumur, for instance. While the Dutch figure contained many merchants, the ‘English’, 65% of whom were ‘noble’, surely represent a rising attendance at the town’s two ‘academies’, one a Protestant institution famed for philosophy and theology and the other a newer riding school.⁹⁹⁶ Growing foreign demand, in the English case remarkable during Brennan’s 1665-78 ‘hiatus’ in continental travel, perhaps contributed to the spate of new academies opening throughout provincial France in the 1670s and 1680s.⁹⁹⁷ It can be difficult to isolate Irish Protestant attendees, who tend to be lumped in with the ‘English’. Individual Irish Protestants nevertheless added to the trend, settling for periods of learning at academy towns. Sir Philip Perceval studied at Angers in late 1676 and 1677. Around the same time, Robert King, second baron Kingston also spent a period of instruction at Angers, which he left for nearby Saumur ‘to study the mathematticks’.⁹⁹⁸ Though there is less evidence for his precise activities, James Butler probably made his lengthy stay in Orange in 1678 on account of the town’s Protestant academy, which had originally been founded, like those of Saumur and Sedan, to train Reformed clergy.⁹⁹⁹ Over at least five months in mid-1685, Lionel Boyle was taught writing and tennis by masters in Blois, the location of another famous academy.¹⁰⁰⁰ Given the casual contemporary equation of ‘academy improvements’ with the benefits of travel, it is very likely that more shadowy Irish Protestant presences like the nineteen-year-old James Annesley, travelling in 1664 with his tutor James Forbes, received instruction in academy towns on their way through France.¹⁰⁰¹

⁹⁹⁶ Chareyre, ‘Protestants de Saumur’, pp.53, 56, 57.

⁹⁹⁷ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.232; Schalk, *From valour to pedigree*, p.191n.

⁹⁹⁸ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, [10/20] Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.5.

⁹⁹⁹ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 14 Aug; 19 Aug 1678, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, ff.7(4/1), 9(5/1); De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’, p.427.

¹⁰⁰⁰ NLI MS 13215, ff.8-12; Doucet, ‘Académies équestres’, p.819.

¹⁰⁰¹ De Prata to Edward Montagu, earl of Sandwich, Lyons, 23 Aug/2 Sep 1664, Bod. Carte MS 223, f.92v. Edward Montagu, Lord Hinchinbrooke, whom Annesley met in Lyons, attended a Parisian academy. Ormond employed Forbes as travelling tutor to the earl of Derby in 1673: Bod. Carte MSS 50, ff.103, 105, 109, 111, 113, 207; 243, ff.87, 89. Annesley, like others, travelled after Christ Church, Oxford, which he entered in Dec 1661: Christ Church DP i.a.3.

We might avoid stating that these Irish residents ‘attended’ academies because evidence rarely survives beyond their employment of tutors on an individual basis in the appropriate towns, though this has been taken by family genealogists and some historians to suggest straightforward attendance at local academies. On a continental scale, De Ridder-Symoens finds ‘little evidence – sources are lacking – that travellers followed private courses of study (known as *privatissima*) at teachers’ houses.’¹⁰⁰² On a smaller Irish Protestant scale, however, there are indications that educational travellers enjoyed a qualified engagement with provincial academies. In 1678, Ormond informed his grandson’s tutor that he did ‘not intend that the youth shall Lodge or dyet in an Academy’ at Orange, though it is likely that James Butler received tuition from local masters.¹⁰⁰³ Ormond probably felt that, by living and dining in the town rather than with students, James would better immerse himself in the French language and ‘mien’. This approach was shared with English educational travellers. Locke reported that Caleb Banks, who met several Percevals in France, had decided not to ‘put himself into an Academy’, but still took riding lessons from mid-1677.¹⁰⁰⁴ These were probably at Solomon Foubert’s Parisian academy, before its forced closure in 1679 and eventual relocation to London.¹⁰⁰⁵

Finally, it is worth noting that the social capital gleaned from attendance at French academies contradicts the theory of educational travel presented by Robert Molesworth’s *Account of Denmark*. Molesworth advocated foreign experience as an antidote to absolutism. As it was a ‘rare advantage to learn rightly how to prize *Health* without the expence of being sick’, so ‘one may easily and cheaply grow sensible of the true value of *Liberty* by travelling into such Countries for a season as do not enjoy it’.¹⁰⁰⁶ But young men did not travel simply to observe; they went abroad to converse and to learn. Molesworth’s medical analogy is odd,

¹⁰⁰² De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’, p.432.

¹⁰⁰³ Ormond to Sir Robert Southwell, Kilkenny, 11 Sep 1678, NAL Forster MS 47.A.40, f.11(6/1).

¹⁰⁰⁴ Lough, *France observed*, p.285.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Lough (ed.), *Locke’s travels*, p.195n.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Molesworth, *Account of Denmark*, p.v.

in fact, given the contemporary fear that travellers risked moral, cultural and political contagion.¹⁰⁰⁷ Academies, which had become central to so many educational voyages, were themselves instruments of absolutism, a distinction that set them apart from their Italian predecessors. The absolutist state encouraged their bodily conceptions of nobility, based on carriage and gesture, as less threatening than older military definitions.¹⁰⁰⁸ Into the eighteenth century, this would develop into a major English objection to study at French academies.¹⁰⁰⁹

Instruction in academy towns

How did masters teach ‘accomplishments’? Precise curricula are difficult to ascertain because learning often relied on oral instruction that has left few traces.¹⁰¹⁰ Moreover, academies in France were licensed but uncontrolled private institutions, so great variety was possible.¹⁰¹¹ Curricula often separated physical and intellectual instruction.¹⁰¹² The former dwelt on the trio of riding, dancing and fencing, all central to the improvement of posture and gesture. It was intended that the body itself be used as a social symbol. Dancing masters, for instance, taught their pupils ‘how to walk, salute and dance’.¹⁰¹³ ‘Intellectual’ aspects often centred on militarily-useful knowledge like mathematics and geometry on a continent where siege warfare was a noble profession and a matter of daily conversation, but they also incorporated writing and music. Institutional specialities, as with theology and philosophy at Saumur or civil law at Angers, also added to the diversity of academy instruction. The structure of teaching is difficult to ascertain. In one late seventeenth-century Parisian academy, riding

¹⁰⁰⁷ Warneke, *Educational traveller*, pp.191-249.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Orest Ranum, ‘Courtesy, absolutism, and the rise of the French state, 1630-1660’, *Journal of modern history*, 52 (1980), pp.426-51; Schalk, *From valour to pedigree*, pp.186, 195; Chartier, ‘Stratégies éducatives’, p.183.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Brauer, *Education of a gentleman*, pp.187-9.

¹⁰¹⁰ Doucet, ‘Académies équestres’, pp.828-30; Pittion, ‘Académies réformées’, p.195.

¹⁰¹¹ Motley, *French aristocrat*, p.128; Pittion, ‘Académies réformées’, p.194. From 1685, this license was predicated upon Catholicism: Doucet, p.834.

¹⁰¹² Doucet, ‘Académies équestres’, p.830.

¹⁰¹³ Schalk, *From valour to pedigree*, p.190.

lessons took place between seven o'clock and noon.¹⁰¹⁴ Morning instruction left room in the afternoon and evening for the sight-seeing trips, sociability and private reading that more usually fill the letters and notebooks of travellers.

Beyond the curriculum, academy students in Paris and the provinces were noted for their hazing rituals and their use of prostitutes, both of which travellers may have avoided, at least in this context, by living out with tutors. As usual, little evidence for such behaviour survives in Irish Protestant sources. Academies, like French polite society more generally, were noted for their cultures of gambling.¹⁰¹⁵ After periods of instruction in Blois, Paris and Utrecht, Lionel Boyle was consumed by an 'extraordinary passion ... for gaming which overrules him quite'.¹⁰¹⁶ Student bodies were of diverse origins, but English-speakers predictably socialised together in academy towns, as elsewhere. The pressure towards ostentatious sociability among academy students, keenly felt by Lionel Boyle, was added to tutors' fees and the incidental costs of 'exercises' to ensure that attendance was socially and economically exclusive, for travellers just as for noble domestic students.¹⁰¹⁷ Orrery's accounts include academy expenditure on books, writing materials, tennis kit, fencing shoes, foils and other requirements, including wages for the additional household staff that exercises demanded.¹⁰¹⁸ Educational periods at a 'place of settlement' were clearly the preserve of the eldest sons of wealthy families.

Evidence of day-to-day Irish Protestant instruction in French academy towns rarely extends beyond payments to tutors. Where letters home and notebooks overlap with financial accounts, though, we can explore the experiences of Sir Philip Perceval. Perceval was at Angers from October 1676 until September the following year and, according to a 1742 family genealogy, was taught civil law and noble exercises 'to great Perfection at the

¹⁰¹⁴ Motley, *French aristocrat*, pp.139, 142, 148, 150; Schalk, *From valour to pedigree*, p.190.

¹⁰¹⁵ Motley, *French aristocrat*, pp.162-3; Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, pp.135-6.

¹⁰¹⁶ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Utrecht, 17 Oct 1686, NLI MS 36, f.597.

¹⁰¹⁷ Doucet, 'Académies équestres', p.830.

¹⁰¹⁸ NLI MS 13215, ff.11, 34, 36, 43, 53.

Academies of that City'.¹⁰¹⁹ Records for the riding academy at Angers only survive for 1601-35 and 1755-90, so there is no official documentation of his attendance or of his contemporaries.¹⁰²⁰ Nevertheless, letters home by Perceval, Gailhard and Rasigade, along with detailed records of spending, carry some indication of daily routines, fellow students and regular payments to masters. They support the genealogy's claim of attendance, though perhaps not of perfection. But Sir Philip, like others from Ireland and England, may have chosen the level of his involvement with academy life.

From October 1676, Perceval immediately undertook a daily regime of instruction in writing, the French language, the guitar and the usual genteel exercises, all of which had their respective masters in Angers.¹⁰²¹ Later, he took up the flute. Gailhard observed his 'great inclination for musick', but was characteristically quick to emphasise that it 'must be onely the accessory' to the 'more substantiall' studies that informed judgement and principles.¹⁰²² Perceval's priorities differed. Rasigade would arrive to replace Gailhard seven months later to find that, while the young man spoke good French for his stage of learning, he played the guitar especially well because 'music is one of his great pleasures'.¹⁰²³ It is unclear whether masters visited Perceval, or whether he attended them at their homes or in academy buildings. The elder Robert Southwell wanted to tailor Perceval's academy learning to his social needs, advocating some familiarity with the civil law to 'make you ripe & compleat to appeare in any company & in any discourse'.¹⁰²⁴ The reputation of Angers as a centre for civil law had evidently reached Kinsale, as Lady Katherine Perceval noted that she had never seen her

¹⁰¹⁹ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, p.380.

¹⁰²⁰ Willem Frijhoff, 'Étudiants étrangers à l'Academie d'Équitation d'Angers du xviie siècle', *Lias*, 4 (1977), pp.12-84.

¹⁰²¹ Jean Gailhard to [Sir Robert Southwell], Angers, 1 Nov 1676; Gailhard to Southwell, Angers, Angers, 7/17 Jan 1676/7, BL Add MSS 46953, f.189; 46954A, f.8.

¹⁰²² Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3 Jan 1676/7, BL Add MS 46953, f.218v.

¹⁰²³ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.48.

¹⁰²⁴ Robert Southwell (elder) to Sir Philip Perceval, Kinsale, 3 Feb 1676[/7], BL Add MS 46954A, f.28.

father ‘more earnest for any thing’.¹⁰²⁵ In fact, all of Perceval’s learning in the town was geared towards social ends. A regular correspondence with his French master would improve his grasp of the language but also provide ‘a stock of thoughts and conceptions which might for the future prove beneficiall and usefull to him.’¹⁰²⁶ There is less evidence for ‘exercises’ like fencing and dancing but by May 1677, at the very latest, Perceval was also paying for instruction in horse-riding, which presumably took place on academy grounds.¹⁰²⁷

Alongside instruction by local masters in Angers, Perceval engaged in private but supervised reading. On many evenings, he read French on his own or with Gailhard in his chamber at the house of Madame de la Fuge.¹⁰²⁸ Perceval often read the French and Dutch gazettes, which he placed alongside appropriate maps, as well as books of travels and history.¹⁰²⁹ The gazettes also fed directly into Perceval’s sociability in Angers, as he noted that there was ‘a certaine club of newsmongers in this towne thatt sitt togeather and coyne newse’.¹⁰³⁰ Reading served as preparation for religious controversy in Angers and elsewhere on his travels. Gailhard reported that ‘because I am very desirous Sr Philip should be instructed in the principles of religion I have sent for a compendious yet substantiall sistem of divinity in latin which we intend to read together’. Such conversational preparation would also be of use closer to home: the tutor continued that ‘because popery is now too bold in England I have gotten him a good book of all matters controverted between papists and us

¹⁰²⁵ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.56-7; Helena and Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Philip Perceval, [Kinsale], 30 Mar 1677, 46954A, f.83v.

¹⁰²⁶ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 March 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.57.

¹⁰²⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 13/23 May 1677; Southwell to Perceval, [Spring Gardens], [early Jun 1677], BL Add MS 46954A, ff.156, 206.

¹⁰²⁸ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3 Jan 1676/7; Alexandre de la Rasidage to Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Aug 1677; Helena and Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Philip Perceval (‘A Monsieur Percivale Chevalier Anglois chez Mad[a]me de le fuge dans la rue de court A Angiers’), [Kinsale], 30 Mar 1677, BL Add MSS 46953, f.218; 46954B, f.63; 46954A, f.83.

¹⁰²⁹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 4/14 Feb 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.30.

¹⁰³⁰ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 30 Mar/9 Apr 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.85.

very short'. Taken together, Gailhard hoped that this multi-faceted instruction would add 'bodily exercises' to an 'informing of the mind and other inward endowments'.¹⁰³¹

Perceval's response was unappreciative and he followed his exercises inconsistently. Gailhard lamented, in a burst of honesty, that 'as to his improvement he is to doe his part, I cannot doe all of myself'.¹⁰³² Constantly agitating for a move to Paris during his months at Angers, Perceval would not allow his uncle Southwell to 'think I am in any way fond of this place, or the Company in it'.¹⁰³³ Sir Philip's ennui was deepened by the lack of 'countrymen' at Angers, a deliberate design of his first tutor.¹⁰³⁴ Left alone for a month after Gailhard's dismissal, Perceval spent far more time in Irish and English company, visiting fellow academy students at nearby Saumur.¹⁰³⁵ When Rasigade arrived in August 1677, however, he was tactful enough to find him 'very secluded, engaging in his exercises and not looking for his countrymen'.¹⁰³⁶ Perhaps a more accurate reflection of Perceval's motivational state is that Rasigade immediately saw fit to give him a French book, *La fortune des gens de qualité*.¹⁰³⁷ Cognisant of his travel plans, Rasigade himself soon began to supplement French lessons by tutoring the young man in Italian.¹⁰³⁸ Perceval's eleven months at Angers were geared towards his anticipated social interactions. These reached a new phase when he left in September 1677 for the 'grand tour' of provincial France, on his way to Italy.

¹⁰³¹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell Angers, 3 Jan 1676/7; 28 Feb 1677, BL Add MSS 46953, f.218; 46954A, f.40.

¹⁰³² Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 3/13 Jun 1677; [early Aug 1677], BL Add MSS 46954A, f.215; 46954B, f.36.

¹⁰³³ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 28 Feb 1676/7; Jean Gailhard to Southwell, Angers, 9/19 May 1677; Perceval to Southwell, Angers, 13/23 May 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.38, 150, 156.

¹⁰³⁴ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 29 Aug/8 Sep 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.78v.

¹⁰³⁵ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, [10/20] Jul 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.5; Alexandre de la Rasigade to Southwell, Angers, 28 Aug 1677, f.62v.

¹⁰³⁶ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.48: 'Je l'ay trouvé fort retiré s'adonnant a ses exercices et ne recherchant point les gens de son p[ays]'.¹⁰³⁷

¹⁰³⁷ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.49. Jacques de Caillières, *La fortune des gens de qualité, et des gentils-hommes particuliers: enseignant l'art de vivre à la cour, suivant les maximes de la politique et de la morale* (Paris, 1663) was much to Perceval's taste ('fort a son gré').

¹⁰³⁸ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Aug 1677, 46954B, f.63.

In their moment of gravitation towards the academies of Paris and the French provinces, Irish Protestants were part of a wider trend that drew in Protestant travellers from throughout the British Isles in the decades either side of the Restoration. Individual educational experiences were comparable. Gailhard tried to convince Perceval that, ‘being come abroad to improve himself ... it was requisite to settle in a place for a competent time ... att least till he had made some progresse in his exercises, the language customs of the countrey and bettered his intellectual parts’. This was ‘the practise of those who travell according to rules’ and Gailhard cited the English examples ‘of my lord Plymouth, [who] had been above two yeares in Saumur, of my lord halifax’s sonne a year and a half in an Academy in paris, and of severall more’, noting that a ‘rowling stone gathers no mosse’.¹⁰³⁹ Irish Protestant experiences of tuition and sociability in academy towns were indeed virtually indistinguishable from English periods at places of settlement, as is plain from well-documented examples like the Verneys, the Ishams, Charles Bertie and Lord Hinchingbrooke.¹⁰⁴⁰ Young Scottish travellers like the Kerr family and Sir John Lauder undertook similar stays at institutions in Paris, Saumur, Angers and Orléans, though their experiences were further informed by the many Scottish tutors at Protestant academies like Saumur.¹⁰⁴¹ Academy learning, and its bodily theories of nobility, represented a shared aspect of continental travel for the wealthy of the Three Kingdoms. Surveys imply that continental voyages provided the nobility and gentry of England and Wales with common touchstones.¹⁰⁴² Beyond travel, Barnard and Brown demonstrate that the wider processes of acculturation into which these experiences fed may have been more successful in Ireland than

¹⁰³⁹ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 11/21 Mar 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.57.

¹⁰⁴⁰ Mark Motley, ‘Educating the English gentleman abroad: the Verney family in seventeenth-century France and Holland’, *History of education*, 23:3 (1994), pp.243-56; Dent, ‘Travel as education’, p.175; Lough, *France observed*, p.5; Stoye, *English travellers*, p.313; Bod. Carte MSS 73, ff.635-6; 223, ff.65, 69, 81.

¹⁰⁴¹ Margaret F. Moore, ‘The education of a Scottish nobleman’s sons in the seventeenth century: I. Study in Holland’, *Scottish historical review*, 31:111 (Apr 1952), p.15; eadem, ‘II. Study in France’, *Scottish historical review*, 31:112 (Oct 1952), pp.101-15; Duncan Thomson, *A virtuous and noble education* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp.7-24; Crawford (ed.), *Lauder journals*, pp.1-166; Lough, *France observed*, pp.198, 238.

¹⁰⁴² Stone and Fawtier Stone, *Open elite*, p.258; Heal and Holmes, *Gentry*, pp.274, 317.

in Scotland.¹⁰⁴³ But in assessing commonalities, periods spent at academy towns must bear as much weight as any informal accretion of shared foreign experience. Kenny emphasises the cohesive force of shared ‘travel-talk’ for French and German nobles, a power that Barnard also suggests in the Irish Protestant case.¹⁰⁴⁴ Considering meetings between the well-travelled, however, we might move beyond talk to the patterns of gesture and posture that many found together at French academies.

The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

Irish Protestants continued to follow broader English, German and Dutch trends in turning away from the academies of Paris, the Loire and the Rhône over the 1680s. Stoye’s study ends in 1667, so he does not chart the demise of his educational ‘convention’, which suffered from two of Louis XIV’s policies. While the 1685 Revocation of the Edict of Nantes saw the official suppression of popular Huguenot academies in Saumur and elsewhere, war from 1687 meant that travellers were less able to access those institutions that remained.¹⁰⁴⁵ The heightened persecution of Huguenots certainly caused some Irish Protestant travellers and their ‘friends’ to reassess educational relationships with France. In the immediate aftermath of the new legislation, the Boyles had fifteen-year-old Lionel relocate to a safer location from Blois, where he made his last payment to masters on 14 October 1685. Burlington told Lionel’s grandmother that he was ‘very impatient of having them longer continue in a Country where so little humanity, and so much severity is shewed to persons of a different perswasion to theirs.’¹⁰⁴⁶ Temporarily, this safer location was thought to be Paris, at least for

¹⁰⁴³ Barnard, ‘Introduction: the dukes of Ormonde’, pp.39-40; Keith M. Brown, ‘The origins of a British aristocracy: integration and its limitations before the treaty of Union’ in Steven G. Ellis and Sarah Barber (eds.), *Conquest and union: fashioning a British state, 1485-1725* (London, 1995), pp.222-49.

¹⁰⁴⁴ Kenny, *Uses of curiosity*, pp.245-6; Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp.315-6.

¹⁰⁴⁵ W.T. Whitley, ‘The Huguenot Academy of Saumur’, *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, 15, p.127; Françoise Chevalier, ‘1685, la fin du protestantisme saumurois? Ministres et fidèles face à la révocation de l’édit de Nantes’ in *Saumur, capital européenne*, pp.157-65; De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’, p.427.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Burlington to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 22 Jan; 3 Feb 1685/6, NLI MS 36, ff.577-8.

travellers. Burlington was convinced by Jeremy Hall, who was tutor to Lionel's brother, Charles, 'that all things are now so quiet at Paris for Strangers who are of Our Religion'. As Colladon waited for a couple of months on his travel pass from the French court, Lionel spent time in a city where 'every day they have prayers for the English' at the chapel of the ambassador, Sir William Trumbull.¹⁰⁴⁷ Amid 'apprehensions of Mr. Colladons beeing stop't on the Frontiers', Burlington thought that the Swiss tutor 'ought to bee very carefull how hee engages into this Journey [out of France] if his passage thorow it bee at all hazardous' and Hall worried that he was 'not at all inclynable to charge himselfe with the care and conduct of My Lord of Orrery if any thing should happen to Mr. Colladon'. Ultimately, Colladon's aristocratic Genevan contacts and the Boyles' influence over Trumbull allowed the party to reach Utrecht by coach in June 1686, where we will briefly leave them.¹⁰⁴⁸ Fleeing the Loire valley for a Dutch institution, Orrery was in step with many foreign students who recognised deteriorating conditions in the French Protestant academies.¹⁰⁴⁹

In a letter to Sir Robert Southwell, similarly written in early 1686, John Perceval captured the immediate educational concerns arising from the persecution of Huguenots and the possibility of international war. Southwell was in two minds about the planned 'improvement' of his son Edward, then fourteen. Oxford was taken for granted but Sir Robert was 'in doubt whether [Edward] should first travel or first stick to the law', his plans probably still jolted by the death of his English-resident eldest son, Rupert, in 1678. Sir Robert took advice from Henri Justel, the well-connected Huguenot royal librarian who warned Southwell of the Saumur academy's demise.¹⁰⁵⁰ But we might not expect to read

¹⁰⁴⁷ Burlington to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 3 Feb 1685/6; Germain Colladon to dowager countess, Paris, [c.23-30 Apr 1686], NLI MS 36, ff.578, 582; Ruth Clark, *Sir William Trumbull in Paris, 1685-1686* (Cambridge, 1938), p.130.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Burlington to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 22 Jan; 3 Feb 1685/6, NLI MS 36, ff.577-8.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Pittion, 'Académies réformées', p.204.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Henri Justel to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 27 Oct 1684, Archives Municipales de Reims, Collection Tarbé, Carton XV, 53; Justel to Southwell, London, 19 Jan 1685, BL Add MS 2127, letter 24: 'Nous avons perdu l'Academie de Saumur'.

Perceval, who had not travelled beyond England, writing from Dublin with input. He may, however, reflect more widely-held Irish attitudes. ‘As for travel, especially in France, where the recourse out of England was most usual,’ Perceval observed that ‘that King has made it more impracticable and unsafe than formerly’. Other countries were either ‘too remote or are not of that consideration as sufficiently to exercise the thoughts and observation of a traveller’ in his youth. Perceval feared that it might not be ‘advisable to send an only son to seek dangers abroad’, instead suggesting ‘the travelling over England’ as a safer alternative for Edward.¹⁰⁵¹ The change that the 1685 Revocation wrought in Perceval is clear. In 1678, he had been glad to see that his brother, Sir Philip, had ‘chang’d ye jealous suspicions of Italy for ye more familiar freedom of France ... a Country where much freedom is permitted, tho he ought butt cautiously to use it.’ Even then, though, Perceval was ready to turn against France. Hearing of French sympathy for English Catholic clergy in the first months of the Popish Plot, and with most of his family in the French capital, he had hoped that ‘they may not react that bloody Massacre Paris was once guilty of.’¹⁰⁵² By 1686, Perceval, like Burlington, represented wider anxieties that briefly turned Irish Protestant educational travellers, especially privileged eldest sons, away from France.

Charles Butler and Maximilien Misson provide the most striking, if sometimes the most opaque, example of the ways in which the 1685 Revocation complicated attendance at French academies. Historians usually consider Butler’s continental experiences only as far as they are attested by Misson’s popular published account or, in fewer studies, by the manuscript notebooks kept by his companion, Waring.¹⁰⁵³ Both sources document a fleeting and itinerant voyage from London, through the United Provinces and Germany to Italy, in 1687-8. As such, they imply that Charles Butler was an unusual case, a wealthy aristocrat who did not

¹⁰⁵¹ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Dublin, 2 Feb 1685/6, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.178.

¹⁰⁵² John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Oxford], 10 Nov 1678, BL Add MS 46952, f.218: the letter is misplaced, the date evidently misread as 1675.

¹⁰⁵³ Craig Spence, ‘Misson, Francis Maximilian (c.1650-1722)’, *DNB*; Éamonn Ó Ciardha, ‘Butler, Charles (1671-1758)’, *DIB*; Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, pp.235-65; idem, *Grand figure*, pp.167, 177, 315-8.

pass a period of ‘settlement’ in an academy before more peripatetic travels. Beyond the ‘Epistle Dedicatory’, traces of Butler are scarce in Misson’s account. Waring’s notebooks do not mention any period of stationary instruction from 19 July 1687, the day that he, Butler and Misson left London together.¹⁰⁵⁴

Material in the Bibliothèque Municipale de Poitiers suggests that Butler’s travel was intended to be much more conventional.¹⁰⁵⁵ Writing from Paris to a French acquaintance in February 1686, eighteen months before they set off on a more documented voyage, Misson explained that he was in the French capital with Charles Butler, an impressive young man from among ‘the richest and noblest of England’. They were ‘boarders at the Academy’ with a carriage and four servants, though Misson does not mention which institution they had chosen. The party had clearly been at the Parisian academy since at least October 1685, and it was envisaged that they would stay for a year or eighteen months. After that, Misson continued, ‘we will make a tour of France, Italy, Germany, [and] Holland [and] then cross into England, so that our stay here and our travels ought to last about three years.’ These plans did not come to fruition, an alteration that we must ascribe to the royal persecution of Huguenots. Misson, his parents and his siblings were in London to be naturalised in April 1687 and most of the family had been in Great Yarmouth from November 1685, which they reached via a period in the Low Countries.¹⁰⁵⁶ We must presume that Butler left France with Misson. If they shared the anxieties of Burlington and Perceval, this would have been in the early months of 1686. There is no suggestion that Butler shared the abortive period in Paris with Waring, who was then still at Trinity College, Dublin.¹⁰⁵⁷

¹⁰⁵⁴ PRONI D695/228, f.134.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Bibliothèque Municipale de Poitiers, MSS Fronteneau, iv, ff.365-413. The French-language correspondence is quoted extensively in Eric Roland Briggs, ‘Une correspondance inédite: Misson, Beausobre et un nouveau converti’ in Zuber and Theis (eds.), *Révocation de l’Édit de Nantes*, pp.313-33. Translations are mine.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Briggs, ‘Correspondance inédite’, pp.316-7.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, p.247; PRONI D695/213.

The 1685 Revocation prevented Butler and Misson from undertaking their planned French travel and may even have convinced Ormond to recruit another trusted companion in Waring, who joined the pair on their return to the continent in mid-1687. Avoiding France, they landed in the United Provinces and reached Italy through Germany. There is no indication of why their second expedition was delayed until this date, though perhaps Misson's family obligations played some part. The disruption that accompanied Louis XIV's policies would certainly explain why Waring mentions no period at a 'place of settlement' in his detailed notebooks and, with greater consequences for the history of travel writing, why Misson's widely-read and reprinted account included only Dutch, German and Italian travel to the exclusion of any French experiences. It also explains the party's comparatively curtailed voyage, which belied the Butlers' vast means. Butler, Misson and Waring returned from the continent in early October 1688, just fourteen months after setting out.¹⁰⁵⁸

Many clearly did not share John Perceval's conviction that, amid war and persecution, young men should now stay at home. From the late 1680s, some travellers instead sought their 'place of settlement' in academy or university towns that bordered France. Arriving at Utrecht from Paris in June 1686, Lionel Boyle studied arithmetic and geography there until the following January. The young earl moved on, via a period of sightseeing, to Brussels, where, then aged fifteen, he paid for more extensive tuition in mathematics and geography over several months from April 1687.¹⁰⁵⁹ At Brussels, Boyle also began 'exercises', especially fencing and dancing, but the issue was a divisive one among his guardians and tutor. Burlington was concerned by the 'additionall expence', but Colladon pleaded that Lionel could not 'allwajes be at his books & learning exercises would prove a great advantage to him for several reasons', which he did not delineate.¹⁰⁶⁰ The many household

¹⁰⁵⁸ Misson, *New voyage* (1695), ii, p.304.

¹⁰⁵⁹ NLI MS 13215, ff.25-7; 33-7.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Burlington to dowager countess of Orrery, London, 17 Feb 1686/7; Germain Colladon to dowager countess, Brussels, 13 May 1687, NLI MS 36, ff.604, 617.

duties that attended riding and fencing would require the employment of a footman, a point on which Colladon insisted.¹⁰⁶¹ The tutor evidently succeeded, as Lionel began paying for fencing and dancing masters in July 1687, but Burlington and the dowager countess of Orrery remained preoccupied by expense.¹⁰⁶² Finding ‘that Brussels is a very chargeable place’, they asked Colladon to ‘name a place in which [he and Lionel] might live cheaper besides France & Holland’. The tutor could not ‘think of any other but’ his home city of ‘Geneva where there is all sorts of exercises’, reasonable accommodation in pensions, ‘good conversation & a free exercise of our Religion’.¹⁰⁶³ Once there, via a period of sightseeing along the Rhine, Lionel resumed his instruction in mathematics and fencing.¹⁰⁶⁴

Still avoiding French institutions, the young earl of Orrery moved into Italy. His guardians sent word that he should leave for Turin, since they ‘could not be suffered to pass this winter quietly’ in Geneva. Colladon warned that there was also ‘pretty dear living’ at Turin, worrying that ‘if we stay there MyLord growing in age as he does it is time for him to see companies but specially to go on with his exercises, which will be impossible if he does not make any considerable stay in one place.’ Mindful of such concerns, as well as those of religious practice, the dowager countess resolved that ‘it will not be good for you to stay long in any one place while you are in Italy’.¹⁰⁶⁵ Colladon and Boyle thus lodged temporarily in a public house in Turin, though over their eventual two months there Lionel paid for tuition in Italian and mathematics.¹⁰⁶⁶ He received no more instruction in the city, as ‘MyLord Orrery cannot enjoy the advantage of ye Academy except he gets into it, being a general order from ye Prince to admit no extern.’¹⁰⁶⁷ Histories of the Accademia Reale make no mention of

¹⁰⁶¹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Brussels, 25 Apr 1687, NLI MS 36, f.615.

¹⁰⁶² NLI MS 13215, f.33.

¹⁰⁶³ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Brussels, 20 May 1687, NLI MS 36, f.618.

¹⁰⁶⁴ NLI MS 13215, f.36.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Geneva, 7 Nov 1687; dowager countess to Colladon, [Sion], 23 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, ff.652, 659.

¹⁰⁶⁶ NLI MS 13215, f.42.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Turin, 29 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, f.661.

restricted entry, which cannot have made financial sense as Protestant travellers fled French institutions.¹⁰⁶⁸ Tuition was still available in Turin outside the academy, but Colladon deemed that ‘for dancing & fencing it would be useless for a matter of a month.’¹⁰⁶⁹ Moving again for a lengthy period in Rome, academy instruction was put on hold. No letters survive between the party’s departure from Turin and their return to Geneva six months later in September 1688, but masters are not mentioned in more comprehensive financial accounts.

Disruption to Orrery’s travels meant that he unconventionally continued his academy learning even as he turned towards home. Once more in Geneva, Lionel resumed tuition in mathematics, geography, ‘design’ (i.e. drawing) and riding.¹⁰⁷⁰ Other physical exercises, he found, were ‘impossible to be learnt here, since here is never a good Master except ye riding master’. Colladon agreed. Further exercises ‘would contribute much to his growing & make him fit to appear in companies’, but the tutor did not ‘know of any Academy he can be sent to, except Turin, Brussels or ye Hague; for ther’s no going into France, since all that are there doe flock hither’. Colladon reported that, in his long years abroad, Lionel had fallen victim to ‘a fancy called in England, as I suppose, home sickness’. But Boyle recognised that, after four years away, ‘I know none of my exercises yett’. If his guardians would agree to send him ‘to some Academy’, he ‘would stay willingly abroad as long as you will think fit for me, for to tell you ye plain truth I should be asshamed to return home without knowing my exercises.’¹⁰⁷¹ The link between continental travel and formal instruction was clear for a young man of Orrery’s social standing. In the event, Lionel remained in Geneva. He returned home over two months via Nuremburg and the cities of the United Provinces, cryptically leaving two crowns ‘to ye booke of ye Academy’ in Geneva in April 1689. Arriving in

¹⁰⁶⁸ Paola Bianchi, ‘In cerca del moderno. Studenti e viaggiatori inglesi a Torino nel Settecento’, *Rivista storica italiana*, 115:3 (2003), pp.1021-51.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Turin, 29 Nov 1687, NLI MS 36, f.661.

¹⁰⁷⁰ NLI MS 13215, ff.51-7.

¹⁰⁷¹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Geneva, 28 Jan 1689; Lionel Boyle to dowager countess, Geneva, 5 Feb 1688/9; Colladon to dowager countess, Geneva, 15 Feb 1689, NLI MS 36, ff.723, 724, 726.

London on 14 June, he reported to Burlington House the next morning.¹⁰⁷² After his removal from Blois, prompted by the persecution of Huguenots, Lionel had continued to pursue his 'academy improvements' at locations safely beyond France.

In the years after the Revocation, travellers avoided French institutions. Charles Petty was sent to the academy at The Hague in June 1687, a decision perhaps influenced by his father's educational links to Utrecht, Leiden and Amsterdam.¹⁰⁷³ Charles returned without academy improvements, however, 'not having his health', though Sir William claimed that his observations on the Low Countries 'answerd all the ends I apprehend in travell'. Charles's own justification of his return was more dismissive. Probably at the instigation of his father, he claimed to Edward Southwell that he had 'carefully considered wether in any Place I had seen I might learn any exercises of Riding, Fencing, Dancing, as also Mathematicks and Philosophy, with the Grosse notions of Trade, better than at London, or Informe myselfe better than there of every Crick and Corner of the Habitable World.' The London theatre and balls could not be bettered and Charles doubted 'wether I could be anywhere better fed or Taught than in Picadilly.'¹⁰⁷⁴ The transplantation of Foubert's Parisian academy had broadened options for Irish Protestants with links to London. With better health, however, Petty would still have attended the academy at The Hague, a place of plentiful masters for 'all sorts of Exercises'.¹⁰⁷⁵ Sir John Perceval and Francis Clerke similarly turned to the United Provinces for their 'place of settlement'. They spent 'the winter and some part of the Spring' of 1705/6 at Utrecht, devoted to 'studies that were of use in their Travels such as fortification, drawing &c not forgetting musick and fencing'.¹⁰⁷⁶ Perceval certainly felt that this Dutch instruction had enabled he and Clerke to travel well.

¹⁰⁷² NLI MS 13215, ff.57-61.

¹⁰⁷³ McCormick, *Petty*, pp.28-35.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Sir William Petty to Sir Robert Southwell, Piccadilly, 4 Jun; 16 Aug; 6 Sep 1687; Charles Petty to Edward Southwell, London, 18 Oct 1687, *Petty-Southwell correspondence*, pp.271, 282, 284, 303.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Misson, *New voyage* (1695), i, p.12.

¹⁰⁷⁶ BL Add MS 47072, f.21.

Even for those who eventually returned to France, the Huguenot towns of the Loire and the Rhône failed to regain their status as educational centres. French historians chart the demise of Saumur, which was abandoned by its tutors, printers and booksellers after 1685.¹⁰⁷⁷ Within Irish Protestant experience, this long-term trend was more widespread. In 1725, Sir John Perceval ‘determined to pass the Winter at Blois’, where Lionel Boyle had studied in 1685, but found ‘no manner of accomodation there, nor any Company agreeable’, nor ‘Masters for my Children’. The family returned to Paris, ‘the only place in France where English folks, at least of our turn, can spend 6 months with comfort’. In the capital, Perceval easily found masters for ‘French, Drawing, and Musick’, tuition that would afford his children ‘a Considerable Improvement in all those Respects.’¹⁰⁷⁸ Provincial French academy towns had clearly lost much of their attraction, but Perceval kept up to date with ‘the things which youths are ... instructed in’ at Geneva ‘& ye Expences of Education there’ in 1721.¹⁰⁷⁹ It is worth emphasising, though, that this abandonment of French institutions, especially those of the Loire valley, was neither comprehensive nor permanent among English-speaking travellers before 1789.¹⁰⁸⁰

Academies like Turin, Geneva and eventually Lunéville, in the duchy of Lorraine, replaced those inside France in the affections of some educational travellers. They were not too far from the old centres of ‘academy improvement’ and were still dominated by French cultural norms. Many joined Sir Philip Perceval in remarking, for instance, that the court at Turin ‘live after the french way as much as possibly they can’, drawing comparisons with other Italian dukedoms.¹⁰⁸¹ In 1661, Robert Southwell had claimed that Turin, a ‘compendium’ of the Parisian court, and Milan, which followed Madrid, allowed the traveller

¹⁰⁷⁷ Chevalier, ‘1685’, p.161; Pittion, ‘Académies réformées’, pp.204-5; Joseph Prost, *La philosophie à l’académie protestante de Saumur (1606-1685)* (Paris, 1907), pp.136-7.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 30 Oct; 1 Dec 1725, BL Add MS 47031, ff.24, 39.

¹⁰⁷⁹ ‘Extract of a letter from Geneva’: BL Add MS 47127, f.142.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, pp.39-41.

¹⁰⁸¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Turin, 20/30 Jan 1677/8, BL Add MS 46955A, f.25.

to see ‘in a short while the true difference between Don and Monsieur’.¹⁰⁸² Academies outside France may even have used their cultural similarity to the old educational destinations to draw away custom. Misson noted in his 1714 edition, expanding upon points made in 1695, that ‘The late Revolution in *France*’, the 1685 Revocation, ‘has been prejudicial to *Geneva*, in lessening the Number of young Gentlemen of the Protestant Religion, who came from that Country, to perform their Studies in this Academy. But to recompence that Loss, those of *Geneva* have taken care to draw other Strangers hither, by establishing Masters of all Exercises that young Gentlemen are us’d to perform.’ Consequently, ‘There are many of the Protestant Countries, as, *Germany, Swedeland, Denmark, &c.* who for Religion’s Sake chuse rather to go to *Geneva* (where they may speak *French*) than to *France*.’¹⁰⁸³ Certainly, resort to Geneva probably built on old Protestant certainties for families like the Boyles, who had a history of travel to the ‘Calvinist Rome’, but the opportunity to imbibe French language and culture in a safer environment was equally attractive. For educators in Geneva and elsewhere, there was an obvious incentive to draw business from the French academies. Travellers were a ‘walking mint’.¹⁰⁸⁴

One further aspect of these newer academies deserves brief exploration, as relating to the ends of educational travel undertaken by wealthy eldest sons. Where the provincial French seats of learning, outside Paris, had only prepared travellers for ‘improving company’, academies in Turin, Geneva and Lunéville institutionalised access to the political and social ‘beau monde’, whether at the ducal courts of Savoy and Lorraine or among Genevan high society. Misson further explains the popularity of Geneva with reference to the city’s ‘certain Families of Distinction, which are as it were so many *Rendezvouses* ... where choice Persons,

¹⁰⁸² Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Turin, 22 Aug 1661, Gal. 161/169: ‘la Corte ... e un compendio di quella de Parigi’, ‘Milano ... è un modello anche di Madrid, se vede in pauco tempo la vera differenza frà Don e Monsù’.

¹⁰⁸³ Misson, *New voyage to Italy* (London, 1714), iv, p.422-3.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Langford, *Englishness identified*, p.24.

Men of Learning, Travellers, and Ladies, &c. resort.’¹⁰⁸⁵ This access was made spatially manifest in Turin, where Lionel Boyle and Coote Molesworth had hoped to learn, and Lunéville, where the younger Edward Southwell spent three months in mid-1725. The Accademia Reale in Turin, a riding school that also offered fencing, dancing, mathematics and geography, was situated from the late 1670s at the heart of courtly life in the Piazza Castello, ‘the largest square of the city surrounded by the chief ducal residences and the principal government agencies’, as well as shops and a theatre.¹⁰⁸⁶ Students were ensured contact with courtly, aristocratic and diplomatic circles, to which boarding at the academy offered an entrée.¹⁰⁸⁷

The duke of Lorraine’s academy focused on military exercises but held similar advantages. The institution moved in 1721 from Nancy to the new ducal château at Lunéville, where one wing was rented by foreign students and the other given over to courtiers.¹⁰⁸⁸ The attendant costs of fine clothing and gambling took their toll on some visitors.¹⁰⁸⁹ The two Edward Southwells, father and son, visited Lunéville in September 1723, when the younger man recorded the English-speaking nobility and their governors, including one Irishman, as those who were ‘there at present of the Kings Subjects’. He also noted ‘Mr Ohara of Ireland’ among the duke’s pages.¹⁰⁹⁰ Perhaps this visit represented a fatherly check on the suitability of the academy, as the younger Edward returned unaccompanied to Lunéville from May to August 1725. Upon his arrival, Southwell, like other young visitors, was presented to the court and dined with the duke.¹⁰⁹¹ He soon compiled a ‘Liste of the Academists’, in which English, Scottish and Irish names supplement French and German nobility. Southwell and

¹⁰⁸⁵ Misson, *New voyage* (1714), iv, p.415.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Martha D. Pollak, *Turin, 1564-1680: urban design, military culture, and the creation of the absolutist capital* (Chicago and London, 1991), p.234; Robert Oresko, ‘The Duchy of Savoy and the Kingdom of Sardinia: The Sabaudian court 1563-c.1750’ in Adamson (ed.), *Princely courts*, p.243.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Bianchi, ‘In cerca del moderno’.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Edmond Delonne, *Lunéville et son arrondissement* (Marseilles, 1977), pp.18, 22, 23.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Black, *British abroad*, p.99.

¹⁰⁹⁰ BL Add MS 34753, f.7.

¹⁰⁹¹ Black, *France and the Grand Tour*, pp.46, 142.

other students greeted visiting royalty and ambassadors, dined with dignitaries and attended comedies, balls and other court events.¹⁰⁹² For Robert Southwell, Sir Philip Perceval and Lionel Boyle, this kind of access had relied on letters of introduction and the connections of their tutor, but academies at Turin and Lunéville had institutionalised this central tenet of ‘improving’ travel by the early eighteenth century.

Servants

Servants, too, gathered the improvements of foreign travel either through gradual assimilation or more direct tuition. As usual, the majority of evidence for their experiences survives in the papers of the Perceval family, who maintained two travelling households in France and Italy in the late 1670s. There is little evidence, for instance, of the activities of ‘Mr. Carty’, the Irish valet who waited on Lionel Boyle in the academy towns of Blois, Utrecht, Brussels, Turin and Geneva.¹⁰⁹³ Lady Katherine Perceval’s housekeeper, Deborah Fowler, was content to allow the intellectual improvements available abroad to reach her gradually, hoping that regular attendance at Huguenot preaching in Saumur would help her and other household staff to understand French ‘in good time’.¹⁰⁹⁴ Other servants were more proactive, relying on the availability of teaching in centres like the Loire valley. Despite his excessive drinking and his partiality to watching tennis, Sir Philip Perceval’s servant, Thomas, received regular tuition over their long months in Angers. In late 1676, Perceval twice spent six livres on ‘Thomas’s language mr. writting &c’, a monthly rate, and provided ‘pens paper and inck for him’.¹⁰⁹⁵ Thomas’s language master presumably taught him French. Predictably, though, his tuition costs were much lower than those of his employer. Gailhard’s ‘&c’ obscures quite how much teaching the servant received, but the fee of six livres equates to Sir Philip’s costs

¹⁰⁹² BNF MS Anglais 194, ff.22-34v.

¹⁰⁹³ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Brussels, 25 Apr 1687; Geneva, 28 Jan 1689, NLI MS 36, ff.615, 723.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Deborah Fowler to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 2 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.198.

¹⁰⁹⁵ BL Add MS 46953, ff.220-220v.

for language instruction alone, by no means his highest expense alongside dancing, fencing, guitar and flute tuition. Thomas also received more practical instruction, as accounts record five sols paid to the Angers barber who taught him to shave, presumably to save on future costs. Nevertheless, Thomas was at a higher academic level than Perceval's French servant, Le Brett, who was taken on in Angers.¹⁰⁹⁶ Gailhard soon wrote that, 'in consideration of the diligence of his new servant who has expressed a desire of learning to read and writt', Sir Philip 'hath been pleased to be att the charges of it'.¹⁰⁹⁷ These costs also appeared in travelling expenses, though only one master was paid three sols a month in Angers for more elementary instruction.¹⁰⁹⁸ For servants as well as wealthy employers, academy towns provided opportunities for formal instruction. Perhaps not all masters, however, were as generous as Perceval, who had, according to Thomas, 'resolved to spend and to live high' in Angers. Less indulgent of drinking bouts, Lady Katherine decided that 'poor Tom' was 'a very helples youth to him selfe and others' but postponed further improvement until their return from France. In England, 'a discreet M[aste]r would be of greate advantage to him'.¹⁰⁹⁹

Tuition for girls

We can draw on a vast body of work to explore young men's learning at academies but comparatively little has been written on women's experiences of travel, let alone on their educational aspects. Dolan's study, which deals with the mid-to-late eighteenth century, is one exception but focuses on a vague 'association between travelling and self-improvement', reliant on the general broadening of minds, and contains little on the daily experience of foreign tuition.¹¹⁰⁰ This addition, as with eldest sons, would lend some tangibility to the accomplishments expected of the well-travelled but, even at Dolan's later period, its omission

¹⁰⁹⁶ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-148v.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 14/24 Jan 1676/7, BL Add MS 46954A, f.13.

¹⁰⁹⁸ BL Add MS 46953, ff.220-220v.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 13/23 Nov 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.176.

¹¹⁰⁰ Dolan, *Ladies*, p.16.

reflects contemporary conditions. Few girls travelled at an age appropriate for formal instruction. As in our Irish-resident examples, female voyages usually occurred at a later stage, whether as diplomatic wives or in the pursuit of health. Foreign travel by girls was never positively theorised in our period, though contemporaries would have held them doubly vulnerable on account of their age and gender. When girls did travel, the absence of separate learning provision left them to use networks already familiar to male relatives and acquaintances. Here the example of Kate and Helena Perceval, daughters of Lady Katherine, is illustrative.

Kate Perceval arrived in France with her mother and a travelling household at the age of fifteen and returned home just after her seventeenth birthday. She was not brought abroad specifically for her educational ‘improvement’ but to accompany her ailing mother, whose correspondence and financial accounts she helped to keep. Sir Robert Southwell may have written to his sister, Lady Katherine Perceval, that, alongside the improvement to her health and that of her daughters hoped for in ‘a much better sort of aire’, the journey to France might secondarily tend, for Kate and Helena, towards ‘the improvement of their education’.¹¹⁰¹ Once Lady Katherine left Kinsale, however, the tuition that Kate received was designed rather to ensure that she did not stall in her educational progress by going into France. She and her younger sister Helena (‘Nell’, twelve in 1677) had been raised in Kinsale, where they had ‘their french perfect both in reading & discourse’, but months before travelling to France, Lady Katherine thought to send ‘Kate for Engl[an]d to School she wanting cariage & musick’.¹¹⁰² Had it not been for the medical advice that prompted her mother’s travel abroad, Kate would probably have stayed in London, but the instruction that she received abroad, mainly in Saumur, was still dominated by ‘cariage & musick’. Kate’s

¹¹⁰¹ Sir Robert Southwell to Lady Katherine Perceval, Spring Gardens, 19 May 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.167.

¹¹⁰² Robert Southwell (elder) to John Perceval, Kinsale, 2 Feb 1674/5; 18 Feb 1675/6; Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Philip Perceval, Kinsale, 10 Apr 1677, BL Add MSS 46952, f.35; 46953, f.26v; 46954A, f.105.

tutorial options were provided by the networks that her brother, Sir Philip, had first used in his own French education. Soon after her arrival at Saumur, Lady Katherine took on Anne Le Fevre ‘by my sons & Mr Rasagads advice’, making a proposal to her of bringing up my Girle’. A ‘Gentlewoman that will be a great advantage to Keats education’, Le Fevre was ‘a protestant & of a very good famely’ and assisted the Percevals ‘in all things’. Lady Katherine was particularly impressed that Anne had refused ‘a considerable advantage of being Governes to some of ye King of frances Children wch. was offerd her on condition that she would have changed her religeon’.¹¹⁰³ She was likely a relation of Tanneguy Le Fevre, a prominent recent figure in the Saumur Protestant academy.¹¹⁰⁴ There was significant overlap in the town between the higher reaches of Huguenot society, amongst which the Percevals moved, and the body of teachers and administrators at the academy.¹¹⁰⁵

The concentration of expertise in Saumur made sure that Kate did not miss out on her London fashioning. She had ‘three masters the one of them teaches her to dance the other to play uppon the Guitar, and the third to speak french’. This tuition, her brother was sure, would make her ‘a very fine wooman’. From Rome, Sir Philip was proud to hear that Kate ‘learns everything so well and so fast’ in Saumur.¹¹⁰⁶ Like her brother and other young Irish-resident men, Kate’s foreign instruction would improve her marriageability at home. The same was true of Helena’s parallel instruction in London, where she learned from dancing, guitar and singing masters over four months before joining her family in France.¹¹⁰⁷ The availability of good tutors was an on-going issue for the predominantly female household. Kate deemed the town of Richelieu ‘the finest place that I ever yett saw’, regretting that ‘the

¹¹⁰³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 19/29 Oct 1677; Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 21/31 Aug 1678, BL Add MSS 46954B, f.165; 46955B, f.80.

¹¹⁰⁴ Emmanuel Bury, ‘Tanneguy Le Fevre, professeur de grec a l’académie de Saumur’ in *Saumur, capitale européenne*, pp.79-89.

¹¹⁰⁵ Pittion, ‘Académies réformées’, p.194.

¹¹⁰⁶ Sir Philip Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 3/13 Nov 1677; Perceval to Lady Katherine Perceval, Rome, 5/15 Jun 1678, BL Add MSS 46954B, f.199; 46955B, f.2.

¹¹⁰⁷ Financial accounts of Helena Perceval, 18 Sep 1677-25 Mar 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.94-94v.

place is but poore & [has] but few inhabitants and butt small advantages for education else this had bin the proper place for my Mother & my sister & me'.¹¹⁰⁸ Richelieu had boasted a royal academy during the lifetime of the eponymous cardinal but terminal decline set in with his death, evidently to the point of disappearance.¹¹⁰⁹ From the village of Terfort, however, the journey to the learning of Saumur was short. A sickly Lady Katherine went into town 'twice a weeke to carry Keate to her dancing'.¹¹¹⁰

The availability of tuition remained a priority when thoughts turned to leaving the Loire valley. On the advice of De Brais and Locke, Lady Katherine considered spending the winter of 1678/9 at Montpellier, there to await Sir Philip's return from Italy.¹¹¹¹ This plan was rejected, though, on account of Kate and Helena, as it would 'not any way forward their education'. Lady Katherine could 'gett no breeding for them at Montpelier', but 'would be loath to carry them back [home] wth me till thay had what were nessery for them to enable them to come into the best company'.¹¹¹² Her design was more easily fulfilled in Paris than on the Mediterranean coast and, reunited with their elder brother, her daughters began tuition in the capital. Less evidence survives here, but they shared Sir Philip's dancing master.¹¹¹³ Perhaps a comparative lack of provision meant that Kate and Helena learned more in English-speaking company. The wife of the governor of Jamaica encouraged the sisters, though beginners, to dance at gatherings. Lady Katherine worried that her eventual departure from Paris would remove Helena too 'soon from what I designed to have her Learne here'.¹¹¹⁴ Returning to London, the sisters continued their education in 'musick & dancing' alongside an introduction to adult society that left it, on the advice of Southwell's wife Elizabeth,

¹¹⁰⁸ Kate Perceval to Helena Southwell, Richelieu, 11/21 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.35.

¹¹⁰⁹ Chartier, 'Stratégies éducatives', pp.184-5.

¹¹¹⁰ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Terfort?], 20 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.44v.

¹¹¹¹ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Terfort?], [7/17 Sep 1678], BL Add MS 46955B, f.105v: 'I think his name is Lock he perswaded me to go to Montpelier also and gave me a letter and severall directions wch may well enable me to settle my selfe'; for Locke's links to Montpellier, see Lough (ed.), *Locke's travels*, pp.16-67, 88-124.

¹¹¹² Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 28 Sep/8 Oct 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.128.

¹¹¹³ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v.

¹¹¹⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 17/27 Jan 1678/9, BL Add MS 46956A, f.17v.

‘requisite to keep them decently in Cloaths’.¹¹¹⁵ The Perceval girls were clearly expected to return with impressive social accomplishments, as were young Irish Protestant men.

Tuition received by girls in France was as yet less theorised than the instruction of male relations. Underdevelopment led to practical complications. In Paris, Lady Katherine Perceval met ‘wth a good genteele person to be with my Girles butt she is a Catholick’. Searching for a replacement for Anne Le Fevre, whom she had found easily in Huguenot Saumur, she could ‘neither gett one that is a protestant nor be without one’.¹¹¹⁶ In later generations, the process was easier. Sir John Perceval found a range of instruction for his family in Paris, for which they had left Blois. Familiarly, the children were brought on a journey primarily intended to set their mother in ‘a good state of health’.¹¹¹⁷ Travel secondarily offered opportunities for their instruction. Perceval’s son Johnny and daughters Kitty and Helena were taught by masters in the French capital between October 1725 and May 1726, though their tuition ceased on a more mobile period in the United Provinces before home.¹¹¹⁸ The children understood the purposes of their instruction, in which formal tuition was complemented by trips to the theatre, churches and ‘a couple of Palaces’.¹¹¹⁹ Before leaving for France, twelve-year-old Kitty told her brother Johnny, a year older, that if he were to ‘come into the World a fine Gentleman’ he ought to ‘understand well every thing that a Gentleman ought to know’. Johnny, in turn, hoped that Kitty would grow ‘in all kind of perfections belonging to her Sex’ but warned her that she should ‘begin to have a little more Regard to your behaviour than was necessary before’.¹¹²⁰ Parental influence presumably lay behind these letters. The instruction afforded to two generations of Perceval boys and girls in

¹¹¹⁵ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 29 Nov 1679, BL Add MS 46956B, f.96v.

¹¹¹⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 17/27 Jan 1678/9, BL Add MS 46956A, ff.17-17v.

¹¹¹⁷ Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, Mount Ussher near Wicklow, 4 Aug 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.201.

¹¹¹⁸ Their sickly younger brother George remained at home and died before George Berkeley could bring him to his academy in Bermuda: Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, London, 17 May 1726; James Douglas to Perceval, [London], 13 Jun 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.172v, 184.

¹¹¹⁹ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 3 Feb 1725/6; 4 May 1726; Antwerp, 25 May 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.97v, 163, 179.

¹¹²⁰ Kitty Perceval to Johnny Perceval, 25 Feb 1724/5 and Johnny to Kitty, Feb 1724/5, BL Add MS 47030, ff.137v, 138v.

the late 1670s and the mid-1720s met the same loose end, serving as preparation for coming into good company. The few English-speaking young women who sought instruction in France, especially early in our period, were left to exploit tutorial networks more familiar to male educational travellers.

Younger brothers

If the Perceval girls were rare, at least in the 1670s, the younger sons of wealthy Irish-resident families more often underwent continental educational ‘improvements’, even if their experiences received less attention than those of their elder brothers in printed treatises on travel. John Perceval’s potential attendance at a French academy was discussed, and eventually rejected, in terms now familiar from our consideration of his sisters, Kate and Helena. Lady Katherine felt the benefits of French air, a cure that her eldest son observed was often a doctor’s ‘last remedy’.¹¹²¹ With this in mind, she proposed in April 1678 that her third son, John, leave Oxford for the Loire valley in the hope of curing long-term eye complaints.¹¹²² Aware of her declining health, she may also have been gathering her children. About the same time, Lady Katherine summoned her youngest daughter from London and sought to remove potentially embarrassing papers from her cabinet at home.¹¹²³ But bringing John to France would require the persuasion of his uncle Southwell, as it would divert from the educational programme that Sir Robert had laid out for his youngest nephew.

For John Perceval, as for his sisters, continental tuition would make sure that he did not deviate from his prior course of education, rather than adding the distinctive ‘parts’ more crucial to their elder brother’s formation. Lady Katherine’s friendship with Etienne de Brais

¹¹²¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 22 Jul/1 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.25.

¹¹²² Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 1 Jun 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 12 Jun 1677; Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 30 Oct 1677; John Perceval to Southwell, Kinsale, 1 Aug 1679, BL Add MSS 46954A, ff.203v, 256; 46954B, f.190v; 46956B, f.1.

¹¹²³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Saumur, 25 Mar/4 Apr 1678; Perceval to Helena Southwell, Terfort, 18/28 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, ff.92, 121.

provided her with arguments in favour of John's continental tuition.¹¹²⁴ At Saumur, there was 'a brave Academy & many advantages for the education of Youth soe that [John] would [lose] noe time while he received the advantages of the Ayre', after which he could return to the law in England. Moreover, Sir Philip had told her that 'he desired much to have [John] spend A Yeare in France'.¹¹²⁵ Nothing came of Lady Katherine's request for five months, by which time she was considering wintering at Montpellier. De Brais persuaded her not to undertake 'so greate a Journy without one of my Sons with me nor to settle at Montpellier without one of them haveing no one fitt to send to church or out of doors' with her daughters. The Huguenot minister had assured Lady Katherine that John would 'doutless be the better much for this travell since he will see so many remarkable places by ye way and yt this winter spent at Montp[ellier] will doe him much good to his health'.¹¹²⁶

For all his jealousy over his elder brother's continental voyage, John Perceval managed to write his way out of the experience. Travel was, as he had earlier asserted, 'an accomplishment butt onely fitt for elder Brothers'.¹¹²⁷ Sir Robert Southwell, too, was 'much surprizd with the proposal [Lady Katherine] makes, which amounts to noe less than throwing by all your studys, and going to her over into ffrance.' He suspected that it had been 'promoted by Monsr de Bray, who like all other airy Frenchmen, thinks nothing is soe valuable as the seeing of their Country, and spending their money in it.'¹¹²⁸ John agreed with his uncle, worrying that 'if Mr Du Bray or his freind be onely an outward Man discoursing well & ye like & not a sound generall scollar, & one fitt to improove me in those parts of learning wch I want', study in Saumur or Montpellier would leave him 'as ignorant att my return as when I leave this place'. He would 'become as superficial as either they or any of

¹¹²⁴ Haag, *France protestante*, ii, p.499; Chareyre, 'Protestants de Saumur', p.64.

¹¹²⁵ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Saumur, 3/13 Apr 1678, BL Add MS 46955A, f.110.

¹¹²⁶ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 25 Aug/ 4 Sep 1678; [7/17 Sep 1678], BL Add MS 46955B, ff.82-82v, 105v.

¹¹²⁷ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 23 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.125.

¹¹²⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Spring Gardens, 24 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.127.

theyr Nation seem to be.’ John’s education as a younger son was supposed to be more practical.¹¹²⁹ Without the preparations of his elder brother, he considered himself ‘a very unfitt person to take care of a family in another Countrey’ and determined that in order ‘That my goeing abroad might be advantageous for me, It would be necessary I should have ye direction & assistance of some man of greater experience in the world then my self’, though Southwell did not countenance the expense of a tutor.¹¹³⁰ John had clearly internalised his uncle’s conventional thoughts on educational travel. His Oxford tutor reinforced this, hoping that ‘my Lady could be prevaild upon to dispense with his journey’ because ‘it would be a great pity’ if ‘one so fitted by nature for his designed profession’ in the law ‘should not have all the advantages of education’.¹¹³¹ For John, these advantages lay in Oxford and London rather than France. Against such opposition, Lady Katherine realised that ‘Jacks studdy will not admitt of his coming to me’ and decided instead to meet her eldest son in Paris.¹¹³²

Lady Katherine Perceval and Etienne de Brais argued that attendance at an academy in Saumur or Montpellier would prevent John Perceval from losing track of the education laid out for him as a third son, but his non-attendance ultimately arose from his determination to stick to that legal course at home. Coote Molesworth made a similar argument in the 1720s, though his own enthusiasm for travel ensured success where Lady Katherine Perceval had failed. As a sixth son, Coote was subject to a similarly legal educational scheme. He complained that his father had ‘never consulted the Inclinations of his Children’.¹¹³³ Arguing

¹¹²⁹ Joan Thirsk, ‘Younger sons in the seventeenth century’, *History*, 54 (1969), pp.358-77; Patrick Wallis and Cliff Webb, ‘The education and training of gentry sons in early modern England’, *Social history*, 36:1 (Feb 2011), pp.36-53. In 1725, the same was still true for George Perceval, ‘who being a Younger Brother is to bustle in the World, and will not be entire Master of time, place, or Actions’: Sir John Perceval to Philip Perceval, London, 22 May 1725, BL Add MS 47030, f.144v.

¹¹³⁰ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Oxford, 29 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.129-129v.

¹¹³¹ Roger Altham to Sir Robert Southwell, Christ Church, Oxford, 9 Oct 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.141.

¹¹³² Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Terfort, 28 Sep/8 Oct 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.128v.

¹¹³³ Coote Molesworth to Robert Molesworth (father) [?], Will’s Coffee House, [c.1718], NLI Clements Papers, p.3753. The Clements Papers HMC report suggests that this letter was written in 1717, but Coote’s references to his time at Leiden mean that it must have been at least late 1718. Equally, the tone and complaints about ‘my Father’ seem odd if written to the man himself: HMC, *Report on manuscripts in various collections*, viii (London, 1913).

that he should follow his brother John on a diplomatic mission to Turin, Coote wisely approached his mother, who might use her ‘interest with my brother to procure me leave to accompany him’. John might in turn work on their father in favour of ‘a thing which would be of so great advantage to me’. Over eight pages, Coote raised and refuted objections. It was apparently his father’s design that he continue with the law and enter the Inns of Court, where he would have to do five or six hours of work a day, but Coote did not see ‘why I cannot read that quantum in Yorkshire, Holland, Turin, or any where as well as in Fleetstreet, provided I have the same Books, which I could carry with me’. He might attend civil law lectures at the academy in Turin, where he hoped that the family would also afford fencing, dancing and riding masters.¹¹³⁴ Coote met with mixed success. Rather than Turin, ‘he was sent to Geneva to perfect the French language, and learn the Genteel Exercises’ over six months.¹¹³⁵ As a sixth son, Coote’s course was remarkable under the gradated approach that Robert Molesworth otherwise took to the needs of his offspring.¹¹³⁶ Attendance at an academy or use of tutors allowed daughters, younger sons or interested relatives to suggest that continental travel would not represent wasted time, though this was clearly a prevalent opinion amongst their elders. For first-born sons, however, academies were integral to the improvements of travel and prominent in their educational plans.

Universities

Coote Molesworth reminds us that academies were not the only continental educational option for male travellers, whether elder or younger sons. His attendance at a Genevan academy fell between two more documented spells at the University of Leiden. Irish Protestant study at foreign universities deserves more detailed treatment than can be afforded here, especially considering the possible Presbyterian gravitation towards Dutch institutions

¹¹³⁴ Coote Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, [c.1720], NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

¹¹³⁵ Mayo, ‘Molesworth’s *Account*’, pp.219-20.

¹¹³⁶ On the strong ‘influence of birth order on education’, see Wallis and Webb, ‘Education and training’.

under the test but before the rise of Edinburgh and Glasgow.¹¹³⁷ For wealthy Church-of-Ireland families, at least, there was never a practical divide between sightseeing and situated learning. Thomas Molyneux visited Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Haarlem and Utrecht on his way to medical studies at Leiden, which he broke to visit the The Hague. Afterwards, he travelled through more of the Low Countries, parts of Germany and Paris with his brother William and Robert Stewart, the son of Lord Mountjoy.¹¹³⁸ For our immediate purposes, though, university attendance fits with the notion that travellers pursued regionalised forms of knowledge at the best respective locations. Gailhard grouped the renowned specialities of certain universities alongside the strengths of academies and other education institutions: ‘If a Traveller hath time and happens to be in a convenient place, as may be *Padoa*, *Montpellier*, or other, it would be in him a commendable curiosity to learn something in Physick, not to be a Doctor of, or to practise it, only to be able to understand the grounds of it.’ Similarly, a traveller would ‘do well when he is at *Orleans*, *Angers*, or any such places, where are publick Schools of the *Civil Law*, to get one of the Doctors, or Professors thereof, to read it to him’.¹¹³⁹ Seats of learning recognised their power of attraction. De Ridder-Symoens’s ‘tourist universities’ drew closer to French-style academies, offering short but prestigious stays to wealthy educational travellers.¹¹⁴⁰

Gailhard’s theorising pertained, as usual, to the kind of voyage typically undertaken by privileged eldest sons. For those of more modest backgrounds or for younger sons within wealthy families, a longer period at a continental university might serve not to add a veneer of conversable knowledge but to forge a career. Thomas Molyneux and Coote Molesworth studied medicine at Leiden very much intending ‘to practise it’. Molyneux returned to Ireland and began his career as a doctor, as did many others of a similar Irish residential and Dutch

¹¹³⁷ Whan, ‘Presbyterians in Ulster’, pp.190-9; McBride, *Eighteenth-century Ireland*, pp.17-18.

¹¹³⁸ *DUM* (Sep 1841), p.327; (Oct 1841), pp.471, 486; (Nov 1841), p.606; J.G. Simms, *William Molyneux of Dublin, 1656-1698* (Dublin, 1982), pp.47-57.

¹¹³⁹ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.56-7.

¹¹⁴⁰ De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’, p.428.

(or Parisian) educational background.¹¹⁴¹ It is less clear that Molesworth practised in Ireland, but a family acquaintance in Antigua assured Coote's brother, Richard, that he had 'made the best Inquirey in the severll Islands, whether it might be worth dokter molesworths while to come and practise as physitian in them'. Andrew Doyle could give Coote 'very litle Incouragement' because there were 'so many Scotch and Ireish dockters' in the West Indies.¹¹⁴² Many of these Irish doctors probably shared the same Dutch educational background as Molesworth, though presumably not all of them his Anglican religious grounding. Though the study of medicine at Leiden, in particular, was common among Protestant settler families, the Irish student body there and elsewhere was confessionally diverse.¹¹⁴³ If families could afford the cost of travel and lengthy foreign training, 'medicine was the one respectable lay career open to Catholics.'¹¹⁴⁴ Further study of these educational communities would provide a counterpoint to the overwhelmingly Protestant nature of the English-speaking student bodies at centres of 'academy improvements'.

Parts 'usually learnt in Travell'

Academies were as often in Catholic territories like Paris, Turin and Lorraine as Protestant strongholds like Saumur and Geneva. Observing the Catholic, Lutheran and Calvinist attendance at French institutions, Chartier writes that the confessional divide did not exist there.¹¹⁴⁵ This did not translate into diverse Irish attendance. If even the Boyles worried about the expenses involved in 'exercises', the realities of post-Cromwellian Ireland meant that Catholic families were unable to afford this particularly ostentatious form of continental

¹¹⁴¹ Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities', pp.170-1; Toby Barnard, *A new anatomy of Ireland: the Irish Protestants, 1649-1770* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp.132-4. Laurence Brockliss, 'Medicine, religion and social mobility in eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Ireland' in Fiona Clark and James Kelly (eds.), *Ireland and medicine in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries* (Farnham, 2010), p.106.

¹¹⁴² Andrew Doyle to Richard Molesworth, Antigua, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

¹¹⁴³ Gillespie, 'Contrasting communities', p.169; for a rough indication of confession through surnames, see Esther Mijers, 'Irish students in the Netherlands, 1650-1750', *Archivum Hibernicum*, 59 (2005), pp.66-78.

¹¹⁴⁴ Brockliss, 'Medicine', p.93; Toby Barnard, 'The wider cultures of eighteenth-century Irish doctors' in Clark and Kelly (eds.), *Ireland and medicine*, p.184.

¹¹⁴⁵ Chartier, 'Stratégies éducatives', p.182: 'le clivage confessionnel n'y existe pas.'

improvement. Wealthy young members of the Church of Ireland were alone as Irish-resident students at these elite institutions. A burgeoning body of scholarship establishes the network of religious colleges that, alongside some universities, instead represented the formal continental education available to young Catholic men. The ability to accrue social capital through shopping abroad ‘obviously depended on money’. ‘Since the system of legal and economic discrimination erected in the seventeenth century overwhelmingly favoured Protestants,’ Barnard finds that ‘it was they who were most likely to amass booty.’¹¹⁴⁶ Members of the nascent Protestant Ascendancy were also the most likely to amass the less tangible but no less expensive ‘parts’ on offer at continental academies. It surpasses the depth of our Irish sources to ask whether this learning translated into social prestige at home through changed behaviour or the aura of conspicuous attendance. Either way, if travel played an under-studied role in the spread of ‘civility’ and ‘politeness’ into Ireland, exclusive Church-of-Ireland access to academies suggests that these concepts helped that community to add a new gloss to the social exclusion of Catholics, nonconformists and poorer Anglicans.¹¹⁴⁷ More broadly, attendance involved the few, alongside English and Scottish fellow travellers, in a transnational academy movement that favoured common behavioural reference points in meetings with hosts from the continental ‘beau monde’.¹¹⁴⁸

The equation of travelling improvements with attendance at foreign academies flows from the heavy theorisation enjoyed by the educational voyages of eldest sons, so it does not always fit with the parallel experiences of sisters, younger brothers or servants. We can still observe, however, that travellers of varying age, gender and social standing were expected to return home with ‘accomplishments’ acquired abroad, and that those accomplishments were associated with particular locations renowned for certain kinds of learning. As ever,

¹¹⁴⁶ Toby Barnard, *A guide to sources for the history of material culture in Ireland, 1500-2000* (Dublin, 2005), p.70.

¹¹⁴⁷ Barnard, ‘Languages of politeness’, pp.193, 201.

¹¹⁴⁸ De Ridder-Symoens, ‘Mobility’, pp.432-3.

educational institutions served social as well as pedagogical functions. We are left to ponder the question posed by English contemporaries in printed diatribes, examined by Warneke, and more recently reformulated by Cohen. Why, given, the danger and expense of foreign travel, did families send their children abroad for instruction that they might, at least with access to London, have approximated closer to home?¹¹⁴⁹

The question may be too simplistic. Formal education was rarely the sole objective of continental voyages, sharing space with elements of sightseeing, networking, the acquisition of health and even temporary escape from political conditions at home. Conversely, travel undertaken ostensibly for other reasons might incorporate periods of tuition. Robert Southwell provides an example of the latter. He did not pause at a ‘place of settlement’ before travelling through France and Italy. His relatively advanced age (twenty-four in 1659) meant that such a stay, or the employment of a travelling tutor, would have been inappropriate. Moreover, a medical complaint ensured that the early months of his travel through Paris and the French provinces, where he might have found plentiful instruction, were taken up with surgery and convalescence. In Rome, Southwell ‘lodged over against a famous French Fencing Master, where all sorts of Strangers resorted’ but his injuries left him ‘sorry that he could not hold a Foil’. ‘Nerve oyl’ provided by the Tuscan grand duke seemed to have some effect on his muscle damage, though Southwell also claimed to owe ‘a very great obligation to the favorable clime of Italy.’ He soon went ‘to the Fencing Master to become his Schollar’ and ‘in ten days exercise the wound heald of it self’.¹¹⁵⁰ Like many other travellers, including girls and servants, he took advantage of opportunities for tuition where they arose.

If the question of why the wealthy travelled for education is difficult to approach on a scale beyond the individual, at least before the coalescence of a high eighteenth-century

¹¹⁴⁹ Warneke, *Educational traveller*; Cohen, ‘Grand Tour’.

¹¹⁵⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.11v-12; Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle (draft), Add MS 38015, f.23v.

Grand Tour, the value that foreign learning or ‘accomplishments’ were afforded by contemporaries is certainly worth consideration. Here we might bear in mind the tangibility of improvements implied by their description as collectable ‘parts’ that build a ‘complete gentleman’, returning to Gailhard’s equation of material souvenirs with the ‘fine things’ taught in particular places. The earl of Arlington demonstrates that foreign material acquisitions contributed to social prestige at home, especially when access to foreign markets was difficult.¹¹⁵¹ Conditions made the accrual of ‘academy improvements’ similarly exclusive: attendance demanded the youthful leisure time involved in a lengthy ‘settlement’, alien to the shorter adult trips that would grow in popularity among the eighteenth-century middling sort but were already familiar to busy administrators like the elder Edward Southwell; the financial costs of learning, from tutors to fencing foils, made the earl of Orrery’s guardians think twice; and the obstacle of distance made study at academies an undertaking. The social value of academy improvements derived, at least in part, from the difficulty of their acquisition. Equally, their prestige arose from the conviction, most clearly voiced by Gailhard, that certain locations were fonts of specific kinds of learning or behaviour. Though he had never been further than London in a life spent mostly in Kinsale, the elder Robert Southwell knew that Angers was the place for civil law. Academy improvements in the Loire valley led the Percevals’ Cork land agent, Philip Savage, to recognise that Sir Philip’s ‘travailes adde so fairly to his accomplishments’ in 1677.¹¹⁵² Almost fifty years later, ‘Young Ned Southwell ... returned from his travells very much improved, and is indeed a young man of as many good qualities as any’ Sir John Perceval had met.¹¹⁵³ It is time to discuss the material objects that travellers similarly brought home.

¹¹⁵¹ Helen Jacobsen, ‘Luxury consumption, cultural politics, and the career of the earl of Arlington, 1660-1685’, *Historical journal*, 52:2 (2009), pp.295-317.

¹¹⁵² Philip Savage to Sir Robert Southwell, 11 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.254.

¹¹⁵³ Sir John Perceval to ‘Br Percival’, Charlton, 21 Nov 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.210.

7. ‘To Shew I have been Travelling’

In letters to Viviani, Robert Southwell repeatedly describes the things that he has acquired in Italy as mere trifles (‘bagatelle’).¹¹⁵⁴ Where evidence survives, however, objects collected by travellers appear far from insignificant, as Southwell’s protracted arrangements for their conveyance home imply.¹¹⁵⁵ Textual accounts shared space with souvenirs, gifts and other acquired objects when travellers sought to memorialise, and later remember, their continental encounters. ‘Written diaries and journals’ are only ‘partial evidence of how these travellers chose to record their personal experiences abroad’.¹¹⁵⁶ This was especially true for natural-philosophical enthusiasts like Petty, Southwell, the Molyneuxs, Ashe and Berkeley, for whom object and text were mutually illustrative, even constitutive, in the wider pursuit of knowledge.¹¹⁵⁷ This combination extended to travellers’ idiosyncratic interests. Waring was fascinated by local pastimes, compiling an account of ‘the diversion I saw amongst ye: Common Sort of ye: Italian[s]’. Crossing the Apennines, he saw ‘severall of ye: young men throwing litle Cheeses, about ye. roundness of a litle wooden flatt boule’, a game that seemed ‘just ye: play of the Scotch long bullet’. In Venice and Rome, Waring observed local interpretations of bowls and in Florence he noted ‘the sort of a biliard table ... having all the parts [of] a fortification, with soldiers &c’. He regularly saw ‘The Baloon’ played with ‘a large ball ... ye: bigness of a football’. Waring explained games in terms familiar from home, but acquisition took over when description failed. In Rome, he confessed that ‘I can neither know theire cards nor theire way of playing with ym: I have purchased some of ym’.¹¹⁵⁸

¹¹⁵⁴ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 18 Jan 1661, Gal. 254/91; Rome, 19 Feb 1661, Gal. 161/158; Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/100.

¹¹⁵⁵ Vincenzo Viviani to ‘Arrigo Broune’, [Florence], 4 Aug 1661, Gal. 158/95.

¹¹⁵⁶ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.37.

¹¹⁵⁷ Jennifer Thomas, ‘Compiling “God’s great book [of] universal nature”: the Royal Society’s collecting strategies’, *Journal of the history of collections*, 23:1 (2011), pp.3, 6.

¹¹⁵⁸ PRONI D695/228, ff.22-3.

Any distinction between the two kinds of memorial, between Waring's handwritten notes and his puzzling playing cards, must be to some degree artificial. Keeping a journal or commonplace book was itself an exercise in collecting and ordering experiences, and travel accounts became objects for lending or inheritance at home.¹¹⁵⁹ Written accounts stood alongside 'various accumulations of books, manuscripts, engravings, coins, medals, and other curiosities', but the collecting practices of later generations have invariably separated textual from other material representations of travel.¹¹⁶⁰ Waring's Roman playing cards are untraceable, though several of his notebooks are institutionally preserved. Even where objects that were likely bought during travel survive, their removal from context makes it difficult to establish when and where they were acquired, or even by whom within well-travelled families. We are usually left to rely on textual sources for knowledge of a traveller's acquisitions.¹¹⁶¹ Formalised accounts, as carefully produced by the younger Edward Southwell and Sir John Perceval, rarely contain evidence of collection, perhaps in part because authors assumed the parallel display of objects. Traces of acquisitions are more common in letters home, financial records and less formal notebooks kept by Waring and Robert Southwell. This chapter enquires into the material representation of Irish Protestant travel through acquired objects, but continues to depend on familiar textual sources.

The explanatory power of objects, whether extraordinary or mundane, has been compellingly demonstrated to historians of Protestant Ireland.¹¹⁶² The same cannot always be said for work on early-modern travel. On the one hand, historians rely on formalised and heavily-edited contemporary accounts. Travel writing of this kind is most likely to be published, but least inclined to refer to everyday collection. On the other hand, scholars focus

¹¹⁵⁹ Marjorie Swann, *Curiosities and texts: the culture of collecting in early modern England* (Philadelphia, 2001), pp.27, 149.

¹¹⁶⁰ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, pp.37, 40, 47.

¹¹⁶¹ Brennan offers the English example of John Bargrave, whose collection survives largely intact: *Origins*, pp.42-6. Unfortunately he does not have an Irish Protestant equivalent.

¹¹⁶² Barnard, *Grand figure*; idem, *Guide to sources*; Gillespie, *Reading Ireland*.

on fine art to the detriment of ‘trifles’.¹¹⁶³ The purchase of great artworks is, of course, an important aspect of the cultural interactions fostered by travel and receives plenty of attention from art historians of the eighteenth-century Grand Tour, but the shade that it casts over the everyday acquisition of other objects is unfortunate. This is partially a question of chronology. Before the very last years of the seventeenth century, noble and genteel male travel ‘was still first and foremost an educational trip rather than a souvenir shopping spree for foreign artworks.’¹¹⁶⁴ This is a helpful qualification but we should still emphasise the role of objects, whether lavishly or inexpensively acquired, in educational ‘improvement’. Maps, gazettes and replacement fencing foils were central to the academy teaching and private tuition available abroad to the eldest sons of wealthy families, but print, cheap trinkets and other local produce represented travel for a broader section of Protestant Irish society.

Those things collected as ‘curiosities’, in particular, ‘can be richly revealing of an individual traveller’s intellectual and cultural proclivities’, even if ‘such items can often be the most neglected or undervalued’.¹¹⁶⁵ Swann’s suggestion of a social distinction between aristocratic purchases of fine art and ‘middling-sort’ acquisition of ‘curiosities’, formed with domestic collection in mind, is probably not tenable for travel. Though the expense of voyages often limited them to the wealthy and their dependants, there was no simple divide among souvenirs, as Robert Southwell sent home a portrait of himself, books on Italian comedy and mysterious elixirs in the same carefully-tracked set of boxes.¹¹⁶⁶ That said, ‘trifles’ can help us to explore the interests of more modest travellers like Waring or natural-philosophical enthusiasts like Southwell, Ashe or Berkeley, placing them alongside the

¹¹⁶³ Jeremy Black has a chapter on ‘the arts’, part of which deals with the prestigious acquisition of paintings, but he sidelines other objects as ‘a rich miscellany of expense’: *British abroad*, p.99.

¹¹⁶⁴ Jacobsen, *Luxury and power*, pp.67-8.

¹¹⁶⁵ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.40.

¹¹⁶⁶ Swann, *Curiosities and texts*, p.5; Robert Southwell to Vincenzio Viviani, Bologna, 1 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/98; Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/100. The collection of coins and medals was enjoyed by professional men and grandees alike: Jonathan Scott, *The pleasures of antiquity: British collectors of Greece and Rome* (New Haven, 2003), pp.38-9.

aristocratic concerns of Ormond, Orrery or Burlington.¹¹⁶⁷ We should remember, however, that the memorialisation of voyages, especially through purchased objects, was as socially demonstrative as the practice of travel itself. This chapter will also bear in mind that monetary purchase was only one of three ways in which foreign commodities might be acquired by travellers. While little evidence of theft survives, objects involved in gift-exchange are central to interactions with hosts.¹¹⁶⁸

For the number of objects that travellers collected, many travelled light. Souvenirs and gifts were usually sent home separately rather than carried on the road. Travellers again relied on local and expatriate merchant networks. Robert Southwell was able to ride from Florence to Venice on horseback because he left several boxes with Viviani. He asked the mathematician to open them for various reasons, whether to send contents to others as gifts or add Florentine souvenirs that he had forgotten.¹¹⁶⁹ Upon Southwell's return home, the boxes passed into hands more commonly trusted by travellers, those of English merchants. Viviani used Henry Brown in Livorno to send a 'box of things and books used by Mr. Robert Southwell: Irish gentleman' to his associate in London, James Stancer.¹¹⁷⁰ Southwell's nephew, Sir Philip Perceval, was similarly freed to tour France and Italy by leaving two chests at Saumur, presumably full of purchases relating to his period of instruction by the Loire. Returned to Paris, Perceval sent Rasigade down to arrange their conveyance home.¹¹⁷¹ Most used English merchants and chose sea routes. Among his acquaintances at Genoa, Waring listed 'Capt: Hicks ye: Capitaine of an English ship in which we sent out trunks for England'.¹¹⁷² George Berkeley and the younger St. George Ashe arranged for the conveyance

¹¹⁶⁷ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.167.

¹¹⁶⁸ Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things: commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge, 1986).

¹¹⁶⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 1 Aug 1661; Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/98, 100.

¹¹⁷⁰ Vincenzo Viviani to 'Arrigo Broune', [Florence], 1661, Gal. 158/95: 'cassa di cose & libri usati del Sig: Roberto Southwell: Gentilhuomo Irlandese'.

¹¹⁷¹ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v: costs recorded by Rasigade include 'mon voyage de parris a Saumur en 5 jours' and 'le port de 2 coffres de Saumur'.

¹¹⁷² PRONI D695/228, f.97.

of their purchases to London from Livorno by English merchants, though some of Ashe's acquisitions reached Dublin via Lisbon instead.¹¹⁷³ Robert Molesworth advised his wife, in relation to their son John's purchases, that 'You must not think of sending ye chest of Florence by Land'.¹¹⁷⁴

These methods were convenient but they carried potential dangers. With his son later established in a diplomatic post in Florence, Molesworth hoped that more regular Tuscan cargo would escape 'ye storms & privateers'.¹¹⁷⁵ These threats were made manifest to Sir John Perceval. He brushed with pirates off the Italian coast, 'falling into the hands of an Imperial Privateer in the Mediteranean Sea as he past from Leghorn to Genova in an open boat: but by that means he avoided being taken by French Privateers with whom England was at war, and of whom there were six at that time on the Coast of Genova'.¹¹⁷⁶ The French, however, would return. Perceval's brother Philip warned in February 1707 that 'There was a talk as tho a ship in which you had sent some things had been taken by the French and sent to St. Malos, but I hope 'tis not true.' Sir John later ruefully annotated the letter, acknowledging that 'This was true, and in her I lost a great many valuable collections'.¹¹⁷⁷ Perceval received his brother's warning at Geneva, having sent his Italian purchases before him by sea as he came home via Paris. In autobiographical 'Notices', he lamented 'the loss of a valuable collection of books paintings statues antiquities drafts & musick he had made abroad', later adding 'busts, medalls, drawings &c'. These items he had 'put on board two Merchant vessels' that were 'both taken by french Privateers'.¹¹⁷⁸ Though the incident has deprived us

¹¹⁷³ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 28 Jul; 13 Nov 1718; Florence, 9/20 Jul NS 1720, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp.172, 174, 175.

¹¹⁷⁴ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Bath, 1 Jun 1706, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

¹¹⁷⁵ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, [London], 7 Jul 1712, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

¹¹⁷⁶ BL Add MS 47072, f.103v.

¹¹⁷⁷ Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, London, 7 Feb 1706/7 (recd. Geneva, 14 July 1707), BL Add MS 47025, f.70v.

¹¹⁷⁸ BL Add 47072, ff.23, 103v.

of an analysable collection of souvenirs, it offered Berkeley the opportunity to ingratiate himself by sourcing replacements in 1718.¹¹⁷⁹

It is unclear how public a tragedy the capture represented. In his 'Notices', Perceval observes that it denied 'the Accademy of young painters & sculptors erected by Sr. Godfrey Kneller Queens Painter ... many good Patterns for emproveing the Schollars, it being Sr. Johns design to make them a present of them'. In further notes, however, he claims that the lost cargo had been 'designed for the use of an Academy of painters which he purposed to forward the erecting in Ireland.'¹¹⁸⁰ It was certainly a personal disaster, illustrating the importance of acquired objects alongside written accounts in representations of continental travel. These were 'things that he took much delight in and enterd into the study of in Italy'.¹¹⁸¹ Chastened, Perceval carefully tracked purchases on his return to the continent in 1718. From Rotterdam, he asked Daniel Dering to check on 'a Box to go from hence marked P.N.I. to be left with Messrs Hen. Cairnes and Mitchell Merchants in London containing some Prints books lace and Linnen'. Perceval included an inventory so that Dering could check that, this time, his acquisitions had arrived safely.¹¹⁸²

The pursuit of curiosities

The gifts and mementoes that filled boxes were intimately related to the broader interest that many travellers held in curious objects, an interest that might directly motivate acquisitions. Robert Southwell bought a pair of glasses in Rome not from necessity but out of curiosity, hoping to discuss them in Florence with Vincenzo Viviani.¹¹⁸³ Southwell's son Edward was

¹¹⁷⁹ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 26 Apr; 28 Jul; 13 Nov 1718; Florence, 9/20 Jul 1720, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp.170, 172, 174, 175; Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p.354, n.32.

¹¹⁸⁰ BL Add 47072, ff.23, 103v. St. Luke's Academy in London was not founded by Kneller until 1711, so it is unlikely that this was Perceval's intention at the time of collection.

¹¹⁸¹ BL Add 47072, f.23.

¹¹⁸² Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Rotterdam, 27 Jun 1718 OS, BL Add MS 47028, ff.235-235v.

¹¹⁸³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 18 Mar 1661, Gal. 161/162: he bought 'un picciol occhiale' not 'per bisogno, che per curiosita'. Torriano's *Vocabolario Italiano & Inglese* translates 'occhiali' as

less specific but approached shopping in Amsterdam in the same way, spending ‘a pretty large occasion of mony but It has been chiefly to buy such things as my Curiosity or use required.’¹¹⁸⁴ Lionel Boyle’s outlay ‘for some Curious Stones’ at Florence was similarly motivated.¹¹⁸⁵ It is therefore worth exploring the contexts in which curious objects were pursued, observed and, where possible, acquired.

‘Cabinets of curiosities’, filled with such objects, became destinations in themselves. The younger Edward Southwell captured broader motivations, telling Sir John Perceval of the ‘several Curious Cabinets of Medals, Cameo’s and Intaglio’s’ that he had seen in Rome. Southwell had ‘just learned to know, that besides beauty and Curiosity there is a great Euridition [sic] in them’. This eloquence he observed ‘because they not only express the habits, Rights, Ceremonies, Customs &c of the Antients but are great helps to History and Chronology’, serving as locations where ‘we may confront one Author with another’. Southwell’s epiphany in the Roman cabinets was an epistolary flourish, as he had earlier told Perceval of Florence, where he had ‘spent 2 or 3 whole days in the [Uffizi] Gallery and the eight Cabinets of Curiosities’.¹¹⁸⁶ He echoed the more general conviction that these were sites of erudition. Almost seventy years previously, ‘cabinetts & rarities, & whatever else is curious’ had featured in his grandfather Robert Southwell’s Baconian list of things to be seen abroad. They fitted into the natural philosophical culture of observation that lay behind the continental activities of other Irish-resident travellers like Ashe and Berkeley.¹¹⁸⁷

Historians of science, collecting and early museums establish the privileged position of ‘cabinets of curiosities’ in such a mind-set. Travel and collecting ‘became mutually

‘spectacles’ and ‘occhiale in canna’ as ‘a prospective-glass’, though Southwell’s reference to necessity suggests the former meaning.

¹¹⁸⁴ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, The Hague, 4/14 Aug 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 133c.6.

¹¹⁸⁵ NLI MS 13215, f.44.

¹¹⁸⁶ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 11/22 Dec 1725; 9 Apr 1726 NS, BL Add MS 47031, ff.45v, 140v.

¹¹⁸⁷ King’s College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, f.4.

sustaining activities: not only was the experience of travel represented by the foreign objects in European collections of “rarities”, but travel itself became predicated upon the very existence of such collections.¹¹⁸⁸ ‘Cabinets of curiosities’ or ‘rarities’ were certainly a fixture in Irish Protestant travel, as in English, French and German voyages.¹¹⁸⁹ They persistently featured at Amsterdam, Paris, Nuremberg, Milan, Florence and Rome, but were sought at provincial destinations too. The Huguenot D’Huisseau ran a cabinet in Saumur.¹¹⁹⁰ Travellers regarded collections as part of a continental network, such that missing a particular cabinet was no disaster. Misson referred his readers to an earlier description of Archduke Ferdinand II’s Wunderkammer rather than risk repetition in an account of Moscardo’s collection at Verona.¹¹⁹¹ His companion, Waring, similarly remarked that a Frankfurt grocer’s shop had ‘many rarities worth ye. seeing of any one yt: was never att Lyden’.¹¹⁹²

Within this continental network of rarities, alongside cabinets of curiosities and Wunderkammer, were libraries and armouries. There was, as yet, no strict divide between the kinds of curious object displayed at particular locations, nor between man-made and naturally-occurring items of interest.¹¹⁹³ Learned observation was a matter of sight, hence ‘teaching the eye to see’, but it also relied on tactile experience. Visitors, especially those of high social standing, were encouraged to touch objects on display.¹¹⁹⁴ This variety of objects and behaviour is captured by St. George Ashe’s description of the Imperial Schatzkammer in Vienna, with its ‘many rich cabinetts, all fill’d with prodigious wealth’ and its galleries

¹¹⁸⁸ Swann, *Curiosities and texts*, p.23.

¹¹⁸⁹ Kenny, *Uses of curiosity*, p.250.

¹¹⁹⁰ Jean-Paul Pittion, ‘The French Protestants and the Edict of Nantes (1549-1685): a chronology based on material in Marsh’s Library, Dublin’ in Caldicott, Gough and Pittion (eds.), *Huguenots and Ireland*, p.59.

¹¹⁹¹ Giuseppe Olmi, ‘Science-honour-metaphor: Italian cabinets of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries’ in O.R. Impey and Arthur MacGregor (eds.), *The origins of museums: the cabinet of curiosities in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe* (London, 2001), p.15.

¹¹⁹² PRONI D695/225, f.21.

¹¹⁹³ Susan N. Pierce, *On collecting: an investigation into collecting in the European tradition* (London, 1995), p.109.

¹¹⁹⁴ Constance Classen, ‘Museum manners: the sensory life of the early museum’, *Journal of social history*, 40:4 (Summer 2007), pp.895-914.

‘crowded with antient statues, sculptures, & pictures’.¹¹⁹⁵ But on a smaller scale, too, learned locations like the Jesuit library at Antwerp visited by Edward Southwell in 1696 housed other artefacts alongside books; a Van Dyke painting particularly struck the young traveller.¹¹⁹⁶ These places were set apart by the approach that they encouraged towards arranged objects and the production of knowledge, rather than the individual items on show. Many travellers even treated the entirety of Rome as a cabinet of curiosities that showcased their shared classical learning at the modern centre of Catholicism. The younger Edward Southwell sorted the city under ruled-off thematic headings rather than attempting a chronological account of exploration, filling ‘140 Pages in my Journal’ with ‘the Antient and Modern Curiosities of this famous City’. He felt ‘a sensible pleasure in viewing the Place where’ familiar Roman history had unfolded.¹¹⁹⁷

Travellers sought armouries for the same ends and described them similarly. There is a sense, at least from Waring’s notebooks, that visits to arsenals were even more hands-on. In the Vatican armoury, which had ‘they say Arms for 20000 horse & twice as many foot’, Waring ‘was soe curious as to try many of ym: as we passed along, but there were very few of ym: in order’. Elsewhere in Rome, he visited fortifications where ‘the greatest cannon bears a ball but of 60 pound wight att the most’. He ‘tooke up the ball & could easilie a layd it on my shoulder’. In Germany, especially, Waring found that visitors were not welcome at such military sites. At Mainz, Frankfurt, Mannheim and Ingolstadt, it was made plain that arsenals were ‘not to be seen by Strangers’.¹¹⁹⁸ Even in Florence, Sir Philip Perceval’s entry into the grand ducal armoury was ‘a favour granted to very few’.¹¹⁹⁹ Where travellers were

¹¹⁹⁵ St. George Ashe to Arthur St. George and Stafford Lightburne, Vienna, 9/19 Dec 1690, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letter 3.

¹¹⁹⁶ BL Add MS 58220, f.14.

¹¹⁹⁷ Sweet, ‘Changing view of Rome’, p.148; BL Egerton MS 3805: ‘The most remarkable Churches to be Seen in Rome’ (ff.71v-87v), ‘The most remarkable Palaces of Rome’ (ff.90v-103) and ‘Antiquities in & about Rome’ (ff.118v-129); Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 9 Apr 1726, BL Add MS 47031, f.139.

¹¹⁹⁸ PRONI D695/225, ff.21, 23, 29, 44; 226, ff.19, 53.

¹¹⁹⁹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Florence, 10/20 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.111.

permitted access, descriptions often tied these locations to local history and treated them like other ‘sites of knowledge’. In Brussels in 1696, Edward Southwell visited ‘a very fine Armoury, fill’d with all manner of Arms and weapons; where you see those formerly in use & the Improvements to this day.’ Southwell deemed that ‘the whole is very well worth a strangers sight.’¹²⁰⁰

As Waring demonstrates, the question of admission to these ‘sites of knowledge’ was an open one. Leaving aside arsenals, Findlen emphasises letters of introduction, high social status and civil behaviour as preconditions of entry to cabinets, libraries and other civilian collections that made spatially manifest the conceptual boundaries of the ‘Republic of Letters’. These were locations not only for the display of objects, but also for learned social interaction.¹²⁰¹ The joint operation of connections and credentials is clear for Robert Southwell and St. George Ashe, who enjoyed unusual access to Italian and Viennese collections respectively on account of their immersion in natural philosophical networks. From Augsburg, Ashe suggested that ‘the acquaintance & correspondence of many famous men’ in Germany had afforded him ‘free admittance ... into ye publick library’s of Nuremberg & this place’.¹²⁰² European travellers to Oxford were conversely shocked by charges for admission to colleges and libraries.¹²⁰³

Engaging with continental academic circles, Robert Southwell visited several famous collections and curators in France and Italy. His ‘Agenda’ for Paris included ‘Mr. Lanou a Cabinet of Rarities’ and his first item on a similar plan for Rome was ‘To enquire for Kircherus’.¹²⁰⁴ Athanasius Kircher was a Jesuit polymath, recently assessed as ‘the last man who knew everything’. Under his stewardship, the Jesuit collection attained such a status that

¹²⁰⁰ BL Add MS 58220, f.4v.

¹²⁰¹ Paula Findlen, *Possessing nature: museums, collecting and scientific culture in early modern Italy* (Berkeley; London, 1994), pp.97-150.

¹²⁰² St. George Ashe to Henry Dodwell, Augsburg, 3/13 Feb 1689/90, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 29, letter 13.

¹²⁰³ Findlen, *Possessing nature*, pp.146-50.

¹²⁰⁴ BL Add MS 58219, ff.36, 36v, 37. If Southwell’s contact was a De la Noue, he was of a prominent Huguenot family.

Kircher could assert in 1671 that ‘No foreign visitor who has not seen the Roman College museum can claim that he has truly been in Rome.’ Kircher put on natural philosophical demonstrations for visitors. ‘Whether he created knowledge was a subject that the scholarly community continued to debate, but no one denied his ability to produce spectacle.’¹²⁰⁵ Southwell became a familiar sight. After several months in Rome, he told Robert Boyle that ‘Father Kircher is my particular friend, and I visit him and his gallery frequently.’¹²⁰⁶ Southwell also found time to visit Giovanni Frullo, ‘the Anatomist of Rome’, who related his opinions on bones, hair, the circulation of the blood and a cardinal’s kidney stones. Frullo also illustrated his work through demonstrations, showing Southwell and a group of Englishmen ‘ye whole progresse of generation in an Egg.’¹²⁰⁷

Outside Rome, Southwell’s introduction to the Italian ‘accademie’ and their collections continued. He recommended Captain Taafe, a brother of the earl of Carlingford, to Edward Howard, assuring him that in Milan he would ‘wait on you to see the rarities of Sigr. Canonico Settale amongst wch. are Glasses that burne at ye distance of severall Braces’. Manfredo Settala’s was, according to historians, ‘the most celebrated collection in the city and one of the most important in Italy’. Southwell enjoyed his own visit, noting ‘the Splein of an Harmophradite, besides a thousand Rarities brough with him from ye Levant off wch. parts he can discourse unto very good purpose, having beene at Jerusalem Damascus &c’. Settala had been ‘Civill, frank, and debonaire’.¹²⁰⁸ The combination of learned hospitality and an introduction to curious objects was clearest in Southwell’s continuing relationship with the grand ducal court at Florence and its ‘experimenters’. Spending months amid the

¹²⁰⁵ Paula Findlen, ‘The last man who knew everything... or did he?: Athanasius Kircher, S.J. (1602-80) and his world’ in Findlen (ed.), *Athanasius Kircher: the last man who knew everything* (New York; London, 2004), p.31.

¹²⁰⁶ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, Rome, 30 Mar 1661, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp. 451-3.

¹²⁰⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.42-5.

¹²⁰⁸ BL Add MS 38015, f.36; Antonio Aimi, Vincenzo de Michele and Alessandro Marandotti, ‘Towards a history of collecting in Milan in the late Renaissance and Baroque periods’ in Impey and MacGregor (eds.), *Origins of museums*, pp.32-5.

academicians and their collections, Southwell devoted the final few pages of his Italian notebook to the highlights of ‘the Dukes Gallery’.¹²⁰⁹

The fame of particular collections lingered through reading and discussion. Arriving in Rome in 1688, Waring found ‘a deale of curiosities being what is left of Kirkers studie, which they say was 10 times greater’. Robbed of Southwell’s fuller experience, he nevertheless recorded ‘ye: water Inventions, [and] the perpetuall motion’ as ‘the things yt: pleased me most’. Waring also followed Southwell ‘to ye. Cabinet of Curiosities’ in Milan, which afforded ‘a many beyond what I have seen yett’, though again ‘the perpetuall motions pleased me mightily’. Of Settala, who had died in 1680, Waring surmised that ‘all the Collection shewd an Ingenuite in the master as well as a curiositie’.¹²¹⁰ He clearly spoke to locals, and perhaps his paid antiquary, about the former glories of both collections, but Sir John Perceval illustrates another way that travellers might plan their itinerary of curiosities. At Paris in 1725, Perceval ‘was sorry I could not see the Cabinet of Rarieties which Father Molinet has so well discribed in a folio I have in my possession. the Librarian told me it is quite derange[d] and the medals dispersed.’¹²¹¹ His annoyance may have been tempered by a realisation made on a previous visit to the city’s ‘great number of curiosities as Paintings, Statues, Librarys, Cabinets &c’ in 1718. It appeared ‘that the French magnify everything of their own, so that many things described in their books deserve little the Character they give of them.’¹²¹²

Specific sites or objects became part of shared experience among English-speaking fellow travellers or across generations of families. Successive travellers in the Southwell and Perceval families, for instance, wrote accounts of a portrait of Sir Richard Southwell held by the grand duke of Tuscany. Sir Richard had been a prominent administrator under Henry VIII

¹²⁰⁹ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.73-74v; Findlen, *Possessing nature*, p.395.

¹²¹⁰ PRONI D695/228, f.57; 226, f.52.

¹²¹¹ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 31 Aug 1725, BL Add MS 47030, f.160; Claude du Molinet, *Le cabinet de la bibliothèque de Sainte Geneviève* (Paris, 1692).

¹²¹² Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 31 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, f.243.

and a Norfolk client of the Howards. His 1537 portrait by Hans Holbein the younger was given to Cosimo II by the earl of Arundel in 1621, but thereafter it continued to affect social relations between the Southwells, the Howards and the grand ducal court.¹²¹³ The former family's re-acquaintance with the picture came with Robert Southwell's visit in 1660.¹²¹⁴ It was immediately put to social use. Visiting with Bernard Howard, Southwell recorded that 'from the Present that his father gave of Sr. Richard Southwells picture to ye great Duke, Shewed here amongst the rarities, I had occasion to tell him ye past relation betweene our families.' Southwell found that Bernard was 'exceedingly my friend and by his meane I shall enter ye same interest or acquaintance with the rest of the Brothers.' Here, too, Holbein's work played a role. Recommending Florence to Edward Howard, Southwell wrote that 'Your honour will there see ye inestimable Rarities of the Great Duke in his Gallery; and in ther most choyse & desired Apartmen called Il Tabernaculo you will at last find the Picture of Sr. Richard Southwell my I know not how many times great Grandfather'. Southwell pointed to the family connection contained within the image. It had been 'done by Holben' and 'given by my L[o]rd Arundell', with 'a plate of Silver with your Armes fastned at ye bottome. whereon is engraven Ex dono &c.'¹²¹⁵

In future generations, Southwells and Percevals picked out Sir Richard's portrait for description. They always cited its plates as evidence of its social meaning.¹²¹⁶ Asserting that he had 'seen more curiouse things in this place then in all my journys before', Sir Philip Perceval descended to specifics in 1678. In 'on[e] of [the] Dukes closets', he 'saw the Picture of Sr. Richard Southwell Privy counsellour to King Henry the 8th'. At the top of the frame was 'a square plate of copper' bearing 'the Armes of Cosmus the 2d G[r]and Duke of Tuscany' and, at the bottom, another carrying Sir Richard's. 'On the two sides', Perceval

¹²¹³ David Howarth, *Images of rule: art and politics in the English Renaissance, 1485-1649* (Basingstoke, 1997), pp.244-5. The picture, which Howarth reproduces, is still in the Uffizi.

¹²¹⁴ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.15-15v.

¹²¹⁵ BL Add MS 38015, ff.22, 37-37v. Thomas Howard, the 'collector earl', was actually Bernard's grandfather.

¹²¹⁶ The plates have been removed, but Howarth reproduces them separately: *Images of rule*, p.246.

noted, ‘are two other plates of the same biggness in one of wh. is engraved Sr. Richards name, on the other yt. of famous Hans holben.’¹²¹⁷ At more of a remove in 1725, the younger Edward Southwell described the portrait in detail but felt a greater need for explanation. He noted the ‘4 silver plates’ and their Latin inscriptions, mentioning ‘at the Bottom, Those of the Howard family, for this picture was among the famous Arundell Collection.’¹²¹⁸ If both travellers are correct, perhaps the plates had been upgraded in recognition of deepening Southwell ties to the Tuscan court. Possibly Edward only found the portrait in the grand duke’s galleries because Sir John Perceval had turned down the opportunity to renew its demonstration of the links between Sir Richard Southwell’s descendants and the Medici. Remembering their familial connections in 1707, Cosimo III wrote Perceval ‘a letter, with his own hand offering him the best picture he had in his collection, which Sr. John handsomly declined’.¹²¹⁹ No particular picture is mentioned, if one was intended, but Sir Richard Southwell’s portrait would have been a fitting choice.

Collecting visits

As these descriptions of Holbein’s work hint, early-modern travellers ‘collected’ visits to ‘sites of knowledge’, producing written accounts heavy on ‘lists, catalogues, or inventories’.¹²²⁰ Travellers ‘measured their success in the number of entries and the quality of access to the leading cultural institutions – museums, academies, courts, gardens, and homes of learned men.’ Librarians or curators were keen self-publicists and began to produce printed catalogues of their holdings.¹²²¹ Travellers tried to procure them, often out of personal interest. At ‘a Grossers Shop’ in Frankfurt, Waring’s party enquired after the ‘composition of their great antidote against poison’ and ‘saw above 200 sort of Ingredients’, though he ‘could

¹²¹⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Florence, 10/20 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.110v.

¹²¹⁸ BL Egerton MS 3805, f.48.

¹²¹⁹ BL Add MS 47072, ff.21-22.

¹²²⁰ Swann, *Curiosities and texts*, pp.27, 149; Kenny, *Uses of curiosity*, pp.246-7.

¹²²¹ Findlen, *Possessing nature*, pp.133, 36-44.

not gett a Catalogue of ym.’¹²²² Travellers might also acquire inventories for the Royal Society, the Dublin Philosophical Society or individual enthusiasts, all of whom took a great interest in the vicarious voyages promised by itemised lists of the curious. During his studies at Leiden, Thomas Molyneux sent the Royal Society ‘a Catalogue of those natural Curiosities our Botanick Professor here Dr. Herman preserves in a particular sort of Balsam, which he keeps as a great secret’.¹²²³

Printed catalogues were not always available, so travellers produced their own lists. In the same letter, Molyneux promised to ‘sett down as well as my Memory will allowe me what Rarities I mett with in ye perusall of Dr. Swammerdam’s Collection, which is allso in this town, but I can by no means procure a complete Catalogue of them’. He assured the Royal Society that ‘twas as much as I could do after a great deale of difficulty to get just a sight of them, sutch is ye ill humour of him yt has them now in Custody.’¹²²⁴ St. George Ashe found more assistance in his attempts to catalogue collections encountered on his journey to Vienna.¹²²⁵ Some he acquired ready-made, procuring a catalogue of the ‘good collection’ of manuscripts in the public library of Augsburg and ‘a catalogue of ye books found at Buda, wch. are not valuable’. Some he acquired on commission: returned to London, Ashe informed Dodwell that he had brought ‘one of Nesselius’s [c]atalogues of ye Imperial library of Vienna, according to yr. order’, noting that it was ‘a dear book on account of ye number of figures’.¹²²⁶ Ashe produced other lists himself. In a 1690 account of the imperial Schatzkammer at Vienna, he deemed it ‘altogether as absurd & unseasonable to describe Immense riches’ to friends in Dublin ‘who are in want, as ‘twoud be to discourse of feasting

¹²²² PRONI D695/225, f.21.

¹²²³ Thomas Molyneux to [Royal Society], Leiden, 29 Dec 1684 NS; with enclosed catalogue, Leiden, 16 Mar 1685, Royal Society EL/M1/102, 104.

¹²²⁴ Thomas Molyneux to [Royal Society], Leiden, 29 Dec 1684 NS, Royal Society EL/M1/102.

¹²²⁵ Toby Barnard, ‘From Imperial Schatzkammer to the Giant’s Causeway: collecting in eighteenth-century Ireland’, *Irish architectural and decorative studies*, 6 (2003), p.141.

¹²²⁶ St. George Ashe to Henry Dodwell, Augsburg, 3/13 Feb 1689/90; London, 6 Feb 1691/2, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 29, letters 13, 14.

& delicacyes to a hungry starving man'. He troubled them 'with but a very small part of wt. I have mark'd in my table book'. But Ashe's determination to bring home the learning of Vienna went beyond the collection or production of catalogues to the copying of manuscripts, which courtly contacts allowed. He was 'so far into the good Graces of the Emper[o]rs Library Keeper, that he freely Communicates what Books, and Maps I please to my Chamber, and I hope to return wth. the Gleanings of what is best, and most Curious in that inestimable Collection.' The emperor's library was 'perhaps one of ye best in ye world', and Ashe took on a scribe to help him 'copy wt. manuscripts we shall judge most valuable'.¹²²⁷

Writing was not the only method by which visits to curious locations were 'collected' on paper. In May 1688, Waring visited the cabinet run by Giovan Pietro Bellori, antiquary to the pope and the Roman-resident queen of Sweden.¹²²⁸ As usual, he was with Charles Butler and Misson. The Huguenot described Bellori's collection as 'absolutely rare and perfect', though 'not extraordinarily numerous'. Misson's published account dwelt exclusively on representations of Roman deities and various vessels but Waring was instead struck by the Egyptian idols that Bellori had received from the traveller Pietro dalla Valle.¹²²⁹ Waring's manuscript account is brief, but he produced five sheets of coloured drawings that survive alongside his notebooks.¹²³⁰ He seems to have drawn these himself, though he possibly embellished them at home.¹²³¹ As with his pencil drawings more generally, these are isolated examples but may constitute surviving instances of a more common approach to observation

¹²²⁷ St. George Ashe to Arthur St. George and Stafford Lightburne, Vienna, 9/19 Dec 1690; Ashe to St. George, Vienna, 12/22 Oct 1690; Ashe to 'George', Vienna, 18/28 Dec 1690, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letters 3, 5; 175a.

¹²²⁸ PRONI D695/226, f.26.

¹²²⁹ Misson, *New voyage* (1695), ii, p.138; Gerald Heres, 'Bellori collezionista: Il Museum Bellorianum' in Evelina Borea and Carlo Gasparri (eds.), *L'idea del bello: viaggio per Roma nel Seicento con Giovan Pietro Bellori* (Rome, 2000), ii, p.501.

¹²³⁰ PRONI D695/231A, B, C, D, E.

¹²³¹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.317.

and memorialisation. Writing of his 1705-7 voyage with Francis Clerke, Sir John Perceval certainly listed drawing among ‘studies that were of use in their Travels’.¹²³²

Beside catalogues, written accounts and the occasional drawing, travellers ‘collected’ visits to ‘sites of knowledge’ through small items. Those with natural philosophical interests thereby participated in a knowledge-producing exchange of objects among connected individuals. Telling Robert Boyle about Kircher’s ‘flower growing from its ashes’, Robert Southwell noted that the Jesuit polymath ‘had such a thing, but it is now spoiled’. Southwell assured Boyle, however, that ‘he has given me the receipt thereof, upon a swop, wrote with his own hand’ and that ‘At our meeting you shall have it.’¹²³³ Returning to London, Southwell also showed Boyle a Florentine liquid-in-glass thermometer.¹²³⁴ Objects relayed the substance of natural philosophical conversations to those at home, but they might also memorialise them for interlocutors. In Rome, the anatomist Giovanni Frullo showed Southwell ‘a bone as bigg as halfe my little finger taken out of ye heart of Pope Urban. and out of his gall a kind of Earth, in severall peeces being the great combustion and exsication of bile. Severall gravel stones alsoe out of his bladder’. Southwell made sure that ‘of each these I tooke some’.¹²³⁵ We might wonder what else of the pope Southwell took back to Ireland.

Southwell’s ‘trifles’ attested to meetings with Italian academicians. He also sought mementoes of the most famous of their number. Viviani, the self-styled ‘last disciple of Galileo’, ‘dedicated his life to preserving and disseminating the legacy of his master’, writing a biography in 1654 that was only published posthumously in 1717.¹²³⁶ Southwell tapped him for memories of his illustrious mentor, filling pages of his commonplace book with Italian-

¹²³² BL Add MS 47072, f.21.

¹²³³ Robert Southwell to Robert Boyle, Rome, 30 Mar 1661, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp. 451-3.

¹²³⁴ Middleton, *Experimenters*, p.289.

¹²³⁵ BL Egerton MS 1632, f.44v.

¹²³⁶ Maurice A. Finocchiaro, *Retrying Galileo, 1633-1992* (Berkeley; London, 2005), p.87.

language recollections.¹²³⁷ One motivation for improving his Tuscan dialect, he told Viviani, was thereby to learn about the life of Galileo.¹²³⁸ Southwell sought more than a second-hand account, however. Viviani referred him to Cosimo Galilei, the mathematician's correspondent and a nephew of Galileo.¹²³⁹ In Vicenza, Southwell enjoyed Cosimo's conversation about his famous uncle and his present of 'exquisite wine', enthusing that 'he has promised me a letter written in Galileo's hand and even one of his books with some annotations in his own hand.'¹²⁴⁰ They met again but it is unclear whether Cosimo fulfilled his promises. Southwell pursued Galileo holographs for his own interest, valuing objects for their associations with a scholarly paragon, but Galileo's memory also encouraged international connections. Viviani sent a Sustermans portrait of his mentor to the Bodleian Library, where it still hangs in the Patristics Room.¹²⁴¹ Cataloguers seem unaware, however, that Southwell used his Livorno merchants to send the picture via London. Viviani was delighted that by Southwell's 'liberality and intercession, Mr [Thomas] Barlow has been willing to adorn his famous library at Oxford with' the portrait.¹²⁴² Items collected by travellers might solidify institutional as well as individual connections.

Acquired objects attested to socially as well as intellectually prestigious company. Medals were, of course, collected for learned reasons. In Rome, the younger Edward Southwell found ancient examples 'more for use than Show'.¹²⁴³ Gailhard thought them

¹²³⁷ BL Egerton MS 1632, ff.60-65v; Anna Maria Crinò, 'Accenni a Galileo nel taccuino di Sir Robert Southwell', *Fatti e figure del seicento anglo-toscano: documenti inediti sui rapporti letterari, diplomatici, culturali fra Toscana e Inghilterra* (Florence, 1957), pp.115-7.

¹²³⁸ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 23 Dec 1660, Gal. 254/88: 'vollio bene intendere la vita de Galileo'.

¹²³⁹ Maurizio Torrini, 'La correspondance de Galilée entre chronique et histoire des sciences', *Revue d'histoire des sciences*, 52:1 (1999), pp.144-5.

¹²⁴⁰ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Oct 1661, Gal. 161/174: 'lui ma promesso una lettera scritta da man del Gallileo e anchor un libro suo con certe postilli della propria mano'; Southwell to Viviani, 30 Oct 1661, Gal. 254/109.

¹²⁴¹ Rachael Poole, *Catalogue of portraits: exhibited in the reading room and gallery of the Bodleian Library* (Oxford, 1920), p.41; J.J. Fahie, *Memorials of Galileo Galilei, 1564-1642* (Leamington; London, 1929), pp.45-6, plate x.

¹²⁴² Vincenzo Viviani to Robert Southwell, Pistoia, 16 Oct 1660, *Boyle correspondence*, i, pp.431-4. Translation the editors'.

¹²⁴³ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 9 Apr 1726 NS, BL Add MS 47031, f.140v.

‘beneficial for the understanding of History’.¹²⁴⁴ In Vienna, Ashe ‘made a Tollerable Collection of ancient, and modern medalls to entertaine our Freind Dr. [John] Madden’ upon his return to Trinity College, Dublin.¹²⁴⁵ Waring and the elder Edward Southwell visited medal shops in Rome and Paris respectively.¹²⁴⁶ But where medals were bestowed by noted figures, they were equally eloquent on the prestigious company that travellers kept abroad. When Sir Philip Perceval waited on Innocent XI in 1678, he was disappointed by the lack of a papal souvenir. The pope had ‘att last dismisd mee Laden with his blessings which I did not aske for, butt I gott noe medall as I might have expected, having binn recommended by our Cardinall’, Norfolk.¹²⁴⁷ Perceval was keen to ‘collect’ the visit in a material way that proved his connections and social standing. He might indeed have expected a medal from the pope, whose predecessor had ‘Imediatly bestow’d ... a Gould Medall’ on the Englishman Banaster Maynard, introduced by John Creagh in 1661.¹²⁴⁸ Success came more easily at German courts. Charles Dering, in Brandenburg with Southwell in 1680, received a medal from the elector.¹²⁴⁹ Sir John Perceval and Francis Clerke ‘were favourably received’ at Hanover in 1706 and, ‘at their leaving that Court’, were presented with souvenirs that made social standings manifest. Sir John was given ‘a set of court medals in gold & Mr. Clerk in silver.’¹²⁵⁰ Medals bore material witness to impressive foreign company, presumably aiding culturally-prestigious ‘travel-talk’ at home.¹²⁵¹

Visits to collections and the acquisition of mementoes offered natural-philosophical knowledge and demonstrated social connections, but they might also introduce travellers to a world beyond Europe. Continental collections exposed Irish Protestants to artefacts from the

¹²⁴⁴ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.59.

¹²⁴⁵ St. George Ashe to ‘George’, Vienna, 18/28 Dec 1690, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175a; Barnard, ‘Collecting’, p.153.

¹²⁴⁶ PRONI D695/228, f.49; BNF MS Anglais 194, f.51.

¹²⁴⁷ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 10/20 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, ff.64-64v.

¹²⁴⁸ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.257.

¹²⁴⁹ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.44v.

¹²⁵⁰ BL Add MS 47072, f.21.

¹²⁵¹ Kenny, *Uses of curiosity*, pp.245-6.

eastern Mediterranean, then an area of growing scholarly interest and mercantile operations but not yet a common destination for educational travel.¹²⁵² Connected men like Sir Robert Southwell learned about the Levant through correspondence or conversation with travellers. As president of the Royal Society, Southwell received letters detailing a voyage from Spain to Iskenderun and Aleppo in 1695/6.¹²⁵³ More commonly, readers discovered the eastern Mediterranean through printed accounts or other purchases: Archbishop King bought a map of the Holy Land in 1705.¹²⁵⁴ Before Charlemont's ground-breaking itinerary of 1746-55, though, Irish-resident educational travellers might gain material familiarity with the eastern Mediterranean through objects in Italian cabinets.¹²⁵⁵ Robert Southwell encountered 'a thousand Rarities ... from ye Levant' in Settala's Milanese collection and discussed Jerusalem and Damascus with the proprietor. In Rome, Waring delighted in Bellori's Egyptian artefacts. Continental travel served as an introduction to neighbouring societies, but also offered material exposure to a world beyond Europe.

'Exposing the holy Reliques'

The desire to observe, and where possible to possess, the foreign and the curious extended to material aspects of confident continental Catholicism. Attitudes towards relics and other physical representations of Catholicism varied between travellers but broadly indicate a growing willingness to see the Roman faith, when encountered abroad, as a cultural curiosity worthy of observation. Black suggests that relics usually met with 'humour and ridicule' in the eighteenth century, symbolising 'the inversion of reason that was held to characterize

¹²⁵² Toby Barnard, 'Travellers from Ireland, the Mediterranean and the roles of print' in forthcoming book on Ireland, the Mediterranean and print, pp.42-3.

¹²⁵³ Patrick Gordon to Sir Robert Southwell, HMS Captain in the Downs, 26 Feb 1695/6, Royal Society EL/G1/66; 'An Account of Mr Gordons Voyage in his Majesties Ship the Captain to Scanderoon and back 26 febr. 1695/6 to, and communicated by, Sr. Robert Southwell', RBO/7/120, pp.306-19.

¹²⁵⁴ Barnard, 'Travellers from Ireland', p.42.

¹²⁵⁵ W.B. Stanford, *Ireland and the classical tradition* (Dublin, 1976), pp.134-6; Cynthia O'Connor, *The pleasing hours: the Grand Tour of James Caulfeild, first earl of Charlemont (1728-1799), traveller, connoisseur and patron of the arts* (Cork, 1999).

Catholicism.’¹²⁵⁶ Writing with more nuance of a slightly earlier period, Claydon finds that ‘Humour lightened ... prose’ in printed accounts of relics ‘and allowed them to avoid the intolerant tone of earlier English Protestants without abandoning their basic case.’¹²⁵⁷ But matters were not so simple. Walsham notes that ‘relics encountered by the wealthy in the course of their grand tours of Europe ... excited more curiosity than they did fear, anger, or awe’. Such objects served functions that were compatible with Protestantism: ‘material artefacts were valued not for their ability to transcend time and provide a conduit to the divine, but on the contrary because of their historicity’.¹²⁵⁸ With the early-modern rise of secular antiquarianism, ‘The same object could simultaneously be a timeless focus of religious reverence and a historical object arousing the intellectual curiosity of those who repudiated such veneration.’¹²⁵⁹ Even so, Protestant travellers maintained a sceptical distance from the stories to which objects were attached. Local narrations of miraculous back-stories are invariably prefaced by a distrustful ‘they say’.¹²⁶⁰ Catholic ‘treasures’ were still problematic, of course, as ‘parents feared the influence of popish trinkets and treasures on their travelling offspring, since these were a part of any visit to the great cathedrals of Catholic Europe.’¹²⁶¹ The theatricality and aesthetic allure of continental Catholicism had informed Ormond’s denial of travel to his precariously Protestant ward, Almeric de Courcy. Safe encounters with ‘popish’ material culture relied on observational training, a key demonstration of ‘fitness to travel’.

Irish Protestant interest in the outlandishness of relics and other aspects of Roman devotional culture may seem surprising given their residential background, but we ought to

¹²⁵⁶ Black, *British abroad*, pp.262, 273.

¹²⁵⁷ Claydon, *Europe and the making of England*, p.34.

¹²⁵⁸ Alexandra Walsham, ‘Skeletons in the cupboard: relics after the English Reformation’ in Walsham (ed.), *Relics and remains, Past & present* supplement 5 (Oxford, 2010), pp.134, 141, 142.

¹²⁵⁹ Daniel R. Woolf, *The social circulation of the past: English historical culture 1500-1700* (Oxford, 2003), pp.191-7.

¹²⁶⁰ Waring in Cologne (PRONI D695/225, f.14), Nuremberg (ff.39, 43), Ravenna (D695/226, f.9), Rome (f.29).

¹²⁶¹ Woolf, *Social circulation of the past*, p.193.

consider variations in Catholic practice. Relics and other ‘treasures’ encountered in France, southern Germany and Italy often lacked counterparts at home. Relic cults were well-established in late medieval Ireland, at least within the Pale, but the objects themselves were ‘scattered into the hands of the laity at the Reformation or during the 1650s’. ‘Whereas throughout early modern Europe holy things, such as relics and miraculous images, formed the centre of popular devotion’, Gillespie finds that ‘in Ireland there was a particularly strong tradition of holy places.’¹²⁶² Church-of-Ireland travellers were as often struck by ornate reliquaries as venerable relics, adornments denied Irish Catholicism by ‘remoteness, penury and the hostile Protestant government’.¹²⁶³ By the Restoration, then, the foreignness of highly visible and culturally prominent relics encountered by Irish Protestants abroad was partially of their community’s own making. The same irony might hold more generally for the outlandish allure of confident Catholic theatricality.

Travellers included relics and church ‘treasures’ on local itineraries alongside secular ‘sites of knowledge’, though they carefully doubted the sacred knowledge to which relics offered access. Lady Katherine Perceval combined dutiful attendance at Huguenot services in Saumur with a trip to see ‘the famous treasure’ at the town’s Catholic church of Notre-Dame des Ardilliers in 1677. She did not relate her impressions of the place, associated with a local miracle cult, but her visit illustrates the porous boundary between reliquaries and cabinets of curiosities, across which objects might move.¹²⁶⁴ A decade later, Lionel Boyle and Samuel Waring separately viewed relics in Germany. At Cologne, Waring did not see all that he intended. One church’s collection was closed to visitors, ‘the keeper not being to be had’, and

¹²⁶² Raymond Gillespie, *Devoted people: belief and religion in early modern Ireland* (Manchester, 1997), pp.87, 115, 160; idem, ‘Relics, reliquaries and hagiography in south Ulster, 1450-1550’ in Rachel Moss, Colmán O Clabaigh and Salvador Ryan (eds.), *Art and devotion in late medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2006), pp.185, 187.

¹²⁶³ Barnard, ‘Fabrics of faith’, pp.21, 26.

¹²⁶⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to William Taylor, Saumur, 19/29 Nov 1677; Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 25 Nov/5 Dec 1677 BL Add MS 46954B, ff.224v, 239. Albrecht Burkardt, ‘Entre propagande et rarefaction: les miracles de Notre-Dame des Ardilliers 1594-1713’ in *Saumur, capitale européenne*, pp.137-56; Walsham, ‘Skeletons’, p.141.

at another he was obliged to ‘hasten’ on rather than examine their ‘sculls and other reliques’. At St. Ursula’s church, however, he was shown ‘the peice where ye: reliques are kept’.¹²⁶⁵ Boyle found plenty of time in Cologne to view the ‘many curious things to be seen’, including ‘The Jesuites College, their Library, & their Church’ but especially ‘ye heads of ye three Kings yt came to worship our Saviour’. He sent his grandmother ‘a paper yt has been rubbed to their sculls’, presumably with his Genevan Protestant tutor’s approval, but her reaction is unrecorded.¹²⁶⁶ At Nuremburg, Waring visited a former monastery converted into a library, again illustrating a porous boundary. There he explored the cabinet of curiosities but was disappointed that the relics had been removed, ‘the case only remaining’.¹²⁶⁷

In Rome, interest in church treasures combined curiosity for objects with voyeurism for Catholic theatre. On Good Friday 1688 at the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, Waring saw ‘the priest showing the Reliques to ye: people, they thumping their brest at a strange rate’. On Easter Sunday, he accompanied Lionel Boyle, Charles Butler and Algernon Capel, earl of Essex, to the basilica of St. John Lateran and ‘saw the exposing of the Reliques, a many of the Cardinalls being there the sight affording a full remission of all sins, & soe home’. On another occasion the party made their way to the Santi Apostoli, ‘where we saw ye: Exposing the holy Reliques, yielding us another remission of Sins’.¹²⁶⁸ Catholic relics were added to a traveller’s itinerary of curiosities, even if their claimed powers were often dealt with wryly. Twenty-nine years later, George Berkeley found at the Santa Croce in Gerusalemme that ‘we could not see the piece of the Holy Cross which is preserved in this Church, it being shewn only at certain seasons and then from an eminencie or high pulpit appointed for that purpose.’ Waring had better timing, but if Berkeley’s disappointment suggests a tendency to see local devotional practice as part of an ideal traveller’s trail, this is confirmed by another of his

¹²⁶⁵ PRONI D695/225, ff.14-16.

¹²⁶⁶ Lionel Boyle to dowager countess of Orrery, Cologne, 18 Sep 1687, NLI MS 36, f.646.

¹²⁶⁷ PRONI D695/225, f.42.

¹²⁶⁸ PRONI D695/228, ff.45-7; 226, f.26.

visits on the same day. At the nearby church of Santa Bibiana, a ‘poor boy’ gave the group of Protestant visitors some herbs ‘supposed to have a healing virtue from the saint’. The financial accounts of travellers are full of tips given to locals who showed visitors the sights of a town, and members of Berkeley’s party were determined to treat the holy herbs in the same way. The boy ‘refused to take money from Mr. Hardy who having accepted his present, thought himself obliged to force it on him.’¹²⁶⁹

Added to a traveller’s cultural itinerary, relics and their settings were treated aesthetically. In 1696, the elder Edward Southwell visited the Brussels cathedral of St. Michael and St. Gudula, famed for apparitions of Christ’s blood. Southwell deemed that ‘the chappell where this miracle was kept was very richly adorn’d with architecture of silver and great Number of Reliques enchassée; and the candles sett it off very well.’¹²⁷⁰ Under fatherly supervision in 1723, his son recorded similar sentiments at St. Denis near Paris, where ‘in the Sacristie we were shown an Infinite number of precious stones & reliques of the Cross & of Saints in the most rich Chasses.’¹²⁷¹ Allowed back on his own two years later, the younger Edward dealt similarly with other ornate reliquaries.¹²⁷² Haynes demonstrates that, over the same period, English travellers ‘cut free’ continental works of art ‘from the negative connotations of Roman Catholicism’ through simple and ‘uncontentious’ descriptive vocabulary.¹²⁷³ In cases like that of the younger Edward Southwell, this might extend to the relatively risk-free description of ‘popish’ architecture and even devotional objects. On their 1723 journey through France and Lorraine, Southwell and his father visited at least forty-six Catholic religious institutions in forty days, taking in cathedrals, churches, chapels, colleges

¹²⁶⁹ 19 Jan 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.258; Chaney and Ingamells both identify this as Charles Hardy, though any other background (whether English, Irish or Scottish) remains obscure: Chaney, *Evolution of the Grand Tour*, p.362, n.86; Ingamells, *Dictionary*; BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-148v; NLI MS 13215.

¹²⁷⁰ BL Add MS 58220, f.48.

¹²⁷¹ BL Add MS 34753, f.23.

¹²⁷² BNF MS Anglais 194, ff.17v, 52v, 57v: Reims, St. Denis, Paris.

¹²⁷³ Clare Haynes, *Pictures and popery: art and religion in England, 1660-1760* (Aldershot, 2006), pp.34-5.

and abbeys. In sixty-two pages of related description, the younger Southwell resorted to the word ‘fine’ and its derivatives over a hundred times and praised twenty-two examples of local architecture as ‘noble’. His was not a contentious vocabulary.

Interest in Catholic objects extended beyond relics to other materials of devotional practice. Though Waring was frequently scandalised by representations of God the Father and nude depictions of the Virgin inside Italian Catholic churches, he confessed that ‘nothing could be more curious’ than a Marian image carried in procession at Brussels. The icon and its bearers took shelter from bad weather in Waring’s gateway, affording him the opportunity to observe and record its golden crown, precious stones and lace.¹²⁷⁴ This spirit of curiosity led Waring into his own acquisitions, but an unsuccessful attempt at collection at Mannheim suggests a period of transition between Protestant iconoclasm and cultural curiosity, as Walsham charts for England.¹²⁷⁵ Waring’s interest repeatedly drew him to the town’s ecumenical ‘Church of Concord’. On one visit, probably with Misson and Charles Butler, ‘we heard a Dominican expounding ye: Catichisme to some boys, he standing with them in the allie’. Waring watched intently and noticed that, when the Dominican had finished, ‘he gave them a litle knack, a crucifix or sort of locket wth ye: virgin M[a]rys Picture & our S[aviou]rs in it’. Not one to pass up inexpensive souvenirs, Waring took one from ‘a litle boy giving twopence for it’ but the friar saw the transaction and questioned the child. The Dominican ‘bidd hi[m] gett [the locket] from me for I would burne it being a protestant, soe yt: ye child crying I was forced to restore it’.¹²⁷⁶ As with Charles Hardy and the herbs, a traveller was foiled in an attempt to commodify Catholic devotion.

We ought to acknowledge here one rare instance of an Irish Protestant contributing to the material culture of Italian Catholic worship, perhaps with ulterior motives. During his posting to Florence between 1710 and 1714, John Molesworth began a love affair with a local

¹²⁷⁴ PRONI D695/228, f.101.

¹²⁷⁵ Walsham, ‘Skeletons’.

¹²⁷⁶ PRONI D695/225, ff.30-1.

woman, Camilla Constanza Sazienza. When he returned to Italy in the 1720s, this time to Turin, they resumed an Italian-language correspondence, though respectively now married and in holy orders. Only Camilla's side survives, so we cannot know the spirit in which Molesworth replied to her seventeen letters, including one written in her own blood. If physical reunion was unlikely, the Florentine nun sent the envoy extraordinary little portraits of herself.¹²⁷⁷ In return, Molesworth donated a crucifix to Camilla's convent. The present was ornate enough to be reserved for the most important feast days. John's brother, Bysse, was involved in embellishing the crucifix further after delivery.¹²⁷⁸ William Molesworth sees the self-serving gift of a married professional man, 'a hint perhaps that she should fix her gaze in a heavenwards direction'.¹²⁷⁹ It was certainly a rare Irish Protestant intervention, but one that implies broader willingness to treat Catholic objects as cultural curiosities, even commodities.

Growing comfort with the material world of foreign Catholic devotion, from relics to ecclesiastical architecture, suggests confessional confidence among Anglican travellers after the Restoration religious settlement. This may be particularly true of Ireland after the perceived vindication of 1688-91 and as the social and economic strictures of penal legislation took effect in the following decades. In 1658, Robert Southwell cited Osborne's dictum that one should 'Enter no farther into foreign Churches than the hand of your religion & conscience will lead you'.¹²⁸⁰ When his son and grandson travelled together to France in 1723, though, the interiors of Catholic churches filled their monotonous account. The younger Edward Southwell returned the following year, filling two notebooks with more of

¹²⁷⁷ David Chart's introduction to HMC *Various collections*, viii, p.xxi.

¹²⁷⁸ [Camilla Costanza Sazienza] to [John Molesworth], [Florence], 24 Apr 1723, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752: 'Il Crocifisso da sei faccoritoci essendo bellissimo, e giusto porlo all'Altare nelle feste e funzioni maggiori'; English-language summary in HMC *Various collections*, viii, p.358. Coote had already returned home: Mayo, 'Molesworth's Account', pp.219-20.

¹²⁷⁹ Molesworth, 'John Molesworth', p.114.

¹²⁸⁰ King's College, Cambridge, Keynes MS 152, ff.5v-6.

the same. He records attending mass at as a courtly social occasion in Lorraine and Paris.¹²⁸¹ Catholic events were safely considered as theatre. In the week before Easter 1690, St. George Ashe was ‘entertained almost every day, with Religious puppet shewes’ in Vienna. On Good Friday, ‘all the story of our Saviours passion was theatrically represented in the great Church’, an occasion that Ashe described enthusiastically.¹²⁸² George Berkeley similarly found at Naples in 1717 that ‘Our chief entertainment is the devotion of our neighbours’.¹²⁸³ At a public Roman banquet over Christmas 1725, Edward Southwell noticed that Cardinal Altieri ‘cleard all before him & was both in person & appetite like Penkethman w[he]n he acted the part of Don Snap Shorto di Testo.’¹²⁸⁴ Rather than demonstrating an affinity with Catholicism that somehow arose from their Irish residence, then, Church-of-Ireland Protestants in fact placed ‘popish’ objects and practices within a comfortable realm of observation precisely because they were so outlandish. Material Catholicism had become observable in a way that Haynes argues for its fine art, bringing to bear on continental travel processes that Barnard charts at home. In early eighteenth-century Ireland, ‘curiosity about the past’ began to detach ‘material evidence’ from ethnic or confessional ‘polemic’, telling of ‘more relaxed conditions, in which the recently installed Protestant proprietors felt more confident that the new order would endure and thrive.’¹²⁸⁵

‘Some of the Rarities of Towns and Countries’

Travellers documented visits to particular locales by acquiring regional specialities as souvenirs or gifts. Gailhard observed that they might ‘buy some of the Rarities of Towns and Countries, which are less cumbersome and easier to be carried’. These purchases were made

¹²⁸¹ BNF MS Anglais 194, ff.36v, 41; BL Add MS 34753, f.24v.

¹²⁸² St. George Ashe to [Henry St. George?], Vienna, 16/26 Mar 1689/90, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letter 2.

¹²⁸³ George Berkeley to Alexander Pope, Naples, 22 Oct 1717 NS, *Works of George Berkeley* (1784), i, pp.xxxvi-ii.

¹²⁸⁴ BL Egerton MS 3805, f.66. The English actor William Pinkethman (c.1660-1725).

¹²⁸⁵ Haynes, *Pictures and popery*; Barnard, ‘Collecting’, p.152.

‘to shew and keep them when they are come home’. Consequently, he advised that ‘when a Traveller comes into a place, he will do well to enquire what things are esteemed in’t, and sent into Foreign parts’.¹²⁸⁶ The range of objects thus collected was broad. Travellers, however, did not merely acquire items ‘to shew and keep’. They also bought gifts for those at home or acted on commission. It is often difficult to divine the destinations of objects that only appear in financial records, the major source for acquisitions. We must rely on rarer epistolary evidence of intention or reception to distinguish between personal mementoes, gifts and commissioned purchases. We will consider each in turn.

The towns and cities of Italy were noted for distinctive produce, which made for plentiful souvenirs. Work on the eighteenth-century ‘Grand Tour’ leaves us with the image of Italy as a market for expensive antiquities and prestigious artworks rather than comparative ‘trifles’.¹²⁸⁷ This characterisation remains useful in some respects, as many lavish purchases in Rome made manifest a classical education shared by wealthy travellers.¹²⁸⁸ It bears qualification, however, for our Irish subjects and our earlier period. To begin with, Rome and Italy in general were not unrivalled centres of acquisition. Barnard shows that ‘the political and aesthetic impact’ of those from Ireland who ‘opted for the cheaper and easier trip to the Low Countries and northern Europe ... equalled what could be gleaned from Italy.’¹²⁸⁹ Secondly, we can observe the growth of more lavish collecting in the decades following the Restoration but voyages were not yet fully-fledged ‘shopping trips’.

Certainly Irish Protestant travellers brought home artworks from Italy throughout our period. Robert Southwell sat for a portrait in Florence, arranged for its conveyance home via Viviani’s mercantile contacts and eventually hung it in his Gloucestershire home. An inventory of Kings Weston gives the artist as ‘one Justo of Antwerp’. Correspondence with

¹²⁸⁶ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, pp.141-2.

¹²⁸⁷ Scott, *Pleasures of antiquity*.

¹²⁸⁸ Ingamells, ‘Discovering Italy’, p.21.

¹²⁸⁹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.312; idem, ‘Collecting’, p.146.

the Florentine mathematician reveals that Southwell sat for Justus Sustermans, the Medici court painter who also produced Viviani's Galileian gift to the Bodleian.¹²⁹⁰ Southwell's nephew, Sir Philip Perceval, had two portraits painted in Rome in 1678 by Ferdinand Voet, 'one in great and one in Little with the boxes to carry them'.¹²⁹¹ One Perceval immediately sent to his mother, still in France.¹²⁹² Within the family, nothing compared to the lavish Roman purchases made by the younger Edward Southwell in 1726. The twenty-one-year-old 'spent 150£ in 5 marble tables, 2 Landscapes of Ruins, a little Suite of Brass Medals ... 50£ worth of Prints of Modern and Antique Rome and of the Cheif Paintings, 2 or 3 fans, 2 or 3 Cameo's &ca'. Southwell begged Sir John Perceval not to think that his purchases made him 'a great Vertuoso, for I am no more than a Haberdasher of small wares'. He explained his acquisitions with 'an old advice Romano vivere more'.¹²⁹³

In Rome, especially by the time of the younger Edward Southwell's travels in the 1720s, one bought expensive artwork, furnishings and mementoes relating to the antiquities, but more affordable objects also bore witness to Italian experiences. On leaving Florence, Robert Southwell arranged for a list of purchases to be made from the city's famous monastic apothecaries: 'things for health from Santa Maria Novella' cost four lire and 'quintessences' from Santo Spirito thirteen.¹²⁹⁴ In Bologna, his nephew Sir Philip Perceval bought a dog of the Bolognese breed, though there is little indication of whether the animal went back to Ireland.¹²⁹⁵ Waring made many small purchases in Italy, but one acquisition that he declined

¹²⁹⁰ Sir R. Southwell, Inventory of paintings (Jul 1695), Mellon Center for British Art, Yale University, MS 8; Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Bologna, 1 Aug 1661; Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/98, 100.

¹²⁹¹ BL Add MS 46955A, ff.176-83v: thirty-two crowns and twelve sols on 25 Apr 1678. Accounts refer only to 'Sigr. ferdinando the Painter'; for identification, I rely on Burdon, 'Thomas Isham', p.7.

¹²⁹² Kate Perceval to Helena Southwell, Richelieu, 11/21 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.36.

¹²⁹³ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 9 Apr 1726 NS, BL Add MS 47031, f.140v: i.e. 'Romano vivito more' (live in the Roman style).

¹²⁹⁴ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Milan, 10 Aug 1661, Gal. 254/100. Southwell would buy 'red powder for teeth' from Santa Maria Novella through Viviani: Southwell to Viviani, Venice, 25 Sep 1661, Gal. 254/97; Sharon T. Strocchia, 'The nun apothecaries of Renaissance Florence: marketing medicines in the convent', *Renaissance studies*, 25:5 (2011), pp.627-47.

¹²⁹⁵ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v: just over four crowns paid 'pour un chien de Boulogne' at Bologna in late Sep 1678.

illustrates the regional provenance of souvenirs. Reaching Poggibonsi on his way north from Rome, Waring noted that ‘this place is famous for its Snuff tobacco sold here’, though he admitted that ‘I dont know how it coms to pass for ther is but one poor sort of a man yt. sells it nor has it of it selfe an very good smell’.¹²⁹⁶ In Rome, too, small purchases documented experiences. Waring and Charles Butler made a trip to buy ‘gloves, snuff & washballs Roman’.¹²⁹⁷ Some souvenirs of the city and its classical past cost nothing. At the catacombs of San Sebastiano, Waring observed the fragile bones and intricate carvings, picking up ‘one of the litle botles for the tears’ and several stones with which early Christians marked their graves.¹²⁹⁸ Here, perhaps, was an example of that under-represented method of acquisition, theft, but it was no less eloquent on Waring’s Roman experiences.

The regionalisation of forms of knowledge, a perception that influenced academy attendance, also meant that books were treated as local specialities. Sir Philip Perceval recorded that ‘An other thing must be don before you leave a place or country, which is to buy some of the best and most curious books in the language’. This would provide ‘the best of wt. good books are in Europe’.¹²⁹⁹ Choice works were used immediately for teaching purposes in the case of wealthy eldest sons, though not all educational material had to be acquired permanently at places with an established academic print trade. Perceval paid smaller fees to borrow books at Saumur and Turin, an approach that Lionel Boyle also took in his longer stay at the latter destination.¹³⁰⁰ But if bought, books might also serve, at home, ‘to entertaine your selfe and keepe your selfe from forgetting wt languages you learned in your travells.’ A collection of printed books complemented notebooks and other souvenirs as

¹²⁹⁶ PRONI D695/226, f.35; Misson, *New voyage* (1695), ii, p.152.

¹²⁹⁷ PRONI D695/228, f.49.

¹²⁹⁸ PRONI D695/226, f.11.

¹²⁹⁹ BL Add MS 47113, f.9v.

¹³⁰⁰ Perceval paid two livres and eight sols to ‘un Libraire a Saumur pour un vieux conte pour lecture de Livres avant daller en italie’ and one livre and nine sols ‘pour un tome du Mercure galant et pour loüage d’autres Livres’ at Turin: BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122–48v; Boyle paid eighteen sols on 6 Dec 1687 and two crowns and ten sols on 10 Feb 1688, both ‘for borrowed bookes’ at Turin: NLI MS 13215, f.42.

a testament to foreign experience. Like a traveller's written observations, a library of continental volumes might also imprint the improvements of travel on one's memory. Improvements were regionally or nationally specific. Perceval noted that the successful traveller would 'observe yt in every country for ye generality of authors there is a genius particular to something as for instance the Itallians write well in polliticks the french in memoirs and romances.'¹³⁰¹ This regional approach did not entirely rely on national stereotypes, of course, as some books were indeed easier to acquire at certain locations. With this in mind, we will soon find that many correspondents asked travellers to buy specific works.

The commemoration of place and the collection of books met in the acquisition of printed guides and local histories. Travellers might use guidebooks in preparation for a voyage, like Waring, or in tuition during travel, as with Sir Philip Perceval and Lionel Boyle.¹³⁰² Acquired abroad, however, guides or histories also served as souvenirs of particular places. The Roman mathematician Michelangelo Ricci gave Robert Southwell two small books on the city's curiosities.¹³⁰³ Lionel Boyle bought works on Roman and Neapolitan curiosities, alongside Italian-language lives of the popes and the Roman emperors.¹³⁰⁴ Sir Philip Perceval's financial accounts record similarly place-specific purchases: 'the books of the treasure and tombes' at St. Denis; 'A french new testament with the psalmes' on his visit to the Huguenot temple at Charenton near Paris; 'the book of the Place' at Richelieu in the Loire valley; a book on the siege of La Rochelle at the Atlantic port; several Italian-language books on the antiquities and classical history of Rome; and 'the booke of the history of Naples' on a southerly excursion.¹³⁰⁵ On the way from Venice to Rome, Perceval and Rasigade saw the rich treasures of the Loreto pilgrimage site, a privilege

¹³⁰¹ BL Add MS 47113, f.9v.

¹³⁰² PRONI D695/228, ff.84, 86-90; Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, p.257.

¹³⁰³ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 4 Feb 1661, Gal. 161/101.

¹³⁰⁴ NLI MS 13215, ff.47-8.

¹³⁰⁵ BL Add MSS 46953, ff.190-1; 46954A, ff.206-206v; 46955A, f.176-183v; 46956A, ff.122-148v.

for which Lionel Boyle paid ten years later.¹³⁰⁶ Waring was more fortunate, meeting Fr. Sheldon, a Jesuit who was ‘very civil to us at Loretto giving us papers of the place in English’.¹³⁰⁷ Verhoeven suggests that ‘the famous sanctuary of Loreto was managed as a lucrative bazaar’ that revealed, to Dutch travellers, ‘the foulest defects of Popish Catholicism’.¹³⁰⁸ Apparently untroubled, Perceval bought ‘le livre de Loreto’ before moving on. Reaching Grenoble on the long route home, he acquired a book entitled ‘Rome protestante’, presumably on the subject of Geneva, which he had just left behind.¹³⁰⁹ Lionel Boyle probably made similarly place-specific purchases, but Colladon was less detailed than Gailhard and Rasigade in his accounting, recording simply the purchase of ‘books’.

Travellers similarly acquired maps for immediate didactic purposes or display at home. Sir Robert Southwell, who hung maps of the world at Kings Weston, advised his son Edward that, arriving at new Dutch destinations in 1691, he should ‘Gett a mapp of ye Place in yr. Roome. & then if you survey it from some steeple in ye Towne, you will soone know it.’ Climbing steeples for the view was common among Irish Protestant and English travellers, and Edward continued in later life.¹³¹⁰ He was also to ‘Gett a large mapp of Europe where ye Territoryes lye of Each Prince, and get them coverd with distinct colours.’¹³¹¹ Edward was with government officials but other young travellers had tutors to place maps in an educational context. Sir Philip Perceval set down, at Gailhard’s behest, a short treatise ‘Of The Globe and Maps’.¹³¹² During his tuition at Angers, Perceval used cartographic purchases while reading the French and Dutch gazettes, subscriptions that regularly appear in his

¹³⁰⁶ NLI MS 13215, f.49.

¹³⁰⁷ PRONI D695/228, f.128.

¹³⁰⁸ Verhoeven, ‘Dutch Grand Tour’, p.615.

¹³⁰⁹ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Lady Katherine Perceval, Rome, 9/19 Mar 1678, BL Add MSS 46955A, f.84; 46956A, ff.122-48v.

¹³¹⁰ Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4569, f.4.

¹³¹¹ Sir Robert Southwell, ‘Instructions to my son Edward Southwell then in Holland’, London, 5 Jan 1690/1, BL Add 38015, ff.388-9.

¹³¹² BL Add MS 47113, f.66v.

financial accounts.¹³¹³ ‘Having read the gazette’, Gailhard reported, ‘he hath before him the maps of severall countreys to find out the places and he begins to understand them well’.¹³¹⁴ To this end, though perhaps also as souvenirs, Perceval bought sixteen unnamed maps in Paris, ‘The new maps of Mons, Valenciennes, Cambray, St Omer, Sicily and of upper and lower Alsatia’ at Angers and ‘one Mapp of france’ in Toulouse.¹³¹⁵ Cartographic purchases in Lionel Boyle’s records, including nine bought from Paris and five at Turin, lack description but were probably similarly motivated. The young earl certainly subscribed to gazettes while settled for longer periods.¹³¹⁶ Given Jeremy Hall’s employment as a travelling tutor, it is possible that the five large maps of Rome and ‘fair book of prints’ that he bequeathed to Trinity College, Dublin in 1688 had been used for similarly didactic purposes.¹³¹⁷ Tutors often relate that study took place in a young traveller’s chamber during settled periods at an inn or pension, so perhaps these private rooms were furnished with maps like the Perceval brothers’ chambers in London.¹³¹⁸ Sir Robert Southwell’s practice of hanging maps at Kings Weston suggests that some may have been displayed upon homecoming.

Alongside guidebooks, local histories and maps, travellers acquired prints and engravings to memorialise visits. Lacking ‘the means to buy and ship home original oils and marbles’, Waring spent on this more ‘modest evidence of [his] Roman holiday’. On a shopping trip to the engraver Pietro Santi Bartoli, Waring’s group ‘bought ye: tomb of ye: Ovids giving 2 crowns only for ye: sheets, tho dear yet for ye. raritie & to obleidge ye. Author’.¹³¹⁹ Purchases might more closely represent visits to Italian sites. In Venice, Waring saw the tomb of Antenor, the city’s mythical Trojan founder. He recorded the monument in

¹³¹³ BL Add MSS 46953, ff.220-220v; 46954A, ff.206-206v; 46954B, ff.33-33v.

¹³¹⁴ Jean Gailhard to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 4/14 Feb 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, f.30.

¹³¹⁵ BL Add MSS 46953, ff.190-1; 46954B, ff.33-33v; 46955A, ff.176-83v.

¹³¹⁶ NLI MSS 36, f.726; 13215, ff.9, 12, 15, 22, 41, 53, 56, 57.

¹³¹⁷ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.177; idem, ‘Travellers from Ireland’, p.37.

¹³¹⁸ Gailhard, *Compleat gentleman*, ii, p.37; Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Angers, 17/27 Aug 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.63.

¹³¹⁹ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.177; PRONI D695/226, f.29.

his notebook, with a marginal drawing and its Latin inscription, as ‘sayd by an antiquarian to be but of 400 years standing’.¹³²⁰ The apparent falsehood of the myth did not stop Waring from memorialising his visit with a small purchase, though, as his papers include a print of the tomb entitled ‘Tombeau d’Antenor’.¹³²¹ In Paris in 1714, the elder Edward Southwell similarly bought ‘pictures of french houses’ at the ‘picture shops’ of the city. He retained an interest at home, as Sir John Perceval offered him plans of Parisian houses in 1726.¹³²²

These small, place-specific acquisitions might be altered to represent a traveller’s visit more personally. On a journey from Avignon that took him ‘by the wonderfull relicks of ye Roman greatnesse’, including the Pont du Gard, ‘One at Lyons gave’ Robert Southwell ‘ye figure of ye Bridge wch an englisman tooke and added this inscription Pons triplici serie &c’.¹³²³ Prints might even commemorate what a traveller was unable to observe. The elder Edward Southwell went into war-torn Brussels in July 1696 ‘to see what ye Bombs had done’, finding that they had ‘burnt just the heart of ye town’. The destruction robbed him of the sight of the town house, the king of Spain’s house and ‘a great number of Churches & Convents’, but he was relieved that all were ‘well represented in some pictures I bought at Antwerp’.¹³²⁴ The acquisition of prints or engravings was not simply a cheap option for memorialisation, however, as the wealthy made impressive purchases.¹³²⁵ Robert Watson, a Vatican priest known to Sir Thomas Isham, enthused that Sir Philip Perceval and James Hamilton, earl of Arran, had acquired the most perfect and well-priced engravings he had

¹³²⁰ PRONI D695/226, f.3.

¹³²¹ PRONI D695/230.

¹³²² Bibliothèque Mazarine MS 4569; Sir John Perceval to Edward Southwell, Paris, 22 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.85.

¹³²³ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, [Montpellier], 20/30 Oct 1659, BL Add MS 38015, f.9: ‘a three-tiered bridge’.

¹³²⁴ BL Add MS 58220, ff.6v-7.

¹³²⁵ Anne Brookes, ‘Richard Symonds and Thomas Isham as collectors of prints in seventeenth-century Italy’ in Edward Chaney (ed.), *The evolution of English collecting: receptions of Italian art in the Tudor and Stuart periods* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp.337-95.

ever seen.¹³²⁶ Place-specific mementoes reinforced the social ‘prestige factor’ of travel itself, but individuals equally acquired personally-resonant ‘trifles’.

‘Something ... to shew I have been travelling’

Travellers’ notebooks and letters were shared among family and acquaintances, but gifts and items acquired on commission allowed those left at home to surpass the vicarious foreign encounters promised by textual accounts. Levels of thought that went into gifts varied. Many travellers probably shared the basic motivations of the elder Edward Southwell in the Low Countries. Turning for home in July 1696, he realised that he should find ‘some good Tea or something of that kind to carry with mee to my Lady [Gainsborough] to shew I have been travelling.’¹³²⁷ Edward had been invited to the seat of the earls of Gainsborough at Exton, Rutland. The third earl was then twelve, so the present was presumably for Catherine, the second earl’s widow. Southwell’s choice of tea may have been more reflective than his dismissive language suggests. It fits with his repeated interest in the Dutch East India trade, especially in the practicalities of docks and plantations.¹³²⁸ Tea would not only show Lady Gainsborough that he had ‘been travelling’, but that he had travelled to the Low Countries and appreciated the region’s particularities. The Irish officer, Captain Worth, similarly sent canisters of Congo and Cathay tea to the Percevals from Ostend and Brussels respectively.¹³²⁹ In this sense, gifts functioned like letters as pictures of improving minds. As Southwell and Worth demonstrate, regionally-specific produce might support requests for patronage as well as ties of family or friendship.

¹³²⁶ ‘Ruberto’ Watson to Sir Thomas Isham, Rome, 17 May 1676 [surely 1677], Northants CRO, IC 1088: ‘gli intagli che hanno comprati gl’Illmi. sig.ri Co. D’Arran e persevill a buon prezzo e di tutta perfettione si farebbe il segno della Croce, che che io non hò visto mai tal cosa’.

¹³²⁷ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, [Liège?], received 30 Jul 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 133c.6.

¹³²⁸ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Amsterdam, 2/12 Aug 1696; The Hague, 13/23 Aug 1696 Koninklijke Bibliotheek, MS 133c.6; BL Add MS 21495; Fremantle (ed.), ‘Visit to the United Provinces’.

¹³²⁹ Capt. J. Worth to Lady Catherine Perceval, Ostend, 30 Aug 1724; Worth to Sir John Perceval, Brussels, 20 Sep 1724, BL Add MS 47030, ff.90v, 100.

In Italy and France, too, recognisably regional produce made for obvious gifts. In 1661, Sir John Perceval thanked Robert Southwell ‘for the token you sent us. It was indeed the fairest Parmizan Cheese I ever saw, which made me give it to my Lady Duches of Ormond’.¹³³⁰ Several travellers sent Roman gloves. Southwell’s served to cement the social ties that he was building up abroad, as his three pairs of Frangipani perfumed gloves were destined for the Italian academicians Vincenzo Viviani and Bruto Molaro, as well as an unnamed Englishman.¹³³¹ We might infer, by contrast, that Lionel Boyle had female relatives or acquaintances at home in mind with his acquisition of ‘one Doz[en] and ½ of womens gloves’ at Rome.¹³³² Sir Philip Perceval’s postage of two dozen to Lyons suggests that they were destined for his mother and sisters, then in France.¹³³³ From the Loire valley, the Perceval women sent Helena Southwell a cask each of red and white wine, perhaps from the nearby winery that young Helena Perceval described the following year.¹³³⁴

The journeys that goods made on the way to reception were intimately related to their ascribed value: ‘under premodern conditions, the long-distance movement of precious commodities entailed costs that made the acquisition of them *in itself* a marker of exclusivity’.¹³³⁵ But as St. George Ashe argued from Vienna to a friend in Dublin, cultural difference as well as geographical distance lent value to travellers’ gifts. Ashe regretted that ‘my Musick and other things I sent a while agoe did not please, but ‘twas not fair in you or your Freinds to Slight them because they were not Excellent’. He asked whether they would ‘refuse, or despise a present of Indian or Chinese Coyne, because not so fine as your Mill’d Mony’. His correspondent ‘should therefore in Justice consider the Country from whence

¹³³⁰ Sir John Perceval to Robert Southwell, London, 22 Nov 1661, BL Add MS 46938, f.148; Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.310.

¹³³¹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzo Viviani, Rome, 18 Jan; 19 Feb 1661, Gal. 254/91; 161/158.

¹³³² NLI MS 13215, f.48.

¹³³³ BL Add MS 46956A, ff.122-48v: just over 19 crowns ‘Payé pour deux dousaines de Gans de Rome et pour les envoyer a lion en poste’.

¹³³⁴ Lady Katherine Perceval to Helena Southwell, Saumur, 9/19 Nov 1677, BL Add MS 46954B, f.207.

¹³³⁵ Arjun Appadurai, ‘Introduction: commodities and the politics of value’ in Appadurai (ed.), *Social life of things*, p.44. His italics.

they come, and the different genius, and on that score be satisfied, and gratefull for them'.¹³³⁶

Gifts presented the varieties of the foreign to family, friends and patrons.

Travellers like Ashe hoped that gifts would elicit particular responses at home. This is further demonstrated by the French dolls sent from Paris by Sir John and Lady Catherine Perceval to young female relatives. In 1718, their daughter Kitty hoped for 'a Baby as big as her self with a Sattin Coat, and a Coat of the same silk for her self'. A relative added that 'this is her request which I think a very moderate one'.¹³³⁷ Seven years later, Sir John asked Daniel Dering to tell his niece Helena that 'I design to send her a Baby drest in the French mode'.¹³³⁸ Dering and his daughter responded enthusiastically, the former replying that 'Helena minds her Dancing and French and will deserve her Baby which she is very happy in her Expectation of'.¹³³⁹ The doll was tied to Helena's early educational progress. These gifts were perhaps early examples of McKendrick's 'fashion dolls'.¹³⁴⁰ They allowed Perceval girls to experience the foreign without leaving their London residence, but they also encouraged their acquisition of French-style accomplishments at home.

'This is her request...'

Travellers were commissioned as agents for the acquisition of foreign regional produce. Robert Molesworth expected three chests of 'Florence wine' from his son John that would keep him 'pretty well stocked for a year'. Favouring local specialities, Molesworth still needed 'ye best true white because I have none of that colour'.¹³⁴¹ Helena Le Grand told Sir John Perceval, her first cousin once removed, that she had forgotten 'to trouble you when at Rome with a request' from a Huguenot acquaintance for 'a couple of razors, that being a

¹³³⁶ St. George Ashe to 'George', Vienna, 18/28 Dec 1690, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175a.

¹³³⁷ M. Perceval to [Lady Catherine Perceval], London, 22 July 1718, BL Add MS 47028, f.240v.

¹³³⁸ Sir John Perceval to Daniel Dering, Paris, 29 Dec 1725, BL Add MS 47031, f.67v.

¹³³⁹ Daniel Dering to Sir John Perceval, London, 13 Jan 1725/6, BL Add MS 47031, f.75.

¹³⁴⁰ Neil McKendrick, 'The commercialization of fashion' in McKendrick, John Brewer and J.H. Plumb (eds.), *The birth of a consumer society. The commercialization of eighteenth-century England* (London, 1982), pp.43-7.

¹³⁴¹ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, [London], 7 Jul 1712, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

famous place for ‘em’.¹³⁴² Requests relied on foreign knowledge among those at home and travellers helped each other to procure items expected by friends, family and patrons. In Brussels in July 1696, Edward Southwell ‘made some bargains for lace by ye help of Mr. Fonseca’, always eager to assist ‘English’ visitors ‘in all their business’. In Bruges a week later, Southwell relied on ‘Mrs. Lynch, who helpt mee to by some lace’, though ‘She was then on her departure for England.’¹³⁴³ In the following decades, the presumption that visitors to the Low Countries would bring home lace became oppressive. Sir John Perceval complained from The Hague in 1718 that he had ‘laid out a good deal of money for other People, and they ought to be thankfull for tis a very troublesome matter to match laces, to the quantity desired.’ This was destined for family and friends in Ireland and England but, on another visit in 1726, Perceval was probably happy that his wife instead ‘went out to buy linnen and Lace’ at Antwerp. In Paris, he confessed himself unable (perhaps unwilling) to get snuff and cheeses requested by his cousin, James Fortrey.¹³⁴⁴ Other travellers derived enjoyment from such duties. The younger Edward Southwell told Perceval that he had been ‘in many Shops at Lyons in search of the silk wove with silver, but could find none of a proper size for my Cosin Johnny, and I did not dare choosing for your Lordship a suit after the Goût of this foppish Age.’ Among the goldsmiths of Augsburg, Southwell admitted that ‘had my Lady Percival been here I beleive we should have tempted each other to make a few Purchasses.’¹³⁴⁵

The commissioned acquisition of regional specialities is clearest for printed material. In January 1679, Sir Robert Southwell used his nephew’s presence in Paris to request ‘les

¹³⁴² Helena Le Grand to Sir John Perceval, London, 17 Jan 1706/7, BL Add 47025, ff.66v-67. Le Grand’s acquaintance was ‘Mr. Guenhault’, possibly Thomas Guenault, a Huguenot immigrant to London naturalised in April 1685: David Carnegie A. Agnew, *Protestant exiles from France in the reign of Louis XIV, or, The Huguenot refugees and their descendants in Great Britain and Ireland* (Edinburgh, 1886), ii, p.53.

¹³⁴³ BL Add MS 58220, ff.6v, 29.

¹³⁴⁴ Sir John Perceval Daniel Dering, The Hague, 1 Jul 1718; Sir John Perceval to Philip Perceval, The Hague, 1 Jul 1718 (‘lace for my Sister and Some too for you and my Cos. D. Dering’); Sir John Perceval to Dering, Paris, 23 April 1726; The Hague, 10 Jun 1726, BL Add MSS 47028, ff.236-7; 47031, ff.156, 179.

¹³⁴⁵ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, Turin, 21 Oct/2 Nov 1725; Augsburg, 23 Jun/4 Jul 1726, BL Add MS 47031, ff.20v, 192.

oeuvres de Boileau in quarto'. Though Rasigade confessed that these might be difficult to find, they appear in financial records a few days later.¹³⁴⁶ The elder Edward Southwell asked Sir John Perceval, then at The Hague, to bring home 'any new Maps come out of the War or of places'.¹³⁴⁷ Perceval's brother, Philip, presumed that 'When you are at Amsterdam you will probably enquire at Rogers, what New Musick he has and the rates.' Philip wished to know 'whether he charges too high a Rate.' Sir John assured him that he would 'enquire if any new Musick be come out of late' and would send any 'in a Box with other things immediatly to London.'¹³⁴⁸ William Molyneux made similar use of his brother Thomas's proximity to book sales in the university city of Leiden in 1684, such that the 'peices that my Brother has lately bought for me at an Auction ... have compleated my Little Library' of works by Johannes Hevelius. There Thomas 'laid out for' William 'a good sum of Mony', purchasing volumes by Kepler, among others, that were 'Cheap enough I think.'¹³⁴⁹ Archbishop King built up his library through travelling acquaintances like Samuel Molyneux in London and Amsterdam and William Domville in Paris, asking for books that he could not find in Ireland or England.¹³⁵⁰ King warned Molyneux that he would give him 'some trouble about books especially if you go to Paris', though he only wanted 'one at Amsterdam'.¹³⁵¹

George Berkeley was particularly alive to the regional peculiarities of the Italian book trade. His perusal of booksellers at Turin and Genoa convinced him in 1714 that 'Nothing

¹³⁴⁶ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Paris, 15/25 Jan 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, f.11; financial accounts, ff.122-48v.

¹³⁴⁷ Edward Southwell to Sir John Perceval, London, 30 Sep 1707, BL Add MS 47025, f.78v.

¹³⁴⁸ Philip Perceval to Sir John Perceval, London, 24 Jun 1718; Sir John Perceval to Philip Perceval, The Hague, 1 Jul 1718, BL Add MS 47028, ff.233v, 237.

¹³⁴⁹ William Molyneux to John Flamsteed, Dublin, 16 Dec 1684, *Flamsteed correspondence*, ii, p.211. *DUM* claims that 'although the annual sum allowed him by his father and friends scarcely exceeded 100l., yet the collection of books purchased by him during his residence in Holland and France forms a considerable portion of the present very extensive family library' in 1841: (Nov 1841), p.607. The Pitt Collection contains three works by Hevelius and one by Kepler, old enough to be the books in question, though they may be later additions by Samuel Molyneux or Nathaniel St. André: Southampton Public Libraries, *A catalogue of the Pitt Collection* (Southampton, 1964), pp.56, 70.

¹³⁵⁰ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Dublin, 20 Feb 1712; 7 Mar 1713; King to William Domville, Dublin, 3 Feb 1717, TCD Lyons MSS 750/4, ff.120, 126 (82v, 85v); 2535, f.74.

¹³⁵¹ William King to Samuel Molyneux, Bath, 10 Jun 1713, TCD Lyons MS 750/4, f.165(104). King wanted the second volume of 'Gothoseeds code of the Civill Law printed at Amsterdam 1663', having been unable to 'meet with the second single, tho I might have had both together.'

curious in the sciences has of late been published in Italy'.¹³⁵² Three years later, he and William Domville instead spent a morning in Rome 'Looking for Greek books' but again the shops were 'ill furnished and give one a mean idea of the Roman literature.'¹³⁵³ In the same city, Berkeley acted as a literary agent for his friend and patron Sir John Perceval, looking for 'prints or books' on his behalf, especially those relating to architecture and antiquities. Perceiving that 'no sort of learning flourishes' at Rome 'but civil and canon law', he assured Perceval that 'if there be any particular authors or editions that you want, please to let me know, and when I come to Padua or Venice, I shall make it my business to enquire for them.' Venice, in particular, was 'the great mart for books', where Berkeley would purchase for Perceval 'anything new worth buying'.¹³⁵⁴

In a more transient sense, travellers fulfilled the role of Jacobsen's diplomats, who acted as agents and purchasers, allowing contacts at home prestigious access to continental markets, especially in the early years of our period.¹³⁵⁵ Irish Protestants like Robert Southwell, John Molesworth and William Leathes imply that acquisitive obligations to kin, acquaintances and patrons persisted on later diplomatic postings.¹³⁵⁶ From Portugal, Southwell relayed oranges, ham, apple jam, manuscript pamphlets, local sermons and a Portuguese genealogy to contacts in England, though for books Lisbon proved a 'barren place'. Francis Parry, his successor in Portugal, continued to convey local goods, keeping Southwell in 'little dried Oranges' at home.¹³⁵⁷ Diplomatic purchases move beyond our present scope. For now, travellers acquired souvenirs that complemented written, oral and occasionally drawn accounts when they sought 'to shew I have been travelling'. For those at

¹³⁵² George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Genoa, 4 Feb 1714 NS, *Berkeley and Percival*, p.132.

¹³⁵³ 11 Jan 1717, *Works of George Berkeley* (1948-57), vii, p.250.

¹³⁵⁴ George Berkeley to Sir John Perceval, Rome, 28 Jul 1718, *Berkeley and Percival*, pp.172-3.

¹³⁵⁵ Jacobsen, *Luxury and power*, p.85.

¹³⁵⁶ Molesworth, 'John Molesworth'; Barnard, *Grand figure*, pp.157, 166-7, 176.

¹³⁵⁷ Robert Southwell to Thomas Lloyd, Madrid, 12 Sep 1666; Lisbon, 15/25 Nov 1667; Deale, 15 Jun 1668; Antonio de Souza de Macedo to Southwell, Lisbon, 24 May 1670; Francis Parry to Southwell, Lisbon, 8/18 Jun 1675; 18/28 Jan 1677/8; Parry to Godolphin, Lisbon, 8/18 Sep 1668; Parry to Williamson, Lisbon, 4/14 Jun 1669, BL Add MSS 35099, ff.27v, 46, 67v, 78v, 166v, 196v; 35100, ff.6v, 30v.

home, objects given as gifts or tracked down on commission stood alongside notebooks and eager questioning as they pieced together continental experience of their own. For women, especially, requests for regional items like Flemish lace and French fashion dolls allowed foreign contact where travel itself was less likely. The transmission of objects had as large a role to play as textual and oral accounts in fulfilling John Perceval's 'bold' desire, that 'an elder Brother shall travell for ye service & advantage of ye younger.'

Gift-exchange and Irish goods

If we recognise a two-way social interaction between traveller and host, we ought to avoid reproducing a simple account of cultural sponging through souvenirs and gifts, whether statuary or gallstones. Exchange surpassed the one-sided acquisition of 'cultural booty'.¹³⁵⁸ Gifts passed between travellers and hosts, though exchange related closely to wealth, contacts and immersion in the continental 'beau monde'. While Southwells and Percevals feature regularly in what follows, there is less evidence from Waring or Cosby. The bestowal and acceptance of objects made social relations manifest in their unevenness.¹³⁵⁹ One particularly clear and on-going example is provided by the trans-generational relationship between the Southwells, the Percevals and the Florentine grand ducal court, the contours of which have already been traced. The generosity of the grand dukes was lavish. Robert Southwell received a collection of 'things for health' from Ferdinando II and Sir Philip Perceval 'a black box of Italian ointments' from Cosimo III.¹³⁶⁰ Perceval also received a 'liberall' gift of foodstuffs, including forty flasks containing four types of excellent wine, a basket of ice, eight capons, twenty chickens, twenty pigeons, twelve sausages and two dishes of dried jam. The grand

¹³⁵⁸ John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination: English culture in the eighteenth century* (New York, 1997), p.207.

¹³⁵⁹ Marcel Mauss, *The gift: the form and reason for exchange in archaic societies* (London, 2002).

¹³⁶⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, f.11v; John Perceval to Sir Philip Perceval, Lincoln's Inn, 26 Mar 1680, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.92.

duke had rarely, wrote Perceval's tutor Rasigade, made such a lavish present.¹³⁶¹ Medici largesse escalated. In 1707, Sir John Perceval was offered, however seriously, the finest picture in their collection.

The Southwells and Percevals were not as favoured as their own papers claim. Cosimo III dispensed 'gifts of wine and fruit to all new arrivals' from Britain.¹³⁶² He sent Charles Butler '32 noble flasks of ye. best & severall sorts of florence wines, four severall large dishes of varietie of sweet meats, a dussen cheeses ... a dussen of Bolonian sasages, two dussen of cappens, a creele of live pidgeons, a nother of chickens 6 or 8 dussen of small birds puld, as many of fedd thrush with the feathers on, 2 or 3 basketts of Ice to coole ye: wine.'¹³⁶³ Even before Cosimo's reign, in late 1660, the Englishman Banaster Maynard received similar bounty carried by 'six Porters with large Baskets on their heads'.¹³⁶⁴ Nevertheless, the Southwells and Percevals returned obligations to the Medici in a two-sided gift-exchange. Though their contributions were appropriately smaller, thereby attesting to grand ducal patronage, they were diverse, resonant and often reliant on Irish residence. The same holds for other Irish Protestant interactions with continental hosts.

One gift that flowed from traveller to host was whiskey, usually known as 'usquebaugh'. Cullen describes whiskey as 'one of the comparatively rare instances in which native civilization seduced Anglo-Irish attitudes', an adoption elsewhere explained with reference to the damp climate endured by all.¹³⁶⁵ Settler patronage continued the sense that whiskey was 'a socially prestigious product', given the pre-industrial difficulties of its household

¹³⁶¹ Alexandre de la Rasigade to Sir Robert Southwell, Florence, 10/20 Sep 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.109: '40 fiaschi dexellent vin de 4 sortes, dune corbeille de Glace, de 8 chapons, 20 poulets 20 pigeonneaux 12 saucissots et 2 bassins de confiture seches'.

¹³⁶² Sweet, 'British perceptions of Florence', p.841.

¹³⁶³ PRONI D695/228, f.37.

¹³⁶⁴ Brennan (ed.), *Origins*, p.251.

¹³⁶⁵ Louis M. Cullen, *The emergence of modern Ireland, 1600-1900* (London, 1981), p.172; Leslie Clarkson and Margaret Crawford, *Feast and famine: food and nutrition in Ireland, 1500-1920* (Oxford, 2001), p.27.

production, and thus one that connoted wealth and hospitality.¹³⁶⁶ Irish Protestants kept up their supplies of whiskey in England and continental Europe. Amid invasion rumours in late 1688, Sir Robert Southwell's agent, Philip Madoxe, relayed the usual provision of Irish 'usquebah' to the Perceval family, then in London. As tensions rose, Madoxe thought the whiskey 'good to carry into the field'.¹³⁶⁷ In more peaceful times, Sir Thomas Southwell helped Thomas, Baron Coningsby send '3 dozen [bottles] of the best Usquebath' from Ireland to a Bristol druggist.¹³⁶⁸ Richard Cox made similar gifts to English friends.¹³⁶⁹ Further afield, in Turin in 1724, John Molesworth was promised 'Sack, Sturgeon, Books, Usquebagh &c', sent by his brother in Ireland via the family's London agent.¹³⁷⁰ Christopher Vowell, the Church-of-Ireland minister, Charleville schoolmaster, drinker and poet, knew whiskey's celebratory role but also its connotations of home. He planned to welcome his kinsman Sir Philip Perceval back from France and Italy with 'a few drops of Irish water taken from some of our Country Mountains wch are altogether as high tho not soe clear as Parnassus & wch I may (I hope) without Presumption call Isqbagh'.¹³⁷¹

The spirit carried homely associations but 'In the seventeenth century whiskey was one of the few local products to appeal to strangers' palates.'¹³⁷² Distilling was not commercialised until the mid-eighteenth century but, before then, Irish residents sometimes encountered interest in whiskey during their travels abroad.¹³⁷³ At Cleves in 1696, Edward Southwell was invited to 'dinner wth. ye Electress', where 'wee had some discourse that lead

¹³⁶⁶ Cullen, *Emergence*, p.19; Edward B. McGuire, *Irish whiskey: a history of distilling, the spirit trade, and excise controls in Ireland* (Dublin, 1973).

¹³⁶⁷ Philip Madoxe to Sir Robert Southwell, Whitehall, 25 Sep; 11 Oct 1688, Bod. MS Eng. Lett. c 54, ff.124, 145.

¹³⁶⁸ Sir Thomas Southwell to Thomas, Baron Coningsby of Clanbrassil, Dublin, 1 May 1712, PRONI D638/30, f.30.

¹³⁶⁹ Dickson, *Old world colony*, p.386.

¹³⁷⁰ Richard Molesworth to John Molesworth, Brackenstown, 4 Nov 1724, NLI Clements Papers, p.3753.

Confirmation that the goods 'were all long ago lodged in Eckersall's hands' suggests that the sack and sturgeon may not have perished on their journey to Turin. John Eckersall had acted as John's secretary in Florence.

¹³⁷¹ Christopher Vowell to Sir Philip Perceval, Kiltwoig, 16 May 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, f.103;

MacLysaght (ed.), *Orrery papers*, pp.245-6; BL Add MS 47025, f.92v.

¹³⁷² Clarkson and Crawford, *Feast and famine*, p.55.

¹³⁷³ McGuire, *Irish whiskey*, pp.19, 149, 172.

at last to Usquebagh, & the dayly draft Madame Mazarin takes of it.’ Though the electress was, according to Southwell, ‘no lover of strong things’, she ‘seemed to express a desire of tasting what it was.’¹³⁷⁴ Continental knowledge of Irish whiskey perhaps relied on travel narratives that had, since the Tudor period, maintained the trope of drinking ‘usquebaugh’ or ‘aqua vitae’ in accounts of native Irish custom, even if this belied the drink’s actual restriction before 1750 to ‘the tables of the great’.¹³⁷⁵ In Cleves, though, whiskey drew attention for its allegedly healthful properties, unsurprisingly given the natural-philosophical interests that the electress inherited from her mother.¹³⁷⁶

Irish-resident travellers were well-placed to satisfy foreign curiosity. A courtier at Cleves thought of asking Lady Athlone to send whiskey, but Edward Southwell saw an opportunity to ingratiate himself. He ‘did not presume to tell her highness I would gett her some’ but informed others afterwards. Edward confided to his father that ‘if it were possible to gett a dozen bottles of exellent good, tho her highness likes it not, it might be acceptable at Court for a tast[e].’ He wished he knew ‘where such a parcell might be gott’ but it is unclear whether Sir Robert provided one.¹³⁷⁷ Sir John Perceval was more obviously successful in using interest in whiskey to improve his foreign standing. The Florentine courtier Lorenzo Magnolfi wrote to him after his departure from Tuscany in 1707 to ask for ‘some Usquebah when you are in Ireland’. Given the high status of ‘experimenters’ at the Medici court, perhaps the spirit’s supposedly medicinal properties were discussed in person. Perceval dispatched the whiskey and Magnolfi assured him that ‘we have drunk your health in the

¹³⁷⁴ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Cleves, 19/29 Aug 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 133c.6. Hortense Mancini, duchesse Mazarin, niece of the cardinal and mistress of Charles II.

¹³⁷⁵ Joep Leerssen, ‘From whiskey to famine: food and intercultural encounters in Irish history’ in Thomas M. Wilson (ed.), *Food, drink and identity in Europe* (Amsterdam; New York, 2006), p.50; Cullen, *Emergence*, p.19.

¹³⁷⁶ Lloyd Strickland, ‘The philosophy of Sophie, Electress of Hanover’, *Hypatia*, 24:2 (Spring 2009), pp.188, 193.

¹³⁷⁷ Edward Southwell to Sir Robert Southwell, Cleves, 19/29 Aug 1696, Koninklijke Bibliotheek MS 133c.6.

liquour wth. Mr. Envoy Newton, and we found it speciall good.’ Perceval even received thanks from the grand duke.¹³⁷⁸

The use of Irish items as gifts for foreign notables extended beyond whiskey. Robert Southwell felt obliged to the Milanese alchemist Giuseppe Francesco Borri, whom he met at Amsterdam through other Italian academicians.¹³⁷⁹ Southwell promised to repay Borri’s intellectual patronage and hospitality, which had included gifts of ‘a Diamond ring, a Turkey stone, & other things, together with the receipt for making the Cera Catholica.’¹³⁸⁰ The traveller presented the alchemist with a magnet bought at Florence, but on his way home he promised to find ‘the most fantastical things’ to send him.¹³⁸¹ This, Southwell observed to another Italian patron, was difficult for ‘ultramontanes’, who possessed few ‘delicate’ things at home.¹³⁸² As with foreign collections explored by St. George Ashe and Samuel Molyneux, ‘There was a tendency to deprecate what Ireland had to offer, and, in contrast, to enthuse, maybe excessively, over what was on view elsewhere.’¹³⁸³ Southwell, however, managed to find gifts for Italian natural-philosophical and aristocratic contacts. They were probably chosen for their rarity rather than any connotations of Irish residence, which enabled rather than predetermined the use of certain items. To Borri, possibly at the alchemist’s request, Southwell promised Irish soil from the top of a mountain. This he posted a month after his return, along with unspecified other things for which Borri had asked. More ambitiously, Southwell sent the Tuscan grand duke two Irish wolfhounds, though it is unclear whether the

¹³⁷⁸ Lorenzo Magnolfi to Sir John Perceval, Florence, 22 Nov 1707; Perceval to Magnolfi, Dublin, 5 Jul 1708; Magnolfi to Perceval, Florence, 12 Jun 1708; 19 Aug 1708; Cosimo III to Perceval, 18 Dec 1708, BL Add MS 47025, ff.81, 89v, 90v, 94, 109.

¹³⁷⁹ Robert Southwell to Vincenzio Viviani, Nieuwpoort, 12 Feb 1662, Gal. 161/191: Borri is ‘un miracolo d’huomo’.

¹³⁸⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.19v-20: Borri is ‘the famous Italian Chymist, who lived like a Prince, & who had been burnt in Effigie whilst he was at Rome, for points of Heresy laid to his charge.’ ‘Cera Catholica’ may have been the substance Borri used to whiten pearls, which Southwell called the ‘most glorious acquisition of all my travels’ (‘questa più gloriosa acquista de tutti le mie viaggie’): Robert Southwell to Giuseppe Francesco Borri, The Hague, 2 Jan 1662 (draft), BL Add MS 38015, f.19.

¹³⁸¹ Southwell to Borri, The Hague, 2 Jan 1662 (draft), BL Add MS 38015, f.19: ‘le Cose più bidzarre’.

¹³⁸² BL Add 38015, f.32: Southwell’s patron (‘patrona’) is a woman, possibly an influential Milanese nun to whom he was introduced by the earl of Carlingford’s brother: ‘My letter to the Nun at Milan by Capt. Taffe’, ff.29-30.

¹³⁸³ Barnard, ‘Collecting’, p.145.

animals arrived as they go unmentioned by Viviani.¹³⁸⁴ Wolfhounds had long been prized by Irish residents ‘as offerings to flatter the important and self-important’, a tradition Southwell continued abroad.¹³⁸⁵

While souvenirs represented voyages for travellers and those at home, gift-exchange memorialised Irish Protestant visits among hosts and connoted the social relations thereby begun. The objects that Sir John Perceval sent to Florence alongside whiskey are instructive. Magnolfi asked whether Perceval might, on his return to Ireland, ‘get me a little kerry stone to make a seal ... the more if it is a thing easily to be got.’ Perceval apologised that the ‘Kerry stones’ he sent were ‘but two’, but they were ‘ready plain’d, so that the Engraver has nothing to do but to put your Arms therein.’ He advised that ‘We generally put the Cypher on one side, the Crest on the other, & the Arms on the 3d.’ Magnolfi ‘order’d three of the best Intaglios of the Great Duke my Master to be cut in one of the Kerry stones’, so that the seal would be ‘an eternal memory of my obligations to you.’¹³⁸⁶ Whiskey, wolfhounds, Kerry stone and even Irish soil ought not to be freighted, perhaps, with too much meaning with regard to Irish Protestant self-understandings and self-presentations, as the purposes behind acquisition and bestowal are notoriously opaque.¹³⁸⁷ Nevertheless, they demonstrate that continental gift-exchange, which might cement communities of obligation and shared interests among confessionally-diverse travellers and hosts, was reciprocal and featured objects that relied on travellers’ Irish connections. They contribute to the sense that rootless ‘cosmopolitanism’ fails to capture relationships in which residential background held enduring importance.¹³⁸⁸

¹³⁸⁴ Southwell to Borri, The Hague, 2 Jan 1662 (‘della terra Hibernesse cavata della cima d’una motagna’); Southwell to Borri [a month after return] (‘Hieri mandai al Gran duca due cani Hibernesse per il Lupo’), BL Add MS 38015, ff.19, 28-28v;

¹³⁸⁵ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.237.

¹³⁸⁶ Lorenzo Magnolfi to Sir John Perceval, Florence, 22 Nov 1707; Perceval to Magnolfi, Dublin, 5 Jul 1708; Magnolfi to Perceval, Florence, 19 Aug 1708, BL Add MS 47025, ff.81, 89v, 94.

¹³⁸⁷ Barnard, *Grand figure*, p.123.

¹³⁸⁸ Jacob, *Strangers nowhere in the world*; Games, *Web of empire*.

Conclusions

Objects stood alongside written and oral accounts when travellers documented their experiences. They were conveyed home via local and mercantile contacts, though not without risk. Items were variously acquired in the broader context of visits to cabinets of curiosity, libraries, armouries and other continental 'sites of knowledge', including Catholic treasuries, and visits to these places were themselves 'collected' through written accounts, drawings, catalogues and small items. The acquisition of objects documented good company or particular visits. Identifiably regional produce, whether material, clothing or foodstuffs, acted as souvenirs of particular places. Destinations were also memorialised in guidebooks, histories, maps or engravings of local interest. While printed or manuscript material might serve immediately educational purposes for young men, they also prolonged 'improvements' at home and served 'to shew I have been travelling'. Travellers not only bought for themselves, however, as many purchases went to family, acquaintances and patrons. Items demonstrated that the sender was well-travelled but they also allowed others direct contact with the foreign. Those at home enlisted travellers to acquire diverse foreign objects, from books, maps and music to Roman busts and Portuguese dried oranges. Gifts were not only sent home, but also helped to forge links with host communities. Exchange was reciprocal and moved beyond cultural sponging, though the objects that travellers brought home helped to carry ideas into Ireland. In fact, many gifts given to hosts relied on travellers' Irish residence. Their place of origin was bound up with the social relations that emerged from travel, even if most hosts tended only to see 'Englishmen'.

The objects acquired by travellers were clearly anything but 'trifles', forming a diverse body of documentation that related their European experiences, but material-cultural approaches to the past must move beyond 'listing and classifying' and towards 'attitudes and

ideas'.¹³⁸⁹ Two parallel changes are clearest in the trans-generational experiences of the Southwell and Perceval families but also arise in more sparsely documented encounters. First, we see a growing comfort with material manifestations of continental Catholicism within a broader cultural and antiquarian interest in objects at 'sites of knowledge'. Secondly, we can track increasingly lavish purchases, from the relatively modest and idiosyncratic acquisitions of Robert Southwell to his grandson Edward's prolific and fashionable spending.

We might explain these two phenomena with reference to social changes over time. Into the eighteenth century, the Protestant Ascendancy was increasingly secure in Ireland, perhaps lending confessional confidence. At the same time, Britain-wide processes encouraged the homogenisation of a Grand Tour and increasingly predictable 'shopping trips'. But this cannot be the whole story for the Southwells and Percevals. Confession and consumption were equally bound up with elevated social station, itself tied into trans-generational experiences of continental travel. These families developed attachments to multi-confessional elites abroad, crossing religious divides in the company of illustrious Catholics. They also rose socially at home, enjoying increased patronage and rising incomes that enabled shopping trips. They transferred their primary residence from Cork to Gloucestershire and London. As Verhoeven suggests for Dutch travellers, it is an open question whether altered behaviour towards Catholics indicated broad social change or family social mobility.¹³⁹⁰ The standing of the Southwells, the Percevals and other Irish Protestant families relied to some degree on the presentation of their continental travel. It is towards the fraught, but potentially prestigious, process of returning home that we finally turn.

¹³⁸⁹ Barnard, *Guide to sources*, p.12.

¹³⁹⁰ Verhoeven, 'Dutch Grand Tour', p.628.

8. Conclusions

Robert Southwell made an uncertain start to adult life. The years between Oxford and foreign travel, he admitted, had been ‘blankes wherein I could write nothing’.¹³⁹¹ We have certainly found that neither he nor other Protestant travellers from Ireland could say the same about their continental experiences. Although Southwell was ‘asshamed of my yeares for the ill account they afford’, after travel he took solace in the fact that ‘the latest number of them are in this respect of a better edition’. Back in Kinsale, he succumbed to introspection about his future. In contrast to his father, who would claim that a lack of conversational civility had kept him ‘on the other side of the hedge’ and away from acting ‘any parte in the face of the people’, the younger Southwell felt that ‘my education abroad has unshapt me from following ye plough’ and ‘a private coarse of life’.¹³⁹² But contemporary fears about the changes that travel might work were widespread.¹³⁹³ The degree to which foreign encounters shaped, or indeed ‘unshapt’, travellers required careful presentation.

Advice from friends and family had sought to mould foreign experiences and now extended to the potentially fraught process of returning home. Much counsel was prohibitive, but travellers were also reminded of the particular kinds of change that voyages were supposed to work. Christopher Vowell welcomed his kinsman, Sir Philip Perceval, home to Kinsale in 1679 with whiskey and a poem that it is worth quoting at length.¹³⁹⁴ Reminding Sir Philip of his ‘Debt to God’ for safe passage and his ‘Debt to Countrey’ on account of his Perceval and Southwell lineage, Vowell warned him about his behaviour after travel:

¹³⁹¹ Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), draft, c.1662/3, BL Add MS 72852, f.14v.

¹³⁹² Robert Southwell, draft, c.1662 [possibly to Elizabeth Dering]; Robert Southwell to a ‘cousin’, Kinsale, 18 Sep 1662; Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), draft, c.1664; Robert Southwell (father) to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 31 Oct 1671, BL Add MS 38015, ff.26, 42, 64, 127.

¹³⁹³ Warneke, *Educational traveller*.

¹³⁹⁴ The poem does not feature in Andrew Carpenter (ed.), *Verse in English from Tudor and Stuart Ireland* (Cork, 2003).

Think who you are in all you speak & doe
 And when you list to speake let tongue & heart
 Keep pace together. Leave yt Gallick Art
 Of speaking wt they never think: nor write
 As speake. as if they ow'd to truth a spight.
 Tis misbecoming of an English min'd [sic]
 Which is to truth and Justice still confin'd
 Be carefull of yr word but chiefly now
 ffor hopes will hang upon a slender bough.
 Which if it chance to breake then downe comes all
 And soe yr hon[ou]r suffers in ye fall
 Now every one expects a golden showre
 Makes Castles in the aire at least a Towre
 But Sr Remember you must make a Dowre
 Yr travell was in Order unto rest
 The weari'd Bird at night coms to her Nest
 Secure yr vertues in a Married brest.¹³⁹⁵

Vowell's poem reinforced common themes of travel advice. Perceval's foreign experiences were a rite of passage, after which he might begin an adult life of marriage and, befitting his social position, public service. He was to return with 'an English min'd', a counter-intuitive demand encouraged by pre-voyage preparations that emphasised Protestant anglicisation and the everyday company of English fellow travellers abroad. Vowell's poem, however, carries a tension inherent to educational travel. Perceval's voyage was supposed to change him, as preparation for adulthood, but concerns persisted that predominantly Catholic destinations might leave too indelible a mark. This central concern had informed the theoretical delimitation of foreign experience on grounds of age, wealth, religion and gender, though in practice continental experience was more widespread. The results of European travel, especially as undertaken by wealthy young men like Perceval, were of particular concern to Irish-resident Protestants. While Vowell presumed that Sir Philip's 'travell was in Order unto rest', others, including Perceval's uncle Southwell, hoped that mobility, both social and residential, would flow from continental experience.

¹³⁹⁵ Christopher Vowell to Sir Philip Perceval, Kiltwoig, 16 May 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, ff.103-4.

‘Leave yt Gallick Art...’

Advice on civility in foreign company had entreated travellers to mould their words, their gestures and even their appearance to those around them but, as Vowell’s poem indicated, many changes were not envisaged as permanent. This is particularly clear in matters of dress. Travellers were attuned to regional and national variations. Observing some five hundred Sicilians ‘of qualyty’ in Rome in 1678, Sir Philip Perceval noticed that ‘al such of them as could speake french had metamorfosed themselve into reall monsieurs yt is as farr as hatts periwiggs Cravatts ribons Gloves and swords would permitt’. Transgression of established national stereotypes was amusing: ‘their shooes and stookins were meer Spanish so thatt they represented most commicall figures.’¹³⁹⁶ More seriously, Waring kept notes on local dress, including the various ‘garbs of ye: Inhabitants of Nurember[g]’, the costume of Tuscan ‘Cuntry people’ and the ‘Habits’ of Italian men and women more generally. Clothing and hairstyles he compared to those of ‘our gentrie’, ‘our English’ and ‘our Irish’.¹³⁹⁷ He also drew varieties of female costume. Waring’s pencil drawings, which appear without annotation in two of his notebooks, are very similar to illustrations of the ‘Divers Habits of the Women at Au[g]sburg’ and later Strasbourg in the 1699 second English edition of Misson’s printed account, though their relationship is unclear.¹³⁹⁸ Irish Protestants abroad were cognisant of regional and national variations in costume.

Travellers and advisors therefore regarded the adoption of local sartorial conventions as an element of conversational civility. Colladon told Lionel Boyle’s guardians, who had dithered over the earl’s itinerary, that he dared ‘not supply him with cloaths because they must be according to the place he is to live in’.¹³⁹⁹ St. George Ashe took this duty to heart in Vienna. In March 1690, he was ‘in ye criticall convulsions of 5 languages’, since ‘English I

¹³⁹⁶ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Rome, 16 Jul 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.32v.

¹³⁹⁷ PRONI D695/226, ff.34, 42; 228, f.25; 229, f.52.

¹³⁹⁸ PRONI D695/225, f.48; 228, ff.6-7; Maximilien Misson, *A new voyage to Italy* (London, 1699), i, pp.85, 282.

¹³⁹⁹ Germain Colladon to dowager countess of Orrery, Brussels, 25 Apr 1687, NLI MS 36, f.615.

am forgetting as fast as I can, French I am improving, German & Italian I am learning, & latin I am spaking'. His endeavours would qualify him as 'a speciall burgess or representative for ye city of Babell'. Ashe admitted, however, that his 'language' was 'not ye only alteration wch. this journey has wrought upon me'. He asked his uncle to 'imagine a fair part of curled red whiskers upon my upper lip (& by ye by he is here esteemed an eunuch who dos not nourish such) no linnen about my neck, but a huge purple furr'd coat on, with a two handed muffle tyed to my middle'.¹⁴⁰⁰ Though the clerical garb of the Church of Ireland would not have admitted the coat, a 1710 portrait, attributed to Hugh Howard, suggests that Ashe did not keep the facial hair either.¹⁴⁰¹ Such changes had allowed him to benefit from civil conversation abroad, but were not brought home.

Other kinds of short-term local accommodation were cast aside. This was especially true during periods of heightened confessional tension at home, as travellers returned from predominantly Catholic destinations. Again, the Southwells and Percevals provide an instructively detailed example from 1679. Lady Katherine, Sir Philip and the rest of the Perceval household managed their return carefully because Sir Robert Southwell was embroiled in rumours surrounding the Popish Plot. He was briefly accused of withholding evidence in records of a Privy Council hearing, though a Lords committee exonerated him.¹⁴⁰² The accusation, and indeed the resolution that Southwell was 'a man of irreproachable integrity and fidelity', reached the continental gazettes in April 1679.¹⁴⁰³ Nevertheless, the episode left a lasting impression on a man of political caution. He was

¹⁴⁰⁰ St. George Ashe to Henry St. George, Vienna, 6/16 Mar 1689/90, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letter 1.

¹⁴⁰¹ David Webb and Anne Crookshank, *The paintings and sculpture of Trinity College Dublin, seventeenth century to present day* (Dublin, 1990), p.14.

¹⁴⁰² Vindication of Sir Robert Southwell by Lords, Bod. Carte MS 72, ff.458-61; D.M. Gardener, 'The work of the English Privy Council, 1660-1679 (with respect to domestic affairs)' (Oxford, DPhil thesis, 1992).

¹⁴⁰³ *Traduction libre des gazettes Flamandes & autres*, 13 Apr 1679, NAI M.2541, ff.27-30. This print copy, once part of the dispersed Phillipps collection, may have been in Southwell's possession. At some point, the section pertaining to him has been indicated marginally.

‘carefull in this Cloudy time to free myself from the imputation of deserting his Ma[jes]t[y]’s Service’ but retreated to his Gloucestershire estate.¹⁴⁰⁴

Accusations resurfaced in the French theologian Antoine Arnauld’s 1681 *Apologie pour les Catholiques*, an analysis of the trials of Coleman and Strafford.¹⁴⁰⁵ Thomas Henshaw, Southwell’s Royal Society contemporary, heard of the accusations the following year and was ‘so much concernd for’ his friend’s ‘sake that I sought ye book all over ye town, but found it not till at last in a private hand and gave 5s for it, and read it over wth great eagarnes’. He quoted the offending passages to Southwell, who asked for the book. This was ‘the first Notice that Ever any French Author had mentioned’ his name. The limits of Southwell’s cross-confessional continental engagement are suggested, however, in his consolation. He reassured Henshaw that ‘if I never have any other Accuser, then a French Papist, & my Crime lye not on this side [of] Dover, I may live long Enough, without Holding up my Hand at the Barr.’¹⁴⁰⁶ Southwell used continental connections to quash European accusations, recruiting the Huguenot librarian Henri Justel to ensure that the matter was amicably resolved.¹⁴⁰⁷ Southwell admitted that ‘Monsr Arnolds high Fame in the World for learning & veracity’ made it ‘almost unmannerly in mee to differ from him’, though he presumed to ‘make a litle defence.’¹⁴⁰⁸ Justel secured a letter of apology from Arnauld.¹⁴⁰⁹

In 1679, the initial accusations against Southwell found Lady Katherine, Sir Philip and the Perceval household in France. Acquaintances in Ireland feared, we have seen, that Lady Katherine had converted to Catholicism. John Perceval’s Oxford friends teased him about

¹⁴⁰⁴ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 6 Dec 1679, BL Add MS 46956B, f.108.

¹⁴⁰⁵ Antoine Arnauld, *Apologie pour les Catholiques, contre les faussetez & les calomnies d’un live intitulé: La politique du clergé de France* (Liège, 1681), pp.221, 224-8, 394-6.

¹⁴⁰⁶ Thomas Henshaw to Sir Robert Southwell, Kensington, 18 Nov 1682, Royal Society MM/20/56; Southwell to Henshaw, [Kings Weston], 22 Nov 1682, BL Add MS 38015, ff.278-9v.

¹⁴⁰⁷ Henri Justel to Sir Robert Southwell, London, 27 Sep; 31 Oct; 6 Dec; 16 Dec; 17 Dec 1684; 16 Jan; 23 Jan 1685, BL MS Egerton 2127, ff.3, 12, 16, 18, 19, 20, 22, 26.

¹⁴⁰⁸ Sir Robert Southwell to Thomas Henshaw, Kings Weston, 9 Jan 1682/3, BL Add MS 38015, ff.280, 283v.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Antoine Arnauld to Sir Robert Southwell, 26 Feb 1685; Southwell to Arnauld, London, 25 Mar 1685, BNF MS 9363, ff.340, 342

‘frenchification’ and his partiality ‘to Monsieur’.¹⁴¹⁰ In Ireland, Sir Thomas Southwell would soon ‘be in some trouble about the County of Limerick plot’.¹⁴¹¹ In this context, travellers had to return carefully from Catholic France. When Southwell invited his sister to stay in London on her way from Paris to Kinsale in February 1679, he warned that if she had employed ‘a Papist Servant, while you are of that side, you must resolve to leave her there, or it will sound very ill on this.’¹⁴¹² Lady Katherine had indeed taken on French Catholics, though she constantly complained that they seemed ‘above yt thing cald service’. She assured her brother that she returned ‘wthout any maid not finding any yt are fitt yt are willing to leave theire owne Country’. Their coachman, who had felt like punching the parish priest of Richelieu, was ‘a papist’ but ‘attends us but to Cal[a]is’.¹⁴¹³ Vowell’s poem, advising Sir Philip to abandon traces of France, had pressing motivations.

‘The forraine part of improovment’

Travellers were not supposed to leave all imprints of their destinations behind, of course. Voyages continued across generations because families thought that they brought beneficial transformations, of body or mind. Warneke’s contemporary literature, which criticises the changes worked on English travellers, does not represent a uniform cultural response but instead entered a debate in which the other side was less vocal in print.¹⁴¹⁴ Wealthy families continued to value foreign experience. They often employed the loose language of improvement, but what kinds of change did European voyages actually work? Answers to this central question require rich evidence for the years following travel.

¹⁴¹⁰ Nicholas L’Estrange to John Perceval, Thorpland, 19 Aug 1678, BL Add MS 46955B, f.78.

¹⁴¹¹ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Burton, 2 Aug 1680, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.97.

¹⁴¹² Sir Robert Southwell to Lady Katherine Perceval, Spring Gardens, 3 Feb 1678/9, BL Add MS 46955A, f. 52.

¹⁴¹³ Lady Katherine Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, [Terfort], [31 Aug/10 Sep 1678]; St. Denis, 16/26 Mar 1679, BL Add MSS 46955B, f.59; 46956A, f.55v.

¹⁴¹⁴ Black, *British abroad*, pp.315-37.

Fate denies us a view of the most documented of our families, the Percevals of the 1670s. Sir Philip landed in Kent in April 1679 and reached Kinsale by May. He set himself up according to his 'Quality & Condition in that Country'. Perceval waited on Ormond, who recognised 'the same affections & principles towards the Crowne & the same inclinations to bee my friend that were in [his] ffather & Grandffather'.¹⁴¹⁵ Sir Philip sought 'severall good English tennants' and planned to drive out 'troublesome' Irish 'neighbours'. He hoped to turn his lands in northern Co. Cork into a 'pretty ... English planta[tion]'. Alongside the 'Improvem[en]ts of advancing and Beautifying' his estate, Perceval began alterations to the new family home at Burton. Southwell could recommend 'a Dutch man I Imploy at London that workes very well and very cheap', if he needed 'any Kind of Pictures Copied for your house or otherwise'.¹⁴¹⁶ But these early improvements, the 'golden showre' that Vowell expected of returning landowners, were short-lived. Sir Philip died in September 1680, just a year after travel, though it is unclear whether he was poisoned or 'surfeited by eating too great a Quantity of Nuts'. A family genealogy claimed that Perceval was prevented from 'making that Demonstration of his great Qualifications which at another Conjunction, or in a larger Course had made him very eminent.'¹⁴¹⁷

Other family members equally frustrate analysis. Sir Philip's brother, Robert, who had travelled through Wales in 1676, was stabbed in London a year later. The circumstances of his death suggest that the moral improvements sought with the bishop of Llandaff had not materialised. Robert had been drinking and gambling in various taverns. He was killed by a single stab above the right breast and dragged into the Strand, though witnesses could not

¹⁴¹⁵ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 24 Apr; 6 May 1679; Ormond to Perceval, Dublin, 24 May 1679, BL Add MS 46956A, ff.83, 99v, 109.

¹⁴¹⁶ Sir Philip Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Kinsale, 3 Jun; 27 Jun; 6 Sep 1679; Southwell to Perceval, Kings Weston, 21 Aug 1679, BL Add MSS 46956A, ff.120, 156; 46956B, ff.18, 30.

¹⁴¹⁷ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Lincoln's Inn, 28 Sep 1680, HMC *Egmont*, ii, pp.99-100; Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, pp.383-4.

‘render an Attempt’ at a sequence of events because ‘the Company was much in drink’.¹⁴¹⁸ We can be equally sure that the main improvement sought by Lady Katherine Perceval in the Loire valley, that of her health, was not forthcoming. She died, aged forty-one, soon after her return to Kinsale in 1679.¹⁴¹⁹ Her brother worried, her will in hand, that ‘her Expensive journey into France ... did Consume much of the Materialls that should fullfill the Liberall Gifts therein mentioned’.¹⁴²⁰ Even Lady Katherine’s third son, John, who declined the opportunity to travel, died in 1686. Before his own demise, John remembered that his grandmother had ‘once on her knees cursed my father and his posterity’.¹⁴²¹ More fortunate individuals offer a longer-term view.

The clearest example remains the Percevals’ relative, (Sir) Robert Southwell. His post-travel introspection culminated in a resounding verdict. Southwell’s father intended that the young man marry and settle in Ireland, securing a position through Ormond’s patronage, but the returned traveller found that he could not ‘with all study see any thing in my Lrd Dukes dispose agreeing with the method of my education.’ That method had, of course, been foreign travel. In Ireland, Southwell would ‘think my 3 yeares spent abroad (baring the acquis[i]t[i]on of my health) to signify as little in order to employmt here to me as if I had beene learning hebrew; and it had beene much better for my knowledge of the place if I had stayed at home. whereas in England all the forraine part of improovemt, which indeed is all I have, will be serviceable to carry me unto my desired ends.’ These ends took him to London. ‘When I have spent some time in bettering my fortune and making good an Interest there’, he promised his father, ‘then I may returne for good and all, to a quiett settlement with my

¹⁴¹⁸ Robert Price to Sir Robert Southwell, Lincoln’s Inn, 6 Jun 1677; ‘Informat[i]ons taken upon Oath the 6th day of June 1677 before Robert White Gent Coroner of the Citty & Lib[er]tys of Westm[inster] touching the death of Robert Percivale Esqr.’; Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 7 Jun 1677, BL Add MS 46954A, ff.224-40v.

¹⁴¹⁹ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, p.366.

¹⁴²⁰ Sir Robert Southwell to John Perceval, Kings Weston, 11 Sep 1679, BL Add MS 46956B, f.32.

¹⁴²¹ John Perceval to Sir Robert Southwell, Lincoln’s Inn, 28 Sep 1680, HMC *Egmont*, ii, p.100.

friends' in Ireland.¹⁴²² English advancement was the final demonstration of effective travelling. Otherwise, Southwell 'should be sorry that all my fathers care and expence, and something of my owne observation abroad should be all buried with me in a corner'.¹⁴²³ St. George Ashe, we have seen, would similarly describe Ireland in relation to Europe.

Southwell returned to Ireland from the continent with evident disappointment. Not only did the land of his birth provide few opportunities of employment, but he also bemoaned other limitations. Kinsale and Dublin were 'most insipid and voyd of Curiosity'. There he encountered 'an unexpected narrownesse in the thoughts of most'.¹⁴²⁴ In Kinsale, 'want of good conversation now' made him 'remember the seasons' when he had had it.¹⁴²⁵ Ireland also fell short of behavioural codes encountered abroad. 'This Country', he found, 'is a meere Scramble, and the belle maniere is not knowne'.¹⁴²⁶ Correspondents cautioned travellers of the disappointments of home. William Molyneux warned that his brother Thomas would have to leave a foreign 'variety of pleasing objects' for his 'old dull friends of Ireland'. St. George Ashe realised the danger, joking that his accounts of Vienna would 'appear very strange to you poor homebred Ilanders' in Dublin.¹⁴²⁷ But before the Molyneuxs, Ashe and others developed the Dublin Philosophical Society from the 1680s, Southwell's frustrations encouraged his move to London, where he soon participated eagerly in the Royal Society. Perceptions of Irish 'narrownesse' must also have informed his view that later travellers should consider Europe with English rather than Irish frames of reference.

If Southwell felt that the improvements of travel suited him to English employment, there is evidence that patrons agreed. Ormond recommended Southwell to the king in 1664, when the young man bought a clerkship to the Privy Council. Evidently, he did not require

¹⁴²² Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), draft, c.1662/3, BL Add MS 72852, f.13v-14.

¹⁴²³ Robert Southwell to Helena Southwell, London, [early Mar 1665], BL Add MS 38015, ff.91-1v.

¹⁴²⁴ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Kinsale, 19 Sep 1661; Dublin, 10 Dec 1662, *Oldenburg correspondence*, i, pp.434, 476. As mentioned, the dating of the first is incorrect.

¹⁴²⁵ Robert Southwell to a 'cousin', Kinsale, 18 Sep 1662, BL Add MS 38015, f.42.

¹⁴²⁶ Robert Southwell to Henry Oldenburg, Dublin, 11 Feb 1662[/?], Royal Society EL/S1/12.

¹⁴²⁷ St. George Ashe to Benedict Scroggs, Vienna, 1/11 Feb 1690/1, TCD Misc. Photocopy 175, letter 6.

the Tuscan grand duke's letter of reference. Southwell undertook translation work for the Privy Council that relied on linguistic skills gained in travel.¹⁴²⁸ He was, secretary of state Arlington noted, 'an ingenious young gentleman and very well qualified for the employment'.¹⁴²⁹ In January the following year Robert married Elizabeth Dering, the eldest daughter of the Kent politician Sir Edward. Arlington proposed Southwell for a diplomatic mission to Lisbon in late 1665 and the young man was knighted before leaving.¹⁴³⁰ The earl was convinced that Robert's 'merit & good parts will justify mee very well therein' and Southwell later remembered that 'Lrd. Arlinton never valued any man for the Report of his good Parts till he saw how he used them.'¹⁴³¹

'Parts' acquired abroad qualified Southwell for diplomatic employment. Travel to courts, which characterised his European experiences and those of other young Irish Protestant men, was ideal preparation according to influential French treatises. Behavioural and gestural codes, as well as linguistic aptitude, were paramount. We ought not to ascribe Southwell's preferment entirely to travel because 'the possession of the right personal and political connexions', which he already had in Ormond, were just as important.¹⁴³² In the years to come, however, fellow travellers would prove useful allies. William Godolphin, with whom Southwell lodged in Paris from April 1659, took a similar trajectory.¹⁴³³ Godolphin, also born in 1635, received Arlington's patronage after travel and accompanied Sandwich to Spain in the 1660s while Southwell toiled in Lisbon. Godolphin, like Southwell, was embroiled in Popish Plot allegations, though the Englishman was more seriously implicated.¹⁴³⁴ There would always be those, especially within the local Kinsale community, who 'did not care a

¹⁴²⁸ Gardener, 'Work of the English Privy Council', p.248.

¹⁴²⁹ BL Add MS 34336, ff.1-2.

¹⁴³⁰ BL Egerton MS 1634, ff.23-4v.

¹⁴³¹ Arlington to Sir Edward Dering, Whitehall, 6 Feb 1665/6, BL Stowe MS 744, f.99; BL Egerton MS 1627, f.56.

¹⁴³² D.B. Horn, *The British diplomatic service, 1689-1789* (Oxford, 1961), pp.123, 134, 136, 143.

¹⁴³³ BL Add MS 58219, f.52.

¹⁴³⁴ Greene (ed.), *Diaries of the Popish Plot*, p.216.

fart for Sr. Robt. Southwell', despite the protests of others that 'he was a person of Quality'.¹⁴³⁵ But conspicuous travel enabled Southwell to depict himself as 'a Man who is climbing up in the World'.¹⁴³⁶

Travel helped to advance Sir Robert Southwell's career, which in turn furnished later generations of Southwells and Percevals with contacts at Whitehall and on their foreign voyages. Sir Robert invested the gains of preferment in English residence, first in Spring Gardens and then at Kings Weston. Despite promises to his father, who had died in 1677, his 'quiet settlement' came in Gloucestershire rather than Cork. With a commanding view of the Bristol Channel, Southwell 'would Cultivate mine own quiet'.¹⁴³⁷ As Barnard notes of Sir Robert's rise, 'In a generation the Southwells had changed from Kinsale Protestants to English landed gentlemen who happened to enjoy a useful Irish rental.' Though simplistic explanations fail because 'concurrently economic and material forces' were also 'loosening Irish ties', European voyages were deeply implicated in changing realities and self-understandings.¹⁴³⁸

In later generations, travel by members of the Southwell and Perceval families continued to fall within broader projects of anglicisation. Young male travellers, even if predominantly resident in Ireland, prepared for foreign encounters by acquiring English frames of reference. They experienced continental destinations in English company, which encouraged hosts to view them as uncomplicatedly English. Though Sir Philip Perceval died before plans could bear fruit, Sir Robert intended to set him on the same post-travel path to English life. The acquisition of a 'footing here in England' was something that Southwell would 'extreamly covet' on Perceval's behalf. They agreed to pursue Nash House near Bristol, 'taking into Consideration' that Sir Philip knew the place, that it was 'neer the Ancient Seat of' his

¹⁴³⁵ 'The examination of William Taylor late of Barton taken before me William Ballard Esqr. Maior of the City of Corke Feby 3d. 1690', RIA Southwell Papers 12 I 12, f.30.

¹⁴³⁶ Sir Robert Southwell to Robert Southwell (father), London, 4 Apr 1668, BL Add MS 38015, f.107.

¹⁴³⁷ Sir Robert Southwell to Thomas Henshaw, Kings Weston, 9 Jan 1682/3, BL Add MS 38015, f.284v.

¹⁴³⁸ Barnard, *Ascents and descents*, p.71; idem, 'Protestantism, ethnicity and Irish identities', p.218.

English family and that Sir Robert would be in his 'Neighborhood'. The elder Robert Southwell had 'seemd equally indifferent, whether he would purchase that or Kingsweston'.¹⁴³⁹

Perceval, before his death in 1680, sought land, employment and marriage in England, the formula that Sir Robert had hit upon after his own continental experiences. The 1742 genealogy thought these aims appropriate for 'a Man of his aspiring Views'.¹⁴⁴⁰ As Sir Robert Southwell's diplomatic protégé, Francis Parry, told Sir John Perceval in the next generation, travel helped young men in 'the design to live like Englishmen'. Southwells and Percevals followed a trend earlier exhibited by the first earl of Cork. 'Like many other planters', Richard Boyle 'measured worldly success in English terms, and valued achievement in Ireland only so far as it progressed towards social advancement in England'.¹⁴⁴¹ For the Southwells and Percevals, though, achievements abroad complemented Irish advances towards English success.

Just as other Protestant travellers considered Ireland worthy of European comparison, many measured post-travel improvements, both personal and national, in Irish rather than English terms. The Molyneux brothers, William and Thomas, conceived of their journey through the Low Countries, the Rhineland and France in 1684 as a chance to connect Dublin learning to wider continental networks. Though Thomas exclaimed that the 'chiefest' of travel's 'many goods' was 'that it frees our minds from many false and perverse conceipts', William was just as enthusiastic to find that the name of the Dublin Philosophical Society had appeared 'in the journals of Amsterdam'. 'Without vanity', he thought 'our city and nation may be herein something beholding to us, for I believe the name Dublin has hardly ever

¹⁴³⁹ Sir Robert Southwell to Sir Philip Perceval, Spring Gardens, 28 Jun 1679; Southborough, 14 Jul 1679; Kings Weston, 21 Aug 1679, BL Add MSS 46956A, ff.159, 169v-70v; 46956B, f.18

¹⁴⁴⁰ Anderson, *House of Yvery*, ii, pp.385-6.

¹⁴⁴¹ Canny, *Upstart earl*, p.66.

before been printed or heard of amongst foreigners on a learned account.’¹⁴⁴² As Gillespie summarises Thomas’s thought, ‘Ireland was part of a European world and had much to learn from it.’¹⁴⁴³

Favourable returns to Ireland might be emotional, but many also carried home the intention to improve their surroundings. James Smyth, who preferred a broken neck to the improvements of travel, longed for ‘dear sweet Ireland & all ye good company’ he had left there.¹⁴⁴⁴ The Molesworths, by contrast, brought back ideas from the Low Countries and Italy with the intention of improving their estate at Brackenstown, Co. Dublin. Robert’s ‘designs’ for the gardens drew on his ‘Experience & view of the varities of the world’. In the late 1690s, he experimented with Dutch elms and orange trees. He thought ‘to send to Holland for a kitchen gardner’ in 1718.¹⁴⁴⁵ By the early eighteenth century, the family were even bringing Italian architects to Ireland.¹⁴⁴⁶ Robert Molesworth ‘never commended England with any intention to derogate from Breckdenston wch I love as heartily as you can do for yr life & know no fault it has but lying in a distressed country’.¹⁴⁴⁷

If many rejected the Southwells’ English trajectory, returning travellers also enjoyed the social prestige afforded by ‘travel-talk’ in Ireland. At home in Co. Down, Samuel Waring luxuriated in his travels. He was ‘often rememberd’ by his companion, Charles Butler, and repeatedly drafted letters to Butler’s tutor, Maximilien Misson. Misson’s *New voyage to Italy* brought his experiences to a wider audience and Waring carefully noted additions made to successive editions ‘page by page’, ‘runing ym over in my chambr. where I endulgd my fancie to yt. utmost.’ He often read Misson to ‘refresh my memory in the Ideas I then

¹⁴⁴² Thomas Molyneux to William Molyneux, Leiden, 2 Jun 1684; William to Thomas, Dublin, 14 Jun 1684, *DUM* (Oct 1841), pp.482, 485.

¹⁴⁴³ Gillespie, ‘Contrasting communities’, p.170.

¹⁴⁴⁴ James Smyth to William Smyth, London, [early 1710], NLI MS 41582/1, letter 8.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, London, 28 Dec 1695; 12 Jul 1709; 17 Jun 1718, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

¹⁴⁴⁶ Molesworth, ‘John Molesworth’, pp.93-114; Elisabeth Kieven, ‘An Italian architect in London: the case of Alessandro Galilei (1691-1737), *Architectural history*, 51 (2008), pp.1-31.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Robert Molesworth to Laetitia Molesworth, Hansworth, 24 Jun 1704, NLI Clements Papers, p.3752.

received'. Indeed, he read through the 'whole booke ... yearly', reminding himself of 'one of ye cheiffest & most sastifactory adventur[es] of my whole life'. He was delighted to find a letter 'to me Annext to ye. new addition' in 1699. Waring, associated with such a famous work, was considered an authority in his Irish circles. He met with 'inquistrs in relation to' Misson's book, 'being an eye wittness of ye. Whole', and had satisfied them in most of their queries. 'One question', he admitted, 'I could not soe well answer'. He could not offer 'some parallel betwen ye old Rome & the new, as to its former & pleasent splend:r & glory and to relate what of ye old Rome is now standing'. Drawing extensively on his collection of travel literature, however, Waring 'gave them & my selfe some satisfaction'. He remained familiar with the idiosyncrasies of authors like Burnet, Lassels and Ray, borrowing manuscript accounts from other returned travellers. But for Waring, like so many Irish Protestants, travel had been a rite of passage. Marriage was a 'fatal knot' that promised 'noe more of these rambls but in Imagination'.¹⁴⁴⁸

Responses to travel varied, as had preparations, encounters and memorialisations. A study of voyages within several Church-of-Ireland families has demonstrated, though, that diverse continental experiences bear collective implications for a period in which the Ascendancy developed. Though we are not yet in a position to write a history of 'Europe and the making of Protestant Ireland', to adapt Claydon's formulation, it is clear that first-hand encounters with the continent differ from existing work on Catholic migration and the English Grand Tour. Young men of Irish residence or background were judged according to criteria that privileged anglicisation and Protestantism, though linguistic skill was a more socially-comprehensive standard. Advisors emphasised civil conversations and written observations, but warnings to avoid 'countrymen' were ignored. The company of English-speaking travellers and Irish Catholic expatriates created distinctive European experiences.

¹⁴⁴⁸ PRONI D695/227, ff.4-8, 22, 30-1, 51-5.

Foreign hosts often saw uncomplicated Englishmen, though others recognised Irish difference. Anglican travellers held qualified membership of a 'Protestant international', drawing on a cross-confessional 'stock of friends'. Travellers received tuition that complicates perceptions of travel as 'informal' education. They memorialised experiences through souvenirs and gifts, including exchanges with hosts that often relied on the Irish residence or connections of travellers. European voyages encouraged some into English residence and identifications, though others brought improvements home to Ireland.

Continental travel might ultimately weaken or strengthen attachments to Ireland, supporting or detracting from parallel social and economic processes. Bringing responses together, however, is the notion of 'improvement'. Irish Protestants commonly acknowledged, across boundaries of age, gender and even social standing, that time in Europe provided an opportunity for self-improvement and sometimes, by extension, the improvement of one's home. A contextualised treatment of travel has only been possible under a narrow focus, treating a small 'discourse community'. But there are implications here that travel, growing in popularity among generations of Irish residents, may have complicated the previously clear equation of anglicisation with improvement. Improvement, as it related to wealthy Church-of-Ireland families, functioned not as a binary between approved England and disdained Ireland but a triangular exchange in which continental Europe featured prominently.

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