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Count Philip Kinsky, the British Ministers, and Society: Social and Political Networks of an Imperial Diplomat in London, 1728–1735

Abstract: This article analyses parts of the framework that determined the diplomatic mission of Count Philip Kinsky of Wchinitz and Tettau (1700–1749) in London from 1728 to 1736. In 1728, Emperor Charles VI decided to send Count Kinsky to the court of King George II of Great Britain to re-establish diplomatic relations. The aims of Kinsky's mission to London were challenging, and his inexperience as well as the conflicting political aims of Charles VI and George II complicated matters at first. But over time, the count was able to establish himself and his household in the relevant social and political networks. The study presents the contacts of the imperial diplomat to the opposition, his acceptance into the Royal Society as well as the freemasons, and the use of his position and standing in London society especially during the War of the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735).

Keywords: Philip(p) Kinsky – imperial – diplomat – network – freemasonry – Royal Society – London – Great Britain – Bohemia – eighteenth century

On September 1st, 1728, a new envoy arrived in London as diplomatic representative of the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire: Count Philip Kinsky.¹ But this was neither a normal exchange of nor a change in diplomatic personnel. Rather, his arrival put an end to a period of marked discord between the imperial and British courts. Eighteen months earlier, Kinsky's predecessor, the imperial resident Carl Joseph von Palm, had been declared *persona non grata* in London and had to leave Great Britain. In consequence, the British resident François-Louis de Pesme de Saint-Saphorin was told to depart from Vienna.² The rift was not due to any behaviour on part of the diplomats,

1 This article is based on the research for my doctoral thesis titled *Vienna and London, 1727–1735. Factors of international relations in the early eighteenth century* [written in German], defended at the University of Mainz in February 2017. It draws on ideas and sources elaborated in the thesis.

2 See Wolfgang MICHAEL, *Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert, Volume 3: Das Zeitalter Walpoles 2*, Berlin 1934, pp. 493–498, and Klaus MÜLLER, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen im Jahrhundert nach dem Westfälischen Frieden (1648–1740)*, Bonn 1976, pp. 301–303.

however. A tense atmosphere between the two courts had turned into a full-blown conflict after King George I had publicly accused Emperor Charles VI of supporting the British contested dynasty of the Catholic Stuarts in early 1727³ and the imperial court had reacted by publishing a counter statement in English.⁴ This had led to the termination of all diplomatic interaction between the Courts of Vienna and London.

But because of many unsolved problems in European relations at the time,⁵ constant points of contact at both courts proved to be necessary. Not even two months after the disruption of relations, George I was persuaded by his French allies⁶ to re-establish relations with the emperor;⁷ in the king's instructions to the newly appointed British envoy to the Court of Vienna, the diplomat, James Waldegrave, the Earl of Waldegrave (1684–1741),⁸ was instructed not to draw attention to the disagreements of the past.⁹ The renewed exchange of diplomats, however, was delayed by George I's death and the succession of his son as George II in June 1727 as well as some developments in European politics, so that the British envoy arrived in Vienna only a year after the so-called Palm

3 George I, The King's Speech at Opening the Fifth Session (1727), in: Richard CHANDLER (ed.), *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons [...]*, volume 6, London 1742, p. 373. See for the parliamentary context of this speech Jeremy BLACK, *Politics and Foreign Policy in the Age of George I, 1714–1727*, Farnham 2014, pp. 226–231.

4 Count Sinzendorff, Memorial presented, in Latin, to the King of Great Britain, by M. de Palm, the Imperial Resident, upon the Speech which his Britannic Majesty made to the two Houses of his Parliament, on the 17/28 of January, 1726–7, in: Richard CHANDLER (ed.), *The History and Proceedings of the House of Commons [...]*, volume 8, London 1742, attachment [pp. 357–362].

5 After the War of the Spanish Succession, various territorial, dynastic, and economic differences between the European powers had been left unsolved. A first general peace congress in Cambrai 1724–1725 had been unable to find a solution for problems touching the interests of several powers – like the guaranty for the emperor's succession (the Pragmatic Sanction), the status of the Italian territories such as Parma and Piacenza or of Gibraltar, the imperial trading company to the East Indies from Ostend and generally the trade from and to the now Austrian Netherlands. Challenges were also disagreements in the Holy Roman Empire, wherever other European powers had an interest, for example in Eastern Frisia or in regard to confessional conflicts.

6 The British-French alliance of the 1720s was based on the need of and agreement about a general peace after the devastating economical effects of the War of the Spanish Succession; also, the British hoped to avoid a French backing for the deposed Catholic Stuarts and their Jacobite supporters. See Jeremy BLACK, *Natural and Necessary Enemies: Anglo-French Relations in the Eighteenth Century*, London 1986.

7 After the British and French had agreed upon a set of preliminaries which should be the basis for a general peace congress to solve all existing problems preventing a general peace of Europe, it became obvious that the emperor's agreement could not be forced, and would only be forthcoming by negotiations. J. BLACK, *Politics and Foreign Policy*, pp. 234–236.

8 Today, the title is given as “Earl Waldegrave”; however, at the time, he was known as the “Earl of Waldegrave”, which is used in the following.

9 His first instructions were signed by King George I in summer 1727 (George I to Waldegrave, Instructions, London (St. James), 6. 6. 1727, National Archives, Kew (= NA), State Papers (= SP) 80, 62, fols. 9–16, here fol. 12v. All dates – unless otherwise indicated – are given in the new style.

affair.¹⁰ The Court of Vienna took even longer to decide on whom to send, in fact, it took them so long, that it caused some renewed tensions on the side of the British.¹¹ But finally, on May 1st, 1728, Waldegrave as the British diplomat at the imperial court could report:

“[...] *Prince Eugene and Count Stahremberg* [!] *then told me, that the Emperor had appointed Count* [Philip] *Kinsky for his Minister in England. They in Discourse told [...] that it had been a thing resolved upon above these three Weeks, and that the Report which had been spread of the Emperor’s not intending to name a Minister so soon, was groundless. The Conference thereupon broke up, and We retired respectively with all the appearance of Friendship and good Humour.*”¹²

Prince Eugene (1663–1736), one of the leading ministers in Vienna, praised the newly appointed and said “[...] *he did not doubt but this Gentleman* [Kinsky] *would be liked in England [...]*”¹³ The British diplomats at the imperial court, the envoy and his secretary, saw Count Kinsky as “*a gentleman-like Sorts* [!] *of Man, [...] a very good Figure, [...]*”¹⁴ and all in all “[...] *well disposed for re-establishing a perfect good Understanding between the two Courts*”.¹⁵

The new imperial representative was expected to be successful in communicating the emperor’s sincerity of doing everything “*to re-establish the former good relations*”¹⁶ and his wish to have “*friendship and good relations with the king* [George II]” as well as to preserve “*the balance* [of power] *in Europe*”.¹⁷ At the same time, Count Kinsky was warned about “*the ill-mindedness of the English ministry*” regarding Charles VI and Habsburg-imperial politics.¹⁸ The friction of expectations and perceptions – which was reciprocated by the British – set the course for the following years in the relations between Vienna and London.¹⁹ At the same time, Kinsky was advised to keep respectful

10 Waldegrave’s instructions had to be repeated after George II succeeded to the throne (George II to Waldegrave, Instructions, London (Kensington), 18. 8. 1727, NA, SP 80, 62, fols. 37–44). Waldegrave travelled via Paris and acted as *chargé d’affaires* while the British ambassador to the French court helped with the transition of power in Great Britain. George II to Louis XV, Credentials for Waldegrave to act as British envoy in Paris in absence of H[oratio] Walpole, London (St. James), 16. 12. 1727, NA, SP 78, 186, 90, fol. 169.

11 Waldegrave to Tilson, Ratisbon, 21. 4. 1728, NA, SP 80, 62, fol. 143.

12 Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 5. 5. 1728, ibidem, fols. 166v–167.

13 Ibidem, fol. 169.

14 Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 19. 5. 1728, ibidem, fol. 199v.

15 Harris to Tilson, Vienna, 23. 6. 1728, NA, SP 80, 63, fol. 12v.

16 Charles VI to [Philip] Kinsky, Instruction, Neustadt, 20. 6. 1728, Österreichisches Staatsarchiv Wien (= ÖStA Wien), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (= HHStA), Staatenabteilung (= StA) England, Kart. 66, fol. 15v [original in German]. All translations are by the author.

17 Charles VI to Kinsky, Instruction, Neustadt, 20. 6. 1728, ibidem, fols. 17–17v [original in German].

18 Ibidem, fol. 17.

19 For more information on imperial-British relations during these years see my doctoral thesis; Jeremy Black drew attention to this important period with two articles from the British perspective, published in the 1980s, see Jeremy BLACK, *When ,natural allies’ fall out: Anglo-Austrian Relations, 1725–1740*,

and courtly relations with all foreign diplomats in London, as the emperor was not at war with anyone at the time.²⁰

This article analyses the diplomatic mission of Count Philip Kinsky of Wchinitz and Tettau (1700–1749) in London from 1728 to 1736. The time frame covered is the Count's official posting to London – the only time he worked as an imperial diplomat as well as a crucial period in the relations between Emperor Charles VI and King George II of Great Britain. It ranges from a deliberate new start with the exchange of envoys, over years of tension until a formal treaty of peace and alliance was signed in 1731, and to a renewed alienation due to the War of the Polish Succession (1733–1735/38). It will present how the imperial diplomat managed to get settled in London society and how he developed his political and social network.

Count Kinsky's background

In the early eighteenth century, there were still no formal requirements of how to become an imperial diplomat.²¹ For many younger sons of the high nobility, a military or diplomatic post was just one of the steps in their career in the service of the emperor. A successful time as envoy or ambassador could increase their own honour and status; afterwards, more profitable posts in the government should be their rewards. To get a suitable appointment, the prospective diplomat or his family employed the help of a patron, if possible one of the principal ministers.²² Count Kinsky is a prime example for this policy.

Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Staatsarchivs 36, 1983, pp. 120–149; and IDEM, *Anglo-Austrian relations 1725–1740: A study in failure*, *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 12, 1989, Nr. 1, pp. 29–45.

20 Charles VI to Kinsky, Instruction, Neustadt, 20. 6. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 66, fols. 45, 46.

21 K. MÜLLER, *Das kaiserliche Gesandtschaftswesen*, pp. 180–252. The British diplomats had at least to be knowledgeable in French and some other European language, and to have a good understanding of European relations; see for example Waldegrave to Newcastle, Paris, 27. 10. 1731, British Library (= BL), Add. Mss. 32687, fol. 431.

22 Andreas Pečar has published a general study on the use of social and economical capital at the court of Charles VI, see Andreas PEČAR, *Die Ökonomie der Ehre: Der höfische Adel am Kaiserhof Karls VI. (1711–1740)*, Darmstadt 2003. For recent studies on frameworks of diplomatic careers see the various collected volumes published in the series “Externa”: Hillard von THIESEN – Christian WINDLER (eds.), *Akteure der Außenbeziehungen: Netzwerke und Interkulturalität im historischen Wandel*, Köln 2010; Corina BASTIAN – Eva Kathrin DADE – Hillard von THIESEN – Christian WINDLER (eds.), *Das Geschlecht der Diplomatie: Geschlechterrollen in den Außenbeziehungen vom Spätmittelalter bis zum 20. Jahrhundert*, Köln 2014; or, in a summarized version, the chapter by Hillard von THIESEN, *Diplomaten und Diplomatie im frühen 18. Jahrhundert*, in: Heinz Duchhardt – Martin Espenhorst (eds.), *Utrecht – Rastatt – Baden 1712–1714: Ein europäisches Friedenswerk am Ende des Zeitalters Ludwigs XIV.*, Göttingen 2013, pp. 13–34.

Philip Kinsky was born into one of the most prestigious and wealthiest families of Bohemia.²³ Most male members held high Bohemian or imperial posts either in government, the military, and the court system and/ or were successful businessmen.²⁴ His uncle, his father, his elder brother,²⁵ and he himself became high chancellors of Bohemia, the highest possible position in the kingdom. After studying law in Prague, Philip Kinsky went on a Grand Tour through continental Europe.²⁶ In 1721, he started his career at the Prague court of appeal and continued it as a treasurer for the Bohemian chancellery. There, he had his first proven contact with a British citizen. A distributor for cloth or linen wanted to expand his commercial activities to Bohemia, and Philip Kinsky not only approved it in an official report, but also invested himself quite heavily in the business.²⁷ After his marriage to Countess Maria Carolina Martinitz (1701–1785),²⁸ Kinsky's house in Prague was known as a meeting place for foreigners, so much that after the count left the city for his diplomatic post a visitor complained:

*“The city of Prague lost much due to his [Count Kinsky’s] absence; he lived there with éclat; his house was open for everyone, but especially for foreigners. There, I have received such pleasantries, which I cannot remember to have had [anywhere else].”*²⁹

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- 23 For some biographical information see Constantin von WURZBACH, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Oesterreich*, volume 11, Vienna 1864, pp. 300–301, and Aleš VALENTA, *Dějiny rodu Kinských* [History of the Kinsky Family], České Budějovice 2004, pp. 86–98. There is, however, no monograph about the count's life, even though he held the post of (high) chancellor of Bohemia for over ten years (from 1736, resp. 1738, to 1749) and was one of the leading ministers of Queen Maria Theresa and Emperor Francis Stephen during the War of the Austrian Succession. My dissertation provides a first assessment of Count Philip Kinsky's role as imperial diplomat.
- 24 For the history of the Kinsky family, two monographs of the nineteenth century, a short study from the 1960s, and the recent one by Valenta offer analyses of the family's development, achievements, and status in Bohemia as well as in the Habsburg territories: Josef Erwin FOLKMANN, *Die gefürstete Linie des uralten und edlen Geschlechtes Kinsky: Ein geschichtlicher Versuch*, Prague 1861; Wilhelm Johann Albert Freiherr von TETTAU, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Tettauschen Familie in den Zweigen Tettau und Kinsky*, Berlin 1878; Otto SEGER, *Überblick über die Geschichte des Hauses Kinsky*, s. l. 1968; A. VALENTA, *Dějiny rodu Kinských*.
- 25 These were the counts Franz Ulrich (1634–1699), Wenzel Oktavian Norbert (1642–1719), and Franz Ferdinand (1678–1741).
- 26 Jiří KUBEŠ, *Kavalírské cesty české a rakouské šlechty (1620–1750)* [The Grand Tour of the Czech and Austrian Nobility (1620–1750)], Pardubice 2011, pp. 107, 343.
- 27 Arnošt KLÍMA, *English Merchant Capital in Bohemia in the Eighteenth Century*, *The Economic History Review* 12, 1959, Nr. 1, pp. 34–48, here pp. 42–45.
- 28 Philip Kinsky to Maria Carolina Martinitz, declaration of engagement, Prague, 22. 5. 1721, ÖStA Wien, Family Archive (= FA) Kinsky, Kart. 51, d), 1, s. f.; Count Philip Kinsky and Maria Carolina, Countess of Martinitz, marriage contract, Prague, 25. 11. 1721, ibidem, Kart. 51, d), 5, s. f.
- 29 Karl Ludwig von PÖLLNITZ, *Mémoires de Charles-Louis Baron de Pöllnitz, contenant les Observations qu'il a faites dans ses Voyages et le Caractère des Personnes qui composent les principales Cours de l'Europe*, Volume 1, Liège 1734, p. 281 [own translation, original in French].

To further continue his career in the imperial service, Count Kinsky successfully applied to his patron, Prince Eugene.³⁰ His advancement was probably supported by Countess Batthyány, who was the mother-in-law of one of Kinsky's sisters and a very close personal friend of the prince.³¹ The appointment was delayed by a conflict between two imperial ministers, Prince Eugene and Count Sinzendorff (1671–1742), the high court chancellor, who wanted the post for his own son-in-law.³² Even after the official announcement, the British envoy in Vienna reported to his superior:

*“Monsieur Kinski is under a good deal of Uneasiness and meets with all possible obstructions in his Commission. Your Lordship knows what Interest He was preferred by, and Who was set aside to make room for Him. He fears the Consequences, and undoubtedly it will make his Commission much less agreeable: He is tyed down to the Character of Envoy, whereas the Other would have been appointed Ambassador.”*³³

But in the end, Count Philip Kinsky's and his family's networks proved effective: Prince Eugene's patronage, his own commercial contacts to Great Britain,³⁴ and his family's as well as his personal wealth seemed to destine him for the office at the Court of St James's in the commercial heart of Great Britain in London.

First contacts in London

In the first two weeks after his arrival, Count Kinsky established contact with the two secretaries of state, Charles Townshend, Viscount Townshend (1674–1738),³⁵ and Thomas Pelham-Holles, the first Duke of Newcastle (1693–1768),³⁶ as well as with the master of ceremonies, Sir Clement Cottrell (1686–1758)³⁷. While the secretaries of state would be

30 Prince Eugene to Philip Kinsky, Vienna, 18. 2. 1728, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 2, b), 2, s. f.

31 W. J. A. von TETTAU, *Urkundliche Geschichte der Tettauschen Familie*, pp. 456–457; Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 5. 5. 1728, NA, SP 80, 62, fol. 161; Kinsky to Prince Eugene, London, 31. 5. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 94 b), 1, fols. 57v–58.

32 Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 5. 5. 1728, NA, SP 80, 62, fol. 169.

33 Waldegrave to Townshend, in cipher, Vienna, 5. 6. 1728, NA, SP 80, 63, fols. 2–2v.

34 These were explicitly noted in his instructions, Charles VI to Kinsky, Instruction on “*how he should there behave himself concerning commerce in regard to the Royal Bohemian hereditary territories*”, Prague, 15. 8. 1728, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 4, d), s. f. [original in German]. Even though the commercial and financial relations and contacts played a huge role in Kinsky's time in London, they will here not be discussed in detail because of reasons of space.

35 Linda FREY – Marsha FREY, *Townshend, Charles, second Viscount Townshend (1674–1738)*, in: Oxford DNB [Dictionary of National Biography], online ed., 2004, URL: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27617>> [cit. 2. 6. 2014].

36 Reed BROWNING, *The Duke of Newcastle*, New Haven 1975; Ray A. KELCH, *Newcastle: A Duke without Money: Thomas Pelham-Holles, 1693–1768*, London 1974.

37 Roderick CLAYTON, *Cottrell, Sir Clement (1686–1758)*, in: Oxford DNB, online ed., January 2008, URL: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6399>> [cit. 20. 9. 2016].

two of his most important political relations in the years to come, Sir Clement was more important for first impressions: The details of the public audience with the king, the queen, and the royal family were Cottrell's responsibility. Kinsky was able to negotiate a better ceremonial protocol than what was to be expected from his status as envoy: the audience's ceremony resembled that for an ambassador.³⁸ The audience was held in Hampton Court. During the ceremony, he was first greeted by the master of ceremony, and then by the keeper of the Privy Purse, Baron Augustus Schutz (c. 1693–1757)³⁹, one of the few influential persons with Hanoverian backgrounds at the court of George II. Count Kinsky met with the monarch and his family: King George II, Queen Caroline, and their seven children were all present. The audience itself was very complicated. Because of imperial language restrictions for public ceremonies, Kinsky spoke German, while the king, the queen, and the princes and princesses answered in English, which Kinsky did not understand at the time.⁴⁰ Afterwards, at a dinner given by Baron Schutz,⁴¹ Kinsky was probably introduced to other ministers and court officials. For Kinsky, this was – despite the language barrier – a satisfactory start to his mission; but for some British officials, his behaviour – him expecting to be treated as ambassador rather than envoy – was irritating and raised concerns.⁴²

The first contacts to other foreign diplomats – then also called ministers – were a bit more complicated. To confirm the highest status of the emperor regarding all European monarchs, imperial diplomats had to insist on their high status *vis-à-vis* other diplomats as well. Count Kinsky, however, was only sent with the rank of an envoy; nonetheless, he managed to secure himself a status similar to that of an ambassador.⁴³ After he conducted informal visits to the ambassadors of royal houses, consequently, by diplomatic protocol, these had to make the first formal and ceremonial visit to the imperial envoy.⁴⁴ Kinsky's conduct did not diminish his contacts with those diplomats, rather by gaining a higher ceremonial standing than to be expected at the court, Kinsky also acquired a senior

38 Audience of Count Kinsky, September 1728, NA, SP 100, 12, s. f.

39 John M. BEATTIE, *The English Court in the Reign of George I*, Cambridge 1967, p. 64, fn. 2.

40 Audience of Count Kinsky, September 1728, NA, SP 100, 12, s. f.

41 Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 18. 9. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fols. 1–4.

42 The British envoy to Vienna was asked for a statement regarding Kinsky's conduct. Waldegrave to Tilson, Vienna, 16. 10. 1728, NA, SP 80, 63, fols. 162–162v. King George II seemed to have expected or accepted Kinsky's behaviour, perhaps as his due as imperial diplomat; in any case, there were no negative ramifications on the part of the royal family or the British ministers.

43 Audience of Count Kinsky, September 1728, NA, SP 100, 12, s. f.; Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 29. 10. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fol. 7v.

44 Charles VI to Kinsky, Vienna, 24. 10. 1729, *ibidem*, Kart. 66, fol. 49.

position amongst his peers.⁴⁵ His wife followed him in this ceremonial ascendancy and took the highest-ranking position with the other diplomatic wives.⁴⁶ After four years, when a new Spanish ambassador seemed to threaten this strategy and would have had diplomatic precedence, Count Kinsky was finally elevated to the rank of imperial ambassador at the Court of St James's.⁴⁷

At some point in the first months of his stay, Count Kinsky secured an adequate, representative house for his family and household, most likely by using his contacts at court. The location had to reflect his status and had to serve his need for further contacts in London society. For Kinsky's growing family and a household of over 60 servants,⁴⁸ a large house was a necessity. His status as representative of the emperor required it to be large enough to house, if needed, important guests, to be in a prestigious location and in a modern style. In the early eighteenth century, the latest development in architectural style was the building of terraced houses around small square gardens, which gave the whole urban pattern its name: "the squares". Circa 2 200 of these houses would be built until mid-century.⁴⁹ A member of the Privy Council could offer Count Kinsky such a residence at Hanover Square, a short ride or walk north of St James's Palace.⁵⁰ Hanover Square was being built by the first Earl of Scarbrough since 1713.⁵¹ His son, Richard Lumley, the second Earl of Scarbrough, rented Count Kinsky one of the houses at the northern part of the square.⁵² The envoy's neighbours were members of the highest levels of society, the Lord Chancellor, the Earl Cowper, the Dukes of Montrose and of Roxburgh as well as several military commanders.⁵³ The local church, St George's, was

45 It is not clear what role the personal wealth and high nobility of the count played in his relations with other diplomats in London.

46 Kinsky to Charles VI, London 22. 11. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fol. 14v.

47 See Bartenstein, address of 23. 11. 1732, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Staatskanzlei, Vorträge, Kart. 36, fols. 255v–256v, as well as the first attachment to the principal instruction for Kinsky of 1732, Vienna, 20. 11. 1732, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 6, a), 11, s. f.

48 Townshend to the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, London (Whitehall), 21. 01. 1729, NA, SP 104, 265, pp. 215–216.

49 Herbert KNITTLER, *Die europäische Stadt in der frühen Neuzeit: Institutionen, Strukturen, Entwicklungen*, Munich 2000, p. 88.

50 *Hampton Court, October 15*, The London Gazette Nr. 7030, 16. 10. 1731, p. 5. The distance is roughly 1250 m.

51 The development of Hanover Square is covered by John SUMMERSON, *Georgian London*, London 1988, pp. 73–75.

52 Henry Benjamin WHEATLEY, *London: Past and Present. Its History, Associations, and Traditions, volume 2*, Cambridge 2011, 2, p. 186.

53 Edward WALFORD, *Hanover Square and neighbourhood*, in: Walter Thornbury – Edward Walford (eds.), *Old and New London*, volume 4, London 1878, pp. 314–326; H. B. WHEATLEY, *London*, vol. 2, p. 186.

the parochial church of Georg Friedrich Händel, who sometimes also acted as organist.⁵⁴ In Hanover Square, Count Kinsky consequently lived at the heart of political, social, and cultural networks of London.

The Ministry and the Members of the Opposition

Three days after his inaugural audience, the leading minister, Sir Robert Walpole (1676–1745), invited Count Kinsky to go hunting with him. Even though it is not explicitly mentioned in the sources, it is most likely that the other members of the ministry were present as well. Kinsky saw the invitation as a good first sign, especially as Walpole’s “*friendship and companionship [could prove to be] very helpful at several occasions*”.⁵⁵ But in contrast to Kinsky’s expectations, nearly no official talks took place during the next months. Partly this could be because of Kinsky’s inexperience in diplomatic affairs⁵⁶ and his relative youth.⁵⁷ Some of the imperial ministers accused him of idleness and inactivity. Imperial high chancellor Count Sinzendorff was – according to the British envoy in Vienna – “*quite out of patience with Kinsky*”.⁵⁸

But another reason was that, at the same time, a peace congress was held in Soissons in France. All essential negotiations between the Courts of St James’s and of Vienna took place in France, and all efforts of the political elite in Great Britain were concentrated on those peace talks.⁵⁹ The official negotiators in France were for the British side Horatio Walpole, brother and closest advisor of Sir Walpole, and for the emperor,⁶⁰ Baron Fonseca

54 Parochial Church Council St George’s Hanover Square (ed.), *Handel and St George’s*, London 2013, URL: <<http://www.stgeorghanoversquare.org/history/Handel-and-St-George.html>> [cit. 20. 10. 2014].

55 Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 18. 9. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fol. 3v [original in German].

56 This can be seen by his rather confusing first reports, which he did also not write regularly at first. Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 18. 9. 1728, *ibidem*, fols. 1–4. Kinsky to Prince Eugene, London, 14. 12. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 94 b, 1, fols. 13–14. His behaviour in London was criticised, too: it showed a “*want of Judgment [!]*” according to imperial officials cited by the British envoy to Vienna. Waldegrave to Townshend, in cipher, Vienna, 8. 1. 1729, NA, SP 80, 64, fol. 18v.

57 Prince Eugene excused some of Kinsky’s mishaps, writing about him, Kinsky “*is a good, but also still a very young man*”. Max BRAUBACH, *Die Geheimdiplomatie des Prinzen Eugen von Savoyen*, Cologne 1962, p. 49, fn. 63, from: Prince Eugene to Seckendorff, 20. 7. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 109.

58 Waldegrave to Tilson, Kinsky’s name in cipher, Vienna, 18. 6. 1729, NA, SP 80, 64, fol. 279v; see also Harris to Townshend, Vienna, 27. 8. 1729, NA, SP 80, 65, fol. 79v.

59 Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 29. 10. 1728, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fols. 5–6v.

60 Constantin HÖFLER [Karl Adolph Constantin Ritter von Höfler] (ed.), *Der Congress von Soissons: Nach den Instructionen des Kaiserlichen Cabinetes und den Berichten des Kaiserl. Botschafters Stefan Grafen Kinsky*, 2 volumes, Vienna 1871–1876.

and – since June 1729–Count Stephan Wilhelm Kinsky (1679–1749), Philip Kinsky’s elder brother.⁶¹ Even Count Sinzendorff came to Soissons to support the emperor’s positions at the peace congress in winter 1728/1729.⁶² But the emperor could not accept the terms demanded by the French and British sides. The Court of Vienna would not discuss the negotiated articles. The accepted opinion of the British ministers was that “*this Silence on their part is an evident proof that the declarations so frequently made of their good Intentions, are but words, and that nothing but the hopes of some sort of an immediate distress will bring them to an explanation*”.⁶³

In the summer of 1729, King George II visited his electorate of Brunswick-Luneburg in Germany.⁶⁴ The Secretary of State Townshend and other British officials accompanied the king to use the time outside of the media focus of London to conduct negotiations with princes of the empire and of Europe in general. Count Kinsky was charged to follow the king and to try anew to negotiate with him and his ministers, but the count was challenged on several parts: by inadequate powers from his court,⁶⁵ by a rival imperial diplomat sent by the emperor to Hanover to negotiate as well,⁶⁶ and by the British king’s and minister’s

61 J. E. FOLKMANN, *Die gefürstete Linie des uralten und edlen Geschlechtes Kinsky*, pp. 54–55. Stephan and Philip Kinsky had a very close relationship, despite a difference of age of 21 years. After the death of their father, Stephan Kinsky became Philip’s official guardian and was therefore responsible for organising his Grand Tour as well as for getting him started in his career. Aleš VALENTA, *Z korespondence české šlechty v 18. století: Listy Štěpána Kinského bratru Františku Ferdinandovi z let 1719–1720* [From the correspondence of Bohemian nobility in the 18th century: Letters of Stephen Kinsky to his brother Francis Ferdinand, 1719–1720], *Sborník archivních prací* 56, 2006, Nr. 2, pp. 508–546, here pp. 519–522. The brothers worked together closely, also to achieve a further ennoblement for their family; in 1746, Stephan Kinsky was raised to “prince”, based on his and his brother’s efforts and works for the Habsburg dynasty, especially Queen and Empress Maria Theresa and her husband, Emperor Francis Stephen. Stephan Kinsky to Philip Kinsky, Charta Bianca, 21. 11. 1746, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 39, a), 5a, s. f.; Stephan Kinsky to Maria Theresa, Petition for ennoblement and establishment of a entailed estate with an extract of the royal chart for Bohemia, 9. 12. 1746, *ibidem*, Kart. 39, a), 9a, s. f.; accepted by Maria Theresa, Vienna, 22. 12. 1746, *ibidem*, Kart. 39, a), 15a, s. f.; by Franz Stephan, Vienna, 1. 1. 1747, *ibidem*, Kart. 39, a), 22a, s. f.

62 Townshend to Waldegrave, London (Whitehall), 8. 2. 1729, NA, SP 80, 64, fols. 35–36.

63 Waldegrave to Townshend, in cipher, Vienna, 24. 4. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 210. See also Waldegrave to Townshend, p. s., in cipher, Vienna, 30. 4. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 221; Townshend to Waldegrave, in cipher, London (Whitehall), 10. 5. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 213v. See also Harris to Townshend, Vienna, 27. 8. 1729, NA, SP 80, 65, fol. 79v.

64 Uta RICHTER-UHLIG, *Hof und Politik unter den Bedingungen der Personalunion zwischen Hannover und England: Die Aufenthalte Georgs II. in Hannover zwischen 1729 und 1741*, Hanover 1992. For a more recent summary of the king’s stays in Hanover see Andrew C. THOMPSON, *George II: King and Elector*, New Haven 2011, pp. 86–90.

65 Townshend refused to negotiate because of inadequate full powers, Kinsky to Charles VI, in cipher, Hannover, 26. 6. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fols. 67–71. It took some weeks until the full powers arrived in Hanover, Kinsky to Charles VI, Hannover, 11. 8. 1729, *ibidem*, fols. 15–22.

66 Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 2. 7. 1729, NA, SP 80, 65, fol. 12v.

reluctance to open another negotiation parallel to the one in France.⁶⁷ It appeared to Kinsky as “*they* [the British] *have no inclination for it* [the negotiation]”.⁶⁸ The only positive outcome of the stay in Hanover was a personal connection between Townshend, Kinsky, and the British envoy to the imperial court, the Earl of Waldegrave, who was also present at the electoral court.⁶⁹ In spite of Kinsky’s efforts in London and Hanover as well as all other efforts in general, the Congress of Soissons ended as a failure on the part of the emperor, with the French, Spanish and British kings signing the Treaty of Seville – evidently against the emperor – in November 1729.⁷⁰ Kinsky’s personal connections did not further his professional aims at this time; in addition, his efforts were probably not meant to succeed, as both governments tried to solve their problems in Soissons.

During his first years in London, Count Kinsky on the other hand tried to influence British politics through members of the parliamentary opposition. In his confidential reports to Prince Eugene, he named some members of the House of Lords: “*Poltnes, Vilminton, Staire*”,⁷¹ as well as Bolingbroke.⁷² Interestingly enough – and in concordance with the conflict between Eugene and Sinzendorff – the high chancellor wanted to know the names, but Kinsky only gave them to Prince Eugene, his patron and supporter in Vienna. There are no references to specific names in Kinsky’s official reports; apparently, the opposition politicians knew that every letter sent by Kinsky would be opened and asked him to keep their names secret.⁷³ The parliamentarians were members of the gentry and the high nobility, and therefore probably regarded equals by Kinsky.⁷⁴

Henry St. John, Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751), was one of the most famous Tory politicians, authors, and publishers. He had held the office of secretary of state during the reign of Queen Anne (1710–1714), but had supported a Jacobite restitution and therefore had to go into exile after the accession of George I in 1714. After his pardon and return to England in 1723, he led the public campaign against Sir Robert Walpole and

67 Kinsky to Charles VI, in cipher, Hanover, 22. 8. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 65, fol. 25–28.

68 Kinsky to Charles VI, Hanover, 9. 7. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 4v.

69 Waldegrave to [Tilson], private, Hanover, 18. 9. 1729, NA, SP 80, 65, fol. 111v; Waldegrave to Townshend, in cipher, Vienna, 19. 11. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 258.

70 Townshend to Waldegrave, London (Whitehall), 29. 11. 1729, *ibidem*, fol. 234.

71 Kinsky to Prince Eugene, London, 21. 3. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 94b, 1, fol. 103 [in his own hand].

72 Romney R. SEDGWICK (ed.), *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II by John, Lord Hervey*, 3 volumes, New York 1970, here volume 1, p. 292.

73 Kinsky to Prince Eugene, London, 2. 5. 1730, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, Große Korrespondenz, Kart. 94b, 1, fol. 108 [in his own hand].

74 Jeremy BLACK, *The House of Lords and British Foreign Policy, 1720–48*, in: Clyve Jones (ed.), *A Pillar of the Constitution: The House of Lords in British Politics, 1640–1784*, London 1989, pp. 113–136, here pp. 118–119.

his ministry.⁷⁵ William Pulteney (1684–1764) was the founder of the Patriot Whigs, the Whigs in opposition to Walpole, but in favour of the Hanoverian succession.⁷⁶ Together, Pulteney and Bolingbroke founded the opposition newspaper *The Craftsman*.⁷⁷ Spencer Compton (1674–1743), since 1730 the Earl of Wilmington, did not openly oppose Walpole and his government in parliamentary discussions,⁷⁸ but was apparently speaking with Kinsky about a possible change of government. John Dalrymple (1673–1747), the second Earl of Stair, had had a military career and had been the British ambassador to the French king until 1720; since 1729, he was vice admiral for Scotland, but frequently articulated his opposition to Walpole.⁷⁹

The imperial diplomat hoped that by supporting the opposition, the supposedly hostile government could be changed, leading to a more positive British policy towards the emperor. Kinsky's actions were according to the opinion of the Court of Vienna and were supported by Charles VI.⁸⁰ The imperial ministers and the emperor himself did not understand the close and entangled relations between the dynasty, the leading Whig ministers, and “*the king's opposition*”.⁸¹ For George II and Queen Caroline knew very well the benefits of a strong ministry. As long as they had a strong majority in both houses of parliament, the royal couple always supported the (Walpole) Whigs. Sir Robert Walpole and his friends were seen as able networkers as well as competent politicians and government officials.⁸² Accordingly, the queen was undiplomatically explicit and publicly reprimanded Kinsky for his contacts to the opposition.⁸³ It is not clear if Kinsky

75 Harry Thomas DICKINSON, *St John, Henry, styled first Viscount Bolingbroke (1678–1751)*, in: Oxford DNB, online ed., 2013, URL: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24496>> [cit. 20. 9. 2016].

76 Romney R. SEDGWICK, *Pulteney, William (1684–1764)*, in: *The History of Parliament, 1714–1754*, online ed., URL: <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1715–1754/member/pulteney-william-1684–1764>> [cit. 19. 9. 2016].

77 Karl Tilman WINKLER, *Wörterkrieg: politische Debattenkultur in England, 1689–1750*, Stuttgart 1998, p. 191.

78 Andrew A. HANHAM, *Compton, Spencer, earl of Wilmington (c. 1674–1743)*, in: Oxford DNB, online ed., 2004, URL: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6036>> [cit. 19. 9. 2016].

79 Henry Morse STEPHENS, *Dalrymple, John, second earl of Stair (1673–1747)*, rev. by William C. Lowe, Oxford DNB, online ed., 2004, URL: <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/7053>> [cit. 19. 9. 2016].

80 Charles VI to Kinsky, Laxenburg, 11. 5. 1729, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 66, fols. 37–37v.

81 See for example Charles VI to Kinsky, Vienna, 31. 1. 1730, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 4 i), 2, s. f.; Charles VI to Kinsky, Vienna, 10. 8. 1735, *ibidem*, Kart. 11 a), 5, s. f. Regarding the idea of a “loyal” opposition, see Kurt KLUXEN, *Die Idee der legalen Opposition im England des 18. Jahrhunderts*, in: Franz-Lothar Kroll (ed.), *England in Europa: Studien zur britischen Geschichte und zur politischen Ideengeschichte der Neuzeit von Kurt Kluxen*, Berlin 2003, pp. 282–299, and Christine GERRARD, *The patriot opposition to Walpole: politics, poetry, and myth, 1725–1742*, Oxford 1994.

82 A. C. THOMPSON, *George II*, p. 71; see also Jeremy BLACK, *George II: Puppet of the Politicians?*, Exeter 2007, pp. 78–84.

83 R. R. SEDGWICK (ed.), *Some Materials towards Memoirs of the Reign of King George II, volume 1*, p. 292.

and the Court of Vienna realised their misjudgement. In 1734, the count still hoped that the government would lose the king's support and British politics could be changed by a change of government or ministers.⁸⁴ One year later in 1735, he was officially instructed to work around Sir Robert Walpole, who was seen as the strongest opponent to a much needed British support for the emperor during the War of the Polish Succession.⁸⁵

Freemasonry and the Royal Society

In 1731, two events helped Kinsky to expand his political and social networks in London. The first had its origin in Vienna: on the 16th March, 1731, the imperial ministers Prince Eugene, Count Sinzendorff, and Count Starhemberg together with the new British envoy, Sir Thomas Robinson, signed the Second Treaty of Vienna.⁸⁶ It marked the temporary end to the dynastic, political, and economical differences in the relations between Charles VI and George II, aided by a separate agreement between the emperor and George II as prince elector.⁸⁷ The much-improved relations between the courts relaxed matters and people and – with an established alliance – the courts and their representatives worked together for the following years.

The second event was based on the renewed dynastic relations between the Habsburgs in Vienna and the Brunswick-Luneburg Guelphs in London. Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter and heir apparent of the imperial couple, was to become engaged to the Duke of Lorraine and Bar, Francis Stephan.⁸⁸ As the situation in the duke's hereditary lands became possibly dangerous because of the likely threat of a French invasion,⁸⁹ Charles VI and Prince Eugene advised him to tour Europe and to visit the emperor's and his own allies.⁹⁰ One of the aims of a visit to Great Britain was the acceptance and support of the British royals for the dynastic marriage of the Habsburg heir. In October 1731, Francis

84 Kinsky to Sinzendorff, London, 19. 2. 1734, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 3 c), 16. s. f. This was during the Excise crisis of 1733, when Walpole nearly lost the majority in both houses of parliament.

85 Charles VI to Kinsky, Vienna, 10. 8. 1735, *ibidem*, Kart. 11 a), 5, s. f.

86 Alfred Francis PRIBRAM (ed.), *Österreichische Staatsverträge England, volume 1, 1526–1748*, Innsbruck 1907, pp. 491–514.

87 Charles VI, Affirmation decree in favour of King George II of Great Britain as Prince Elector of Hanover, Vienna, 24. 4. 1731, Hauptstaatsarchiv Hannover (= HStA H), Hann. 10, Nr. 170.1, s. f.

88 Waldegrave to Townshend, Vienna, 30. 4. 1729, NA, SP 80, 64, fols. 216–217; Waldegrave to Tilson, Vienna, 12. 11. 1729, NA, SP 80, 65, fols. 252–252v.

89 Renate ZEDINGER, *Flucht oder adelige Kavalierstour? Zur Reise des Herzogs Franz III. (Anton) Stephan von Lothringen in den Jahren 1731/32*, *Das achtzehnte Jahrhundert und Österreich* 7/8, 1992/93, pp. 51–69, here p. 55–56.

90 Renate ZEDINGER, *Franz Stephan von Lothringen (1708–1765): Monarch – Manager – Mäzen*, Vienna 2008, p. 53.

Stephan arrived in London. During his stay, he lived with the imperial envoy,⁹¹ which he probably knew beforehand from visits to the Kinsky families' estates with the emperor.⁹² During his stay in London – and after King George II and Queen Caroline had shown their approval to the match with Maria Theresa⁹³ – the duke was accepted into two different, but interconnected types of networks: the Royal Society and the freemasons. And Count Kinsky, as the duke's host and companion through London society, was invited to become part of these networks as well.

In the eighteenth century, London was known as the nucleus of voluntary, but organised societies, clubs, and meeting places.⁹⁴ Regular meetings of those “voluntary associations” were attended by a defined membership, who followed a clear set of rules, while new members were voted in by the others.⁹⁵ The aim was the collective progress of each individual, through instructions, ceremonies, and discussions.⁹⁶ Some of the associations were established by royal consent, which was shown in their name. The *Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge* was founded in 1660 and served as a meeting place for discussions concerning every field of knowledge from physics, chemistry, biology, to economy or agronomy.⁹⁷ Intellectuals, and scientifically inclined persons, would come together to discuss and assess experiments and theories about nature.⁹⁸ By accepting high aristocrats into the Royal Society, it and the knowledge it produced gained publicity and strengthened the networks that supported it.⁹⁹ Therefore, the Duke of Richmond, a member of the British king's Privy Council, recommended Duke Francis Stephan and

91 *London*, 26. October, Wienerisches Diarium Nr. 91, 14. 11. 1731, p. 2.

92 R. ZEDINGER, *Flucht oder adelige Kavaliertour?*, pp. 59–60.

93 Harrington to Robinson, Whitehall, 12. 11. 1731, NA, SP 80, 81, s. f.

94 Prominent examples are the so-called gentlemen's clubs, such as White's – a long-standing institution as a meeting place for men of the upper levels of society to this day – or the Kit-Cat Club, one of the earliest clubs for Whigs. William Biggs BOULTON, *The History of White's with the Betting Book from 1743 to 1878 and A List of Members from 1736 to 1892*, 2 volumes, London 1892; Ophelia FIELD, *The Kit-Cat Club: Friends Who Imagined a Nation*, London 2008. See for an in-depth analysis of the evolution of voluntary associations in Great Britain the monograph by Peter CLARK, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford 2000.

95 P. CLARK, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 119–225, 234–273.

96 *Ibidem*, pp. 1–3, 10.

97 The voluntary associations – e.g. clubs, companies, etc. – set the example for the Royal Societies in Great Britain, making them distinctly different to the continental scientific academies. *Ibidem*, pp. 16, 19.

98 Sebastian KÜHN, *Wissen, Arbeit, Freundschaft: Ökonomien und soziale Beziehungen an den Akademien in London, Paris und Berlin um 1700*, Göttingen 2011, pp. 24–25.

99 This was practiced since the foundation of the Society. Michael HUNTER, *The Royal Society and its Fellows, 1660–1700: the morphology of an early scientific institution*, 2nd ed., London 1994, pp. 12–13, 15.

Count Kinsky as new members, who were accordingly accepted in late 1731.¹⁰⁰ Kinsky in turn sponsored the duke's secretary as a new member in January 1732; the fellow sponsors were the Duke of Montagu, who was the king's Master of the Great Wardrobe, and Martin Folkes, a mathematician: "*Baron Futschner* [!] *Privy Counsellor of his Royal Highness the Duke of Lorraine, and Director of Experimental Philosophy at Nancy & in the University of Pont-a-Mousson, being a great promoter of Natural Philosophy & other usefull and Polite Learning, is desirous to be a member of this Society, and is accordingly proposed by us.*"¹⁰¹

All of these men named above were or became freemasons as well. The origins of freemasonry in Great Britain are unknown, but the first Great Lodge was founded in London in 1717. The freemasons operated as any other voluntary association, with the election of new members, fixed rules, regular meetings, and ceremonies. In contrast to continental Europe, freemasons were neither suppressed nor persecuted in Great Britain, but operated parallel to other clubs and societies.¹⁰² In London, members were often part of the higher echelons of society, from the peerage or gentry, and held positions in court and parliamentary politics, the financial sector or trade.¹⁰³ Many were freemasons as well as members of the Royal Society, White's, and other similar associations.¹⁰⁴ They openly met in inns and pubs in London or at country estates of landed members.¹⁰⁵ Count Kinsky was initiated during an extraordinary lodge meeting at Houghton Hall, Walpole's country seat in Norfolk. At the same time, the Duke of Lorraine and the secretary of state, the Duke of Newcastle, were raised to master status, while Sir Robert Walpole as well as other members of the British ministry were present.¹⁰⁶ As a freemason, Kinsky

100 Richmond to Hans Sloane, Recommending the Duke of Lorraine and Count Kingski [!] to the Royal Society by the Duke of Richmond in his letter to Sir Hans Sloane, London, 29. 11. 1731, The Royal Society, RBO/16/24, URL: <<http://royalsociety.org/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqCmd=Show.tcl&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqPos=1&dsqSearch=%28%28text%29%3D%27Kingski%27%29>> [cit. 17. 12. 2013]. The enrolling of the Duke of Lorraine and Count Kinsky possibly were against newly established rules at the time, which specified that "*each candidate for election* [to the Royal Society] *had to be proposed in writing and this written certificate signed by those who supported his candidature*". The Royal Society (ed.), *History of the Royal Society*, London 2013, URL: <<http://royalsociety.org/about-us/history/>> [cit. 17. 12. 2013].

101 Philip Kinsky, The Royal Society, Certificate of Election and Candidature for Baron Pfutschner, London, 3. 1. 1732, The Royal Society, EC/1731/10, URL: <<http://royalsociety.org/Dserve/dserve.exe?dsqIni=Dserve.ini&dsqApp=Archive&dsqDb=Catalog&dsqCmd=show.tcl&dsqSearch=%28RefNo==%27EC%2F1731%2F10%27%29>> [cit. 17. 12. 2013], [possibly in Kinsky's own hand].

102 P. CLARK, *British Clubs and Societies*, p. 312.

103 Ibidem, p. 328.

104 Bruce HOGG – Diane CLEMENTS, *Freemasons and the Royal Society: Alphabetical List of Fellows of the Royal Society who were Freemasons*, London 2012.

105 P. CLARK, *British Clubs and Societies*, pp. 325–328.

106 B. HOGG – D. CLEMENTS, *Freemasons and the Royal Society*, pp. 46, 70, 90.

therefore gained access to a close network, which included members of the government, court officials, and parliamentarians.

The Imperial Ambassador

Even before his initiation into freemasonry and his election to become a member of the Royal Society, Kinsky enjoyed the social possibilities London had to offer. Because cultural entertainments were commercialised and not solely centred on the court in London, everyone able to pay for them could gain access. Theatres, music halls, and operas were socially acceptable places to mingle, and the pricier establishments were entertaining the high society: peerage, gentry, politicians, directors of banks and trading companies, and even the members of the royal family paid for their diversions in public.¹⁰⁷

Kinsky never reported any specific activities in this regard, but some sources have survived. Together with the Duke of Lorraine, he visited the sword fighting at a known sports club, Figg's.¹⁰⁸ And latest in 1733, after Count Kinsky was finally raised to ambassador, he also bought a season ticket for Vauxhall Gardens,¹⁰⁹ the famous pleasure gardens with many sought-after activities and foods in southern London.¹¹⁰

In addition, like everywhere in Europe, high society invited each other for receptions, dinners, balls, or hunting. In the summer of 1730, Kinsky and his wife visited Tunbridge Wells, one of the spas of the eighteenth century:

*“Monsieur and Madame Kinski, accompanied by Mr. Davenant and a troop of foreigners, have spent some days here in great mirth; they all danced at the ball all sorts of dances, though some had never performed in that way before. They dined with the Duchess of Marlborough yesterday, who was in the mind to be mighty civil to them. They spent fourscore pounds in presents and raffles, and departed for London this morning [...]”*¹¹¹

107 Hannah SMITH, *Georgian Monarchy: Politics and Culture, 1714–1760*, Cambridge 2006, pp. 234–238. St James's Palace had neither theatre nor concert hall; because of that, George II, his family and court had to use commercial offers. Wolf BURCHARD, *St James's Palace: George II's and Queen Caroline's Principal London Residence*, *Court Historian* 16, 2011, pp. 177–203, here p. 183.

108 William Biggs BOULTON, *The Amusements of Old London; Being a Survey of the Sports and Pastimes, Tea gardens and Parks, Playhouses and other Diversions of the People of London from the 17th to the beginning of the 19th Century, volume 1*, London 1901, p. 28. Figg's “*was the first of the London schools-of-arms, a place of tuition in the ‘noble science of self-defence’*” (*ibidem*, p. 27). It was frequented by males of the higher society and offered shows by professional fighters as well as instructions by Figg, himself a highly praised sword-fighter.

109 Tomáš KLEISNER, *Barokní londýnský token hraběte Kinského*, *Numismatické listy* 54, 1999, pp. 33–35.

110 Robert O. BUCHOLZ – Joseph P. WARD, *London: A Social and Cultural History, 1550–1750*, Cambridge 2012, p. 202.

111 Mary Chamber to Henrietta Howard, Tunbridge Wells, 7. 8. 1730, in: John Wilson CROKER (ed.), *Letters to and from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, and her Second Husband, the Hon. George Berkeley*:

Dinners and receptions were also an expected part of the diplomatic business, and Count Kinsky had to regularly invite the other foreign diplomats as well as the British politicians. In the later years of his stay, the invitees and persons attending some of his known invitations also show his integration into the political and social networks. In 1734, during the War of the Polish Succession, when the British king and government were allied to the emperor, but would not commit to military aid to defend the emperor's positions in Italy or in the Empire against French and Spanish attacks, Kinsky celebrated Charles VI's Saint's day with a dinner invitation. At the same date, the Spanish ambassador had an invitation to celebrate the Infante Don Carlos Saint's day. Because Don Carlos was leading the attack on imperial positions in Italy, accepting one or the other invitation was noted as support for the emperor or the allied kings of France and Spain. Kinsky triumphed by hosting all the British ministers, and every foreign diplomat whose monarch was not at war with the emperor.¹¹² Some months later, for the celebration of Maria Theresa's and Francis Stephen's wedding in 1736, a dinner and following masque hosted by Kinsky was even attended by King George II, Crown Prince Frederick, as well as the older two Princesses Amalie and Caroline, and Prince William.¹¹³

Conclusion

Count Philip Kinsky's appointment as imperial envoy and minister plenipotentiary of Emperor Charles VI at the Court of St James's in London can be seen as a symbol for the re-established relations between Vienna and London. But, as this was his first diplomatic post, the decision was most probably due to his knowledge of English economy and his financial skills, to his family and patronage network, as well as to him being a high-ranking noble of the Habsburg hereditary kingdoms. His personal social, economical, and eventually ceremonial high status, for which he was partly responsible, could not balance his inexperience or his misjudgements, for examples in contacting members of the Whig and Tory opposition against Sir Robert Walpole's and his colleagues' ministry in the hope of a change in government.

Even though the political aims of Kinsky's stay in London were difficult to meet, on another level, the place of his employment helped to overcome some challenges. The commercial entertainments in the capital city and its vacation destinations were open to everyone with enough money for tickets and appropriate clothing, which broadened the

from 1712 to 1767, volume 1, London 1824, pp. 373–374.

112 Kinsky to Charles VI, London, 2. 11. 1734, ÖStA Wien, HHStA, StA England, Kart. 70, fols. 3v–4.

113 Joseph GULSTON, *A Biographical Dictionary of Foreigners who have resided in or visited England, from the earliest times down to the year 1777, volume 3*, London 1777, BL, Add. Mss. 34282, p. 165.

social circle of the imperial household. But the count was also successful in using chance events such as the visit of the expected future husband of Maria Theresa, the Duke of Lorraine. The access to the Royal Society as well as to freemasonry came alongside the high guest, who was potentially accepted as a member to both networks as a favour to King George II and Queen Caroline. Over time, Kinsky's long stay in London and the fact that he was able to establish himself and his household rather well in the social and political networks of London overcame some of the difficulties in the relations between the courts, making his time in Great Britain, together with some other events not discussed here,¹¹⁴ a probably unexpectedly fruitful one.

114 Kinsky was also expected to negotiate for Charles VI to borrow money from the Bank of England or other public or private sources. In 1735, during the War of the Polish Succession, he was responsible for arranging a loan of £ 250,000. Kinsky to Harrach (Bruxelles), London, 28. 1. 1735, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 3 d), 7, s. f.; Minutes of the Court of Directors of the Bank of England, Thursday, 6th March 1734, London, 17. 3. 1735, Bank of England Archive, London, G4, 15, p. 165; Kinsky to Hilleprand, London, 22. 4. 1735, ÖStA Wien, FA Kinsky, Kart. 3 d), 59, s. f.; Kinsky to Hilleprand, London, 23. 4. 1735, *ibidem*, Kart. 3 d), 62, s. f.