

‘Every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room’: Performing Emotions at the Early Georgian Court, 1714-60

Authors: Sally Holloway and Lucy Worsley

Abstract: This article interrogates the court’s reputation as ‘the residence of dullness’ to reveal a multivalent emotional space with a practised grammar of emotional concealment and display. The performance of emotions by the royal family and courtiers in the State Apartments acted as a powerful draw to court events, as the display of joy or cheer acquired national significance. Under such scrutiny the king and his courtiers routinely limited displays of grief or pain to more restricted spaces such as the closet. The article analyses the court as a unique micro-community in order to recreate the emotional character of London’s palaces.

Keywords: history of emotions, court history, George I, George II, courtiers, emotional communities, affective spaces

Introduction

We jog on here le vieux train. a little walking, a little hunting & a little playing, a little flattering, a little rayling, & a little lying: a Little Hate a little Friendship & a little Love; a little Hope & a little Fear; a little Joy & a little pain. These are the Ingredients that compose the daily vicissitudes of Court Meals.¹

On 14 September 1730 a letter from the queen’s vice-chamberlain Lord Hervey to his intimate friend Stephen Fox conceptualised the court of George II in terms of its affective routines. The ‘vieux train’, or old routine, was characterised by a veritable smorgasbord of emotions. The English court was a space where love, hate, hope, fear, joy and pain were played out by the royal family, members of the royal household and guests attending birthday celebrations, anniversaries, ‘drawing rooms’ and levées. Emotions were not only closely observed by the gathered crowd but also documented and dissected at length in diaries, memoirs and letters to friends and family members. Lord Hervey’s letter was by no means unique; the court is remarkable for the sheer range of emotions chronicled by those present. As Lord Chesterfield put it, ‘there every passion is busy, every art exerted, every character analysed’.²

While the ‘sharp emotional suffering’ of Versailles has recently been explored in William Reddy’s groundbreaking tome *The Navigation of Feeling* (2001), the emotional life of the London court awaits analysis.³ This article brings together research in court history and the history of emotions to examine the emotional character of court life between 1714 and 1760. The period saw George Augustus become prince of Wales in 1714, then King George II in 1727 and die (peacefully) in office in 1760. The article focuses on emotional displays in the state apartments at Kensington, Hampton Court and St James’s Palaces, as chronicled in the letters and diaries of courtiers. By approaching the court in terms of emotions, and emotions in terms of the court, we aim to facilitate a better understanding of both.

The court provides the ideal arena for examining affective spaces, because the groups participating in 'court society' met regularly at London's royal palaces. Within these fixed locations, expected and actual behaviour was commented on at length. Interactions at court held political and even national significance, with writers diligently recording who spoke to whom, of whom the king and queen took most notice, and who had to endure their silence. It was a particular honour for courtiers such as Lord Egmont to note, for example, that 'the king ask'd me several questions, & took more notice of me than of any at the Levee'.⁴ Within this ritualised atmosphere the facial expressions, gestures and demeanour of the royal family and their courtiers carried extra meaning. The 'Management of every Feature, and almost of every Limb' was already a central requirement of polite conversation, augmented by the emotional demands of court display.⁵ Any exhibition of joy or dissatisfaction was carefully judged and documented by those present. As Lord Egmont recorded in his diary in 1734, 'I went to Chappel [sic], and then to Court, where I thought the king did not look pleased'.⁶ In response, members of the court endeavoured to hide emotions such as pain or grief from the crowds gathered in certain spaces.

This article is divided into four sections. Section I introduces histories of emotional management, communities and spaces, and the sources and methodology used to approach the early Georgian court. The second section problematises the court's famed dullness in order to present it as a marker of stability. The third moves beyond this dull reputation to examine how the performance of cheer, joy or gloom in the State Apartments provided courtiers with a means of assessing Britain's political and military achievements both at home and on the world stage. Section IV emphasises how, under watchful eyes, the royal family and their courtiers routinely concealed their emotions from the assembled circle.⁷ The article concludes that the court's reputation for artificiality and deceit was essentially a judgement of its emotional climate.

I. Emotions at Court

Royal courts have made few appearances in histories of emotions. While the field's focus on emotional lexicons means that emotions history is rarely a history from below, its social reach has seldom extended inside the palace gates.⁸ An early exception is the historical sociologist Norbert Elias's *The Court Society* (trans. 1983), which analyses restrictive behaviour at the court of Louis XIV. Within his scheme of 'observing people', 'dealing with people' and 'restraint of the affects', Elias argued that courtiers 'meticulously weigh the gestures and expressions of everyone else'. Such observation laid the foundations for dealing with others, prioritising rationality above 'affective outbursts'.⁹ For Elias, the court represented 'the institutional core of the process of civilization'. His model of 'emotional regulation' presented careful management of one's emotions as a means of achieving power and prestige in society.¹⁰ Recent scholarship in the history of emotions has problematised the 'affect-subduing effect' inherent in his 'civilizing process', whereby the 'uninhibited, intense and highly visible emotional expressions' of the medieval period gave way to the more disciplined 'emotional discharge' that characterised modernity.¹¹ Nonetheless, Robert van Krieken has emphasised how Elias's work on emotional concealment and display remains 'good to think with' for scholars of emotion.¹² While Elias distinguishes between authentic 'true feelings' on the one hand and 'calculated' displays on the other, this article treats the performance of emotions as appropriate to different contexts and spaces.

This article adopts the term 'performing' to highlight the ways in which spaces shape affective behaviour. J. L. Austin first developed the notion of the 'performative utterance' in *How To Do Things with Words* (1962), where 'the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action'— it is not 'just saying something'.¹³ William Reddy's 'emotives' are modelled on Austin's 'performatives' as they 'do things to the world'. Emotives are 'instruments for directly changing, building, hiding, intensifying emotions, instruments that may be more or less successful'. To perform emotions does not automatically mean they must be inauthentic or not felt, although sometimes this was evidently the case. A jaded courtier might 'try out cheerful behaviour anyway, to see if it works, if it takes, and a better mood gels, even if only for a while'.¹⁴ However, this same performance could leave courtiers open to charges of insincerity for their seemingly 'lying smiles'.¹⁵ As this article will reveal, displaying, concealing and managing emotions appropriately was an important tool in navigating the court as an affective space. The sociologist Arlie Russell Hochschild's notion of 'emotion work' or 'emotion management' is instructive, with individuals navigating a 'distinctly patterned yet invisible emotional system' as they entered court society.¹⁶

Much recent work has sought to delineate the boundaries of particular 'emotional communities' and 'spaces for feeling'.¹⁷ The medievalist Barbara Rosenwein defines an 'emotional community' as a group where 'people adhere to the same norms of emotional expression and value – or devalue – the same or related emotions'.¹⁸ Courtiers clearly conform to Rosenwein's definition: they socialised at regular events and moved through the same social spaces across the metropolis and royal palaces. Through their participation in the rituals of court life, they shared 'interests, values, and goals'.¹⁹ Subordinate communities include Princess Caroline's youthful maids of honour between 1714 and 1727, who were known for their flirtatious behaviour. The more mature members of the court complained about the maids' 'little levities': giggling in chapel and infuriating 'merry pranks' played late at night. The community came to an end when many of the maids left court upon marriage, leaving Henrietta Howard regretting from Hampton Court that 'Frisleation, flurtation, nor danglection are now no more'.²⁰ As Mark Seymour has surmised, all emotional communities 'are likely to be shot through by a wide range of potential fault lines'.²¹

The experiences of this community were spatially defined, reinforcing Benno Gammerl's argument that how particular emotions are 'generated, handled and expressed' depends in large part on where they occur.²² Following Susan Broomhall's recent volume *Spaces for Feeling* (2015), this article approaches the court as both an imagined community and a physical site. Courtiers represented a discrete group 'formed by a shared identity or goal [...] practised through a specific set of emotional expressions, acts or performances, and exercised in a particular space or site'.²³ While courtiers and the royal family undoubtedly shaped the emotional tenor of the court as a space, the bustling palaces themselves no doubt fostered particular emotionalities in return. Under the shared identity of the courtier, writers witnessed, enacted and evaluated a constellation of emotions from humour to pain, in the complex of rooms within London's royal palaces.

The State Apartments at St James's, Kensington and Hampton Court each consisted of a network of rooms, illustrated in Figures 1-3. These rooms together created a hierarchy of connected spaces that became less accessible to courtiers and members of the public as they advanced towards the bedchamber.²⁴ In the words of Ragnhild Hatton, rooms progressed from the 'relatively public to the increasingly more private', culminating in the monarch's 'innermost sanctum'.²⁵ A 'gradual erosion of exclusivity' had already been in evidence at the early Stuart court, whereby courtiers 'gradually encroached upon royal

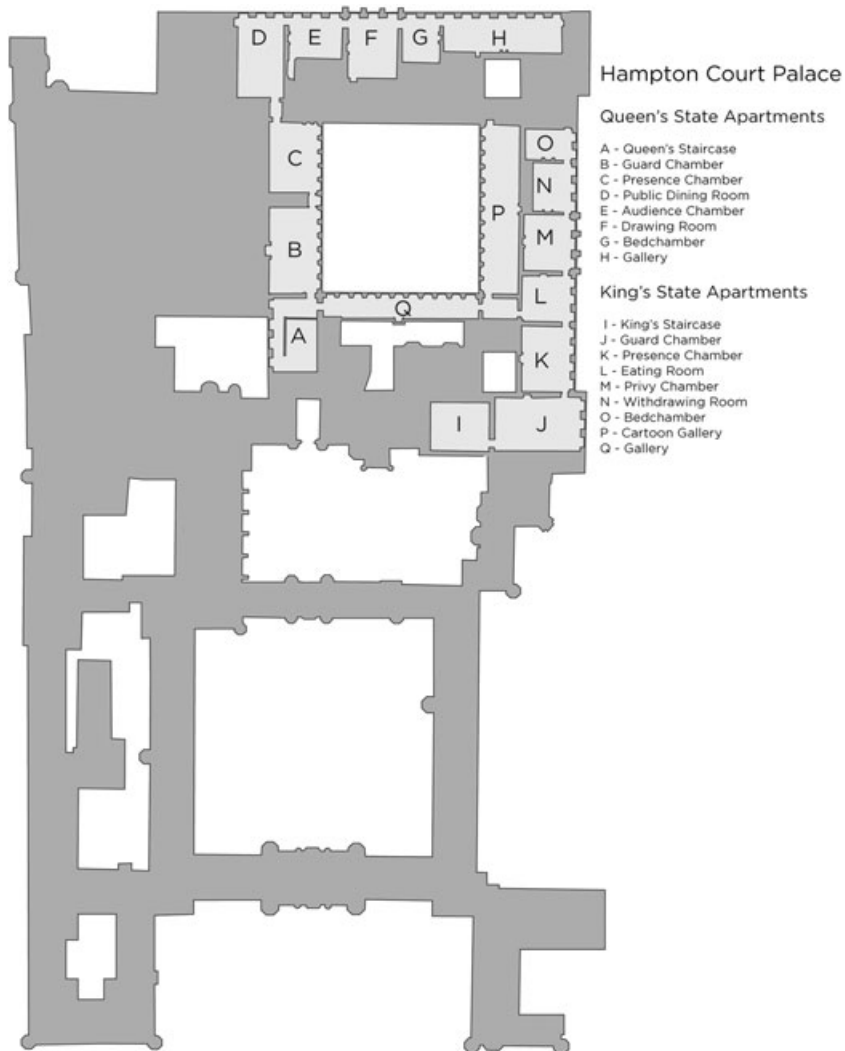


1. Plan of the State Apartments at St James's Palace. © Laura Chilton/Historic Royal Palaces

space, leaving only the closet for the king's private business'.²⁶ This article focuses chiefly on rooms that courtiers could reasonably expect to enter during a 'drawing room': the Great Staircase, Guard Chamber, Drawing Room, Gallery, Privy Chamber and Withdrawing Chamber. To limit the vast source material available, the article excludes outdoor spaces such as gardens and courtyards. Our 'State Apartments' do not include bedchambers, closets and private apartments in which the king and queen would not expect to 'appear' before their courtiers, as they did at functions in the outer rooms.²⁷

Yet as the plans in Figures 1-3 reveal, the State Apartments represent a continuum of liminal spaces, and cannot be divided neatly into 'frontstage' and 'backstage' areas.²⁸ George II's daily 'private levée' was a formal ceremony of dressing attended by members of his bedchamber staff. His subsequent 'public levée' was restricted to high-ranking ministers and noblemen.²⁹ 'Drawing rooms' often followed immediately after. These events were accessible to a much wider range of men and women, and were generally scheduled two to three evenings per week. Such routine gatherings were augmented by special events to mark royal birthdays, marriages and politically significant anniversaries.³⁰ In theory, anyone – from foreign ambassador to law student – capable of appearing 'mightily acquainted and accustomed at Court' could enter the presence of the king.³¹ Nonetheless, as Hannah Greig has demonstrated, successful attendees first had to navigate the 'enfilade of spaces and rooms that acted as a powerful filter and check on their credentials'.³²

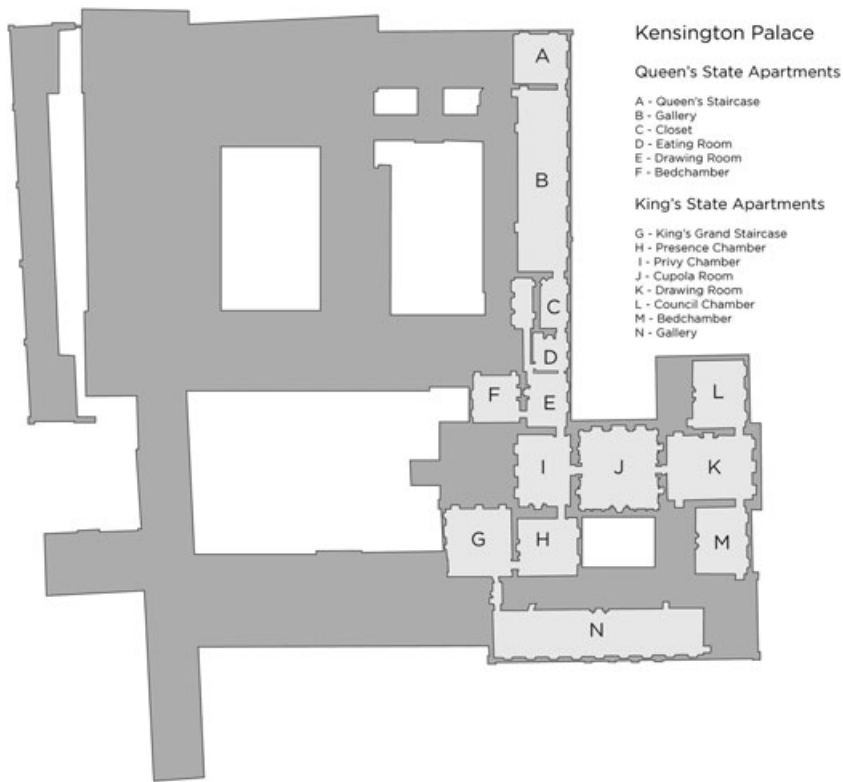
Courtiers were often driven to record court events – and their own role in them – for posterity. This desire to preserve every transaction was partly motivated by the perceived insincerity rife in court life. Princess Caroline's newly appointed Lady of the Bedchamber, Lady Cowper, began her diary in October 1714 with the words: 'The Perpetual lyes that one hears has determin'd me in spite of my want of leisure to write down all the Events that are worth remembring [sic] whilst I am at Court.'³³ Court diaries cannot be read as 'private' records of a writer's emotions, but were frequently created to chart political events. They were often written with a view to publication, with Lord Hervey leaving 'strict instructions' that his memoirs were 'not to be published' until after the death of George III.³⁴ Unfortunately for historians, writers such as Lady Cowper destroyed large



2. Plan of the State Apartments at Hampton Court Palace. © Laura Chilton/Historic Royal Palaces

sections of their diaries, while published versions were heavily edited by their descendants, censoring whole sections of potentially scandalous material.

This article draws on twenty diaries, memoirs and correspondences by individuals who witnessed and recorded court routines between 1714 and 1760. Chief among them are Princess Caroline's Lady of the Bedchamber Lady Cowper (1685-1724), Vice-Chamberlain Lord Hervey (1696-1743), the politician Lord Egmont (1683-1748) and Privy Councillor and Captain of the Gentleman Pensioners Lord Berkeley of Stratton (1697-1773).³⁵ While court historians regularly consult heavily edited, published versions of letters and memoirs, this article refers to original manuscripts wherever possible, as the subtleties of language they offer are key in interpreting nuanced emotional states.



3. Plan of the State Apartments at Kensington Palace. © Laura Chilton/Historic Royal Palaces

As members of a discrete emotional community, these writers were responsible for creating and constructing the emotional culture of the court. Accounts of court life thus did more than simply describe particular events, and had a 'disciplining function' in reinforcing or rejecting particular feeling rules and producing the emotions they reported.³⁶ For example, when Lord Egmont heard that the king's coldness had 'highly disgusted' several great families in February 1734, he heartily endorsed this emotional convention by wishing that 'the King had more affability, & that the Sincerity in shewing his resentment where he is displeased with his Subjects conduct did not prejudice his Majestys affairs, after this manner'.³⁷ Susan J. Matt has emphasised how such texts 'reflect both broad cultural categories as well as individual choices and conscious or unconscious efforts at self-fashioning'. Whether writers embraced or jettisoned particular conventions, their narratives of court life always refer to them.³⁸

II. The Residence of Dullness?

Both George I and George II spent their formative years in Germany, there embracing what Hannah Smith has described as a militantly Protestant idea of monarchy.³⁹ Their role as successful soldiers inclined them to emotional reserve and the strict regimentation

of their daily round, in contrast to what Linda Colley has called a reliance on 'personalities and romance' among their deposed Stuart rivals.⁴⁰ The Hanoverians' austere soldier-kingship led them to manage their native court along the lines of the well-ordered but low-key model of their fellow electoral princes in Prussia. As the Irish writer and philosopher John Toland put it in 1705, the Hanoverian court was 'extremely polite, and even in Germany it is accounted the best, both for Civility and Decorum'.⁴¹ By contrast, the court of France was more flamboyant and bustling, and even the shadow court of the exiled Stuarts, as Edward Corp has shown, was lively and cosmopolitan.⁴² George I's German cousin Liselotte, who lived in France after marriage, thought that he failed to understand the 'grandeur' with which an electoral prince ought to live.⁴³ But this preferred personal style of court life had its advantages. After 1714 George I and his son's shared reliance as British kings on order rather than charisma helped to contribute to the enduring image of a 'stable' Whig Britain, grounded in 'a political system more secure than England had ever known'.⁴⁴

Yet it also led, among English courtiers more used to the court style of the Stuarts, to a lasting impression that the court was 'dull'. In 1737 Lord Hervey's epitaph for his patron and friend Queen Caroline read 'sure in sleep no dullness you need fear'.⁴⁵ Hervey was not the only individual to find London's court under the Hanoverians to be dull. But he and his fellows tended to be articulate and prolific enough in their writings to have created a lasting negative impression of the court that is not entirely justified. Hervey's epitaph signalled his sympathy for his queen's often expressed dissatisfaction with traditional court life. Yet he was also referring back to the celebrated attacks on both Caroline and her husband in Alexander Pope's biting satire *The Dunciad* (1728).

In this mock-heroic poem, an updating of the *Aeneid* as a satire on contemporary politics, Pope explains that 'Dunce the First' has been succeeded by 'Dunce the Second'. As well as casting the present and previous king as Dunces, Pope's story features the goddess 'Dulness', who appears before mortals, orders the king around and travels through the City of London: 'Laborious, heavy, busy, bold and blind/ She ruled, in native anarchy, the mind.' This was a satire on Queen Caroline, who had failed to continue the patronage she had given Pope when she was princess of Wales. She was also a supporter of Sir Robert Walpole, hated by Pope and all other Tories. Illustrations to the 1760 edition of Pope's works depict the goddess reclining on her throne, lulled to sleep by the poets at court (Fig. 4). Pope's powerful legacy has been to shape views of George II as a Dunce and of his court as dullness personified ever since.

Other courtiers too described palace life as wearisome, their letters swelling with derisory remarks about the court as a 'spiritless' place of 'dullness' and 'ennui'. Samuel Johnson's definition of 'dull' seems particularly appropriate to court routine, referring, as it does, to an activity that was 'Not exhilarating [sic]; not delightful'.⁴⁶ The dullness endured by courtiers can be compared to the idleness experienced by soldiers, who bemoaned the tedium of days spent waiting for battle.⁴⁷ However, courtiers were not simply inactive. The issue was that tasks such as carrying candles and fetching chairs appeared monotonous and without value.⁴⁸ The 'dullness' decried by the emotional community at court was characterised by repetition, tedium, weariness and – for more experienced courtiers – resentment. The term 'ennui' stems from the Latin expression *esse in odio* ('to be an object of hate'), revealing how weariness of court routines could quickly lead to disillusionment, as the world was 'emptied of its significance'.⁴⁹

Courtiers' central complaint was the monotony of their schedules. As Lord Hervey wrote to Stephen Fox in 1729: 'I do a hundred different Things of a Day & like none



*And now to this side, now to that they nod,
As Verse or Prose infuse the drowsy God?
Dunciad Book II*

4. F. Hayman, engraved by C. Grignion, The Works of Alexander. Pope, Esq., vol. V (1760), plate XXI. [Colour figure can be viewed at wileyonlinelibrary.com]

of them; yawn in the Faces of the Women I talk to [...] play despising the Court & live in the Drawing-Room.⁵⁰ His ennui was equally pronounced a week later: 'I am quite sick of hearing the same things over & over again from morning to night.'⁵¹ Lady Mary Wortley Montagu called the court 'these regions of dullness' in 1739, compared to the 'shining gallantries of the French court'.⁵² In 1741 the visiting Prussian courtier Baron Bielfeld assessed the palace as 'the residence of dullness'

[sic] and 'to the last degree spiritless'.⁵³ The future judge Thomas Burnet complained that he was 'pretty heartily tired' of his court attendance, even going so far as to claim that he had 'lost three years & a half of the very flower of his Life' standing around at court waiting for something to happen.⁵⁴ It was not that these writers had nothing to do: rather, they felt that there was nothing worth doing, breeding resentment at the investment of time required.⁵⁵

The court's dull atmosphere has also been ascribed to the personality and poor social skills of George II, characterised by 'diffidence, honesty and a measure of dullness'.⁵⁶ Robert Bucholz situates him among 'a succession of dull conversationalists' – James II, William III, Anne, George I and George III – who avoided talking at court to 'avoid royal embarrassment'.⁵⁷ Courtly modes of politeness were partly at fault, as conversations were 'hopelessly distorted' by 'the need to please those in power or with access to it'.⁵⁸ And yet it is notable that views of the court's dullness come from the excluded or unsuccessful, or jaded writers operating in the note of snide criticism popularised by the wits of the Scriblerus Club. Cynical ex-courtiers dramatised their visits to the 'gloomy regions' ruled by Pluto, king of the underworld.⁵⁹ Criticism of a court could, of course, be politically motivated. Hanoverian propaganda presented the exiled Jacobite court in Rome as 'impoverished, deadly dull and [...] dominated by intolerant Catholic bigots', in an attempt to downplay its influence.⁶⁰ In the same manner, critics such as Pope presented the English court as 'more contemplative' than a 'lone house in Wales, with a rookery'.⁶¹ However, as this article will show, writers monitoring the court's emotional tenor also repeatedly diarised displays of joy, cheer and good humour by the king, the queen and their courtiers.

The emotional tenor of the court underwent a number of transitions over the century. John Beattie has demonstrated how from 1717 to 1720 the reclusive George I 'radically and consciously altered the pattern of his life' in order to partake more enthusiastically in court ceremonies.⁶² The 1720s and 1730s saw an efflorescence of activity, while the death of Queen Caroline in 1737 represents a watershed moment, after which George II was 'in many ways, a changed man'.⁶³ The Prussian visitor Baron Bielfeld disparaged the king's 'life of perpetual retirement' in 1741, complaining that there was 'no court at all'. The only thing to see was the princesses playing cards, which provided 'but a dull sort of entertainment', for which there were 'not many spectators'.⁶⁴ Ageing courtiers in the final years of George's reign were said to 'sun themselves in a window like flies in autumn, past even buzzing'.⁶⁵ The tide had already begun to flow 'with a strong current towards the rising sun', as 'worshippers' flocked to a new 'Idol' – the future King George III.⁶⁶

There were also some very positive features to a 'dull' court, even if they did not appeal personally to Pope or Gay. Politics, despite the protests of anti-Whig historians eager to find shoots of political discourse thriving at court, was beginning to be brokered elsewhere. George II's absences in Hanover contributed to this, as did his personality and perceived poor English-language skills. This meant that, as long as Parliament was doing the king's bidding, his influence – if not his power – was expanding beyond the palace walls. And at court a lack of excitement could even reassure. 'No news' was Lord Berkeley's constant refrain in his diary, but no news was good news. It meant a stable regime. Desmond Shawe-Taylor has emphasised the clear benefits of a low-key court for a foreign dynasty that might otherwise have seemed threatening or alien. 'Dullness is always reassuring', he writes.⁶⁷ Provincial gentry could make their way to court from time to time, experience the personal presence and good cheer of the royal family and return home with their loyalty to the regime

refreshed. The supposed dullness of the court was in fact a marker of predictability, routine and stability.

III. Performing Emotions

Beyond the court's reputation for dullness lay a more multifaceted and multivalent emotional space. The court acted as a unique barometer for the nation's health, with visitors seizing on 'diagnostic opportunities' for 'taking the mood'.⁶⁸ They hoped to witness the royal family in good cheer, an 'Air of the countenance' and 'temper of mind in general' that signified gaiety and jollity.⁶⁹ Mary II had earlier maintained court morale while William III was at war, writing that, when 'troubled and frighted', she 'kept it to [her] self'.⁷⁰ Christina Kotchemidova has argued that cheerfulness acquired a new 'desirability' in England and America with the dawn of the Enlightenment and associated decline of melancholy. Good humour came to be viewed as a 'moral duty', providing an outward sign of 'religious faith and social responsibility'.⁷¹ It seems that George I understood this need. His 'Constant serenity in his Countenance & universal affability to all about him [...] charms every body', wrote one visitor to Hampton Court.⁷² Displays of cheerfulness in the State Apartments were highly valued by the emotional community at court, as they signalled Britain's political and military triumphs. In January 1731 the army officer Colonel Charles Howard was pleased to note that 'Very cheerful countenances are worn at Court both by His Majesty and his Ministers, and foreign affairs, I believe, have turned out beyond their expectation'.⁷³ And, as the Jacobite army advanced towards London in 1745, George II appeared in the Drawing Room 'void of the least appearance of fear or dejection, and just with cheerfulness enough to give spirit to others'. The king's performance of cheer was interpreted as a key indication of strength by courtiers, one of whom 'never saw him I think show so much of true greatness as he then did'.⁷⁴

Visitors were particularly pleased to witness displays of joy at court. The long-awaited reconciliation between George I and his estranged son in the spring of 1720 prompted 'rooms full of Company every thing gay & laughing. nothing but kissing & wishing Joy'. Lady Cowper wrote that 'no body c^d conceive' the degree of joy.⁷⁵ A united royal family and military success abroad could lead numerous writers to characterise court gatherings in terms of their joyous atmosphere. After rumours reached court in 1758 that the king of Prussia had annihilated the Russian enemy, Lord Berkeley found 'every body at Kensington full of joy upon the news'.⁷⁶ Two years later, he noted that 'The Court was in good humour upon the news from Quebec. His Majesty, they say, had expressed the highest joy upon the arrival of the Express'.⁷⁷ In recording the emotional tenor of the court as a space, writers continually attributed emotional states to 'everybody at Kensington' or 'The Court' as a whole. Accounts of a day's events repeatedly focused on the emotional tenor of gatherings, because they held wider significance for the state of the nation.

Conversely, a grave or 'bad' atmosphere in the State Apartments could indicate military difficulties for Britain and her allies. After attending a 'drawing room' at Kensington in 1757, Lord Berkeley noted that the duke of Cumberland's treaty with the French had 'cast such a Gloom upon people's Countenances, & penetrated so deeply into their Hearts, that I dread the Consequences [...] The Hon^r of the nation is at so low an Ebb, by our astonish- ing military Operations'.⁷⁸ The following year he was concerned to note a 'bad aspect to day at Court. It is feared that the King of Prussia is in distress, & Prince Ferdinand under difficulties'.⁷⁹ In 1760 Berkeley recorded that 'Countenances appeared grave upon the

last news'. The 'news' was that the enemy's superior numbers had enabled them to 'embarrass' Britain and its allies.⁸⁰ The emotional 'aspect' of court gatherings, and the countenances worn by courtiers, thus had implications that reached far beyond the State Apartments. Hannah Smith has argued that the court provided a space in which to keep abreast of the latest international news.⁸¹ When reported in the letters and diaries of courtiers, such news was frequently – and sometimes entirely – emotional in character. Because the court revolved so tightly around individuals, the king and queen, those individuals' own personalities shaped the emotional tone of court life and defined its boundaries. Although the Glorious Revolution had limited the monarch's power, the Georgian monarchy was still intensely personal in nature. The 'Reversionary Interest' seems to have been heightened by genuine personal bad feeling between George I and his heir. Familial strain was often in evidence through open hostilities at court. The most visible space for these tensions was the Drawing Room, where rival camps could make 'the whole thing look like 2 armys drawn up in battle array'. While the king's court gathered behind him at the top of the room, the prince's assembled at the bottom. The two were said to resemble a cat and dog: 'wⁿ evr the dog stirs a foot the cat sets up her back & is ready to fly at him.'⁸² Such glaring tensions generated concern among their subjects – the 'Jacobites beyond sea' would undoubtedly be 'very brisk & alert' to developments, for 'what better game could they ever hope for, than to see the Royal Family divided'.⁸³ Courtiers feared that conflict could have 'very unhappy consequences' in the long term, contrasting the joy of familial co-operation with the 'mortifying' impact of disagreements.⁸⁴ Thus the ebb and flow of tensions within the royal family inexorably shaped the court as an affective space.

There was an unspoken consensus about the loose 'rules' governing behaviour at court. One was not drinking to excess. In 1716 George Mayo was turned out of a 'drawing room' for 'being drunk & saucy'. Onlookers watched the '2 fools', as Mayo 'pull'd' Sir James Baker 'by the nose' before being promptly ejected.⁸⁵ Courtiers also intervened if individual behaviour was seen to disturb the 'tranquility' of the royal family. One evening at Hampton Court, Lord Townshend 'left the Princess quite out' of his conversation, 'showing her all the contempt in the world'. Spectators were uneasy at seeing the princess hurt, leading Mr Woodford and Lord Cowper to remonstrate with Townshend until he 'quite alter'd his conduct to the Princess to the great pleasure of those who had been concern'd'.⁸⁶ Maintaining such harmonious and agreeable conversation was a quintessential part of the art of politeness.⁸⁷

However, violent emotional scenes could occasionally disrupt the regularity of court routines. In December 1714 an Irish Catholic was sent to Newgate after entering St James's Palace to make '2 or 3 passes at the Colours, reviling the K. & his title'.⁸⁸ In the aftermath of the first Jacobite rebellion George I was accosted at St James's by Winifred Maxwell, countess of Nithsdale, whose treasonous husband languished in the Tower of London. She chose the moment when the king emerged from the bedchamber to make her approach, as he passed towards the more public space of the Little Drawing Room. Trying to present her petition, she desperately grabbed the skirt of his coat:

He endeavoured to escape out of my hands, but I kept such strong hold that he dragged me upon my knees from the middle of the room to the door of the drawing-room. At last one of the blue-ribbands, who attended his Majesty, took me round the waist, whilst another wrested the coat out of my hands. The petition, which I had endeavoured to thrust into his pocket, fell down in the scuffle, and I almost fainted through grief and disappointment.⁸⁹

The king's resentment was 'greatly increased' by her bold display, which was 'contrary to his express orders'. Subsequent rumours that he had treated her harshly as a woman of quality pushed him to 'the highest pitch of hatred and indignation', which in turn forced Lady Nithsdale to leave London for Rome.⁹⁰ The boundaries of acceptable emotional display did not extend as far as physically manhandling the monarch, and Lady Nithsdale paid for her transgression with lifelong exile.

On the other hand, well-judged behaviour could be rewarded by advantageous relationships, and many went 'bowing & cringing' to improve their prospects.⁹¹ In 1717 the MP Henry Pelham asked a friend to tell William Capel, Lord Essex, that 'he must take care how he behaves himself when he comes, for I have raised every body's expectations much'.⁹² Another writer begged Henrietta Howard, maid of honour and mistress of George II, to inform her how a relative and newcomer to court 'looked and behaved, and if she is likely to take with their royal highnesses'. It helped to learn the courtly 'way of behaving', which excluded sitting down or crossing your arms before members of the royal family.⁹³ Both astute and deplorable emotional performances were dutifully recorded and circulated by courtiers until the news was 'almost worn out'. The most successful players, such as Henrietta Howard, were so cautious that they were said to fold up their true selves 'like clothes in a chest', carefully concealing them from those present.⁹⁴

IV. Concealing Emotions

The necessity of concealing particular emotions runs throughout the genre of musings on court life begun by Baldassare Castiglione's *The Book of the Courtier* (1528; trans. 1561). The text expounds the theory that the successful courtier depends for his effect on outward appearances: clothes, graceful deportment, pleasant behaviour and impressing others. The downside, of course, was that appearance could be placed above reality, with a subsequent loss of sincerity from court life. 'The Court's a Golden, but a fatal Circle', reads the inscription to *Court Tales: or, A History of the Amours of the Present Nobility* (1717).⁹⁵ This belief saw courtiers forced to adapt their behaviour like chameleons: one who could not 'change colour with the air he lives in' had to 'learn to live upon air'.⁹⁶ Their shifting 'colour' was not only political but also had an important emotional dimension.

While social ease was a central tenet of politeness, the fawning mode of courtly politeness was criticised by conduct writers as inauthentic and shallow. Lord Chesterfield urged his son to tread with caution, with an 'open face and concealed thoughts'.⁹⁷ Such concealment was necessary owing to the personalised nature of the institution as a seat of power. Many diarists take the necessity of acting a part as a given, and share a sense of solidarity in calculating the emotional cost of this. As Lord Berkeley of Stratton put it: 'in Courts [...] the affections of the Heart are as much conceal'd as its substance'.⁹⁸ The caustic Lord Hervey was scathing of the skill at emotional duplicity of Frederick, prince of Wales, claiming that Frederick 'could laugh without being pleased', 'weep without being grieved' and imitate good cheer by pretending to be 'merry in Company'.⁹⁹ Careful emotional management was, however, a key component of dynastic and political stability, because the display of anger, displeasure or pain could be potentially harmful to the status of an individual or the whole institution.

The royal family was at the epicentre of court as an affective space. Female members were subject to particular scrutiny as brides, wives, mothers, political actors, consorts

and regents.¹⁰⁰ Mary II had been acutely aware that 'all my motions are so watcht & all I do so observed', to the extent that 'I must grin when my heart is ready to break, & talk when my heart is so opresed I can scarce breath[e]'.¹⁰¹ Queen Anne was later viewed as the most talented person 'in all England' in learning 'how to disguise her passions'.¹⁰² Princess Caroline certainly followed their lead. When conversing with a vocal Lord Sunderland in the Gallery at Hampton Court in 1716, the cautious princess was overheard to ask her companion to 'speak lower, for the people in the Garden w^d here [sic]', to which he replied, 'lett them hear'!¹⁰³ Historians have praised Caroline's 'statesman-like' attempts to quash public discord during the rift with George I in 1720.¹⁰⁴ Princess Augusta of Saxe-Gotha won similar admiration from courtiers for her affability and calm demeanour, mixing 'innocence, chearfulness & sense'.¹⁰⁵

The king enjoyed a greater measure of emotional freedom; one audience with the Spanish ambassador sent George I 'into such a passion that he laid his hand on his sword'.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, George II's irascible temper could cast a long shadow over court life.¹⁰⁷ The duke of Grafton was seen to be 'the only one of his ser^{ts} who could talk to him upon the most delicate affairs, & contend with his Passions without ruffling his Humour'.¹⁰⁸ The king's anger might sometimes have been used for effect. As Jeremy Black notes, George II could 'fume and still remain reasonable'.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, royal anger could still damage the interests of the crown. Lord Berkeley believed that the 'antipathies' and 'aversions' of George II created 'frequent obstructions' to his business.¹¹⁰ In 1756 writers were piqued by his lack of grace in appointing commissioners of the admiralty at the levée, worrying, 'what must spectators think?'¹¹¹

Ceremonial gatherings such as 'drawing rooms' were characterised by their 'relative openness', demanding the greatest emotional control and discipline of the royal family.¹¹² The king and queen would 'come out' to receive ambassadors and play at cards, while upwardly mobile courtiers kissed the king's hand and professed thanks for his good favour. Lady Cowper noted that, even if George I was 'very angry inwardly', he endeavoured to project an image that was 'outwardly civil & easy'.¹¹³ The king's civility differed from court culture at Versailles, where it was rumoured that Louis XV 'speaks nothing when he comes out to his drawing Rome [sic], esteeming it honour enough done his subjects that he shews himself to them'.¹¹⁴

Sometimes these emotional demands could prove too much. When begged to save a condemned peer after the first Jacobite rebellion, Princess Caroline 'could not bear' to meet his wife and 'hasten'd out of the drawing room into her owne rooms and cry'd'.¹¹⁵ Similarly, after George II and Queen Caroline agreed with Walpole to drop the Excise Bill in April 1733, the disappointed queen wept 'very plentyfully' before attending the 'drawing room'. She was, however, 'so little able to disguise what she felt' that she was forced to pretend a headache in order to break up the circle earlier than usual.¹¹⁶ It is significant that the queen left these gatherings in order to conceal her distress, only returning when she felt able to give the expected performance. The death of Frederick, prince of Wales, in March 1751 'set everybody staring' at countenances at court.¹¹⁷ Some members of the royal family were not able or willing to manage their emotions in the expected way, with Frederick's supporters complaining that the king appeared 'merry at Chapel' while Princess Amelia and the duke of Cumberland were 'indecently' so. Indeed, the court appeared to show 'no appearance of grief'.¹¹⁸ Such accounts support formulations of emotions as a 'domain of effort', where feelings had to be tightly controlled and managed.¹¹⁹ The immense importance granted to emotional displays in the State Apartments demanded that any inappropriate displays of disappointment, joy or grief be concealed from the watching crowd.

Given these myriad restrictions on their behaviour, where could the royal family retreat to express agitation, grief or pain legitimately? Tensions were often played out in more restricted spaces such as the closet, where the monarch was 'barely civil' to certain ministers.¹²⁰ George I relied on the 'closet-interview' more than his predecessor Queen Anne, particularly after 1717, and the 'secrets' of his closet were closely guarded. The closet provided a space for the monarch to write letters, meet individual ministers, private petitioners and diplomats, appoint new members of the royal household and settle family disputes.¹²¹ Courtiers attached great importance to the countenances of those exiting this space. After resigning as Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1717, Robert Walpole came out of the king's closet in 'heat, flame, and agitation', with tears 'standing in his eyes'. Robert's brother Horace observed these events as part of a group waiting 'next to the closet'. Immediately after the meeting had concluded, they rushed in and 'found the king no less disordered'.¹²² Three years later, after reconciling with his son in the closet at St James's, George I was 'much dismay'd, pale, & cou'd not speak to be heard but by broken sentences'. Lady Cowper reported that the prince looked 'grave & his Eyes are red & swel'd'.¹²³ Meanwhile, the king 'was very rough wth the Princess', and 'Chid her very severely in a Cruel way'. However, Caroline did not betray her feelings, and emerged from the closet into the Gallery 'transported wth the K[ing]'s mighty kind recept[ion] & told the Doctors & every body how mighty kind he had been to her'. She could 'say w^t she pleas'd' to 'excuse her self', so long as – crucially – she maintained the appearance of harmony.¹²⁴ The court's nature as a public stage made it essential for royal distress to remain hidden inside the closet, to quash rumours of domestic and even national upset. The bedchamber provided a further space where the royal family could more freely display pain or distress, as here only 'the most important of subjects' could expect admission.¹²⁵ Rights of access could be a fraught affair, with George I's Turkish attendants Mehemet and Mustafa guarding the privacy of this space to an unprecedented degree.¹²⁶ Lord Hervey described how George II would 'get out of his Bed, choaking with a sore Throat, & in a high Fever only to dress & have a Levée, & in five minutes undress and return to his Bed'. However, there were very good reasons for the king to maintain this 'ridiculous Farce of Health'.¹²⁷ If news of an illness leaked out, it would 'disquiet the minds of his subjects, hurt publick credit, and diminish the regard and duty which they owe him'.¹²⁸ The king and queen's physical health was still seen to overlap with the well-being of the nation. Hence the trouble they took to conceal pain.¹²⁹ Queen Caroline took this to dangerous extremes by denying doctors access to her umbilical hernia when her condition reached its crisis in 1737. Courtiers whispered that her 'rupture of the Bowels' might have 'been easily reduced, if she had not delayed the disclosure of it till a Mortification took place'.¹³⁰ While Caroline was confined to her bedchamber, the king reportedly wept and was 'extreamly troubled'. Nonetheless, with any sign of improvement he 'came out to his Levee, and appear'd chearfull', in order to maintain the expected

emotional routine.¹³¹

For a privileged few, access to these private apartments was provided by the narrow backstairs. The backstairs represented a transitional space usually restricted to bedchamber staff only. As such, it could provide a concealed location for terse discussions. One evening in December 1714 Lady Cowper witnessed a 'great dispute' in the outward room over gifts given to the queen's godchildren at christenings, which was shielded from the scrutiny of the State Apartments.¹³² The backstairs to the queen's bedchamber provided a place where courtiers could seek genuine news of her health. During Caroline's difficult pregnancy of 1716 the backstairs were 'always soe crowded & every body soe tired' with answering questions.¹³³ Similarly, during her illnesses in the 1730s, courtiers

made repeated trips to the backstairs in search of news, before she 'came out' into her Drawing Room.¹³⁴ However, on other occasions access was tightly restricted, with the backstairs at St James's temporarily closed to visitors in 1722 after the discovery of a plot to kill the king.¹³⁵

The royal family and their courtiers thus viewed it as an 'absolute necessity' for 'the publick good' to keep any discord 'quiet' in order to maintain the stability of the regime.¹³⁶ As they proceeded outwards from the comparative seclusion of the bedchamber or closet into the sharp scrutiny of a 'drawing room', the royal family endeavoured to conceal emotions such as pain or distress 'in order to throw Dust into the Eyes of the World'.¹³⁷ Over the course of the century the Hanoverians successfully managed to 'steer the ship of state clear of the rocks on which the Stuarts had foundered twice during the seventeenth century'.¹³⁸

Conclusion

This article has combined court history and the history of emotions to analyse the early Georgian court through an emotional lens. The eighteenth-century court provides a unique micro-community for historians to consider the performance of emotions, as a stable, regulated and clearly defined space. In the words of Lord Hervey, 'no Mill-Horses ever went in a more constant tract [sic] or a more unchanging Circle'.¹³⁹ The royal family and their courtiers constituted a distinct emotional community, sharing 'fundamental assumptions' about desirable, deplorable and noteworthy expressions of feeling.¹⁴⁰ Displays of cheer, joy and good humour at court came highly prized, whereas anger, aversion or displeasure when exhibited by the monarch were widely disparaged. Even the slightest change in the emotional temperature was keenly gauged and recorded by those present.

The British court's long-standing reputation as 'the residence of dullness' conceals a much more dynamic affective space, where emotional displays came charged with political and national significance. The rituals of a 'drawing room' already demanded particular conduct, with courtiers standing in the presence of the monarch, unfolding their arms and removing their hats to offer 'a visual message of deference'.¹⁴¹ Those present had to maintain the flow of conversation, without inappropriate displays of anger or grief. In this tightly controlled context, both courtiers and visitors to court gave detailed scrutiny to the emotional behaviour of the king, prince and princess of Wales, and individuals – such as Robert Walpole – judged to be 'of understanding & knowledge at Court'.¹⁴² Gestures such as laughing, kissing or crying each possessed wider significance. Joy witnessed at a palace 'drawing room' expressed the good health of the nation. Distress and pain at court meant the loss of status, even disturbance in, and danger to, the body politic. The State Apartments were like a theatre where emotions were performed and recorded by dutiful witnesses, as if anxiously watching over the state of the nation.

The layout of the State Apartments was designed to maintain a particular 'spatial distance' between the royal family and their subjects.¹⁴³ Individual rooms, with their greater or lesser degrees of access, allowed certain emotions to be expressed away from the 'fishbowl' of court life.¹⁴⁴ For the royal family, grief, pain and anger could be acceptably displayed in more private spaces such as the closet, bedchamber or backstairs. A 'hurly burly' in the bedchamber could see the prince of Wales in a passion or the princess in tears, shielded from the multitude outside.¹⁴⁵ On the edges of these more restricted spaces, courtiers waited eagerly to judge the emotional atmosphere 'as soon as

His Majesty's Door was opened'.¹⁴⁶ They hoped to witness the king's cheerful countenance, which visibly announced the nation's stability. After the accession of George III in 1760, contemporaries continued to monitor the court 'closely for signs of discontent'.¹⁴⁷

This article has traced a practised grammar of emotional concealment and display through London's royal palaces. The affective routines described reveal a new dimension of the court's widespread reputation for artificiality and deceit. Courtiers and the royal family engaged not only in political schemes but also in emotional performances, changing like chameleons as they moved from the closet into the gallery, or the bedchamber into the Drawing Room. Each individual navigated an emotional map of the State Apartments, where tears or pain were acceptable in certain spaces, but certainly not in others. Commentary about the insincerity of life at court can thus be interpreted as a comment on the emotional climate of a regime, a neglected but vitally important aspect of early modern court culture. When Lady Cowper noted that 'every body took notice of the scene of the drawing room',¹⁴⁸ she highlighted the importance of scrupulous emotional performances at court. Although the Hanoverian court in London has often been straightforwardly characterised as stolid, unremarkable, and 'dull', the careful management of its emotional tenor was in fact a vital, and underestimated, part of the Georgian monarchy's success.

Notes

This article was prompted by an intensive period of research by curators at Historic Royal Palaces as part of 'The Glorious Georges' Season marking the Tercentenary of the Hanoverian Succession in 2014. We are grateful to Charmian Mansell, Jasmeet Barker and Laura Chilton for providing research support, and to Elaine Chalus, Michèle Cohen, Hannah Greig, Jane Hamlett, Clarissa Campbell Orr and Andrew Thompson for generously commenting on drafts.

1. Suffolk Record Office, Bury St Edmunds [SRO], 941/47 /4, fol. 135, Lord John Hervey to Stephen Fox, 14 September 1730. All manuscripts have been transcribed verbatim, with the exception of 'y' replaced by 'the' 'y' by 'that' and 'y^m' by 'them'. Lady Cowper's system of using numbers to refer to particular people has been translated to reference their names.

2. Letters Written by the Late Right Honourable Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, to His Son, Philip Stanhope, Esq. (London, 1774), vol. III of IV, Letter CCXXVII, 6 June 1751 (OS), p.196.

3. W.Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p.145.

4. British Library, London [BL], Add. MS 47062 fol. 3r, diary of John Perceval, Lord Egmont, 27 May 1732.

5. Conduct books advised that polite conversation invariably required 'some peculiar graceful Motion in the Eyes, or Nose, or Mouth, or Forehead, or Chin, or suitable Toss of the Head [...] by no means omitting the various Turns and Cadence of the Voice, the Twistings, and Movements, and different Postures of the Body'. Simon Wagstaff, Esq. [Jonathan Swift], *A Complete Collection of Genteel and Ingenious Conversation, According to the Most Polite Mode and Method now Used at Court, and in the Best Companies of England* (London, 1738), p.xv-xvi.

6. BL Add. MS 47064, fol. 24v, 24 February 1734.

7. Strictly defined, the 'circle' refers to the formation of courtiers at a 'drawing room'.

8. For an introduction to the field, see J. Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, trans. K. Tribe (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). For histories of emotions at earlier courts see S. Broomhall, 'Gendering the Culture of Honour at the Fifteenth-Century Burgundian Court', in S. Broomhall and S. Tarbin (eds), *Women, Identities and Communities in Europe, 1400-1800* (Aldershot: Routledge, 2008), p.181-93, and B. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early*

Middle Ages (Ithaca, NY, and London: Cornell University Press, 2006), esp. 'Courtly Discipline', p.130-62.

9. N. Elias, *The Court Society*, trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p.104-16. The *Court Society* was first written shortly before Elias's famous study *The Civilizing Process* in the 1930s and revised for publication in the 1960s.

10. R. van Krieken, 'Norbert Elias and Emotions in History', in D. Lemmings and A. Brooks (eds), *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2014), p.19-42, esp. p.23-6.

11. S. Broomhall, 'Introduction: Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe', in S. Broomhall and S. Finn (eds), *Violence and Emotions in Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Routledge, 2015)p. 4.

12. Van Krieken, 'Norbert Elias', p.38.

13. J. L. Austin, *How to Do Things with Words*, 2nd edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1975), p.6-7.

14. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, p.103-5.

15. SRO 941/47/4, fol. 100, Hervey to Fox, 25 November 1729.

16. A. R. Hochschild, *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling* (London: University of California Press, [1983] 2012), p.xvii-xviii, 7.

17. See Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, and S. Broomhall (ed.), *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015).

18. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p.2.

19. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p.24.

20. Swift and Alexander Pope in John Arbuthnot, *Miscellanies* (Dublin, 1746), p.254, 'A true and faithful narrative of what pass'd in London'; BL Add. MS 22628, fols 20-21, Henrietta Howard to Lady Hervey, c. September 1728; Lady Hervey to Henrietta Howard, 7 July 1729.

21. M. Seymour, 'Emotional Arenas: From Provincial Circus to National Courtroom in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy', *Rethinking History* 16:2 (2012), p.179.

22. B. Gammerl, 'Emotional Styles – Concepts and Challenges', *Rethinking History* 16:2 (2012), p.164-6. Also see A. Reckwitz, 'Affective Spaces: A Praxeological Outlook', *Rethinking History* 16:2 (2012), p.241-58, and B. Anderson, 'Affective Atmospheres', *Emotion, Space and Society* 2 (2009), p.77-81.

23. Broomhall, 'Introduction', *Spaces for Feeling*, p.1.

24. Incremental building projects mean that the bedchambers in the king's and queen's State Apartments were in different locations at each palace (see Figs 1-3). Behind these rooms lay the monarch's private apartments and a warren of passages and corridors.

25. R. Hatton, *George I* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, [1978] 2001), p.132.

26. A. Thompson, *George II: King and Elector* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2011), p.60.

27. As Robert Bucholz argues, 'the bedchamber and closet were not in any formal sense public rooms'; 'Going to Court in 1700: A Visitor's Guide', *The Court Historian* 5:3 (2000), p.208.

28. See E. Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (London: Allen Lane, 1969).

29. The ceremonial levée was first invented by Louis XIV, and was not observed by George I. George II revived the ceremony while prince of Wales, minus the French custom where courtiers entered gradually according to rank. See H. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p.100-01.

30. H. Greig, *The Beau Monde: Fashionable Society in Georgian London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p.108-13; Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.97-102; C. Campbell Orr, 'Mrs. Delany & the

Court', in M. Laird and A. Weisberg-Roberts (eds), *Mrs. Delany and Her Circle* (New Haven, CT, and London: Yale University Press, 2009), p.41-2.

31. W. Matthews (ed.), *The Diary of Dudley Ryder, 1715-1716* (London: Methuen, 1939), p.77, 15 August 1715.

32. Greig, *The Beau Monde*, p.112.

33. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Hertford (HALS) D/EP F205/1, diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, October 1714.

34. J. W. Croker (ed.), *Memoirs of the Reign of George the Second*, vol. I (London, 1848), p.x.

35. HALS D/EP F205; SRO 941/47, letters of Lord John Hervey, and 'Manuscript of the Memoirs of the Reign of George II from 1727 to 1737'; BL Add. MS 47060-47071, diary of John Perceval, Lord Egmont; Lincolnshire Archives, Lincoln [LA] BNLW/4/5/4/1-64, diaries of Lord Berkeley of Stratton. While previous studies have cited the temporary reference BQ/2 provided by the auction house that sold the papers, we use the BNLW (Brownlow) code used to catalogue the collection by the archives.

36. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p.25.

37. BL Add. MS 47064, fol. 23r, 23 February 1734.

38. S. J. Matt, 'Recovering the Invisible: Methods for the Historical Study of the Emotions', in S. J. Matt and P. Stearns (eds), *Doing Emotions History* (Chicago, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2014), p.44.

39. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.21-32.

40. L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation, 1707-1837* (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 2005), p.202.

41. John Toland, *An Account of the Courts of Prussia and Hanover* (London, 1705), p.53.

42. See J. Duindam, *Vienna and Versailles: The Courts of Europe's Dynastic Rivals, 1550-1780* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), and E. Corp, *A Court in Exile: The Stuarts in France, 1689-1718* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

43. Thompson, *George II*, p.22.

44. J. H. Plumb, *The Growth of Political Stability in England 1675-1725* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, [1967] 1973), p.188.

45. SRO 941/47/14, fol. 87, 'To the Queen', in 'Memoirs', 1737. He continued: 'But what can you Oh! Queen from Dullness dread,/ Who can resist such Loads of verbal Lead?'

46. 'DULL' (adj.) in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London, 1755), vol. I.691.

47. See B. Mæland and P.O. Brunstad, *Enduring Military Boredom from 1750 to the Present* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p.10-11.

48. Tasks described in SRO, 941/47/14, fol. 140, copy of letter from Hervey to Robert Walpole, 1 December 1737. The ushers and grooms of the privy chamber, guard chamber and presence chamber were responsible for opening doors, ensuring that fires were lit and candles replenished. Hatton, *George I*, p.143.

49. R. Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide: Ennui in Western Literature* (Guildford: Princeton University Press, 1976), p.5, 12. On repetition and boredom see L. Svendsen, *A Philosophy of Boredom*, trans. J. Irons (London: Reaktion Books, 2005), p.41-5.

50. SRO 941/47/4, fol. 94, Hervey to Fox, 18 November 1729.

51. SRO 941/47/4, fol. 100, Hervey to Fox, 25 November 1729. Hervey's ennui also symbolises his love for Fox. As Kuhn argues, 'Love creates ennui by its decaying effect, by its lack of substantiality. Like an illness, it lays waste to its object'; Kuhn, *The Demon of Noontide*, p.124.

52. R. Halsband (ed.), *The Complete Letters of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), vol. II.132, Montagu to Lady Pomfret, January 1739.

53. Letters of Baron Bielfeld, trans. W. Hooper (London, 1770), vol. IV, Letter XXIX, to Baron von K-, 7 February 1741, p.57-60.

54. BL Add. MS 36772, fols 167r and 180v, Thomas Burnet to George Duckett, 6 September 1717 and 5 March 1718.
55. Fernando Pessoa outlines how 'Tedium is not the disease of being bored because there's nothing to do, but the more serious disease of feeling there's nothing worth doing. This means that the more there is to do, the more tedium one will feel.' *The Book of Disquiet*, trans. Richard Zenith (London: Allen Lane, 2001), fragment 445, p.365.
56. J. Black, *George II: Puppet of the Politicians?* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2007), p.109.
57. Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700', p.205.
58. L. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.183.
59. Mrs Bradshaw to Henrietta Howard, 21 August 1720, in Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and Her Second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley; from 1712 to 1767* (London, 1824), vol. I.66-7.
60. E. Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy, 1719-1766: A Royal Court in Permanent Exile* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), p.1.
61. Lord Wharnccliffe (ed.) *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, third edition, vol. I of II (London, 1866), Pope to Montagu, summer 1717, p.435.
62. J. M. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.261-8, 273-6.
63. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.101.
64. *Letters of Baron Bielfeld*, vol. IV, Letter XXIX, p.59.
65. Horace Walpole to Sir Horace Mann, 5 July 1754, *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1960), vol. XX.438.
66. LA BNLW/4/5/4/2, fol. 8r, 19 December 1756.
67. D. Shawe-Taylor, 'Ruling a Free Nation', in D. Shawe-Taylor (ed.), *The First Georgians: Art and Monarchy 1714-1760* (London: Royal Collection Trust, 2014), p.17.
68. Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700', p.202.
69. 'CHEER (n. s.)', in Johnson, *Dictionary*, vol. I.380.
70. H. and B. van der Zee, *William and Mary* (Bristol: Macmillan, 1973), p.323-5, 348-9.
71. C. Kotchimidova, 'From Good Cheer to "Drive-By Smiling": A Social History of Cheerfulness', *Journal of Social History* 39:1 (2005), p.6-8. On the decline of melancholy see U. Frevert, *Emotions in History – Lost and Found* (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2011), p.31-6.
72. BL Add. MS 36772, fol. 174v, Burnet to Duckett, 30 November 1717.
73. Historical Manuscripts Commission [HMC], *Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part VI, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Carlisle, Preserved at Castle Howard* (London, 1897), Col. Charles Howard to Lord Carlisle, 13 January 1731, p.79.
74. HMC, *Fourteenth Report, Appendix, Part IX, The Manuscripts of the Earl of Onslow* (London, 1895), 'Note on the Rebellion of 1745', p.523.
75. HALS D/EP F205/6, fol. 85r, spring 1720.
76. LA BNLW/4/5/4/48, fol. 9, 3 September 1758.
77. LA BNLW/4/5/4/10, fol. 4, 29 June 1760.
78. LA BNLW/4/5/4/4, fol. 11, 13 October 1757.
79. LA BNLW/4/5/4/47, fol. 12, 3 August 1758.
80. LA BNLW/4/5/4/11, fol. 6, 21 August 1760.
81. Smith, *Georgian Monarchy*, p.216.
82. D/EP F205/6, fol. 92v, April 1720.
83. BL Add. MS 36772, fol. 180v, Burnet to Duckett, 5 March 1718.

84. BL Add. MS 47068, fol. 27r, 7 September 1737; LA BNLW/4/5/4/4, fol. 13, 16 October 1757.
85. HALS D/EP F205/3, fol. 39v, 20 March 1716.
86. HALS D/EP F205/5, fol. 64v, 1716. Townshend was seen to make 'a great many badd [sic] excuses' for his behaviour.
87. See: M. Cohen, *Fashioning Masculinity: National Identity and Language in the Eighteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996), esp. Chapters 2-3; Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness*; and L. Klein, 'Gender, Conversation and the Public Sphere in Early Eighteenth-Century England' in J. Still and Michael Worton (eds), *Textuality and Sexuality: Reading Theories and Practices* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), p.104-8.
88. HALS D/EP F205/1, fol. 9v, 14 December 1714.
89. S. Grace (ed.), *A Letter from the Countess of Nithsdale* (London, 1827), p.36-6.
90. Grace (ed.), *A Letter from the Countess of Nithsdale*, p.35.
91. LA BNLW/4/5/4/63, fol. 33, undated.
92. Henry Pelham, Esq., to the Hon. George Berkeley, 3 November 1717, in Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, vol. I.19-20.
93. HALS D/EP F205/1, fol. 6r, 26 November 1714; Mrs Campbell to Mrs Howard, 1720, in Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, vol. I.61-2.
94. 'Character of the Hon. Mrs. Howard (Afterwards Countess of Suffolk), Written and given to her by Dr. Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's, Part the First', Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, vol. I.xliv, and Mrs Bradshaw to Mrs Howard, April 1720, Croker, *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk*, vol. I.49.
95. Anon., *Court Tales: or, A History of the Amours of the Present Nobility* (London, 1717), title page.
96. LA BNLW/4/5/4/61, fol. 10, undated. Lord Shaftesbury and Lord Chesterfield also likened courtiers to chameleons. See Klein, *Shaftesbury*, p.184, n. 29, and *Chesterfield, Letters*, 1751, p.221.
97. L. Klein, 'Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century', *The Historical Journal* 45 (2002), p.874-7; Klein, *Shaftesbury*, p.183-94; and *Chesterfield, Letters*, 21 August 1749 (OS), p.145.
98. LA BNLW/4/5/4/6, fol. 16, 1 January 1759.
99. SRO 941/47/14, fol. 32, 'Characters from the Memoirs'.
100. On Caroline and Augusta see A. Hanham, 'Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach and the "Anglicisation" of the House of Hanover', in C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Europe 1660-1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p.276-99, and J. L. Bullen, "'To play what game she pleased without observation": Princess Augusta and the Political Drama of Succession, 1736-56', in C. Campbell Orr (ed.), *Queenship in Britain 1660- 1837: Royal Patronage, Court Culture and Dynastic Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.207-35.
101. TNA SP8/7, fols 1v-2r, Mary II to William III, 5 September 1690.
102. E. Gregg, *Queen Anne* (London and New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, [1980] 2001), p.138, n. 23.
103. HALS D/EP F205/5, fol. 65v, c. August 1716.
104. Hanham, 'Caroline of Brandenburg-Ansbach', p.290.
105. BL Add. MS 47066, fol. 55r, 27 April 1736.
106. BL Add. MS 17720, fol. 3r, 1 January 1729 (reflecting back on 'the reign of his late Majesty').
107. Thompson describes his 'anger', 'ire', 'irritation', 'bad temper', 'fits of temper' and constant reproaching of Queen Caroline during the winter of 1735-6, George II, p.114-15.
108. LA BNLW/4/5/4/3, fol. 13, 6 May 1757.

109. Black, George II, p.138.
110. LA BNLW/4/5/4/3, fol. 9, 10 April 1757.
111. LA BNLW/4/5/4/1, fols 27-8, 15 November 1756.
112. Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700', p.204.
113. HALS D/EP F205/6, fol. 75r, spring 1720.
114. BL Add. MS 47066, fol. 21r, 28 January 1736.
115. BL Add. MS 78465, fol. 45r, Mrs Boscawen to Lady Evelyn, 21 February 1716.
116. SRO 941/47 /13, fol. 21 (4th), 'Memoirs', 9 April 1733.
117. Henry Fox, BL Add. MS 5415 [Holland House], fol. 62.
118. BL Add. MS 47072 (loose sheet) in A. N. Newman (ed.), 'Leicester House Politics, 1750-60, from the Papers of John, Second Earl of Egmont', Camden Miscellany XXIII, Camden Fourth Series, vol. VII (London, 1969), p.207.
119. Reddy, *Navigation of Feeling*, p.57.
120. J. B. Owen, *The Rise of the Pelhams* (London: Methuen, 1956), p.232.
121. Hatton, George I, p.129.
122. Horace Walpole the elder to Revd H. Etough, 12 October 1751 (reflecting back to 1717), in W. Coxe (ed.), *Memoirs of the Life and Administration of Robert Walpole* (London, 1798), vol. II.169-70.
123. HALS D/EP F205/6, fol. 84r-85 v, April 1720.
124. HALS D/EP F205/6, fol. 91v, April 1720.
125. Thompson, George II, p.60.
126. Hatton, George I, p.132.
127. SRO 941/47/13, fol. 120, 'Memoirs', 29 October 1734.
128. TNA SP36/111, fol. 1r, Dudley Ryder to the duke of Newcastle, 16 October 1749.
129. See E. H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, [1957] 1998), and B. Jussen, 'The King's Two Bodies Today', *Representations* 106 (2009), p.102-17.
130. Sir N. William Wraxall, *Historical Memoirs of My Own Time* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1904), p.257.
131. BL Add. MS 47068, fol. 35v-r, 10-11 November 1737.
132. HALS D/EP F205/1, fol. 12v, 23 December 1714.
133. BL Add. MS 78465, fol. 80v, Boscawen to Evelyn, 8 November 1716.
134. BL Add. MS 22227, fol. 157r, Peter Wentworth to Lord Strafford, 10 December 1734.
135. Hatton, George I, p.363, n. 41.
136. HALS D/EP F205/5, fol. 60r, July 1716.
137. LA BNLW/4/5/4/4, fol. 14, 16 Oct 1757.
138. M. Schaich, 'Introduction', in A. Gestric and M. Schaich (eds), *The Hanoverian Succession: Dynastic Politics and Monarchical Culture* (Farnham: Routledge, 2015), p.3.
139. BL Add. MS 20104, fols 6-7, Hervey to Mrs Clayton, 31 July 1733.
140. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, p.24.
141. Black, George II, p.19, and Bucholz, 'Going to Court in 1700', p.205-6.
142. LA BNLW/4/5/4/40, fol. 12, 24 July 1757.
143. Hatton, George I, p.132.
144. Black, George II, p.216.
145. HALS D/EP F205/5, fol. 68v, October 1716.
146. LA BNLW/4/5/4/10, fol. 15, 20 July 1760.
147. Greig, *The Beau Monde*, p.125.
148. Hertfordshire Archives and Local Studies, Hertford [HALS], D/EP F205/6, fol. 93v, diary of Mary, Countess Cowper, 26 April 1720.

