Rethinking Nathaniel Dance's Portraiture: Sociability, Masculinity and Celebrity

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Statement of Originality

This thesis was submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master of Philosophy in Art History and Curatorship in the Centre for Art History and Art Theory, School of Art.

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Margaret G Prescott:

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The only stumbling block in Britain was in gaining access to Dance's personal records from his time in Rome, which are held in a private collection. Many hours were spent to no avail in attempting to arrange access. Though the access was granted, the books could not be located, so this avenue is still open for future exploration.

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Abstract

Nathaniel Dance (1735-1811) was a leading portraitist in London who worked alongside luminaries such as Reynolds, Romney and Gainsborough in the Golden Age of British portraiture. Dance's contemporaries have been subject to considerable research, however, analysis of Dance has been limited with only one major study of his work undertaken in the 1970s. Unlike many of his contemporaries, Dance's upper-middle class family were already established in London's sociable society. His career and his works afford a different perspective from which to examine portraiture as part of Britain's sociable society. In more recent years eighteenth-century art history research has diversified to include the complex cultural mores and behaviours of Britain's sociable society. From stockings, buttons, books and swords to ideas of sociability, masculinity and the public sphere, a wide range of topics have become the purview of the art historian. These approaches provide the framework for rethinking Dance's portraiture, establishing the foundation for assessing his work in a dynamic and complex way. Dance's practices reveal the multifaceted connections between portraiture, the artist, the sitter, and the audience. This thesis argues that Dance's portraits operated as instruments of influence in the networks and affiliations of sociable society and that a range of factors are critical to fully understand Dance's work, including, the complex nature of sociability, changing concepts of masculinity and the rise of celebrity. This research expands our knowledge of the importance of business and social networks and the role of the portrait for communicating connections and social position of the sitters. Duplicated portraits, which are a prominent feature in Dance's portraiture business, reveal the extent that this medium connected sitters

within Dance’s social sphere and in turn facilitated the expansion of Dance’s

own networks.

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Introduction

In 1759, while working in Rome, the British born artist Nathaniel Dance (1735 – 1811) was commissioned to paint a portrait of Englishman James Grant and his three travelling companions (Figure 1). He then produced four near identical versions of the canvas, one for each of the men depicted. That portrait paintings such as these were made provides important insights into the function of the portrait in eighteenth-century British society, where appearance, manners and behaviour were critical to individual success and social mobility. Capturing more than just the likeness of four individuals, Dance's *Grant conversation piece*, presents a hierarchy of relationships and promotes the values of eighteenth-century sociability: such paintings are statements of affluence and are a tangible representation of the network of association between the men depicted. These works provide insights about the individuals portrayed and the social customs of their society. My analysis focuses on sociability and masculinity in eighteenth-century British society, through examination of Dance's works and practices exploring how behaviours and customs of eighteenth-century Britain are presented. Examination of Dance's duplicated portraits along with the networks of sitters, provides the foundation of my original contribution to the field of art history.

Figure 1 Nathaniel Dance, *James Grant of Grant, John Mytton, the Hon. Thomas Robinson,and Thomas Wynne* , c. 1760, oil on canvas, 98.1 cm x 123.8 cm, Yale Center for British Art. Paul Mellon Collection, New Haven.

As the third son of the noted architect, George Dance the Elder (1695 - 1768), Nathaniel Dance came from a family already well established in London's upper middle class society. As a young man he studied under Francis Hayman (1708 - 1776) who at the time was among England's most noted history painters and equally accomplished with traditional conversation pieces.[1] As was expected at the time, Dance left Hayman to spend an extended period in Rome to further his painting experience. Dance spent longer than most in Italy, from 1754 to 1765, continuing his artistic education, establishing his reputation as a painter and developing a network of patrons.[2]

Emerging during the same period as high profile personalities such as Sir Joshua Reynolds, Dance's approach to his career was by comparison methodical yet very strategic in the development of his style of portraiture and

[1] David Antony Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)" (University of California, 1973), pp. x-xi.
[2] Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825* (London: Faber and Faber, 1971), p. 59.

use of social networks This apparent lack of Dance's celebrity has led twentieth-century Western art historians to largely ignore detailed examination of his work, seeing his style of portraiture as 'conventional'. Instead, art historians have focused on artists perceived to have made the greatest innovations, such as Reynolds with his Grand Manner, and Thomas Gainsborough (1727-1788) who introduced rococo styles and some of the best known painting of idyllic British rural landscapes. The social status of Dance's patrons and the volume his of paintings, primarily portraits, shows that his approach was as successful as his more flamboyant contemporaries. By examining his works in the context of sociability and masculinity, I show that Dance's portraiture is important for the nuances of society that it captures despite his more conventional methods of working. Starting his career as part of the middle classes, Dance was already versed in the habits of polite society and was able to build the social networks that would see him become one of the leading portraitists in London during the second half of the eighteenth-century and a founding member of the Royal Academy in 1768. The foundation of social and business contacts he began building in Rome enabled Dance to establish his business in London, overcoming the challenges of a highly competitive portrait industry: negotiating Britain's sociable society; attracting elite patrons including royalty; and steadily building his reputation until he retired as a professional artist in 1782.

Richard Brilliant states that '[p]ortraits exist at the interface between art and social life and the pressure to conform to social norms enters into their composition because both the artist and the subject are enmeshed in the value system of their society'.[3] This thesis examines Dance's portraiture as an integral part of eighteenth-century sociable society. The major themes investigated are

[3] Richard Brilliant, *Portraiture* (London: Reaktion, 1991), p. 11.

sociability, and as a part of this, masculinity and the emerging celebrity culture. Art historical literature on the eighteenth-century has expanded significantly in recent decades to encompass topics such as society and manners, private and public audiences, gender and celebrity cultures, but until now Dance's work has not been extensively examined in light of this recent scholarship. The developments in art historical scholarship and eighteenth-century studies provide a lens for analysing Dance's work and paintings such as the *Grant Conversation Piece*. The importance of sociability in society was significant, and can be seen in conduct books, styles in fashion, and found in portraiture. Sociability, politeness or sensibility, along with the individual's behaviour and reputation were central features of social and economic life in eighteenth-century Britain. Nuances of these cultural customs permeate Dance's portraits and underpin the portraits' purpose in society.

Sociability is the most prominent theme throughout this dissertation. Historian Gillian Russell defines sociability as 'the practices, behaviours and sites that enabled social interaction that was oriented towards the positive goals of pleasure, companionship or the reinforcement of family, group and professional identities.'[4] In this thesis the term 'sociability' refers to the behaviours and conduct expected of individuals within society. Without the appropriate performance of these practices, regardless of the acquisition of wealth, social advancement within and between classes would be very difficult. The practices of sociability include the building of social networks that create symbiotic relationships; and through the moderation of manners, underpinned the interactions in society. These social behaviours have been referred to by

[4] Gillian Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*, Cambridge Studies in Romanticism (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), p. 9.

historians as politeness and sensibility.[5] The ability to conduct social exchanges mimicking the correct manners and behaviour enhanced the opportunities for individuals from the middle classes to improve their social position as they increased their wealth, though the two did not automatically go hand-in-hand. Visual symbols of sociable behaviours are embedded in the portraiture of the period, providing a system of complex messages in what on the surface appears as a simple likeness of an individual.

This thesis argues that Dance's works provide an important dimension to understanding the role of portraiture in the performance of sociability and social networks in eighteenth-century in Britain. They provide snapshots of the changing nuances of depictions of masculinity and imagery that promoted individuals in a manner to suit their aspirations, in some ways an early version of today's social media. Dance's ability to adapt to the changing trends and demands of eighteenth-century British society was key to his success as a portraitist. His portraits of men were particularly important in his oeuvre, opening avenues in sociable networks and were used to promote the subject's associations. Depicting a variety of forms of masculine imagery, Dance's paintings of male sitters provide a study of how each format communicated individual information. These types of portraits, with the assistance of the vibrant and popular print industry, provided an ever more educated audience with ready access to images promoting social and professional affiliations. In a society where appearance and behaviour could provide social mutability and public presence could build fame or celebrity, the combination of Dance's artistic skills, social connections and business acumen allowed him to succeed as an eighteenth-century portraitist.

[5] The works of these authors are included in the literature review in the second part of the introduction.

Summary of Chapters

The first two chapters provide a context for understanding Dance's work, with a discussion of the working environment for portraitists in eighteenth-century Britain and elaborate on Dance's biography. This thesis is not intended as a monograph or catalogue of Dance's works. The lives and practices of several artists from this period are incorporated into the conversation to provide a more extensive view of artists' working lives and processes. These chapters place the artist in the society of eighteenth-century Britain in preparation for the following chapters, which focus on sociability and the values embedded in Dance's portraits.

The first chapter, "The Artist in Society", sets the scene for life as an artist in eighteenth-century society, particularly in London. In cementing his position as a leading portraitist by his contemporaries, Dance surmounted the competitive obstacles faced by artists in establishing themselves in London's intense portraiture market. Highlighted in this chapter is the range of factors that could greatly influence an artist's success, including how important sociability was to career development. An artist needed to stand out from the plethora of other artists competing in the same market. Understanding the marketplace and being equipped to take advantage of opportunities required artists not only to have artistic talents, but social skills and a shrewd business sense.

Dance developed a system of practices and techniques that enabled him to create a thriving business. Impacting directly on his success were practices such as the continued honing of his artistic skills and styles, to keep abreast of changing fashionable trends, and building a sound base of clients by taking advantage of any beneficial social connections. In the second chapter, "The Practice of Duplication: Authenticity and Originality", I describe how studio

practices and artistic techniques influenced the productivity of the artist and examine the role of the duplication of images. The question of multiple copies of paintings in Britain during the eighteenth-century has not been extensively covered in the scholarship and is developed in more depth in the discussion in this chapter, looking in detail at several works and the potential production methods and purpose of these portraits.

While Dance succeeded in mastering a variety of artistic techniques and methods, it was his portraits in oil paint that provided his income and reputation. His sketchbooks show that he worked continually to hone his skills, sketching and drawing to refine ideas and compositions. Indeed, even after his official retirement as a professional artist, he continued drawing and painting for pleasure. Many of these works are more intimate pictures of family and friends, caricatures of interesting people and his political colleagues. These works can be viewed in collections such as the British Museum and the Tate Britain and they deserve greater attention than this thesis can dedicate. These first two chapters establish the position of artists and their work in society before addressing more closely the ideas surrounding sociability and the representation of status.

Chapter Three, “Sociability”, provides an overview of sociability and masculinity as a foundation to look at individual case studies in following chapters. Many scholars, including historians Martin Myrone and Philip Carter, argue that this period saw some significant shifts in the definitions of masculinity.[6] Masculinity and manhood were reflected in portraiture through the

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[6] W N Welsby, ed., *Lives of Eminent English Judges of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, ed. W. N. Welsby (London: S Sweet, 1846); Philip Carter, "Men About Town: Representations of Foppery and Masculinity," in *Gender in Eighteenth-century England: Roles, Representations and Responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997); Martin Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2005); Philip Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain, 1660-1800*, Women and Men in History. (Harlow, UK and New York: Pearson Education, 2001).

costumes, accessories and the poses selected for individual sitters. Depictions of masculinity also varied according to who was being presented and the messages to be projected. Types of masculinity will also be discussed in the chapters on royalty, professionals and military men. I show that the differences in customs and behaviours of politeness and sensibility, though visually similar, were incorporated into portraiture. Also included in Chapter Three is a discussion of women in portraiture, providing a counterpoint to depictions of men and the masculinity they project.

The growth of a distinct class of professional judges and clerics during this period enabled these men, as a group, to form a class identity that placed them above the rising middle orders of society. The fourth chapter, "Institutional Portraiture, Networking and Group Identity", examines how paintings of judiciary and clergy, while depicting individual men, present a uniform aesthetic and semiotic content that promotes the institutions from which they derive their status and wealth and declares a group identity. Networks forged early in life and from later involvement in institutions and societies were intimately connected to sociability in society. This chapter shows that many of Dance's patrons relied heavily on these networks to succeed in their careers, which also benefited the artist who painted their portraits. Even though these men often possessed the appropriate aristocratic or gentrified backgrounds and social infrastructure, they were often younger sons without title or hereditary lands and this was an era where money was becoming increasingly important. The career opportunities for men of these social classes were limited to professions that provided an elevated level of prestige, and sufficient income, in order to maintain or increase their aristocratic social position. The judiciary, clergy, political and military vocations could fulfil these ambitions. As reflected through Dance's institutional portraits,

these occupations could flourish with an extensive but selective social network which enabled recognition within the group, encouraging promotional opportunities.

A different group in the professional class, politicians, has much in common with the first two occupations, but they were usually depicted as gentlemen without the institutionalised format of the judiciary and clergy. Land ownership, while previously a necessary indicator of wealth, was still a prerequisite to be allowed to vote or to enter politics, differentiating politicians from the merely wealthy and advancing social distinction. Unlike professional judiciary and clergy, politicians who did not hold high official positions were depicted in Dance's portraiture as landed gentry, with no institutional group identity. All three professional groups discussed here needed patronage and social connections to advance their careers and social position. The networks established as part of the sociable society can be traced in personal connections between Dance's sitters. To progress through the hierarchy of these groups required support and promotion by peers who were already successful with the group. Most often these relationships were formed in early schooling or university, establishing life-long associations of mutual benefit. This type of patronage is also important in the other common career for untitled sons, the military, which is examined in the following chapter.

Chapter Five, "Military Portraits Sociability and Masculinity", this final chapter continues the exploration of the images and interactions between masculinity and sociability. Firstly, I consider the representation of masculinity in Dance's portraits of the military. There is a long history of military portraiture which Dance draws upon using traditional imagery to highlight some of the changing views and imagery of masculinity during the artist's peak artistic

period of the 1760s and 1770s, particularly when juxtaposed with non-military portraits. This was a period of military and commercial ascendency for Britain with conflicts arising in India, North America, Canada and ongoing contests with France. These images convey a strong message of heroic masculinity, connecting them back through history to the key periods of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and the Romans before them. The contrast with non-military subjects also shows how military uniforms were less influenced by the waxing and waning of fashion but were yet another tool within the system of social hierarchy used to denote distinction. That civil society chose to mimic the wearing of a uniform to create a form of group identity and display of rank reflects the struggles of the aristocratic classes to maintain a visual delineation between themselves and the rising affluence of the middle classes.

The conclusion of the research for my thesis summaries the influence of sociability on all aspects of eighteenth-century society. The role of the portrait, as a promotional tool and a symbol of affluence and success was enmeshed with the behaviours and manners of this period. The duplication of portraits stands out as means to create networks of association that benefitted both the subjects and the artist.

Literature Review

While Dance was one of London's leading portraitists in the second half of the eighteenth-century, the scholarship on him is surprisingly limited. Apart from two specific authors, Manners and Goodreau, most authors only discuss small parts of Dance's works, most often his history paintings, the smallest volume of his oeuvre as a professional artist.

The earliest references to Dance are in survey books of artists and art such as Bryan and Williamson's *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*

(originally published in 1816), the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Marion Harry Spielmann's *British Portrait Painting to the Opening of the Nineteenth century* and William T Whitley's A*rtists and Their Friends in England 1700-1799*.[7] These notes and later investigations on Dance collated information from his works and archival sources. Many of these sources have been re-examined in this new interpretation of Dance's portraits.

There are several major archival sources held in the United Kingdom, however, direct information from Dance's own records is limited. The National Archives hold some of Dance's personal documents in the Northampton Records Office, these date from the 1790s after the peak of his career as an artist. The most important documents from his period in Rome are housed in a private archive not available at this time. The most informative archives belong to institutions such as the National Portrait Gallery London, the British Museum, the Tate Britain, the National Library, the National Maritime Museum, Greenwich and the National Trust. These institutions hold some records, and between them hold a significant number of Dance's works and have been generous in providing access for this research.

Goodreau's catalogue shows that there are approximately 200 oil paintings by Dance, of these approximately 70 are untraced.[8] Many of these works are possibly held in private collections and located in various countries, with others misattributed. The Philadelphia Museum of Art and at the Yale

[7] William T Whitley, *Artists and Their Friends in England 1700 - 1799*, 2 vols. (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1928); Michael Bryan and George Charles Williamson, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers. A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, 5 vols., vol. 3 (Port Washington New York: Kennikat Press Inc., 1903-4); Marion Harry Spielmann, *British Portrait Painting to the Opening of the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London: The Berlin Photographic Company, 1910).
[8] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 210-313. Goodreau cites another 21 paintings that he considers are attributed incorrectly to Dance. It also should be noted that, Goodreau only includes oil paintings in his catalogue; there are as many, if not more, drawings, caricatures, and watercolour paintings absent from his catalogue.

Center for British Art, New Haven, are two non-British institutions that provided access to their collections and archives. Also, some smaller institutions in Australia and a private collection in Scotland provided inspiration for particular chapter topics, including multiple copies and Dance's drawings. There are potentially additional resources regarding Dance's time in Rome, however I was unable to assess these materials as they are held in a private collection, and access was withheld.

The first significant analysis dedicated to Dance is a series of three journal articles published in the 1920s by the art historian Lady Victoria Manners in the *Connoisseur*, in which her stated aim was to re-establish Dance's reputation, as it had diminished through lack of attention.[9] Manners specialised in artists of the eighteenth-century, co-authoring two monographs with Dr George Charles Williamson: the first in-depth study of Zoffany, *Johan Zoffany, His Life and Works 1735 – 1810* (1920); and *Angelica Kauffmann R.A., Her Life and Her Works* (1924). Manners' three articles present as the framework for a potential monograph on Dance. She states that the study of British eighteenth-century artists had been greatly overlooked and as of the 1920s had 'remained in an uncritical stage' in which only the merits of a select few artists were examined.[10] Manners considered the reputations of several artists, including Dance, had suffered from this lack of attention. Manners provides a biography, a

[9] Works Consisting of I. The Theory of Painting; II. Essay on the Art of Criticism So Far as it Relates to Painting; III. The Science of a Connoisseur, Anglistica and Americana (Hildesheim: Olms); Lady Victoria Manners, "Fresh Light on Nathaniel Dance R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," The Connoissuer 64,(1923); Lady Victoria Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," The Connoisseur 65,(1922); Lady Victoria Manners, "Last Words on Nathaniel Dance R.A.," The Connoisseur 67,(1923).

[10] Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," p. 77. Lady Manners quotes an extensive piece on this topic from L Binyon "English Traditions in Art", *Quarterly Review* (January 1921)

catalogue of works and general information on major aspects of Dance's development and exhibitions containing his works.

Manners' discussion of the collections in which Dance's works were held in the 1920s reveals that many were still held in private family collections that were difficult to access. Collections that were, and still are, readily accessible include the National Portrait Gallery in London, the National Maritime Museum in Greenwich and a number of properties owned by the British National Trust. She also notes that as Dance often did not sign his works, many may be incorrectly attributed to artists such as Sir Joshua Reynolds and Johann Zoffany.[11] These articles by Manners establish the basics of Dance's biography comparing examples of his work with those of his contemporaries, particularly Reynolds, to establish Dance's credentials as a noteworthy eighteenth-century British artist. Manners never proceeded to writing a book, presumably from the lack of information, as at the end of the final article, she requests readers of the *Connoisseur* to forward any information they have on Dance or his works to her via the magazine.[12] In establishing the foundation of Dance's life and works, Manners' articles mention anecdotes, such as Reynolds copying Dance's works of Robert Manners, Manners' ancestor, that assist in placing Dance's works into context in British society when examining them from the perspective of more contemporary artist historical methodologies.

Other articles featuring Dance take individual works as their focus, such as David Sellin's visual analysis of four conversation pieces of gentlemen in Rome while on their Grand Tour.[13] In this same vein, Dance's history paintings

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[11] Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," p. 78.
[12] Lady Victoria Manners, "Last Words on Nathaniel Dance R.A.," *The Connoisseur* Vol. 67(1923): p. 153.
[13] David Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece," *Philadelphia Museum of Art Bulletin* 56, no. 268 (1961).

are the subject of two earlier articles by Basil C Skinner, in which Skinner provides a catalogue and some empirical analysis of these works.[14] However, like Manners, these authors do not ground their discussion in any particular art theory and their only aim appears to be to revitalise Dance's reputation by, for instance, asserting his credentials as an early British neoclassical artist.

David Anthony Goodreau's doctoral dissertation in 1973 is the most significant work on Dance to date.[15] In his abstract, Goodreau describes his thesis as a monographic study to establish a chronological development of Dance's art.[16] To this end, Goodreau has produced an excellent survey and an extensive catalogue of Dance's paintings. Completed in the early 1970s, however, Goodreau's dissertation does not incorporate any current theories of art history, which were then only in their infancy. Seeking to rehabilitate Dance into the art historical canon, Goodreau focuses on Dance's artistic contributions, asserting that Dance was an important figure in the development of the neoclassical style in British history painting and noting his continued adherence to an English style while working in Rome. Goodreau's admirable monograph and catalogue analyses the stylistic progress of Dance's work, but it falls short as a critical art analysis by today's standards because it does not identify any formal hypotheses, other than the establishment of Dance's importance as a great English artist. Though writing during the early period of changing scholarship focus, Goodreau's work makes no attempt to place Dance's work within British society or to examine how society's cultures, such as sociability, may have informed Dance's choices.

[14] Basil C Skinner, "Some Aspects of the Work of Nathaniel Dance in Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 101, no. 678/679 (1959); Basil C. Skinner, "A Note on Four British Artists in Rome," *The Burlington Magazine* 99, no. 652 (1957).
[15] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)."
[16] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. x.

In the 1970s, art historical scholarship shifted to include sociological perspectives, privileging, for example, class and gender in the discourse, and embracing a far broader range of themes. Advocates of these new methods considered that earlier approaches were too narrowly focused and failed to include historical, political and social contexts in their analysis. The new art historian's view was that by ignoring the social and cultural context, the interpretation of art is incomplete and inadequate.[17] Jonathan Harris argues that the post-1970s art history practitioners were united by 'historical materialism', which he defines as:

> a belief that artworks, artists, and art history should be understood as artefacts, agents, structures, and practices rooted materially in social life and meaningful only within those circumstances of production and interpretation.[18]

For the historical materialist art historian, art cannot be created independently from society and culture and therefore issues that impact the artist must impact the production of their oeuvre.

Among the extensive vanguard of authors working in the area of eighteenth-century art history are David Solkin, Marcia Pointon, Philip Carter, Martin Myrone, Michael Rosenthal, Mark Hallett, John Brewer and Chris Rojek, to name but a few. Many of these scholars have expanded on the ideas of Jürgen Habermas in his discussion of the emergence of the public sphere and the influence on society, including art, of public opinion.[19] The works of these

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[17] Jonathan Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2001), Art History Theory, pp. 21, 267.

[18] Harris, *The New Art History: A Critical Introduction*, p. 264.

[19] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society translated by Thomas Burger with the assistance of Frederick Lawrence* (Great Brit.: Polity Press, 1989). Habermas' 'public sphere' relating to eighteen-century Britain considers that with the establishment of clubs and societies groups of individuals formed 'public' discussion groups that allowed for dissemination of information that helped create a more informed society and potentially collective opinions. See also http://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756841/obo-9780199756841-0030.xml; Pieter Duvenage, *Habermas and aesthetics: the limits of communicative reason* (Cambridge, UK; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2003).

authors provide the foundations on which this thesis is built. These scholars have highlighted and privileged themes including politeness and sociability; masculinity; the creation of the celebrity; and the shift in forms of patronage. This allow for the expansion of the art historical discourse and a more in-depth examination of society and culture.

The changes in commerce and industrialisation in eighteenth-century society are interrogated in works such as John Brewer's *Consumption and the World of Goods* and *Pleasures of the Imagination English Culture in the Eighteenth-century*.[20] Brewer shows how society was increasingly driven by the consumption of goods, including portraits. This booming economy provided the opportunity for the development of an increasingly aware 'public sphere' constituting a broader diversity of people. Their influence included the commodification of literature and the arts, and this commercialisation of the fine arts greatly affected the careers of artists. David Solkin's research on the importance of art in this society, *Painting for Money*, contributes to the exploration of the business side of the art world, showing how art became a means to provide individuals with some distinction.[21] Solkin locates the arts in the broader economy rather than as a separate, isolated entity. Both Brewer and Solkin view art as part of society not just an effect of society, and specifically note arts involvement in the public sphere, as proposed by Jürgen Habermas.[22]

The formerly stable social structures such as class distinction began to change. Customs and habits that could previously be used to delineate between

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[20] John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination: English Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997); John Brewer and Roy Porter, *Consumption and the world of goods* (London: Routledge, 1993).
[21] David H. Solkin, *Painting for Money: the Visual Arts and the Public sphere in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993).
[22] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*.

the elite and the commoner were becoming blurred. This increased as the middle class began accruing great wealth from commercial enterprises and thus imitating elite cultures. The aristocratic sector of society, whose finery of attire and manners were previously sufficient marks of distinction, now found it increasingly difficult to be recognised, as the lower classes strove to emulate these attributes.[23] The portrait became one means by which to re-establish some distinction and also to express visually the elements necessary to conform to the reconfigured British identity, incorporating the practices of sociability such as fashion, taste and education.[24] Solkin began this conversation in an earlier article that discusses how uncertainty in society could be exploited by artists such as Reynolds, as portraits became a tool to express chosen attributes of the sitter.[25] Solkin shows that portraits could be constructed to create new representations of distinction, through the use of repetitious imagery. Solkin's main focus is on economics and the use of the portrait to display wealth and desired social position.

The significance of art and portraiture in the adaptation and formation of cultural influence in the eighteenth-century is an expansive area of discourse that has drawn much scholarly attention. The shift to a broader social analysis of art can be seen in the writing of Shearer West and works such as *Patronage and Power: The Role of the Portrait in Eighteenth-century England*.[26] West contends that portrait images were designed to sell a message, and in the context of the

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[23] Works; Brewer, The Pleasures of the Imagination; Brewer and Porter, Consumption and the world of goods; Solkin, Painting for Money.
[24] Dror Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 2004); David H. Solkin, "Great Pictures or Great Men? Reynolds, Male Portraiture, and the Power of Art," *Oxford Art Journal* 9, no. 2 (1986).
[25] Solkin, "Great Pictures or Great Men? Reynolds, Male Portraiture, and the Power of Art."
[26] Shearer West, "Patronage and Power: the role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England," in *Culture, Politics and Society in Britain, 1600-1800*, ed. Jeremy Black and Jeremy Gregory (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).

country house the clear messages were focused on the wealth and power of the patron, and just as importantly, the continuity and longevity of the family. This requirement for the projection of a predetermined message affected the style and composition of the portrait, which functioned as a visual representation of the sitter as well as a tool for marketing specific information. West suggests that portraiture should be examined in the context of the demand to fill the newly built and redesigned country houses that emerged in the eighteenth-century. That is, examining the setting in which the portrait was hung is essential to the evaluation of what it projected and how it was meant to be perceived.[27]

Marcia Pointon has also contributed significantly to this area of discourse. Pointon's considerable output includes an array of works that provide clear discussions on art and society while provoking further questions. Pointon's extensive and landmark work, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England*, discusses eighteenth-century portraiture from feminist, political and social historical perspectives.[28] *Hanging the Head* is in two parts. The first places the practice, display, marketing and collection of portraiture within the context of eighteenth-century English culture and society. The second part assesses four elements of composition, in what Alex Kidson terms 'the internal language of the portrait'.[29] Pointon's analysis of these subjects takes a feminist viewpoint and focuses less on the individual artist than components of the composition. Pointon's method of analysis is, according

[27] West, "Patronage and Power: the role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England." West's work shows that undertaking a broad-ranging examination of works can reveal knowledge that is also applicable to an individual artist and their work, as she does in her more extensive book, *Portraiture*.
[28] Marcia R Pointon, *Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-century England* (New Haven CT: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993).
[29] Alex Kidson, "Review: Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England by Marcia Pointon," *The Burlington Magazine* 136, no. 1100 (1994), http://www.jstor.org/stable/886282, 20/03/2011.

to Kidson, aligned more towards a post-structural model, concentrating on a narrowed view of individual subjects, such as wigs or business, neglecting analysis of the particular artist or sitter in favour of details in the painting, as opposed to the more traditional, structural art historical methodology. This enables Pointon to consider multiple perspectives of the portrait and its role in society.[30] Though *Hanging the Head* does not directly engage with Dance's work, examining his portraits from multiple perspectives is a useful methodology to address how Dance's works interpret sociability and masculinity.

Pointon has also written in detail on portraiture as a business in *Portrait Painting as a Business Enterprise in London in the 1780s*, which presents a very useful overview of the challenges facing the artist in establishing their business.[31] She expands on this topic in the first chapter of *Hanging the Head*, breaking down the requirements into sections including the economics of the trade in London, studio practices, the importance of manners and customs and the portrait as a commodity, and briefly discussing copies, pricing and social mobility.

In a society adapting to extensive structural upheaval, ideas of identity are also challenged as part of the cultural evolution. In her book, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, Pointon seeks to understand the portrait as a genre and closely examines the function of the portrait as a work of art, socially and politically.[32] Pointon's aim is to make the reader consider how the portrait displays identity, not just as the subject named in the painting, but in, for example, the masculinity, the culture or the social context presented in the work.

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[30] Kidson, "Review: Hanging the Head: Portraiture and Social Formation in Eighteenth-Century England by Marcia Pointon". p. 770.
[31] Marcia Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," *Art History* 7, no. 2 (1984).
[32] Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2012).

While Dance's work rarely features in Pointon's writing, her method of examining portraiture during this period reveals elements of society, and this method provides insight into the networks and sitters' identity in Dance's portraits. Identity can take on many guises in art and portraiture, and while authors like Harry Berger Jr suggest that all the agencies that influence the construction of the portrait be considered, others such as Dror Wahrman discuss mutability of identity in eighteenth-century culture.[33] Wahrman uses art to enhance his argument regarding the development of identity in the eighteenth-century. Like Berger, he challenges the concept that the external 'self' is a 'true' representation of the 'inner' person, arguing that it was believed that a person's identity was fluid and even gender was mutable. While politeness suggested that external appearance affected the manners and behaviour of the person, a major concern in the second half of the century was that this did not necessarily project the inner self, leading to the breaking down of the culture of politeness and converting it to sensibility. Though politeness and sensibility are usually discussed as two independent customs, Brewer's assertion that '[f]or all the tensions between them, sentiment and politeness coexisted, not least in the breast of many a refined person. Even between the 1760s and 1790s, at the height of the rage for sensibility, the language of politeness was never abandoned' was supported by Carter. [34] As these structures in society changed, so did the ways they were visually represented.

Many authors also address the issues of masculinity in the eighteenth century, and its study is a complex multidisciplinary field. The challenge for

[33] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*; Harry Berger jr, *Fictions of the Pose: Rembrandt against the Italian Renaissance* (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2000).

[34] John Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century* (London: HarperCollins, 1997), p. 115; Philip Carter, *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain, 1660-1800*, Women and men in history (Harlow, England ; New York: Pearson Education, 2001), p. 28.

portraitists was to represent masculinity and be morally didactic without recourse to overt classicism, such as related by Solkin, with William Melmoth describing a classical scene with portraits incorporated into the primary characters.[35] Examples of these types of works can be seen in history painting from this period, including Dance's *Death of Virginia* (Figure 3)or *Timon of Athens* (Figure 4). As the emphasis on the type of acceptable appearance and associations of manhood or masculinity changed over the period, the imagery used to represent fashionable individuals also evolved. One of the key authors on eighteenth-century masculinity, Philip Carter, discusses these variations in expectations of the gentleman and those of manliness in his book *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society, Britain 1660-1800*. Carter considers that masculinity had competing ideals in the eighteenth century. In general, the characteristics of a gentleman incorporated honour, self-control and reason, while manliness was varied and less refined, often ranging from 'the blackguard to the pretty gentleman'. Carter argues that 'the prevailing eighteenth-century concept was of masculinity not just as a social but a sociable category in which gender identity was conferred, or denied, by men's capacity for gentlemanly social performance'.[36] Carter describes two phases of masculine construction, the first conforming to polite society, and the second adapting to the culture of sensibility.

Historian Michèle Cohen mostly concurs with Carter but considers that eventually sensibility also failed and there was a return to older notions of masculinity based on chivalry.[37] Portraits, including Dance's, show how the extent of change occurred differently in various spheres of society, depending on

[35] Solkin, "Great Pictures or Great Men? Reynolds, Male Portraiture, and the Power of Art," pp. 42-43.
[36] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 209.
[37] Michèle Cohen, "“Manners” Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005).

the social requirements. Key concerns regarding masculinity were the French influences, with men being seduced by the trivialities of fashion, becoming fops and risking that their refinement was overwhelmed by effeminacy.[38] The qualities of strength, independence, courage and judgement that defined manliness were at risk of being overcome by these more foppish characteristics. However, imagery communicating 'British' manliness continued in areas including depictions of professionals and the military. While Dance's military portraits will form the backbone of a chapter focusing on this topic, the theme of masculinity is woven through much of this dissertation. Discussion in chapters two and three incorporate the social importance of portraying the appropriate style and displays of masculinity for example, how the artist presented the male sitter, having the correct elements within the background which enhanced or detracted from the type of masculinity displayed. Sociability created the necessity to manage social performance and how overdoing more effeminate traits diminished masculine attributes leading to foppishness.

Discussion of masculinity in British art of the eighteenth century reveals that social upheaval and war influenced the representations and notions of masculine imagery. Martin Myrone concentrates on these changes, particularly regarding the heroic male figure, in his book *Bodybuilding: Reforming Masculinity in British Art 1750-1810*.[39] Myrone shows how the Seven Years' War (1756–63), the War of American Independence (1775–83) and the French Revolution and Revolutionary Wars (1789–1815) influenced the figure of the hero along with gender identity and changes in social, cultural and economic values. Myrone uses several of Dance's history paintings in discussions of the

[38] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 211.
[39] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*.

change in depictions of masculinity, but does not consider Dance's portraits. His focus is on the violent hero versus the more genteel masculine figure that emerges mid-century. While he does mention the *Grant Conversation Piece*, it is to supplement his discussion of the Grand Tourist and the 'explicitly gendered commentary on the visual arts as an index of these competing social values' by Thomas Robinson, one member of the group.[40] Myrone does not explore the changing social images of masculinity that can be seen in Dance's portraits. I address this aspect of Dance's contribution in the chapters on professional men and the military.

Myrone's investigations extend the works of Carter and Wahrman in relation to the mutability of identity and gender. This discourse also lends weight to discussions regarding the use of fashion, particularly uniforms, in attempts to re-establish visible class distinctions towards the latter part of the century. The instability at the margins of social strata provided opportunities for some people to take advantage of this mutability of identity in order to improve their social position.

Alongside sociability and masculinity, the rise and nature of celebrity has been an increasing concern for scholars of the eighteenth-century. Social improvement required the notice of, and entry into, the sphere of classes of higher status. One means of gaining access to increased social visibility in the eighteenth-century was via an emerging celebrity culture. Martin Postle points out in his essay *'The Modern Apelles': Joshua Reynolds and the Creation of Celebrity*, that celebrity was seen initially in writers, entertainers, primarily musicians and actors, but later in the second half of the century some artists, such as Sir Joshua Reynolds, were also becoming contenders for celebrity

[40] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, pp. 49-50.

status.[41] Reynolds' concerns with the creation of his own 'fame' saw it '… extricably bound up with a concern for his public persona, or what we today would call his 'celebrity' status.'[42] At the beginning of the century, people thought 'famous' conformed to the historical theme of the hero. The imagery is derived from mythological heroes and their depictions were required to be didactic and moral. The military and explorers, as heroes, featured strongly in the ranks of these portraits.

Later in the century other people began attracting attention, and with the expansion of the print industry, depictions of non-heroic individuals gained popularity. Tim Clayton, in *'Figures of Fame': Reynolds and the Printed Image*, discusses Reynolds' understanding of maintaining a public presence, as continuously having the attention of the public. One way Reynolds achieved this was to arrange for prints of his works to be made and circulated.[43] The term 'celebrity' began to be used to differentiate those with seemingly fleeting popularity from those who were worthy of lasting 'fame'. Though as Stella Tillyard notes, celebrity was used initially as a verb and it was not until 1849 that it was listed in the *Oxford Dictionary* as a noun to indicate a person.[44] Celebrities could include anyone who became noteworthy or scandalously notorious, whether skilled, criminal or merely flamboyant in society. Pointon shows how portraiture became one method by which celebrities could sway public opinion to improve their personal reputation, and hopefully social position, in her article on Kitty Fisher. Pointon states 'owing to the portraits painted of her by Sir

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[41] Martin Postle, "'The Modern Apelles': Joshua Reynolds and the Creation of Celebrity," in *Joshua Reynolds : The Creation of Celebrity*, ed. Martin Postle (London: Tate Publishing, 2005).
[42] Postle, "'The Modern Apelles'," p. 17.
[43] Tim Clayton, "'Figures of Fame': Reynolds and the Printed Image," in *Joshua Reynolds : the creation of celebrity* (London; New York: Tate Pub., 2005), p. 49.
[44] S K Tillyard, "'Paths of Glory': Fame and the Public in Eighteenth-Century London," in *Joshua Reynolds : The Creation of Celebrity*, ed. Martin Postle (London: Tate Publishing, 2005).

Joshua Reynolds, Kitty Fisher has maintained a visibility not accorded to her contemporaries in the beau monde …'[45] Dance was neither flamboyant nor a criminal, but examining his works through the lens of sociability and masculinity, the nuances of eighteenth-century society are opened to greater interpretation.

The rise of the 'celebrity' closely followed expansion of the print industry, and the availability of pamphlets, newspapers and journals. Cheryl Wanko's discussion in *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in the Eighteenth-century* looks at several actors in their quests for celebrity and notoriety.[46] Wanko also shows how, regardless of the extent of their celebrity status, most who actively sought this type of notice failed to gain full acceptance into the ranks of the elite. Mark Hallett's many works address issues similar to those presented by Wanko, but Hallett shows in more depth the use of print media to aid in the development of reputation.[47] While not directly noting Dance's works in any detail, Hallett's discussion on exhibitions and prints in reputation building places Dance and his practices within this tumultuous working environment. One of Dance's earliest works to have a print made was *Death of Virginia*.[48] Hallett also details the influence of the Royal Academy in the building or destruction of an artist's reputation and the politics of the hanging of paintings in the Academy's exhibitions. Hallett introduces the role of the print industry as critic and teacher for the public, to enhance their knowledge and

[45] Marcia Pointon, "The Lives of Kitty Fisher," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 27, no. 1 (2004): p. 77.
[46] Cheryl Wanko, *Roles of Authority: Thespian Biography and Celebrity in Eighteenth-century Britain* (Lubbock Texas: Texas Tech University Press, 2003).
[47] Mark Hallett, "Reading The Walls: Pictorial Dialogue at the British Royal Academy," *Eighteenth-century studies* 37, no. 4 (2004); Mark. Hallett, "'The Business of Criticism': The Press and the Royal Academy Exhibition in Eighteenth-Century London.," in *Art on the line : the Royal Academy exhibitions at Somerset House, 1780-1836*, ed. David H. Solkin, Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art., and Courtauld Institute Galleries. (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001).
[48] Nathaniel Dance, "Letters to Dance Family," in *Dance Family MS* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1761).

attempt to allow the didactic nature of high art to be interpreted by a wider audience. This utilises Habermas' theory for discussions of the eighteenth-century art-viewing audience.

Examining the complexities within the portraits of Nathaniel Dance with a focus on their interpretation of the visual language of eighteenth-century masculinity and sociability, illuminates the power of social networks and the management of a public image in creating a position in the sociable world of eighteenth-century Britain.

Chapter One – The Artist in Society

> The value and rank of every art is in proportion to the mental labour employed in it, or the mental pleasure produced by it. As this principle is observed or neglected, our profession becomes either a liberal art, or a mechanical trade.[49]

During the second half of the eighteenth-century London was a major artistic centre and the place where portraitists such as the young Nathaniel Dance could make their reputation and fortune. This chapter will explore the social position of the artist and elements that contributed to their success in London during this period. Artists such as Dance required skills beyond the talent and ability to paint as many other factors influenced an artist's success, from personal sociability and business acumen to the location of their studio.

Successfully competing for work required an artist to be well-acquainted with, and adept in, the social etiquette of their wealthy clients. To entice patrons into their studios, artists needed to provide an environment in which these clients were both at ease and comfortable being seen by others. This presented numerous hurdles for artists' such as Dance, who had to carefully select the location of his studio, then decorate and operate it in at a level of acceptability and fashion that would maintain a steady clientele, all of which required knowledge of the correct manners and finances. Overcoming barriers such as these provided opportunities for artists to build a respectable reputation, create a business, and then to improve their wealth and social status.

Relationships with their clients was fundamental for business growth for individual artists and this financial success flowed on to other businesses such as copyists, framers and the suppliers of art materials. Building these symbiotic

[49] Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, ed. Robert R Wark (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art (London) Ltd. by Yale University Press, 1975), p. 57.

relationships between artist and artisans was yet another layer in the transactions required to increase business opportunities, reputations and prosperity. However, before any of these benefits could be achieved, artists had to carve themselves a place in an environment steeped in complex social protocols.

The Social Standing of the Portraitist

Artistic people in the eighteenth-century in Britain could be considered as fringe dwellers in society, having access to the upper echelons of society, though still remaining socially apart. To improve their social standing, artists first needed to overcome long-standing prejudices that aligned their occupation with artisans. Unlike some professions, as discussed in later chapters, artists did not have uniforms or robes to assist in the creation of a cohesive group identity. The establishment of the Royal Academy aided artists' to establish an authoritative presence as formal education it conducted lent intellectual weight supporting the artists' recognition as a profession and not a trade. The association with the Academy, improving perceptions of their occupation, good individual personal reputations that developed popularity or a version of celebrity, and with this an increased wealth enabled some artists to improve their social status.

For artists working with their hands defined them as part of the 'artisan' class, which was an impediment to their social improvement. This categorisation placed artists in the lower social classes at a status equal to tradesmen such as cobblers and carpenters. Susan Rather discusses these issues for British and American artists in her article *Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770*. Rather explains that early in the eighteenth-century it was believed that to be an artisan denoted a lack of virtue, morals and intelligence. Artisans were 'common' and

therefore could not be 'gentlemen'.[50] It was against these social prejudices that artists sought to differentiate themselves from artisan and craftsmen.

Climbing beyond the social standing of an artisan was an achievable task for many portrait artists. Coming from a family that was already at the higher end of middle class, Dance was more fortunate than many of his artist contemporaries. His father, George Dance the Elder, was an established and well-noted architect, whose achievements included designing The Mansion House, which is still the residence of the Lord Mayor of London.[51] Dance was among small number of artists, such as Reynolds and Benjamin West, who aided by the best patronage and adoption of the correct manners and behaviours, were able to blend into the upper echelons of society. Dance achieved this in his career as an artist and consolidated his position with financial security before changing careers to politics and earning a baronetcy. For artists, any improvement to the social status of their profession would further increase the individual's personal social standing. But for other artists, including many who are very well-known today, such elevation was of vital importance, with some such as Reynolds, devoting themselves to ensuring proper recognition for the artist.

The hallmark of a successful career was the attainment of fame, fortune and improved social status. According to Richard Wendorf, these three objectives were central to Sir Joshua Reynolds, influencing how he lived and his career.[52] Reynolds is arguably the best documented of the eighteenth-century artists who strove to elevate the

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[50] Susan Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist: Copley and Portrait Painting around 1770," *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 2 (1997): pp. 269-70.
[51] Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 46.
[52] Richard Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society* (Cambridge,Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1996), p. 61. Though Wendorf uses the term 'fame' this does not conform to its usage in the eighteen century. Fame was generally used for men of action, such as war heroes and explorers. There were at this time three versions of notability: fame; celebrity, though it was different from today; and notoriety. These are discussed by S. K. Tillyard, "'Paths of Glory': Fame and the Public in Eighteenth-Century London," in *Joshua Reynolds : the creation of celebrity*, ed. Martin Postle (London; New York: Tate Publishing, 2005), p. 62; Antoine Lilti and Lynn Jeffress, The Invention of Celebrity: 1750-1850, (Malden MA: Polity Press, 2017). p. 13.

standing of artists in the eyes of elite society and to have art considered a profession with social status. In his fourth Discourse, a lecture to the students of The Royal Academy in December 1771, Reynolds discusses the existing internal bias where the 'historical painter' is ranked above the other genres.[53] Wedd, Peltz and Ross', *London Artists'* point out that while ambitious artists wished to use history painting to differentiate their status above that of artisans, the lack of patrons made this difficult.[54] To enhance the status of the portrait artist, and hence his own position, Reynolds injected a pseudo-historicism into his works drawing upon allegorical themes and historical costume, for example see Figure 2. Reynolds's use of these devices was a mechanism to align his portraiture and its status more closely with history painting.

Elevating the status of British arts and the artist was another topic of Reynolds

Figure 2 Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Three Ladies Adorning a Term of Hymen*, 1773, oil on canvas, 233.7 x 290.8cm. Tate Britain.

discourses commenting on the need to increase the number of British art patrons commissioning history paintings, echoing Jonathan Richardson's earlier concerns.[55] In his first essay on *The Art of Criticism*, Richardson discusses the ultimate requirement of painting to be beautiful and pleasing, but he stresses the importance in stating,

[53] Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, pp. 57-73.
[54] Kit Wedd, Lucy Peltz, and Cathy Ross, *Artists' London Holbein to Hirst* (London: Merrell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p. 40.
[55] Joshua Reynolds and Pat Rogers, *Discourses* (London: Penguin, 1992).

> But over and above this We painters are upon the Level with Writers, as being Poets, Historians, Philosophers and Divines, we Entertain, and Instruct equally with them.[56]

Richardson considers the primary purpose of the subject of history painting is to guide and teach the viewer correct morals and virtues.

Despite the institutional emphasis placed on history painting by artists such as Richardson, Hogarth and Reynolds, who praise their moral and social virtues, portraiture continued to be the major vehicle through which artists could attain social mobility and wealth.[57] The popularity of portraiture was spreading into the developing middle class, creating a new pool of potential patrons. This preoccupation with portraiture combined with the concentration of established artists in London made entry into the marketplace particularly difficult for new artists. The popularity of portraiture during the last three decades of the eighteenth-century was not confined to England: instead of viewing morally uplifting history paintings, in 1769, a Salon critic in France complained that the Salon exhibition resembled a portrait gallery.[58] In England, the number of artists and volume of portraits inspired the satirist Peter Pindar (John Wolcot) to write his poem "Odes to the Heads", which commented that artists and often their sitters no longer needed to be prominent individuals.[59]

While Dance worked on history paintings when residing in Rome, as mentioned in his letters home, he produced the majority of his history paintings after his return to London.[60] He exhibited at least seven history paintings, which Goodreau suggests confirms his aspirations as a history painter.[61] Despite its lower status,

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[56] Jonathan Richardson, *Two Discourses* (Menston, Yorkshire, England: Scolar Press Limited, 1719, (1972)), pp. 42-43.
[57]Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist," p. 271; West, "Patronage and Power: the role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England," p. 133.
[58]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 189.
[59]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, p. 88; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 39-40.
[60] Nathaniel Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr," in *Dance Family MS.* (London: Royal Institute of British Architects, 1760).
[61] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 145.

portraiture became the most exhibited genre at the Royal Academy into the 1780s and continuing into the nineteenth century. The genre of portrait painting was arguably the most competitive and potentially the most lucrative for artists. While many artists, including Dance, Reynolds, Romney and America's John Singleton Copley (1738 – 1815), aspired to become acclaimed history painters, a genre which brought prestige, all earned the bulk of their income from the production of portraits. Dance briefly thought he had achieved history painting success when King George III, after admiring Dance's *The Death of Virginia* (Figure 3) in the Society of Artists' exhibition in 1761, purchased his work *Timon of Athens* (Figure 4). However, even if it had been Dance's intention to be first and foremost a history painter, this was not to be. Even in a limited market, securing the role of Royal History Painter would have cemented this path, but when the post was available, King George III appointed Benjamin West effectively closing that market.[62]

Figure 3 Nathaniel Dance, *Death of Virginia*, , 1759. Letter dated 28 July in the collection of the Sir John Saone Museum (from Myrone Bodybuilding p. 70 plate 33).

[62]Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 144-45.

Figure 4 Nathaniel Dance, *Timon of Athens* , c. 1765. Oil on canvas, 122.2 cm x 137.5 cm, Royal Trust Collection.

Equating the work of the artist-artisan with lower social status was not an issue isolated to Britain, and portraitists such as John Singleton Copley argued strongly against such labelling in America. Copley campaigned for artists to no longer be considered in the same societal level as artisans, which included trades such as shoemakers and tailors. Rather considers the problems facing Copley in his quest to improve the status of artists, noting the prejudices against portrait painters.[63] Rather explains how, portrait artists were considered to merely copy from nature, displaying no real imagination or intelligence, so, were therefore artisans. Using Hogarth as an example, Rather demonstrates that the devaluing of non-historically based painting prevailed, even among many artists. Further highlighting the dominance of this issue, Wendorf suggests Reynolds, like Copley, sought to improve the social status of artists by engaging in public debates which highlighted the complexities and intellectual skills

[63]Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist," pp. 271-72.

required to create portraits and therefore above mere artisans.[64] Both men, however, perpetuated the same hierarchical biases in their private lives. Copley adopted the airs and graces of the wealthy after marrying the daughter of an affluent merchant, depicting himself as a landed gentleman dressed in sumptuously rich clothing, while the companion portrait portrays his new wife plainly dressed.[65] Reynolds, whose father was a clergyman and schoolmaster, also took on many of the attributes of his wealthy clients, purchasing an expensive carriage, adopting a theatrical layout for his rooms and running his studio according to a hierarchical system.[66] However, to be accepted by the upper ranks of society on a near-equal basis required more than the mere attainment of wealth: sociable behaviours were of paramount importance.

Avenues of social mobility were available, as demonstrated by Dance, Reynolds, Copley, and even Romney, though failure to capitalise on these opportunities could adversely affect the artist's commissions.[67] This can be seen in the examples of John Opie and James Northcote. Opie was an exceedingly talented artist, but never truly comfortable adapting to the social requirements of the aristocracy. Opie's truthful depictions and 'Cornish coarseness' saw him lose favour with the aristocracy, though his favour was restored with the completion of several large history paintings for Boydell's Shakespeare Gallery.[68] Northcote made a bitter notation in the back of his sitter's book:

> The neglect of the Art of painting is such in this country that the poor Artists may by long labour and application in giving up their health and lives in Learning a language the which when accomplished they will not find an Auditor. I cannot with patience see those wretches dancing at a ball on the spoils of a nation who ought to dance from a Gibet in a North East wind or

[64]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 88-91.
[65]Rather, "Carpenter, Tailor, Shoemaker, Artist," pp. 276-78.
[66]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 188.
[67]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 198-99; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 38.
[68] Roxanne Eberle, "Amelia and John Opie: Conjugal Sociability and Romanticism's Professional Arts," *Studies in Romanticism* 53, no. 3 (2014): pp. 331-32.

see those carcasses drest out in finery that ought to be droping
bone after bone from chains.[69]

Portraits of Artists

Dance painted several portraits of other artists including Giovanni Battista Cipriani and Angelica Kauffmann. In all these works Dance presents the artists as a person of means through their attire, and in the case of Kauffmann, always with her implements of her work. Dance painted the Italian artist Giovanni Battista Cipriani around 1768 (Figure 5), coinciding with the establishment of the Royal Academy, of which they were both founding members. Dance and Cipriani (along with Kauffmann) collaborated on many enterprises, including the painting of the scenery for David Garrick's 'Shakespeare Jubilee' in 1769, these working relationships, and that Dance had been engaged to Kauffmann, may be reflected in Dance's portraits.[70] Dance's portrait of Cipriani lacks the finish and markedly different from the majority of Dance's highly refined work. Possibly an unfinished work, the texture and brushwork is clearly visible, broad and rough. This portrait does not have the flat, polished finish of the institutional portraits or the dramatic heroic symbolism of a military portrait. Holding what appears to be a brush and with another implement, possibly a palette, resting on his lap, Cipriani is portrayed as a well-dressed man intently concentrating on something off to his left. Cipriani's face is highlighted by light and shadows, it is the image of a strongly featured face, and draws the viewer's eye. Dance's use of light is a feature of this work, evident in the textured brushwork, the colouration framing the sitter's head and

[69]Northcote, quoted in Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 198-99.
[70] Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman," in *Femininity and masculinity in eighteenth-century art and culture*, ed. Gillian Perry and Michael Rossington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), pp. 45-47. Lady Victoria Manners and Williamson George Charles., *Angelica Kauffmann, R.A. her life and her works* (New York: Brentano's Publishers), pp. 16-17, 127, 88.

the highlights on the fabric of his suit. While it is tempting to decide that the accessories are a paintbrush and a palette, these elements are indistinct and do not define the subject as an artist: this painting shows a tastefully and fashionably dressed and wigged gentleman.

Figure 5 Nathaniel Dance, *Giovanni Battista Cipriani* c. 1768. Oil on canvas, 76.2 cm x 63.4 cm, Royal Academy of Arts London.

Unlike the ambiguous depiction of Cipriani as an artist, Dance's portraits of Angelica Kauffmann clearly portray her as a member of this occupation. Women had to study the human body and develop life drawing skills differently to men. Dance depicts Kauffmann creating a study of a male nude from a classically styled statuette. While it was not explicitly forbidden for a female artist to attend life-drawing classes, it would certainly have been thought inappropriate for a woman to attend such classes, or to hire a male model,

because of the negative impact on her reputation.[71] These would include copying the great masters and drawing from life-like models such as the one featured in Dance's watercolour of Kauffman (Figure 7). Roworth notes that Kauffmann's earliest biographer, Giovanni Gherardo De Rossi, tells of her studying the human form from plaster casts, under the guidance of her father, and learning only the head and limbs from live figures.[72] Kauffman did make a name for herself as a history painter, but overcame the potential harm to her reputation by choosing subjects containing evocations of traditional female morality, or androgynous male characters, often with cloth drapes; in paintings of 'masculine' male heroic figures, they are diminished and rarely nude.[73]

Figure 6 Angelica Kauffmann, *Bacchus and Ariadne*, 1794. Oil on canvas, 24.64 cm x 16.51 cm, Collection Attingham Park, Shropshire.

[71] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman," p. 43; Manners and Charles., *Angelica Kauffmann, R.A. her life and her works*, p. 4.
[72] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman," p. 47.
[73] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman," pp. 45-46.

The two portraits Dance painted of Kauffmann are different in both medium and execution. Both completed around 1764, one is a watercolour (Figure 7), and the other is in oils and highly finished (Figure 8). The watercolour is more intimate than any other portraits of artists completed by Dance. At the time it was painted, he was possibly still engaged to Kauffmann and expected to marry her. This portrait was most likely painted around the time Dance returned to England. Though in shades of beige, this painting has none of the darkness or solidity of many of his works discussed in this thesis. Kauffmann is lit from all directions; the only deep shadowing defines the folds of her dress and table cloth providing depth and fullness. The accoutrements on the table and the paper she holds define her as an artist.

Figure 7 Nathaniel Dance, *Angelica Kauffmann*, 1764-66. Watercolour on paper, 13.2 x 11.4 cm, National Gallery of Scotland

In her essay “Anatomy is Destiny”, Roworth interprets this work from a feminist viewpoint:

> Dance captures the image of a female artist who seems completely unaware of his gaze upon her. It seems to suggest a mildly crude joke … . Dance’s portrayal undermines the image of the woman as a serious artist, for he represents her as if frozen by the sight of nude masculine beauty and turns her into an object of observation, a pretty lady in a fancy lace cap. Moreover the drawing she holds is not very good. Her expression could be read as discouragement, and ironically, she examines the torso rather than the missing arms and legs, the only parts of the body which she was known to have actually studied from life.[74]

While, for the reasons outlined Kauffmann rarely depicted male nudes, this was in keeping with the sentiments and propriety of eighteenth-century sociability in Britain. As discussed above, the female artist had to negotiate social impediments to retain her reputation. This work could equally be read as a painting of an artist absorbed in her work; testing different sketches to achieve a desired depiction. Kaufmann practicing the drawing of the torso makes sense, as Roworth points out, she has not been able to draw this part of the body from life. All artists practice drawing, as can be attested in the thousands of sketch books in museums around the world, including those of Dance held in the British Museum and the Tate Gallery. What is evident in this watercolour is that Dance appears to portray some women, often those to whom he was close, in this style of greater intimacy; it can also be seen in his drawing of his sister Hester (Figure 45).

Dance’s second portrait of Kauffmann is an oil painting of much greater formality and smooth finish (Figure 8). While accusing Dance of being jealous and mocking, Roworth’s brief mention of this portrait describes it as revealing Kauffmann to be an ‘enchantingly pretty and fashionable young woman holding her portfolio and

[74] Roworth, "Anatomy is destiny: regarding the body in the art of Angelica Kauffman," pp. 48-50.

crayon as if ready to launch her career'.[75] Dressed in shining fabrics with delicate lace sleeves and a fur stole, Kauffmann is outfitted very fashionably; this painting shows a demure, young female artist with a demeanour that suggests she is serious about her profession and place in society. Though neither of these works shows Kauffman actively painting, they do portray a fashionably dressed woman of means, who is involved in artistic pursuits.

Figure 8 Nathaniel Dance, *Angelica Kauffmann*, c. 1764. Oil on canvas, Burghley House, Lincolnshire.

[75] Wendy Wassyng Roworth and David Alexander, *Angelica Kauffman : a continental artist in Georgian England* (London: Reaktion Books, 1992), pp. 38-39.

Portraits of other artists formed a small part of Dance's work, but they show how portraits could assist in the creation of an image that contributed to the public perception of his profession. Establishing the idea of artists as a professional part of sociable society improved the position of many artists, provided their performance of social practices and behaviours was correct.

Dance, who was already a member of the upper middle class strove for a higher profile, for himself and other artists. Recognising the importance of appearance in London's sociable society, he presented other artists in similarly rich fabrics as his wealthy clients. These portraits were of benefit to the artist and the sitter, as they aided building a respectable image of the sitter artists and increased Dance's viewing audience. Sociable society's adoption of the portrait as a means of conveying messages of status and association provided artists with prospects of improvement.

Competition

The second half of the eighteenth-century was one of the most competitive periods in London's portraiture market. Success required the combination of artistic talent and the skills of a businessman to secure clientele. Shearer West suggests one reason for portraiture's popularity was that portraits were secular and therefore exempt from the religious strictures of Post-Reformation society.[76] History paintings had far more difficulty conforming to the religious requirements. As the market for history works was already limited, most artists needed to earn an income in alternate genres. The popularity of portraiture during this period is evident from the volume of works submitted to exhibitions. Marcia Pointon shows that over the five years from 1781 to

[76] West, "Patronage and Power: the role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England," pp. 132-33. The shift away from religious portraits came with a distrust of overt religious iconography, particularly with any association to the Catholic Church after the reigns of Charles I and Charles II. The Protestant church commissioned fewer religious works, so artists needed to obtain commissions from the broader community.

1785, portraits exceeded all other genres at the Royal Academy's annual exhibitions, averaging 41.5 per cent of the paintings exhibited.[77]

Information from exhibition catalogues and anecdotal sources show that competition between artists for the same clients was significant. Determining the exact numbers of practising artists, or even portraitists, in London during this period is not possible due to inadequate records, although anecdotal evidence suggests it was extensive. Shearer West notes comments by Horace Walpole in 1759 that suggest there were around 2000 portrait painters in London.[78] In the 1780s, James Northcote indicated that there were approximately 800 artists in London and that Sir Joshua Reynolds thought there was only sufficient work for eight reputable artists.[79] Pointon later attempted to verify the numbers of artists in London stated by Northcote, using Samuel Redgrave's *A Dictionary of Artists of the English School.* She suggests there may have been a minimum of 111 portrait painters' active at this time; however, these figures primarily represent artists who actively exhibited.[80] Regardless of some potential exaggeration, these figures indicate that competition was a concern and a topic of discussion. For an artist to enter the competitive London market required knowledge of business, connections, and determination, as well as the ability to paint.

Immediately after departing from Rome in 1765, Dance entered into this competitive London market with his own studio and having already built a reputation. To develop the skills required to participate effectively in this market environment, it was often necessary for younger artists to work for a recognised London artist before establishing their own studio. This was the case for painters such as Northcote, who was

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[77]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 38-39, 188-9.
[78]West, "Patronage and Power: the role of the portrait in eighteenth-century England," p. 131. www.oldbaileyonline.org states that the population of London in 1760 was c.750,000 and approximately growing to 1million by 1800.
[79]Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 39-40.
[80]Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 39-40.

an assistant to Reynolds, and for Gilbert Stuart, an American artist who worked as a pupil in the studio of Benjamin West.[81] Starting out with a more experienced artist offered such beginners a platform from which to create their own reputations, gain knowledge of studio operations, and, importantly, make contact with potential clients. Some artists new to London relied on their previous reputations, exploiting any association with influential acquaintances already acquired. Dance provides an example of this strategy, utilising the patronage of clients he acquired during his work in Rome prior to returning to England. In addition to ensuring he made contact with British tourists, Dance gained access to other influential clients through associations with other popular artists such as the Italian artist Pompeo Batoni. Dance appears to have learnt from his relationship with Batoni and in 1762 they had travel cards printed: 'Rome, Sigr. Pompeo Batoni & Mr Dance, for Portrait and History Painting'.[82] This same year Dance wrote his father 'I am now in such a situation in Rome that I cannot fail of making acquaintance with some of the greatest people of England.'[83] Dance's relationships with some of his clients in Rome became more than purely business, such as John, 9th Earl of Strathmore. Dance wrote to his family, 'he is become very much my friend and has promis'd me all the service in his power …'.[84] These practices and his ability to gain the friendship and respect of his wealthy clients, allowed Dance to rapidly build a successful London practice.[85]

[81]Northcote wrote 'The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds' using his experience from working with Reynolds. Nathaniel Dance met Stuart when he was West's student and eventually encouraged him to leave West's studio. Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 171; George C. Mason, *The Life and Works of Gilbert Stuart* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879).
[82] Brinsley Ford and John Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1997), pp. 274-75.
[83] Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr."
[84] Dance, "Letters to Dance Family."; Francis Russell, "Notes on Luti, Batoni and Nathaniel Dance," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 130, no. 1028 (1988): p.854.
[85]Alex Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2002), pp. 3-6. By contrast, George Romney's path to success was slowed because he began with few clients in London, despite having good patrons in his native Lancashire.

Another tactic used by Dance to rise above his competitors was to showcase his diversity, entering a range of types of work into exhibitions. For instance, in the second Royal Academy exhibition in 1770, Dance entered four works of differing styles: a full length of *Mrs Mathews as Flora*; a portrait of a gentleman; a conversation piece; and the *Interview between Helen and Paris*, a history painting. Unfortunately, the whereabouts of these paintings are unknown.[86] The first of these four works demonstrated Dance's skills in the classical style of portraiture developed by Reynolds. Conforming to popular artistic styles was a strategy used by artists to compete in the London market. The example of Romney illustrates this point. After Romney moved to London in March 1762, he eventually carved a niche in the market, but this was a slow process even though he was virtually a workaholic.[87] By 1764, Romney had embarked on a strategy of mimicking the style of Reynolds and by 1767 this new style was well established in his work, as can be seen in his work *Two Sisters Contemplating Mortality* (1767) (Figure 9).[88] In this work, Romney has painted the young women in characters reminiscent of mythological figures in a classical landscape, the style echoing Reynolds' Grand Manner paintings. Dance's *Mrs Vere* (Figure 10) is an example of his similar work to accommodate fashion. He has softened the characteristic of the sitter, producing a portrait that accentuates her beauty and elegance, with fabrics that highlight the body beneath, rather than constrict and hides it. Dance adopted styles similar to other reputable artists such as Francis Cotes, such as his portrait of *Lady Astley*, and Reynolds, as seen in the portrait of *Caroline, Lady Champney*.[89] By adopting a fashionable style of painting, artists could advance their reputations, but they also needed to attract clients away from more renowned artists.

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[86]Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 154-55; Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," p. 82.
[87]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 9-10.
[88]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 14-15.
[89] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 169.

Figure 9 J. Boydell, *Two Sisters Contemplating Mortality*, 1770. Mezzotint, after George Romney, 50.3 cm x 35.9 cm, Yale Center for British Art, original not located.

Figure 10 Nathaniel Dance, *Mrs Vere*, c. 1777., Oil on canvas, 127 cm x 101.6 cm, collection of George Goyder CBE.

Keeping abreast of popular trends, such as the revival of Shakespearean themes, was another means for artists to cater to market demands. The fashion trends in eighteenth-century England evolved and changed frequently. In painting, for example, being depicted in costume was popular with patrons for a short period and therefore important to an artist's livelihood. The technique of using costume and history in portraiture was popularised by Reynolds, who expressed the opinion that if a portrait painter wished to maintain the dignity of the subject they should not be portrayed in modern dress, and that women should be dressed in something antique that conducts favourable impressions.[90] Appealing to the client's interests and fulfilling their fashionable expectations assisted the artist in gaining commissions. Like other artists, Dance had to negotiate the fickle path of fashion and taste to maintain his reputation. Several of Dance's history paintings, including *Timon of* Athens (Figure 4), were on

[90]Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, p. 140.

themes after Shakespeare's work. At this time, Shakespeare had a revival of popularity in London which was being reflected in art. In the summer of 1767, after Dance exhibited this painting with the Society of Artists, his brother James Love successfully produced the play at his theatre at Richmond Green in Surrey. Dance also painted the actor Garrick in his most famous role in *Richard III* (Figure 11) and worked with a group of artists on set designs for Garrick's Shakespeare Jubilee Festival.[91] Edward Penny also used a Shakespearean theme in his entry in the first exhibition for the Royal Academy in 1769 with his comic work *A Blacksmith Hearkening to a Tailor's News*, which refers to Act IV Scene 2 from Shakespeare's *King John*. In such a competitive market, it was important for artists to continually adapt their work to maintain the interest of their current and potential clients. Acknowledging fashion and taste was as important in portraiture as it was in history painting.

Another important key to Dance's success was obtaining royal commissions. For the eighteenth-century artist in Britain, social systems and patronage were inseparable from and crucial to, permanent success. To be commissioned to paint a royal portrait was of greater significance to, and potentially of greater influence for, an artist than being commissioned by any other member of society. Royalty were at the apex of the social pyramid: painting these portraits could provide access to a network of patrons of social significance in Britain's society. *Who* the artist had painted could do more to further the artist's reputation and career than the perfection of the finished

[91] Garrick travelled to Europe in 1764, and at the suggestion of his friend James Love, he met the Dance brothers in Rome. James 'Love' Dance, the elder brother of Nathaniel and George, was a comedian, dramatist, and theatre manager; he had taken the stage name of 'James Love' and met Garrick while working at the Drury Lane Theatre. In a letter from Naples, to his brother George, dated January 2, 1764, Garrick discusses meeting Nathaniel and George Dance, and states that 'they are both very ingenious and agreeable men: the painter is a great genius and will do what he pleases when he goes to London, which will be the next spring'. Peter Thomson, "Garrick, David (1717-1779)," 2 August 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10408; "David Garrick Lot 144," in *Christie's Auction Sales Catalogue: British Paintings, 18 November 1988* (London: Christie's Auction, 1988).

product. British monarchs had used portraiture as a promotional tool for centuries, and their influence on the eighteenth-century British portrait market came from the creation of a sociable association that transferred to other social ranks.[92]

Dance's success in London showed he could compete in this volatile market and suggests he possessed the attributes such as artistic talent, an acute sense of business, and the social behaviours that enabled him to attract a large network of influential clients. To achieve his level of success, Dance's studio must have provided his clients with a sociable venue that allowed for the social performance required by society.

Studios

In eighteenth-century London, the artist's studio was a vital part of the artist's business and its location was strategically important to their success. This was also the case in Europe: Dance's address in Rome was 77 Strada Felice (now Sistina), where there were other British students including Robert and James Adam, James Forrester and Peter Stephens (Cavaliere Stefano).[93] It was here that the Dance brothers Nathaniel and George met Sir Henry Mainwaring, 4th Baronet of Over Peover County, Chester,

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[92] For further discussion on Royal portraiture and the influence of the Monarchy on portraiture, including nationalism and sociability see the following F. M. Barnard, *Herder's social and political thought; from enlightenment to nationalism* (Oxford,: Clarendon Press, 1965); Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century*; John Brooke, *King George III*, American Revolution bicentennial program (New York,: McGraw-Hill, 1972); Penelope Byrde, *The male image: men's fashion in Britain, 1300-1970* (London: B. T. Batsford, 1979); Carter, *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain, 1660-1800*; Joseph Farington and James Greig, *The Farington diary* (London: Hutchinson, 1923); John Galt, The Life and Studies of Benjamin West, Esq., (London: Printed for T Cadell and W Davies, 1820); Christopher M. S. Johns, "Portraiture and the Making of Cultural Identity: Pompeo Batoni's The Honourable Colonel William Gordon (1765–66)in italy and North Britain," *Art History* 27, no. 3 (2004); Philip Mansel, *Dressed to rule : royal and court costume from Louis XIV to Elizabeth II* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005); Philip Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," *Past & Present*, no. 96 (1982); Oliver Millar, *The later Georgian pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London: Phaidon P., 1969); Oliver Millar, *The Tudor, Stuart and early Georgian pictures in the collection of Her Majesty the Queen* (London,: Phaidon Press, 1963); Michael Rosenthal, "Public Reputation and Image Control in Late-Eighteenth-Century Britain," *Visual Culture in Britain* 7, no. 2 (2006); Jennifer Scott, *The Royal Portrait: Image and Impact* (London: Royal Collection Enterprises Ltd, 2010).

[93]Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 63. The Adam brothers became famous architects; James Forrester was a minor author and Stephens was an artist.

who would become a patron to both George and Nathaniel.[94] George designed two chimneypieces and Nathaniel painted the history painting *The Discovery of Aeneas* for Mainwaring.[95] Dance established his home and studio at 13 Tavistock Row Covent Garden where he remained until his retirement as a professional artist in 1782.[96] This area was an artist's enclave, and his street was shared by other artists such as Samuel Scott (1702-1772), Richard Wilson (1713/14-82), Richard Yeo (d. 1779) and Jeremiah Meyer (1735-89). The Covent Garden area, was a good starting place for artists, but as shown by Wedd, as their reputation and finances improved, many artists moved further west, in closer proximity to their wealthy clients.[97] Goodreau's positive observations regarding Dance's choice of studio position are supported by Pointon's examination of the records of the Royal Academy which shows that Covent Garden, with 14 artists, was the second most popular place for artist's residences in 1783, exceeded only by Cavendish Square, where there were 16 artists.[98] Covent Garden was popular for younger artists and those who practiced in less financially rewarding fields. For example, Dance's house was taken over by the miniaturist Christian Frederick Zincke (1683/5-1767). As the influential artists moved, many of the craftsmen who relied upon them for work also tended to follow because proximity to and convenience for the artist were advantageous to their business.[99]

Attracting and retaining patrons were ongoing challenges for every artist regardless of their existing reputation and talent, and studio position was part of this process. The studio had three functions: firstly, as a painting studio for the artist; secondly, as an entertainment and social space for clients; and finally, as a marketing opportunity to encourage future commissions. Many artists, as finances permitted,

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[94]Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, pp. 65-66.
[95]Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 66.
[96]Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 140.
[97] Wedd, Peltz, and Ross, *Artists' London Holbein to Hirst*, pp. 34, 68-70.
[98]Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 41.
[99]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 190.

adapted there home/studio to accommodate 'London's new enthusiasm for art exhibitions'.[100] Adding a gallery for their aristocratic guests allowed artists to keep their working area separate from the spaces for the genteel clients to be enticed into commissions.

From 1767 to 1772, when he left for Italy, Romney occupied studio premises in Golden Head in Great Newport Street, close to the Covent Garden, building a substantial reputation.[101] On returning from Italy in 1775, Romney's finances were limited and his patron, Thomas Greene persuaded him to move to a studio in Cavendish Square that had belonged to Francis Cotes. The studio placed Romney in the most popular suburb for artists in London and by December 1776 his studio was crowded with paintings of 'People of the first Fashion and Fortunes'.[102]

Unlike Dance who spent is professional life in London at the one address, many artists' moved to areas of greater prestige as their careers improved. Wendorf explains that Reynolds was aware of the importance of a good studio location. He notes that Reynolds was a skilled professional and master of self-promotion, and he moved several times to establishments of increasing quality, finally settling in Leicester Fields where his home/studio included a gallery to display his art and an elegant room for the sitters.[103] Reynolds's studio was the ideal of the three essential roles of the studio space: somewhere to paint, to socialise and to advertise.

Above all, the artist's studio had to function as a place where the artist could produce paintings. It was common for artist's studio to be incorporated into their houses. Even after he had officially retired as an artist, Dance built a house in Piccadilly including a dedicated studio with sufficient light for painting, something lacking in his

[100] Wedd, Peltz, and Ross, *Artists' London Holbein to Hirst*, p. 70.
[101]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 16.
[102]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 22-23.
[103]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 102-04; Wedd, Peltz, and Ross, *Artists' London Holbein to Hirst*, p. 36.

country house.[104] In Romney's final years he was persuaded by his son to move out of London to Hampstead in 1796, where he built a suite of rooms with large windows providing very good light for painting.[105] Light was the most important element in the artist's studio, followed by equipment necessary for their profession. A common feature in many studios was a raised dais, often able to rotate, that enabled the artist to view the sitter from various angles, a feature of both Stuart and Reynolds studios.[106] The painting room was the artist's sanctuary away from the more public rooms to which the sitters and patrons had access.

Sitting for a portrait in the artist's studio was only one element of the event, with the whole experience mirroring a theatrical performance. The studio atmosphere created by some artists provided the clients with a distinct air of theatricality. From the late 1770s, sittings with Romney were described as virtuoso performances in which he painted directly onto the canvas, saving time and giving the client the feeling of getting their money's worth. A client, John Wesley, stated that 'Mr Romney is a painter indeed! He struck off an exact likeness at once, and did more in half an hour than Sir Joshua did in ten'.[107] The speed with which Romney produced his works fitted neatly into his suite of benefits offering exclusiveness and value for money. Reynolds played the role of entertainer, fitting out his Leicester Fields studio to make an impression. He provided his wealthy clients with luxurious and elegant rooms in which to socialise, and even hosted a Ball and refreshments at the opening of his gallery.[108] Wendorf illustrates how artists' rooms were designed as a social space for clients, and the family and friends who accompanied them, with a discussion of a series of letters by Elizabeth Montagu and William Pulteney, Earl of Bath, in December 1761. Pulteney was having a portrait

[104]Manners, "Last Words on Nathaniel Dance R.A.," p.147.
[105]Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 44.
[106]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 196.
[107]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 26.
[108]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 103-5.

painted by Reynolds and was meeting a Mr Stern at the studio. Once Elizabeth Montagu found out, she wrote to her friend Mrs Vesey asking her to join her at Mr Reynolds's studio while Pulteney was there.[109] There are numerous records in Farington's Diaries of similar meetings, such as 15 March 1794: 'Went to Dance. Lady Susan Bathurst was sitting for a profile. – Lady Triphina Bathurst and Lady Beaumont, and Lysons were also there'.[110] Farington also has entries that suggest artists' studios were similar to today's art galleries, used both to view the art and to socialise.

The sociability of the studio atmosphere created the opportunity for the artist to advertise their work to associates and friends of existing patrons. To achieve this, the artist's studio needed to appear fit for a person of higher rank, a situation that bemused Jean-André Rouquet, who writes:

> A portrait painter in England makes his fortune in a very extraordinary manner. As soon as he has attained a certain degree of reputation, he hires a house fit for a person of distinction; then he assumes an air of importance and superiority over the rest of his profession, depending less on his personal abilities to support this superiority, than on the credit of some powerful friend, or of some woman of quality, whose protection he has purchased, and which he sometimes courts not much to his honour. His aim then is not so much to paint well, as to paint a great deal.[111]

In the business of portrait painting in London, appearance was everything. The elegance of the public rooms of the studio was calculated to impress. Reynolds decorated with this aim, as did Kauffman, who in a letter to her father pointed out, 'I

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[109]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 103-5.
[110]Joseph Farington et al., *The Diary of Joseph Farington* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1978), Vol. 1; p. 171.This quote has been noted in reference to Nathaniel Dance by Pointon, Manners and Goodreau, however it is more likely that it refers to George Dance the Younger, who drew many profile portraits, as can be seen in the books held at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. Later in the same entry Farington advises Dance to apply for Commissioner of Lotterys; or for a fee farm rent receivership, Nathaniel had a secure income and would not have needed additional sources of income. Farington, when discussing Nathaniel Dance, usually prefaces Dance with his initial, but normally only does this for George if both brothers are mentioned in the same entry. This does not detract from this quote as an example of the studio as a place of sociability.
[111]Jean-André Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England* (London: J Nourse, 1755), pp. 38-39.

could not sustain my character with my work alone. Everything has to be arranged'.[112] Kauffman's studio in Rome was designed to attract an elite clientele, containing a suite of impressive reception rooms with classical statuary, fine books, ornately framed paintings, antiquities and engravings.[113]

While the information we have on Dance's choice of studios is limited, it is evident from the locations he chose, that he was aware of their requirements as a venue of sociability. The setting was one element in the performance of courting patrons, but without reasonable prices and the artist possessing the sociable, polite manners and customs of the wealthy, obtaining commissions would be difficult.

Pricing

Pricing was also critical in a competitive market. There was some standardisation of portrait prices according to size and format, but ultimately the amount charged depended on the reputation and popularity of the artist. Dance painted several pictures of Lord Robert Manners for which he received relatively high commission fees of £150, £100 and £21 for a head.[114] Dance's prices were at the high end of the mid-range, below those of Reynolds but slightly higher than those of Romney. In 1772 Romney was charging 40 guineas for a whole length, 20 for a half-length and 10 for head and shoulders, figures far removed from his 1757 beginnings of two guineas for a head and six guineas for a small full length.[115] He was earning around £100 per month, because he worked at least six days per week, often with two sittings per day.[116] Pointon

[112]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 114-15.
[113]Wendy Wassyng Roworth, "Painting for Profit and Pleasure: Angelica Kauffman and the Art Business in Rome," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29, no. 2 (1995): pp. 225-26.
[114]Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," p. 86. Lady Victoria Manners does not provide the dates of these payments, but they give an indication of the prices Dance was receiving for his works.
[115]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 18; David Mannings, "Notes on Some Eighteenth-Century Portrait Prices," *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* Vol. 6, no. 2 (1983): p. 190. One guinea was equal to one pound and one shilling (£1 1s 0d) or one pound was equal to 20 shillings and a guinea was 21 shillings.
[116]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 18.

and Mannings provide an overview of several artists and their prices, which shows, firstly, that price was dependent on reputation (with Reynolds, in the second half of the century, at the top end of the scale); and secondly, how community attitudes to art placed restraints on the price portrait artists could request. This second point will be discussed below. Most artists attempted to use their pricing as a means of competing in this crowded market. Prices were only increased when the artist's reputation justified it and only when the increase did not reduce the number of commissions. For his three-quarter length works, Reynolds was charging 20 guineas in 1759, increasing his fee to 35 guineas in 1764, and then to 50 guineas in 1766.[117] Reynolds's fees were considerably higher than Romney's who charged around 20 guineas a few years later, while Northcote, who was at the lower end of the scale, raised his prices in 1784 for a portrait containing two figures to 16 guineas.[118] To put these prices in to some context of the time, Schwarz's work on taxation records in the late eighteenth-century reveal that only around 2 - 3% of the London male population earned in excess of £200 per annum and 16 – 21% earned between £80 and £130 per annum. This left roughly 75% of the population earning less per year than the price of some portraits.[119] These figures are roughly backed up in Robert D Hume's *The Value of Money in Eighteenth-century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power – and Some Problems in Cultural Economics*.[120] When considering the 200 guineas Reynolds received for a whole-length portrait in the 1790s and 100 guinea equated to approximately £21,000 to £31,500 in

[117] Mannings, "Notes on Some Eighteenth-Century Portrait Prices." Mannings details the increase in Reynolds' prices noting he took over the place of Richardson and Ramsay as top paid artist in London. p. 191.
[118]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 200-01.
[119] L. D. Schwarz, "Distribution and Social Structure in London in the Late Eighteenth Century," Journal article, *The Economic History Review* Vol. 32, no. 2 (1979), http://www.jstor.org/stable/2595457, 7 April 2017.
[120] Robert D. Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power-and Some Problems in Cultural Economics," *Huntington Library Quarterly: Studies in English and American History and Literature* 77, no. 4 (2014).

2015, some order of self-imposed control of pricing must have been practiced by artists to compete for new commissions.[121]

Prices were aligned to the artists' reputation, so artists adopted strategies to ensure their work was highly visible to potential clients. Commissions in prestigious public buildings could considerably boost a reputation. The competition for these commissions was fierce, as an anecdote regarding Hogarth demonstrates:

> In 1734 the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital … awarded the job of decorating the Grand Staircase in their new administrative building to the Venetian painter Giacomo Amigoni (1685-1752), when Hogarth volunteered his services free of charge … Hogarth was using the income from 'low' forms of art … to subsidise an opportunity to tackle 'high' art in the Grand Manner, to have his work on permanent display to potential patrons on a billboard-sized site and to enhance his personal reputation by some high-profile charity work.[122]

Hogarth later arranged an opportunity for artists from St Martin's Lane Academy who frequented the Old Slaughter's Coffee House, to contribute to The Foundling Hospital, including Dance's tutor, Hayman.

London artists were not only competing for commissions of new works but also with provincial British artists and cheaper art purchased from the Continent. Pointon outlines how the portraitists in London were in competition with provincial British artists such as Gainsborough in Bath, and Joseph Wright of Derby, as well as other international and European artists.[123] In Italy in the 1760s, Batoni was painting full-length portraits for the Grand Tourists and only charging £25, while during the same period, Wright of Derby charged £52 10s; Gainsborough requested 60 guineas; and Allan Ramsay in Edinburgh charged £84. In comparison, similar works by Reynolds, who was at the top end of the London market, received £150. The

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[121] Hume, "The Value of Money in Eighteenth-Century England: Incomes, Prices, Buying Power-and Some Problems in Cultural Economics," p. 390.
[122] Wedd, Peltz, and Ross, *Artists' London Holbein to Hirst*, p. 40.
[123] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 200-01.

commission prices for British portraits appear reasonably high when considered in the context of the times. For instance, the cost for Wright to send his son to boarding school for six months was £5 14s 6d, and Gainsborough paid £50 per annum for his rented premises in Bath.

Despite the amounts paid to the more elite English artists, the market in London was challenging because of the competition from notable European artists like Batoni, and from imported collections. In 1772, Sir John Stanley's household accounts show that he paid £129 12s for a package of artworks imported from Italy. This purchase included '200 sculptures four copies from the Gallery Carach (Carracci), copies of Guercino's *Sybil* and of his *Magdalen*, two portraits "in taglio" of Sir J. Stanley, a small picture by Sterne and four shell cameos'.[124] There are several reasons that portraiture is one genre in which local artists could successfully compete. For instance, the proximity of the artist to the sitter, and their knowledge of local fashion and culture, and this was reflected in the prices paid to English painters. By the 1780s, Reynolds was charging £200 for full-length portraits, while Batoni, in Italy, still only charged £50. Importantly, while patrons paid small amounts for portraiture relative to their overall household expenses, pricing was still an important consideration in the decisions regarding choice of artist.[125]

Providing clients with a sense of value for money enabled some artists to stand out among their peers to attract clients away from the competition. On his return from Italy, Romney moved into premises in Cavendish Square, and like Reynolds, he adopted his own strategies to attract clients. In Kidson's words 'he offered the "experience" of having one's portrait painted' and he emphasised convenience, good value and informality. Instead of presenting his potential clients with books of engravings of his

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[124]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 199.
[125]Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 52.

works to peruse as Reynolds did, Romney filled his painting room with examples of his work, allowing sitters to easily select the pose and type of costume they preferred. Romney's prices were higher than average, though cleverly positioned lower than those of Reynolds and Gainsborough. He demanded half the payment up front and delivered strictly only after full payment.[126] Romney's full service package, including add-on features such as framing, offered his patron's sense of distinctiveness, increased as he refused to exhibit and paid little attention to engraving, proved a successful scheme ensuring new clients via the recommendations he received, further increasing his profitability.[127] As Kidson notes, Romney dealt with specific frame-makers with whom he had kick-back arrangements. Initially, Romney employed few assistants, which added to the impression of intimacy and privacy for his clients and gave his work added authenticity. This changed as he became more popular, and Romney had to take on pupils, assistants and copyists due to the volume of business. The element of authenticity was also important to Gainsborough, though of far less importance to Reynolds who employed drapery painters for most of his pictures, particularly at the height of his business in the 1750s and 1760s.[128]

Pricing was important in marketing and gaining business, even if the artist had a respected reputation. As discussed above, Romney carefully set his prices so as to be considered valued but not overpriced, and he collected half the payment before commencing work.[129]. Romney's concerns regarding competitive pricing were well-founded, as evidenced by an incident involving King George III commissioning Dance

[126]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 25-26.
[127]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 26.
[128]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 26.
[129]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p.200; Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 100-01. The practice of collecting half payments up front was cited by Henry Angelo incorrectly as Reynolds being the first English artist to use, This cannot be correct as Jean-André Rouquet recorded in 1755 that Godfrey Kneller, on his death in 1726, left 500 paintings unfinished for which half the fee had already been paid. Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, p. 33.

to produce portraits of himself and the Queen. The King received a request from the Russian Empress, Catherine the Great, for these portraits to be completed by Reynolds. However, Reynolds charged well over £100, so the King decided to give the commission to Dance because his prices were £50 for a full-length portrait. This anecdote made news at the time and was recorded in a poem by Peter Pindar:

> The true reason that induced His Majesty to sit to Mr Dance was laudable royal economy. Mr Dance charged fifty pounds for the picture; Sir Joshua Reynolds's price was somewhat more than a hundred, a very great difference in the market price of paint and canvas, and let me say, that justified the preference given to the man who worked cheapest.[130]

There were three factors in play here, the first being the King's frugality, second was that King George did not particularly like Reynolds, which according to Farington was common knowledge. In a note from Monday 4 July 1803, Farington referred to a discussion with Edridge in which it was reported that 'the King did not seem to think highly of Sir Joshua's works, – nor of West's portraits.'[131] Lastly, George III already owned several of Dance's works and simply preferred Dance's style of painting over that of Reynolds. What this does show is that regardless of reputation and general popularity, fair pricing was of critical importance for a successful business.

Dance was a highly reputable artist and an astute businessman, setting his prices to best position himself to obtain commissions. Ultimately, this strategy gained him royal patronage, further increasing his reputation and ability to charge higher prices.

Business and Marketing

Business success required a multifaceted approach which was appreciated by Dance who while honing his skills began developing his profile by establishing sociable

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[130]Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," p. 82.
[131]Farington et al., *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. VI, pp. 2072-73.

connections when he was in Rome. As pointed out by art historian Ilaria Bignamini, Grand Tourists in Italy not only forged lasting relationships with fellow travellers, but at the same time created connections and benefits for artists, tradesmen and markets in Italy.[132] By the mid-eighteenth-century, artists had to market themselves skilfully to attract clients. An artist's advertising medium was predominantly word of mouth from clients to their circle of friends and acquaintances, and as their reputation grew artists were careful to cultivate this marketing. When Romney moved premises to Golden Head in Great Newport Street, his new associations with Ozias Humphry, a miniature painter, the dramatist Richard Cumberland and Nathaniel Marchant, a gem-carver, provided him with introductions to a wider group of patrons and hence commissions introducing him to the Grenvilles, Romney's first aristocratic patrons.[133] As stated earlier, the Frenchman Rouquet, recognised a common form of persuasive marketing was for the patrons to be comfortable in the artist's studio. Providing an establishment in which the elite of society could socialise afforded some artists an additional benefit from association with powerful patrons.[134]

Reynolds took marketing to a higher level through the display of personal wealth and success, such as the purchase of a luxury carriage.[135] He had the sides of his carriage decorated with elaborate allegorical scenes, turning it into mobile advertisement that was far more effective than any sign outside an artisan's shop. By using an aristocratic model of visual symbols of affluence and position, Reynolds elevated both his own social position and the status of the artist in society. He directly associated himself with the higher social classes, and publicised the superior forms of

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[132] Andrew Wilton, Ilaria Bignamini, and Tate Gallery., *Grand tour : the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century* (London: Tate Gallery Publishing, 1996), pp. 31-33.
[133]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 16-17.
[134]Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, pp. 38-39; Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, p. 103.
[135]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 105-06.

art he felt an educated society should appreciate.[136] Information on Dance shows him to be far less extravagant and he did not appear to indulge in this type of grand gesture which was part of Reynolds' personality. Yet his more subdued approach of gaining respect and friendships with his clients was very successful. Both Reynolds and Dance would have used their studios as a marketing opportunity. As portrait sittings were used as a social occasion for the friends and family of the sitter, Reynolds's books of engravings acted as sample books for advertising his work to potential clients.[137] The cultivation of contacts and marketing were some of the tactics used to increase the number of aristocratic patrons who visited an artist's establishment, which was a primary concern in this aggressive London marketplace.

For artists to set up their own studios and earn a living, they first had to obtain clients. Developing a network of contacts through which the artist could be introduced to potential clients was essential to establishing a successful business. The Dance brothers understood the importance of making connections, and became known to some of the greatest families in Rome; as noted in a letter dated 20 July 1758 by the draughtsman and water-colourist Jonathan Skelton, the Dance brothers were known to 'Lord Brudenell and all the English cavaliers'.[138] Letters were sent from Rome by Nathaniel and George to their family providing information about their work and some of the influential patrons with whom they had made contact. In December 1760, Nathaniel wrote of tiring of working on a conversation piece portraying a group of English travellers, of which he had to produce four copies, one for each of the gentlemen depicted.[139] In this same letter he noted that he had been recommended to the Duke of Marlborough and others by a good friend, Mr Crispin or Crespigny, an

[136]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 105-06.
[137] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 41.
[138]Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 62.
[139]Letters noted in Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 66; Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr." (This is most likely to be the conversation piece mentioned above, commissioned by James Grant of Grant.)

influential resident of Rome.[140] These and other contacts made life easier when Dance returned to London because he already had a reputation in the section of society from which he would draw his clientele.

Artists had to walk a fine line with their patrons, catering to their whims and not overstepping the boundaries of exploiting them for their contacts and influence. Dance was adept in the manipulation of patrons. In a letter to his mother in May 1761, he discusses his work on a portrait of Miss Tabitha Mendez:

> … which I believe will be of service to me. She is a young lady about four feet and a half high, and in every respect, with regard to person, one of the ugliest figures I ever saw. But the qualifications of her mind are as amiable as her person is disagreeable … I was so lucky to be much in her esteem, she has promised me all the service in her power when I return to England …[141]

Unfortunately, assessing the accuracy of either of these judgements of Miss Mendez is difficult, as the whereabouts of the painting is not known and for her personality we are reliant on descriptions of others. Miss Mendez clearly created strong reactions from polite, or not-so-polite society. Dance appears to have taken the time to speak with her and considered her amiable. All comments centre on her looks and limited height, while this is a discussion of a single person, it suggests that appearance was very important to how people/women were received by society. Compare, for instance, James Adam's view of Miss Mendez, 'a disagreeable thing and so ugly and ill dressed and looks so like a Jewess that I shun any place she goes to for fear of being obliged to speak to her' with that of Daniel Crespin's description of Kauffman, 'we

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[140] Crispin or Crespigny is probably Daniel Crespin as referred to in Angelica Goodden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon* (London, UK: Vintage Publishing, 2006).
[141] Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 66; Dance, "Letters to Dance Family." James Adam, on the other hand, wrote that she was 'a disagreeable thing and so ugly and ill dressed and looks so like a Jewess that I shun any place she goes to for fear of being obliged to speak to her'. Miss Mendes was also painted by Thomas Patch with the Duke of Roxburghe, *Walpole Society*, Vol. XXVIII, 1939-40, p.33. Roxburghe briefly courted Miss Mendes(z) before deciding she was too ugly to marry. In his letter to his mother Dance states that she is influential and has a fortune of £10000.00.

have a little German paintress lately come from Florence, where she acquired great fame and whose pencil, they say, would merit no less patronage then her person, her voice, her manner and her sense are sure to please'[142] Mendez is treated solely on her appearance, Kauffman, who from her portraits was pleasant looking, has a list of sociable ideals checked off against her. Personal opinions as to the clients appearance were clearly of less importance to Dance than the offer of assistance in getting established in the London market. However, the relationship between artist and patron was tenuous and strongly relied on the interests of both parties to work successfully.

Regardless of how talented an artist was, without an acute business sense surviving in the London art community was not possible. Artists required knowledge of business to organise their pricing, advertising, accounting, and marketing and to negotiate the intricacies of class protocol. Reynolds was extremely aware of the importance of running his studio as a business. He set his career goals very early with the ambition to be the best artist by 30 years of age and to have achieved success, fame and fortune, and he ran his life and business with this purpose.[143] An early noting of Reynolds' prices was in 1744, where he received £7 for two portraits of Mrs Kendall and by 1758 he was charging 20 guineas for a head and having six sittings per day, with a waiting list of clients.[144] To service this number of commissions he employed several drapery painters, particularly as his workload continued to increase, and by 1761 Reynolds was seeing seven sitters in as many hours. This frenetic pace paid off, because once he had established his reputation and his wealth, he felt secure enough to increase his prices in order to have the time to choose his preferred subjects and assert his artistic

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[142] Goodden, *Miss Angel: The Art and World of Angelica Kauffman, Eighteenth-Century Icon*, Chapter 2, p.1; F. J. B. Watson, "Thomas Patch (1725-1782) Notes on his life, together with a catalogue of his known works," *The Walpole Society* 28(1939-40): p. 33.

[143]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, p. 95.

[144] James Northcote, *The Life of Sir Joshua Reynolds ...: Comprising Original Anecdotes of Many Distinguished Persons, His Contemporaries; & a Brief Analysis of His Discourses, Volume 1* (London: Henry Colburn, 1819), pp. 82-83; Mannings, "Notes on Some Eighteenth-Century Portrait Prices," p. 190.

freedom.[145] Without locating Dance's business records, his practices cannot be established. However, he kept meticulous household records, some of which are housed at the National Archive, and it is reasonable to assume he was as fastidious when it came to his business records.[146] That Dance had a very successful career, and the evidence from what is known of his early work practices, suggest that Dance conducted his career astutely, in order to increase his opportunities for commissions and therefore achieving prestige and financial security.[147]

We do not seem to see Dance associated with scandals of any sort, but it clearly became part of a strategy for some artists. Social perceptions of the client could sometimes impact adversely on the artist and a valuable source of marketing could go awry. Portraitists were in the unenviable position of being dependent on the social status of their patrons, at the same time as risking their own reputations because of the association. A portrait artist could build a career and reputation based on status of their patrons, however, profiting from the celebrity of their patrons could have a downside.[148] If a patron should severely damage their personal reputation or have their circumstances change significantly, the resulting notoriety could also impact the artists who painted them. Pointon notes how the confidence of artists differed when faced with potential adverse publicity: Reynolds's reputation was substantial enough for him to rise above the scandal caused by the Duc d'Orleans's disgrace involving the King of France. When anti-Catholic riots broke out in 1780, Romney did not have the same sense of security regarding his reputation. He frantically searched through his canvases for any that could be interpreted as having Roman Catholic elements 'and hurried it away into hiding lest the Protestants should burn down the house'.[149] Romney's concerns were not

[145]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, p. 95.
[146] Nathaniel Dance-Holland, "Personal Accounts," in *Brudenell - Dance Family Records* (Northampton, UK: National Archive UK, 1790-1811).
[147]Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 14.
[148] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, p. 49.
[149] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 49-50.

specifically regarding links to a political party, but his actions in dissociating himself provide an indication that changes in the status of patrons could have a significant impact on the artist.

Disputes between the artist and the patron were common and there was no such thing as a formal contract for the painting of a portrait. With no legal contracts between the painter and commissioner, when disputes arose the portrait artist's only recourse was to refer to information recorded in their sitters books. Patrons were the usual winners in such disputes, as they had both the power from their social status and the money.[150] However, this was not always the case, as — depending on the social status of the artist and the client — the artist occasionally exerted control. In one case, Dance chose to sell a portrait of *David Garrick as Richard III* (Figure 11) to Sir Watkin Williams Wynn instead of to Garrick, who had already agreed to buy it. Dance reneged and sold the work for between 50 to 100 guineas more than the original price of 100 guineas.[151] When there was an opportunity to increase their profits many artists would take advantage of the situation. Wendorf notes Reynolds's tactic in manipulating the market by retaining works in his studio to enhance demand within the market.[152]

However, many of the works held in studios were there due to disagreements between artists and patrons. The wealthy, particularly royalty, were notoriously poor at paying for completed works. Farington recorded a discussion he had with Benjamin West, Charles Long and John Hoppner regarding the financial position of several artists employed by the Royal Family: '[William] Beechy is much employed by the Royal Family but not paid — has indeed recd. £60 from the Princesses. The King is shy when money is touched upon'.[153] West continued, saying that he earned £1000 per year from

[150]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 200-01.
[151]Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)," pp. 82-83.
[152]Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, pp. 100-03.
[153]Farington et al., *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, Vol. III, p. 934.

the King but his costs were £1600 and at that time the King owed him £15000. Hoppner stated that he had never earned more than £800 per year and even an artist with a reputation like Romney had difficulty making ends meet at times. By 1797 Romney's sitters' books show considerable amounts owed, such as £132 7s 5d to Griffiths, (probably his colour man), he also regularly borrowed money from his assistant Richard Williams.[154]

Figure 11 Nathaniel Dance, *David Garrick as Richard III*, 1771. Oil on canvas, 236 cm x 144 cm (estimated), Stratford-upon-Avon Town Hall.

Business success was also dependent on having a presence in the community. Romney, for example, after his tour of Italy (1772-75) found difficulty in re-entering his business in London, as he had to re-establish his network of patrons. He had faded from the public view and moved from London, returning to his home town of Kendal to earn enough funds to tackle the London market afresh.[155] Likewise, Stuart struggled to

[154]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 195.
[155]Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, pp. 16-17.

establish a following until his career was assisted by a commission to paint two celebrated men from the Quaker medical community.[156] Starting from an established base with a family of some repute, Dance began building his public presence as an artist while in Italy and continued in London. Many of Dance's contemporaries did not have a family with Dance's social standing, including Reynolds, who was the son of a parson and teacher, Romney, the son of a country furniture maker, and Opie, the son of a Cornish carpenter. For these artists, the protocols and correct behaviour of sociability had to be learned. Not all artists were as adept at dealing with class protocols as Dance and Reynolds. Reynolds had actively trained himself in the ways of the upper classes from a young age.[157] Others, like Opie, never quite managed to overcome the ties of the past, and his social position did not greatly improve.[158] The artist often had to take a more polite, political or flattering view of their patron to secure future business and contacts. As illustrated in the previous-mentioned anecdote regarding Miss Mendez, for artists to take advantage of opportunities to improve their business, even unpleasant, influential clients had to be cultivated.

Providing a product that suited the tastes and fashions of sociable society, and building on his established networks were key in Dance's success. He was commercially astute and sufficiently flexible in his style of work to comply with market forces. Nathaniel Dance negotiated the complexities of building a business in London, and successfully established his practice while continuing to build his reputation among both peers and clients. With a base already in the institutionalised class, Dance was prosperous because of his talent, business acumen, and understanding of social behaviours which led him to select the best position for his studio; adopt competitive pricing; incorporate trends and fashions of style; and foster an effective network of

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[156]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 191.
[157] Wendorf, *Sir Joshua Reynolds: The Painter in Society*, p. 3.
[158]Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 190-92.

clients to sustain his work until his retirement. Dance understood the sociable requirements of his most important market sector, portraiture. He balanced the web of talent, sociability and business acumen, the practices and technical aspects of the artist, which all played an equally important role in the success or failure of the artist's studio enterprise.

Chapter Two – The Practice of Duplication: Authenticity and Originality

> An Original is the Eccho of the Voice of Nature, a Coppy is the Eccho of that Eccho.[159]

> Every achievement in science or the arts 'either repeats or refutes what someone else has done,' wrote Valéry, ' – refines or amplifies or simplifies it, or else rebuts, overturns, destroys, and denies it, but thereby assumes it and has invisibly used it.'[160]

> No nation or individual can ever be purely original: 'since each has received material transmitted by earlier generations', creative activity is never 'purely innovative but rather modifies the heritage', Wilhelm von Humboldt observed.[161]

While a vast array of factors contributed to artistic success and survival for artists in eighteenth-century Britain, a work did not need to be 'unique'. Value was placed on the information a portrait conveyed rather than any claims to originality. The information communicated in motifs and ideas, often borrowed from earlier works, enabled the portrait to act as a social asset. The creation of multiple versions of many portraits, sometimes by the same artist, reinforced social connections, and increased the potential market for the artist. The duplication of works and the borrowing of ideas were common and acceptable practices. Dance produced a number of copy portraits which were distributed among the people depicted or hanging in multiple venues, serving to promote the artist amongst the sitters' peers at the same time as promoting the sitter within their sociable networks. This chapter details Dance's use of multiple copies and addresses the views of authenticity and originality.

The commonplace practice of producing duplicate portraits implies that originality was not as highly prized as it was for later generations, and the practice of

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[159] Richardson, *Two Discourses*, p. 177.
[160] David Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country* (Cambridge Cambridgeshire ; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 70. Lowenthal quotes Paul Valéry's *Letter About Mallarmé*, 8: 241.
[161] Lowenthal, *The past is a foreign country*, p. 70. Lowenthal quotes Wilhelm von Humbolt, *Linguistic Variability & Intellectual Development* (1836), p. 28.

duplicating portraits has tended to be relegated to footnotes in scholarly discourse.[162] Among his contemporaries, Dance's production of multiple works of the same portrait formed a surprisingly substantial portion of his output and deserves closer scrutiny. The duplicated works by Dance considered in this chapter were all autograph works by Dance's own hand, not by other artists or engravers.[163] These works are more than simply reproductions, they served specific purposes of their own as I argue below.

To explore Dance's practices of creating duplicates, this chapter will use as examples several of Dance's works, including four conversations pieces that are near identical. Close examination of these works will enable consideration of possible reasons why there are so many duplicate works, and include these portraits' potential purpose in sociable society. Differentiation is made between different types of duplication, including the place of copying, replicating and borrowing of motifs and painting formats. All these duplication issues impact on the concepts of 'originality' and 'authenticity'. Notions of the definition of originality and authenticity have changed in the past 200 years, these terms are also defined in the section below. In discussing the changing concepts of originality and authenticity, I begin with nineteenth century ideas introduced by Robert Carlyle, as these have influenced the perceptions of definitions enduring into the present day. The discussion will then move back into the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to explain how twenty-first century judgements of duplicated works varies from the past and incorrectly devalues the work and the artists.

[162] For further reading that mentions the duplication of portraits see: Diana. Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. H. C. G. Matthew, Brian Harrison, and edited by Lawrence Goldman Online ed., May 2009 (Oxford: OUP: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2004); Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)."; Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s."; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*.

[163] It cannot be definitively stated that *all* versions of duplicated works of Dance's portfolio are by his hand, as Dance often did not sign his works. Stylistically, the majority of Dance's duplicated works appear to be by the same hand. Of the works discussed in this chapter, there are no extant copies attributed to anyone other than Dance.

Before entering my major discussion on the duplications of Dance's portraits, it is important to note the popularity of collecting engravings of portraits of notable people during the eighteenth-century. Many artists and their patrons had their portraits engraved and then reproduced for sale by print sellers. These works were part of the fashion for the collection of print portraits, which blossomed in the second half of the century. Peltz and Pointon note that Horace Walpole was an avid collector of engraved portraits of eminent people. He wrote the forward to Reverend James Granger's *Biographical History of England* (1769), which fuelled the craze for collecting and the development of 'extra-illustrating' books. What became known as 'Grangerising', extra-illustrating entailed inserting additional images or text into books and then eventually rebinding the combined pages.[164] These prints are a form of portrait duplication and indicate portraiture's popularity during this period. Though many of Dance's portraits, particularly of professional and military men, were engraved and printed, this thesis, limits the discussion to portraits produced in oil paint.[165]

Concepts of Authenticity and Originality

The concepts of 'originality' and 'authenticity' are contingent on the historical understanding in a given time. Eighteenth-century definitions vary from those of the nineteenth century and beyond. It is important when analysing duplicate portraits to consider these ideas from the perspective of the eighteenth-century. This also incorporates understanding why these concepts of originality and authenticity changed

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[164] Lucy Peltz, *Facing the text : extra-illustration, print culture, and society in Britain, 1769-1840* (San Marino, California: Huntington Library, Art Collections, and Botanical Gardens, 2017), pp. 51-58; Marcia R. Pointon, *Hanging the head : portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1993), pp. 53-58. The full title of Granger's work is *Biographical History of England, from Egbert the Great to the Revolution, consisting of Characters dispersed in different Classes, and adapted to a Methodical Catalogue of Engraved British Heads. Intended as an Essay towards reducing our Biography to System, and a help to the knowledge of Portraits; with a variety of Anecdotes and Memoirs of a great number of persons not to be found in any other Biographical Work. With a preface, showing the utility of a collection of Engraved Portraits to supply the defect, and answer the various purposes of Medals*, 2 vols. London. 1769

[165] To view prints made of a selection of Dance's portraits see the British Museum collection and those of the British National Portrait Gallery.

in the nineteenth century, and the impact change had on the interpretation and value assigned to past works. Concepts of authenticity and originality are interwoven, though here I have, for the most part, treated them separately to highlight the changing emphasis attributed to each over time.

The founding of the National Portrait Gallery in London in 1856 was a definitive moment for establishing the importance of originality and authenticity in portraiture. The guidelines for the Gallery's operation were drafted by Thomas Carlyle, along with the Earl of Stanhope, and it is in these guidelines that a new view of authenticity was established. Carlyle's definition of an 'authentic' portrait set the standard by which many future galleries would define their methods of collection.[166] His concept changed the meaning from earlier definitions that equated authenticity with having the authority of 'original', as seen in dictionaries such as Robert Cawdrey's 1604 collection, *A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Usual English Words* or the 1741 *New Dictionary of All Such English Words*.[167] These dictionaries define an original as 'such as it was at the beginning', which equates to a portrait being a good likeness of the subject.[168] Instead, Carlyle moved the focus from the physical likeness to the artist capturing the nature of the sitter first hand, while in their presence. As long as both

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[166] Elisabeth Findlay, "The Authentic Portrait Reconsidered," in *Art & authenticity*, ed. Jan Lloyd Jones and Julian Lamb (North Melbourne, Vic.: Australian Scholarly Publishing, 2010), p. 35; Marcia Pointon, Portrayal and the Search for Identity (Electronic Book), (London: Reakton Books Ltd, 2013). p. 28; Paul Barlow, "Facing the past and present: the National Portrait Gallery and the search for 'authentic' portraiture," in *Portraiture : facing the subject*, ed. Joanna Woodall (Manchester ; New York: Manchester University Press, 1997), p. 219. The influence included not just British galleries but many international institutions, including the National Portrait Gallery of Australia.

[167] Robert Cawdrey and Oxford English Dictionary., *The First English Dictionary, 1604: Robert Cawdrey's A Table Alphabeticall of Hard Usual English Words* (Oxford: Bodleian Library, 2007), pp. 11, 51; B N (Benjamin Norton). Defoe, A New Dictionary of All Such English Words (with their Explanation) As are generally made Use of, in Speaking or Writing the English Language with Accuracy and Politeness. By James Manlove, Philomath, (London1741), http://find.galegroup.com.rp.nla.gov.au/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nla&tabID=T001&docId=CW3312746234&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

[168] Cawdrey and Oxford English Dictionary., *Cawdrey's A Table Alphabetical*

artist and sitter were together for the making of the portrait then it was authentic. Any copies made away from the sitting lost this authenticity, power and value.

The authentic portrait as defined by Carlyle became accepted in the Western art world, and dictionary definitions were adjusted accordingly. The *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) (2015) definition became:

> authentic as genuine, not feigned or false and when relating to artworks: as having the stated or reputed origin, provenance, or creator; not a fake or forgery; or as presenting the characteristics of the original; accurately reproducing a model or prototype; made or done in the original or traditional way; or that truly reflects one's inner feelings; not affected or unfeigned.[169]

The definition of 'original' was extended from 'being the first or origin' to encompass:

> created, composed, or done by a person directly; produced first-hand; not imitated or copied from another; or the object or person represented by a picture or other image; a picture or other work of art in its relation to a copy of it; or that which is not copied from something else; an original work; or a writing, picture, or other work produced first-hand by the author or maker; a work of literature or art that is not a copy or imitation; an original portrait.[170]

Barlow, in *Facing the Past and Present*, points out that Carlyle was not concerned with who the artist was, only that they were competent enough to produce an 'authentic' portrait. An authentic portrait was to stand as an historic document, a primary visual source to provide information about the sitter. In Carlyle's opinion, an authentic portrait captures the inner essence of the sitter and therefore must be completed by the artist from life.[171] More to the point, the artist and the sitter must have

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[169] Oxford English Dictionary, authentic, adj. and n., (Oxford University Press), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/13314?rskey=aZJn60&result=1.
[170] Oxford English Dictionary, original, adj. and n., (Oxford University Press), http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/132564?redirectedFrom=Original.
[171] Barlow, "Facing the past and present: the National Portrait Gallery and the search for 'authentic' portraiture," pp. 220-21; Philip H Highfill, Kalman A Burnim, and Edward A Langhans, *Garrick to Gyngell*, 16 vols., vol. 6, Biographical Dictionary of Actors (Carbondale, Chicago IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1978), p. 524.

looked into each other's eyes, for if the sitter has been portrayed 'authentically', 'Carlyle believed that portraiture could be a means to link the past and present'.[172] Carlyle's assertions regarding the portrait revealing the authentic sitter cannot be easily reconciled with eighteenth-century ideas and portrait practices.

There is evidence that the concepts of originality and authenticity did not carry the same values in Dance's time.[173] Simple demonstrations of less concern over originality and authenticity include Northcote repainting the drapery in a painting by Copley for Mr. Pybus, and Reynolds employing specialist drapery painters.[174] While not addressing how much of a painting's content needs to be completed by the primary artist for a work to be considered 'authentic', Joselyn Hackforth-Jones's essay *'Authentic' Identities: Cross-cultural Portrayals in the Late Eighteenth-century* provides a more extensive study of the 'authenticity' of works completed by more than a single artist using Reynolds's *Portrait of Omai* as an example. Hackforth-Jones notes that '[t]he face and the upper part of Mai's body are fluently painted, suggesting that Reynolds had painted these himself, leaving the lower part of the body and drapery (both of which are less proficiently painted) to one of his assistants'.[175] This example is only one of many, and shows that the involvement of multiple artists in the creation of works was not an uncommon practice during the eighteenth-century. The practice of using assistants, allowed popular artists to increase the number of works underway,

[172] Barlow, "Facing the past and present: the National Portrait Gallery and the search for 'authentic' portraiture," pp. 220-21.
[173] Gary Alan Fine, *Everyday genius : self-taught art and the culture of authenticity* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 63-65. Fine argues that the agencies that govern judgement of authenticity in art have the power to influence prices by limiting the number of 'authenticated' works by artist/masters of the past. Financial benefits can be manipulated through the attributions of terms such as 'school of', 'style of' or 'after'. Fine also suggests that attributing single authorship when painters have other specialists contributing to the completion of a work of art, or how much restoration makes the authenticity of a work questionable.
[174] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 201.
[175] Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones, "'Authentic' Identities: Cross-cultural portrayals in the Late Eighteenth Century," in *Art and authenticity*, ed. Megan Brewster Aldrich and Jocelyn Hackforth-Jones (Farnham; Burlington, Vt.; London; New York: Lund Humphries; Sotheby's Institute of Art, 2012), p. 151.

increasing their clientele and earning potential; more clients created a more sound and profitable business.

In the eighteenth-century it was common to have copies made of their paintings, and many painters employed professional copyists or had their assistants duplicate their works.[176] However, there is no evidence that Dance paid copyists. From his letters it is certain that early in his career he painted his copies himself. In the case of the four conversation pieces, Dance's primary motive was to gain introduction to potential clients. In his letter to his father in December 1760, he plainly states:

> I have not yet quite freed myself from the disagreeable task of copying the Conversation Picture, tho' I shall not acquire any great improvement from it or be paid much for my trouble yet I cou'd not refuse doing it, as it was the means of making me acquainted with my LORD GREY [George Henry, 5th Earl of Stamford] and the other Gentlemen who have given me Commissions for Pictures besides … I am convinc'd these gentlemen will do me all the service that lyes in their power; I hear already that Mr Robinson has recommended me to the DUKE of MARLBOROUGH, and other gentlemen who are coming to ROME, & he has me very much at heart …[177]

Financial income is only one reason an artist would take a commission to produce duplications of works, but as seen from this text, copies could help to develop a network of clients and provide introductions to new potential clients.

The widespread practice of copying does not mean that authenticity was not a concern for eighteenth-century artists and collectors. For instance, by the middle of the century, Reynolds, employed many assistants and other subcontractors to aid the completion of his high volume of paintings, while other artists such as Romney sold his patrons an experience incorporating value and authenticity.[178] Romney did not use pupils, copyists or studio assistants until his business became so large that it was

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[176] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 192.
[177] Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr," p. 93; Richard Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art : from the seventeenth through the nineteenth century* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1986).
[178] Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 26.

essential to adopt the ‘studio’ model. Like Romney, Gainsborough, too, completed the majority of his work alone, as he considered authenticity to be of great importance.[179] For Romney and Gainsborough, authenticity was associated with works completed by a single artist. Clearly, for some in the eighteenth-century, how a painting was completed was significant, while for others the works were not purchased as ‘unique works of art’, but as a commodity to suit a purpose, fashion or trend in society, with less emphasis on who actually did the work.[180]

The practices of having many hands involved in the creation of a portrait and creating multiple versions of works were already known in Britain before the eighteenth-century. Many earlier artists’ practices can be viewed as setting the standards for what constituted an original, authentic work of art in the eighteenth-century. The seventeenth-century Dutch artist Peter Lely (1618-80) found a niche in Britain painting portraits. As a court painter, Lely’s reputation and practice grew to the point where he had to adapt his methods of working and employ a large staff of assistants. Many of Lely’s records survive, and his studio practices show portraits completed by more than a single artist’s hand were integral to his production process. Without these assistants, Lely could not keep up with demand for his work.

In her biography of Lely for the *Oxford National Dictionary of Biography*, Diana Dethloff outlines the many individual specialist artists employed by Lely, including John Baptist Gaspar for postures and draperies, and Prosper Henry Lankrink who painted backgrounds, flowers and ornaments.[181] Dethloff notes that Lely continued a practice that was common since the early guild system, with the master completing the face and hands, while much of the rest was the task of apprentices and others. For Lely to keep up with commissions, Dethloff notes, ‘[a] great many works were copied in the

[179] Kidson et al., *George Romney, 1734-1802*, p. 26.
[180] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 201.
[181] Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)."

studio by assistants, mostly to supply the demand for images of royal patrons and court beauties'.[182] This volume of court portraiture was later encountered by Allan Ramsay in the court of George III, roughly a century later.

Among Lely's court paintings were many portraits of which there were multiple copies produced. Dethloff describes Lely's process of creating his near-identical copies:

> Lely seems to have used a particular copying device which involved a piece of white or black muslin being placed over the picture to be copied, which was then screwed onto the copying frame. The image was traced onto the muslin with chalk and the image transferred by placing the muslin over a fresh piece of canvas and patting the tracing with a clean handkerchief.[183]

This is a quick and relatively easy method of producing an outline for a copy and established a method to produce duplicate images. While Dethloff does suggest that some of Lely's clients would have preferred that he complete the entire painting, there would appear to be an acceptance that multiple artists may be involved in the production of an 'original' art work.

By the middle of the 1700s, this tracing method was well known. Dance appears to have used similar tracing techniques for duplicating paintings, as seen in a pen and ink drawing titled *The Levée* (Figure 12) which has blacking covering the back of the work; the curators of the Royal Collection Trust in London suggest this was to enable transference of the image.[184] The use of various techniques and apparatus to assist with production of multiple copies of works, and of having several artists work on individual painting, was addressed by eighteenth-century theorists, and considered to be

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[182] Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)."
[183] Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)."
[184] *George Romney, 1734-1802* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press).

acceptable practices. Their interpretations show that definitions of what was considered 'authentic' and 'original' had more flexibility than in later periods.[185]

Figure 12 Nathaniel Dance, *The Levée*, Date unknown. Pen and ink with brown and grey washes over pencil, 26 cm x 22 cm, Royal Collection Trust (© Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II 2015).

In addition to the portrait practices, the writings of key artists reveal a less dogmatic approach to the issue of authenticity than Carlyle's pronouncements. These issues were addressed by two of the most influential authors, Jonathan Richardson and Reynolds, in their discussions of authenticity and originality. These reflections demonstrate that artists were concerned with how these types of artistic practices were perceived.[186] Incorporated into the judgement of the authenticity and originality of an art work were issues such as: there being more than a single artist involved in the work's

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[185] See works of : William Hazlitt, *The complete works of William Hazlitt*, ed. P. P. Howe, 21 vols., vol. 12 (London and Toronto,: J M Dent and Sons, 1930); Reynolds, *Discourses on art*; Richardson, *Two Discourses*; Jonathan Richardson, *Works consisting of I. The theory of painting; II. Essay on the art of criticism so far as it relates to painting; III. The science of a connoisseur*, Anglistica & Americana ; 37. (Hildesheim: Olms, 1969).
[186] Reynolds and Rogers, *Discourses*; Richardson, *Works*.

completion; the minimum requirement for originality; and the borrowing of styles and ideas from past and contemporary artists.

When considered in conjunction with the practices of Lely, Richardson's works can be viewed as an expansion and reiteration of existing art practices. In the "Art of Painting", first published in 1719, Richardson states that, particularly in history painting and portraiture, artists would have to master a broad range of genres, so '… in these cases are allowed the assistance of other hands, the inferior subjects are in comparison of their figures as the figures in a landscape, there is no great exactness required, or pretended to'.[187] This suggests that Richardson viewed Lely's works as original and authentic, as he painted the key components — the face and hands — for a satisfactory likeness. As seen in the painting of Omai, this type of practice was continued by Reynolds.

In discussing the topic of discerning whether a picture is an original or a copy, and by which artist, Richardson suggests asking a series of questions:

> I. In those very terms. [i.e. Is it original or a copy?]
>
> II. Is this of such a Hand, or after him?
>
> III. Is such a Work, seen to be of such as Master, Originally of Him, or a Coppy [sic] after some Other?
>
> Lastly, Is it done by This Master from Life, or Invention? Or Coppy'd [sic] after some Other Picture of his Own?[188]

If considered in relation to Dance's works, Richardson's questions are relevant as Dance often did not date or sign his works, so discerning authorship relies on stylistic examination. For most works, Richardson's first two questions are straightforward and need little discussion. Is this work original or a copy? and is it by artist X or after them?

[187] Richardson, *Works*, p. 21.
[188] Richardson, *Two Discourses*, pp. 179-81.

More interesting are the final two queries: can this painting be attributed to a particular artist or is it a copy?; and is the work painted from life or imagination? Richardson's queries are posed to assist in attribution. These questions were not designed to directly address issues of intentional fraud or of appropriating and borrowing ideas from another artist, but to assign authorship.

Richardson views on originality include that assistants completing less important components of a works as acceptable, as long as they contribute to the common visual language. When considering ideas of invention, appropriation and borrowing in relation to originality, Richardson's lack of concern is consistent with his argument that it is wrong for a good idea to be the sole property of the artist who first created it.[189] The concept of borrowing was normal practice, reinforced in Robin Simon's discussion of poses, where he argues that many common portrait poses were first developed in the sixteenth century.[190]

Portraiture was often considered to be merely copying from nature, making verisimilitude an integral component. However, for Richardson, the portrait could include elements of flattery or caricature; it did not need to be an 'exact' likeness, which he viewed as near impossible, as long as the sitter was recognisable.[191] The inventiveness of the portrait for Richardson came from the 'choice of the air and

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[189] Richardson, Works, p. 47. Richardson's final question regarding whether a painting is taken from life or imagination becomes more important during the nineteenth century with Carlyle's definitions of 'authentic' portraiture. In portraiture, or perhaps more importantly portraiture for institutional galleries, Carlyle's authentic portraits must be copied from nature and not be productions of the artist's imagination. Carlyle contended that without direct contact the artist cannot capture the 'inner spirit' of the sitter, therefore, copies were inferior and not true portraits.

[190] Robin Simon, *The Portrait in Britain and America* (Oxford: Phaidon Press Limited, 1987), p. 56. Simon states, 'the poses developed in these portraits were the product of a new and intense fascination with the effective articulation of the human body, in response to an increased demand for purely secular portraits.'

[191] Richardson, *Works*, pp. 46-47.

attitude, the drapery and ornaments, with respect to the character of the person'.[192] While the painter was expected to deal with the 'real' character of the sitter, Richardson considered it was best to present them as appearing 'pleased and in good humour.'193 He uses the words of the poet John Milton to reinforce his point: 'If a devil were to have his portrait made, he must be drawn as abstracted from his own evil, and stupidly good.'[194]

Richardson's views on the topic of borrowing from other artists are far less rigid than those of today's society. He states, 'Nor need any man be ashamed to be sometimes a plagiary, it is what the greatest painters and poets have allowed themselves in'.195 He goes on to cite examples and continues:

> And indeed it is hard that a man's having had a good thought should give him a patent for it for ever. The painter that can take a hint, or insert a figure, or groups of figures from another man, and mix these with his own, so as to make a good composition, will thereby establish such a reputation to himself, as to be above fearing to suffer by the share those to whom he is beholden will have in it.[196]

Richardson promoted the same approach as present-day authors, that painters do not create their works in isolation from the world and other art also motivates them. Artists' draw on these influences and create their own interpretations. Many of Richardson's theories began in the practices of the past and were continued and reinforced by future theorists such as Reynolds.

In his *Discourses*, Sir Joshua Reynolds covers many subjects pertaining to the development of the artist from student to accomplished professional. In his second discourse, Reynolds contends that there are three distinct phases of becoming an artist. In the first phase, the student learns the technical aspects of becoming an artist, that is,

[192] Richardson, *Works*, p. 43.
[193] Richardson, *Works*, pp. 99-100.
[194] Richardson, *Works*, p. 100.
[195] Richardson, *Works*, p. 47.
[196] Richardson, *Works*, p. 47.

learning to draw, the use of colour and arranging the composition; Reynolds calls these skills the 'Language of the Art'. The second phase is for the student to 'learn all that has been known and done before his own time'.[197] This period entails copying from a broad range of 'the Masters of Art'. The third and final phase is for the student to move beyond reproducing and imitating the works of the masters and teachers to produce works of his own. As such, Reynolds believed copying great works of art to be a major step for an artist to develop the skills needed to create their own individual master works. [198]

Reynolds devoted his sixth discourse to the discussion of imitation, which he confined in his dialogue to 'the following of other masters, and the advantages to be drawn from the study of their works'.[199] For Reynolds, imitating the works of masters enabled talent to emerge and he argued that true genius comes from study and practice and is not a divine gift from birth.[200] Reynolds's view, was not uncontentious with earlier authors such as Joseph Addison (1672 – 1719) and later critics including William Hazlitt (1778 – 1830), had differing views to Reynolds.[201] Addison, in an essay on genius for *The Spectator*, wrote of '… great natural geniuses that were never disciplined and broken by rules of art …',[202] and Hazlitt considered the repetition of training as suggested by Reynolds was mechanical and rendered 'genius, taste and feeling … stationary, or retrograde'.[203] 'Borrowing' ideas and techniques from respected artists was part of the process of gaining experience. Reynolds's ideas on originality were complementary with earlier views published in the essay, "Of Originals and Copies" by

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197 Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, p. 89.
198 Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, p. 89.
199 Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, p. 89.
200 Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, Discourse VI, pp.151-73.
201 Reynolds, *Discourses on art*, pp. 52-53, Notes Discourse VI, pp. 380-81.
202 Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, ed. George Atherton Aitken, 8 vols., vol. 2 (London: John C. Nimmo, 1898), No. 160, p.376.
203 William Hazlitt, *Why the Arts are not Progressive? - A Fragment [in, The Fight and Other Writings: Edited by Tom Paulin and David Chandler with an Introduction by Tom Paulin] (Penguin Classics)*, Literature Online (London: Penguin, 2005), pp. 202-03.

Jonathan Richardson as part of his *Theory of Painting*. Richardson stated that if the 'copy' exceeds the quality of the original, than it is no longer a 'copy' but an original work.[204]

The *Theory of Painting* was written by Richardson in 1719, pre-dating Reynolds's discourses by more than five decades and many of Richardson's ideas were echoed in Reynolds's teachings. Reynolds provides a continuity of thinking on issues such as originality, copying, recognisable likeness and imitation in the arts. Unlike later theorists, both men believed that the artist's role was to improve on nature. Richardson wrote:

> Common nature is no more fit for a picture than plain narration is for a poem. A painter must raise his ideas beyond what he sees, and form a model of perfection in his own mind which is not to be found in reality; but yet such a one as is probable and rational.[205]

Richardson and Reynolds thought there were degrees of originality, and that a painting could have parts borrowed from other artists and original components, making it an original work. Richardson believed that an artist should use whatever gave them inspiration, and that to build on the ideas of another was common sense.[206] However, fraud, passing off work as being *by* another artist was still not acceptable. While there are some differences between the ideas of Richardson and Reynolds regarding borrowing and originality and those of the present day, there are also many elements that are common.

Eighteenth-century Practices of Duplicating, Borrowing and Repetition

The production of copies has been reasonably well documented as part of learning to be an artist; Richardson, Reynolds, Hazlitt and modern authors such as

[204] Richardson, *Two Discourses*, p. 154.
[205] Richardson, *Works*, p. 93.
[206] Richardson, *Works*, p. 47.

Diana Dethloff have examined this process. The practice of artists creating duplicates of their own works, though common in the eighteenth-century, is an area that has had limited academic attention. This was a significant feature of Dance's and his contemporaries portraits.[207]

To improve their skills by learning from the past, artists needed access to the works of the masters. Many British artists gained access to these works by spending time in France and Italy, while they were establishing their own styles and reputations. Paris, Florence and Rome were key destinations for these young artists. Dance chose to continue his training in Florence and Rome; staying in Italy for just over 10 years, from 1754 to 1765, a period that far exceeded the more usual one to two-year duration of most British artists' travels. Little is known of Dance's life during the early part of this period and much of what is known comes from letters between Nathaniel and his younger brother George and family members in England. In one letter from Nathaniel to his father, he speaks of a painting of a copy of Poussin that he had sent to his father; this painting has not been located.[208] Dance also copied Pietro Da Cortona's *Annanias Restoring the Sight of Saint Paul* (c. 1766-67) (Figure 13). This work, painted in Rome was presented to All Hallows Church in London Wall, London, where it still hangs.[209] For the most part, the masters' works copied were epic paintings of a religious or historical nature. As Dance's career developed he no longer produced copies of Masters. In Dance's portfolio, duplicated paintings were most often his own portraits. The number of these works shows that there was a market for near-identical reproductions.

[207] Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)."; Hazlitt, *The complete works of William Hazlitt*, 12; Reynolds, *Discourses on art*; Richardson, *Two Discourses*.
[208] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 210; Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 64.
[209] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," p. 221.

Figure 13 Nathaniel Dance, *Ananias Restoring the Eyesight of Saint Paul*, c. 1766-67. After Pietro da Cortona, oil on canvas, All Hallows Church, London Wall (photo from Myrone, Bodybuilding p. 72 plate 35).

Duplicate portraits are usually the same size and medium, and show minor differences from the original work. Several methods could be used in the creation of nearly identical art works, including tracing, squaring grids and optical devices. During the eighteenth-century, the most common mechanical optical instrument was the camera obscura, though there were earlier versions and devices for linear perspective.[210] After 1750 there was a minor resurgence in the use of optical instruments to create accurate representations of natural forms. Martin Kemp, in his work *The Science of Art*, sees three reasons why use of the camera obscura increased during the second half of the eighteenth-century. Firstly, there was a growing fascination with science in general; secondly, there was an increasing demand from the middle classes for cheaper portraits driven by middle-class social aspirations; and lastly, there was an increase in the

[210] Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven CT: Yale University Press, 1990), p. 167.

number of amateur painters cultivating the genteel leisurely pursuit of watercolour painting.[211] Kemp outlines a potential process for an artist using this device:

> The artist, much like a photographer, composes his picture by adjusting the locations of his subjects, the strength of light and the position of his device to achieve the desired effects. The basic outlines of the forms in their spatial array are then recorded on the screen. These outlines can be transferred to the painting surface, re-inverted and re-reversed, by one of the standard methods such as pricking. The painter next takes down his camera construction and sets up his stool and easel, … He is then able to depict the details of colour, light and shade in his inimitable manner.[212]

This process still requires the artist to formulate the composition of the work and complete the actual painting. It is only the outline of the figures that are assisted by the device and the camera obscura would have been a beneficial tool in the creation of near-identical versions of a single portrait.

British attitudes towards mechanical devices were divided between the high ideals espoused by the established art fraternity and, later, by the members of the Royal Academy, and praise for the amusement value of a new tool. Whether Dance used such devices is not known, however Reynolds did own a camera obscura and it is understood to have been used as a subsidiary tool in his studio. These types of devices appear to have been used in Britain primarily for landscapes and pictures of buildings.[213] To analyse the likelihood of Dance using such a device, with the assistance of the computer, transparent images of the four versions of the Grant conversation pieces were overlaid on top of each other, which shows that they are very nearly exact duplications with less than a millimetre difference.[214] Highlighting the strongest lines shows that Dance made very few adjustments to these images. These works were completed early in his career, and with a limited income it is unlikely he went to the trouble and expense

[211] Kemp, *The Science of Art*, p. 186.
[212] Kemp, *The Science of Art*, p. 196.
[213] Kemp, *The Science of Art*, pp. 198-99.
[214] For a more detailed explanation of this process see Appendix A.

of using a device like the camera obscura.[215] Reproduction using grid squares techniques with hand drawing of line would be unlikely to have such accuracy, so Dance probably used a process similar to that of Peter Lely, using muslin and chalk to trace and transfer the basic images before painting. As can be seen in Figure 15 to Figure 18 the main areas of change involved legs and hands. The rest of the works are amazingly accurate reproductions. This accuracy can also be viewed in Dance's paintings of Charles Pratt (Figure 19 - Figure 21), where, using the same process, it can be seen that the works are remarkably similar. Pratt's head in the painting without the hat fits perfectly into the hat on the other work and only the curtain tassel and cushion show areas of misalignment.

[215] From discussions in their letters to family, the brothers were still being partially funded by their father. Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr."; Dance, "Letters to Dance Family."

Figure 14 Nathaniel Dance, Philadelphia – *Grant Conversation Piece*, c. 1761. Oil on canvas, 98.1 cm x 123.8 cm, Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Figure 15 Nathaniel Dance, Seafield – *Grant Conversation Piece*, c. 1760. Oil on canvas, 98.1 cm x 123.8 cm, Lord Seafield Collection.

Figure 16 Nathaniel Dance, Tate – *Grant Conversation Piece*, c. 1761. Oil on canvas, 98.1 cm x 123.8 cm, Tate Britain.

Figure 17 Nathaniel Dance, Yale – *Grant Conversation Piece*, c. 1761. Oil on canvas, 98.1 cm x 123.8 cm, Yale Center for British Art.

Figure 18 Seafield Conversation Piece (Composite analysis – Prescott)

Figure 19 Nathaniel Dance, *Charles Pratt, Lord Camden,* 1767-69. Oil on canvas, 123.2 cm x 99.1 cm, National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 20 Nathaniel Dance, *Charles Pratt, Lord Camden*, c. 1770. Oil on canvas, 126 cm x 101 cm, Parliamentary Art Collection.

Figure 21 Margaret Prescott, *Charles Pratt, Lord Camden (Composite analysis).*

As seen in the royal and court portraits by artists such as Lely, the practice of producing multiple versions of portraits was well established before the eighteenth-century.[216] Utilising recognisable themes the practice of making duplicates could assist in gaining skills to forge a career. A quick scan through a catalogue of Reynolds' works reveals numerous portraits that have been replicated.[217] Dance too, appears to have produced a large number of copies. Goodreau's catalogue of Dance's works, there are at least 22 portraits of which Dance produced duplicates and in one case there are eight known versions of the same work.[218] Were these duplicated works considered by society or contemporary theorists to be authentic, originals or lesser works?

[216] Dethloff, "Lely, Sir Peter (1618–1680)."
[217] David Mannings and Martin Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds : a complete catalogue of his paintings* (New Haven, CT ; London: Yale University Press, 2000).
[218] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 209-313.

In Rome, between 1759 and 1761, Dance painted four versions of the same group of gentlemen travellers, James Grant of Grant, John Mytton, the Honourable Thomas Robinson and Thomas Wynne — one for each of them. Dance may have been chosen for the commission as his good friend Mr Crispin appears to have also been acquainted with Robinson's father and had a relationship with Grant that continued after his return he left Italy. [219] In letters to his family, November and December 1760, Dance wrote ' he [Crespin] brings every gentleman who comes here to see me and recommends me to them in the strongest manner'.[220] Travel was one of the requirements for a young British man to be considered 'worldly' during the eighteenth-century, he not only needed to come from an acceptable family and have impeccable manners, but was also required to show that his education was comprehensive and fully-rounded. Undertaking an extensive tour of Europe that incorporated all the historic and significant cities and countries was an important element of completing a classical education.[221] These were also the qualities that were assigned to establish masculine attributes that were also important characteristic for successful men. The four men decided to meet up in Rome and spend time discovering the classical history of the city. In 1758, Robinson's journey had taken him to Turin, where he studied Italian, and by March 1759 he was corresponding with his Westminster School friends, Grant and Mytton, about meeting to travel to Rome. Friends from Cambridge, Robinson and Mytton, travelled together to Rome and meet with Grant and Wynne who had chosen an alternative route to journey to the cultural capital. In Rome, the four men arranged to hire Abbate Venuti to show them all the significant sites, as he was considered by

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[219] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 94; Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 85-87; Ford and Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, p. 254. Crispin is most likely Daniel Crespin a respected connoisseur.
[220] Ford and Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, p. 254; Dance, "Letter to George Dance Snr."
[221] Wilton, Bignamini, and Tate Gallery., *Grand tour : the lure of Italy in the eighteenth century*, p. 93.

Robinson to be 'the best antiquarian in Rome'.[222] Dance's paintings became part of the souvenirs collected by the men on their travels.

The purpose of these paintings and what they represent in eighteenth-century British social culture was not associated with their status as original works of art. If owning only original, unique works of art was of paramount importance to the English connoisseur of the eighteenth-century, artists would not have produced so many versions of the same paintings, openly employed copyists or borrowed ideas and motifs from other artists as was customary. A considerable number of the portrait compositions from this period, regardless of the artist, have many elements in common with their contemporaries and with paintings from the past. Artists used similar pictorial devices, including poses, the gestures of hands, classical imagery and other components to provide the structure for their paintings.[223] This repetition of key elements of the portrait, some of which are discussed below, ensured the educated audience could easily interpret the important social messages embedded in the imagery.

The Grant conversation pieces have several compositional elements common in other paintings by Dance and artists of the eighteenth-century. Goodreau appears to suggest that these works by Dance lacked originality, when he states that the entire right side of the composition is taken from a conversation piece by Francis Hayman featuring *George and Margaret Rogers* (Figure 22) (also known as Margaret Tyers and her husband George Rogers).[224] This painting, completed by Hayman around 1748 to 1750, does strongly resemble the right-hand side of the Grant conversation pieces, with Mrs Rogers seated in a similar position to Robinson, and her husband casually standing on her right in the pose of Wynne. However, this casual stance can also be seen in a variety of other paintings including: a portrait by the British artist Arthur Devis (1712-87),

[222] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp. 91-92.
[223] Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, Loc 139, 52 - 4986. Loc 139, 152 - 4986
[224] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 81-84.

William Farington of Shawe Hall, Lancashire c.1743 (Figure 23) (also known as *Robert Vernon Atherton and his Dog*), in which the sitter stands nonchalantly leaning on a rock bank with his left leg crossed over his right. Retford, in discussing Devis and pose suggests that it was likely he used a lay figure as the model for this style of pose for the sitter depicted.[225] Further examples of this style of pose include: Thomas Gainsborough's portrait of *Charles Howard, 11th Duke of Norfolk* 1784-86 (Figure 24) in which the same pose is used; British artist Charles Philips's work from 1730 entitled *Tea Party at Lord Harrington's House, St James* (Figure 26) which features a fancily dressed gentleman in this same pose except that his right leg crosses his left as he leans against the back of another gentleman's chair; and Gainsborough's *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, c. 1750 (Figure 25) which uses this same format, seating Mrs Andrews under a tree with her husband to her right, in the mirror image of the position Dance would later use for Wynne in the Grant conversation pieces. These examples are a sample of paintings containing figures presented in this distinctive pose, which had been used, borrowed and adapted by artists well before Hayman's work and continue to be utilised by artists. Many of these poses can be traced back to classical sculptures and images that present the subject in contrapposto stance, suggestive of motion and reproduced in conduct books, such as Nivelon.[226]

[225] Kate Retford, "The Evidence of the Conversation Piece: Thomas Bardwell's The Broke and Bowes Families (1740)," *Cultural and Social History* 7, no. 4 (2010): p. 497.
[226] F Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour.* (Washington: University of Washington Press, 2003, facsimile reprint of 1737 edition), Plates 1 and 2.

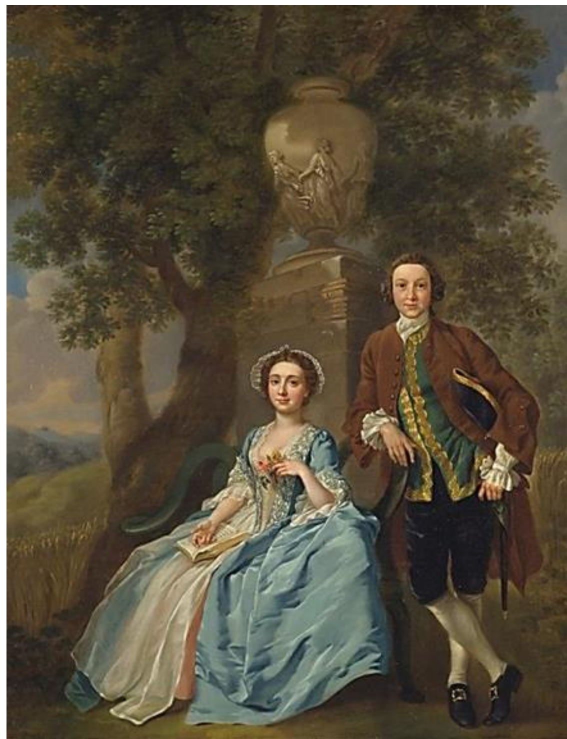

Figure 22 Hayman, *George and Margaret Rogers*, 1748-50. Oil on canvas, 90.2 cm x 69.9 cm, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Figure 23 Arthur Devis, *William Farington of Shawe Hall, Lancashire*, c. 1743. Oil on canvas, 49.2 cm x 33.7 cm, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Figure 24 Thomas Gainsborough, *Charles Howard 11th Duke of Norfolk*, 1784-86. Oil on canvas, 232.4 cm x 152.4 cm, National Portrait Gallery London.

Figure 25 Thomas Gainsborough, *Mr and Mrs Andrews*, c. 1750. Oil on canvas, 69.8 cm x 119.4 cm, National Gallery London.

Figure 26 Charles Philips, *Tea Party of Lord Harrington's House, St. James's*, 1730. Oil on canvas, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Poses were often replicated from other art works and did not always contribute to any original component of a portrait. As previously discussed, Reynolds was known to have kept books containing prints of his own works in order to allow his clients to browse to choose the pose they preferred for their own commission.[227] Part of the function of Georgian portraiture was to promote ideals of sociability. As Brewer states,

> Works of art were of enormous importance because of their persuasive power. Used wisely they could teach people to follow the path of virtuous sociability; used wrongly they might cause irreparable damage.[228]

Basically, there was a fairly standard repertoire of poses that related to aspects of sociability and this included appropriate accoutrements of dress, backdrops of country side or wealthy interiors. Originality was not the primary purpose of these works and the repetition of recognisable motifs, poses and decoration, reinforced the virtues the painting was designed to convey. Artists appropriated ideas from old masters

[227] Pointon, *Hanging the Head*, pp. 41-2.
[228] Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century*, p. 106.

and classical influences in the staging and the background settings for works, using themes their audience would understand. This practice was considered most acceptable in the theories of both Reynolds and Richardson. Their views on artists borrowing from others are far less rigid than those of society in the twenty-first century. The artworks and the writings of theorists of the day show that what was considered to be originality was far more flexible in the eighteenth-century and could even be viewed as ‘degrees’ of originality.

Paintings could contain elements that were precisely duplicated while still incorporating original components, so copying was not necessarily a rote undertaking. Just as the four Grant conversation pieces have elements in common with the work of Hayman, and they appear to be nearly identical to each other, they also have different details in each painting. These portions of difference make them ‘individual’ for the owners. Of the four works in the Grant conversation pieces, the Seafield painting (Figure 15) was completed first, in 1760. The most obvious variations in the other three paintings from the Seafield painting, can be seen in the dancing figures on the urn; these were first recognised by David Sellin in 1961.[229] The urn has been modelled after a Hellenistic relief known as the Borghese Dancers, held in the Louvre, Paris, since the 1820s.[230] This sculpture was part of the Villa Borghese until Prince Camillo Borghese was coerced into selling many of its treasures to Napoleon in 1807.[231] As previously discussed, Goodreau suggests that the right side of Dance’s conversation pieces resembles one of Hayman’s paintings, which also features an urn with classical dancers. Dance’s conversation piece in the Philadelphia collection is identical to the frieze on Hayman’s urn.[232] In fact, both Hayman’s dancers and those painted by Dance are very

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[229] Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece," p.62.
[230] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 91.
[231] Carole Paul, Alberta Campitelli, and Carole Paul, *Making a Prince's Museum: Drawings for the Late-Eighteenth-Century Redecoration of the Villa Borghese* (Los Angeles, CA: Getty Research Institute Publications, 2000), Exhibition Catalogue, p. 2.
[232] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)," pp. 81-84.

similar to the Borghese dancers, which is not mentioned by Goodreau. The same style of dancer has been used by many other artists of the time, including Reynolds, for example his portraits of *Mrs John Parker* and *Theodosia Magill*, *Countess of Clanwilliam*.[233] Dance may have viewed the original sculpture at the Villa Borghese, however Hayman did not. Brian Allen, in his biography of Hayman, states that there are no records that show that Hayman ever visited Rome.[234] Therefore, Hayman must have taken his dancers from another drawing or borrowed them from someone else's painting.[235] While very similar, Dance's figures have different spacing of the dancers and a fourth dancer is just visible. Even though the creation of unique individual works could not have been the key purpose of these conversation pieces, Dance has still endeavoured to produce a degree of originality within each painting, as highlighted by the individualised urns in each work. The variations that Dance made in the painting of the urns served no purpose other than to provide an easily identifiable difference between the four paintings. It is reasonable to assume that he made these and other smaller alterations in order to provide four paintings that were, in the views of the day, partly original and individual works for each of the sitters.

Dance spent time and effort in individualising the detail of the dancers on each urn. The four dancers in the Seafield picture are moving to the right with their robes billowing out, indicating the zeal with which they dance. The shapely bare calf of the second dancer shows in the parting of her robes as the dancers all turn their heads to face the right as they progress around the urn. Between the first and second dancers is a

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233 Mannings and Postle, *Sir Joshua Reynolds : a complete catalogue of his paintings*, pp. 82, 363.

234 Brian Allen, *Francis Hayman* (New Haven: Published in association with English Heritage (the Iveagh Bequest Kenwood) and the Yale Center for British Art by Yale University Press, 1987), p. 3.

235 The Borghese Dancers is a piece of a frieze from the Villa Borghese in 1645. There is a drawing at the British Museum (http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/collection_object_details.aspx?objectId=3420340&partId=1&searchText=Borghese+Dancers+drawing&page=1) (artist Domenico Campiglia?). This drawing was not part of the collection at the time Hayman or Dance created their paintings, coming into the collection in 1991 from the collection of Sir Robert Newdigate. There is a bronze cast at the Wallace Museum, which was not established until 1897.

crack in the urn that runs from upper right to lower left of the upper decorative border that defines the dancing scene. In the Yale painting, there are three distinct dancers and one that is barely visible. Again, the dancers move to the right, though with far less perceived motion as their robes hang directly from their bodies. Still looking to the right all the dancers are viewed in profile. Dance has moved the crack above the dancers, which in this work is over the third dancer and runs from the upper left to the lower right of the patterned border. There are four dancers in the Philadelphia painting, but they are dancing to the left. This painting has the robes of the dancers flowing with movement and while the bodies are all facing left; dancers one and two have their heads turned to the left and three and four are looking to the right. Dance has changed the degree to which some of the dancers' heads are turned, with dancer two in side profile and dancer three revealing only the back of her head as she turns away from the viewer. The crack in the urn has been placed between dancers one and two, but is nearly vertical and shorter than in the other paintings. In the final painting, currently at Tate Britain, two dancers are moving to the left and are two moving to the right. The placement of their heads is again individual, with dancer one having her head to the left and turning inward away from the viewer, dancer two having her head to the right showing the back of her head, dancer three's head turning to the left and almost fully exposed to the viewer, and dancer four being in profile facing the right. Their robes have the greatest movement of all four works, with those of dancers three and four appearing almost as wings coming off their shoulders and dancer two has her entire left leg exposed to the thigh. These are the most distinct variations in the four works, but Dance has included many more subtle changes.

There are variations in all four paintings, though the Seafield work is the only one of the four in which compositional changes can be easily seen in the completed painting. Dance does not appear to have intended to create identical works and seems to

have changed his mind about some features such as the amount of the Colosseum to be displayed between Mytton and the tree that provides an almost vertical division in the centre of the work. The structure of the Colosseum originally continued across to the tree trunk: Dance apparently changed his mind, covering the majority of this part of the building with foliage. The paint in this section has not been layered with sufficient depth to completely hide the image below. In the subsequent versions, Dance has painted the leaves of the tree in dark shades and applied the paint more thickly. This central tree trunk is another area in which Dance made changes to details of the individual versions. Each version has varying amounts and placement of ivy clinging to the trunk of the slanting tree. This gives the impression that Dance sketched the important components of the work in detail and was less exacting with the landscape. Robinson wears a ring on the little finger of his left hand in the Yale painting and the Seafield version but not in the other two paintings. Colouration of the suits is slightly different in each work; though the varying condition of each painting could account for this.

The settings and compositions are formula driven, giving a uniformity to their presentation. Artists including Batoni, Reynolds, Kneller and Knapton used standardised formats in many paintings. This included imagery that is expected to be present in portraits allowing the audience to read familiar themes and motifs. This repetition of elements such as: luxurious fabrics indicating the wealth and social status of the sitter; books and classical elements suggesting education and worldliness; a dog representing fidelity and faithfulness, and a steely gaze evoking power. Goodreau suggests that Dance has used Hayman's painting as a model, noting the central slanting tree. However this is a compositional device to break up the picture plane, commonly used by many artists over a very long period. Interest is often given to the tree by making it gnarled and crooked, or using it to create a diagonal line. Examples of the use

of trees in this way can be found dating back to the sixteenth century and most likely earlier. An example of this is a mythological scene painted by a follower of Titian, thought to date between 1530 and 1600 (Figure 27).

Eighteenth-century British artists commonly used trees as a feature in this fashion; William Hogarth's conversation piece featuring *John and Elizabeth Jeffreys and their children*, undated (Figure 28), uses angled trees to frame the family with a dark border against the landscape and sky behind them. This practice of using trees in British portraiture is an example of how artists drew upon a stock of themes and motifs when completing commissions, and the compositions are not about the creation of an entirely one-off masterpiece.

Figure 27 After Titian, *Mythological Scene*, probably 1530-1600. Oil on wood, 76.2 cm x 132.1 cm, National Gallery London.

Artists also recycled motifs from their own earlier works sometimes in an almost identical way. For example, the Grant conversation piece provided inspiration for motifs used in later works created by Dance, such as his conversation piece of William Weddell, the *Reverend William Palgrave and Mr l'Anson in Rome* (Figure 29). Dance reverses the format: Weddell, seated on a large rock at the centre of the work, takes the place of Robinson, with the Reverend to his right posed in a similar casual stance to Wynne. Instead of swords they each hold a walking stick; the familiar faithful

black dog looks up to Weddell from beside his feet; and the Colosseum has been replaced by hills and the city in the distance. Dance has continued incorporating classical motifs, with the inclusion of a plinth or column base in the right foreground. This format was clearly successful, appearing in various configurations in other works by Dance and other artists, including Mortimer in his painting Self-Portrait with His Father and His Brother (Figure 27).[236]

Figure 28 William Hogarth, *John and Elizabeth Jeffreys and Their Children*, 1730. Oil on canvas, 71.8 cm x 90.8 cm, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

[236] Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece," p. 62.

Figure 29 John Hamilton Mortimer, *Self-portrait with His Father and His Brother*, early 1760s. Oil on canvas, 76.2 cm x 63.5 cm, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection.

Even closer in format to the Grant conversation pieces is Dance's portrait of *Hugh, 2nd Duke of Northumberland and Reverend Lippyatt*, (1763) (Figure 63). While only two people are in this painting, they correspond to the figures of Robinson and Wynne in mirror pose. Seated with his dog at his feet, the Duke takes the position of Robinson, with even his dog bearing a remarkable resemblance to Robinson's. The Colosseum is visible in the background of the left side and between the men is another classical urn. This urn is modelled from another work from the Villa Borghese, a kylix also called *The Borghese Vase* now part of the collection at the Louvre (Inventory No. MR 985). Borrowing or reusing features of paintings was a very common practice, as was the duplication of entire works, although it was not as common to have them painted by the original artist.

Sociable Networks and Duplicate Portraits

British artists based in places such as Rome relied heavily on patronage from young men on their Grand Tour of Europe. As Sarah Goldsmith states, the Grand Tour represented

> '… an important rite of passage into adulthood, it formed participants in their adult masculine identity and endowed them with the skills and masculine virtues most highly prized by the elite. It was also perceived more broadly by the elite as a means of reinforcing their position of exclusive privilege and power.[237]

Participants on these tours collected souvenirs and artefacts that reinforced those qualities expected by the sociable British society, such as classical education, physical soundness and an inquiring intellectual outlook. These qualities also reflected the changing views on masculinity. Portraits, like those by Dance were an avenue to make a statement about personal wealth, attributes and importantly, the social network of travelling companions. For the artist, these networks provided opportunity for further commissions.

Lord Grey (Charles Grey, 1st Earl Grey 1729 - 1807) commissioned several paintings from Dance and introduced him to Sir Henry Mainwaring who also commissioned works, including a history painting, and employed Dance's younger brother George as an architect.[238] The future commissions to come from the men featured in the Grant conversation piece were substantial and provide evidence of the importance of sociability in the business dealings of the artist. Many of Dance's commissions can be linked to connections he obtained via his existing network of clients, including many of his duplicated works. Starting with the *Grant Conversation Piece*, and including subjects such as Sir Robert Murray Keith (Figure 61); Lancelot 'Capability' Brown; of course, the Grant conversation piece; and Robert, *Lord Clive*

[237] Sarah Goldsmith, "Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour," *Journal for eighteenth-century studies* 40, no. 1 (2017): p. 3.
[238] Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, p. 65.

(Figure 30), whose portrait Dance produced in at least eight versions. Regardless of these works being duplicates, every painting increased the artist's market exposure and overall reputation. This aspect of the production of copies is highlighted by Pointon's article on portraiture as a business. Pointon briefly discusses Romney's concerns in 1776 about his ability to please his patrons, but when friends of the Duke of Richmond ordered copies of the Duke's portrait Romney gained income from these commissions and reputation as his work was now more widely on view.[239] Gainsborough is also documented as producing duplicate portraits for clients. In a letter to the agent of the Duchess of Bedford, he discusses the delivery of several paintings to London, including a copy of the portrait of the Duke of Bedford.

> I received the favour of your letter yesterday, and beg you will be so good to let their Graces know that my not sending the Pictures sooner has been owing to some difficulty of please myself in the two Copies of His Grace … .[240]

[239] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," pp. 195-96.
[240] Pointon, "Portrait-Painting as a Business-Enterprise in London in the 1780s," p. 198.

Figure 30 Nathaniel Dance, *Lord Clive,* c. 1770. Oil on canvas, 127 cm x 101.5 cm, National Trust, Powis Castle.

Portraits such as the *Grant conversation pieces*, provide an insight into how portraits and their reproductions functioned in sociable society. Collecting souvenirs while travelling was a normal practice, and Grant acquired a diverse array, including 'a collection of Priapuses' when in Portici, and commissioning several paintings.[241] Paintings commissioned by British tourists provided an income for many artists in Rome including Dance, Batoni and Anton Raphael Mengs. Dance gained many commissions by ensuring he met as many English travellers as possible, which often led to further introductions to potential clients. Grant was one such client and he commissioned several paintings from Dance during his travels, including the Seafield conversation piece in 1760 and a history painting of *Nisus and Euryalus*, to document

[241] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp. 92-93.

his and his companions' time in Rome.[242] Grant left instructions with his Abbé Peter Grant to arrange for his commissions to be shipped back to Britain, and correspondence shows that Grant's painting had been sent to him by November 1760.[243]

Whilst it is impossible to know definitively, Richard Dorment concludes that it is likely that the work that once belonged to Mytton now belongs to a descendant of Robinson and is currently on loan to the Tate Britain. Robinson's version is now owned by the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and Wynne's painting became part of the Paul Mellon collection, now in the Yale Center for British Art.[244] As noted earlier while at first glance, all four of these works appear identical, on closer inspection the viewer can see where Dance has individualised each work, creating a degree of originality for each commission.

The function of these paintings was far more complex than a simple souvenir of their joint travels; the conversation pieces were a site of sociability. The four nearly identical conversation pieces by Dance were hung in four separate households. The men depicted openly displayed for themselves, their immediate families, friends and visiting acquaintances the connection between them and their companions. The association was worthy of being communicated in an enduring medium. The lives of these four men intersected continuously, from Grant, Mytton, and Robinson attending the same schools, through to their careers as politicians; to Robinson, Mytton, and Wynne all being elected as members of the *Society of Dilettanti*.[245] These paintings announced the relationship between these men at a time when clubs and societies enabled gossip and

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[242] Ford and Ingamells, *A dictionary of British and Irish travellers in Italy, 1701-1800*, p. 419. Dorment states that Grant left instruction with Thomas Jenkins, an artist and dealer in antiquities to forward the painting when complete, however, Ingamells and Ford record that Jenkins left Rome by the 25th July, to meet Wynn in Venice. p. 92. Skinner suggests the history painting may not have been completed and Goodreau cites letters to the family noting Dance had completed a sketch but had not started the painting in 1760. pp. 213-14.
[243] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 93.
[244] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp.95-96.
[245] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 91.

rumour to be used for personal advantage, and enhanced the maintenance of important social networks.[246] Such societies formed the foundations of Habermas's *public sphere.* Places like coffee houses provided space for clubs and institutions which formed the public referred to by Habermas' *public sphere*. These were groups with a common interest, for instance, art or literature, that developed a form of political criticism. Formed by private people from a range of social strata, who as a group could assert influence on society's culture and commodities through discussion and self-education to form opinions their areas of interest.[247] Examples include Samuel Johnson's Literary Group and the Royal Academy of Art, each society established its own guidelines for admitting members. Notably, the *Society of Dilettanti* recognised the importance of associating with people of similar status, elitism, political and social power that these types of groups afforded.

The *Society of Dilettanti* was formed in the early 1730s by a group of men who, like our four sitters, had all undertaken travel in Italy, and wished to encourage a 'taste' for European arts and classical architecture at home in England.[248] The early *Dilettanti* were a group of enthusiasts, whose aims were the promotion of the Arts in a friendly and sociable forum. Horace Walpole is reported to have stated that the only qualification for entry to the *Society of Dilettanti* was to have been in Italy and to have the inclination to get drunk.[249] While they may have developed a reputation for occasional unruly behaviour, the *Dilettanti* comprised only men with the financial means to allow prolonged journeys to Europe, limiting membership to those with high

[246] Jason M. Kelly, "Riots, Revelries, and Rumor: Libertinism and Masculine Association in Enlightenment London," *Journal of British Studies* 45, no. 4 (2006): p. 762.
[247] Jürgen Habermas, *The structural transformation of the public sphere : an inquiry into a category of Bourgeois society*, 2013 ed., Studies in contemporary German social thought (Cambridge, Mass; Cambridge, England: MIT Press; Polity Press, 1989), pp. 32-37.
[248] Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: the antic and the antique in eighteenth-century England* (Los Angeles: J. Paul Getty Museum : The Getty Research Institute, 2008), pp. 1-2. Bruce Redford suggests that the *Dilettanti* most likely modelled their rituals loosely upon three earlier clubs: the Freemasons, the British Hell Fire Clubs, and the Italian Accademia dell'Arcadia.
[249] Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford studies in Social History (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p. 78.

social position, common interests, ensuring their club had an air of elitism.[250] The art and architecture of Rome was also one of the elements that brought the four gentlemen pictured in Dance's conversation piece together. These clubs and societies supported sociability's requirement of a broad, classical education for gentlemen.

Reflecting the values of the *Dilettanti*, the Grant conversation piece is a display of the social positions and wealth of the gentlemen depicted. When studying the four men pictured in the painting, the viewer's attention is captured first by Grant, whose direct gaze meets that of the viewer, as the group gathers in a fictional Roman setting with the distant ruins of the Colosseum and a classical urn on a pedestal. Grant may or may not have been a member of the *Dilettanti*, though he possesses the same qualifying criteria as his three companions. Grant, an avid correspondent and diarist, reveals through his writing the sense of a stereotypical Scotsman who was methodical, listing details of his travels and keeping records such as the names, births, deaths and major achievements of the artists and architects he discovered; very detailed travel itineraries and their costs, with conversions to British currency; and the histories of towns and facts regarding accommodation and sites visited.[251] He shows his interest in the arts by the works he commissioned, his choice of souvenirs and his interest in classical architecture. Like his travelling companions, Grant went on to have a career in politics, as the parliamentary member for Elginshire from 1761 to 1768, and then Banffshire from 1790 to 1795. In 1763 he married Jane Duff and 10 years later succeeded his father in becoming the Chief of Clan Grant and the 8th Baronet of Colquhoun. He had a large family with fourteen children, his eldest son becoming the 9th Baronet of Colquhoun and 2nd Earl of Seafield, from his mother's lineage.

[250] Redford, *Dilettanti: the antic and the antique in eighteenth-century England*, pp. 7-8.
[251] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp. 94-95.

In the *Seafield work* (Figure 15)Grant stands on the far left, slightly angled towards his companions but engaging the viewer with his gaze. Dressed fashionably in blue and silver, he has an air of health, wealth and confidence. To the right of Grant is John Mytton, who is the least well known of the four. Dressed in a red and gold-trimmed vest and jacket, Mytton's gaze is turned toward Grant, while his hands gesture toward the seated figure of Robinson. It is known that Mytton attended Westminster with Robinson and Grant, and was later at Clare Hall, Cambridge, with Robinson. He married Rebecca Pigot, living in Halston, Shropshire, until 1784. His small collection of paintings was sold at auction by a Mr Gimblett, auctioneer, in early 1831 to pay the debts of his notorious grandson 'Mad Jack' Mytton.[252] Mytton's gesture towards Robinson directs the viewer's attention to the most socially significant person in the painting.

Robinson was an avid amateur architect, art enthusiast and a charismatic, very well-educated young man, who, clad in a beige outfit, provides a focal point of the painting. Like Grant, Robinson was a prodigious correspondent, and provided much information regarding his interests and journey through Europe. In 1770, he inherited his father's title, becoming the 2nd Baron Grantham, the same year he became a member of the Privy Council and began serving as the British Ambassador to Spain, a position he held until 1779. A year later he married the daughter of Lord Hardwicke, Lady Mary Jemima Yorke, and became the first President of the Board of Trade, serving until 1782 when he became Foreign Secretary for a year. Robinson died aged 46 in 1786. Robinson appears to have made a very good impression on those he met, as shown in a letter from an acquaintance, Mr Crispin, dated 3 July 1760:

> Mr Robinson, after making the most of Rome, followed the several Branches of Virtu, but without neglecting the much more essential knowledge that conversation & the best acquaintance here could help him to gather … His person is

[252] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp.91- 95.

> rather tall, & tho' there may be some perhaps of a genteeler make, will not pass unnoticed, his colour has the freshness of Sir Thomas's [his father], he is short sighted, without any blemish or other defect in his Eyes, his Voice is remarkably good, but to rise now to better things, he has a most uncommon Elocution, a command in speaking that belongs not to his years, while his manner is made to convince not to offend … The learned esteem him a good Scholar, & Cardinal Passionier who shews him uncommon attention & Civility, has confessed himself very much flattered by a Sapphick Ode that Mr Robinson lately presented him with … He is quick at an Essay of Humour, Capable of any longer work, rises above Mediocrity as a Poet, remarkable for strength of Memory, listened to already at Rome on matters of Taste, understanding well Architecture, drawing himself very neatly, making a daily progress in Musick … The men seek his Company & the Ladies like it, his heart seems to be most happily tempered, there's warmth of feeling in it.[253]

This charm may be seen as evident in Dance's painting, as Robinson is the focus of attention from all except Grant: Mytton gestures toward him and Wynne is turned to him.

Thomas Wynne is the group's final figure, standing beside Robinson. In his green and gold jacket and vest, he balances Grant's position opposite and draws the attention back to Robinson in the centre of the work. Wynne (1736–1807), became the 3rd Baronet in 1773, and was created Baron Newborough in 1776 in recognition for his militia service and the building of military defences in Wales. Wynne had a parliamentary career and married Lady Catherine Perceval, the daughter of Lord Egmont and the half-sister of the Prime Minister Spencer Perceval. Lady Catherine died in 1782, and he remarried the notorious Maria Stella, Lady Newborough, who colourfully documented his shortcomings in her autobiography.[254] The four travelling companions began with much in common, not least their privileged backgrounds, and this continued after their journey, with their political careers and social positions, and

[253] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 94.
[254] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, pp. 91-92, 95. Wynne is considered by John Fleming to be Thomas Wynne, though Fleming does not disclose his reasoning. Ford and Ingamells also list him as Thomas. Wynne is referred to only as either Mr Wynne or, in a letter from Robinson, as 'a younger son of Sir John Wynne'.

with Robinson, Wynne and Mytton all elected to the Society of the *Dilettanti*. The friendships established at school were instrumental in these continued networks of association and their decision to tour Rome together.

This conversation piece can be viewed as a reflection of the hierarchical system of sociability that existed in Britain. The hierarchy was ever present and was expressed by Rouquet:

> Every Englishman constantly holds a pair of scales, wherein he exactly weighs the birth, the rank, and especially the fortune of those he is in company with, in order to regulate his behaviour and discourse accordingly…[255]

While Dance's composition of the conversation pieces is formulaic, he has fashioned a clever flow in the painting, guiding the viewer's gaze across all four figures, that suggests each sitter's social position in relation to the others. Dance used a V formation, to direct the attention to the seated figure of Robinson, the most socially elite of the four. Despite being noted for his use of light, Dance did not use it here to draw attention to any one of the gentlemen; all are equally lit from the front left, with no shadows falling directly on any face. Using the pose instead of detailed brushwork to create the lighting assisted Dance in reproducing the composition so precisely for each sitter. Grant, the titled, independent, methodical Scotsman greets the viewer and is the only one not directly interacting with the other sitters. Next to him John Mytton, the lowest socially with no title to inherit, looks at Grant from the right and gestures with his hands, drawing the viewer's attention toward the seated figure of Robinson. Robinson, the eldest son of Lord Grantham, holding the highest social position of the four, is the centre of the attention, seated at the point of the V and the object of attention from Mytton and Wynne. Wynne, who comes from a titled family but is not the direct heir, is socially similar to Mytton: his figure closes off the scene with the position of his

[255] Rouquet, *The Present State of the Arts in England*, p. 17.

body; his stance and face direct attention towards the seated Robinson. In the British social hierarchy, Robinson the son of a Baron is positioned at the top, followed by Grant, the heir to a Baronetcy, then Wynne, who will not inherit a title, but does come from a titled family, followed by Mytton who had no titled heritage, and is the only person not to have his hat on. However, all four are portrayed as gentlemen of wealth and education.

The use of this type of social hierarchical structure in conversation pieces can be seen in works by other artists, particularly in family conversation pieces. According to Kate Retford, conversation pieces were usually displayed in country houses that where the seat of political power and the 'images of military heroes, politicians, and statesmen displayed there testified to the roots of affiliations …', these 'collections were dominated by principles of patrilineage and patriarchy, they could also record the important connections, titles, land, and wealth transferred into the family through marital unions'.[256] A non-family conversation piece that functions with a similar hierarchical format to the Grant conversation pieces is *Captain James Cook, Joseph Banks, Lord Sandwich, Dr Daniel Solander, and Dr John Hawkesworth*, c. 1771, (**Error! Reference source not found.**) at the National Library of Australia, attributed to J ohn Hamilton Mortimer by Michelle Hetherington. Hetherington shows how Lord Sandwich's position, power and wealth are referred to by the body language incorporated in the painting's structure.[257] While Cook stands in the central position of the work, his gaze and those of Banks and Solander direct the viewer to the casually posed Lord Sandwich in the same way that Dance directs the attention to Robinson. A further point of commonality between the two works is the way Cook and Mytton both

[256] Kate Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteen-Century English Country House," in *Gender, taste, and material culture in Britain and North America, 1700-1830* (New Haven, CT; London: Yale Center for British Art ; Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art ; Distributed by Yale University Press, 2006), pp. 315-20.
[257] Michelle Hetherington, "John Hamilton Mortimer and the Discovery of Captain Cook," *The British Art Journal* 4, no. 1 (2003): pp. 74-75.

use their hats in gestures of 'hat honour', a custom that declined after the eighteenth-century. The style and use of hats was recognised as a marker of status in Western societies. 'Hat honour' entailed people of lower social ranks removing their hats as a sign of respect to those of superior standing.[258] Hetherington details how Cook's action mirrors the description of the correct performance of 'doffing one's hat' as set out in Nivelon's *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour*:

> The right Arm must rise to the Hat with moderate Motion sideways, the … hand turn'd and its palm shown, the Fingers must be on the brim, and the Forefinger extended on the Crown of the Hat, and the Thumb under the Brim … and whilst taking it off, let the Look and Action be complaisantly address'd to the Person to whom the compliment is intended; the left Arm should fall neither backward nor forward (both of which would look disagreeable) but be gently by the Side, … and holding the glove in an easy, careless Manner.[259]

Mytton's stance only differs from this description in the positioning of his left hand which gestures toward Robinson, the second person to whom he would owe deference. Nonetheless this did not hinder all four men commissioning the same work, further suggesting that the messages they wished to be conveyed by the painting were embedded in the social constructs of sociable culture.

Subtle symbols of a classical education contribute to the underlying indications of the sitters' social status and sense of masculinity. The view of the Colosseum and the urn are both symbols reminding the viewer of Rome and stand as signs of the men's education, knowledge and appreciation for classical subjects. A worldly outlook gained through exposure to international travel and classical education were important elements for inclusion in influential clubs, such as the *Dilettanti*. At the same time, this classical imagery helped in defining these subjects' gentlemanly masculinity, an important aspect

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[258] Penelope Byrde, *The Male Image : Men's Fashion in Britain, 1300-1970* (London: B T Batsford, 1979), p. 174.
[259] Nivelon, *The Rudiments of Genteel Behaviour.*, p. 71; Penelope Corfield, "Dress for Deference and Dissent Hats and the Decline of Hat Honour," *Costume* 23, no. 1 (1989).

of every aristocratic young man. The group's interest in classical knowledge is further highlighted by the drawing, held by Robinson, of an elevation of the Temple of Jupiter Stator.[260]

Dance has imbued this work with discreet classical influences, as Dorment points out, with the poses of Mytton and Wynne appearing to be loosely reflective of the Apollo Belvedere and a Farnese Hercules, borrowed from antiquity. He also suggests that Dance could be viewed as trivialising the classical past in these works, as he does not convey a 'sense of passionate moral earnestness, as Reynolds had done, or awe, as Henry Fuseli was soon to do'.[261] However, as the purpose of this work was to be a promotional tool in sociability, it did not require a moral undercurrent. They serve as souvenirs, a symbol of the connection between the sitters and a display of educated young men who were affluent and worldly. Dance painted conversation pieces that conformed to an accepted British style of composition.

[260] Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece," p. 62.
[261] Dorment, *British painting in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, p. 91.

Figure 31 James Hamilton Mortimer, *Captain James Cook, Sir Joseph Banks, Lord Sandwich, Dr Daniel Solander and Dr John Hawkesworth*, c. 1771. Oil on canvas, 120 cm x 166 cm, National Library of Australia.

These conversation pieces were commissioned as souvenirs from a joint Grand Tour, but once on display in Britain, were adopted to function as a promotional instrument of the sociable society. Displaying the social connections between the subjects allowed for each to bolster their own social ambitions through perceived association with others of higher social position. Most would be displayed in the country residences of the patron which Retford considers served as 'the basis for the political power exercised in town, and … testified to the roots of affiliations apparent in more transient party politics'.[262] At the same time, these paintings provided a knowledgeable viewer with sufficient information to decode the social status of the sitters.

In the eighteenth-century, attitudes to the originality of works were considerably different from those of today, with little evidence there was stigmatisation of the duplication of works. Richardson and Reynolds both endorsed the borrowing of elements of the works of other artists, including those of past masters and contemporary

[262] Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteen-Century English Country House," p. 317.

artists. It was not until the changes instigated by Carlyle in the mid-nineteenth century, and the establishment of the guidelines for the National Portrait Gallery with the necessity for works to be created with the artist and sitter present, that singular unique works became common practice.

The duplication of works substantially contributed to Dance's catalogue of works. We can only speculate as to how these works were created, but the accuracy of Dance's methods of copying his own works is evident. Dance completed his duplicates with the care and accuracy of an original work, as shown with the use of the computer transparencies; these were not secondary works in his portfolio.

Sociability is key to explaining the volume of duplicated works commissioned, and the reason others would commission duplicates of portraits of their friends and colleagues. As he highlights in letters to his family, there was an important social context involved in the creation of duplicate portraits, which allowed Dance to expand his patronage and increase commissions. The practice of creating multiples of a single work was more complex than just being an economical and efficient way to produce more portraits. Some copies were created to adorn various family homes; others such as those of politicians, judges and clerics, were included in institutional collections; and then there were those commissioned by friends and family. The duplication of commissioned portraits underpinned the constructs of sociability, fashion, self-promotion and social affiliations which were fundamental to the growth of the market for portraits and their duplication.

Chapter Three – Sociability

> No man is truly himself, but in the idea which others entertain of him.[263]

> To render us respectable in a social light, the accomplishments of the mind must be heightened and set off to advantage and behaviour.[264]

Politeness and then sensibility 'embodied an idea of what the true gentleman and gentlewoman should be; conversation was the means for its achievement and politeness the means by which social improvement and refinement could be realised.'[265] The performance of manners and customs adapted and changed in Britain over the long eighteenth-century. Early in the century, sociability had connections with the 'good breeding' of aristocracy, however as instruction became widely disseminated by publications such as the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, most sectors of society had access to information on appropriate behaviour, attitudes and manners. The values placed on sociable behaviours allowed an individual to advance in the social hierarchy. For example, in Boswell's view, according to Brewer, London was the ideal place to learn sociable behaviours as 'London's pleasures were also its virtues. London's busy commercial life taught men manners and politeness; its cultural institutions encouraged good taste in the arts and literature; and its gregarious sociability bred urbanity, good conversation and refinement.'[266]

The aim of this chapter is to explore Dance's portraits in the context of the links between the practices of sociability and the function of portraiture in British society. Portraiture was an important visual representation of social behaviours, particularly in relationship to the merging of sociable practices, gender and masculine ideals. While the discussion is weighted towards masculinity, as Dance's oeuvre

[263] Hazlitt, *The complete works of William Hazlitt*, 12, p. 117.
[264] Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century*, p. 107.
[265] Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century*, p. 100.
[266] Brewer, *The pleasures of the imagination : English culture in the eighteenth century*, p. 51.

includes many more images of men, feminine qualities are also discussed to indicate different methods of gender presentation.

To reassess Dance's works as a part of the sociable society, the scope and development of sociability must be investigated, along with ideas of politeness and sensibility. Beginning with the 'polite' form of sociable behaviour in the late seventeenth-century, the fluidity of the practice of manners and customs offered the opportunity for the unscrupulous to corrupt and take advantage of those with genuine polite intentions. For example, Lord Chesterfield's advice recommending the use of 'affected or hypocritical manners' to his son.[267] These types of insincere manners eventually led to the necessity for politeness to be adapted into sensibility where the emotions were supposed to 'truly' be felt. The practice of sensibility began in the middle of the second half of the eighteenth-century and lasted into the early nineteenth century, and was viewed at the time as having more honesty in representing a person's genuine character. All varieties of sociability set out behaviours that included a charter of prescribed manners and customs of genteel, gendered behaviour.

This chapter explores how these behaviours, and the representation of acceptable masculine and feminine norms, inform Dance's works. Close assessment of the extent to which politeness and sensibility impacted the visual imagery of the time requires an examination of the characteristics of each mode of sociability, and of the acceptable notions of masculinity and femininity.

Sociability and its related practices were incorporated into characteristics of class and gender, touching much of society.[268] In her book *Women, Sociability and Theatre in Georgian London*, Gillian Russell argues there were three broad categories of sociability, as also stated by Peter Clark in *British Clubs and Societies*: firstly, the

[267] Jacques Carré, *The Crisis of courtesy : studies in the conduct-book in Britain, 1600-1900*, Brill's studies in intellectual history, (Leiden ; New York: E.J. Brill, 1994), p. 4.
[268] Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre*, p. 9.

private realm relating to the home; secondly, an older style connected to church, parliament, court and the street; and lastly a new style of sociability relating to the commercialisation of culture that took place in social spaces including coffee houses, taverns, theatres, pleasure gardens and assemblies.[269] Aspects of these dimensions of sociability can be detected in many of Dance's works. Several of his drawings provide caricatures in scenes taking place in venues of sociability, including an assembly room, theatre and pleasure garden, while other works show interpretations of sociability at home or elements that portray polite behaviours. These insights into modern life and culture were made possible with a shift in financial independence from the monarch, church or very wealthy elite to a wider section of society who sought to emulate the upper classes. The middle classes created their own industries and affluence, providing a new level of social position which required fresh methods of ascribing distinction. The emergence of the manners and behaviours of polite sociability enabled traits of the upper classes to be learnt by the 'up and coming' middle classes. Sociable venues allowed degrees of mingling between classes and afforded opportunities to practice the sociable habits proffered by the many self-education books on conduct.

Opportunities for the public to converse and exchange knowledge and opinions, created a social environment where clubs and societies could flourish. The public sphere, as put forward by Habermas, saw the emerging middle classes gain some political agency through discussion forums, held in varying establishments, created and maintained by the need for acceptable sociable interactions.[270] An array of venues, such as literary clubs, assembly rooms, coffee houses and lending libraries provided opportunities for meeting a diverse selection of people with whom to exchange ideas.

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[269] Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre*, pp. 9-10; Clark, *British Clubs and Societies 1580-1800*, pp. 39, 192, 451.
[270] Gillian Russell, "Sociability," ed. Edward Copeland and Juliet McMaster, *The Cambridge Companion to Jane Austen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CCO9780521763080. p. 177.

The ideals of taste and reserve often promoted by sociable venues were not always observed, providing many satirical artists with content for drawings and prints. Dance's depictions provide an amusing view of the fashion and demeanour of some patrons. Though until now Dance's drawings have attracted little attention, his drawing of the entrance to an assembly room (Figure 32), shows a gentleman dressed in vivid green taking the hand of a lady in a voluminous dress and very high wig. Both figures fail to conform to the virtues of 'politeness', the second of the long eighteenth-century's behavioural codes of practice, as neither appears to be 'easy' or 'natural' in their presentation. The gentleman could be defined as a 'fop' in his brightly coloured suit and precise wig, complete with a large bow. This style of couture generated concerns about the erosion of masculinity in society.

Figure 32 Nathaniel Dance, *The Duty of Handing Shifted from the Male Partner*, Date unknown.Graphite, with pen and brown ink and watercolour on paper, 22.8 cm x 18.1 cm, British Museum.

Carter notes that early in the eighteenth-century, the sociable practice of politeness enabled easy, sincere social interaction, with an enlightened code of conduct to combat the incivility of earlier times. However, when polite conduct was used excessively and without true virtue, it devolved into insincerity and the proponents of this behaviour could be considered 'fops', overly refined socialites who performed 'politeness' in social arenas such as public parks, coffee houses and theatres.[271] Satirists

[271] Carter, "Men About Town," p. 34.

and writers of books on conduct used examples of fops as a 'means of commenting on more general debates concerning changing notions of acceptable and unacceptable male conduct in an urban environment given over to socialising facilitated by displays of politeness'.[272] Dance provides several examples of both women and men who dress with an excess of flamboyance. In a drawing of a theatre box (Figure 33), he depicts several women with wigs that are both very high and elaborately decorated. This unflattering rendition would suggest that these excesses were a common sight. Dance's satirical sketches focus attention on the importance of social messages conveyed in his formal oil paintings. The drawings announce the excesses, while the portraits speak of the refinement of polite sociability. Dance was more than cognisant of correct manners and behaviours; he mocked the overindulgences of those who did not understand the nuances, in Carter's words, 'lacking naturalness and ease'.[273]

Dance has several sketches picturing the character of the male dandy, for example an untitled work of a gentleman among a crowd (Figure 34). Dance shows a roughly drawn man with an exceedingly well-coiffed wig, many decorative elements on the front of his jacket, a sword and a tricorne hat; fine features provide him with the suggestion of effeminacy. Carter relates how books on conduct detailed the habits of the fop in dressing precisely to attend sociable venues in order to display their manners.[274] The highly ornamented fops described by Carter understood the manners and customs of the day, but failed to grasp the subtlety of appropriate execution; they did not conduct themselves with ease or naturalness.

[272] Carter, "Men About Town," p. 34.
[273] Philip Carter, "Men about Town: representations of foppery and masculinity," in *Gender in eighteenth-century England : roles, representations and responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), pp. 33-34.
[274] Carter, "Men About Town," pp. 31-34.

Figure 33 Nathaniel Dance, *A Side Box at an Oratorio with a Bit of the Pit,* Date unknown. Graphite on paper, 25.7 cm x 19.4 cm, Tate Britain.

Figure 34 Nathaniel Dance, *Title unknown*, Date unknown. Graphite on paper, 10.1 cm x 10.2 cm, Tate Britain.

Many of these sociable venues were available to a broad range of society, although they were not entirely open to all. Some venues, such as coffee houses, were virtually exclusively male domains, and all required appropriate attire and behaviour. For women, some venues or areas within a venue could pose a serious risk to reputation and possibly to safety. Russell discusses Frances Burney's novel *Evelina* as showing an example of potential dangers to an uninformed young lady, when the heroine is caught in the 'liminal space of the gallery stairs', or in a dark walk at the pleasure gardens where she and her female companions are confronted by a group of men.[275] Dance's drawing of a lady being pursued by two courtiers illustrates similar imagery to Burney's novel (Figure 35). While there may have been a general consensus on the ideals of manners and behaviours, they were not uniformly enacted or afforded to all. As suggested by Lawrence E Klein, the correct execution of the actions of politeness were what was important, not the virtue or authenticity of the act.[276] This distinction would eventually lead to politeness falling from grace and the emergence of the culture of sensibility.

[275] Russell, "Sociability," pp. 178-79.
[276] Lawrence E. Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," *The Historical Journal* 45, no. 4 (2002): p. 874.

Figure 35 Nathaniel Dance, *Scene in a Park, a Fat Lady and Two Courtiers*, Date unknown. Graphite on paper, 20.7 cm x 19.8 cm, Tate Britain.

Gender and Politeness

Prior to eighteenth-century styles of sociability, the primary social system was patriarchy. Patriarchy as a social system dates to antiquity, where ultimate control was seated in the leading male member of the household. Alexandra Shepard states that the meaning of patriarchy in the early modern period, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was literally equated with paternalism.[277] She quotes Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall of English Words* which gives the definition of 'patriarcke' as the 'chiefe father'.[278] Under this system even kingship was considered in terms of patriarchy, with the King the paternal ruler. The household contained three basic hierarchies in order to function efficiently: 'husbands govern wives; masters and mistresses their servants; and

[277] Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press Inc., 2003), p. 3.
[278] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 3.

parents their children'.[279] While the patriarchal system continued during the eighteenth-century, its prominence changed with the growth of a consumer economy. Shepard argues that in this period 'the distribution of patriarchal dividends became increasingly related to distinction of social position rather than divisions of age or marital status'.[280]

From the late seventeenth century, the development of a public sphere altered the interpretation of manhood/masculinity under the patriarchal system. Men judged ‘manhood’ in relation to other men rather than in terms of marital status or age.[281] Shepard believes that in the seventeenth century the concern over manliness was not that men failed to be masculine, but that they were failing to be the right type of men. She suggests that the transformation of the anxious patriarch, concerned with controlling unruly women in the sexual dynamic, became the ‘polite gentleman and fop, and, in the context of the public sphere at least, masculinity became proved between men, rather than between men and women’.[282]

The behaviour of men in society required a realignment to conform to the redefinition of what constituted being masculine or manly. In his essay “Reforming Male Manners”, Robert B Shoemaker suggests that change began well before the eighteenth century, but rapidly increased from 1700 until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Shoemaker outlines the shift from the acceptance of violence-based male behaviours to those in which ‘respectable men were increasingly expected to follow a code of behaviour, often termed “politeness”, which told them to reign in their emotions, follow the dictates of reason, and act with affability in social situations’.[283] The coffee houses, clubs and assemblies where conversation flourished were considered

[279] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 3.
[280] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, p. 7.
[281] Alexandra Shepard, "From Anxious Patriarchs to Refined Gentlemen? Manhood in Britain, circa 1500–1700," *Journal of British Studies* 44, no. 2 (2005): p. 284.
[282] Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*, pp. 10-11.
[283] Robert B. Shoemaker, "Reforming Male Manners: Public Insult and the Decline of Violence in London, 1660-1740," in *English masculinities, 1660-1800* ed. Tim Hitchcock and Michèle Cohen (London ; New York: Longman, 1999), pp. 136-38.

by Shoemaker as pivotal in redefining masculine behaviours to incorporate negotiation and compromise.

Politeness and masculinity were often termed in the courtesy commonplace to be ‘according to nature’, drawing from past classical notions.[284] Historians such as Carter and Myrone believe that at the turn of the seventeenth into the early eighteenth centuries, attitudes to masculinity clung to the beliefs of the sixteenth century moralists, with the external image supposedly reflective of the inner-self.[285] In this period, established imagery of masculinity continued to depict virtuous aggressive heroes taken from classical imagery and literature. However, Carter cites writers such as Anna Bryson, who proposes that by the 1720s and 1730s, these older ideas were being challenged and the development of a culture of ‘politeness’ placed more emphasis on the external display of appropriate civility, and dissembling or misleading behaviours became commonplace.[286]

Carter contends that integrity and quality distinguished 'politeness' from previous forms of social behaviour. ‘Modern honour, …was a quality less associated with warriorship than with lawfulness, religious respect and sociability. … At the same time, the centrality of self-control, moderation and independence to notions of polite male conduct …’.[287] This entailed an adaptation of traditional virtues of manliness to incorporate classical education and a physical fitness from activities such as dancing replacing duelling. While it was recognised that for the military some practices of ‘warriorship’ were still required to conform to moderated, polite and sociable behaviours ‘soldiers were encouraged to polish their manners by now familiar methods

[284] Klein, "Politeness and the Interpretation of the British Eighteenth Century," p. 874.
[285] Philip Carter, "Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12(2002): p. 335; Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, Introduction.
[286] Carter, "Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman," p. 335.
[287] Carter, *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain, 1660-1800*, pp. 72-73.

such as participating in female company.'[288] In his article, *Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman*, Carter's examination maps this shift in definitions of masculinity during the eighteenth-century. Carter theorises that the culture of politeness was modelled on these basic principles from Locke's high ideals of integrity, civility and morality. These principles were then reinforced by authors such as Addison and Steele in publications like *The Spectator* and reproduced visually by artists of the day, including Dance.[289]

The evolution of how masculinity was reflected in the style of the paintings during this period is important. Particularly as elements incorporated into most male portraits were important socially, and sitters paid attention to how they were presented. An example of this is the shape and size of men's calves and no-one was exempt from conforming to such social requirement, including royalty. A common feature in all these royal portraits, and many eighteenth-century portraits of men, is the appearance of the sitter as strong and vital, with sturdy, stocking clad legs. Men's calves played an important role in presentation of genteel masculinity. Elisabeth Gernerd argues that stockings were an essential element in portraiture of men, as she builds on David Kuchta's contention 'that pose and body language were essential to eighteenth-century masculinity as a means through which the aristocracy supported and maintained its power and position in society.[290] Gernerd's discussion tracks the importance of legs covering the pose and stance from conduct books to Hogarth's *Analysis of*

[288] Carter, *Men and the emergence of polite society, Britain, 1660-1800*, p. 75.
[289] Carter, "Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman," pp. 335- 38.
[290] Elisabeth Gernerd, "Pulled Tight and Gleaming: The Stocking's Position within Eighteenth-Century Masculinity," *Textile history* 46, no. 1 (2015): pp. 5-8; David Kuchta, *The Three-Piece Suit and Modern Masculinity : England, 1550-1850* (Berkeley, United States: University of California Press, 2002), pp. 3, 10-11. For further information of the importance of physiognomy and perceptions see: Johann Caspar Lavater and Thomas Holcroft, *Essays on Physiognomy* (London: William Tegg and Co., 1878); Kathryn Woods, "'Facing' Identity in a 'Faceless' Society: Physiognomy, Facial Appearance and Identity Perception in Eighteenth-Century London," *Cultural and Social History* 14, no. 2 (2017): pp. 141-42.

Beauty and his serpentine line of beauty.[291] That the presentation of one's legs was significant to the sitters is evident from anecdotes such as Ramsay being amused by Lord Bute's efforts to pose to show off his legs to best advantage and Lord Chesterfield in a letter to his friend Nugent, 20 June 1741, concerning physical decline in old age, 'those Athletick calves will one day shrink and dwindle into the tremulous supports of a nodding superstructure'.[292] The personal image of the King reflected the attributes of genteel masculinity, while the Royal personae presented the symbols of his regal power and nationalism.

Figure 36 Nathaniel Dance, *King George III*, 1768-69. Oil on canvas, 234 cm x 142 cm, National Trust, Uppark.

[291] William Hogarth and Ronald Paulson, *The analysis of beauty* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 80.

[292] Alastair Smart, *Allan Ramsay : painter, essayist and man of the enlightenment* (New Haven: Published for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art by Yale University Press, 1992), p. 152; Claud Nugent, *Memoir of Robert, earl Nugent, with letters, poems, and appendices* (London,: W. Heinemann, 1898).

Dance's royal portrait of George III (Figure 36), in the collection at Uppark, has been modelled on Allan Ramsay's portrait of George as the Prince of Wales: both portraits feature key symbols traditionally included in portraits of British monarchs. In this portrait, the King is pictured larger than life, slightly turned to the left, looking toward the viewer, authoritatively but not confrontationally. This pose conforms to the eighteenth-century views of genteel masculinity but does not detract from his strength as a ruler. Paintings by Dance that clearly highlight key factors depicting a gentleman's attributes and status according to 1760s requirements include the *Grant Conversation Pieces* (Figure 1). Choosing Dance as the artist shows he displayed an acceptable air of sociability, and the sitters' portraits reveal much about the social image they wished to demonstrate. These paintings display the subjects as composed, educated, wealthy and tastefully attired, without any flamboyance or frivolousness of continental effeminate excess. The gentlemen of the Grant conversation pieces were neither fop nor 'macaroni'; who were defined by Carter as 'acting the part or seduced by fashion and triviality, fops, were in danger of allowing their refinement to be overwhelmed by effeminacy'.[293] Myrone quotes Robinson, the seated gentleman depicted in this conversation piece, as voicing concerns about the values of European men in his letters home during his Grand Tour. Robinson stated that continental titled men were weak and effeminate, and could easily be defeated in a fight or with the sword.[294] Robinson discussed art in gendered language with masculine terms such as 'clear', 'force' and 'dignity', with no mention of feminine luxuries of consumption or entertainment. Robinson's judgement of masculinity conformed to the best opinions of the time: that manliness required physical strength, independence, judgement, courage, moderation and sense.[295] The Grant conversation pieces were created in the midst of Britain's

[293] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 212.
[294] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 50.
[295] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 50.

conflict with Spain and France that became known as the Seven Years' War. British judgements were decidedly negative towards the behaviours and customs of many European countries, particularly France. Generally, French men were considered to be effeminate, which is strongly reflected in Robinson's correspondence. He wrote often with the underlying theme of taste, suggesting that the English have common sense, without the French 'despicable "frivolette"'.[296] Authentic masculinity after the Seven Years' War was codified around the judgement of taste.

Portraits featuring women and children often reflected society's consumption and entertainment, particularly in family conversation pieces, while also providing views of masculine attributes. Dance's conversation piece, the *Sir James and Lady Hodges, their sons John, James and Henry, and their daughters Mary and Elizabeth* (1766) (Figure 37) shows a refined and up-to-date family in their tastefully decorated drawing room. Polite masculinity here is represented by the father's prosperity and ability to provide for his family, and, importantly, his masculine robustness has ensured the future of his family line. The trappings of modernity fill the canvas, along with the associations of the family's affluence. The family are fashionably, though not ostentatiously, dressed. A daughter holds a mandolin, alluding to her accomplishments in music and suggesting education. The men of the family are appropriately groomed, each in three-piece suits with their hair or wig dressed with neat precision. Expensive-looking carpet and curtains frame two sides of the work and the backdrop of the fireplace completes the painting's subtle allusions to prosperity. The fire surround is relatively simple, but it is ornamented with a decorative fireguard and a collection of porcelain pieces on the mantel. Above these is a classically inspired painting of a landscape with ruins. This group portrait tells the story of the successful father with

[296] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 51. For further reading on art and the Seven Years' War see Douglas Fordham, *British Art and the Seven Years' War - Allegiance and Autonomy* (Philadelphia and Oxford: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010).

children who all survived to adulthood. Without overt reference to the heroic or to violence, this painting still portrays Mr Hodges and his sons' strength and masculine attributes, while at the same time suggesting his polite virtues and those of his wife and daughters. Compared to a similar work of the *Rogers Family* (1740) (Figure 22) by Dance's tutor Francis Hayman from around 25 years earlier, the stylistic changes are evident. Leaving aside the generic family features, the room in the Hayman piece is virtually unadorned, apart from an ornamented fireplace with a single carved profile relief instead of a painting. Though it portrays the serving of tea, and the figures are equally fashionable in their attire, there is little that is personal or telling about the circumstances of the family. There are no musical instruments or other items to be read or viewed as there are in the Grant and Hodges paintings. The clutter of the consumer society is absent in Hayman's *Rogers Family* (Figure 22), which displays only succession of lineage and wealth via the clothing, the tea and the room size; Hayman has limited any allusions to character traits such as taste or fashion.

Figure 37 Nathaniel Dance, *Sir James and Lady Hodges, their sons John, James and Henry, and their daughters Mary and Elizabeth*, c. 1766. Oil on canvas, 143 cm x 155.5 cm, Cincinnati Art Museum.

A third conversation piece by Dance, *The Pybus Family* (c. 1769) (Figure 38) shows a different aspect of status and success displayed as a central theme. The family had returned from the East, with sufficient wealth to purchase an estate in Hertfordshire. They engaged Dance to paint a family portrait, one of at least three paintings Pybus commissioned. Beyond the physical paintings, these commissions highlight the importance of sociable connections, as similar commissions were received by Dance around the same dates from friends and associates of Pybus, Lord Clive and Robert Palk; all were successful in the East India Company.[297] Like Hayman's *Tyers Family*, this painting displays the line of succession of the family, and the quality of the clothing denotes the family's affluence. The girls are dressed in fashions that are less restrictive,

[297] Emma Lauze, "A Nabob's Return: the Pybus conversation piece by Nathaniel Dance," *Art Bulletin of Victoria* 43(2003): p. 37.

displaying their knowledge of modern tastes in ladies' dresses. The posing of this work is reminiscent of the earlier Grant conversation piece, with the tree and vines pushing the viewer's gaze to the lighter left side of the canvas, framing the girls against the distant landscape. The father's authority here appears benevolent as his attention rests on his wife and youngest child, Charles. A man born to modest means, John Pybus used this painting as a statement of his success in all aspects of his life, career, family and property ownership; it portrays him as an accomplished masculine figure.

These three conversation pieces reveal similar and divergent aspects of masculinity in the mid-eighteenth-century. This faceted view of masculinity is noted by Carter and others, including Michèle Cohen, who believed there is not a single form of masculinity, but several forms. This reflects Carter's view that 'masculinity was not just a social but a sociable category in which gender identity was conferred, or denied, by men's capacity for gentlemanly social performance'.[298] Historians Davidoff and Hall propose that the more physical form of masculinity was adapted so that 'masculinity was based on sport and codes of honour derived from military prowess, finding expression in hunting, riding, drinking and wenching'.[299] The Grant work conveys the classical Lockean ideals of the well-educated and worldly young gentleman with fashionable tastes that do not run to excess. These are similar ideals to those expressed in the Pybus Family portrait, and both show that sociable politeness could be advantageous to social progression. The Hodges Family portrait provides a view of the masculine and feminine elements of a consumer society, showing fashionable tastes for collectables and decoration.

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[298] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 209.
[299] Cohen, ""Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830," pp. 326-28; Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family fortunes : men and women of the English middle class 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Goldsmith, "Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour," pp. 3-4.

Figure 38 Nathaniel Dance, *The Pybus family*, c. 1769., Oil on canvas, 144.0 cm x 142.3 cm, National Gallery of Victoria Australia.

With the growth of the consumer society there was a progressive shift in concepts of masculinity and depictions of heroic figures. As Myrone notes artists were encouraged to emulate the great masters from antiquity to become 'heroic in their own person — giants in their fields, acclaimed in the present day, commemorated in future eras'.[300] In the history paintings produced by Dance, Myrone believes that only his first painting, The Death of Virginia (Figure 3), depicts the aggressive hero from classical mythology.[301] This painting, from which prints were made in Rome, is believed by Goodreau to be 'the earliest precursor of David's *Oath of the Horatii*.'[302] With the adaptation of the 'hero' into a more refined figure, the 'epic hero' figure of mythology became applicable only to the military or the adventurer with reduced relevance in a society increasingly based in commerce, enlightenment and social refinement.[303] This

[300] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, pp. 1-2.
[301] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 68.
[302] David Antony Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance: An Unpublished Letter," *The Burlington Magazine* Vol. 114, no. 835 (1972): p. 715; Dance, "Letters to Dance Family."
[303] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 2.

shift in the construct of 'hero' and 'virtue' from an armed military context to commerce required the redefinition of masculinity in broader society. This translated into the cultural and social realm as 'manners' and 'refinement', creating new forms of personal virtue no longer built on the classical heroic warrior or land ownership. This shifted power to a wider civil society whose values and political and social power reflected these cultural changes.304 This may have resulted in the further decline in popularity of history paintings in Britain and the rise of the portrait as a statements of social position.

The transformation of masculinity saw a new gendered social reality that redefined masculinity from the myth-based hero to an educated professional model. The hero in art depicted these contradictory personae in line with modern society. The first movement in the changing hero/masculine imagery can be seen in Dance's other history paintings, which, continuing with classical mythological subjects, show the heroes in more passive roles from Virgil's works.[305] These works begin to show the 'polite' side of the masculine hero more acceptable in mid-eighteenth-century society.

Polite society drew on classical ideals and the heroic masculine figure of mythology but adapted them to suit the more leisured, social society. As suggested by Davidoff and Hall, sporting pursuits could be seen as a substitute for the actions of an aggressive warrior. This change is also suggested by Goldsmith, as the gentlemen on their Grand Tour included physical feats of adventure such as scaling mountains.[306] Images such as Dance's portrait of *Thomas Nuthall with a Dog and Gun* (

Figure 39) could easily be construed as a warrior victorious in battle, instead of a gentleman hunting game on his lands. Nuthall stands over his vanquished prey, reloading his musket, his attentive hound watching and awaiting the next command. His fashionable forest-green three-piece suit, leather riding boots and hat suggest he may be

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[304] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 3.
[305] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, pp. 71-72.
[306] Goldsmith, "Dogs, Servants and Masculinities: Writing about Danger on the Grand Tour," pp. 3-7.

equally at home in the town square or coffee-house as wading through the forest. Nuthall, a lawyer and public official, had close relationships with several politicians throughout his life and at times benefitted from patronage by Horace Walpole and William Pitt. The man of leisure and commerce now hunts game, as much for pleasure and entertainment as to stock his larder. He asserts his masculinity with a healthy, physically strong body as well as with his sense of fashion and taste. Wahrman proposes that in the eighteenth-century identity was flexible and could change with the donning of a suit of clothes, which could suggest that Nuthall, the lawyer, assumed the identity of the heroic hunter by wearing his forest-green hunting suit and boots.[307]

Figure 39 Nathaniel Dance, *Thomas Nuthall with a Dog and Gun*, Date unknown. Oil on canvas, 224.2 cm x 146.0 cm, Tate Britain.

The broader range of portraits from the second half of the eighteenth-century projected masculinity via the dress, posture, setting and with the use of the accessories depicted with the sitters. Lynn Festa examines some of these accessories, particularly

[307] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 177-78.

wigs, in her article, *Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism*, to discuss the relationship between personal possessions and personal identity. The status of the wig varied with

> seventeenth-century Puritan polemics [that] rail[ed] against gender-eroding and soul-corrupting potential of outer layers, eighteenth-century writers on wigs are principally concerned with distinctions of rank, nation, gender and occupation. … the circulation of the wig on the free market allowed men to purchase the signs of rank and profession without possessing the interior quality … .[308]

For a time wig design became as flamboyant as the clothing of the fop, making it a target for the satirist (Figure 40). The satirists' cartoons, including many produced by Dance, were one of the few areas in which art can be seen to make the distinction between manners and sensibility, by mocking those who do not correctly display their sensibility[309] However, specific wigs remained statements of rank and occupation, as seen in the judiciary even today.

[308] Lynn Festa, "Personal Effects: Wigs and Possessive Individualism in the Long Eigtheenth Century," *Eighteenth-Century Life* 29(2005): p. 49.
[309] Festa, "Personal Effects," p. 49.

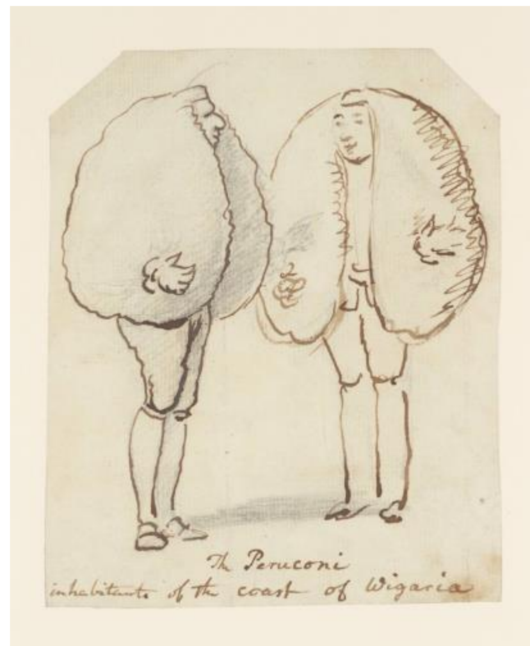

Figure 40 Nathaniel Dance, *The Peruconi Inhabitants of Wigaria*, Date unknown. Graphite and ink on paper, 16.9 cm x 13.7 cm, Tate Britain.

Many unlikely accessories were indicators of masculinity, a subject Marcia Pointon has explored in several publications including *Portrayal and the Search for Identity*, particularly her discussion on the use of stockings and buttons.[310] By the 1760s, Dance was established as a reputable portrait artist and his skill included the knowledge and appropriate use of the symbols that bound masculinity with wealth, success and social status. Whether they were the accoutrements and accessories that appear in a composition, or the correct suit of clothing, these masculine indicators were an essential component in any portrait of a male figure in Britain in the eighteenth-century. These semiotic themes provided a commonality that enabled the development of an elite group culture that formed a distinct cultural identity.[311] These distinctions became more important as class delineations became less obvious, and as wealth and land holding were no longer the most visible markers of social rank or status.[312] Images of the

[310] Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity (Electronic Book)*. ; Pointon, *Hanging the Head*.
[311] Maura A Henry and H T Dickinson (eds.), "The Making of Elite Culture," 17 October 2013, http://www.blackwellreference.com/subscriber/tocnode.html?id=g9780631218371_chunk_g978063121837128>.
[312] Henry and Dickinson (eds.), "The Making of Elite Culture," 17 October 2013.

educated, financially secure gentleman developed common pictorial compositions that were instantly recognisable as displays of status, wealth and masculinity. Dance's *Portrait of a Gentleman* (thought to be William Lock) (Figure 41) exhibits the attributes of an established, successful gentleman. Lock is attired in a fashionable suit, complete with elegant gold braidwork and many gold buttons. His lace cuffs and tie are delicately woven and set off the blue and gold of his suit. We are informed by the numerous books that surround him the he is well educated. They are not insignificant novels, but rather large leather-bound tomes, including one proudly held between his hand and knee, by the philosopher John Locke. It is suggested that William Lock believed he was related to John Locke, on whose writings the culture of politeness were considered to have been modelled. Lock's robust stature provides an air of stability and strength, rounding out his masculine deportment. In the same way, Dance's portrait of *Captain James Cook* (Figure 42) projects an accomplished gentleman beyond his status as a naval mariner.

Figure 41 Nathaniel Dance, *Portrait of a Gentleman*, 1760-1780.
Oil on canvas, 127.5 cm x 101.5 cm, Princeton University.

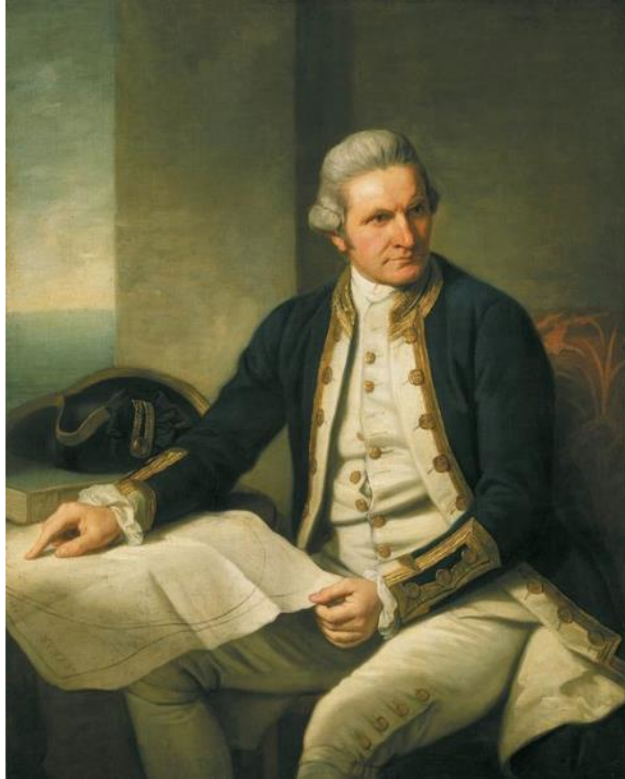

Figure 42 Nathaniel Dance, *Captain James Cook*, c. 1775-6. Oil on canvas, 127.0 cm x 101.6 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

Cook's portrait can be considered to be a study of the polite gentleman, with the 'side-bar' of successful explorer and authoritative naval officer. Sitting for this portrait just only months before leaving on his third voyage, Cook is featured in his naval uniform, traditionally he should be standing before the turbulent ocean, a ship in the distance, directing the viewer's attention to the brave deeds he had achieved and those still to come. Instead, Dance shows Cook seated at a table, his map of the Pacific open before him and his journals to the side. Like the image of Lock, the posture displayed in this painting is associated with the figure of a gentleman. The quality of the gold braiding and large volume of gold-crested buttons speak of Cook as a man of means. The composed stern features of his face and steadfast posture provide a bearing of strength, self-control, intelligence and authority: all qualities of a polite gentleman, perhaps even of sensibility. A possible key to the composition of this portrait may be that it was commissioned not by Cook, but Sir Joseph Banks (Figure 43). Banks may

have proposed this portrait to be a companion piece to one of himself by Sir Joshua Reynolds. The two portraits did hang in the same room in Banks's house and their dimensions are near identical. In composition they work well together, each man seated on a slight turn at a table. The partial window, with a view to the sea, could recall their voyage together to the Pacific. Banks rests his arm on a pile of papers, while Cook rests his on his map. Banks's globe of the world is balanced by Cook's journal and tricorne hat, with each man framed against a wall of a dark sandy tone. For these paintings to be hung together it was essential for Cook's portrait not to overshadow that of Banks, as, after all, Banks was the patron. Regardless of the reason for their creation, these works encompass the ideals of the polite masculine gentleman of the eighteenth-century.

Figure 43 Joshua Reynolds, *Sir Joseph Banks*, 1771-73. Oil on canvas, 127.0 cm x 101.5 cm, National Portrait Gallery, London.

Polite culture persisted into the middle of the century as Carter concludes, at that point, although 'politeness' as a code of behaviour was defended by many quarters

of society it was gradually redefined into 'sensibility' grounded by 'integrity'.[313] The distrust of the polite behaviours meant that masculinity was in danger of being lost along with physical strength, independence, judgement, courage, moderation and sense.[314] Balancing the level of manliness and effeminacy was essential to success in the social environment.[315] Dance understood the need for this balance, as demonstrated by contrasting his paintings with his caricatures. Visually, politeness and sensibility are difficult to separate as both used the same language and many of the same symbolic references.[316] However, the belief was that with politeness one's inner values were visible in the actions, manners and behaviours portrayed, while sensibility involved displaying those inner feelings and emotions with integrity.

Gender and the Shift to Sensibility

Sensibility was not absolutely distinct from politeness, using nearly the same vocabulary and practices in the coffee-houses and public venues, but sensibility sought to align a 'synthesis between humanity and social expression', negating the corruptions of personal gain exploited under the earlier version of polite society.[317] Sensibility drew on the visible expression of inner sensitivity with an outward show of emotions rather than relying on spoken words. The publication in 1748 of the letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope, 4th Earl of Chesterfield, to his son is often considered as signalling the beginning of the end for politeness.[318] He states, '[i]n order to know people's real sentiments, I trust much more to my eyes that to my ears; for they can say whatever they have a mind I should hear; but they can seldom help looking what they have no intention that I should know'. This suggests that politeness was a performance rather

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313 Carter, "Polite 'Persons': Character, Biography and the Gentleman," p. 336.
314 Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 212.
315 Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 213.
316 Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 211.
317 Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 211.
318 Philip Dormer Stanhope Earl of Roberts Chesterfield, *Letters* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

than the actions of a truly honest social interaction.[319] Many of the characteristics of politeness remained those of sensibility. However, for men, being judged fashionable and overstated could lead to being considered a fop and effeminate.[320] For women, the changes between politeness and sensibility were virtually invisible.

The imagery that defines a polite or a sensible gentlewoman is basically the same. Dance's portrait of *Maria Walpole, Duchess of Gloucester,* c. 1766-69 (Figure 44) depicts a woman of wealth: her dress fabric, jewellery and the room furnishings confirm this, just as the books suggest her intelligence and education. The Duchess's position as part of the consumer society is featured all around her. The book she has open on her lap and those at her side on the table remind the viewer of the booming market for fiction books and romance novels. At the back of the picture, the fireplace mantle is adorned with a collection of porcelain, while the fireguard is decorated with colourful flowers. The sitter's casual pose, seated, caught leisurely reading, removes this painting from being strictly a formal family portrait, giving it an element of polite or sensible relaxation and an almost natural air. It is also worth mentioning that the posing of the Duchess, along with the collection, ornamental rug, fireplace and guard, is very similar to that of Mrs Hodges in the *Hodges Family* conversation piece discussed earlier: both pictures portray a woman of her time.[321] Dance's most casual and intimate portraits can be found among his drawings. His portrait of his sister Hester (Figure 45) shows her seated in an armchair, marking her place in the book she has just been reading. While her outfit is far less decorative and rich than Maria Walpole's, it is a similar style. This graphite work does not feature the room surrounding the sitter, but does suggest that the young woman, with her printed dress, was a part of the consumer society. Fabrics with printed patterns were increasing in popularity at this time. Dance

[319] Chesterfield, *Letters*, p. 105.
[320] Carter, *Men and the Emergence of Polite Society*, p. 211.
[321] Corey Piper, "A contribution to the iconography of Maria Walpole (1736-1807): a portrait by Nathaniel Dance," *British Art Journal* 12, no. 2, Autumn (2011).

has drawn and painted several young women featured in fashionable, looser dresses with printed floral designs. These works again show how the modern tastes and fashions are impressed into the art at the time of production. These ladies of polite or sensible dispositions appear composed and natural in their environments.

Figure 44 Nathaniel Dance, *Maria Walpole, Duchess of Gloucester*, c. 1766-69. Oil on canvas, Dimensions unknown, Virginia Museum of Fine Art, Richmond, USA.

Figure 45 Nathaniel Dance, *Portrait of Hester Smith née Dance*, 1769. Graphite on paper, 35.7 cm x 26.0 cm, Tate Britain.

These depictions of women were only a part of the wide variety of female imagery that was dependent on the function and purpose for which the works were created. While Carter and Myrone debate the construction of masculinity in Britain during the eighteenth-century, in her essay *Keeping Up with the Bon Ton*, Cindy McCreery discusses the role of the portraits in the *Town and Country Magazine's* 'Tête-à-Têtes' column. The term 'bon ton' is described by Russell as being 'adopted by the fashionable elite in the 1750s as a means of self-advertisement and distinction … [it] had by 1775 come to stand for the impossibility of determining the boundaries of the fashionable world, both socially and discursively'.[322]

Chesterfield's published letters aided this ambiguity. The portraits discussed by McCreery served as adjuncts to the gossip column rather than accurate representations of the people. The oval, head-and-shoulders images, usually in profile, still presented the sitter in accordance with the fashions and styles of the period; however, elements denoting character and status could be intentionally dissembled.[323] McCreery discusses how these portraits caricatured companion portraits, playing with notions of marriage portraits, or miniatures, echoing the roles of the heroic male and the place of the female subject, usually of lower social status.[324] The women were usually mistresses though some aristocratic women and actresses were occasionally featured. The 'hero' or male figure was generally the primary focus of the articles, with the woman playing a subordinate role; McCreery suggests that this is to do with the availability of family biographical information.[325] The portraits of these women were entirely a product of a market economy, feeding into the growth of the print industry and the increasing passion for collecting prints of notable people. The gendering of how individuals were

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[322] Russell, *Women, Sociability and Theatre*, pp. 197-98.
[323] Cindy McCreery, "Keeping Up with the Bon Ton," in *Gender in eighteenth-century England : roles, representations and responsibilities*, ed. Hannah Barker and Elaine Chalus (London: Addison Wesley Longman, 1997), pp. 216-17.
[324] McCreery, "Keeping Up with the Bon Ton," pp. 215-17.
[325] McCreery, "Keeping Up with the Bon Ton," pp. 217 - 20.

depicted, even in caricatures was highly orchestrated to conform to public tastes. The artist had to provide a product that suited the increasingly commercial market, though they may not always conform to a polite or sensible regime of courtesy and manners.

The 'Tête-à-Têtes' portraits show a side of society that was not concerned with appropriate or correct conduct in an alternate view to those of domestic oil-painted portraits, as did Dance's more satirical caricature drawings. Dance produced multiple drawings of people's excesses, particularly regarding food. He provides an insight into the gluttony (Figure 46) and the lack of decorum around some tables. No society is perfect, and Dance's cartoons of wealthy women turning away the pleas of beggars (Figure 47) reveal this society's inequalities. Dance's cartoons reflect his personal thoughts; there is no evidence of publication of these works — though some may have been — these works are more the artist's observations of society. Polite or sensible behaviour was not uniformly executed across all levels of society's classes, but perhaps primarily among one's social peers and those of influence. The antithesis of these drawings is Dance's depiction of the *Beggar from Birdcage Walk* (Figure 48), which he executed with sensitivity and compassion. The selective use of manners and cultural behaviours may have been part of why sensibility, too, eventually became obsolete.

Figure 46 Nathaniel Dance, *A Fat Man Eating and Drinking. The Glutton*, Date unknown Graphite and watercolour on paper, 15.6 cm x 16.9 cm, Tate Britain.

Figure 47 Nathaniel Dance, *Images of beggars*, date unknown. Graphite and ink on

paper, 10.7 cm x 15.9 cm, Tate Britain.

Figure 48 Print by Charles Townley after Nathaniel Dance, *A Beggar who frequented the Bird Cage Walk*, c. 1761-1800. Mezzotint on paper, 48.5 cm x 35.6 cm, British Museum.

During the eighteenth-century there was an increasing necessity to develop the correct set of behaviours and manners in order to interact sociably in society. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, a culture of polite behaviour became the dominant indicator of social status and informed the defining principles of masculine and feminine deportment. Educating oneself in the appropriate cultural manners could assist people to advance their status in society. Politeness, and later sensibility, along with the increasing number of venues in the public sphere, allowed a much wider section of society to cultivate social connections that could assist them in their careers and business opportunities, as well as in social advancement. Dance's portraits allowed

individuals to highlight their social assets to the painting's audience, while his caricatures use humour to reveal social excess in the behaviours of the upper classes.

While the guidelines of behaviours for men and women may have been based on the same principles, the outcomes for the genders were vastly different. The shift in manners from polite to sensible had little impact on the conduct of women. The opposite was true for men. The definitions of what it was to be 'manly' changed and conformed to the fashions, tastes and fears of society. Beginning with forms of flamboyance which were firstly reined in as effeminate, and then Frenchified as Britain went to war with Spain and France, the fops were viewed with increasing suspicion. With masculinity inclusive of self-restraint, strength and intelligence, among other traits, men had to adapt over the course of the century from not showing emotions to sensibility's need to show emotions.

For Dance, and his peers, the shifts and turns in manners and behaviours of sociability required constant attention to the subtleties of portrayal. These were depicted by Dance in his portraits and the excesses of elements of society ridiculed in his caricatures. His portraits incorporated the nuances of sociability with delicate attention to detail.

Chapter Four – Institutional Portraiture, Networking and Group Identity

> The practice he obtained was of a very limited nature, and certainly altogether inadequate to account for his subsequent elevation.[326]

> For this vote Lord Chatham made Dr Cornwallis Archbishop of Canterbury.[327]

Sociability, and codes of behaviour, were driving forces in the formation of group identity in the eighteenth-century, including for the emerging class of professional men. Dance's portraiture reveals a codification of professional institutional portraits across several occupations. In the same way as it was essential for King George III to navigate the social conventions of Britain's eighteenth-century society to maintain the power of his position, the professional classes were also restrained by society's system of manners and behaviours. In the eighteenth-century, professional men — in this context comprising the judiciary, the clergy, politicians and military officers — were developing into a distinct social class, positioned above the middle classes and within the lower orders of the aristocratic hierarchy. This chapter examines three professions (judiciary, clergy and politicians) to evaluate how an individual's success was influenced by the complexities of social networks, and explores how this was incorporated into the imagery of their portraits. Military portraits contain their own particular conventions, and are discussed in Chapter 5.

Society's need to establish and maintain a system of social hierarchy enabled the development of a class of men who were defined by their careers and professions. Britain's *primogeniture* hereditary conventions meant that inheritance usually went to the eldest son, leaving younger brothers to establish their own wealth and position in

[326] *Lives of Eminent English Judges of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*..
[327] *Anecdotes of the life of the Right Hon William Pitt Earl of Chatham and of the principal events of his time with his speeches in parliament from the year 1736 to the year 1778*, 3 vols., vol. 2 (London: Printed for L B Seeley, 1797), p. 80.

society; this required these men to take up suitable careers through which they could create their reputations and fortunes. Many of these professions began at this time to form group identities, and to employ clear symbols of their professional institutions. The institutionalisation of professions assisted in the establishment of a distinct social category and associated imagery, which was distinguished by its distinctive and uniform dress. The first section of this chapter draws on examples of Dance's portraits of professional men as case studies showing the emergence of institutionalised imagery in portraiture of professionals. These examples of institutionalised portraits are an interface for sitters to reflect the status and reputations of the professions, conferring sitters with status and power. The codification of the imagery aided the formation of group identities that benefitted both institution and sitter. How, and where, these portraits were displayed conveyed ideas of power and social position which were essential to their function. This was further enhanced by the iconography embedded in the portrait. Within each professional group are two distinct strata with differing visual imagery: the highly-placed individuals, and those of lower rank.

The second section of this chapter takes a broader approach, exploring the role of social networks in the creation of a successful career in these professions. To fully appreciate the web of social networks in this group of Dance's portraits, and to interpret the interaction of portraits and sociability in society, the biographies of the sitters are examined. Progression in the ranks of professions, while theoretically merit-based, was in reality, nearly inseparable from individual social connections and networks.

Dance's portraits of this segment of society formed a considerable portion of his work, including many duplicated works. They illustrate how institutional information is used as propaganda in the promotion of individuals and their institution through the use of artistic conventions. This chapter explores questions such as: is the sitter's personal identity depicted, or are these images more a representation of the

profession than the individual? Are these portraits, as is the case for the military versions, actually images of men portraying a role, as actors on a stage or part of a masquerade? The two styles of portraits of professional men reveal how the costumes, the robes and trappings of office functioned to shield the individual's personal character, depicting only the office held; and, how a group identity was present in the less formal portraits, aided by the conventional compositional elements of Georgian portraiture.

Institutionalised Portraiture and Iconography

Works with institutional themes in Dance's oeuvre follow formats consolidated in the eighteenth-century. These works emphasise a collective identity in a particular group of sitters. Some of the earliest instances of this type of group identity can be seen in portraits of members of clubs and societies, and in collections such as Lely's *Beauties*. Pointon suggests that a collective identity is created by groups of works such as George Knapton's (1698-1778) twenty-three paintings of members of the *Society of Dilettanti*. Pointon states, '[t]he collective identity is maintained by format, by artist and by a common location for their display'.[328] Despite each sitter being individually portrayed in masquerade costume, Pointon says that Knapton's use of uniform portrait size, location and format creates the collective identity that designates these men as members of the Society.

An example of portraits of club members with similar institutional character are Godfrey Kneller's (1646-1723) Kit-Cat Club portraits (examples are Figure 49, Figure 50 and Figure 51). The main function of the club was conviviality, a key component in the sociable society. J Douglas Stewart notes that there are precedents for these types of portraits, including donor portraits and group portraits by Rembrandt,

[328] Pointon, *Hanging the head : portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England*, p. 82.

Hals and Lely; however, he considers the size of the Kit-Cat Club portraits makes them unique.[329]

Figure 49 After Sir Godfrey Kneller, *Charles Sackville, 6th Earl of Dorset*, based on a work of 1702, oil on canvas, National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 50 Godfrey Kneller, *Charles Dartiquenave*, c. 1697. Oil on canvas. National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 51 Godfrey Kneller, *Charles Fitzroy, 2nd Duke of Grafton*, c. 1703. Oil on canvas. National Portrait Gallery.

Despite membership from a broad range of professions that included politics, naval affairs, literature, theatre and the visual arts, and involvement in leisurely pastimes of feasting and drinking, the club had serious intent: the members were all supporters of the Whig Party.[330] These portraits were created as a group display, and Pointon argues that the uniformity acted to reduce the chance of representing the member as an individual. This uniformity included size, colouration, tonality, location of display, and in most, a periwig.[331] Pointon sums up the purpose of this uniform nature of these works:

[329] J. Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller [catalogue of an exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery]* (London,: Bell; National Portrait Gallery, 1971), pp. iii - vii. These portraits are of a group of influential men pledged to uphold the 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688 and the Protestant succession. Founded by Somers, the Lord Chancellor and the publisher Tonson, the club began meeting in Christopher Cat's tavern near Temple Bar, and took its name from his mutton pies known as Kit-cats. Members included Whig MPs and landowners as well as writers. The artist, Kneller, adopted a standard 'kit-cat' format of 36 x 28 inches instead of the standard 30 x 25 inches for the portraits. In the 1730s they hung in a special room which Tonson junior had built at his house at Barn Elms. Source https://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/set/347/The+Kit-cat+Club+portraits:+by+Sir+Godfrey+Kneller
[330] Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller [catalogue of an exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery]*, p. v.
[331] Pointon, *Hanging the head : portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England*, p. 130; Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller [catalogue of an exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery]*, p. vi.

> It is precisely those forms of schematization that society deploy in order to establish a register of permanent characteristics against which likeness can be measured (as well as group affiliations established) that are seized upon and replicated to provide a visual cypher of a culture for a future generation.[332]

This repetitiveness of dimensions, pose, dress and display amount to the key characteristics of institutional portraits which would be adopted by Britain's emerging professional classes.

Within the professional classes, there is a marked difference in Dance's portraits between those who held dual roles as politicians and judges or clergy, and those who were solely politicians. Most judges and clergy depicted generally held higher ranks in their professions and portraits conveyed their role and their organisation rather than details of the individual. These portraits established imagery that represents the institution to which these men belonged, as well as presenting individual men. Their conventions are not present in other forms of portrait of this time. From their sombre tonality to the consistent use of the robes of office, these portraits establish an authority for the sitter that is inherently bound to the power of the office they hold, not to their personal title or wealth. This institutionalisation of their portraiture reflects the establishment of a group identity, with repeated symbols and iconography informing the viewer of the sitter's power, authority and position.

Lower ranked politicians of the professional class — generally members of the House of Commons, not the House of Lords — are depicted by Dance as landed gentry, while those with more prominence in the institution were represented professionally rather than as individuals. Similarly to the middle classes imitating the aristocratic imagery set in the estate and the manor house, these politicians promoted themselves and their eligibility as members of the political establishment. Dance certainly did not

[332] Pointon, *Hanging the head : portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England*, p. 82.

establish these distinct formats; he was, however, among their early proponents. His works formed part of a body of portraits that enabled these conventions to become so entrenched that they remain the basis of many institutional portraits to the present day.

An examination of a selection of portraits by Dance from these professions highlights the characteristics of what today is recognised as institutional portraiture. In her article *Symbolic Façades: Official Portraits in British Institutions Since 1920*, Charlotte Townsend-Gault contends that the conventions and qualities established by eighteenth-century British artists continued to dominate these institutional types of portraits until at least the 1920s. Townsend-Gault notes that the qualities of power and authority conveyed by these works are '[a]ided by the patina of time and the ageing of old varnishes', and include 'muted colours, narrow tonal range, low contrast of both tone and forms, softened angles and smooth finish'.[333] Dance's portraits, such as *Lord Chancellor Bathurst* (Figure 53); *Sir John Eardley Wilmot* (Figure 52); *Charles Pratt, 1st Lord Camden* (Figure 19); *Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Figure 56); and *Richard Terrick, Bishop of London* (Figure 55), present these qualities. If one considers the monumental size of most of these paintings, particularly for this discussion, Eardley Wilmot (Figure 52) and Bathurst (Figure 53), the obvious conclusion is that these works functioned in a corporate not domestic capacity. The portraits of Eardley Wilmot and Bathurst are both approximately 235 cm x 145 cm, making them larger than life and imposing works even before the addition of any ornate gilt fame. Additionally, there are other features that identify these works as having more relevance in an institutional environment, such as the elements included in the composition which lack any direct personal connection with the sitter.

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[333] Charlotte Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," *Art History* 11(1988): p. 513.

Figure 52 Nathaniel Dance, *Sir John Eardley Wilmot*, Date unknown. Oil on canvas. 235.0 cm x 148.0 cm, Government Art Collection UK, Royal Courts of Justice.

Figure 53 Nathaniel Dance, *Lord Chancellor Bathurst, 2nd Earl Apsley*, c. 1771. Oil on canvas. 236.2 cm x 144.8 cm. Earl of Bathurst plus a copy in the halls of Lincolns Inn, London.

The identity expressed in these institutional portraits, as concluded by Townsend-Gault, is that of the institution and not the individual. She argues that these portraits work as role models for the institution, setting the values and standards to which future members should aspire.[334] Eardley-Wilmot and Bathurst represent the upper echelons of the judiciary, and their grand stature in these works embellish the reputation of the courts as well as their personal standing. Townsend-Gault suggests that by typecasting the representations of their membership, the group identities of professions enabled individuals in each group to portray the characteristic associated with their profession; that is, academics appear scholarly and brilliant, military men are

[334] Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," pp. 512-14.

courageous and the judiciary express integrity.[335] Dance's portraits of professionals in high office exhibit many of the qualities outlined by Townsend-Gault. These works use a limited colour palette, the tonal range is constrained, the poses are uniform and the finished paintings are smooth and nearly free of visible brushstrokes. The standardisation of poses and finish are particularly evident in the smaller, three-quarter length portraits of Pratt, Cornwallis, Terrick and Frederick North, 2nd Earl of Guilford and future Prime Minister (Figure 19, Figure 56, Figure 55,

Figure 54). Pratt, Cornwallis and North are very similar in composition and pose, the placement of the sitters' hands is consistent, though not identical; Cornwallis meets the viewer's gaze, as does Terrick, whose posture is assertive in comparison to the others. These paintings show that Dance used customary formats, including the size of the canvas, for specific styles of portraits, but still styled works individually.

All four men are presented in the same basic pose, and their robes and wigs define them as representatives of their professions. Cornwallis and Terrick are in a bishop's attire, North is presented as Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Pratt in the robes of the Lord Chancellor. Costume distinguishes their connections; these portraits present little that is personal. The clergymen are nearly interchangeable in appearance; the only difference is the intensity of Terrick's direct gaze and fullness of his bent elbows. The background ornamentation suggests they were painted in the artist's studio, as the curtains, chair and even the books are very similar. Dance's painting of Cornwallis was painted the year he became the Archbishop of Canterbury, 1768. This work presents a corporate image of an archbishop, and no personal elements are included in the composition. Cornwallis's portrait gives no indication he has a disability, having lost the use of his right hand through palsy.[336] This painting, as with Terrick's (Figure 55),

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[335] Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," pp. 512-13.
[336] G M Ditchfield, "Cornwallis, Frederick (1713-1783)," 16 July 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6340.

uses subdued tones, with Cornwallis seated looking out at the viewer. Dance has used light to accentuate the sitter, using the white of his under robe to contrast with the darkness of the background and the sheen of the black outer garment. The only individual elements in these portraits are the faces of the men.

Figure 54 Nathaniel Dance, *Frederick North, 2nd Earl of Guilford*, 1773-74. Oil on canvas. 125.1 cm x 100.3 cm. National Portrait Gallery London.

Figure 55 Nathaniel Dance, *Richard Terrick, Bishop of London*, 1764. Oil on canvas, 127 cm x 102 cm, Lambeth Palace Collection.

Figure 56 Nathaniel Dance, *Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 1768. Oil on canvas. 127 cm x 102 cm, Lambeth Palace Collection.

The same setting and tonal colouration are also present in the portraits of Pratt (Figure 19) and North (

Figure 54), the key distinguishing features of these paintings are the sitter's robes of office. North's short wig, robe and sash denote him as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, while Pratt's Lord Chancellor's attire (also portrayed in Bathurst's portrait,), differs, with a full-bottomed wig and large lace collar. Part of these vestments was a tricorne hat, which appears in one version of Dance's portrait of Pratt. Many of these officially styled portraits, (for example Figure 62, Figure 63, Figure 65) contain paraphernalia relevant to the profession and social position of the sitter. Eardley Wilmot (Figure 52) is pictured in full length, standing casually with his arm resting on the back of a chair. He is surrounded by very large books, perhaps law tomes which link with the official wig and red robes of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas that he is wearing. Bathurst (Figure 53), like Eardley-Wilmot, is pictured full length, with signifiers of his authority, office and prominence, including the Lord Chancellor's Mace and the Bag of the Great Seal. Pratt's three-quarters length portrait (Figure 19) is perhaps the most elaborate of these three works. At around 123 cm x 100 cm, it presents him life size or slightly larger, in his highly ornamented Lord Chancellor's robes, with and without the Lord Chancellor's hat in different versions. His power is displayed by the coat of arms to his proper right, and the book he holds represents his knowledge and learned profession. In all these works the only distinctive component of recognisable individuality is the face of each sitter. Dance has illuminated the sitters' faces, thereby making these individual portraits in what could otherwise be viewed as corporate stage settings.

The costume of the sitter defines their affiliation with a particular institution, creating the group identity. While there are distinct differences between the clothing of the institutions in question, there are also many similarities. Clergy generally wear a

white collar with two panels, which can also be seen in the robes of a barrister, as in Dance's portrait of John Lee (Figure 57). It is the smaller elements of the costume, wigs and collars that aid the modern observer in deciphering these images. For instance, North's portrait was painted for display in the family home at Wroxton Abbey, where it remained until it was auctioned by the Trustee of North Settled Estates through Christie's in 1948; it was purchased by the National Portrait Gallery.[337] John Ingamells, art historian at the gallery, says in the footnotes of *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, that '[t]he gown might equally apply to the chancellor of the University of Oxford or to the chancellor of the exchequer'.[338] North became the Chancellor of Oxford University in 1773, the same year Dance painted this portrait. The function of this painting, while painted in an institutional style, was for self-promotion within the home, displaying the sitter's affiliation with government, politics and higher education. North's guests were presented with the image of his success, power and authority. The public and the private function of these images merged with the institutional when displayed in a domestic setting. These types of works were as important to the individual in a domestic setting as when displayed in institutional settings.

[337] John Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 2004), pp. 88-90.
[338] Ingamells, *Mid-Georgian Portraits 1760-1790*, pp. 88-90.

Figure 57 Nathaniel Dance, *John Lee*, 1770.
Oil on canvas. 75 cm x 62 cm. Private
Collection.

Where portraits were displayed determined how the artists completed the work. ‘Artists in the eighteenth-century painted for specific locations, adjusting tonality to the requirements of a particular situation.’[339] The context of the portraits influence the messages they were intended to convey. As Retford contends in her discussion of portraits in country houses, paintings on display there were intended to ‘ … demonstrate a family’s dynastic heritage, longevity, and inherited wealth …’, while portraits of professionals exhibited in institutional settings were intended to promote the values of the institution.[340] These portraits extend the values of these professions into areas where they are displayed, providing additional dignity, importance and respectability to the venue, whether professional or domestic. These works show the significance of the portrait as promotional material for the institution and the individual in British society.

[339] Pointon, *Hanging the head : portraiture and social formation in eighteenth-century England*, p. 17.
[340] Retford, "Patrilineal Portraiture? Gender and Genealogy in the Eighteen-Century English Country House," p. 317.

Many of Dance's institutional works were duplicated. For example, there is a version of Eardley-Wilmot's portrait by Dance (Figure 52) recorded at Wimpole, in the Earl of Hardwicke's collection in 1798; there are further versions at the Royal Courts of Justice (again in full length at 236.2 cm), and the collection of the Inner Temple. [341] The Inner Temple version is very similar to one at the Foundling Museum, with a library of books in the background and a book leaning against a chair in the foreground. A photograph of a variant of the Foundling Museum version was sent to the National Portrait Gallery by JD Prown from the Paul Mellon Centre. In this smaller head-and-shoulders version, Eardley-Wilmot is slightly turned to the left, giving a three-quarter view of his face and right shoulder; he wears the same robes and wig, but has a different background. A painted oval-mounted version of the Foundling Museum work was offered to the National Portrait Gallery in 1943 by JB Manson, and a final version in half-length was formally held by the Godolphin Gallery, Dublin, whereabouts now unknown.[342] The number of duplicated works and variations makes a statement about the prominence of the sitter, while acknowledging his involvement in the institution that provided the source of his renown.

The various versions of these works had different functions depending on whether their display was in an official setting, such as the law courts, Lambeth Palace or in a private residence. Copies of institutional portraits were often held in family collections, for example paintings of Pratt and Bathurst are still held in family collections, extending their desired influence into the domestic setting. These paintings enable institutions to present their expectations, while their display within the home ensured visitors and guests were aware of the status and authority of their host. Another

[341] "Portrait of Sir John Eardley Wilmot," in *Earl of Hardwicke* (London: British Museum, 1798).
[342] "Gale, Cengage Learning - Image of Sir John Eardley Wilmot ", M,DCC,XXXVIII. [1738]. http://find.galegroup.com/ecco/infomark.do?&source=gale&prodId=ECCO&userGroupName=nla&tabID=T001&docId=CB3327343487&type=multipage&contentSet=ECCOArticles&version=1.0&docLevel=FASCIMILE.

commonality between the displays of these works in an institutional or domestic setting is their ability to imply a history. Just as the collection and display of family portraits asks the viewer to believe in the longevity and success of the family or monarch, a significant collection of institutional portraits provides a corporate history and evidence of institutional longevity.[343]

Same Professions, Though with Less Stature

The greatest change in portrait format for the professional groups by Dance was for those who had yet to attain the highest status. These portraits are most often smaller in scale than the imposing institutional portraits. Some maintain the qualities of institutional works, while others present the sitters as gentlemen. Dance's small portrait of Lee (1770) (Figure 57) portrays him as a barrister, well before he reached the height of his career and attained political power.[344] Shown in half-length, Lee is seated, wearing a barrister's wig and robes, and there are no additional accessories to provide personal clues for the viewer. This work is modest in size, 75 x 62 cm, a standard half-length portrait produced for a domestic setting or even Lee's chambers. This painting has characteristics in common with the works previously discussed, such as its dark tonality and the light falling on the face, but its size suggests a more modest function. Lee was later painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds in 1786, in a pose the same as Dance's earlier work.[345] Neither work has been located (they are presumably in private collections or lost), so while the size of Reynolds' portrait is unknown, the three-quarter length format places it in keeping with institutional works such as Dance's painting of Pratt. In the Reynolds painting, Lee (Figure 57) appears with the long full-bottomed wig and robes of the attorney-general, with a dense shelving of books, plush draperies and

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[343] Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," p. 520.
[344] John Brooke and Lewis Namier ed., "Lee, John (1733-93) of Staindrop, co. Dur.," 2 July 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/lee-john-1733-93; G M Ditchfield, "John Lee (1733-1793)," 30 May 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16294.
[345] A mezzotint by Samuel William Reynolds, 1838, after the portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, is held in the collection of the National Portrait Gallery, London.

rich interior providing the background; this, and the sheen off his robes implies expensive fabrics indicating his authority and wealth. The differences in the two paintings are the increase in the power of his professional position, wealth and status, put forward with the institutional attire. Portraits of political figures of lesser stature in Dance's oeuvre are most often in domestic formats, rather than the institutional settings of men of prominence.

Dance's portraits of professional men of lower status highlight the importance of the portrait in promoting an individual rather than institutional message. An interesting example of the difference in these works of professional men of lower ranked than bishops and judges is Dance's portrait of Anthony Morris Storer (

Figure 59), which has no institutional elements or parliamentarian imagery. Dance's painting of Storer suggests a man of knowledge rather than either a domestic portrait denoting wealth and power, or that of a politician in an institutional format. The tonality and colouration of this painting conform to Dance's techniques for institutional portraiture, as does his use of light to highlight the subject's strong face. Pictured in half-length wearing a brown coat that could also be some type of robe or cloak, Storer is pictured in profile with his head turned to show nearly three-quarters of his face. He is only 24 years of age, but is depicted with grey or powdered natural hair, dark, bright eyes, and with his lips very slightly parted appearing almost ready to speak.[346] There are no trappings of wealth in the form of accessories or decoration in the background. It simply shows the image of a man; the accuracy of the likeness is unknown, as no other images have been located. The anonymity created by the lack of semiotic references

[346] Ian K. R Archer, "Storer, Anthony Morris (1746-1799)," 5 July 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26591, accessed 5 July 2013; Mary M Drummond, John Brooke ed., and Lewis Namier ed., "Storer, Anthony Morris (176-99), of Golden Square, London," 5 July 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/storer-anthony-morris-1746-99.

focuses the viewer entirely on the face, and the work shows a powerfully featured individual who reveals nothing of himself.

Figure 58 Charles Howard Hodges after Sir Joshua Reynolds, *John Lee Attorney General*, published 1 March 1788. Mezzotint published by John Boydell. National Portrait Gallery.

Figure 59 Nathaniel Dance, *Anthony Morris Storer MP*, 1770., Oil on canvas. 74 cm x 61cm in a painted oval, Location unknown.

In contrast to Storer’s portrait, those of Edward Cotsford, Member for Midhurst (Figure 60), and Sir Robert Murray Keith, Member for Peeblesshire (Figure

61), fall into two styles of representation. Cotsford's portrait is in keeping with the domestic imagery of a gentleman, while Keith's is an institutional portrait, portraying him in a uniform of office, as an ambassador or military man. Dance's portrait of Cotsford shows him standing in three-quarter length, looking out onto a country landscape. Painted within a year or two of Cotsford's return from India to England, the portrait portrays a gentleman of means, presumably surveying his property.[347] This is typical of a portrait displaying wealth and the authority of land ownership, a type commissioned by the aspiring middle classes as statements of their success and the acquisition of wealth. While there is symbolism denoting class and wealth in this portrait, for instance in the bright colours of the clothing and the countryside setting, there is nothing to define Cotsford as a politician or to give any indication of his former occupation in India.[348] There are other examples in Dance's portfolio of portraits of this style featuring politicians. It would appear that portraits of mid-level professional men are designed to display personal attributes and wealth, as opposed to the attributes of their institution. For Cotsford, this attribute is his attainment of wealth and land. For North, by contrast, political power and achieving the positions of Chancellor and Prime Minister required portraits that advertised these elements of his success.

[347] J A Cannon, "Cotsford, Edward (1740-1810), of Winslade House, Clyst St. Mary, Devon," 2014, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/cotsford-edward-1740-1810.
[348] Marcia Pointon, *Portrayal and the Search for Identity* (London: Reakton Books Ltd, 2013). Loc 178 of 4986

Figure 60 Nathaniel Dance, *Edward Cotsford MP for Midhurst*, c.1781-82. Oil on canvas. 125.0 cm x 98.5 cm. Government Art Collection Sweden, Stockholm, British Embassy.

Commissioning portraits to acknowledge or celebrate career success was common among Dance's professional clients. Keith's portrait (Figure 61) marks two aspects of his varied career, highlighting his military and diplomatic service particularly, though he was also a politician. Dance's portrait of Keith is closer in styling to a military portrait than that of a politician. The half-length painting is undated, but must have been completed in, or after 1772, as Keith wears the insignia of the Order of Bath, which he was awarded as ambassador to Denmark for rescuing Queen Caroline Matilda that year.[349] The uniform he wears is the same as that depicted in Dance's

[349] Edith Lady Haden-Guest, John Brooke ed., and Lewis Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/murray-keith-sir-robert-1730-95.

paintings of Lord Clive: a red army uniform with white undershirt and a red sash from the right shoulder across the chest. The dark grey or black trim is accentuated by the gold braid of the fastenings, and the gold epaulettes in Keith's portrait are elaborate but without the fringing seen in Clive's portrait (Figure 30). Keith's portrait is not celebrating a military victory, though may have been an acknowledgement of his valiant actions in Denmark. A version of this work hangs in the British Embassy in Copenhagen today.[350] The institutional components of this painting are again apparent — regardless of its smaller format — in the uniform tonality, and Dance's lighting of the face.

Figure 61 Nathaniel Dance, *Sir Robert Murray Keith*, Unknown (post 1772). Oil on canvas, 73.5 cm x 61.0 cm. Government Art Collection, Denmark, Copenhagen, British Embassy.

There are two main styles of portrait in which Dance has represented the clergy: those that conform to an official portrait style, such as that of Frederick Cornwallis, Archbishop of Canterbury (Figure 56), and conversation pieces in which the

[350] Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.

cleric is included as part of a group setting (Figure 62). There is more diversity in the men who became clergymen than those who chose the military or law as their professions. They are generally more in keeping with politicians, who come from both titled and untitled backgrounds, but as with all the professions discussed, earning a living, attaining authority and power that came with professional status were prime motives for advancement in their chosen field.

Dance produced several paintings that present imagery of clergymen of more modest means, which contain no institutional content at all. These works are most often conversation pieces in which a clergyman is present. Two examples of this type of portrait are *William Weddell with his Servant Janson and the Reverend William Palgrave* (Figure 62), and *Hugh, Lord Warkworth, later 2nd Duke of Northumberland and Reverend Jonathan Lippyatt* (Figure 63).[351] These paintings were commissioned from Dance when the sitters were in Rome undertaking their Grand Tour.[352] The subject matter of these conversation pieces is not focused on the clerical sitter, but on the wealthy individual whom they accompanied. The function of these works is to promote the qualities of the primary sitter, not the cleric or the religious institution with which they were associated.

[351] The name of the servant featured in this painting is listed by the National Trust as Janson, however the Frick Collection has it noted as l'Anson.
[352] John Brooke and Lewis Namier ed., "Weddell, William (1736-92), of Newby, Yorks.," 26 July 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/weddell-william-1736-92; City Art Gallery Leeds, *Drawing from the past : William Weddell and the transformation of Newby Hall.* (Leeds: Leeds Museums and Galleries (City Art Gallery) in association with West Yorkshire Archive Service, 2004).

Figure 62 Nathaniel Dance, *William Weddell, His Servant Janson and the Rev. William Palgrave*, 1765. Oil on canvas. 97.2 cm x 134 cm. National Trust Upton House, Warwickshire.

Figure 63 Nathaniel Dance, *Hugh, 2nd Duke of Northumberland (Lord Warkworth) and Reverend John Lippyatt*, c.1763. Oil on canvas. 94.6 cm x 69.9 cm. The Duke of Northumberland, Syon House, (Image from David Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: a Conversation Piece", p. 62 Copyright: Country Life).

These conversation pieces, painted between 1763 and 1765, suggest nothing about either clergyman's vocation. The similarity to the Grant conversation piece is obvious in both paintings. In the painting of Northumberland (Figure 63), the scene

extols the sitter's classical knowledge, wealth and virtues, with the Colosseum in the background and the men posed beneath a version of the Borghese Vase. The small dog, alert at Northumberland's feet as with the dog in the Grant conversation piece, suggests the values of loyalty and trust between the sitters. David Sellin, in his article "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece", also notes the use of these same elements, and comments that it must therefore have made a successful composition.[353] In the other conversation piece , Reverend Palgrave (Figure 62) performs the same function as Lippyatt: he is the companion, perhaps the tutor, of his wealthier travelling companion. The clergymen in these works are not presented as religious figures, but as companions, scholarly tutors or mentors.

The painting of the Reverend Jeremiah Milles (Figure 64) occupies a space between the large institutional portrait and the conversation piece 'companion clerics'. Here Dance presents a portrait of a man who can be determined as clergy primarily by his wig. The dark tonal quality of the painting and even the two panels of his collar are interchangeable with those of John Lee, the barrister (Figure 57), but their wigs distinguish their professions. The difference in the size, uniformity and compositional treatment of these works show the importance of the hierarchy within the professions, which is also reflective of the hierarchy of social standing and influence within society.

Dance's portraits of less influential parliamentarians, legal men and clergy had several compositional elements in common, they did not include family or homes, but position the sitter to portray messages regarding personal and professional attributes. Even the conversation pieces present the clerics as worthy companions to their wealthy benefactors. Dance's paintings of professional men demonstrate the power of the group

[353] Sellin, "Nathaniel Dance: A Conversation Piece," p. 62.

identity, but the essential connections of the social networks within the group structure can also be seen.

Figure 64 Attributed to Nathaniel Dance, *Jeremiah Milles*, c.1765-80. Oil on canvas. 76 cm x 63 cm. Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, London.

Careers, Sociability, and the Portrait

Dance's portraits of professional men provide clear insight into the social networks and connections of influence between the various sitters. These networks affected the careers, status and power of individuals in a self-supporting system of associations. The establishment of the group identity that aided professional men to develop into a distinct stratum in society was a continuation of the social behaviours fostered in Britain's clubs. These portraits define and reinforce the normative conditions of belonging to this segment of society. The accoutrements displayed within the images conform to the discourse of wealth, status and connected them to the institution. Just as nomination to clubs was determined by individual networks, accession to the highest ranks in the professions was only partly governed by merit, and largely dependent on personal and work-based connections. Dance's sitters of various professions provide an

indication of the extent to which social networks enabled professional advancement. These portraits are fine examples of how the likeness of an individual could be used to imply or convey a style of persona for the individual and the institution they represented; they do not, however, represent the subject's level of proficiency.

Most of the professional men painted by Dance had several factors in common, regardless of their political persuasion, beliefs or the area of the country from which they hailed. They needed to support themselves, as most would not inherit land and titles; they had to gain a profession from which they could build their reputation, wealth and social status; and the network of interrelated affiliations between men who formed the leadership of the British nation were vital to their careers, for these were key to social and financial advancement. The men featured in Dance's portraits of professionals were generally from families of good standing.[354] Their families could afford to send them to reputable schools, then to university, and on to institutions to further their careers. Many of these allegiances were established from acquaintances and friendships formed in their youth.

Most of these portraits by Dance are of men who supported Whig politics who were anti-absolute monarchists and worked to establish an alternative social class to the aristocracy. The Whig party was dominant in the late eighteenth-century, and most elite positions were gained by political appointment. The investigation of these men and their portraits reveals the complexity of life as a professional man during this period; how essential their social networks were to their success; and consider how or if their portraits reflect the whole man, or portray purely the office they represent.

[354] See various biographical information in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* online and the History of Parliament websites http://www.oxfordnndb.com.

North's Network of Support and his Supporters

Lord North was one of Dance's most influential patrons after George III. North's network of support and supporters provides a neat case study for the examination of the importance of social networks for professional success. The impact of sociability networks could advance careers sometimes beyond expectations and the influences could benefit both the supporting person and those they supported. The patron's networks also enabled artists to connect with a wide range of potential clients.

North's work habits were described by various colleagues as 'dilatory' and 'procrastinating'; notorious for his delay in answering letters, he was a good Member of Parliament but not a great Minister.[355] Regardless of these qualities, Lord North went on to become Prime Minister. Frederick North is a wonderful example of an eighteenth-century man with all the right connections combined with the intelligence and ingenuity to make the best use of them. North was born in 1732, and became a career politician while waiting to inherit his father's title, Lord Guilford, and estates. As his own income was limited, a profession as a politician would provide a living to support his family of seven children.[356]

North had a remarkable collection of influential family allies who would later support his political endeavours. The most impressive was his godfather, Frederick, Prince of Wales, followed by his uncle, 2nd Earl of Halifax, who was president of the Board of Trade; his step-brother's uncle was the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and the then prime minister, the Duke of Newcastle, was a distant relative.[357] North built on this network from his earliest schooling at Eton College and then at Trinity College at Oxford, extending sociable network outside his family. Commencing his political career

[355] John Brooke and Lewis Namier ed., "North, Frederick, Lord North (1732-92)," 7 Feb 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-17901/member/north-frederick-1732-92.
[356] Brooke and Namier ed., "North, Frederick, Lord North (1732-92)," 7 Feb 2013.
[357] Peter D. G. Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/20304

with a seat in the Commons representing Banbury in 1754, North proved to be a skilful and ambitious politician.[358]

North considered himself a Whig supporter, though not strongly aligned with either major party and in later years he sided more with Tory policies. He is one of the few of Dance's sitters who could be considered a Tory.[359] Supporters of North, or beneficiaries of his patronage, are the subjects of many of the sitters of professional portraits discussed in this chapter. Others had connections via schools or universities or had common alliances with influential people or political elites such as Horace Walpole, William Pitt the Elder, or the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Rockingham. An examination of the social connections among this group of Dance's subjects shows the degree to which sociability and career were enmeshed.

> In Britain's sociable society, your network of connections could advance your opportunities even if you did not appear to be the best person for the job. While appearance was still important, 'politeness demanded that people looked beyond appearance and instead use the behaviour and expression of others as the principle measure of character.' For example Horace Walpole describes Lord North, then Prime Minister, in the following colourful terms:
>
> Nothing could be more coarse or clumsy or ungracious than his outside. Two large prominent eyes that rolled about to no purpose (for he was utterly short-sighted), a wide mouth, thick lips and inflated visage, gave him the air of a blind trumpeter. A deep, untunable voice, which … he enforced with unnecessary pomp, a total neglect of his person, and ignorance of every civil attention, disgusted all who judge by appearance.[360]

Despite North's unprepossessing physical appearance, his intelligence, wit, good humour and powerful voice quickly brought him to the attention of the senior

[358] Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013.
[359] Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013.
[360] Brooke and Namier ed., "North, Frederick, Lord North (1732-92)," 7 Feb 2013; Horace Walpole and Derek Jarrett, *Memoirs of the reign of King George III*, 4 vols., The Yale edition of Horace Walpole's memoirs (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2000), pp. 143-4.

politicians, gaining his appointment as Lord of the Treasury in 1759. North rapidly improved his reputation and prominence through his speeches and skilful debating.361.

North's career stalled briefly when he disagreed with Lord Rockingham regarding imposing taxation on the American colonies, an act that would eventually lead to the War of Independence. He sat on the political fence, not supporting any particular leader or party until George III dismissed Rockingham and appointed William Pitt (the Elder) as the new Prime Minister in 1766; then North's career began to move forward and in 1767, he was the leader of the House of Commons.[362]

From early in his career North developed a favourable relationship with King George III, and at the King's insistence, North became the First Lord of the Treasury and Prime Minister in 1770.[363] North's term as the Prime Minister was extraordinary because it lasted 12 years including surviving the controversy of the American War of Independence. During his term of office he repaid long-term supporters with positions of authority including Halifax, Lord Sandwich, and North's stepbrother Lord Dartmouth.[364]

By 1785 conflicts in America, India, Quebec, and corruption in the East India Company, saw North's political position in its twilight, no longer Prime Minister, he continued to appear in the Commons. In 1790, North's father died, and North became the 2nd Earl of Guilford, a title he would hold for only two years, as he died in 1792.[365]

North's Patronage

North gained the office of Prime Minister aged only 37, and remained in power until he was 49 despite his indecision and procrastination. This would not have been possible without his supporters and the patronage of George III. North's own patronage

[361] Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013.
[362] Brooke and Namier ed., "North, Frederick, Lord North (1732-92)," 7 Feb 2013.
[363] Brooke and Namier ed., "North, Frederick, Lord North (1732-92)," 7 Feb 2013.
[364] Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013.
[365] Thomas et al., "North, Frederick, second earl of Guilford [Lord North] (1732–1792)." July 5, 2013.

can be seen with others who appear in Dance's portraits of professional men, including, Henry, Lord Bathurst (1714-94).

Henry Bathurst was a second son who took up the Law as his profession.[366] Like North, Bathurst's politics appear to have been more a matter of opportunity than a strict allegiance to a particular party group. When in 1742 his father received a minor office, Bathurst supported the government, however when his father was dismissed, he allied himself with Frederick, Prince of Wales (North's godfather). When Frederick died Bathurst change sides again, politics eventually taking a subsidiary role to the Law.[367]

Regardless of being noted for his indecision as a judge, deferring most decisions to the Chief Justice, in 1771 Bathurst was unexpectedly appointed Lord Chancellor. and with this position was raised to the peerage as Baron Apsley. Despite his deficiencies, Bathurst then became — with North's approval — lord president of the council.[368] He remained in this position until Lord North was no longer Prime Minister. Bathurst's career shows that limited ability did not often hamper progression provided the individual retained adequate influential connections.

Pitt's Support

Supporters, such as William Pitt and Lord Lyttleton, played roles in the successful careers of other sitters of Dance's portraits, such as Charles, Lord Pratt. Pratt was the fourth son, and therefore would not inherit a title or land, and chose the profession of law. During his earliest schooling, Pratt established friendships and sociable connections that would influence is entire life, including George Lyttelton, who became 1st Baron Lyttelton and a patron of the arts, writer and British statesman;

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[366] N. G. Jones, "Bathurst, Henry, second Earl Bathurst (1714–1794)," Oxford: OUP, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1694
[367] Jones, "Bathurst, Henry, second Earl Bathurst (1714–1794)".
[368] *Lives of Eminent English Judges of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*.

Horace Walpole, who became an art historian, man of letters, antiquarian and Whig politician; and the most influential Pratt's friends at Eton, William Pitt, the future Earl of Chatham and Prime Minister.[369]

Pratt's primary focus of constitutional law, he was ambitious and with the assistance of supporters like Pitt and Newcastle, he steadily rose to positions of importance. Pratt's appointment as attorney-general came about from several political factors including Pitt's continued promotion, that Pratt was known as 'Whig stock', and Lord Newcastle needed additional Whig support in the House of Commons.[370] . In 1757, Pitt negotiated for Pratt to return to Parliament for the seat of Downton. Then Pratt was appointed Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas, a position for which he received a knighthood in 1761, before taking office in 1762.[371] Again at Pitt's request in 1765 Pratt was made a Baron, becoming known as Baron Camden and referred to as Lord Camden.[372] The following year, Lord Camden was appointed Lord Chancellor or Lord High Chancellor, the highest judicial officer of the British crown.[373] Camden's career shows how important a reliable sociable network, with even a single, powerful benefactor could be; with Pitt as his ally, he rose to some of the highest positions in England.

The clergyman Cornwallis also benefited from the support of both Pitt and North, along with the Dukes of Newcastle and Grafton. The seventh son, Cornwallis had to support himself and his family. Educated at Eton and then Christ's College

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[369] Lewis Namier, "Pratt, Charles (1714-94), Of Camden Place, Kent," 3 May 2013, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/pratt-charles-1714-94.
[370] Namier, "Pratt, Charles (1714-94), Of Camden Place, Kent," 3 May 2013; Walpole and Jarrett, *Memoirs of the reign of King George III*, p. 83, fn. 4..
[371] Namier, "Pratt, Charles (1714-94), Of Camden Place, Kent," 3 May 2013; "Chief Justice of the Common Pleas," in *Black's Law Dictionary Free 2nd Ed. and The Law Dictionary*. The position of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas was second-highest common law court in Britain until 1875, with the establishment of the High Court which in 1880 merged three common law courts, Common Pleas, Queen's Bench and Exchequer, into divisions within the High Court. The positions of Chief Justice and Chief Baron became Lord Chief Justice.
[372] Namier, "Pratt, Charles (1714-94), Of Camden Place, Kent," 3 May 2013.
[373] Wharton, "Lord Chancellor," in *Black's Law Dictionary Free 2nd Ed. and The Law Dictionary*. 12 June 2013.

Cambridge, Cornwallis rose through the ranks of the Church of England to eventually become the Archbishop of Canterbury. His network of supporters, championed him to positions such as Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and Deacon of Canterbury before Grafton nominated Cornwallis for the position, it was Pitt and Camden who 'sealed the deal': in exchange for his vote against the 1766 American Declaratory Bill, 'Lord Chatham made Dr Cornwallis Archbishop of Canterbury'. Cornwallis was neither the most senior nor eligible bishop, but was chosen, according to Walpole, because he was 'a prelate of inconsiderable talents, but a most amiable, gentle, and humane man,' who 'was preferred to the primacy by the Duke of Grafton, who had a friendship for the Bishop's nephew, Earl Cornwallis'.[374]

Cornwallis's main rival for the position of Archbishop of Canterbury was Richard Terrick, (1710-1777). Commencing his education at Clare College Cambridge, Terrick went on to attain a Bachelor of Arts, Masters of Arts and was ordained as a deacon in the diocese of Ely, becoming a priest in 1734.[375] Terrick held concurrent positions of increasing importance which brought him into contact with people who carried great influence and ensured that he prospered.

Terrick appears to have been adept at cultivating useful patronage. In 1757, William Cavendish, the 4th Duke of Devonshire, and George II assisted the appointment of Terrick as the Bishop of Peterborough.[376] Terrick was not averse to changing his allegiances to advance his career prospects. This strategic manoeuvring saw him forego Devonshire in favour of John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, gambling that Bute's influence with the new King George III, could assist his own progression. Terrick judged well, in 1764, at the request of George III, he was appointed as Bishop of London.[377] Walpole's

[374] Ditchfield, "Cornwallis, Frederick (1713-1783)," 16 July 2013.
[375] G M Ditchfield, "Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)," 16 July 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27142.
[376] Ditchfield, "Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)," 16 July 2013.
[377] Ditchfield, "Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)," 16 July 2013.

views on this appointment for Terrick by Lord Bute paint him as fickle in his political commitment and merits:

> This man with no glimmering of parts or knowledge, had, on the merit of a sonorous delivery, and by an assiduity of backstairs address, wriggled himself into a sort of general favour; and by timing his visits luckily, had been of the first, notoriously obliged to that Duke, to abandon him on his fall, sailing headlong with the tide after the favourite's triumph.[378]

This did not stop Terrick being sworn in to the Privy Council.

As a Privy Councillor, Terrick had a position in the House of Lords and was a loyal Minister supporting the Whig Prime Minister, George Grenville. The one exception was in voting to repeal the Stamp Act in 1766. The Bishop of London was in charge of the American colony and Terrick voted to abolish taxes to prevent rebellion in the hope of establishing a resident bishop in America.[379] With the change of government from Grenville to North, Terrick continued to support the government. His most influential patron, George III, offered Terrick the position of Archbishop of York in 1776; however Terrick declined on the grounds of ill-health and age, and in May 1777 he died, having had a solid career and amassed considerable wealth.[380]

All these men had in common the ability to secure patronage that assisted them to establish and grow their careers and fortunes. After George III, two patrons stand out among the many that played significant roles in the lives of these sitters: Frederick, Lord North and William Pitt the Elder, Lord Chatham. These two Prime Ministers exerted much influence over many careers by trading positions and the promotion of those whose support they may have needed. Others who assisted to build a colleague's career did so from friendships that had often commenced in their formative years of education. These sociable alliances also directly benefitted Dance, as he gained access

[378] Walpole and Jarrett, *Memoirs of the reign of King George III*, Vol. 2, pp. 49-50.
[379] Ditchfield, "Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)," 16 July 2013.
[380] Ditchfield, "Terrick, Richard (1710-1777)," 16 July 2013.

to a broad range of clients by using their network of friends and acquaintances. That he primarily painted Whig supporters suggests an association with a distinct group in a political framework. Though not every sitter's political persuasion has been explored, in this group of Dance's sitters who were in the professional classes, Whig supporters certainly are dominant.

Appendix B contains two additional case studies that further the discussion of the importance of social networks for men to achieve high office within the professional classes. The first is John Eardley-Wilmot who, with the assistance of North and his supporters, rose to be Chief Justice of the Common Pleas and member of the Privy Council. The second case study is Robert (Murray) Keith who career in the military evolved into ambassadorships and eventually politics under the influence of Pitt.

Institutional Portraits

This group of Dance's works reveals how the codification of institutional portraits was part of the collective identities promulgated by Britain's professional classes. The inherent pomp and ceremony embedded in the official attire provided both the individual and the institution with vital imagery of power and status. This, together with the support from the web of social and political connections, enabled the foundation and expansion of these professional classes. Individual cases demonstrate the importance of sociable networks in society and its political infrastructure. Figures such as Lord North can be seen to have impacted the lives of most of the sitters discussed. For both the institutional and non-institutional portraits, the lines of interconnection linking Dance's sitters are extensive.

Conforming to Georgian convention, Dance's institutional portraits meet the requirements of being 'low in expressiveness, high in institutionalised eloquence'.[381]

[381] Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," p. 513.

These portraits display social position and professional power; the man portrayed is elevated in position and stature from the office represented, and from his social connections and alliances, regardless of how well he performed his role — as is eminently shown in the lives of Eardley Wilmot and Terrick. These images do not reveal any insight into the inner 'soul' of the sitter, but rather depict the external mask of the character chosen to be displayed to the world. The value of these paintings was not as individual works of art, but as a social medium: a form of advertising or promotion for the institution and for the powerful position the individual occupied and portrayed.

Chapter Five – Military Portraits, Sociability and Masculinity

> It is an observation a little foreign to the reflection with which I set out, but extensively victorious as that war was to Britain, she did not see one famous native general arise out of that war; except Wolfe, who died in the cradle of his celebrity; and unless we name Lord Clive, was more a statesman than a general, and in both respects not matched against equal rivals. I do not mean to detract from his merits — he was born to shine in Indies: at home he never stepped beyond the common of mankind.[382]

Drawing on a long artistic tradition of celebrating military men, military portraits bear many characteristics of portraits of other professional classes. The standardisation of portraiture imagery created a visual language which was understood by sociable society. Military portraits use these same elements of uniformity to project messages about the sitter and the military organisation. This chapter analyses Dance's military portraits and his use of traditional forms in the configuration of this genre of portraiture. Concentrating of Dance's portraits of Cook, Clive and Palliser, I establish how Dance's military portraits show an extensive network of sitters who are linked by their professions and sociable connections. By creating affiliations with such networks, Dance accessed an extended source of commissions. Additionally, these portraits reflect the change in the ideals of masculinity in the eighteenth-century, where with the rise of gentlemanly masculinity, the figure of the 'classical hero' was less common but continued in military portraits. Military portraits embed ideas of a British character reflective of the historic development of these forces, while also drawing on motifs from past representations of military heroes.

Dance's portraits of military men draw on two distinct formulations. The first reflects traditional themes from Western military portraiture developed over centuries. In these portraits, Dance used many of these motifs that celebrate the masculine hero.

[382] Walpole and Jarrett, *Memoirs of the reign of King George III*, Vol. 1, p. 161.

These military images do not need to present the gentleman as classically schooled, polite or fashionably attired, as it was acceptable for military figures to be presented with a bellicose stature. Dance's military iconography utilises the representation of the 'hero', usually reserved for history paintings, and it is this concept that provides the tangible link with the imagery of the past. The second formulation conforms to requirements of polite sociability, turning the military man into a sociably well-rounded gentleman. That is, having the attributes of the warrior, but educated and comfortable in conversation.

The celebration of heroes who save or conquer nations has been practised by civilisations since at least the ancient Greeks and Romans, and continues into the twenty-first century. These past motifs are still represented in the British military portraits and their history provides more understanding of the compositional construction and the masculine imagery employed in these paintings. These portraits are a focal point from which to examine the continuation of the imagery of the heroic masculine figure as it was translated through eighteenth-century ideas of sociability in Britain.

Dance's military portraits provide a case study for two concepts from British eighteenth-century society's cultural customs: the dominance of the influence of sociability and networks in military career progression, and the continuation of the image of the hero. As with other professional classes, Dance's military portraits, in conjunction with the sitters' biographies, illuminate the intricate web of sociable networks that impacted the careers of the sitter and the artist.

The interconnections between the people portrayed show how the artist could gain access to a larger pool of potential clients through recommendations passed between associates within organisations. For example, Admiral, Sir Hugh Palliser, 1st Baronet, was instrumental in directing the career of Captain James Cook; both were

eventually painted by Dance, though for very different reasons. The portraits and life of Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey, also known as Clive of India, provides the ideal example from which to discuss the benefits of sociable connections, as Dance also painted several of Clive's associates from the East India Company. Portraits of Clive also provide strong insights into the theme of discussion for this chapter, the hero in military portraiture.

The Military

The history of the army and navy is important in the interpretation of the development of the British military character and society, which in turn is reflected in these portraits. The eighteenth-century was a time of expansion of the Empire, but also of domestic unrest, and the formalisation of the military forces provided a form of stability. The possibility of having a reasonably permanent, professional career in the military gave middle-class people, as well as the younger sons of the aristocracy, an avenue for improvement of their social status. Military ranks afforded a place in society that could be assigned a social position. This enabled the use of associated imagery imbued with values of rank, behaviour and the nationalism. At the same time, portraiture of military figures provided a direct link with the heritage and history on which the British Empire was founded. The use of imagery drawn from the history of celebrated military figures allowed the acceptance of images of a more aggressive form of maleness in the polite, sociable society of the eighteenth-century. The imagery of personal power associated with military portraiture developed alongside the forces' formalisation. It was in the eighteenth-century that this imagery began representing the military institution and the British Empire. During the eighteenth-century, the military became a permanent sector in British society taking its place in the social hierarchy. The formation of a unified British national military force brought about the development of visual symbols, such as the uniform, that represented the institution and no longer

simply just the affluence of the aristocrat who funded them. 'The army and navy became potential legitimate avenues for of social mobility.'[383] The institutional military portraits, by Dance and other artists, conveyed both the message of rank and power for the individual and the military force.

The East India Company and Clive

By the eighteenth-century, the British Army was a major instrument of foreign policy, and into the nineteenth century its major role involved the expansion and consolidation of the Empire. What were individual militia groups, formed the basis of many of the regiments and battalions that are still part of the British Army today, though the current structure of the army was not in place until the early twentieth century.[384] The expansion of Britain's colonial enterprises saw commercial organisations such as the East India Company, develop two distinct sections: the commercial business division and a military arm that protected the interests of the commercial ventures. The military contingents were comprised of army regiments and the Royal Navy.

Granted a Royal Charter by Queen Elizabeth I in December 1600, the East India Company had been trading for over 150 years and became the most powerful trading entity in India. The company helped Britain establish a political hegemony; using these traders, Britain became the colonial master.[385] The East India Company's fleet of merchant ships travelled as far afield as Indonesia and the Spice Islands, supplying Britain with trade goods that helped to consolidate their consumer society. By

[383] Owen Brittan, "Subjective Experience and Military Masculinity at the Beginning of the Long Eighteenth Century, 1688-1714," *Journal for eighteenth-century studies* 40, no. 2 (2017): p. 273.
[384] *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 151.
[385] Patit Paban, "British East India Company," in *Encyclopedia of Business in Today's World*, ed. Charles Wankel (Thousand Oaks CA: Sage Publications, 2009).

1717 the Company was importing and exporting goods from Bengal, from where up to 60 per cent of commodities imported from Asia were sourced.[386]

Clive began with the East India Company at 18 years of age when sent to Madras (now Chennai) in India as a Company writer.[387] In 1751 Clive moved into the military, becoming a soldier in the section of the army that was fighting French trading companies in India to protect the interests of the East India Company, and ultimately Britain. Clive built a reputation for his skills in the art of tactics and guerrilla warfare. His heroic feats reflected a very different male figure from the polite society back in England. Clive's heroic acts in India were recognised, and they afforded him a status equivalent to his military rank in the hierarchy of society.[388] Dance's two styles of portrait depicting Clive: three-quarter length portraits of Clive portray him as the victorious leader of the Battle of Plassey; and a full length as a gentleman, convey his success while also drawing on the values, authority and power represented by the military uniform. Clive's transition from masculine hero to masculine gentry was assisted by Dance's portraits, which created a visible image of the hero and gentleman.

The Royal Navy

While the army took hundreds of years to develop into a permanent, cohesive force, England's navy had been a powerful force from feudal times.[389] Britain's navy, almost from its inception, provided a means for intelligent men to improve themselves and their positions in society. The navy gradually developed into a professional force, imagery and symbols were created to represent the ideals of courage, adventure and the masculine supremacy of the British force. Scientific advances during the eighteenth-century aided the navy in many ways, including its navigational capabilities,

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[386] Paban, "British East India Company."
[387] T G Percival Spear, "Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey," (Encyclopædia Britannica Online, s. v.).
[388] Percival Spear, "Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey."
[389] *The Oxford Companion to Military History*, p. 150.

improvements in the health of sailors, enabling the Empire to continue its expansion. This expansion provided further opportunities for individuals, including Cook, to create reputations and gain financial security.

The Royal Navy was a protector of British colonial interests and at the same time was used to advance Britain's exploration of the world. By the turn of the century, the navy was aiding Britain's merchant marine fleets with the production of accurate British Admiralty charts, some of which had been surveyed by James Cook when he sailed under Palliser, and later as captain of his own vessels.[390] The military in Britain were an important part of the community, providing employment and often a means of social improvement. People such as Clive and Cook are examples of figures in Britain's history whose character and image evolved as their social stature improved. Dance provides a link between military figures of the eighteenth-century and imagery of the hero. His portraits also highlight associations between various sitters and their interconnecting careers, revealing benefits to each other and to the artist.

Sociable Connections

A successful military career could significantly increase an individual's social status. Dance's second painting of Clive, a full-length portrait, depicts him in uniform but the setting is on a rise in the English countryside: he is now part of the landed gentry. The connections and network of associations that people built during their working lives could also influence their social success, as they moved from the military into commercial lives, or, more often, into political careers.

East India Company portraits

Developing an association with a client who provided access to a network of colleagues gave opportunities to Dance for a large pool of clients for potential

[390] Royal Naval Museum, "A Brief History of the Royal Navy," Royal Naval Museum, http://www.royalnavalmuseum.org/info_sheets_naval_history.htm.

commissions. Clive and his East India Company companions created a cohort of patrons for Dance which included Sir Robert Palk, John Pybus, and possibly Pybus's son-in-law Sir Robert Fletcher, in addition to Clive himself.

The East India Company, the regular army, and the navy were excellent organisations in which to forge useful lasting friendships and sociable associations. Pybus began his career aged 15 years, becoming a writer in Madras, where, within a year he met Clive.[391] The two formed a life-long friendship and alliance, the strength of which is visible in their letters, and also in the fact that Pybus named a daughter after Clive's wife, Margaret.[392] Emma Lauze, in her article on Pybus, suggests that Clive may have used his influence to have Pybus appointed as the chieftain of Masulipitan in 1762, a position that enabled Pybus to make his fortune. A third member of this group was Palk, a naval chaplain, whom Clive had appointed as chaplain in Fort St. David, Madras, in 1749.[393] Palk eventually resigned from the navy and the church to work full time for the East India Company. Upon their return to England, many having made their fortunes, they began, as Lauze puts it regarding the Pybus family, '[i]n true nabob fashion … establishing themselves with their Indian-made money both in town and country'.[394]

The sociable interrelationships between military men and the artist profited both sides. Dance's reputation was at its height by the 1770s, the time when the East India Company men were returning to establish themselves and their families in England. Who better to paint the family portrait than an artist who has received royal

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[391] Lauze, "A Nabob's Return: the Pybus conversation piece by Nathaniel Dance," p. 33; Percival Spear, "Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive of Plassey."; Lucy Sutherland and Lewis Namier ed., " Robert Clive, 1st Baron Clive," *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1754-1790*(1964), http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1754-1790/member/clive-robert-1725-74 19 August 2014.
[392] Lauze, "A Nabob's Return: the Pybus conversation piece by Nathaniel Dance," pp. 33-35. John Pybus letter to Robert Clive, Clive Papers, MSS Eur/G37, Oriental and India Office Collections
[393] G P Moriarty and Rev. I B Watson, "Sir Robert Palk (1717-1798)," *Dictionary of National Biography*(2004), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/21161 19 August 2014.
[394] Lauze, "A Nabob's Return: the Pybus conversation piece by Nathaniel Dance," p. 35.

commissions and has a strong, established reputation? Dance's prices were competitive, set lower than those of his major competitor, Joshua Reynolds. Pybus, Palk and Clive all commissioned or received paintings of themselves and/or their families created by Dance. Pybus commissioned a family conversation piece, a half-length of himself, and at least one other of his family, and possibly of his son-in-law Sir Robert Fletcher. In addition, he commissioned a portrait of Robert Clive that Lauze suggests may have been the study for the Plassey painting. Dance produced many versions of this painting, of which Clive owned two, a three-quarter length and a full-length version. Clive also had Dance complete a portrait of his wife and children. Palk commissioned a conversation piece of his wife and children by Dance. From an initial commission, probably from Pybus, Dance was kept busy with at least 15 paintings from this group of East India Company men. He also had other commissions from men who worked in the Company, including the politician Cotsford, who had worked with Palk in the East India Company. This network of patrons shows how important it was for an artist to make a good impression and maintain their reputation.

For servicemen, establishing themselves in society *outside* the military was essential for their continued social improvement upon retirement. Being portrayed wearing a uniform provided the sitter with an instant statement of their military rank and therefore placed them in the civilian social hierarchy. Dance's second portrait of Clive portrays him wearing his uniform but as a gentleman landowner (Figure 65). His uniform provides him with bearing, authority, intelligence and reasoning and his success now alludes to a polite and masculine gentleman. During the second half of the eighteenth-century, the uniform had become a means to differentiate social status in everyday society.[395] In her unpublished thesis, *Military Uniforms in the Eighteenth-century: Gender, Power and Politics*, Sharon Peoples argues that the military uniform

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[395] Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," p.109.

during this period combined signs such as wealth, power, gender, class, status, rank and identity. She states that, '[m]ilitary dress in the eighteenth-century was a vehicle for the dissemination of notions of masculinity and legitimate political power'.[396] This argument is supported by Philip Mansel, who says that after the failed attempt to introduce a national dress in Britain, the uniform was viewed as a compromise between the expense and opulence of the *habit habillé* and the plainness of the frac.[397] The uniform did not come without its own issues, as it was associated with service and servitude, but on the positive side, uniforms were relatively inexpensive and had the significant advantage of only requiring change when the wearer was promoted, rather than at the whim of fashion. While they did not proclaim social rank specifically, the uniform's designation of official military rank provided the authority of the military hierarchy. The popularity of the uniform increased to the extent that it began to be developed in a civilian context, with non-military official positions acquiring a uniform, such as the Windsor uniform adopted by the staff of George III.[398]

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[396] Sharon Margaret Peoples, "Military Uniforms in the Eighteenth Century: Gender, Power and Politics" (Doctorate of Philosophy, PhD thesis, Australian National University, 2008), p. 9.
[397] Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," p. 109.
[398] Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," pp. 111-15.

Figure 65 Nathaniel Dance, *Lord Clive*, c.1770. Oil on canvas. 235.5 cm x 145.5 cm. National Trust Collection, Powys Castle.

The full-length version of Dance's portrait of Clive aims to establish his position in society, not in a military context. Peoples argues that once in uniform, the individual takes on a role as a representative of the monarch, or parliament, *in absentia*, with 'legitimate political power', with the wearer's personal identity becoming secondary.[399] However, the uniform, as stated by Mansel, was being used in civil society to represent stature and position.[400] In this portrait Clive (Figure 65); is establishing his identity as a member of the gentry. Dance has painted Clive in the British landscape, as the owner of property; moneyed; a person of worth; and notable

[399] Peoples, "Military Uniforms in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 11-14.
[400] Mansel, "Monarchy, Uniform and the Rise of the Frac 1760-1830," pp. 112-15.

among his ‘new’ peers. Clive is taking on an identity separate to that of a military officer, without relinquishing the power and authority of his uniform, extending his military stature into his civilian life. This is an alternate version of the mutability referred to by Peoples, who along with others such as Dror Wahrman conclude that identity in the eighteenth-century was mutable, and the uniform provided a means to transform a person’s identity, enabling them to take on the attributes represented by the uniform or institutional identity.[401] While the uniform could function as a designator of rank and social status, this was a society in which a military commission could be purchased from the classified advertisements in the newspaper – so those with ambition and money could use the military as a means to faster achievement of social status .[402] Dance’s portrait successfully portrays Clive, who has the reputation of a classical hero, as a gentleman, now eligible to move in higher society.

The Uniform and Identity

Beyond the actual military aspects of the uniform, consideration has been given in the last two decades to other perceptions of the uniform during the eighteenth-century. Katrina Navickas sees the uniform as a ‘definitive mode of collective clothing’, the primary function of which was provide a ‘homogeneous national identity’, though elite ranks were distinguished clearly by the decoration and expense of the materials used to create the garments.[403] The elaborate gold braiding Dance has painted on the uniform of Rear-Admiral Richard Edwards (Figure 66) shows how status can be displayed as part of a military uniform. Comparing Edwards’s uniform to that of a captain’s uniform, such as those of Palliser (Figure 67) or Cook (Figure 42), reveals the marked difference in presentation. Some additional decoration may be expected at the

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[401] Peoples, "Military Uniforms in the Eighteenth Century," pp. 11-14; Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*.
[402] "Classified Avertisement," *Morning Post and Daily Advertiser*, Thursday January 12, 1775.
[403] Katrina Navickas, "“That sash will hang you”: Political Clothing and Adornment in England, 1780–1840," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 3 (2010): pp. 548-49.

higher rank of admiral; however, the layers of gold embellishment here are extensive. JC Flugel, in his *Psychology of Clothes*, says the importance of visual displays of wealth and rank may be seen not only in military uniforms, but also in other robes of office, including royal and ecclesiastical paraphernalia.[404] These arguments about the types of messages and the layered symbolism interwoven into the uniforms are supported by several other scholars of clothing and uniforms of eighteenth-century Britain.

Figure 66 Nathaniel Dance, *Rear Admiral Sir Richard Edwards,* 1780. Oil on canvas. 127.0 cm x 101.5 cm. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

The idea that a person's identity is a mutable system is strongly advocated by Wahrman in his book *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-century England*. Wahrman argues that clothing was viewed as way of

[404] J C Flugel, *The Psychology of Clothes*, International Psycho-analytical Library (London: Hogarth Press Ltd), p. 31.

defining the wearer; he uses excerpts from the world of eighteenth-century drama to illustrate how not only identity, but even gender, could appear to change by clothing.[405]

Clothing used to establish identity is also supported by Anne Hollander's study, *Seeing Through Clothes*. Hollander says it was presumed that the external costume represented the 'inner' self; however this argument is over simplified as the subject of many conduct books and instructions such as Lord Chesterfields insist that behaviour was crucial.[406] When considering Clive, his portraits fail to display that he was a man of great personal anxieties who would eventually take his own life.[407] Jennifer Craik considers that the specific messages that uniforms are designed to convey and shape how the wearer's behaviour conformed to that expected of their social identity.[408] Craik views uniforms as becoming a 'leitmotif' or motif associated with a particular person, situation or idea. The wearing of a uniform or particular clothing encouraged the adoption of behaviours and manners suitable to that costume. This underpins Wahrman's argument of the eighteenth-century understanding of the masquerade.[409] Put simply, a person takes on the identity of the costume/uniform they wear to the extent that they 'act the part', conforming their manners and the performance of behaviour to a role suitable to their uniform. In the case of Clive in this painting, he is combining the role of military officer and masculine hero with that of a country gentleman.

The use of the uniform as a marker of a gentleman is also indicated in Dance's portrait of Captain James Cook. As briefly discussed in an earlier chapter, Cook's

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[405] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, p. 177.
[406] Philip Dormer Stanhope Earl of Chesterfield, David Roberts, and Ebscohost, "Letters," (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 170; Woods, "'Facing' Identity in a 'Faceless' Society: Physiognomy, Facial Appearance and Identity Perception in Eighteenth-Century London," p. 145.
[407] Anne Hollander, *Seeing through clothes* (New York: Viking Press, 1978), p. xiv, 444.
[408] Jennifer Craik, *Uniforms exposed : from conformity to transgression*, English ed. (Oxford ; New York: Berg, 2005), pp. 3-4.
[409] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 157-65; Craik, *Uniforms exposed : from conformity to transgression*, pp. 3-4.

portrait (Figure 42) bears the hallmarks of a gentleman's portrait more than it does a military portrait. Therefore, Cook's uniform is shown to designate his rank for a social purpose, not specifically as a military symbol. Like Clive, Cook's career and the establishment of his reputation and financial security came from military work, the elements that portray these men as strong, reliable, intelligent leaders are used to reinforce their status as upper-class members of society. Each required advocates or patrons to assist their progression, both in their military careers and outside the military. Cook's career was assisted by several people in the navy, particularly by Palliser, who appointed him to survey and map areas of Newfoundland and selected him to captain the *Endeavour*. Sir Joseph Banks was another of Cook's advocates, and the commissioner and owner of this portrait. This portrait of Cook crosses the boundary between a military portrait and one of a gentleman, even more successfully than does that of Clive. His uniform proclaims his military rank and bearing, while the underlying function of this portrait was to promote Cook and thereby promote Banks's future aspirations for exploration.

Building a career within the military institution could be aided by a sociable network to greatly enhance an individual's prospects. The military uniform provided a group identity with an association of common manners and behaviours, which could be portrayed in paintings. Dance's portraits afforded opportunities for military men to convey their worth and often new social positions. The initial commissions opened the door to a larger network of military clientele for Dance.

The Hero

The redefining of society's behaviours to establish the customs of polite sociability brought with it a reconstruction of the imagery of masculinity. No longer were men required to be the rough, physical conquerors or heroes of the ancient myths and legends, but instead developed attributes of intelligence and reasoned

temperaments, and were to be socially pleasant.[410] This restricted the space for the heroic figures of past centuries, with the exception of men involved in the army and navy. The military cultivated values, behaviours and customs, which combined with personal success greatly enhanced the individuals reputation in society. Eighteenth-century ideas, according to Wahrman, determined that in wearing a military uniform, one's behaviour would conform to a standard and values expected of a military officer. The uniform contains history, values and status that provided a group identity and an opportunity to improve the wearer's position and worth.[411] The implication is that military service was considered to be important in the society of eighteenth-century Britain. The long history in Britain of members of the lower-ranked aristocracy benefitting from serving in the army and the navy is also true for members for the middle class such as Cook and Clive.

Celebrating the military hero through artistic representation in painting or sculpture has a Western history dating back at least to the Greeks and Romans. The Greeks tended to present many of their heroes in the guise of gods. The Roman imagery became more specific and depicted likenesses of individuals with verisimilitude. This continued in various forms, usually with strong associations to God and Royalty until the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In this period secular iconography, associated with the values and exploits of the 'hero' rather than religion, began to emerge. By the eighteenth-century these tropes of military imagery had been refined into an effective collection of masculine-centred motifs. During this century, sociability and its behaviours reshaped traditional ideas of masculinity, resulting in changes in the construction of male images.

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[410] Myrone, *Bodybuilding: reforming masculinity in British art 1750-1810*, p. 3.
[411] Wahrman, *The Making of the Modern Self*, pp. 167-77.

The overt masculinity of the military hero was able to continue to carry the attributes and imagery of the heroic masculine figure, as this was a time of colonial expansion carrying the romantic notions of exotic exploration. The symbols that had evolved over centuries provided Dance with an established framework on which to build his military portraits. These strong links to the heritage of military portraiture are instantly discernible in Dance's paintings for example *Lord Clive* (Figure 30).

In considering the heroic masculine figure, Dance's three-quarter length portrait of Clive (Figure 30) echoes the traditions of the seventeenth-century military portrait, reminiscent of Peter Paul Rubens, Diego Velázquez and Sir Anthony van Dyck. Many paintings by these artists adapted the military subject into an active and charismatic heroic figure with power and movement in the composition. The background settings of these works provide the atmosphere that begins the narrative for the painting's viewer. Dance has set the scene for Clive with a moody, smoke-filled, cloudy sky and a raging battle scene behind the heroic military figure.

Important elements communicated in many military portraits include a sense of foreboding, and the suggestion that the figure featured, the hero, has overcome all challenges. In Dance's portrait of Clive, the battle scene evokes the heroism and victories of history, and Clive is also at the forefront of the action. Clive's uniform replaces the armour of the past military portraits, but the message of the portrait remains unchanged. With the smoke streaming to darken the sky, and the men and equipment clashing behind the heroes, Clive stands as a symbol of heroic masculinity. Clive confronts the viewer with a resolute and authoritative gaze. He appears as honourable, independent and intelligent — man of reason — who has capably led his warriors to victory. These are the qualities of heroic masculinity still suitable for the eighteenth-century military figure.

The continued reinterpretation and adaptation of historic motifs enabled generations of artists to assist their sitters to project the personification of the heroic ideals from classical mythology. In the same way Van Dyck set many of his military portraits in the landscape, Dance has borrowed and adapted this technique in his portrait of *Admiral, Sir Hugh Palliser* (Figure 67). Palliser is presented in a contrast of dark and light. The dark, solidity of the column Palliser leans against is accentuated by the lightness of the ocean, on which a ship is pictured. Dance depicts Palliser in the uniform of a captain, and though he would have been 45 years old, he appears young and unravaged by time or by his life at sea. At the time this portrait was painted, Palliser had spent several years as Governor of Newfoundland, and had reached the rank of Commodore.[412] A portrait such as this could have been displayed either privately in the home, or institutionally in an office or gallery. Other than portraying the military qualities of the man, Palliser's portrait does not reveal any personal insights.

Figure 67 George Dance after Nathaniel Dance,
Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, c. 1767-70. Oil on canvas.
127.6 cm x 101.9 cm. Location unknown.

[412] William H Whiteley, "Sir Hugh Palliser," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* IV (1771-1800)(1979), http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/palliser_hugh_4E.html, 22 April 2012. At this time a commodore was still a ship's captain, but was also in charge of fleet of ships and other captains.

Some portraits were primarily contrived as promotional items, depicting a valiant episode from the life of an individual, and were often created long after the actual event. Clive's portrait as the hero of Plassey (Figure 30) was painted around 16 years after the battle; the narrative presented is of the champion, and while the likeness is in keeping with others of Robert Clive, this portrait is part of the sociability and cultural masquerade of the eighteenth-century. The imagery allows Clive to be interpreted as a hero, whether or not his story is known. Clive's achievements did afford him an air of the 'heroic'. Ultimately, he was a successful, self-educated and self-made man, but even the highlights of his career and life show that the reality differs from the façade of the painting.

Dance's portraits of a Clive (Figure 30, Figure 65)show versions of determined army officer whose leadership and successful military career do not suggest the insecurity and debilities present in his personality that eventually led to his death. Painted approximately a year or two before Clive's suicide, Dance's painting features a high point in a successful career, but belies the full depth of the individual depicted.[413]

This image of Clive extols the military virtues for an audience who may be influenced into giving social credibility to the sitter. Clive stands resolutely looking out at the audience, his wig neatly sculptured and set off against the darkened sky. Clive holds his hat in his left hand and rests his fisted right hand on the top of his hip, comfortable as the heroic figure, with his upright military stance, foregrounded against the battle for which he is credited as the victor. Horsemen flee from the fray and smoke billows into the air, creating tension behind the hero. This work proclaims a man of power and success, and refers back to one of Clive's greatest achievements. Clive displays the hallmarks of success: a correctly attired military gentleman, neatly posed in

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[413] This brings into question Carlyle's or Hazlitt's theories regarding the inner soul being visibly identifiable in the external image.

his uniform, with sword, sash and military insignia announcing his status and rank. He is an advertisement for upward mobility, a man who has improved himself, gaining a higher social position, wealth and eventually a title along the way. This painting, drawing on the iconography of valiant figures of the classical past, is a beacon for the imagery of the modern eighteenth-century British 'heroic masculinity'.

The complexity of messages promulgated in Dance's military portraits reflects the complications of the sociable society in which they were created. The hero in Dance's military portraits is translated through eighteenth-century sociability, conveying the mutability of character with the donning of the uniform. These works inherit the traditions of past military imagery via portrayals of power and authority, and have continued to disseminate their message over the centuries. Through their use of a history of heroic iconographic motifs, Dance's portraits continue to provide a legitimate platform for the heroic masculine figure. The examination of the men they depict, and the intersections of their lives, show that without an ability to negotiate the sociable aspects of life, both inside and outside the military, the chances available for these men to rise through the ranks would have been limited. Dance's portraits trace these connections, such as those of Palliser, Cook, Banks and Pybus, Clive and Palk, highlighting the importance of social networks for the sitters and for the artists they commissioned. These portraits particularly highlight the dual nature of the image and the military uniform, which can equally denote position in the broader society or in the military establishment. The regular uniform extends beyond a representation of wealth and power to encompass the individual, the military institution and Britain as a nation.

The heroic imagery in most of Dance's military portraits is balanced by those depictions that show the second, civilian social form of polite masculinity, such as that depicted in the portraits of Cook and the 'gentleman' Clive. These images allow the 'hero' to conform to a polite sociable version of an acceptable famous identity, which

did not contain elements of the notoriety or scandal that often accompanied the increasing instance of ‘celebrity’.

Conclusion

Nathaniel Dance was a highly successful, professional eighteenth-century British portraitist. Dance reached the heights of renown without the celebrity lifestyle of Reynolds or the struggles of Romney. His works and sitters offer an insight into the adept cultivation of networks and sociability which enabled Dance to quietly achieve improved social standing and reputation. This thesis re-examines Dance's portraiture from a broader academic perspective, revealing the complexities of eighteenth-century British society. Dance's portraits operated as instruments of influence and power in networks and affiliations of sociable society. Various themes are critical to fully understanding Dance's work: in particular sociability; the complex nature of masculinity; and the rise of celebrity.

Dance's work offers compelling glimpses into the role of portraiture and how the portraitist functioned in relation to sociability and eighteenth-century society. The concepts of sociability, masculinity and celebrity provide the tools to reassess Dance's part in the rapidly changing environment of the professional portraitist to gauge how his portraiture was enmeshed in the intricate and nuanced social practices of the eighteenth-century. Prior to this thesis, the analysis of Dance's art and practice was confined to a chronological plotting of his artistic output and the connoisseurs' endeavours to claim his place among the heroes of Britain's Golden Age of portraiture, such as Reynolds and Gainsborough. Research to date has focused on Dance's place in the canon of eighteenth-century British art history through monographic compilations of his catalogue and stylistic development.[414] Recent art historical scholarship provides

[414] Goodreau, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (1735-1811)."; Manners, "Fresh Light on Nathaniel Dance R.A.."; Manners, "Nathaniel Dance, R.A. (Sir Nathaniel Dance-Holland, Bart.)."; Manners, "Last Words on Nathaniel Dance R.A.."

the framework for rethinking Dance's portraiture and lays the foundation for assessing his work in a much more dynamic and complex way. Dance's practices and techniques reveal the intricate and multifaceted connections between the art, the artist, the sitter and the audience in eighteenth-century Britain. This dissertation identifies important new dimensions of eighteenth-century portraiture that are the result of the complex interaction of personal relationships and social networks.

A closer analysis of Dance's artistic practice extends our understanding of eighteenth-century portraiture production, in particular the role of multiple copies of works, which previously have had only cursory attention. Often these duplicated works functioned in dual capacities as both private and public images, displayed in the home as well as in official setting, such as Bishops' portraits at Lambeth Palace. Examining the connections between sitters of duplicated portraits reveals networks that clearly assisted Dance in earning a very good living as an artist. That they were not restricted to being displayed within the sitter's homes but presented in the houses of others and formal settings confirms the portraits' noteworthy role in the sociable society. These duplicate works provided significant social statements and visual impact and fulfilled a much more deliberate role in British society than has previously been recognised.

The concept of sociability is crucial to understanding Dance's work; it was an omnipresent mediator of success in eighteenth-century British society. The impact and evolution of 'sociability' in society provides a lens through which to analyse Dance's works. As Russell states, sociability comprises the

practices and behaviours for the reinforcement of family, groups and professional identities.[415]

Dance's client list shows how sociability connected people in networks of influence. Without these pathways of introduction, negotiating the intricacies of manners, behaviours and customs would have been difficult, limiting the creation of position and wealth. Many of Dance's patrons began forming their profitable associations during their schooling, training and their various professions. The presentation of these men as powerful, educated, capable, reasonable individuals was enmeshed with the understanding of the polite and sensible forms of masculinity. Combined with behaviours and manners of the polite, sociable society underpinned the formation of the conventions and standards for the iconography Dance used in his portraits.

In Dance's oeuvre, sociability can most clearly be seen at work in his portraits of professionals, where he incorporated symbolism associated with individual professions to ensure that each communicated the appropriate information. The professional groups depicted by Dance, including politicians, the judiciary, the clergy, and the military and wealthy employees of organisations such as the East India Company, provided a substantial portion of his commissions and therefore fed into the development of his own networks. Much of the imagery he used to portray judges and clergy continues in artistic practice today: the robes and wigs automatically imbue the sitter with the airs and authority of the institution of their profession.[416] Dance's presentation of politicians, from both houses of Parliament (the Lords and the House of Commons), differed from those of other professionals, often in the manner of a

[415] Russell, "Sociability."
[416] Townsend-Gault, "Symbolic façades: official portraits in British institutions since 1920," p. 511.

land-owning gentleman, featured in a landscape setting, without official accoutrements. Dance's political portraits were primarily drawn from a single network of Whig politicians. This political bias is an area of analysis that falls outside of the scope of this thesis, but deserves to be investigated more extensively in the future.

Sociability, and its variants of politeness and sensibility, governed most interactions in society, creating the 'public sphere' proposed by Habermas.[417] Portraiture provided a medium between the audience and the sitter to disseminate messages that promoted the individual's conformity to the required sociable attributes. Examination of Dance's works in the context of the manners and behaviours of sociable society shows that the role of the audience dictates much of the visual iconography that is embedded in his portraits. As Hallett argues, the growth of the media industry provided a new style of audience for these artworks.[418] With the influx of newspapers, journals and reviews, even many who had never seen paintings now held opinions as to their worth, and through discussion groups, as suggested by Habermas, public opinion could build or break the reputation of the artist and the sitter.

Portraits were socially important to the owners and artists as well as to the sitter. The consolidation and presentation of the reputation, image and prominence of an individual to the public via the use of a portrait was increasingly no longer confined to royalty and the upper classes but was employed by people from any class of society who could afford to pay the commission. The iconography depicted in portraiture became a way to mark distinction, particularly for men in the developing professional classes.

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[417] Habermas, *The Structural Transformation*.

[418] Hallett, "'The Business of Criticism'."; Hallett, "Reading The Walls: Pictorial Dialogue at the British Royal Academy."

Dance's portraits of men incorporated imagery that depicted the variants of masculinity, which played an important and evolving function in society in eighteenth-century Britain. This research has revealed the extent to which sociability infiltrated all aspects of social interactions and, for men, the importance of being portrayed with the expression of the appropriate form of masculinity. Decoding Dance's works of men through the lens of masculinity reveals the multitude of variants functioning in this period. The more aggressive, morally virtuous classical hero of history painting was gradually replaced in individual portraits by a more passive man who displayed reason, intelligence and a worldly knowledge. The imagery of masculinity took on a gentler form than in earlier generations; however, the figure of the 'hero' did remain a focus of Dance's military portraiture. Portraits of military men allowed Dance to explore and present another style of institutional portraiture that provided opportunity for the legitimate presentation of imagery associated with the hero.

The masculine heroes of military portraits, such as Dance's portraits of Clive of India, allowed society to celebrate men who exhibited this more aggressive masculinity: these were the heroes without whom Britain's colonial expansion, and hence consumer society, would not have flourished. The heroic masculine figure was allowed to be celebrated as in the past, with imagery being drawn from iconography dating back to the Romans. The sixteenth and seventeenth century's innovations in paintings continued to be adapted and utilised in these eighteenth-century works. The military heroic masculine imagery that permitted famous conquerors and explorers to be revered existed alongside a newer form of individualism that was gaining popularity. In contrast to the imagery of the heroic figure who could become enduringly famous, the

developing figure of celebrity culture combined elements of a polite masculinity with greater — but more fleeting — notoriety of reputation.

A unique contribution in my thesis is the examination of Dance's duplicated works, which have previously had little scholarly attention. This aspect of Dance's work has never been analysed for its contribution to his practice as a whole, or in relation to the prevalence of this phenomena in eighteenth-century painting in Britain. In analysing these works, sociability its social networks can be viewed as the driving force contributing to the development of these duplicates. The number of duplicated works denotes a value in their unified image conveying messages to diverse and educated audiences. The importance of these portraits was in their function of supporting networks of association in Britain's sociable society, not as unique works of art. Duplication of portraits made the representation of the individuals accessible to a broader audience, increasing the sitters' and the artists' prominence.

Duplicated portraits were a costly but prestigious form of reproduction for works of art, regardless, the practice was not uncommon. It is important to examine duplication in the context of eighteenth-century society — the ambition, the technology and the social norms enabled portraits to play an important role vastly different from the concepts of authenticity and originality introduced in the nineteenth century. The precision Dance achieved to create multiple portraits with near-identical compositions is remarkable, although the techniques used are not known. With the aid of a computer program to create transparent versions of the paintings, identically scaled, displaying only the heaviest lines, I have shown that many of Dance's duplicated works are almost identical. It is reasonable to assume from their exactness that Dance either traced their outline or used a mechanical means for reproduction. Dance produced works that were all of a

high quality and his methods may be fully explained should more of his records be located and made available for further research.

Duplicated images of influential people whether in the household or institution benefitted the painting's owner by association. A similar use of associations — images of professional men — appeared in multiple venues, lending their power, validation and authority to the place or institution where they were exhibited, while at the same time drawing these same values from the venue. The *Grant Conversation Piece* duplicates are an example of the former, where authority was gained for the two men of lower standing from the close association with their titled companions. Dance's duplicated paintings and his portraits of professional men show the complex intertwining of sociable networks in British society. Successfully negotiating the mores of sociable behaviours could reap great benefits for individuals, including improving their social status. However, as networks of patrons and allies were essential to achieving improved sociable status, portraiture plays a critical role in this complex social process in the eighteenth-century.

This thesis reassessed Dance's portraits from the perspective of recent scholarship and concludes that one of the most prominent and important aspects of his work is the visual record he provides of eighteenth-century sociability and masculinity. Dance can be viewed as a painter of men, and as instrumental in the depiction of sociable groups of and from male networks. Even the women and children he painted were largely connected to these webs of masculine affiliations. Within the complexity of this social world, Dance's strong understanding of the functioning of society enabled him to build a career focused on professional institutions and associations. Dance's portraits presented their audiences with imagery and symbolism that was accessible and could be readily

interpreted, and they were successful in communicating to a wide range of viewers in a society where visual appearance and correct behaviour afforded social advancement.

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Appendix A Computer Technique Used to Contrast Painting by Nathaniel Dance

Introduction

Nathaniel Dance produced multiple copies of at least 22 paintings and probably more. As part of my thesis research I developed a computer-based technique to analyse the four paintings of the Grant conversation piece and two different paintings of Lord Camden — both comparisons show that Dance achieved remarkable precision and produced near-identical images. This annex provides a summary of the findings and a description of the computer-based technique.

Description of Computer-based Image Analysis Technique

The computer-based analysis of Dance's multiple copies used digital images (photographs) that were scaled to the physical size, superimposed and then combined in a single image showing the dominant edges of the elements in the paintings. This enabled the exactness of the images to be examined accurately and in detail.

The advantage of this technique is that it is fast, non-invasive, low-cost and achieves remarkable accuracy. While the method has application in this limited field of analysing duplicates, it enables a substantial initial assessment tool for research of artwork.

Application to Dance's Grant Conversation Piece

In examining the four Grant conversation pieces from Lord Seafield, the Tate Britain, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Yale Center for British Art, I wanted to know how accurately Dance produced the replicas. If they were roughly the same, then Dance may simply have used a grid system and sketched in the important elements of the works. But the process revealed there are only millimetres of difference in the major lines of the paintings; they were duplicated with remarkable precision. The benefit of the technique did not require simultaneous access to each work, which would have been very expensive, involving three countries and four collections.

How Dance produced the precision is currently unknown. A camera obscura may have been used, as they were readily available and reasonably affordable. Although at the time the Grant conversation pieces were created, Dance was working in Rome and his income was being supplemented by his father, so this seems highly unlikely. Another drawback for the camera obscura is lighting; the device requires consistent sunlight to obtain good detail and definition for tracing and despite its accuracy of projection, is no faster than for an artist to produce an outline sketch. Therefore, tracing appears to be the more obvious method of reproduction.

Description of the Computer-based Technique for Analysing Dance's Duplicates

Reference: GNU Image Manipulation Program (GIMP) v2.8.10 at http://www.gimp.org/

Overview

This is a brief explanation of the computer tool and technique employed to contrast the four paintings of the Grant conversation piece painted by Nathaniel Dance in c. 1760. The technique shows clearly that the four paintings are identical in most features, with small deviations introduced by Dance — possibly to differentiate the paintings for the owners.

The GNU Image Manipulation (GIMP) program was used to compare four digital images, one from the Yale Center of British Art and the other three from the Tate Britain London, the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the fourth copy held in the private collection of Lord Seafield — all taken by Margaret Prescott using a digital camera as part of her research. These three images were taken using a Canon digital camera that was hand-held, without flash.

Technique

1. Using the ***GIMP*** software program open the digital image file of the Dance conversation piece from the Yale Center of British Art. Using this as the master document because it is a high quality image, has no frame and the dimensions are known. [***File\Open]***

a. Name the layer in GIMP to differentiate it from the other images [***Edit Layer Attributes\Layer Name]***

2. Insert the digital image of the Dance conversation piece from Seafield as a new layer [***File\Open as Layers...***]

a. Crop the image to remove the frame using ***Tools\Transform Tools\Crop***

b. Scale to the same pixel dimensions as the Yale painting [***Tools\Transform Tools\Scale***]

c. Align corners [***Tools\Transform Tools/perspective***]

3. Insert the digital image of the Dance conversation piece from Tate Britain as a new layer [***File\Open as Layers...***]

a. Crop the image to remove the frame using ***Tools\Transform Tools\Crop***

b. Scale to the same pixel dimensions as the Yale painting [***Tools\Transform Tools\Scale***]

c. Align corners [***Tools\Transform Tools/perspective***]

4. Insert the digital image of the Dance conversation piece from Philadelphia Museum of Art as a new layer [***File\Open as Layers...***]

a. Crop the image to remove the frame using ***Tools\Transform Tools\Crop***

b. Scale to the same pixel dimensions as the Yale painting [***Tools\Transform Tools\Scale***]

c. Align corners [***Tools\Transform Tools/perspective***]

5. Adjust the Opacity of the layers to approximately 15% using [***Layers\Opacity***]

6. Using the Yale image as the master, adjust each layer in turn to achieve the best possible alignment with the master

7. Perform edge detection on each layer in turn [***Filters\Edge-Detect\Neon***]

8. The resultant image is a superposition of all four images that shows accurate alignment of the major elements of the paintings-suggesting the duplicates are very accurate copies that contain minor variations as discussed in the thesis.

Figure 68 Margaret Prescott, *Duplicate Image Analysis*.

Appendix B: Additional examples of the importance of social networks for achieving success in the professional classes.

North's Patronage.

Judge, Eardley-Wilmot (1709-92) is an example of a reluctant, yet successful, legal high achiever. John Eardley-Wilmot did not come from the aristocracy, being the second son of Robert Wilmot of Osmaston.[419] Eardley-Wilmot attended the free school in Derby, after which he studied under the Reverend Dr John Hunter at Lichfield, along with his contemporary Samuel Johnson, and David Garrick, six years his junior.[420] The Lichfield School was noted as having educated many renowned men, including: Joseph Addison, whose father was Dean of Lichfield; Bishop Newton, most likely Thomas, Bishop of Bristol; and five judges — Lord Chief Willes; Lord Chief Baron Parker; Mr Justice Noel; Sir Robert Lloyd, Baron of the Exchequer; and Mr Justice, afterwards Lord Chief Justice, Eardley Wilmot.[421] Eardley-Wilmot continued his education at Westminster School, and Trinity Hall, Cambridge, where he made lifelong friendships with men who would influence his later career, including Drummond, Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor Northington and Henry Bilson Legge, who became the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the uncle of North's stepbrother.[422]

Eardley-Wilmot's natural disposition led him to a love of study and a preference for a career in the church: his ambitions were to become a Fellow of Trinity Hall and spend his life in learned society.[423] His father however, convinced him to

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[419] John Eardley-Wilmot, Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt (London: J. Nichols and son, 1811), http://books.google.com.au/books?id=bvEBAAAAMAAJ&source=gbs_navlinks_s. pp. 4-5.
[420] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* 5 June 2013. While the male line of the family had no title, John Eardley-Wilmot's mother Ursula may have inherited her mother's title as Lady Marow, as she was co-heir of her parent's estate.
[421] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* 5 June 2013.
[422] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* p. 8. 5 June 2013.
[423] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* pp. 8-9. 5 June 2013.

pursue a career in the law[424] Eardley-Wilmot, gained a reputation as a 'deep lawyer and powerful advocate' and he came to the notice influential people in Westminster Hall.[425] Despite Eardley-Wilmot declining several offers of advancement from Attorney-General Ryder and Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, throughout his career, he eventually rose to the position of Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.[426].

When Hardwicke resigned as Lord Chancellor in 1756, Eardley-Wilmot became one of the three commissioners of the Great Seal until a new Lord Chancellor was appointed despite being a relatively junior judge. Though proposed as a replacement for Hardwicke, Eardley-Wilmot declined the offer and resumed his duties at the King's Bench.[427]

The extent of Eardley-Wilmot's popularity was evident when in August 1766, he became Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and received congratulatory letters from many people including the outgoing Chief Justice Northington; William Blackstone; Charles Yorke, son of Hardwicke; and Lord Lyttelton.[428] In discussing this appointment with his son, Eardley-Wilmot stressed that it was not ambition or ability that won him the position, but rather his humility and concern for not offending God or man.[429] Later in the same year Eardley-Wilmot became a member of the Privy Council. Despite the recognition he received, Eardley-Wilmot pined for a quiet country life.[430] In 1770, he was offered the position of Lord Chancellor and refused the appointment; in January

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[424] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* pp. 8-9. 5 June 2013.
[425] James Oldham, "Wilmot, Sir John Eardley (1709-1792)," 14 June 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29624?docPos=1.
[426] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* pp. 50-55. 5 June 2013
[427] Oldham, "Wilmot, Sir John Eardley (1709-1792)," 14 June 2013..
[428] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* pp. 50-55. 5 June 2013
[429] Eardley-Wilmot, *Memoirs of the Life of the Right Honourable Sir John Eardley Wilmot, Knt* pp. 50-55. 5 June 2013.
[430] Oldham, "Wilmot, Sir John Eardley (1709-1792)," 14 June 2013.

1771 Eardley-Wilmot resigned as Chief Justice, determined to have his quiet life[431] and died in London in 1792.

Eardley-Wilmot's patrons, Lord Hardwicke, Northington and Legge, all encouraged him into positions he would not have sought by himself. Eardley-Wilmot's career is an example of how capability and reputation could bring the notice of beneficial advocates.

Pitt Patronage

Another of Dance's sitters who benefited from the patronage of Pitt was Robert Keith (1730-95) (Figure 61).[432] Two years before commencing his training at the Military Academy in London, for a career in the army, aged 15, Keith inherited his great uncle's title and land in the Murrayshall estate, and added the name of 'Murray' as part of the inheritance.[433] The military education was comprehensive, providing the essentials for a military career, such as fencing and riding, as well as the requirements for a sociable, polite, well-rounded gentleman, including music, drawing and French and later Dutch, German and Italian.[434] His gift for languages became very useful as later his military career extended into diplomacy.

Britain's army was not a permanent enterprise at this time, with many independent military units organised by individual aristocrats. Without a permanent income, Keith took positions when available and while in a post as a captain in the 73rd Foot Brigade in the British army, acquired with the support of Colonel Henry Seymour Conway (cousin and friend of Horace Walpole) Keith came to the notice of Pitt the

431 Oldham, "Wilmot, Sir John Eardley (1709-1792)," 14 June 2013..
432 Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.
433 Alexander Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/15272.
434 Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013..

Elder.[435] When in 1758 Pitt (the Elder) raised a company of Highland Volunteers (later to become the 87th Foot Brigade) to join the forces of Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick in Europe, Keith was appointed as their major-commandant. When the Seven Years' War ended in 1763 Keith's regiment was disbanded and he abandoned his military career and became involved in politics and diplomacy.[436]

Keith joined 'The Gang' a social club for younger politicians and became a leading member.[437] With the assistance of Conway, Pitt and his father, Keith moved into his next major career when he was appointed as the envoy to Dresden. In June 1771, Keith was transferred to Denmark, where during their revolution, his actions secured George III's sister, Queen Caroline Matilda of Denmark's release from prison.[438] This action gained Keith the King's gratitude and he was awarded the Knight of Bath and appointed as the ambassador to Vienna.[439]

Regardless of this being the pinnacle of Keith's career, as the ambassador he was expected to provide hospitality from his personal funds for British men undertaking their Grand Tour, which proved a massive drain on Keith's finances.[440] Keith's sociable connections, including Pitt, Lords North and Suffolk, assisted in stabilising his financial position by securing him the parliamentary seat of Peeblesshire. This along with military promotions saved Keith from having to sell his estate.[441] In 1792, he retired to

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[435] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.

[436] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013.

[437] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013; Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013.;

[438] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013. Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.

[439] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.

[440] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013; Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.

[441] Du Toit, "Keith, Sir Robert Murray, of Murrayshall (1730-1795)," 5 July 2013.

London on a substantial pension, where he remained until his death in 1795.[442] Without the support of friends and patrons such as Pitt and North, Keith would not have been able to achieve the success that he did.

[442] Edith Lady Haden-Guest, Brooke ed., and Namier ed., "Murry Keith, Sir Robert (1730-95), of Murrayshall, Peebles.," 5 July 2013.