



AN ENLIGHTENMENT STATESMAN IN WHIG BRITAIN

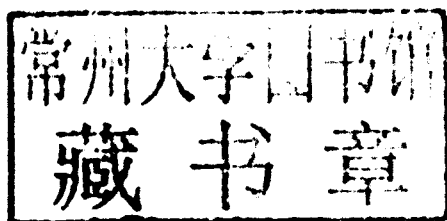
Lord Shelburne in Context, 1737–1805

Edited by

NIGEL ASTON AND CLARISSA CAMPBELL ORR

AN ENLIGHTENMENT
STATESMAN IN WHIG BRITAIN
LORD SHELBURNE IN CONTEXT,
1737–1805

Edited by
Nigel Aston and Clarissa Campbell Orr



THE BOYDELL PRESS

© Contributors 2011

All Rights Reserved. Except as permitted under current legislation no part of this work may be photocopied, stored in a retrieval system, published, performed in public, adapted, broadcast, transmitted, recorded or reproduced in any form or by any means, without the prior permission of the copyright owner

First published 2011
The Boydell Press, Woodbridge

ISBN 978-1-84383-630-8

The Boydell Press is an imprint of Boydell & Brewer Ltd
PO Box 9, Woodbridge, Suffolk IP12 3DF, UK
and of Boydell & Brewer Inc.
668 Mt Hope Avenue, Rochester, NY 14620, USA
website: www.boydellandbrewer.com

A catalogue record for this book is available
from the British Library

The publisher has no responsibility for the continued existence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this book, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Papers used by Boydell & Brewer Ltd are natural,
recyclable products made from wood grown in sustainable forests

Printed in the United States of America

STUDIES IN EARLY MODERN CULTURAL,
POLITICAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY

Volume 11

AN ENLIGHTENMENT STATESMAN
IN WHIG BRITAIN
LORD SHELBURNE IN CONTEXT, 1737–1805

Studies in Early Modern Cultural, Political and Social History

ISSN: 1476-9107

Series editors

Tim Harris – Brown University

Stephen Taylor – University of Reading

Andy Wood – University of East Anglia

Previously published titles in the series
are listed at the back of this volume

Contributors

Nigel Aston is Reader in Early Modern History at the University of Leicester, and a specialist in the religious and political history of eighteenth-century France and Britain. His books include *The French Revolution 1789–1802: Liberty, Authority and the Search for Stability* (Palgrave, 2004) and *Christianity in Revolutionary Europe 1750–1830* (Cambridge University Press, 2002). He has contributed to several collections of essays including 60 biographical essays for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004), and ‘Church and State in Continental Catholic Europe’ in the *Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. VII, *Enlightenment, Reawakening and Revolution 1660–1815*, ed. Timothy Tackett and Stewart J. Brown (Cambridge University Press, 2006). *Art and Religion in Eighteenth-century Europe* (Reaktion Books) was published in 2009. He is currently working on an edition of the correspondence of James Boswell with the Rev. W.J. Temple, vol. 2, 1777–1795, for Yale University Press, and two articles on Shelburne’s family and politics.

Clarissa Campbell Orr is Reader in Enlightenment, Gender and Court Studies at Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge Campus. She has edited and contributed to *Queenship in Britain 1660–1837: Royal Patronage, Dynastic Politics, and Court Culture* (Manchester University Press, 2002), and *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815: The Role of the Consort* (Cambridge University Press, 2004). Other works include ‘Aristocratic Feminism, the Learned Governess, and the Republic of Letters’, in *Women, Gender & Enlightenment*, ed. B Taylor S. Knott (Palgrave, 2005), and ‘The Late Hanoverian Court and the Christian Enlightenment’, in *Monarchy and Religion*, ed. Michael Schaich (German Historical Institute/Oxford University Press, 2007). She contributed the chapter ‘Mrs. Delany and the Court’ to *Mrs Delany and her Contemporaries*, ed. Mark Laird and Alicia Weisberg-Roberts (Yale University Press, 2009), and is writing a biography of Mrs Delany for Yale University Press. She is also currently working on a study of Queen Charlotte.

John Cannon, CBE, is Professor Emeritus of Modern History at Newcastle University. His publications include *The Fox-North Coalition: Crisis of the Constitution* (1970); ed., *The Whig Ascendancy* (1981); *Aristocratic Century* (1984), and *Samuel Johnson and the Politics of Hanoverian England* (1994). He contributed the entry on Lord Shelburne for the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (2004).

Emmanuelle de Champs is Maître de Conférences in English (Université Paris 8) and a member of the Centre Bentham (Université Paris 10). She

has published on Bentham's political theory (*La déontologie politique: ou la pensée constitutionnelle de J. Bentham*, Geneva, Droz, 2008) and co-edited, with Jean-Pierre Cléro, a volume on the reception of Bentham's thought in France (*Bentham et la France: Fortune et infortunes de l'utilitarisme*, Oxford, SVEC, 2009–09). She works on intellectual and cultural transfers between France and Britain in the late eighteenth century, especially on Etienne Dumont's editorship of Bentham's manuscripts.

G.M. Ditchfield is Professor of Eighteenth-Century History at the University of Kent, Canterbury. He has published extensively on eighteenth-century British political and religious history, with particular reference to religious issues in parliamentary and popular politics, the history of the House of Lords, Protestant Dissent, and the emergence of Unitarianism. He is the author of *The Evangelical Revival* (1998) and *George III. An Essay in Monarchy* (2002), together with numerous journal articles and chapters in edited collections. He is editor of *The Letters of Theophilus Lindsey. Volume I: 1747–1788* (2007). He is currently completing the second volume of *The Letters of Theophilus Lindsey* and will then undertake an edition of the correspondence of Archdeacon Francis Blackburne.

Edmond Dziembowski is Professor of Modern History at the Université de Franche-Comté (Besançon, France) and Director of the LSH (Laboratoire des Sciences Historiques) EA 2273. He is the author of *Un nouveau patriotisme français, 1750–1770. La France face à la puissance anglaise à l'époque de la guerre de Sept Ans* (Oxford, Voltaire Foundation, 1998, Studies on Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century, 365) and *Les Pitt. L'Angleterre face à la France, 1708–1806*, (Paris, Perrin, 2006). He is currently working on the French official press in the second half of the eighteenth century.

Robin Eagles is a senior research fellow in the House of Lords (1660–1832) section of the History of Parliament. Previous publications include *Franco-philosophy in English Society, 1748–1815* (2000), “‘No More to Be Said’? Reactions to the Death of Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales”, *Historical Research* 80 (2007) and “‘The Only Disagreeable Thing in the Whole’: The Selection and Experience of the British Hostages for the Delivery of Cape Breton in Paris, 1748–9”, in *British French-Exchanges in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. K.H. Doig and D. Medlin (2007).

Frank O’Gorman is Professor Emeritus in the University of Manchester. Frank O’Gorman has published extensively on the origins and development of political parties in England in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and is the author of *Edmund Burke: His Political Philosophy* (1973). The development of his interests from party to electoral history was a natural transition and in 1989 it yielded *Voters, Patrons and Parties: The Unreformed Electoral System of Hanoverian England, 1734–1832*. His major synthesis of the history of Britain during the Hanoverian period appeared in 1997: *The Long Eighteenth Century: British Political and Social History 1688–1832*. He

is at present writing a book on the operation of political ritual in Britain during the long eighteenth century.

John Orbell is a business archivist and business historian. He spent most of his career as Archivist of Baring Brothers, later ING Bank London Branch, and is now a trustee of The Baring Archive Trust. He has published on banking and shipping history and on business archives and his thesis covers the history of grain milling. He has just published 'A Guide to Tracing the History of a Business' (Phillimore, 2009) and is completing a bibliography of British business history to be published in 2012 in print and, with the Business Archives Council, online.

Martyn J. Powell is Senior Lecturer in Modern British History at Aberystwyth University. He has published widely on eighteenth-century Britain and Ireland, and his latest book *Piss-Pots, Printers and Public Opinion in Eighteenth-Century Dublin* was published by Four Courts Press in 2009.

Andrew Stockley is the Dean of Law at the University of Auckland in New Zealand. He was previously Head of the Law School at the University of Canterbury in New Zealand and has published widely on constitutional law issues. He examined the role of Lord Shelburne in the peace negotiations of 1782–3 when studying for his doctorate at the University of Cambridge and is the author of *Britain and France at the Birth of America* (University of Exeter Press, 2001).

Richard Whatmore is Professor of Intellectual History and the History of Political Thought at the University of Sussex and Director of the Sussex Centre for Intellectual History. He is the author of *Republicanism and the French Revolution* (Oxford University Press, 2000), has co-edited two volumes of essays on British intellectual history since 1750 (*Economy, Polity and Society and History, Religion and Culture*, both Cambridge University Press, 2000), in addition to *Advances in Intellectual History* (Palgrave, 2006), and *Geneva: An English Enclave* (Slatkine, 2009). He has written widely on French, Swiss and British eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century intellectual history. *Against War and Empire: Geneva, Britain and France in the Eighteenth Century* will be published by Yale University Press in 2012.

Acknowledgements

All but one of the chapters in this book were originally given in July 2007 at a symposium called 'Begetters of Revolution? Shelburne and the Bowood Circle Reappraised' organized by the co-editors at Sherborne School. Thanks are owed to others who gave papers or chaired sessions: Craig Beeston, Cyprian Blamires, Toby Barnard, Stephen Conway, Rachel Hammersley, Bob Harris, Linda Kirk, Peter Marshall, John Phibbs, Patrick Pilkington, Martin Fitzpatrick and John Stevenson. School staff, led by the Domestic Bursar, Eve Arnold, were splendid hosts, with Derek Jarrett's successor, the current Head of History, Huw Ridgeway, his immediate predecessor, Jeremy Barker, and another former master, Peter Currie, particularly helpful and assistive before, during, and afterwards. Thanks are also due to the Headmaster, Simon Elliot, the Secretary to the Old Shirburnian Society, John Harden, and the Assistant Secretary, Janey Goddard. We were also generously entertained at Bowood House by the Marquess and Marchioness of Lansdowne on the only sunny Saturday in July – a memorable coincidence.

The symposium was dedicated to the memory of Derek Jarrett, radical schoolmaster and historian, who died in 2004, and it was a great privilege to have his widow, Betty Jarrett, present with us throughout those days. Jarrett was an eighteenth-century British historian who had a finely attuned sense of the inter-connectedness of British and European political culture in the second half of his century. He put Lord Shelburne and the 'Bowood Circle' at the heart of that many-faceted nexus. Indeed, he may be said to have coined that term in the process of writing his Oxford B.Litt. thesis (supervised by John Bromley) on the subject. Jarrett's finest work was probably his 1973 publication *The Begetters of Revolution: England's Involvement with France, 1759–1789*, an astute and persuasive essay in comparative history founded on Jarrett's prescient perception that 'Politics in England and France during these thirty years were too closely interwoven for the history of either country to be intelligible on its own'. This insight has become axiomatic for historians but it never quite received the recognition it deserved in its own time, probably because so little comparative history of any quality was produced in the 1970s. The Sherborne colloquium of 34 years later was partly conceived as an attempt to correct that injustice. Jarrett returned to this approach later in his career with his *Three Faces of Revolution: Paris, London and New York in 1789* (1989), another important and excessively neglected book. He was at all times a diligent writer who produced accessible and well-received studies of William Hogarth's England

and Pitt the Younger, as well as a textbook on *Britain 1688–1815* for sixth-formers. Sadly, it was not by itself capable of making the long eighteenth century a popular curriculum choice for GCE A Level History teachers in the 1960s or, indeed, at any point thereafter.

After coming down from Oxford, Jarrett taught at Sherborne School in Dorset in 1952, becoming head of department three years later. It was, as his former pupil Tim Heald put it, in his obituary notice for *The Independent* (1 April 2004) an ‘ancient and deeply conventional establishment’ and the unorthodox and slightly raffish Jarrett stood out sharply in the 1950s and early 1960s. However, he was a superb teacher who delivered top quality results for his supportive headmaster and the majority of the boys found his approach much to their taste. This part of his career was commemorated at the 2007 conference with appreciative speeches and witty reminiscences from several of his former pupils. He remained at the school until 1964 when he took a post in higher education, at Goldsmiths College, London, where he remained until retirement. Thereafter he brought to completion a four-volume edition of Horace Walpole’s *Memoirs of the Reign of King George III* for Yale University Press, despite his unconcealed absence of personal sympathy for Walpole: that ‘dreadful man’ as he dubbed him. Professionally, Jarrett has been under-appreciated. At this distance in time, however, recognition should no longer be withheld.

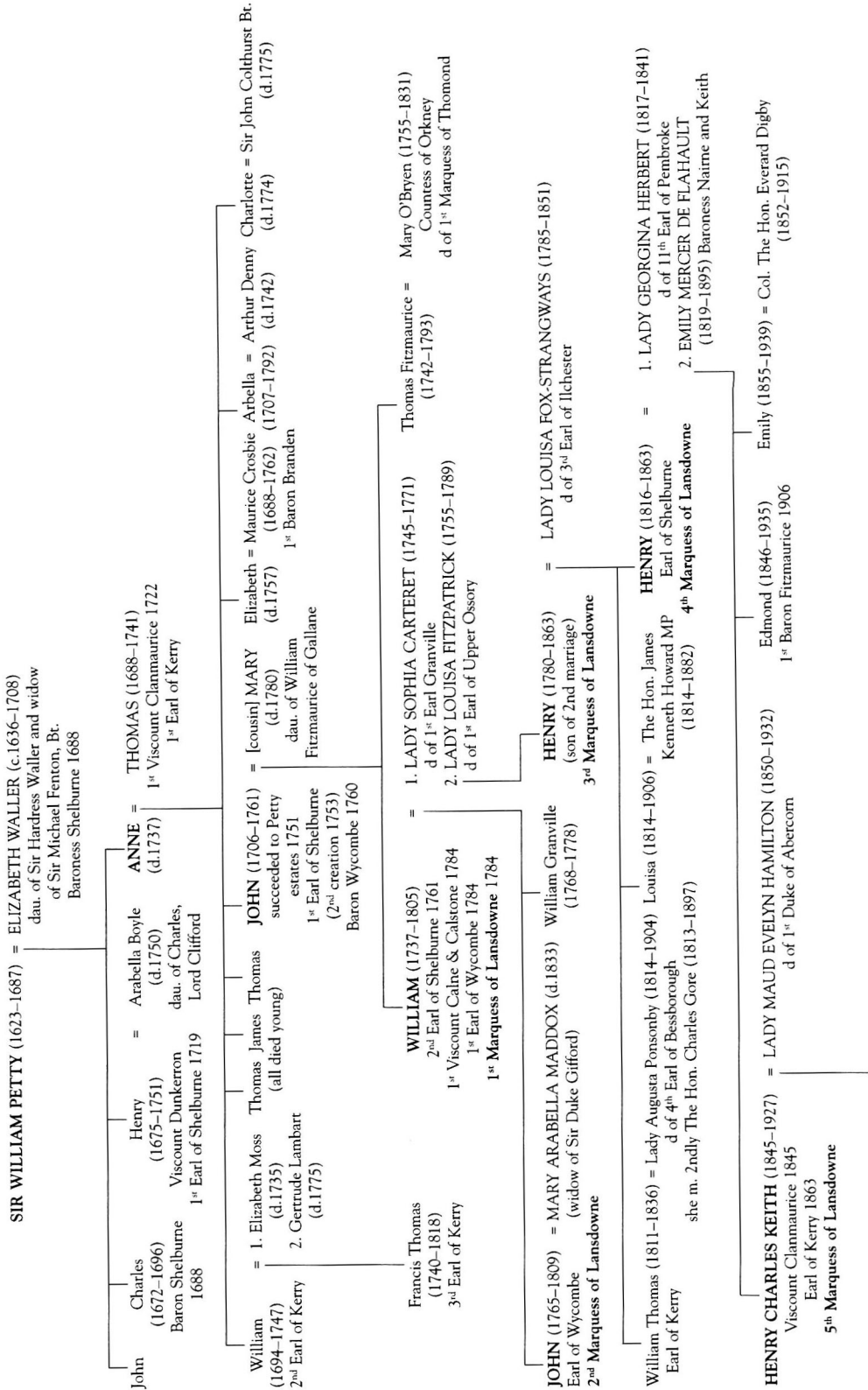
The editors would like to thank the Marquess of Lansdowne for generously waiving the reproduction fee for pictures owned by the estate, and for his support for this project; the Trustees of the Bowood Estate for access to the Archives at Bowood House and for permission to quote from them; and the Archivist, Kate Fielden, for all her help with material in the collection. We would also like to thank a private collection for the reproduction of Figure 6. Anglia Ruskin University generously supported Clarissa Campbell Orr’s research as well as contributing to production costs. Marlene Buick, Carol Thomas, Paul Broomfield, Gareth Long and John Walsh at ARU also gave invaluable help on technical matters in editing the text.

Finally we would like to thank Peter Sowden at the Boydell Press for his enthusiastic sponsoring of this book.

Abbreviations

BA	Baring Archive
BHA	Bowood House Archives
BL	British Library
Bod. Lib	Bodleian Library
CHOP	<i>Calendar of Home Office Papers of the Reign of George III 1760 to 1775</i> (4 vols, London, 1878–99)
Diary	Diary of Lady Sophia, Countess of Shelburne, Bowood House Archives
Fitzmaurice, Shelburne	Edmond George Petty-Fitzmaurice, Baron Fitzmaurice, <i>Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, afterwards First Marquess of Lansdowne</i> , 2 vols (London, 1912)
Fitzmaurice, Shelburne, 1875–6	Edmond Fitzmaurice, <i>Life of William, Earl of Shelburne, First Marquess of Lansdowne, with extracts from his papers and correspondence</i> , 3 vols (London, 1875–6)
Fortescue	J.W. Fortescue, ed., <i>The Correspondence of King George III, 1760–1783</i> , 6 vols (London, 1928)
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission
HMSO	Her Majesty's Stationery Office
JRL	John Rylands Library
LPL	Lambeth Palace Library
ODNB online	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , online edition, 2004–
Price Correspondence	<i>The Correspondence of Richard Price</i> , ed. D.O. Thomas and W. Bernard Peach, 3 vols (Durham, NC and Cardiff, 1983–94)
TNA	The National Archives
Walpole Correspondence	<i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence</i> , ed. S. Lewis, 47 vols (New Haven, CT, 1937–83)
Walpole Correspondence with Deffand	W.S. Lewis and W.H. Smith, ed., <i>The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence: Horace Walpole's Correspondence with Madame du Deffand and Wiart</i> [hereafter], 6 vols (New Haven, CT, 1939)

TABLE 1. PETTY FITZMAURICE (LANSDOWNE) FAMILY



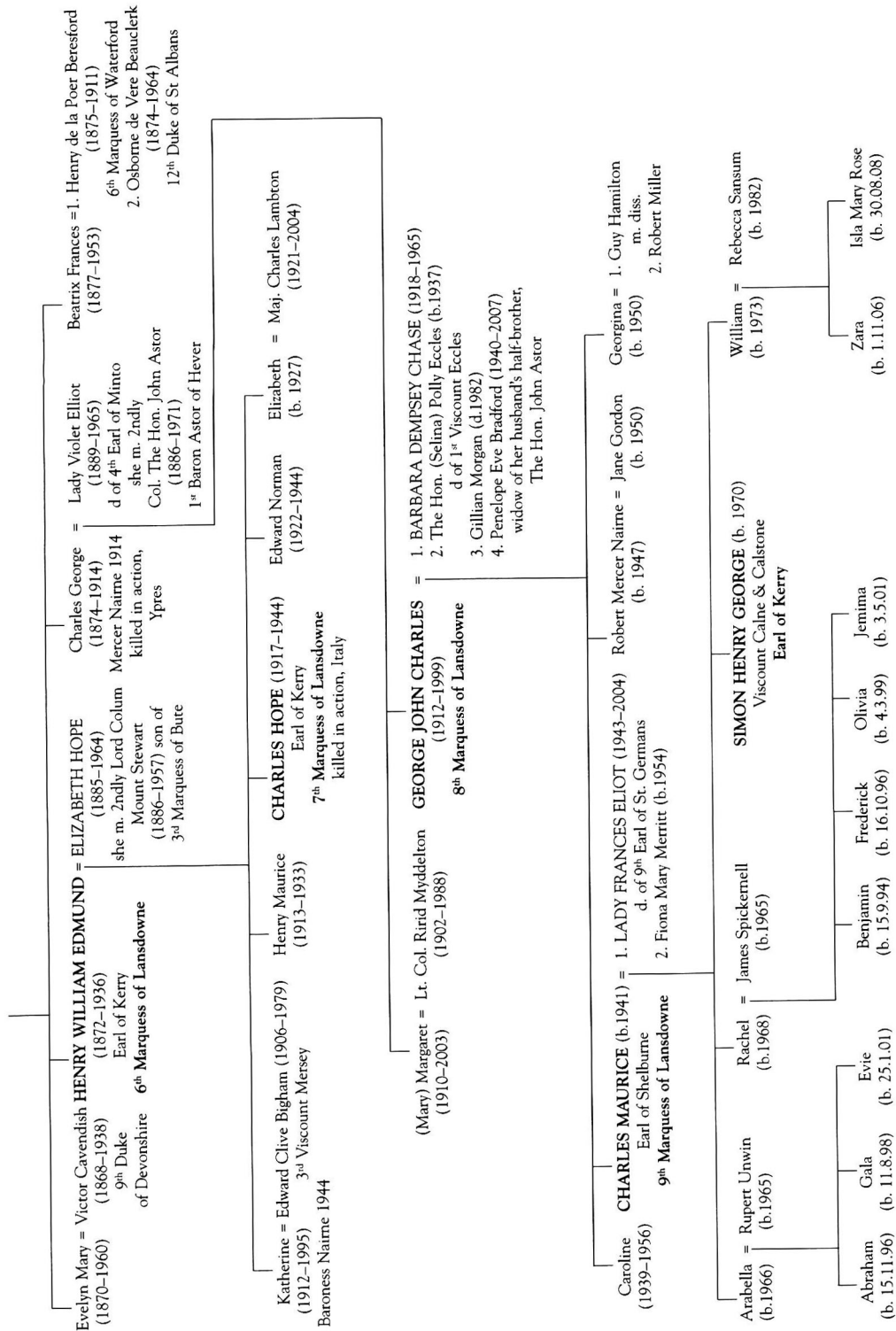
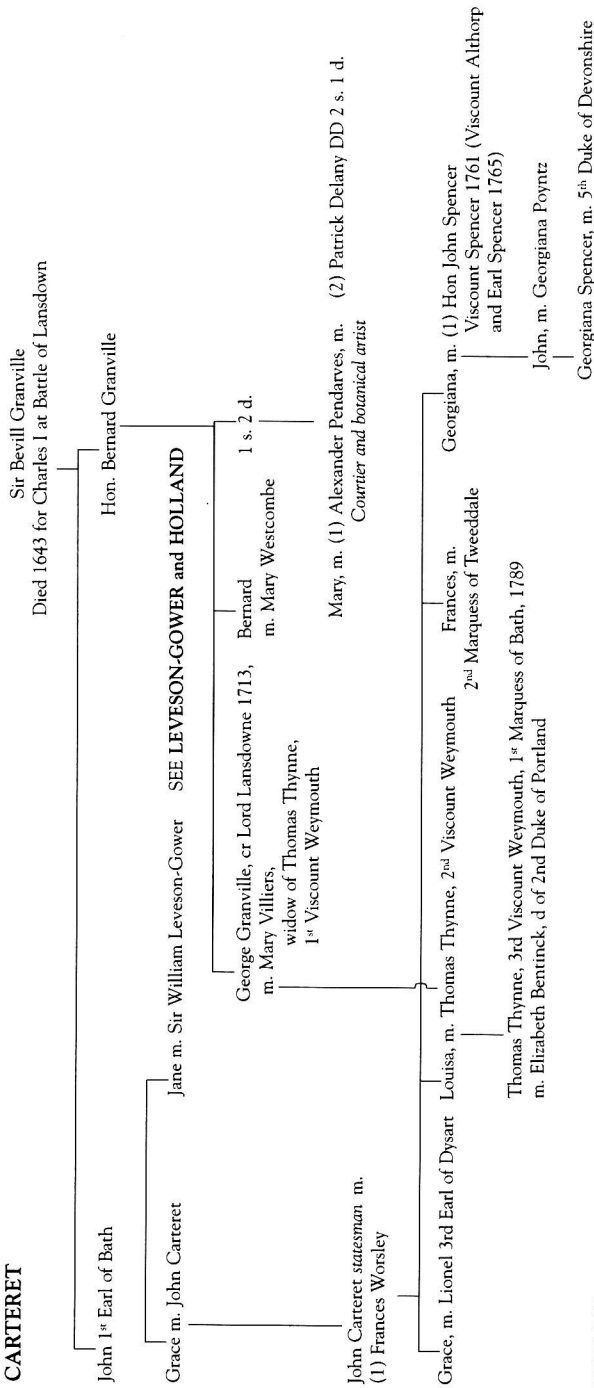
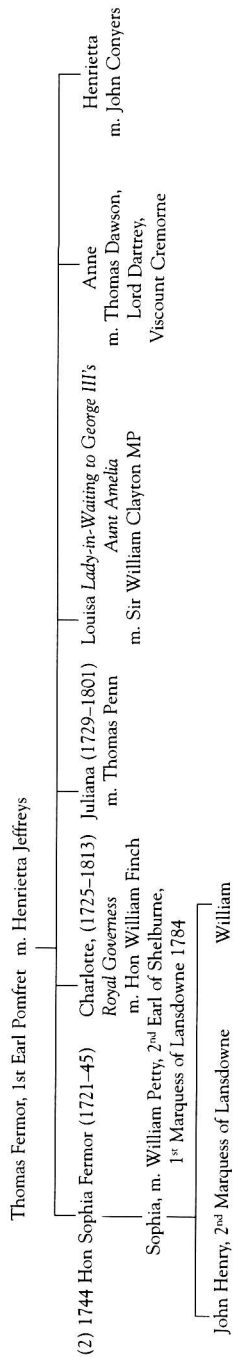


TABLE 2. CARTERET AND FERMOR FAMILIES

CARTERET

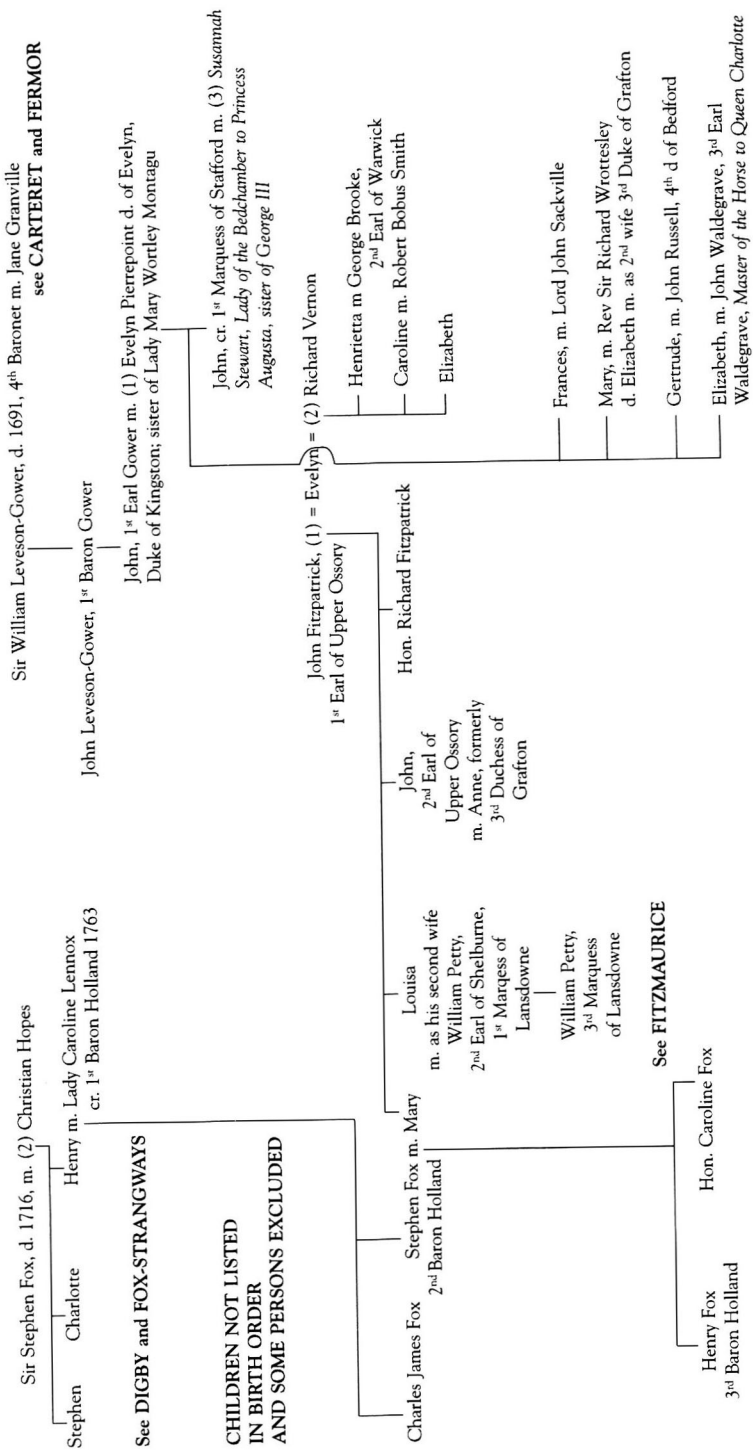


FERMOR



SEE FITZMAURICE

TABLE 3. FOX AND LEVESON-GOWER FAMILIES



Contents

List of Illustrations	vii
List of Contributors	viii
Acknowledgements	xi
List of Abbreviations	xiii
Introduction: <i>Nigel Aston and Clarissa Campbell Orr</i>	1
Part One: Family, Piety, and Finance	
1 Petty and Fitzmaurice: Lord Shelburne and his Brother <i>Nigel Aston</i>	29
2 Aunts, Wives, Courtiers: The Ladies of Bowood <i>Clarissa Campbell Orr</i>	51
3 A Christian Whig: Lord Shelburne and the Latitudinarian Tradition <i>G.M. Ditchfield</i>	79
4 Lord Shelburne, Finance, and Sir Francis Baring <i>John Orbell</i>	97
Part Two: Politics	
5 Shelburne: A Chathamite in Opposition and in Government 1760–82? <i>Frank O’Gorman</i>	117
6 Shelburne and Ireland: Politician, Patriot, Absentee <i>Martyn J. Powell</i>	141
7 Lord Shelburne’s Ministry, 1782–3: ‘A Very Good List’ <i>John Cannon</i>	161
8 Shelburne, the European Powers, and the Peace of 1783 <i>Andrew Stockley</i>	177
Part Three: The Bowood Circle Revisited	
9 ‘Opening the Door to Truth and Liberty’: Bowood’s French Connection <i>Robin Eagles</i>	197