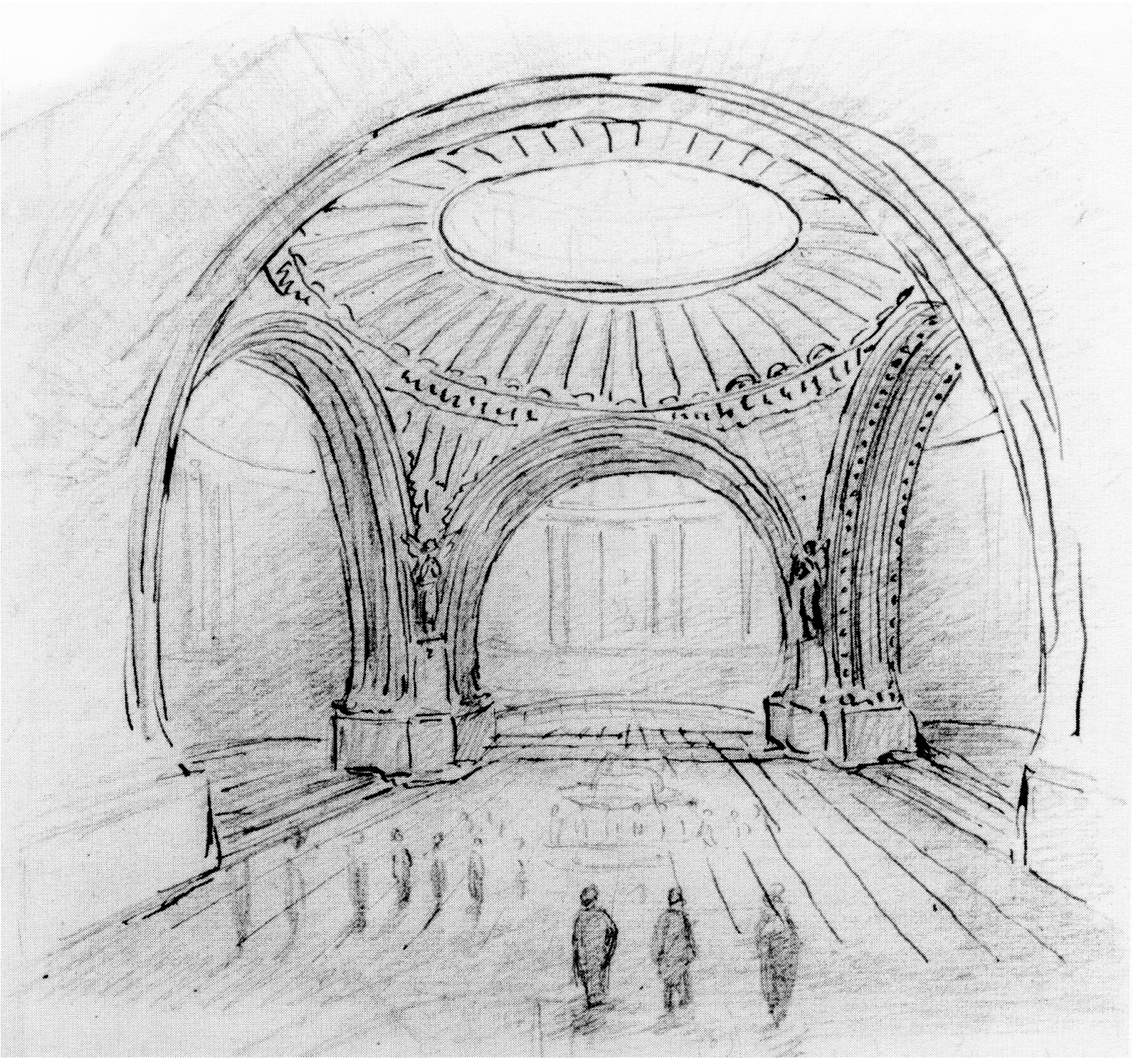
“Architecture Unshackled”

George Dance the Younger & Appropriate Invention



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George Dance the Younger & Appropriate Invention

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Taeke Jan Harkema

T.J.Harkema@umail.Leidenuniv.nl

under supervision of

Prof. Dr. Caroline van Eck

and

Dr. Sigrid de Jong

Department of Art History, Leiden University

PREFACE

This thesis was written as part of the examination for the master's degree in Art History at Leiden Univerity. Part of the research was financed by a grant from the Robert Fruin Fonds, which allowed me to study archival resources in London that would otherwise have remained inaccessible. I wish to express my gratitude to the institution. In London, Stephany Coane of the Soane Museum has been of great help. Furthermore, I wish to thank my supervisors for the acute criticism that helped me to turn this project from a mute fascination into a viable and inspiring research challenge. The comments of Sigrid de Jong helped me to rethink large parts of this study, and urged a reformulation of its main argument. Endless discussion with Linda Bleijenberg helped much to put the topic in a broader perspective. But without my unyielding whetstone I could not have written this thesis. Nynke: thanks for your ceaseless support!

1. *Newgate Gaol, entrance door adorned with festoons as shackles*

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INTRODUCTION

Little is known of the architectural thought of George Dance, and this makes it very hard to assess his architectural projects – a process that is only complicated by the fact that few of his buildings have remained. In one famous manifestation of his thought, however, Dance spoke out for the liberation of artistic genius from restraining rules: "Architecture unshackled would afford to the greatest genius the greatest opportunities of producing the most powerful efforts to the human mind."[1] At the same time contemporaries praised him and his architectural endeavours specifically for their appropriateness and expression of purpose. Samuel Cockerell, for instance, remarked in 1798 that "Dance excelled all the present architects in appropriate invention. His designs explained the purpose for which the building was intended."[2] Indeed, appropriateness and situation, the importance of physical but also social context, were hallmarks of the architectural thought professed at the Royal Academy at the time. The stress on context and appropriateness contrast sharply with insistence on freedom that Dance proclaimed.

1 Joseph Farington, *The diary of Joseph Farington (1793-1819)*, edited by James Greig, 2 vols, London: Hutchinson & Co., 1922, entry for 25 March 1804

2 Ibid., entry for 10 November 1798, quoted in David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, Cambridge studies in the history of architecture, Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 62

To understand this contrast, we have to understand what "architecture unshackled" meant to Dance. Guidelines and restrictions no doubt fit much easier than inventive freedom in a critical framework that is defined by measures of appropriateness. Apparently, however, Dance was compelled to express his concern for something that would restrain this inventive freedom of work, even when it was received as most appropriate by his colleagues and critics. Both the restriction and the reception beg questions on how they were understood by Dance and his contemporaries.

We can approach this problem from either side of the paradox: what, on the one hand, restrained Dance's freedom? The formation of the architectural profession proper, a process well underway in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as the Royal Academy – of which Dance was a founding member – play an important part in this question, because both processes have put an effort in recording the responsibilities and civil countenance of architecture and its practitioners. In this respect it is interesting to unravel Dance's thoughts on architecture, however dispersed they have been delivered.

The methodology of the architect opens another approach to the problem. Through his design process, the effect of unrestrained freedom on his designs can be traced. The reflection by contemporaries briefly hinted upon above already reveals that his works had been regarded as anything but improper, so his concern did not result in a proliferation of unexpected caprices. That begs the question how his seemingly self-proclaimed unrestrained genius manifested itself through the design process.

It will be the main aim of this thesis to answer the two questions that arise from this contrast: what did unrestrained freedom mean to Dance, and how did it manifest in his design work?

2. *George Dance, self-portrait, 1814*

Some background: Dance, his life and his critics

George Dance the Younger lived from 1741 to 1825. A son of a well-established architect, he soon came in close contact with the building trade. After some years of apprenticeship with his father Dance set out on his Grand Tour to Italy, where he stayed from 1758 to 1765. His stay in Italy was prolific, for he got acquainted with some of the leading architects and patrons of the day and was elected member of the *Accademia di San Luca* and the *Accademia Arcadia*[3]. He immersed in building practice right after his return from Rome, with the church of All Hallows being his first completed building in 1768. As a Royal Academician of the first hour and Clerk of the City Works in succession of his father, he was greatly involved in the process of modernizing the building trade and the city of London[4]. From 1792 onward, he divided his artistic attention between architecture and profile drawing, an art in which he was not without merit[5]. At the Royal Academy he held the chair of architecture after the death of Thomas Sandby, but he resigned in 1806 without having delivered any of the required lectures. In 1815 he retired from work, aged 74, because of deteriorating health, though he remained in touch and seems to have

3 Samuel Angell, "Sketch of the Professional Life of George Dance, Architect, R.A.", *The Builder*, No. CCXXXII, 1847, p. 333-5, p. 334

4 Michael Hugo Brunt, "George Dance, the Younger, as Town Planner (1768-1814)", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 14, no. 4, 1955, p. 13-22, p. 13 notes: "it would appear that the Dances (particularly George, the Younger) were largely responsible for changing the predominantly mediaeval character of London to Georgian".

5 The series was exhibited at the Royal Academy and finally published with a dedication to one of his patrons, Sir George Beaumont. See Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance, architect, 1741-1825*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1971, p. 172

discussed matters of architecture, with his former pupil John Soane until his death in 1825[6].

During his life time he was regarded a "venerable father, [..] distinguished in his profession for knowledge, taste and genius". He "possessed expressive countenance", "had a general acquaintance with the most eminent characters of the day" and had a "reputation which placed him at the head of his profession"[7]. Benjamin West, president of the Royal Academy, regarded Dance "the first Architect in the Country in respect of true taste & judgment"[8] The first biography on George Dance appeared in an 1847 edition of "The Builder". Samuel Angell briefly touches upon Dance's major works and includes some biographical remarks, informed primarily by a grandson of the architect[9]. The work of George Dance has received little critical attention since. Being remembered primarily for his Building Act of 1774, infamously known as the "Black Act" in the nineteenth century, Victorian architects reviewed his work with improper disdain. Many of his buildings were subsequently demolished; others have been rebuilt beyond recognition. With the demolition of Newgate Prison in 1904 his *magnum opus* disappeared at last[10].

Interest in his work renewed only during the latter half of the twentieth century, with John Summerson listing him "among the few really outstanding architects of the eighteenth century"[11], and Dorothy Stroud publishing an extensive monograph on his life and work[12]. Very few additional facts have been introduced since this publication, while it does include many new attributions[13]. Summmerson's assertion was never substantiated, though. A critical study by George Teyssot, published in 1974, described the man and his work as exemplar of a fundamental crisis in late-eighteenth century architecture. Within the work of Dance, Teyssot asserts, the crisis of capitalist ideology becomes manifest: his search for an architectural language, universally legible, proves futile, and his career at

6 For the collaboration between Dance and Soane, see Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *Architectural History. Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 53, 2010, p. 163-90

7 Quoted from W. Miller, *Biographical Note on George Dance*, 1826, London: RA Archives, AND/12/96

8 Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit.*, entry for 29 March 1804

9 Samuel Angell, "Sketch", *op. cit.*

10 Reginald Blomfield, "The Architect of Newgate", in: *Studies in Architecture*, edited by Reginald Blomfield. London: MacMillan and Co, 1905, pp. 73-90, p. 73 laments its destruction: "The building [..] stands by itself among the achievements of architecture. There is nothing else quite like it, or quite so successful within its own peculiar limits". Other than that, he sums up the negative opinion on Dance at the beginning of the twentieth century in contrast to his direct contemporaries, when he says that "his architecture gave up [on] him", "he was occupied with futile attempts to catch the fashionable manner of the time" (85), "Dance was not a strong man, [..] his was one of the natures that can follow a good lead, but seem to possess little individual initiative." (89)

11 John Summerson, *Georgian London*, New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2006, p. 151

12 Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*

13 Harold Kalman, in his review, notes that prior to Stroud's monograph, 20 works were identified as Dance's. Stroud attributes some 80 more projects. See Harold D. Kalman, "Review of: George Dance, Architect, 1741-1825 by Dorothy Stroud", *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 31, no. 2, 1972, p. 154-5, p. 155

the turn of the century makes a shift, turning away from public commissions and towards privately requested, commodity-charged designs on the country side[14]. The boundless maxim "architecture unshackled" has in this light become emblematic for an endless fragmentation and dispersion of architectural images.

Recently, however, Jill Lever published a sumptuous catalogue of all drawings of the architect, as they are stored in the so-called Dance Cabinet of the Soane Museum[15]. This catalogue is the most up-to-date visual source of his architectural endeavours[16]. It opens up new possibilities to analyze what Dance could have meant when he beckoned to the dispersion of rules, and subsequently sheds new light on the conclusions that Teyssot had drawn. Moreover, an anonymously published essay on the education of the architect, written in 1773 either by Dance himself or in his very close circle, has been neglected in his historiography so far[17]. Together, these new documents ask for a re-assessment of the conclusions of Teyssot and Blomfield, and perhaps even a substantiated endorsement of Summerson's qualification of Dance, quoted earlier.

"George Dance Il Giovane": George Teyssot on Dance

This thesis takes as a point of departure the one study that brought a critical context to Dance's work, by George Teyssot, a scholar associated with and guided by the Venice School of Manfredo Tafuri[18]. The book discusses the relationship

14 Georges Teyssot, *Città e utopia nell'illuminismo inglese: George Dance il giovane*, Roma: Officina, 1974, p. 145 concludes: "Il frammentismo prefigurato ideologicamente diviene collezione di oggetti immediatamente consumabili, senza significati, sparsi nel «cimitero archeologico» della metropolis."

15 Jill Lever, *Catalogue of the drawings of George Dance the Younger (1741-1825) and of George Dance the Elder (1695-1768): from the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, Oxford: Azimuth, 2003. The catalogue urged David Watkin to comment "Justice has at last been done to George Dance". See David Watkin, "Review of: Catalogue of the Drawings of George Dance the Younger (1741-1825) and of George Dance the Elder (1695-1768) from the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum", *Apollo.*, no. 506, 2004, p. 60

16 Jill Lever has since the publication been concerned with the relationship between Dance and John Soane, his former pupil and considered his artistic superior. She has come to the conclusion that many of the innovations that Soane is credited for should at least partially be considered Dance's achievement. See Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*.

17 [Anonymous], *An Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect, &c. with some useful hints for the Young Architect or Surveyor*, London, 1773. The essay is mentioned by Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 109, but he only mentions it in a discussion on the requirements of *Urban Improvement*, and does not treat it as a manual to the architectural discipline, which it is.

18 The book is an adaptation and translation of his thesis "Dance, Soane et le neo-classicisme anglais" from 1971. Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 7 expresses his gratitude to Tafuri in his acknowledgements for the "continuous suggestions" he provided during the four years of his study. I borrow the term "Venice School" from Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and modernity: a critique*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1999, p. 128-48, who defines it as the group of historians assembled around Manfredo Tafuri, Massimo Cacciari and Francesco dal Co. A detailed study of the historiography of Tafuri can be found in Andrew Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri. Choosing History*, Ghent: Department of Architecture & Urbanism, Ghent University, 2007. The ideology of "crisis" that determines the work of these scholars

between architecture and urban planning in the work of Dance[19]. Teyssot argues first that Dance's work must be viewed in light of the utopia of neoclassicism, whose goal he defines as the constitution of a universal science of the orders[20]. Dance's work envelops both faces of neoclassical architecture: on the one hand the utopia of classicism, which is the research for a universally legible architectural language, on the other hand the attempt to deploy the discipline to control urban transformations[21]. This view on neoclassicism is opposed to the one of Emil Kaufmann, who introduced the term in architectural historiography in contrast to classicism[22]. Kaufmann saw neoclassicism, and in particular the emergence of architectural "autonomy", as an early (and formal) announcement of modernism[23]; Teyssot opposes precisely that conclusion, arguing that instead the classical tradition came to an end in the last decades of the eighteenth-century, and all possibility to form an architectural language that had any meaning (let alone an *autonomous* meaning) had been relinquished ever since.

Teyssot takes Dance's career to illustrate how the utopian idea of an architectural sign system that embodies universal meaning was robbed from its significance during the last decades of the eighteenth century, and how such a change was reflected in the work of the architect. Therefore he traces his career in three chapters that correspond to a three-partite division of his work, centred on a progressive understanding of "*il linguaggio architettonico*". The first chapter treats the formative years, in which the possibilities of the language are studied; the second chapter deals with the application of this language in the city, specifically in relation to its institutions (for it is the persuasive role of the language that tends to give it a universally legible image, in Teyssot's view); the third chapter discusses how eventually Dance lost sight of the possibilities to unify the (architectural) image

depends heavily on their Marxist ideas on society.

19 Manfredo Tafuri, *Architecture and Utopia: Design and Capitalist Development*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1976, p. 4, nt. 1 calls the study the "best contribution to the subject" of urban planning and utopian thought in London.

20 "Il suo scopo [of the utopia of neoclassicism] più generale [..] è la constituzione di una scienza universale dell "Ordine". Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 11

21 Ibid., p. 11

22 He did so in Emil Kaufmann, "'Die Architekturtheorie der Französischen Klassik und des Klassizismus'", *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, LXIV, 1924, p. 197-237. Teyssot mentions Kaufmann's study on Ledoux (Emil Kaufmann, *Von Ledoux bis Le Corbusier; Ursprung und Entwicklung der Autonomen Architektur*, Wien: Passer, 1933) as his direct adversary in his introduction, and has later elaborated on the distinction that Kaufmann draws in Georges Teyssot, "Neoclassic and 'Autonomous' Architecture: the Formalism of Emil Kaufmann", *On the Methodology of Architectural History. Special issue of Architectural Design*, 51, 1981, p. 24-9.

23 The line of thought that links Ledoux to Le Corbusier via the concept of "autonomy" was derived from Kant's philosophy: "Kant instituted the autonomous ethic, Ledoux laid the foundations of an autonomous architecture" (Kaufmann, quoted from Anthony Vidler, *Histories of the Immediate Present: Inventing Architectural Modernism*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008, p. 28). Whereas Kaufmann saw neo-classicism as the beginning of a (modern) era, Teyssot saw it as an end, terminating in crisis.

of the city, or to provide models that do so. The aim of this chapter is ultimately to show, according to Teyssot, how Dance progressively relinquished all opportunity of actual realization of his schemes[24].

It is within these cycles that Teyssot categorizes all of Dance's work *until 1800*. These three threads "conducono Dance alla crisi del 1800 e in seguito alla *fuga dalla città*"[25].

Here Teyssot introduces a final break, because at the dawn of the new century Dance would have retreated from the architectural discipline, focusing on projects at the countryside, and other disciplines, such as portrait painting and physiognomy. The *fuga dalla città* becomes a metaphor for Teyssot: not only a literal repose away from the city, but also a theoretical withdrawal from what had earlier been labelled the disciplinary verification: the city in its role as testing ground for architecture. The break introduces also the crisis of the discipline at large: here we see exemplified the end of the sign-system of classicism[26].

Though the disciplinary crisis is effectively a crisis of apprehension of value which is strengthened by economic conditions[27], Teyssot sees Dance's interest in the liberation of architecture from strict rules as a symptom of the same crisis. It is not by chance that Dance reflected on the theme whilst discussing the country house of Thomas Hope[28]:

> *"Dance told me He thought it better than He expected, & that by the singularity of it good might be done as it might contribute to emancipate the public taste from that rigid adherence to a certain style of architecture & of finishing & unshacle [sic] the Artists"*[29]

24 The arrangement of the book is discussed on Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 38-41

25 Ibid., p. 40. Italics in original.

26 Teyssot notes: "Crisi della professione, dovuta alla nuova distribuzione dei ruoli, [..] e quindi crisi dell'architettura in quanto disciplina."

27 Teyssot sees Dance's later Works of strict and reduced application of classical orders, such as the entrance portico of Laxton Hall, or the hall of Ashburnham Place, as a controlled eclecticism, like commodities ("ecletticismo controllato e *serio*, (come merce)") answering to the will of the commissioner ("al collezionismo della nuova committenza"). Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 144 Here, the architectural means appear to signify no more than what the commissioner can buy. Hence Teyssot's characterization of this phase in the work of John Foulston, pupil of Soane, as "composto da vari edifici pubblici costuiti in *stili* □ e non più in *linguaggi.*" Ibid., p. 144 (italics in original)

28 Thomas Hope (1769 – 1831) was a banker and author, who wrote the 1808 essay *On the Art of Gardening*, expressing theories in line with Payne-Knight's and Price's *picturesque* views. See also Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, Milano: Electa Architecture, 2003, p. 51-3, who characterize Hope as "of course, himself a picturesque theorist".

29 Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 141; Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit.*, p. entry for 31 march 1804

For Teyssot it is clear that this crisis is much broader than architecture alone. He refers to poets like Wordsworth, Coleridge and Blake, who similarly search for a refuge into liberty of (artistic) will[30]. The freedom of rules, for Teyssot, goes directly against the universal legibility of architectural language. He suggests that John Soane hinted at this in his seventh lecture for the Royal Academy, when he said "Architecture is an art of Invention (as opposed to Imitation in painting and sculpture), and Invention is the most difficult exercise of human mind."[31]:

> *"Per Dance è lo stesso: l'"architecture unshackled", cioè l'architettura scatenata, è l'architettura della rivolta contro il razionalismo neoclassico. La "soggettività incatenata" di Newgate si libera e ne risulta il progetto di Cole Orton [..]La dispersione e la polverizzazione del linguaggio si manifestano chiaramente nell'opere successive"*[32]

For Teyssot, then, "architecture unshackled" and "architectural language" are opposed categories; where one finds legible architecture, that is, architecture that determines its situation in society, the architect could not have acted according to freedom of expression. If, on the other hand, such freedom is professed, than the architectural expression cannot be grasped in terms of contribution to society[33]. Bringing those two terms on a par is considered an unusual and illogical move. As Jill Lever comments loosely in a side-note to her catalogue: "Dance [..] can safely be considered an eclectic architect though he might have seen himself as stylistically liberated"[34].

30 It is rather coincidental that Coleridge was present in the dinner with George Beaumont, Joseph Farington and Dance, in which the latter spoke out for the freedom from limiting rules.

31 Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 143, nt. 24 He does not give a precise citation for the quote.

32 Ibid., p. 142-3

33 The contribution to society is what Teyssot calls the "operationality" of the discipline, which Teyssot stresses to be at stake in precisely this crisis: architecture, as an autonomous field of knowledge, he says, enters into a dialectic with the city, as the field of disciplinary verification. The crisis than means to abandon the urban dimension as a field of verification in favour of a completely autonomous architectural language opposed to the context of social (and political) institutions. See ibid., p. 11.

34 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 388.

Structure of this thesis

The perhaps casually uttered remark that architecture should not be limited by rules might indeed refer to an airy lack of concern, but I think this is not likely – neither in face of his view on the professionalism (and lack thereof among his contemporaries), nor after close study of his design methods. This thesis will explore in two parts both these views. In part one I will present an argument on what Dance might have meant with his remark, based on a previously neglected essay written in the very close context of his office, the anonymously published *Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect*. As its title points out, the essay sketches an image of the role of an architect in society, which cannot be taken light-heartedly. This part investigates from the perspective of the architect what restrains he felt upon himself professionally.

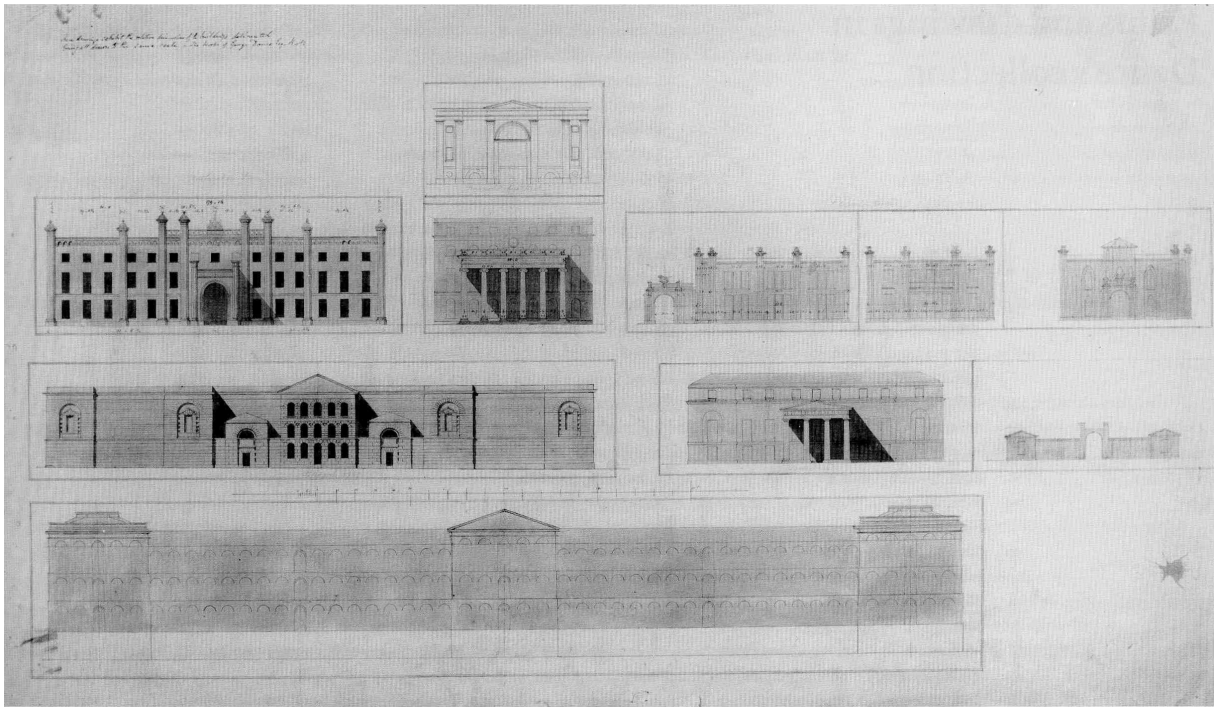
Part two will subsequently consider Dance's buildings, not from the perspective of the modern observer, but from the perspective of the (professional) architect that was presented in the *Essay*. This architect shows concern for effect of his buildings in correspondence to contemporary critique, and his designs bear witness of transformations that stem from this concern. The newly available visual evidence on his design process, as published by Jill Lever, will be used in order to trace how, in practice, his concern for freedom from rules had consequences on his designs and buildings.

PART 1

"QUALIFICATIONS OF AN ARCHITECT"

In attempts to sketch a characterization of the work of George Dance, the maxim "architecture unshackled" has become an inevitable commonplace[1]. Partly, this is due to the lack of further written evidence on his thought. Though in 1798 he assumed the post of professor of architecture at the Royal Academy, of which he was a member from the first moment, he resigned in 1805 without having delivered his required annual lectures[2]. He seems to have been reluctant to publish his own works. Beside the Academy lectures, two attempts to publication came to an untimely end. In 1807 Dance was asked to deliver an essay on architecture for the

1. General histories of architecture use it to describe his works, usually in combination with the ad-hoc equation of Newgate Gaol and Burke's *sublime*. For instance, John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830*. 9th ed, New Haven / London: Yale university press, 1993, p. 418 writes: "If we think of All Hallows, of Newgate, of the Guildhall council chamber and the Guildhall front as the works of one man in the course of twenty-five years we see the arrival of a new, deliberate ecclecticism. We can appreciate what Dance meant in a remark to Farington about 'architecture unshackled'." Damie Stillman, *English neo-classical architecture*, London / New York: Zwemmer, 1988, p. 33 considers it emblematic for the beginning of the nineteenth century. Stephen Eisenman and Thomas E. Crow, *Nineteenth Century Art: a Critical History*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2002, p. 160 spends a chapter on the theme, and writes: "Moreover, architecture's innate adherence to a Classical tradition had to be overcome if its expansive potential was to be realized. Dance did not clarify what an architecture unshackled would look like." Jill Lever recently explained the maxim in light of the role Dance took in John Soane's education, freeing up his imagination. See Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.* She also curated an exposition under this name: Jill Lever, *'Architecture Unshackled': George Dance the Younger 1741-1825*, 2004
2. He had, however, felt the need to do so, for Farington noted in his diary: "[Dance] spoke of his future lectures, and thinks the subject ought to be treated in a more general way in public lectures, and not to descend, as is common, to receipts of limited proportions". See Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit.*, entry for July 22nd, 1798



3. Elevations showing comparative sizes of seven buildings designed and executed by Dance, probably meant for publication, after 1813.

weekly magazine *The Artist*, and Joseph Farington records in his diary that the piece had actually been finished[3]. Nothing appeared in the weekly magazine, however, or in the bound double volume that was published afterwards[4]. It remains uncertain whether Dance had withdrawn his contribution, or had never written it at all. In 1809 Dance produced two large sheets with comparative elevations of his principal works. It has been suggested that these sheets were intended for publication of a general overview of his works[5], but the project, if any, was put to an end shortly after its inception. Dance was not enthusiastic about exhibiting his work at the Royal Academy. Only five architectural drawings he hung there[6], along with some of his renowned portrait drawings. The aphorism appears to be the only written evidence that can serve as an entrance to his thought.

3. Ibid., entry for 15 April 1807
4. Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 16
5. Lever [121]. See ibid., p. 366
6. Ibid., p. 379 lists them: 'A Section of a Royal Gallery for Sculpture' and 'Plan of a Gallery for Sculpture' in 1770, 'The Garden Front of a House for a Gentleman in the Country' in 1771, 'Design for a Mausoleum' in 1785 and 'Sketch for a Design for the Improvement of the Legal Quays between London Bridge and the Tower' in 1799.

"Architecture unshackled" and licence

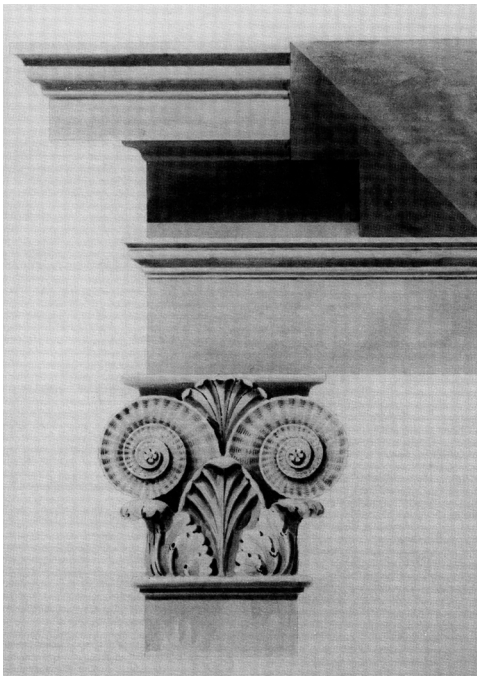
The statement and its context are recorded by Joseph Farington in his diary. Art patron George Beuamont invited Dance, Farington and Samuel Coleridge for a dinner which ended in a discussion on the arts, in which Coleridge did most of the talking. While Beaumont asked for the powers required for each art, Coleridge dwelled on the correspondence between painting, sculpture and poetry. At this point Farington noted a contribution of Dance with his well-known plea for unshackled architecture:

> *"Dance said that the Temple at Paestum was only one remove, as architecture, above Stone-Henge. He derided the prejudice of Uniting Designs in Architecture within certain rules, which in fact though held out as laws had never been satisfactorily explained. He said that in His opinion that architecture unshackled wd. afford to the greatest genius the greatest opportunities of producing the most powerful efforts of the human mind."*[7]

A week after the dinner, Dance was invited over to view Thomas Hope's new house. Dance again stressed that "it might contribute to emancipate the public taste from that rigid adherence to a certain style of architecture & of finishing & unshacle [sic] the artists."[8]

It seems, then, that Dance wanted to make an argument for the opposite of restrictive rules. What rules did he oppose to? Buildings answer to numerous technical and functional requirements which, though not strict in a mathematical sense, do offer unavoidable constraints to their design. But Dance's remark is not about those issues, for he could not have denied their existence. He is concerned with the arbitrary rules that are formulated to acquire the approval of public taste. Those were the rules that "have never been satisfactorily explained". The necessity for those rules was already established in the treatise of Vitruvius, who argued that architecture is a *scientia* which is completely established on rules or norms that

7. Quoted from a discussion on architecture between George Beaumont, Coleridge, Farington and Dance as recorded in Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit., entry for 25 March 1804*
8. Ibid., entry for 31 March 1804



4. Ammonite order. Drawing by John Soane for his Royal Academy lectures, after Dance's design for the Shakespeare Gallery at Pall Mall, London, 1788-9.

stem from nature[9]. His definitions of the principles of architecture left little room for personal, artistic contribution. This is not surprising, because his aim was to raise architecture to the level of an intellectual discipline, on a par with the other arts, but the variation in buildings since has shown how elusive such principles are.

The question whether one was allowed to improve upon the rules that pertain to the Vitruvian canon inspired many writers on architecture. Freedom from rules had in light of this discussion been regarded as "caprice" or licentiousness. Giorgio Vasari, for instance, took *licence* as a measure of the accomplishments of a culture. He embraced the use of invention in terms very similar to Dance's when he commented on licentious use of the canon in the work of Michelangelo, who severed the "bonds and chains" that had confined others before[10].

The plea for abolishment of arbitrary rules can thus be understood as a means to introduce invention to the architectural discourse. Invention in this sense is understood as a deliberate search for novelty. According to this reading, the aphorism could be deployed to explain the liberty Dance took in cladding the façade of Guildhall with Gothic and Indian patterns, in applying an entirely new order, styled "ammonite", to the facade of Shakespeare Gallery in Pall Mall; or in the omission of the architrave in the Ionic order of his first building, the parish church

9. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning: the Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages, and the Renaissance*, Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1988, p. 33
10. Quoted from Alina A. Payne, "Architects and Academies: Architectural Theories of Imitatio and the Debates on Language and Style", in: *Architecture and Language*, edited by G. Clarke and P. Crossley: Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 118-33, p. 125

of All Hallows on London Wall. It can also explain why he was among the first to experiment with new building types, new commercial enterprises, new building materials and influences from distant parts of the world[11]. He kept on searching for design improvements, even over designs that had been made decades before.[12]

Does this than mean that rules had to be subjugated to invention? Certainly this is part of the answer, but it is not the whole story. Even for Vasari, licence was not boundless, and although he had not provided any boundaries, he did chastise all who invented "*a caso*", and created monsters[13]. Dance, too, did not abolish all regulation per se. He "derided rules that had never been satisfactorily explained" and considered instead that "public taste" should be "emancipated from rigid adherence to a certain style". He thus relegates the rules of architecture not just to study of the discourse, but brings them in relationship with a third party, the public that is confronted with its appearance.

The search for approval or authority is present in Vitruvius' treatise as well. While he does not treat the subject of licence itself, his principle of *decor* comes closest to the domain of artistic judgement[14], as it requires a personal judgement of the artist. It therefore leaves room for artistic influence[15]. Under *decor* he registers the principle of appropriate appearance:

> *"Decor demands the faultless ensemble of a work composed, in accordance with precedent, of approved details. It obeys convention (statio) which in Greek is called thematismos, or custom (consuetudo) or nature (natura)."*[16]

11. Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.* notes several instances where Dance could be considered 'first': He was the first to introduce the circus and crescent type in London in 1768 (p. 130); he took very early interest in the application of cast iron in 1770 (p. 384); he introduced Indian influences in the Guildhall façade (only weeks before S.P. Cockerell did the same; see p. 144); he created the so-called ammonite order in 1788 (p. 154); he made the second purpose built public gallery, also in 1788 (p. 154). She also considers the church of *All Hallows on the Wall* as the first strictly neo-classical building in Britain (p. 16), but she does not provide a definition to support that statement.
12. Lever comments on his drawings: "Even after contract-drawings had been exhibited, tendered, signed and dated, changes were made to the design". Ibid., p. 379
13. Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999, p. 20
14. Ibid., p. 36
15. The principle of *decor* is listed among the six abstract principles of architecture listed in Book I, Ch. 2, together with *ordinatio, dispositio, eurythmia, symmetria* and *distributio*. Though *decor* cannot be taken as a synonym for the rhetorical *decorum*, the two terms evidently shared much, and read through the eyes of early modern readers, who read Vitruvius alongside Cicero, Horace and Quintilian, the ties must have seemed very strong. See John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 37
16. "*Decor autem est emendatus operis aspectus probatis rebus compositi cum auctoritate*", Vitruvius, I, 2, 5, quoted from Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*, *op. cit.*, p. 37 John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 37 translates the same passage with more stress on the *auctoritate*: "Decor is the correct appearance of a work using approved details and backed by authority." He translates the first of the three agents to control the authority, station, as "prescription" rather than "convention". It is clear from the context of Vitruvius' treatise that he meant to indicate the rules of the

The approval that registers the correct application of *decor* stems not from the rules of architecture themselves, but from some sort of authority. It thus requires a third party to consider, deliberate and judge whether their expectations are met[17]. On this level *decor* resembles much of the rhetorical principle of *decorum*[18], and Vitruvius was well aware of that. He adopted from the rhetorical framework of Cicero the three types of oratory, which correspond to the three *genera* that he defined for architecture. Each of those suits a different architectural context, which Vitruvius described using adjectives borrowed directly from rhetoric, opening a new range of metaphors in which sensual and moral connotations could be traced[19]. The moral implications rendered by Vitruvius meant for him a move against contemporary building practice, which implies that his emphasis was on correctness, rather than a description of the current state of the art. Vitruvius' treatise thus targeted a specific public: an educated audience not necessarily versed in the practice of architecture, who understood its correspondence with their professed values[20].

Dance's remark that the public needs to be emancipated from a prevailing style, bears strong similarities with Vitruvius' detachment of architectural vogue from correct *decor*.

How then does Dance's licence relate to Vitruvian *decor*? The three agents that regulate decor restrict artistic freedom, but its moral undertones direct appropriateness towards a learned audience. For Dance as well, a learned audience seems to have been a prerequisite to gauge architectural value. More specifically, he said that "architecture unshackled wd. afford to the greatest genius the greatest opportunities". Therefore, his plea for licence was not only addressed to a public, but also to the profession itself: they – the educated professionals – were asked to break the shackles that limited their genius. However, it seems unlikely that a professional architect was granted more freedom than the audience. In other words: the limits that public taste imposed on the audience must be taken into account for the architect as well.

genera or columnar orders here. "*Consuetudo*" or custom prevents the mixing of unfitting elements (for instance, Ionic dentils in a Doric entablature). "Natura" finally directs the situation of the building in a healthy and appropriate location, but also ensures that the building fulfils its purpose.

17. Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*, *op. cit.*, p. 38-9
18. Ibid., p. 54 stresses that the word "decor" was rare in the Latin textual canon. At the end of the 15th century, it was entirely superseded by the much wider used *decorum*. This term is strongly rooted in rhetorical theory. Both stem from the greek *to prepon*, which means "that which is fitting". Decorum has a strong Stoical meaning of fitting "according to nature" – precisely what Vitruvius aimed at with his attempt to bring architecture in the realm of science and truth. See John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 37. More importantly still, *decorum* has a strong ethical foundation.
19. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 38
20. Ibid., p. 39. To illustrate the contrast, Onians gives the example of the Doric order, which according to Vitruvius ought to be the most dignified of the three orders, bearing connotations with *gravitas* and *virtus*. This goes against the slim, Corinthian orders that were in vogue in Augustan rome.

Dance was not alone in these considerations, though his derision is not often uttered that vehemently. In the near context of the Royal Academy he found similar voices, stressing the need for good education. To illustrate the precarious situation in Britain in the 1760's, Joshua Reynolds wrote that the advantage of a British Academy was that "we shall have nothing to unlearn"[21]. More seriously, he stressed in his first discourse that an implicit obedience to the rules of art were necessary for young students, but in the second lecture he distinguished three degrees of proficiency. After learning the rules, and after taking art itself as a master, the third period "emancipates the Student from Subjection to any authority"[22].

As Reynolds aimed to set a standard for artistic education, Dance seems to have set up some kind of standard for an architect: the ability to judge the quality or appropriateness of a work, was not the result of the application of learned rules, but depended on the good sense and *genius* of an architect. The assumption of the title "architect" was not granted to everyone as a matter of course; it was part of the development of the profession from its roots in building practice towards an intellectual art. The gradual change in appreciation becomes apparent in the comparison of the studios of the elder and younger Dance. The elder Dance worked alone, strictly monitoring all particulars of the various contractors, while his son was involved in both a busy public office with up to a dozen drawing boards and a private practice with an assistant, to which he could leave all practical matters. John Soane, who was apprenticed in Dance's office from 1768, wrote in his memoirs that Dance "wanted practical knowledge such as the measurement of artificers' work"[23]: in a pattern familiar to modern architectural firms, Dance was responsible for designs, while his assistant James Peacock accounted for the measurements, calculations of costs and management.

The elevation of professional builders onto the level of architect can be witnessed most clearly in the publication of a new edition of Richard Neve's *Builder's Dictionary* in 1726 (the first was published in 1703). The editor urged to make it "fit for Gentlemen's Use, as the former Edition was for Workmen"[24]. Johnson's *Dictionary* of 1755 no longer makes a distinction between a builder and an architect, defining

21. Joshua Reynolds, *Seven discourses delivered in the Royal Academy by the President*, London: T. Cadell, 1778, p. 12 (lecture I)
22. Ibid., p. 33 (lecture II) A few pages further, Reynolds remarks: "Having well established his judgment, and stored his memory, [the student] may now without fear try the power of his imagination. The mind that has been thus disciplined, may be indulged in the warmest enthusiasm, and venture to play on the borders of the wildest extravagance. The habitual dignity, which long converse with the greatest minds has imparted him, will display itself in all his attempts; and he will stand among his instructors, not as an imitator, but a rival." Ibid., p. 35
23. Quoted from Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 378
24. See Eileen Harris, *British architectural books and writers, 1556-1785*, Cambridge [England]; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990, p. 332

the former in terms of the latter, and vice versa.[25] The improvements in educational standards did not go unnoticed in society. In 1747, a writer complained that he did "scarcely know of any in England who have had an Education regularly designed for the Profession", while only two years later another author could conclude that "the art of building in Architecture is much improved [..]. Indeed this profession of building has many profitable advantages which make it worth while to study, travel and labour"[26].

James Peacock was an invaluable assistant and personal friend of George Dance. They became acquainted at the building site of Pitzhanger Manor, Dance's first private commission in 1768[27]. Informally from 1768, and in the formal role of Assistant Clerk of the Works from 1771, Peacock aided Dance, at the latter's expense, with the tedious surveying work that was part of his job at the City Works[28]. The two men developed an intimate professional relationship, which only ended with the untimely death of James Peacock in February 1814. Yet, Peacock always remained clear about the professional divide between him as a surveyor and Dance as the architect.

It is most likely that a document that is valuable for registering the subtle social differences between the two professions originated in their mutual effort. The *Essay on the Qualifications and Duties of an Architect* was published anonymously in 1773. The author was clearly well-acquainted with Dance and his work, to the extent that he included a pun to the architect's name, quoting an adage from Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture*: "If the foundations dance it will mar all the mirth of the house"[29].

It has been proposed that George Dance himself wrote the piece[30], but the attribution has not been convincingly argued. It would be highly presumptuous for a man of the stature of Dance to defend himself as the essay does: by implying that he could neither be held responsible, because the inspection of the work belonged

25. J. Mordaunt Crook, "The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage", *Architectural History*, 12, 1969, p. 62-78, p. 64 and Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, London, 1755
26. Both quotations from Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 59
27. Soane records their first meeting in his memoirs of 1835, although ibid., p. 87-9 supposes that they knew each other before. Dance developed a life-long relationship with Pitzhanger, the later residence of his pupil John Soane and, at the time of his first commission, house of Thomas Gurnell, Dance's future father-in-law.
28. Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 377
29. [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 18. Cf. Pierre de la Ruffinière Du Prey, *John Soane, the making of an architect*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982, p. 27 and nt. 3, wherein Du Prey suggests that the relationship between Dance and his employees was particularly friendly.
30. Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 158 mentions that R. Pennington does so in the RIBA Journal, XLII, 3rd series, p. 648. The attribution is conveniently copied by J. Mordaunt Crook, "The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage", *op. cit.*, p. 63 and bluntly denied by Harold D. Kalman, "Newgate Prison", *Architectural History*, Vol. 12, 1969, p. 50-61, p. 59 (nt. 13). The only one to have argued the attribution (in a negative sense) is Pierre de la Ruffinière Du Prey, *John Soane, the making of an architect*, *op. cit.*, p. 335, nt. 19

to the task of Clerk rather than architect; nor be supposed to know all materials that might be used in building. The defence seems particularly out of place because of the third argument: the use of a different material did not affect the strength of construction, so there would be no reason to dispute it in the first place.

Considering the way in which these arguments are presented, together with the observation that the author seems both familiar to and friendly with the architect, it seems likely that the essay was written from within the close circle of Dance himself, perhaps by a clerk from his office. James Peacock, Dance's second man and right hand when it comes to building contracts and estimations, is suggested as a likely candidate[31]. Indeed this would explain why the described education of an architect corresponds so neatly to Dance's own training. Furthermore, it would suggest that Peacock, by means of the essay, took responsibility for the accusations made. Peacock wrote some other publications as well, in which he expresses concerns for the proper position of his trade and the proper requirements of architecture[32]. In the *Oikidia*, published in 1785, Peacock warns against the same negligence of construction quoted above, "allowing foundations to dance, lest such vagaries mar all the mirth in the house"[33]. Perhaps this is the clearest indication that Peacock is indeed responsible for the *Essay*, although he mistakenly ascribed the aphorism to Doctor Fuller, instead of Henry Wotton.

Through the stages of architectural education described in the Essay, we will see with what educated professional Dance thought *licence* to be in safe hands. We will therefore now turn to a close reading of the essay, and see simultaneously how it corresponds closely to the education that Dance himself had enjoyed establishing himself as such an architect.

31. For instance by Pierre de la Ruffinière Du Prey, *John Soane, the making of an architect*, *op. cit.* and Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, who does not argue the case.
32. In 1814 he publishes *Subordinates in Architecture*, a work that demonstrates a mathematical approach to architecture consistent with his occupation as surveyor-assistant to Dance, but already at the time that the *Essay* was written, Peacock had a manuscript in preparation concerning "Terms of Contracts for Bricklayers', Slaters' and Joiners' Work". See Eileen Harris, *British architectural books and writers, 1556-1785*, *op. cit.*, p. 366-7. His short treatise *Oikidia, Or, Nustshells* was published under the pseudonym of Jose MacPacke in 1785. See Jose Mac Packe, *Oikidia, or Nutshells: being Ichnographic Distributions for Small Villas; chiefly upon oeconomical principles. In Seven Classes. With occasional Remarks.*, London: Printed for the Author, 1785
33. Jose Mac Packe, *Oikidia*, *op. cit.*, p. 66-7

Qualifications of an architect

> *"As many Gentlemen and others, who are not so much acquainted with the Building Business, have blamed Mr. D. Surveyor to the new Gaol, for suffering some Purbeck Portland to be used in the Building; a Perusal of the following sheets will, I am persuaded, sufficiently clear up that Point; as well as acquaint the Public with what is to be expected from an Architect (properly so called) as well as from Surveyors of Buildings in general, and how improperly the Term Architect is frequently applied and assumed."*[34]

Thus begins the anonymous essay. It was written because of a quarrel between the building committee of the recently completed *Newgate Gaol* and George Dance, its architect. In an attempt to show why the architect was not to blame for the use of Purbeck Portland, instead of the stronger (and, doubtlessly, more expensive) Portland stone, the author digresses into a discussion of the proper training for an architect. An adequate view of the duties and obligations of an architect sheds light on his responsibilities and insights, and thus clarifies why his supposed negligence should not be held against him, or so is the hope of the author. The quarrel did not restrain the author from investing the part on education with more importance, and considerably more space. He added to the original argument a supplement, called "Some Useful Hints for the Young Architect or Surveyor", as if he could not let go of the opportunity to underline his thoughts on the subject publicly. The significance of the essay exceeds the practical concern that was its cause, and leads to a general discussion of the proper background of an architect. The essay poses a most intriguing question when it asks what is to be expected from an architect.

"The Qualifications necessary to the forming a complete architect [..] are more than is generally imagined", the author supposes, and indeed, he lists an impressive array of sciences and arts to be studied: drawing, arithmetic, geometry, designing, optics, perspective, hydraulics and mechanics. Next to that, the architect has to attain a "tolerable Proficiency in the Latin Tongue, [..] some little knowledge of Greek; he makes also no small Improvement in French, and is enabled to speak

34. [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 1

it with Fluency". When the necessary studies have come to completion, the young apprentice is to join an architect's workshop, to practice his design skills, mastering the technique of drawing "Plans, Sections, and Elevations of all Kinds of Edifices". After some years, the youth should be sent on a Grand Tour. The journey leads him through the ancient history of European architecture, sharpening the much beloved and absolutely indispensable quality for any eighteenth century cultural man: taste[35].

Though deemed no less important, the final steps of his education that enable the student to run an independent practice as an architect seem merely of practical concern. Lack of knowledge of materials, strengths, costs, tools and machines used in practice still renders the student, freshly returned from his long journey abroad, "amazingly deficient"[36] in the building trade. Only by practical expertise and continuing training can the apprentice remain up to date with the broad range of crafts that compound the building business.

The main point of the essay revolves not around the generation of practical knowledge. In fact, a considerable part of it dwells on the supposed distinction between an architect and a surveyor – the one of high social rank, liberally educated, well-versed in matters of taste; the other skilled in crafts and concerned with practice. The distinction reveals the true expectations one should have from an architect. He had a duty in life: to be a model to society, to refrain from "swearing, shun drunkenness and lewd women"[37], to have competences according to the esteemed reputation of the profession. A man, according to the essay, may rightly style himself an architect, only if he is able to execute all the tasks necessary for the completion of an edifice "in a fair, just and impartial manner; and in every other Respect discharges the great Trust reposed in him." The title of architect, then, implies not simply a matter of knowing the business, but rather a professional standard. "[T]he difference between the Architect and Surveyor will be only this, that whereas the former knows every Thing himself, that is *Essential* towards making *every* Building Strong, Convenient, and Beautiful; the latter, in those Things that he is deficient in, must seek Assistance from others."[38]

Apparently it mattered significantly for the author of the essay, whether one was called an architect or a surveyor[39]. In a society that thinks highly of social

35. Ibid. Quotations from pp. 9, 10, 13 and 14
36. Ibid., p. 15. "Taste" is a key notion for understanding eighteenth century culture. As John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, London: HarperCollinsPublishers, 1997, p. 87-8 notes, "taste" is the defining characteristic of a polite culture, that is, of a culture that took its distinction from "learning to look". See ibid., p. 89.
37. [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 36
38. Ibid., p. 21-2
39. The issue was by no means settled by the *Essay*, though. In 1792, the Architect's Club, a loose gathering founded in 1791, of some of the most prominent architect's in Britain of the day, all members of the Royal Academy, started an

decorum, this should not come as a surprise, but, as the essay makes clear, there is more to it than matters of social presentation. The professional title of "architect" indicated considerably more responsibilities and raised higher expectancies than could be asked from someone who did not style himself so. But now the title was assumed – and properly so – by builders as well, who in doing so elevated themselves to a higher social rank.

The effort stood in a larger tradition, as it was the implicit goal of many an architectural treatise to elevate architecture to the level of the fine arts. Yet in England this plea was initially not taken up by building contractors and surveyors, but by gentlemen of social rank. In early modern British architectural history we thus find names of gentlemen, trained not in the building craft, but as artists, ambassadors, doctors or scientists[40]. "Design" during the seventeenth century was a pleasant pastime for autocratic, cultivated gentlemen: a matter of good taste, rather than building skill. The beginning of the eighteenth century proved not to be different. James Ralph, author of the first critical commentary on London architecture, was not practically involved in building, but a writer, speaking from aside about the merits and faults of public buildings[41]. Ralph did not see any problem in discussing the magnificence and grandeur of London as issues of taste, without practical acquaintance with the field. He was acquainted to Lord Burlington, to which he dedicated the *Critical Review*. This patron of architecture embodied the exemplary figure of a "gentleman-architect": a learned amateur interested specifically in the artistic side of the architectural craft, unaware of most of its practical concerns.

The professional standard that the *Essay* propagates corresponded to the artistic credo of the gentlemen involved in the arts: men such as James Ralph or Lord Burlington. The essay called on the builder to elevate himself to the level of artist, to engage in debate on good and bad taste, and finally to create architecture with the skill of the builder and the finesse of the artist.

investigation "to define the profession and qualifications of an architect". See Dorothy Stroud, *Henry Holland, his Life and Architecture*, London: Country life, 1966, p. 137

40. For instance, John Shute, the first to style himself 'architect', was probably trained a painter; Henry Wotton, whose *Elements of Architecture* (1624) is amongst the first architectural treatises, was Ambassador of Venice; Christopher Wren was trained as an astronomer and physicist. Inigo Jones was the first architect in the Renaissance sense of the word, but he was an exception to common building practice. See David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 20, John Wilton-Ely, "The Rise of the Professional Architect", in: *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession.*, edited by K Spiro. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977, pp. 180-208, p. 180-2 and John Summerson, *Inigo Jones*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000, p. 15-7

41. Ralph, 1733-4. In the third edition of the book (published in 1783), the author is styled "Ralph – Architect". James Ralph also wrote the introduction to the *Builder's Dictionary*, published in 1734, which is actually the second of its kind (the first being published by Richard Neve in 1703). In it, he concluded that architecture is both a science and an art – a science "laying down fixed and stated rules"; an art calling in "all the aid of fancy and imagination". This distinction, however, is theoretical and does not reflect the difference between building as a practice and building as a theoretical construct. The latter comprises both art and science.

While referring in the *Essay* to both Vitruvius and Alberti for authority, to Henry Gautier for practical knowledge and to John Locke for the complexity in the *Idea* of "architect", the author stayed remarkably close to the schooling of George Dance in giving directions for proper training as well as proper conduct. It may be presumed that the essay, consciously or not, describes the expectations and standards that Dance associated with the architectural profession. The suggestion leads to some interesting questions that stand in close regard with his work as an architect and his view on the discipline, specifically in light of the liberty that he granted to the well-educated architect. This claim opens the way to see what Dance thought he had to do, in order to become a good architect. What aims had he to fulfil, to be able to design good architecture? What position in society should he take, in order to justify and achieve his rank? A closer look to the education and training of Dance will reveal his particular awareness of these issues.

The first step: education

As a youth, Dance was sent to St. Paul's School, London. The school's programme relied heavily on tradition - one set up with the advent of humanism in the fifteenth century and left virtually unchanged until far in the nineteenth century[42]. This curriculum aimed at strengthening norms, ideas and tastes of the elitist class and the awareness of the nation's place in history, with a thorough education centred on the classics. Although elementary mass education found its origin in the Enlightenment, education continued to correspond with social status throughout the eighteenth century[43]. With education being limited to the higher levels of society, British public schools fostered an aura of exclusivity, accessible only to those who could afford it – in the mid-eighteenth century that was certainly not the case for all those involved in the building trades. Dance spent eight years on this school, making him one of the most liberally educated of English eighteenth-century architects[44].

John Colet, founder of St. Paul's school, outlined a programme for humanist reform of secondary education that became the standard curriculum for all British

42. Maura E. Henry, "The making of Elite Culture", in: *A Companion to Eighteenth-Century Britain*, edited by H.T. Dickinson. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2002, pp. 311-28
43. Thomas Munck, *The Enlightenment : A comparative social history*, London: Arnold, 1999, p. 55
44. As recalled, too, by David Watkin, "Review of: Catalogue of the Drawings of George Dance the Younger", *op. cit.*. Not many architects, apparently, enjoyed such broad education. John Soane for instance never had the luxury of a good education, a deficiency he later tried to overcome by extensive study.

grammar schools[45]. Fluency in Latin was a primary aim, as eloquence was regarded the principal human acquirement – for hours after each other, school boys were drilled with Latin literature. St. Paul's set out to form their pupils into "perfect grammarians, good orators and poets well instructed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew and sometimes in other oriental languages"[46]. Rhetoric played an important role in the system – as key to all literature, pupils were required to memorize the five parts of an oration, the three styles and the name, definition and use of many figures of speech from classical oratories or humanist textbooks specifically crafted for the task[47]. As a result, students were thoroughly familiar with the key classical texts on rhetoric: Aristotle's *Rhetorics*, Cicero's *De Inventione*, his *De Oratore* and Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria*, though the texts were presented to the students piecemeal, as an anthology of passages to be remembered, whether as exemplars of style or as illustrations of moral or heroic action[48]. Dance owned a copy of the *Institutio Oratoria* in the 1774 edition by the French educator Charles Rollin. This text in particular is marked by an emphasis on practicality, offering instructions on the ideal education of orators[49].

For Dance, the school meant an opportunity to develop his sensitivity towards history, art and antiquity. Eventually he was well versed in Italian, French and Latin – and some Greek, skills that allowed him to study a broad range of critical writing on various subjects. A quick glance over Dance's library shows that he was much interested in poetry, politics and history. It contains, among others, works by Horace, Dryden and Petrarch; critical books on the organization of society by Montesquieu, De Lolme and Macchiavelli; and historical reflections by Hooke, Voltaire and Winckelmann[50].

Later biographers all took great effort to underline his extensive knowledge and the admirable breadth of his interests beyond architecture. As Samuel Angell records: Dance was "a mature scholar in many departments of science". Angell also reminds us of the fact that Dance was both an "artist and an architect", a "man of science and of letters", who combined "neatness and accuracy" with "freedom of drawing"[51]. His well-appreciated drawing talent led from the 1790s onwards to

45. The history of the school has been written down by Michael McDonnell, *A history of St. Paul's School*, London: Chapman and Hall, 1909
46. Quoted from Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 49
47. Brian Vickers, *In defence of rhetoric*, Oxford; New York: Clarendon Press ; Oxford University Press, 1988, p. 254-93
48. Anthony Vidler, *Claude-Nicolas Ledoux: Architecture and Social Reform at the end of the Ancien Régime*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1990
49. Brian Vickers, *In defence of rhetoric*, *op. cit.*, p. 43
50. Cf. Appendix 1 for an overview of the library based on A.N.L. Munby, *Sale Catalogues of Libraries of Eminent Persons*, Vol. 4, London: Mansell Information/Publishing, 1971
51. Samuel Angell, "Sketch", *op. cit.*, p. 334

5. Joseph Haydn, drawn by Dance, 1794

the creation of a series of profiles of friends, colleagues and patrons, as well as to a series of humorous sketches and caricatures[52]. His musical talents were well-known and appreciated in his later life; in fact, they provided him with more than one opportunity to become acquainted with important artists and cultural protégés. Dance played the violin, violincello and flute; he composed a nationalistic song, called "One and All", which was met with considerable success, and gained him the favour of King George III[53]. His drawing capabilities and musical skills offered him the opportunity to meet and associate with the Austrian composer Joseph Haydn, for whom he also made a portrait[54].

In contrast to builder-architects of the previous generation, Dance was able to discuss matters of architectural and artistic interest with the broadest of minds. With this intellectual stock-in-trade, Dance came to be prepared for his architectural career.

Italy and the Grand Tour

After having received extensive instructions in all the arts and sciences that the architectural trade comprises, the youth is sent abroad, "in order to complete his Education, and to form his Taste". The tour should bring him through France and Italy, and there, he should study not only the remains of antiquity, acquiring knowledge of their proportions and their "original State", but also should he study the "Works of the Moderns, examine *them* carefully, compare them with the ancient Works, mark their Difference, and improve upon both in his own designs."[55]

To undertake a Grand Tour was not in itself an odd move: it constituted the final stage of any gentleman's general education[56]. The historian Edward Gibbon, for instance, acknowledged that "according to the law of custom, and perhaps of reason, foreign travel completes the education of an English gentleman."[57] Reynolds

52. These are held in the Royal Academy Archives.
53. Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 181. Samuel Angell, "Sketch", *op. cit.*, p. 335 mentions Dance's musical abilities, too. Farington mentions the performance in his diary entry of 26 Oct. 1798
54. Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 173
55. [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 14-5, emphasis in original
56. Maura E. Henry, "The making of Elite Culture", *op. cit.*, p. 319
57. Gibbon, *The history of the decline and fall of the Roman empire*, Vol. 8, p. 76 Dance kept a copy of Gibbon's influential history in his library.

repeated the advice in his Academy discourses[58]. But the stress that the *Essay* puts in the careful study of works of more recent date betrays that the monuments and ancient sites were not the only reasons for travelling abroad. While the Grand Tour was an informal course of study, the task for each student was not only to absorb as much of classical antiquity as he could. Especially for artists and young architects, the Tour was also the right opportunity to come to terms with present modes of Taste, and, perhaps even more importantly, to meet and get acquainted with future patrons.

Dance was apprenticed in his father's office from 1756 onwards[59]. Here, he learned the practical skills concerning the building craft, and within two years (in accordance with the *Essay*) he set out on his Grand Tour to Italy, where he stayed until the spring of 1765. Dance found himself in the relatively luxury position that his father was able to finance the tour, although he still repeatedly had to call onto him for extra financial support. This undoubtedly also set a moral obligation towards his father to spend his time and his father's money well.

Dance did not only spend his time on copying the past, though. He invested, as advised by the essay, an important part of his study in Italy in competing with other students through the many competitions or *concorsi* organized by the Academies of Rome[60]. The competitions allowed the students to express their own ideas about architecture, and prize-winners were greatly lauded in Britain[61]. The competitions provided a good opportunity for the students to show their design skills, and it is this inclination that partly explains the megalomaniacal scale of most of the projects[62]. Moreover, the designs could trigger the interest of patrons.

Dance entered the competition of the Academy of Parma in 1763, and was readily met with success. His design for a public gallery triumphed. His reasons for entering the competition in Parma instead of Rome reveal his competitiveness and his judgement of the artistic milieu in Rome:

58. Joshua Reynolds, *Discourses*, *op. cit.*, lecture II
59. Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 57
60. There were several academies, supported by different patrons or countries. The *Accademia di San Luca* was home to most British students in Rome. Instruction was offered without tuition fees. The newly founded *Accademia di Parma* held competitions open to foreigners, but did not offer training. The French Academy was founded in 1635 by Cardinal Richelieu. The *Accademia di Arcadia*, established in 1656 under patronage of Queen Christina of Sweden adhered to pastoral simplicity and drew from bucolic poetry. Membership was considered a privilege, which was granted to Dance on his visit.
61. Though politics settled a good deal of the attribution of prizes – as is a customary habit among Italians. The honour given to the laureates appears less appreciated in Rome than in London. See Damie Stillman, "British Architects and Italian Architectural Competitions, 1758-1780", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 32, no. 1, 1973, p. 43-66, p. 43 ff.
62. Ibid. The tradition to invent design challenges for young architects on an utopist scale has been explained in context of the lack of real design problems in Rome due to the financial breakdown of the papacy. Otherwise, it might be suggested that the grand scale challenged the students to advert their original skill.

> *"You will, perhaps, wonder I should rather concur at Parma rather than at Rome, to which I reply that in Rome the judgement is so partial and protections of Cardinals, Princes &c. are of such consequence that in reality little honour is to be gained by it. Likewise no person can concur who is not in Rome at the time of concurrence, consequently the numbers of those who concur must necessarily be less in Rome than in Parma where all Italy nay all Europe may concur."*[63]

Besides the practical advantages of studying on the remnants of civilization's origins, as classical antiquity was widely considered[64], the academic milieu of Rome had a major advantage in bringing together new generations of artistic thinkers across Europe. For Dance specifically, his stay in Rome must have had a major impact on the development of his architectural thought, for he met there some of the most important thinkers of his day. Only weeks after his arrival in the eternal city, in 1758, he met Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Italian draughtsman and instigator of some of the most intense debates on the origins of and reasons behind architecture. Dance worked with Piranesi on drawings and measurements of some high valued Roman remains: the arch of Constantine and the temple of Castor and Pollux, known in the day as the temple of Jupiter, in order to prove the inaccuracies suspected in the measurements by Antoine Desgodetz[65]. Here in particular Dance found himself in particularly advantageous circumstances, for scaffolding to uphold monuments were rare, and for a foreigner to be allowed up was even more exceptional[66]. Piranesi had found a sponsor for the *Antichità Romane* in Lord Charlemont, an Irish patron that travelled extensively through the Mediterranean. Though Piranesi and the Lord did not come to terms, Dance hoped to meet the earl in Rome, and Dance eventually got well-acquainted with him[67].

While in Rome, Dance acquainted himself with a large circle of artisans and patrons. He immediately came into contact with the *Accademia di San Luca*, the academy to which most English architects subscribed, he sought contact with Robert Mylne, who already stayed in Rome for a couple of years, and acquainted himself with the French architects in their Academy; but most importantly, he gained the favour of the wealthy Corsini family, among which the influential cardinal-nephew Neri Corsini

63. Quoted from Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 70-1
64. The discovery of Grecian remains did not alter this fact too much especially due to the fact that Greece was far less accessible a place to study, and Rome had grown to be the informal (artistic) capital of the world since the Renaissance.
65. Piranesi describes the efforts in a letter to Robert Mylne, which is published in Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit., appendix B* and paraphrased in Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 65
66. Frank Salmon, "'Storming the Campo Vaccino': British Architects and the Antique Buildings of Rome after Waterloo", *Architectural History*, 38, 1995, p. 146-75, p. 150.
67. Dance drew the earl's portrait, which is now at the National Portrait Gallery, London

was a major and influential patron of the arts. The cardinal was renowned for his library, and his house was a meeting place for learned men. Moreover, construction of his family palace in Rome finished in 1753, making it one of the few family palaces completed in the eighteenth century[68]. His librarian, Giovanni Gaetano Bottari, was counsellor of pope Clement XII Corsini and patron to Piranesi. Cardinal Corsini stood in the midst of the academic discussions about art, architecture and representation[69]. When Dance met prince Corsini (a nephew of the cardinal) in the streets of Porto Anzio in 1762, was subsequently invited over to make drawings of the Palazzo Corsini, study in its library and converse with the old cardinal, he found himself immediately among the most moving characters of the architectural debate of that time in Rome.

From Piranesi Dance acquired the habit of searching and documenting new, unexcavated Roman remains, such as the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli. This round, unorthodox example of the antique taste for variety had been measured before, but probably not by an English architect[70].

The Intellectual Background

The third step in the education of an architect proper, according to the *Essay*, involved the acquisition of architectural knowledge. To do so meant both to make acquaintances of leading figures of current architectural thought, and the acquisition of architectural knowledge. Dance elevated himself to the level of artist without losing touch on the practical side of the building trade. He moved in high social circles. Already in 1764, Dance was elected member of the academy of St. Luke and the Arcadian Society in Rome. In London, Dance was a member of the Royal Society, the Antiquarian Society and the Archaeological Society. He was among the four architects involved in the founding of the Royal Academy; the others, too, were highly regarded for their knowledge[71]. His official position of Clerk of the City Works put him in the centre of all London building activity, keeping in touch with all

68. Heather Hyde Minor, ""Amore regolato": Papal Nephews and Their Palaces in Eighteenth-Century Rome", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 65, no. 1, Mar. 2006, p. 68-91 provides a description of the palace and its meaning in the Roman papal milieu.
69. The Palazzo Corsini, built by Ferdinando Fuga, was made especially to provide visitors with a staged visit of a magnificent and orderly entrance. Part of the vista was a *casino* on top of the Janiculum hill, overlooking the gardens of the palazzo and the city in the distance, but also the interior, with giant theatrical staircases, offers an architectural performance of grandeur and magnificence, See Hyde, 2006, p. 83-5
70. Margaret Richardson, "John Soane and the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli", *Architectural History*, 46, 2003, p. 127-46, p. 132-3
71. The others were Wiliam Chambers, Thomas Sandby and John Gwynn.

architects at work in the city. From 1791 on, he participated in the Architect's Club, a society he co-founded and attended to until his death[72].

In Italy the young Dance had already familiarized himself with both sides of the most polemic and topical debate of the day - whether prominence should be given to Roman or Greek art - within the circles of Bottari and Piranesi. Via Bottari, a good friend of Pierre Jean Mariette, French architectural treatises would have come to discussion. Indeed, in Dance's library we find among others copies of prominent works by Blondel, Perrault, D'Aviler, Desgodetz, Fréart de Chambray and Le Roy. Except for Perrault those authors proclaimed the ideal of Greek taste in favour of Roman legacy. However precisely his knowledge was acquired, his library and social network show that Dance was at all times very well informed on contemporary theoretical matters.

Through his contacts in Italy Dance was spurred to critical reading of his sources. Piranesi in particular seems to have left an imprint on his mind. The visual resemblance between Piranesi's *Carceri* etchings and the looming character of Dance's impressive Newgate Gaol has often been noticed[73]. In fact, his dependence on Piranesi's *Carceri* etchings has become a persistent commonplace in the historiography on Dance. The connection is intuitive, and has therefore often been used to sketch the thought behind all of his work[74]. But as the discussion of architectural licence has shown, the bearing of Piranesi on Dance went further.

During Dance's stay in Italy, Piranesi published some of his most polemic works: *Della Magnificenza Ed Architettura De' Romani* in 1761, the *Campo Marzio dell'antica Roma* in 1762. Dance owned a copy of Piranesi's *Antichità Romane*, published in 1756. With his powerful pictorial style, Piranesi urged in the *Antichità* for classical Rome's restoration, renewing its splendour with the help of artists and architects[75]. The *Antichità* is above all a record of tombs, in whose description the full thrust of Piranesi's aesthetic curiosity becomes apparent: the architecture

72. Other members were, among others, William Chambers, Robert Adam, Henry Holland, James Wyatt and John Soane. The club is regarded as the first professional society of architects. See J. Mordaunt Crook, "The Pre-Victorian Architect: Professionalism and Patronage", *op. cit.*, p. 28
73. See Reginald Blomfield, "The Architect of Newgate", *op. cit.*
74. The visual relationship, often taken at face value and without much elaboration, between Newgate Gaol and Piranesi's *Carceri* etchings remains strong. It was first suggested by ibid. and taken over in historical overviews. See, for instance, Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750 - 1890*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, p. 91-3. Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 78 sees the comparison between the *Carceri* and Newgate solely on an ideological level, because the theme of both works is the correspondence between "*la naturalità del maestoso*" and "*la naturatlità del potere statale*". John Wilton-Ely, "The Rise of the Professional Architect", *op. cit.*, p. 14 repeats the claim that the □stern façades of Newgate Prison [..] reflected ancient masonry patterns as interpreted by Piranesi, in both *Le Antichità* and the refashioned plates of the *Carceri d'Invenzione*."
75. Lola Kantor Kazovsky, *Piranesi as an interpreter of Roman architecture and the origins of his intellectual world*, Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2006, p. 68

and decoration full of artistic richness and variety[76]. The tombs signify Roman magnificence which, opposed to luxury, holds a moral value[77], and as such Piranesi invites modern artists to follow this example[78]. Whereas these moral values of architectural decoration could have guided Dance to his later interest in appropriate architecture, Piranesi's thought on invention may have had an even more significant impact on his thoughts about its role in architectural discourse. Piranesi's polemical *Parere su l'Architettura*, published in 1765 in the form of a dialogue between the rationalist Protopiro and Piranesi's protagonist Didascolo[79], criticizes the idea that architecture is an imitation of nature that can be fitted in rational rules. Through Didascolo he warns "rigorist" architects, who reduce architecture to the strict adherence of rules, because they will end up creating "monotonous buildings"[80]. He praises, instead "the spirit that, seeing the world still unsatisfied, has found itself obliged to seek variety" and advises his adversary to "treasure the rationality that you proclaim, but at the same time respect the freedom that sustains it"[81]. Dance's ideas on unshackled architecture were firmly rooted in these opinions.

The traces of Dance's study in Britain can be followed through his notes of what appears the most accessible architectural treatise he possessed in his early career: Giacomo Leoni's translation of *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* by Palladio[82]. Dance scribbled some scattered marginal notes in the volume and added numerous fragmentary sketches, most of which cannot be retraced to actual projects he undertook. Those that have been linked to actual projects all date between 1765 and 1785[83], so apparently Dance used the book extensively during his early career. He was not wholly uncritical of Palladio – in Italy for instance, he remarked in surprise the gross inaccuracies of Palladio's study to the Temple of Vesta at Tivoli[84].

The comments Dance added to the text refer mostly to other English treatises on architecture. On the five orders, Dance wrote "the custom of setting a column on another is justly explored by the ingenious W. Morris. Vide: Morris Lectures on

76. Ibid., p. 87
77. Ibid., p. 80
78. Ibid., p. 91
79. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette: With Opinions on Architecture, and a Preface to a New Treatise on the Introduction and Progress of the Fine Arts in Europe in Ancient Times*. Edited by John Wilton-Ely, Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002 Dance had already returned to London when the *Parere* was published, but it is hardly imaginable that the ideas in it have not come to his ears.
80. Ibid., p. 107
81. Ibid., p. 108 and ibid., p. 111
82. George Dance, *Dance office's annotated copy of Leoni's The Architecture of A. Palladio, 3rd ed.* , 1742, London: Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings & Archive Collections, VOS/43/1
83. Harold D. Kalman, *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. C-F*, Farnborough: Gregg, 1973, p. 59
84. Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 70

Arch."; somewhat later he wrote "Vide Isaac Ware" [85]. These general guides offer only slight insights regarding the contents of Dance's thinking, but they do draw our attention to the particular sources of his studies. Dance added only one remark on architectural preference in chapter XX, which discusses the errors and abuses that arise when one stops following the rules drawn from nature. Palladio urged not to use "*Cartooshes"* that give a confused idea of architecture without any pleasure or satisfaction. Dance added: "Inigo Jones was very fond of these silly ornaments" and "Inigo Jones incorporated this absurdity in many of his designs"[86]. To criticize Jones in a book springing from the circles of men who regarded him a true architectural idol, does perhaps betray of juvenility and naivety, as Dorothy Stroud would have it[87], but it might also be a sign of wit and critical attitude towards his sources. The attitude complies, in any case, with Isaac Ware's advice, surely known to Dance, to let the young architect "think, as well as measure"[88].

On closer inspection, Dance's short note in Palladio's text to consult the advice of Morris on placing different orders on top of each other reveals his critical attitude in particular. Whereas Palladio thought it proper to pile one order on top of the other, as long as the stronger bears the more delicate, Morris strongly opposed the idea, because for him the arrangement clashed with the "Stated Rules of Architecture" and the resulting design rendered "disagreeable to the eye". Different orders should display different intercolumniations, but that would be impossible when they are put directly above each other[89].

The difference of opinion that Dance noticed, discloses the difference of attitude towards modern architecture that Palladio and Morris assume. Morris is a fervent supporter of the Greek ideal and is hesitant towards Roman inventions. He firmly believes in what he calls "harmonick proportions": the irrefutable laws of nature that architectural proportion should confirm to. Morris draws here on a musical analogy. In music, all pleasure derives from only seven notes; similarly in architecture, all beauty derives from a few select and rigid proportions. The rules for these proportions were known to the ancient Greeks, whose architecture had therefore "Beautiful Grandeur, and inexpressible Magnificence", but they are now lost[90].

85. Giacomo Leoni, *The Architecture of A. Palladio: in Four Books*, London: John Darby, 1724, book I, chapter XII and XIII
86. Ibid., Book I, chapter XX
87. Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 57, nt. 2
88. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture. Adorned with Plans and Elevations, from Original Designs.*, London: J. Rivington, 1756, book IX, p. 695
89. Robert Morris, *Lectures on Architecture. Consisting of Rules Founded upon Harmonick and Arithmetical Proportions in Building, Design'd As an Agreeable Entertainment for Gentlemen.*, London: J. Brindley, 1734, lecture IV, p. 56
90. Ibid., lecture III,p. 36 and lecture IV, p. 51 Morris is indebted for the analogy to Lambert Hermansz Ten Kate, whose *Beau Ideal* he acknowledges in his *Preface*, and René Ouvrard.

The search for harmonic rules leads Morris to a preference for simple, geometrical forms based on the system of proportions that underlies architectural production. Everything else is "only Dress and Garnish"[91]: the orders, the "Modus" and architectural ornament all depend on appropriate creation that is guarded by the genius of the architect. Thus Morris draws a significant line between the freedom of the architect and his dependence on natural rules, which turns out to be very important to Dance. Freedom, for Morris, much depends on the education of the architect, for natural genius urges refinement and improvement. In fact, Morris keeps harping on the necessity of genius to architecture: genius is needed to preserve the beauties[92]; genius was what the rude Goths lacked[93]; genius gives proper Contrast to a Design[94]. For Morris, then, architecture does not get boring because of the secured rules. On the contrary: the rules are a source of pleasure, as they stir the mind to employ speculative thought.

A similar stimulation to original thought is evident in the book of Isaac Ware, to which Dance points in his reading of Palladio. The main argument of *A Complete Body of Architecture*, apart from giving much practical advice, runs as follows: the use of Italian models is inappropriate in England, due to differences in climate; moreover, architectural proportions vary extremely among the ancients, so they cannot be taken as a sure authority. Implicit admiration of the ancients leads to mistakes, because they themselves were not confined to any rules of proportion[95]. Instead, modern architects should try to improve on the ancients, while preserving the character of the orders. They should not copy some single proportion, but search for originality. "[The ancients] restrained genius by rules; [the moderns] propose working by rules in the place of genius."[96] The advice to a young student, then, is to think for himself: to improve his judgement, "and probably introduce new excellences in his practice"[97].

Morris and Ware evidently do not agree on the value of architectural rules, but the purport of their writings bears similarities. Both stress the need for improvement; both urge to "stand on the shoulders of giants". Both expel profuse use of ornamentation; both reside in a formal rationality. But most importantly, both Morris and Ware take a distinctive step away from Palladianism as it was promoted

91. Ibid., lecture IX, p. 136
92. Ibid., lecture III, p. 41-2
93. Ibid., lecture IV, p. 51
94. Ibid., lecture VIII, p. 120
95. Isaac Ware, *A Complete Body of Architecture*, *op. cit.*, book II
96. Ibid., book II, chapter II, p. 131
97. Ibid.book IX, chapter IX, p. 695

under the guidance of Lord Burlington. Morris places great stress on situation, which for him contains not only the location of a building, but also the associational qualities it invokes. Appropriateness of decorum plays an important role therein, but the directive is not governed by natural laws of proportion, but by the artistic input of the architect. Ware, similarly, relinquishes the absolute believes of Palladio in favour of a French *rationale*. In fact, Ware literally copies large parts of Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture* of 1753, though without mentioning his name[98]. Similarly, Ware incorporates large parts of Claude Perrault's *Ordonnance*[99]. The result is a stress on simplicity and aversion to ornament that is novel to Britain, and simultaneously a plea for modern and original development.

From Licence to Decorum: A "poet architect"

The Essay and Dance's education reflect his plea for licence as it was addressed to the profession. He traced the steps towards becoming an architect in three steps. First, one had to partake in a broad and general education; next one had to explore the powers of the past and present in a Grand Tour past European highlights, and finally one had to get utterly familiar with the background of the discipline. If all those conditions were met, the educated architect would have artistic liberty to his own discretion. But with his plea he also considered the public to which architecture turned. This position could only be reached if the architect was both capable of making proper decisions, and held in such esteem. If he had achieved both, he could be allowed to make judgements on his own, without relying on some authority: he could be "unshackled". This then is the expectation that one might have from an architect, who can "in every [..] Respect discharge the great Trust reposed in him"[100].

How could the architect gain trust from the public? As we have seen the architect should not rely on architectural vogue, but had to find solutions that were agreeable to his audience. Dance seemed to have excelled in these. Contemporary appraisals of his work mostly lingered on the appropriateness of his designs. The commission report on his prize-winning design for a public gallery, submitted to the Academy of Parma annual competition of 1763, recalled the propriety of the design

98. Laugier had published his *Essai* anonymously in March 1753, but the authorship was well known within a couple of months. The first English translation was, however, published anonymously.
99. Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 42 and Wolfgang Herrmann, *The Theory of Claude Perrault*, London: Zwemmer, 1973, p. 161
100. [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 21

as follows: "Every thing in his design appears suited to its place; it would be difficult to take away from the decorations, or to add to them, without impairing the effect: they are numerous without confusion, and suited to the subject."[101] Others later confirmed the judgement. Samuel Cockerell, for instance, said in 1798 that "Dance excelled all the present architects in *appropriate invention*. His designs explained the purpose for which the building was intended."[102] Humphry Repton introduced what he called "characteristic architecture", defined as "adaptation of buildings not only to the situation, character, and circumstances of the scenery, but also to the purposes for which they are intended," with two examples by Dance: "it is obvious that every building ought 'to tell its own tale,' and not to look like anything else. [..] We admire St. Luke's Hospital as a mad-house, and Newgate as a prison, because they both announce their purposes by their appropriate appearance, and no stranger has occasion to inquire for what uses they are intended." Yet the acclaim was not restricted to his architectural work. Farington recorded the remark of King George III on Dance's musical venture: "It was the most appropriate music He ever heard."[103]

It seems, then, that for Dance and his contemporaries, propriety was the final principle to which the architect should be judged and held responsible. This corresponded, too, with the Vitruvian, moral stress on *decor*: that a great man should build great buildings[104]. The equation of a great person with great works can be found in another important and well-known contribution to rhetoric as well: the classical *Ars Poetica* by Horace. Dance kept the poem in high regard. He signed his winning competition design of 1763 with a motto that stems from the poem: "*Mihi turpe relinqui est*", or "It is a disgrace for me to be left behind"[105]. In 1777, he repeated the motto for the competition design of St. Luke's Hospital for Lunatics. In Horace's poem, the line stands at the end of a discussion, on lines 408-18, considering the sources of poetry: art or nature; learnt skill or innate quality. Horace decides that both are necessary. Neither skill without talent, nor talent without skill will achieve much. The fear to be left behind, then, reflects the anxiety not to be able to catch up with topical knowledge. Perhaps the motto reflects a deeper concern that, to be able to make architecture with critical acclaim, one cannot simply follow an individual judgement, but has to rely on most recent developments. Indeed, Dance's position in society, both professionally and socially, seems apt in this respect.

101. Quoted from Samuel Angell, "Sketch", *op. cit.*, p. 334
102. Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit., entry for 10 November 1798*, quoted in David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 62
103. Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit., entry for 26 October 1798*
104. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 40 In his preface, Vitruvius refers to the desire of Augustus, to which he dedicates his treatise, to have buildings that match the size of his achievements and deeds.
105. Horace, *Ars Poetica*, edited by O.B. Hardison, Jr. and Leon Golden, *Horace for Students of Literature. The "Ars Poetica" and its Tradition*, Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995 (first published ca. 20 BC), p. 20, line 417

The motto expressed Dance's constant search for novelty or improvement and a constant fear for repetition. It is a plea for originality and a rejection of repetitive imitation. Indirectly, the reference to Horace also implied a directive for the unshackled architect. Poetic licence, according to Horace, is valid enough, but ought not to lead to blatant contradictions.

The parallels between Horace and Vitruvius, in terms of language, vocabulary, their respective attack on unnatural and inappropriate contemporary art and their claim to a higher morality in their audience are striking[106], and would have been even more so to the educated eighteenth-century architect, who was both well-versed in classical literature and rhetoric, and keen on these parallels. In classical and renaissance theory the analogy between building, body and text was commonplace[107]. Eighteenth and early-nineteenth century architects and architectural critics revived the analogy between text and building. For instance, C.R. Cockerell described Dance as "the most complete Poet architect of his day"[108]. William Chambers wrote that "Materials in Architecture are like words in Phraseology"[109] and James Peacock, the assistant of Dance whose role in his architectural development seems underestimated, wrote in his *Oikidia*, published under pseudonym in 1785, that

> *"Too much uniformity [..] will be sedulously avoided by the artist of sterling genius; against, upon, or amidst, these, otherwise too exquisite elegancies, a massy and discordant shape, with wild abruptness, will appear, as a relief to the sated eye. The architectural Poet, or Musician, alone, can produce these happy transitions, should I attempt to convey an adequate idea of their effect, language would fail me."*[110]

Dance took advice from poetry as well. In Newgate Gaol, he presented festoons over the entrances in the forms of shackles. The literal message of the festoons had a much more direct pedigree than the terrible counterpart of the rusticated walls, for which the building is extensively credited, in an anonymously published poem called

106. John Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, *op. cit.*, p. 40
107. Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise*, *op. cit.*, p. 63-5
108. John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830*, *op. cit.*, p. 418 The full quote from C.R. Cockerell's Royal Academy lectures (from the 1840s) reads: "Dance showed himself the most complete Poet Architect of his day – no one can doubt that Newgate is a prison, that St. Luke's is an asylum, prison or place of milder confinement for the unhappy and bewildered in mind, or that the front of the Guildhall, though anything but Gothic, is still the metropolitan and magnificent place of Government and civil authority". Quoted from Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, *op. cit.*, p. 200.
109. William Chambers, *A Treatise on Civil Architecture, in which the Principles of that Art are laid down, and illustrated by a great Number of Plates, Accurately Designed, and Elegantly Engraved by the best Hands*, London: J. Haberkorn, 1759, p. ii
110. Jose Mac Packe, *Oikidia*, *op. cit.*, p. 76

"The Art of Architecture". This poem, published in 1742, was modelled on Horace's "Ars Poetica", taking architecture instead of poetry as its subject matter. In line with the epistle of Horace, Robert Morris (who was later identified as its author[111]) heralded the person of the critic as the "whetstone" of a poet's genius, not so much to set out rules of decorum, but to test every work by it. Another idea pertinent to the poem is that authority needed to be respected, precisely because it had created precedents that had grown to custom among the audience. In specific reference to the situation of a building, which Morris thought to spring from its place in society, he considered the dress of a prison:

"The PRISON's Entrance, massy Chains declare,
The loss of Freedom, to the Wretched there.
Thus every Spot assumes a various Face;
And Decoration varies with the Place."[112]

Architects thus kept a close eye on cross-references between the literal and the figural arts. Common ground was found on description of different genres, to which both Horace, Morris, but also other architectural theorists adhered. So Germain Boffrand could write that "Different buildings, by their arrangement, by their construction, and by the way they are decorated, should tell the spectator their purpose."[113] He expressed a task for an architect too: "A man who does not know these different characters, and who cannot make them felt in his work is not an architect."[114] It was Jacques-François Blondel who elaborated the idea in his exhaustive description of 64 different building genres:

"All the different sorts of architectural production
should bear the imprint of the particular purpose
of each building, all should have a character
determining their general form, and announcing
the building to be what it is."[115]

111. In spite of William A. Gibson, "Introduction", in: *The Art of Architecture: in Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry; a Poem*. Los Angeles: University of California, 1970, who attributes the work to John Gwynn. Howard Colvin, *A biographical dictionary of English architects, 1660-1840*. 3rd ed, London,: J. Murray, 1995, p. 665 makes the right attribution based on the content of the poem. David Leatherbarrow, "Architecture and Situation: A Study of the Architectural Writings of Robert Morris", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 44, no. 1, 1985, p. 48-59 argues the case fully, and refutes the wrong attribution by Gibson.
112. Robert Morris, *The Art of Architecture, A Poem. In Imitation of Horace's Art of Poetry*, London: R. Dodsley, 1742
113. Quoted from Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings. A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000, p. 121
114. Ibid., p. 122
115. Blondel, *Cours d'Architecture*, vol. 2, p. 229-30, quoted from: ibid., p. 122

Though Dance's library bears no traces of these French authors, the citations phrase the implications of characteristic architecture aptly. Lord Kames's *Elements of Criticism*, published in 1762, included the first English use of the word 'character' in relation to architecture in Boffrand's sense: "every building ought to have a character or expression suited to its destination"[116]. Also in an urban context, the notion of character was developed. Elevation of the character of the city was an important hallmark of John Gwynn's reading of *City Improvement*[117]. Already in 1749, Gwynn had opted for a Royal Academy of the arts in England, following the example of France, in order to articulate and refine public taste[118]. It took until the more prosperous 1760s before an academy under royal patronage was actually founded[119]. Among the forty founding members were, next to John Gwynn, four architects: William Chambers, Thomas Sandby, William Tyler and George Dance. The academy's chief concern was to set standards of taste, to shape a discerning public and to establish the right of artists to profess both[120]. The architects played a fundamental, if minor role because their art was directly accessible to public scrutiny.

Thomas Sandby, first professor of architecture at the Royal Academy and predecessor of Dance in this role, considered the study of aesthetics fundamental to architecture. He wrote: "As the perfection of Architecture consists, principally, in the great and magnificent, joined with symmetry and proportion, it is above all things necessary that the young student [..] should as early as possible in life, habituate himself to the study of the sublime and beautiful[121]. Sandby refused an absolute proportional norm. "There is no exact standard in the vegetable world, from whence most of the Ideas for building originally arose, to authorize such restrictions."[122] Instead, Sandby related this characteristic of buildings specifically to poetry: "The descriptions of Poets & Orators owe much of their sublimity to a richness & profusion of images, which dazzle the mind by their impetuous succession."[123] As poetry evoked Grandeur through a succession of images, so did architecture.

With these considerations in mind, "Architecture unshackled" does not imply a reckless abolishment of constrains to be substituted by arbitrary eclecticism. Just as "arbitrary rules" are not to be followed, Dance did not conceive of arbitrary

116. Quoted from ibid., p. 123
117. John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved, To which is prefixed, A Discourse on Publick Magnificence; with Observations on the State of Arts and Artists in this Kingdom, wherein the Study of the Polite Arts is recommended as necessary to a liberal Education*, London: Printed for the author, 1766
118. John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, *op. cit.*, p. 229
119. Ibid., p. 235
120. Ibid., p. 230
121. Thomas Sandby, Lectures by Thomas Sandby given at the Royal Academy of Arts, ca. 1770-1798, London: Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings & Archive Collections, SaT/1/1-2A, p. 7
122. Ibid., lecture 2
123. Ibid., lecture 6

freedom. His freedom was limited, certainly, but only by the genius that stood as its authority in mutual respect and understanding of the audience for which the architecture was conceived. To what design decisions this led, will be explored in the next part of this thesis.

PART 2

DECORUM ON PAPER

Few buildings of Dance remain, and of those few, even less have stood the test of time unimpaired. It is therefore difficult to obtain an understanding of his work by a direct approach through the built form. Luckily, many of his proposals, sketch designs and technical drawings were stored safely in the collection of his pupil and friend John Soane[1]. Yet as translations of an idea, drawings are always less than what they refer to. Neither the experience of a building, nor the idea that lay ground to it, can be replaced by a drawing indiscriminately[2]. Drawings in architecture balance on an uneasy divide between being an instrument of architectural practice and being a rhetorical comment upon practice[3]. Or, when viewed from the perspective of authorship: drawings belong either to the object of architecture (where it becomes its real repository); or the transitive, communicative powers of drawings are applied to its better effect[4]. In practice, drawing enables the architect to shift quickly

1 Sir John Soane Mueum, London, Dance Cabinet. Soane called the cabinet devotedly "The Shrine". It is from this cabinet that Jill Lever has composed her catalogue of Dance's work. See Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*

2 Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries*, Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1995, p. 355

3 Nicholas Savage, "Shadow, shading and outline in architectural engraving from Fréart to Letarioully", in: *Dealing with the visual: art history, aesthetics, and visual culture*, edited by Caroline van Eck and Edward Winters. Aldershot, Hants, England; Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2005, pp. 243-83, p. 243

4 Robin Evans, *Translations from drawing to building and other essays*, AA documents, 2, London: Architectural Association, 1997, p. 157-60

between one and the other, and it becomes a tool of communication just as much as it becomes a mirror to the intellectual challenges that face the architect.

The triad of ground plan, front elevation and axial section that forms the heart of the classical toolbox to represent buildings, informs the architect on a complete building as long as the design remains symmetrical, axial and predominantly orthogonal[5]. These three drawings remain a robust way of opening up a building to its internal logic and the relations between its parts, long after the classical canon has disappeared from stage. However, it helps to keep in mind that what a drawing shows about a building is as much as what it does not show. Studying drawings of buildings is different from studying buildings in their own right. Drawings inform, but never as encompassing and, to be sure, as spatial as a building would. At the same time, drawings reveal much more than a building. They open up relations that otherwise would escape notice, and offer the possibility for compelling understandings of ratio, proportion and hierarchy.

The proliferation of the orthogonal triad of parallel projection - which, to be sure, is a very economical way of capturing information on a building – has placed a bias on certain aspects of the architectural trade that would certainly have had fewer implications, but for the conventions that determine them. Symmetry, emphasis, repetition, exception and proportion appear at least as much as a drawing characteristic as they do as an aspect of physical experience. Such a representation, however, appears to convey all characteristics of a building.

Dance saw drawings primarily as a means to communicate with clients, co-workers and colleagues. Soane assessed the importance of drawings in his role as Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. In his fifth Academy lecture, he expressed that:

> *"[It is] impossible not to admire the beauties, and almost magical effects in the architectural drawings of a Clérisseau, a Gandy or a Turner, nonetheless few architects could hope to reach the excellence of those artists without devoting to drawing too much of that time which they ought to employ in the attainment of the higher and more essential qualifications of an architect."*[6]

5 Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries*, *op. cit.*, p. 119

6 Lecture V, David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 561, quoted from Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 173

Dance did not invest much time in the making of presentation drawings[7], even though his drawing skills were not without merit and he apparently enjoyed making them[8]. What mattered for him was not so much the skill in executing a drawing, but the ideas carried through them. Indeed, laborious efforts were considered artistically captivating, but rather subsidiary to the design they expressed. For example, Dance and Soane maintained a lively exchange of ideas, Soane seeking his master's advice in many an occasion, but this only led to conflict when Soane expressed findings of Dance as if they were his own[9]. On the other hand, design drawings by office assistants were readily acknowledged as belonging to the master's designs[10]. Drawings, then, were valued only to implement an intermediary step, leading to a result. They were a means, not an end in themselves. In the words of the *Essay*: "to draw fine is one thing, and to design well is another"[11].

Therefore in this part Dance's designs will be investigated as a means of communication, that is, design drawings as a way to inform about the propriety and expression in Dance's architecture. The question that guides this part is: how can character, established as the foundation for and judge of "architecture unshackled" be discerned in architectural drawing? Two themes are identified: in the first chapter, this is the relinquishment of traditional canon and the recognition of a more transient aspect, namely illumination, as a means to guide the character of a design. In the second chapter, I will return to the morality of the architect and the duty this implies to his designs in works that have a public imprint. In Newgate Gaol, Dance applied literal means of communication (not guised in architectural canon). In St. Luke's Hospital, he applied motives that are to work directly on the mind. Directed by a programme of city improvement, Dance made a case to raise the standards of the public through his designs.

Having established how Dance explored the possibilities of architecture to represent what a building is, the third chapter will pay attention to his drawings and sketches that were not drawn in direct connection to building programmes, but as satire, in discussion with colleagues, or for design practice. It is in these drawings that the consideration of effect takes the most emphatic forms in search of ways to represent *decor*.

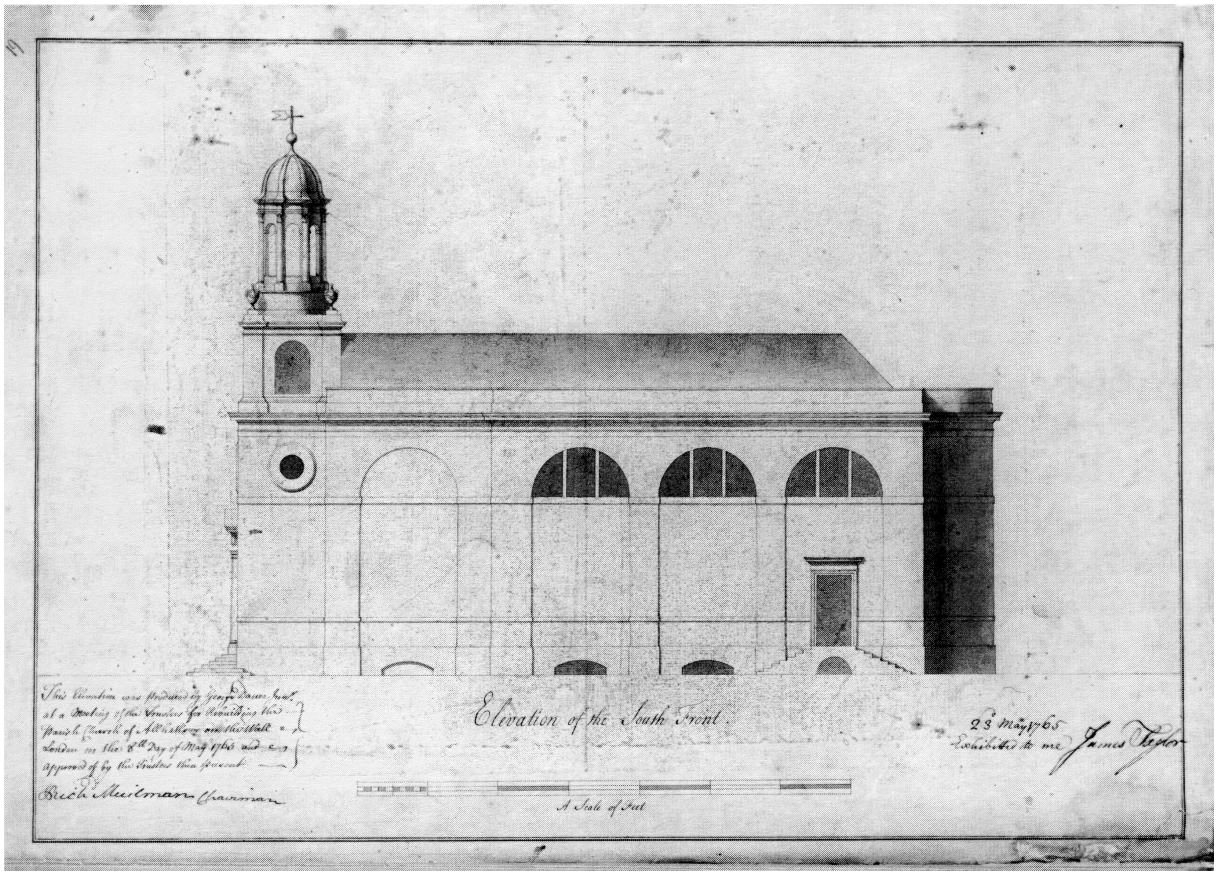
7 See above, p. 22.

8 Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 172

9 Soane, having lost a great deal of his drawings on his return from Italy, borrowed and copied Dance's drawing of the Sibylls Temple in Tivoli. It caused some stir, as is recorded in Farington's Diary thrice. See ibid., p. 171 and note 66.

10 Dance had two notable assistants: James Peacock, his right hand and able calculator, and Robert Baldwyn, a draughtsman. To illustrate the extent to which the aid of assistants was accepted, one can look to the design that won Soane the Royal Academy Gold Medal competition of 1776: most of the coloured presentation drawings were not by Soane, but by Baldwyn, yet, even for a student project, that seemed not to matter. Soane won the first price. Ibid., p. 165-6

11 [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 16



6. All Hallows on the Wall, elevation of final project, 1765.

Seeing through paper

The considerations about architectural drawings are to be kept in mind when the parish church of All Hallows on the Wall, Dance's first executed design after his return from Rome in 1765, is considered. Earlier analysis has hailed the building as the first neo-classical building in Britain[12]. Though the term "neoclassicism" was at stake in a theoretical discussion between Emil Kaufmann and Teyssot as discussed in the introduction, here the locus appears to be a less speculative definition as the conjunction of three factors: archaeological inspiration, rationalism in design according to apparent utility and a favour for disparate, geometrical shapes[13]. Those characteristics in particular can effectively be studied through design drawings,

12 See, for instance, Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 16 and p. 85, where she quotes John Summerson: "[All Hallows] might justly be called the first strictly Neo-Classical building in Britain", Michael Hugo Brunt, "George Dance", *op. cit.*, p. 20 or Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 41, who speaks specifically of a "Roman" neo-classicism.

13 See J. Mordaunt Crook, *The Dilemma of Style. Architectural Ideas from the Picturesque to the Post-Modern*, London: John Murray, 1987, p. 193

because they are less the product of confirmation in experience, than the result of correspondence with traceable precedents, or even concocted rules. In this guise, the design should be interpreted as an argument against Dance's aphorism of "architecture unshackled".

In light of the neoclassical assumption, analysis of the church has dwelt on the reduction of the entablature and the antique provenance of its form and decoration[14]. The vault is carried by an Ionic order with an entablature that lacks an architrave and cornice and has only an unobtrusive frieze with floral decorations. The elision is recorded as a "startling innovation"[15]. Though the formal expression is Roman, the innovative entablature is in accord with the contemporary understanding of Greek architecture that makes a contrast between the application of orders for internal and external use. Internally, there is no need for a water shed, hence the cornice could be omitted; similarly, Dance did not need the lintel to carry down the weight of the vault, and thus no architrave was required. The large lunette windows underneath the cross-vaults strengthen the idea that the weight of the roof is carried down through the columns, though part of the effect is lost with a recent restoration that has pushed the windows back from the wall plane. The new plaster frame suggests a continuation of wall into roof that was not present in Dance's design. As built, the lunette windows continued up to the cross-vault above them. In the design therefore the walls do not carry the vault. Dance would have found precedents in the baths of Caracalla that he studied in Rome. The baths had a similar roof construction over the *frigidarium*. The interruption of nave and apse, too, is a common theme in Roman basilicas[16]. The motifs on the ceiling have been called "Etruscan" and traced down to the work of Pietro Santi Bartoli[17], in accordance with the antique provenance of the church.

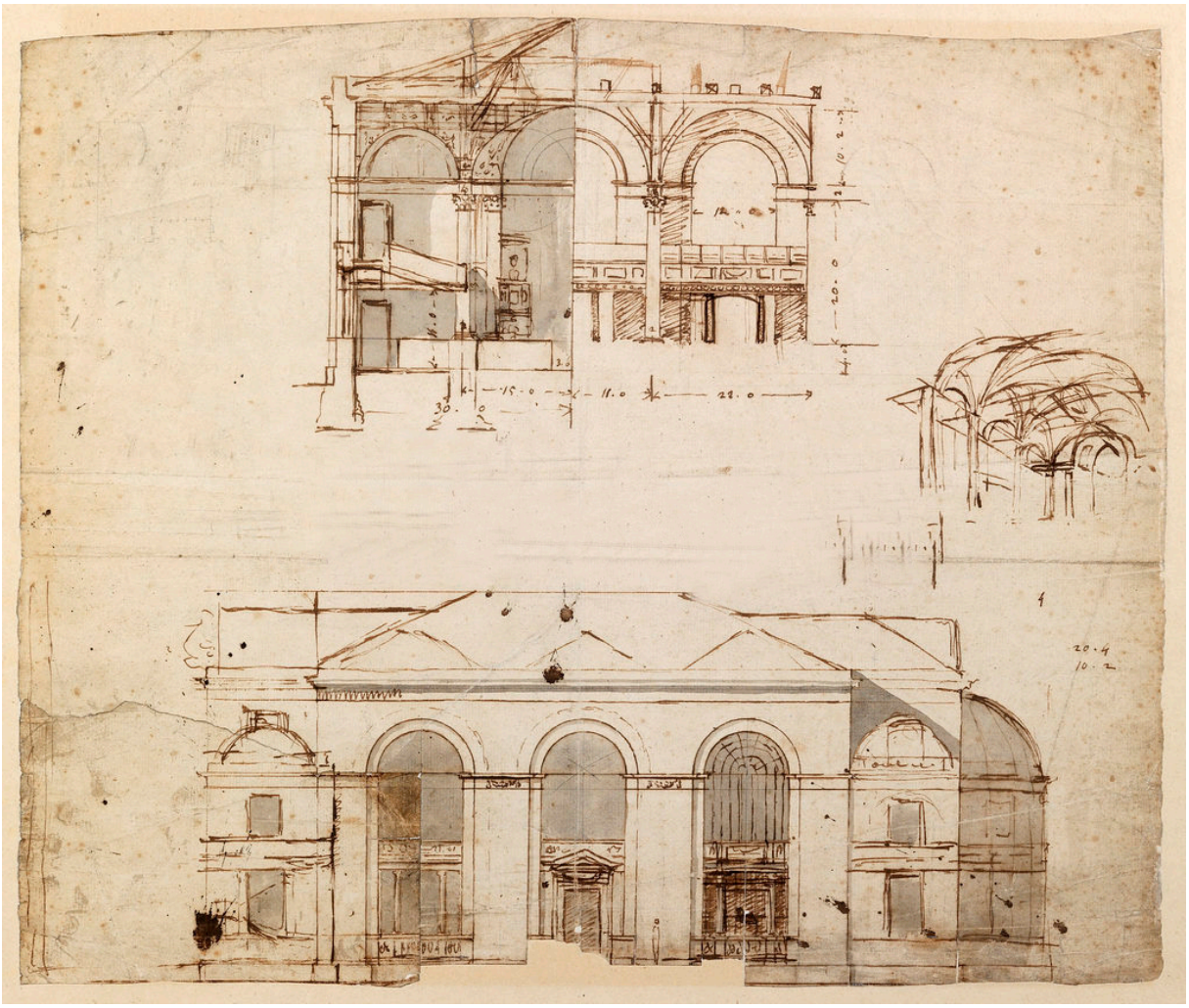
In addition to Roman provenance, abstracted geometry can furnish an explanation of the design. Strict volumetric terms describe the tectonic structure: an oblong nave ended by a semi-circular apse, covered by an equally semi-circular barrel vault pierced above each of the three bays by cross vaults over lunette windows. Indeed, with this description the form of this building appears effortlessly as an abstract idea to the mind. The church of All Hallows portrays an orderly object,

14 See, for instance Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 75-6, Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 45 and Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 72

15 Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 76

16 The example quoted in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 85 is the Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine in Rome, but most early Christian basilicas follow the same motif.

17 John Summerson, *Architecture in Britain: 1530-1830*, *op. cit.*, p. 417



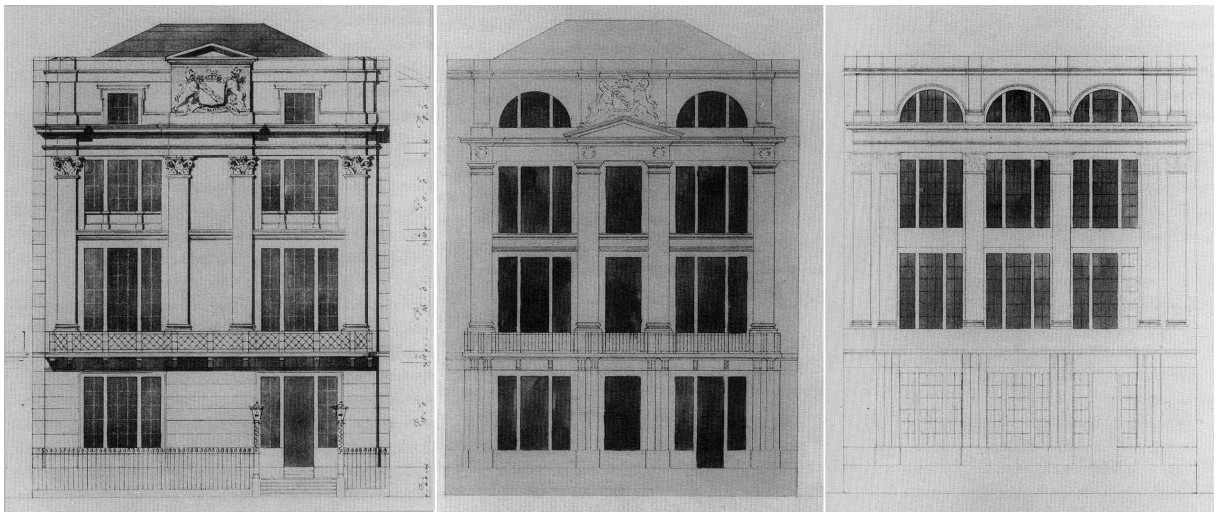
7. All Hallows on the Wall, first design scheme.

identified as rational, abstract and unitary[18]. The building has often been analyzed from these two perspectives: rationalist reduction and antique provenance.

Both of these explanations rely not so much on the physical actualization of the building, but on the contract drawings that render its longitudinal section. However, Dance was not unambiguous with the design. In contrast to the rationalist reading, he obfuscated the function of the walls and the columns. Furthermore, he dissolved the detached clarity of the order by continuing the entablature over the columns and along the wall; thirdly, he applied structuring motifs as decorative elements to the vault and apse. These accord to a geometric play, but do not contribute to a possible structural understanding, The design process, which can be witnessed from surviving sketch drawings[19], reveals that Dance began the project from a very

18 Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 44, for instance, describes the object of Dance□s research for the design as □La perfetta commensirabilità dello spazio□.

19 RIBA Library Drawings and Archives Collections, SC66/4(1)



8. House St. James's Square - elevations of three design stages, c. 1816

different point of view. His first drawings, made right after his return from Italy and probably with help of his father, show a more conventional design. It comprises a complex 5-bay section with three central bays protruding laterally. The two storey building incorporates an internal Corinthian order that supports the groin vaults of the nave, which terminates in a half-domed apse. This design would match more aptly with the articulated Roman provenance, but at the same time would answer to some practical issues as well. It does, for instance, include a gallery – a feature prominent in British churches of the era, but absent from his final design. The design process shows the successive reduction of obtrusive elements in the ultimate dismissal of side-isles, Diocletian windows, door pediments and Corinthian columns. From within, the building is left in a state of tranquil off-worldliness, stripped from redundant and conspicuous elements. Even today various art installations in the church benefit from the effect[20].

The process of reduction draws attention to another interpretation of the building, in which not its geometry, but the relation to the observer is in the forefront. Simplicity, or rather reduction, was regarded a means to allow expression of genius. So Laugier could write: "An architect is drawn to superfluities only because he lacks genius; he only overloads his work because he lacks the wit to make it simple."[21] Similarly, Jean-François Blondel recalled in his *Cours d'Architecture*: "Simple architecture should be the most esteemed of all. [..] It alone can enchant the spirit and the eyes."[22] By disposal of superfluities, Dance reached the core of the natural

20 For instance, Angela Wright installed her "189 Miles" Wool Installation in the church in 2009. It is documented on her website: http://www.angelawright.co.uk/. See also http://www.wallspace.org.uk/ for the organizing venue.

21 Marc-Antoine Laugier, *An essay on architecture*, translated by Wolfgang Herrmann, Los Angeles: Hennessey & Ingalls, 1753 (first published 1977), quoted from Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings. A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 251

22 Jean-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture, ou traité de la decoration, distribution & construction des bâtiments*, Paris:

effect that "art cannot define" and that "enchants the spirit and the eyes"[23].

The alternative designs for 6 St. James's Square, a town house design for the Earl of Bristol, made around 1816, give some insight in Dance's reductionist method of design[24]. The process shows a successive elimination of all ornamental symbolism. The first design presents an abundance of elements belonging to the traditional canon of the orders, but also railings, emblems, adorned window styles and an a-typical pediment. Along the process, depth and articulation of separate elements is reduced, the different window panes have been brought together in a single gesture, and the prominence of symbolic emblems has been pushed to the background. In the final design, the process is carried through even further, with the complete obliteration of all protrusive elements. What remains is a flat, vertical, orthogonal design. The process is characteristic of Dance's design approach and speaks as a sign for his tendency to convey an intention with as little moment as possible. The final design receives its recognisability not from the presence of revealing emblems, but breaks with convention to create a unity, at least on paper, of incised verticality.

Dance, who knew the work of John Locke, would have associated "simple ideas" that are directly perceivable to the mind primarily with light[25]. Locke's texts are profuse with the association of light with reason[26]. Locke was not concerned with the direct or metaphorical application to art or architecture, but others were. Edmund Burke identified in his seminal enquiry, overtly appreciated by Dance[27], the effects of lighting conditions to the human mind. He associated light with the beautiful, and darkness with the sublime. "Mere light is too common a thing to make a strong impression on the mind [..]. But darkness is more productive of sublime ideas than light." Somewhat further he wrote: "I think [..] that all edifices calculated to produce an idea of the sublime, ought rather to be dark and gloomy"[28] The appreciation of sensational effects of architecture was current in England, due

Desaint, 1771, p. 396, quoted from Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings. A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 251

23 Jean-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 396, quoted from Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings. A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 251

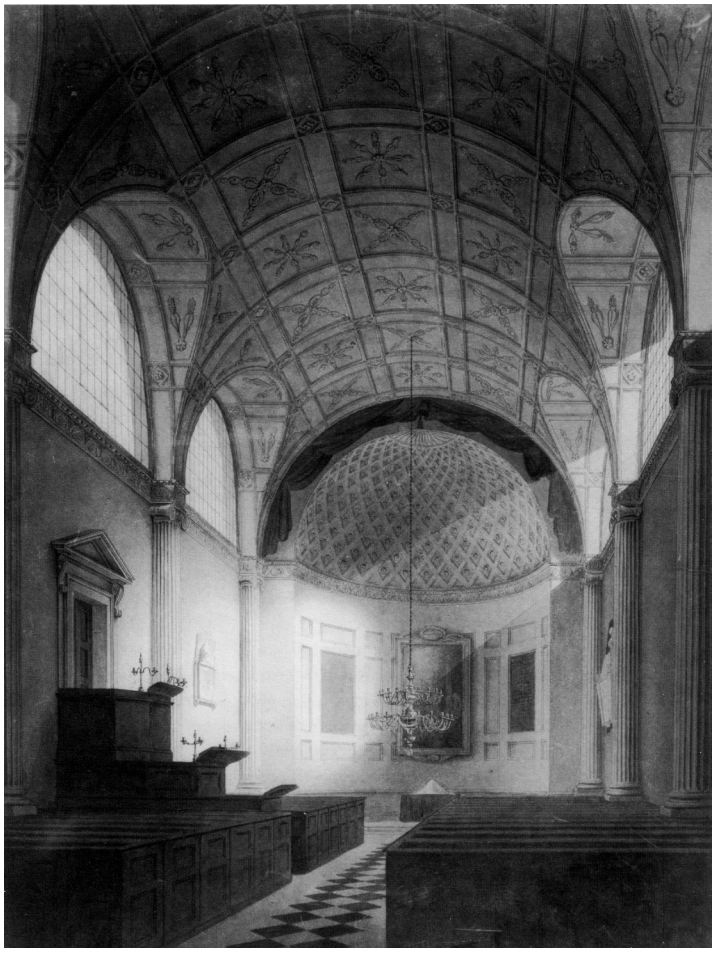
24 See catalogue entry 67 in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 210-2

25 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding. In Four Books. By John Locke*, London: Printed by Eliz. Holt, 1690, Book II, I, 6: "Light and colours are busy at hand everywhere, when the eye is but open; sounds and some tangible qualities fail not to solicit their proper senses." Dance knew Locke's work through the "Works" edition in three volumes, published in 1727. For Dance's library, see appendix 1. Locke's terminology of "simple" and "complex" ideas also appears, with reference, in [Anonymous], *An Essay*, *op. cit.*, p. 23

26 Numerous allusions to the metaphor of light and reason appear, for instance, in John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, *op. cit., Book I, I: 5; II: 1, 4, 6, 13, 20 and III: 9*

27 Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit., 3 March 1797*

28 Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful*, edited by Adam Phillips, 2nd ed, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998 (first published 1757), Part II, Section XIV



9. All Hallows on the Wall, interior perspective. Drawn by John Soane to illustrate his third academy lecture.

to its affinity with philosophical sensationalism[29]. Joseph Addison spoke of light as the most delightful aspect of beauty: "We no where meet with a more glorious or pleasing Show in Nature than what appears in the Heavens at the rising and setting of the Sun, which is wholly made up of those different Stains of Light that shew themselves in Clouds of a different Situation."[30]

The effect of light in the tranquil interior of All Hallows was aptly shown in John Soane's interior drawing made for his third Royal Academy lecture, published in 1816. The abundance of light in the building on a sunny day is strikingly perceived. Soane does not stress the sensational effect of the illumination. Instead, he turns precisely to the problem of the reduction of the entablature, to explain how it served him as an eye-opener, offering a sense of good taste in spite of the deviation from well-known prescriptions in books on architecture[31]. He explains how he could now

29 David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit., chapter IV, p. 184-255*

30 Joseph Addison, *The Spectator*, edited by Henri Morley, London: George Routledge and Sons, 1712 (first published 1891), no. 412. Dance owned a copy of the Spectator in a bound volume.

31 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 85

understand, how freedom of the architect could overcome the determined canon and still result in an admirable quality. This quality, no doubt, stems not so much from the accordance or discordance with a presumed canon, but from the impression that the space makes on a visitor. Significantly, Soane does not choose to represent the building in one of the three corresponding canonical drawings (plan, section or elevation), but in an eye-level perspective that gives a sense of spaciousness and equals with the perception of a visitor.

Soane commented in his eighth lecture on the considerations of an architect when it comes to lighting:

> *"The "lumière mystérieuse," so successfully practiced by French artists, is a most powerful agent in the hands of a man of genius, and its power cannot be too fully understood, nor too highly appreciated. It is, however, little attended to in our architecture, and for this obvious reason, that we do not sufficiently feel the importance of character in our buildings, to which the model of admitting light contributes in no small degree."*[32]

Even though he did not mention it explicitly, the effect that persuaded Soane's judgement of All Hallows becomes clear through the drawing. Through reduction of elements, an appreciation of light and space is gained.

Light invokes a quality similar to sound: direct, unmediated and without the need for rational digestion. Yet, its effect cannot be described in clear, well-defined rules. For sound, that is different, as Dance would have learnt from Morris's lectures. Morris identified a natural harmony in architectural proportions similar to music, where he understood whole number relations to invoke harmonious tones. Light was rather understood to evoke a transcendent quality in buildings, to provide a glimpse of the mysterious, the religious, or the glooming. The impression that light had a direct effect on the mind stands in contrast with the particular effect of geometry and rhythmical proportions that had to be understood and comprehended in drawing before they could be appreciated in a building.

In England, the first direct allusion to the use of light in architecture was made by William Chambers in unpublished notes for his Royal Academy lectures, which he had never had the opportunity to present. In the notes, he wrote:

32 David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 598

> *"Churches should have their light coming from high and not have too much of it for there is majestic in twilight. The glass of the Windows ought to be tinged red which giveth a redness or fitness to all the parts of the building and this with the faintest of the light spreads a kind of Mystery throughout the Whole extremely proper in places set aside for the Worship of the Great Incomprehensible God."*[33]

All Hallows did not conform to Chambers' description, as the church bathes in abundant light, rather than in a faint twilight. Yet, in spite of the differences in elaboration, the underlying premise seems in accordance: the interest in effect can help arouse the right mood for appreciating both worship and mystery, which fits the characteristic of a church. Chambers followed Burke in the association of the majestic with the sublime[34]. Dance might not have done so, but if, for instance, he administered Addison's account of light in the sight of religion, quoted above, he would have found the abundance of light proper and suitable for his church.

The idea that the lighting conditions contain information about the building that should be used in the design was omnipresent in Dance's work and many traces can be found in his designs. His design for an exhibition space for the Royal College of Surgeons showed his considerable attention to the possibilities that came with different lighting conditions[35]. The design, presented to the building committee by Dance in January 1805, consisted of a library, a small theatre and an exhibition gallery, all in a very confined space between Lincoln's Inn Field and Portugal Street, London. The programme caused particular problems of organization and distribution between two facades that both strove for hierarchical priority. Dance resolved the issues by turning the different programmatic aspects inwards. The unique character of the exhibition gallery, a museum of anatomy or natural history, its specimens in sloped cases, with detailed descriptions, urging close examination, called for clarity through brightness and hence overly clear natural lighting. Dance tested a series of design solutions: circular, semi-circular, elliptical or octagonal lanterns, clerestory lighting and a single continuous lantern[36]. His final solution incorporated top-lighting in three circular lanterns. For its conception, Dance

33 William Chambers, *Notes for Royal Academy Lectures*, London: Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings & Archive Collections, CHA/1-3 (3.10)

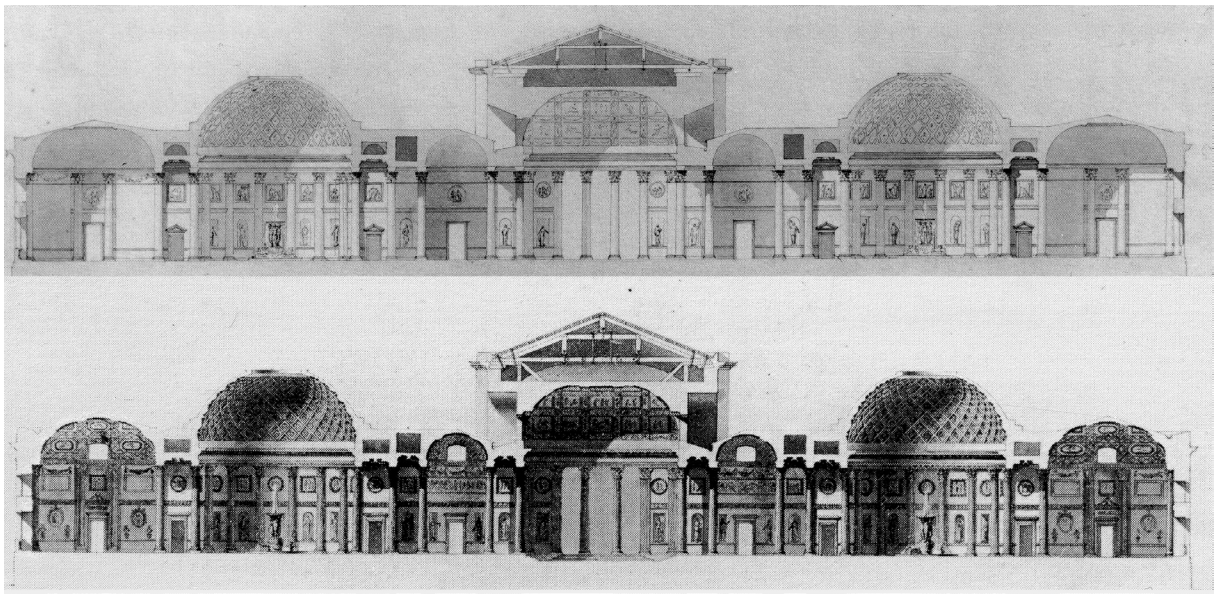
34 See John Harris, *Sir William Chambers. Knight of the Polar Star*, London: Zwemmer, 1970, p. 131-5 and Eileen Harris, "Burke and Chambers on the Sublime and the Beautiful", in: *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*. London: Phaidon, 1967, pp. 207-13

35 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 159-93 [58]; Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 192

36 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 192; drawings [58].25, 29, 135v and 155.

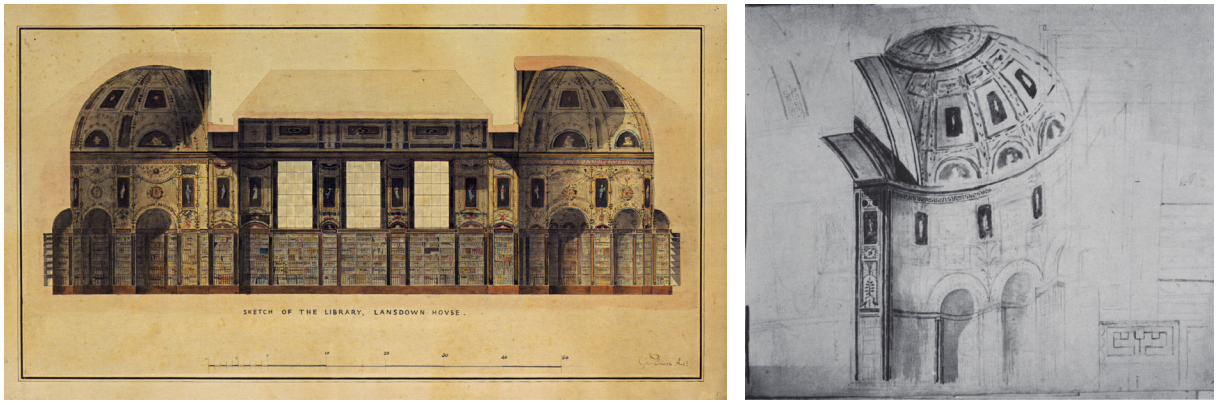
probably studied Jacques Gondoin's *Ecole de Chirurgie*, which is much grander in scale, but implemented a similar lighting solution[37].

Top lighting for gallery spaces was a new solution for a new problem. Dance's Shakespeare Gallery, built in 1788-9, was among the first public galleries in London. He introduced top lighting here for the first time in practice, but had experimented with it already in his public gallery design for the Parma competition in Italy. Its immediate consequence was a complete disconnection between interior and exterior space, which bore strong influence on the organization of the interior. In the Parma design, Dance articulated the succession of internal spaces by the application of different geometric patterns, which all incurred different lighting conditions and hence different lighting solutions. The enfilade in its front and rear wing proceeded from a square, to an apsidal, a circular and a rectangular space. The variety of height and shape was matched by a variety in lighting, from oculi in the domes, to clerestory windows in the barrel-vaulted grand gallery, to small windows in the subsidiary vaults. Darkness and light articulated the succeeding spaces. Dance's awareness of the particular effects was strengthened after his return from Italy, when he made a new set of drawings for the project. The Roman drawings left little impression of



10. Public gallery for a competition at the Parma Academy, cross section. Above: winning competition design, 1763. Below: reproduction made in London, 1764.

37 Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, *op. cit.*, p. 147. For the drawings of Gondoin's *ecole* Dance possessed, see appendix 1.



11. Lansdowne Library, longitudinal section and interior sketch, drawn by Dance, ca 1788-94.

space, whereas the 1763 London drawings presented great depth and suggestion of roundness, and also strengthened the different lighting conditions in sequential order[38].

In the Shakespeare Gallery as well as in the gallery for the Royal College, Dance provided an articulation of the interior that is reminiscent of the Parma gallery, offering sequential spaces with matching lighting conditions, but the spatial effect was even stronger in one other project, the alteration of the library in Lansdowne House designed from 1788 to 1794[39]. The interior consisted of an oblong central space with apsidal ends at either side, flanked by bookshelves. Above the arches that delineated the transition to the apses, lunettes provided indirect lighting that seemed to stretch the apparent length of the interior space. From either end, the semi-circular apsidal ending seemed more distant because of the darker foreground of the central space. Again as in the church of All Hallows, the members of the architectural frame were reduced to bare decorations of Etruscan motifs, rhythmically enhancing a feeling of continuity and regularity, but subsidiary to the spatial effect achieved by the illumination.

The effect of the Lansdowne Library is reminiscent of the large project Giovanni Battista Piranesi designed for the *San Giovanni in Laterano* from 1763-7[40].

38 The Roman drawings are listed in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.* under [17].1-3, the London drawings under [17].4-6.

39 Ibid., p. 194-7 [59]; Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 163. For a comparison of the designs of Robert Adam, François-Joseph Belanger, Robert Smirke, Charles-Louis Clérisseau, Francesco Pannini, Joseph Bonomi and Dance, see Damie Stillman, "The Gallery for Lansdowne House: International Neoclassical Architecture and Decoration in Microcosm", *The Art Bulletin*, 52, no. 1, 1970, p. 75-80. Among those, Dance's design stands out as radical, especially since it was the only one that did not feature a columnar order. Robert Smirke, who eventually got to execute the space as a gallery rather than a library, followed Dance's scheme of flanking end units with hidden lighting. Therefore, its effect (before another substantial remodeling in the 1930s) could have been appreciated.

40 For a discussion of the project, see Fabio Barry, "San Giovanni che non c□è : la strategia piranesiana per il coro di San Giovanni in Laterano", in: *Francesco Borromini: atti del convegno internationale Roma 13 - 15 gennaio 2000*. Milano: Electa, 2000, pp. 458-63 and Fabio Barry, "*Rinovare, anziché ristorare*. Piranesi as Architect", in: *The Rome of Piranesi*,

Dance had left Rome before Piranesi started the project, but his intentions for it were made clear in his etching of its interior, years before the maturation of the project. Perhaps, too, Dance knew the project directly, for although there is no indication that he maintained contact with Italian colleagues after his Grand Tour, his library did contain many Italian works published after his return, so a possible influence is not inconceivable. In Piranesi's church as well as in Dance's library, the light conditions aim to direct focus through the interior space towards its end, seemingly elongating it, and elucidating its proper function: in the case of the San Giovanni, its altar; in the case of the library, the reading room. Dance achieved a triple effect: an optimal use of the available wall space by omitting windows, good preservation of the books due to limited direct lighting and a reading space flooded with natural light to assure good readability without a need for artificial support.

These designs show how lighting conditions claimed an active role in the design process and informed the architect early in the process about the effect of his building. The building that brought Dance most fame, Newgate Gaol, was often associated with the Burkean sublime, presumably because of the terror induced by its ornamentation and rustication[41]. But more importantly, Dance's windowless facade recalled Burke's association of the sublime with the dark and gloomy. Newgate's interior, other than contemporary prisons and in contrast to regular prison life[42] observed a policy of strict confinement. Its architecture represented that: throughout the building, the interior remained dark, unpleasant and gloomy. The absence of light stirred the feelings of unease and isolation that came with the new understanding of prison life as corrective and its architecture as enforcing a new morality onto prisoners[43].

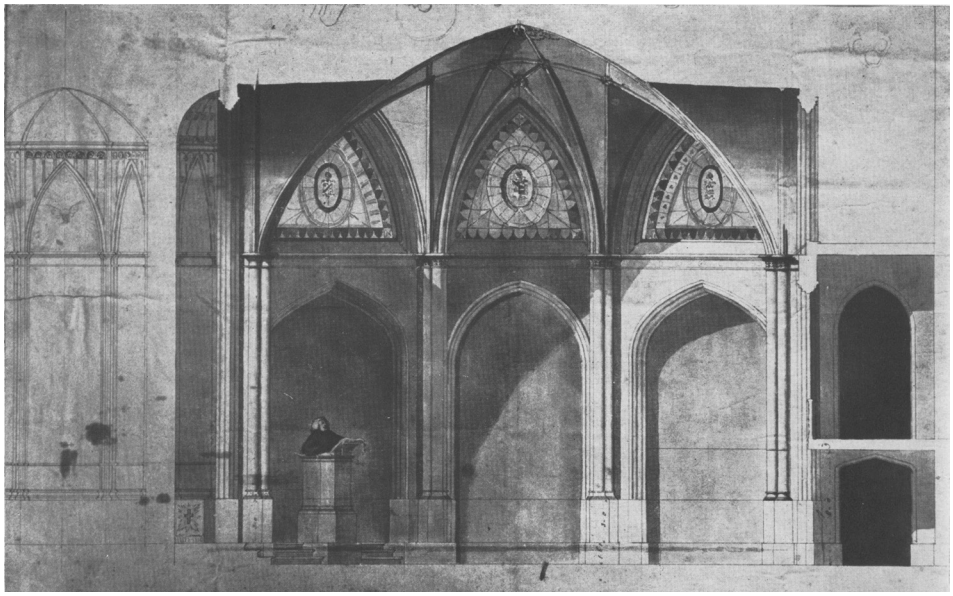
By considering Dance's work in light of the attention given to its characteristic illumination, we come close to the appreciation of his works in terms of propriety. In Newgate Gaol, restriction of light from the facade went hand in hand with confinement of prisoners in space. Similarly, in All Hallows abundance of light might reflect an enigma of faith. In his library and galleries the direction and intensity of light regulated use of and movement through space. It recalls the effect that Soane stressed in his description of the *lumière mystérieuse*; the effect that Burke and

edited by Mario Bevilacqua and Mario Gori Sassoli. Rome: Editoriale Artemide, 2006, pp. 91-110

41 See, for instance, Harold D. Kalman, "Newgate Prison", *op. cit.*, p. 55-6

42 On British prison life prior to John Howard's reforms (published in 1780, and thus too late to influence the spatial planning of Newgate), see Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue. English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 9-46. Later in his life Dance made a design for a new prison in Battersea on the south banks of the Thames, where radial principles of control were taken into account. See Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 168 and p. 85

43 Robin Evans, *The Fabrication of Virtue. English Prison Architecture, 1750-1840*, *op. cit.*, p. 46



12. St Bartholomew-the-Less, section, 1789

Chambers inferred from their emotionally driven spatial perception; and the effect that father and son Cockerell praised in Dance's work[44].

The attention to the effect of lighting implies a thoroughly subjective account of architecture that understands its qualities in conjunction with its observer's impression and that reconciles its composition with his appropriation of space. Dance expressed his awareness of the relation between viewer and building in some interior drawings. For instance, in church interiors he often drew a priest behind the pulpit. In his drawings he sometimes accentuated the effect of light and shade[45]. This implies an active use of the drawing as a means not only to present the idea, but as a means to research the effect of a building. In this sense, perhaps, Dance understood genius to be unshackled: design for him was mediated through testing and drawing rather than through the application of geometry onto a preconceived idea.

44 For Cockerell's remark, see the introduction

45 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 382-3 treats this as a specific characteristic of his drawings. Similarly she draws attention to the fact that Dance used his drawing skills to improve and enrich his designs with entourage. See Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 165

13. St. Luke's Hospital for Luncatics, interior perspective.

Representation of moral

Whereas lighting helps to set the mood in the interior of buildings, it is by concern for moral representation that Dance expressed his public works. Newgate Gaol, internally notorious for its gloom, had a front that reputedly matched the severity of its function. Prison architecture should, according to Jacques-François Blondel, make use of "terrible" architecture and a repulsive style in order to "declare to the spectators outside the confused lives of those detained inside, along with the force required for those in charge to hold them confined"[46].Terrible architecture should to that end express solidity with closed walls and deep recesses. Newgate Gaol, fitting that profile seamlessly, has often been associated with the Burkean sublime too, because of the terror induced by its ornamentation and rustication[47]. As Burke saw it, "whatever is fitted in any sort to excite the ideas of pain, and danger, [..] whatever is in any sort terrible, [..] is a source of the sublime."

But although the terrible and sublime might be powerful ideas in order to sustain the character of the building, Dance made sure not to give rise to misunderstandings of the building's intended message: he decorated the entrances of the building with festoons decorated as chains. The festoons were not yet present in the earliest scheme of the building, drawn in 1768, which adheres even more to the image of a powerful and closed box. Whereas perhaps the characterization as terrible or sublime could be mistaken for an expression of the function of the building as confinement, the fetters reminded the wretched souls of their daunting fate, and above all served as a warning for those still outside. Thus the building expressed the moral value that society wanted to issue to those with intentions to misbehave. It did so quite literally: the image of the fetters could hardly be mistaken for anything else but a warning. A critic put it aptly:

"The prison of Newgate, before it was damaged by the outrages of the populace, in 1780, might have been esteemed a model for structures of this nature. The external face is entirely wrought in rustic, and strikes the mind very forcibly

46 "Une Architecture terrible contribue [..] à annoncer dès les dehors, le désordre de la vie des hommes détenus dans l'interieur, & tout ensemble la férocité nécessaire à ceux préposés pour les tenir aux fers." Jean-François Blondel, *Cours d'architecture*, *op. cit.*, volume I, p. 426 (translation from Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750 - 1890*, *op. cit.*, p. 91)

47 See, for instance, Harold D. Kalman, "Newgate Prison", *op. cit.*, p. 55-6, Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750 - 1890*, *op. cit.*, p. 91, Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, *op. cit.*, p. 196

with an idea of its purpose. We behold symmetry and fitness. The mind is filled, though not with pleasing sensations. It is impossible to consider this massy edifice, but as the mansion of despair and misery."[48]

What the concern for ethics meant to Dance becomes clearer from the project for St. Luke's Hospital for Lunatics, for which work started in 1780, two decades after the completion of the first hospital by his father. The hospital had outgrown the old building and the board took opportunity to invest their new building with the latest urges of a humane and sanitary environment. Here Dance expressed his concern for a social programme in relation to architecture. The hospital had a reputation for being among the most humane and best-managed asylums in Europe[49]. His designs included large open spaces that allowed for a clean and orderly organization of the wards.

The seemingly endless repetition of arches along the façade and in the interior again bears traces of Burke's sublime, which holds that infinity can be created by succession of repetitive elements[50]. The artificial infinity has such an effect on the eye of the perceiver, that "the whole capacity of the eye, vibrating in all its parts must approach near to the nature of what causes pain, and consequently must produce an idea of the sublime."[51] As the sublime is "the strongest emotion which the mind is capable of feeling"[52], it would have been very suitable to those who are in need of mental repair or correction. Again, the effect works on two sides: it both operates on the patients, bearing an imprint of corrective nature, and visualizes to the public the corrective abilities of governing powers. In this way, the hospital expressed the humane benefits of civilization. Doctor Johnson reported on the hospital: "I think a very moral use may be made of these new buildings; I would have those who have heated imagination live there, and take warning."[53]

It is interesting to compare Newgate Gaol and St. Luke's Hospital, because the implications of a programme for a ward that needed to retain its inmates, whether forced by law or by mental instability, were similar. Despite their programmatic similarity the designs by Dance could in neither case be described in terms of rational deduction from the programme's premises. His designs for Newgate Gaol and St.

48 James Ralph, *Critical Review of the Publick Buildings, Statues and Ornaments In, and about London and Westminster*, London: C. Ackers, 1783, p. 64

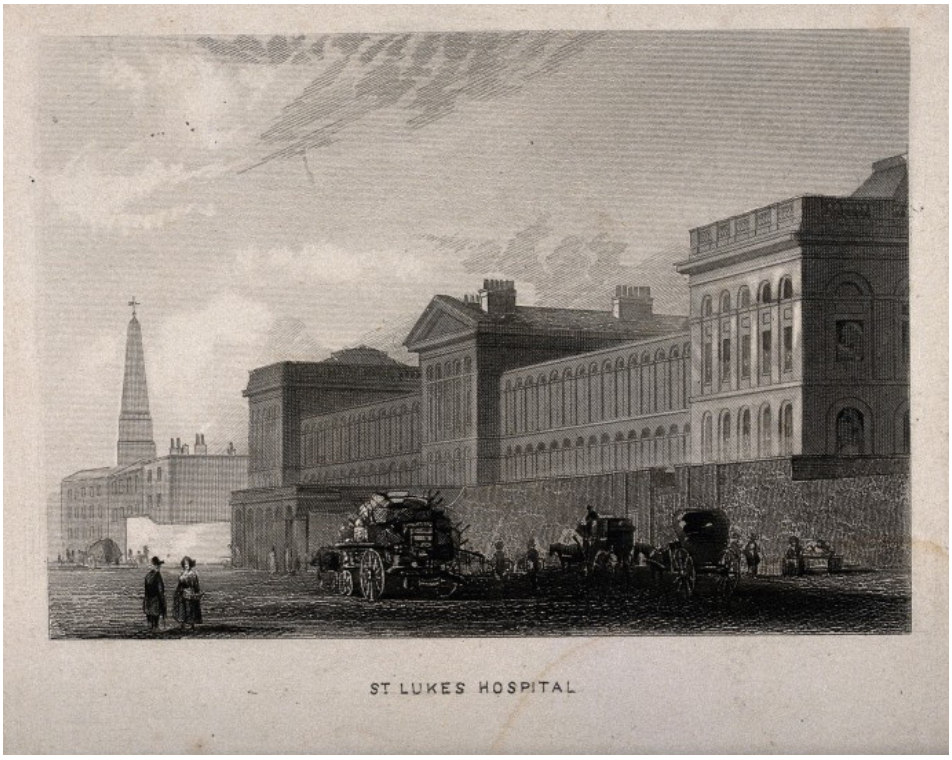
49 Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 142

50 "*Succession*; which is requisite that the parts may be continued so long, and in such a direction, as by their frequent impulses on the sense to impress the imagination with an idea of their progress beyond their actual limits." Edmund Burke, *A Philosophical Inquiry*, *op. cit.*, p. 68 (part II, section IX)

51 Ibid., p. 124-5 (part IV, section IX)

52 Ibid., p. 36 (part I, section VII)

53 Quoted in John Summerson, *Georgian London*, *op. cit.*, p. 124



14. St. Luke's Hospital for Luncatics, exterior perspective.

Luke's Hospital were poles apart. The former was dark, narrow and appreciated the containment of its inmates; the latter bright, wide and provided nursing and shelter for the hospitalized. As programmes formative of a current of reform that roamed Europe and developed similar solutions for similar problems[54], Newgate Gaol offered an image of fear, both to those inside and in representation of the power of the state. St. Luke's Hospital offered an image of reassurance, to those inside and, again, in representation of the power of the state.

Both Newgate Gaol and St. Luke's hospital aim to represent the virtuous (or the vicious) aspects of civilization. By doing so, they pertain to the theme of *City Improvement* that was ubiquitous in Dance's public buildings and urban schemes. John Gwynn, a major advocate for city improvement, published his programme in *London and Westminster Improved* of 1766. He established three requirements for improvement: First, authority needed to actively engage in the plans, opposing what is improper. Second, professional artists needed to rationally organize society. Third,

54 See Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750 - 1890*, *op. cit.*, p. 91-5 for a discussion of both prison and hospital reform in the latter part of the century. Dance's designs could not yet foresee the radial motifs developed in the 1790s by, for instance, Jeremy Bentham or Bernard Poyet.

education in the fine arts helped to elevate the public[55]. Improvement of the city started for Dance with his 1767 project for the Minories, where he made a circus and a crescent, a first for both in London. Many projects followed: the development of Finsbury Estate, Square and Circus, the Bridge House Estate, the Camden Estate, the formation of Skinner Street, the Strand improvements, the West India Docks, the Port of London, Legal Quays, New London Bridge, Jewin Street and Alfred's Place, Bloomsbury[56]. Axes, elliptical plans, circuses and crescents formed the common denominator of these projects. London expanded rapidly after the Seven Year's War (1756-63); clear forms and geometrical shapes figured as a stable background for the sprawling metropolis. Dance might have found inspiration for the crescent and circus type with John Wood, in Bath, where he studied the foundations of the imposing crescent, or otherwise with *De Ludibus Circensibus* by Onofrio Panvinio, which presented a history and archaeology of Rome, in particular of the architecture of Roman circuses[57]. By reference to the planning principles of Roman antiquity, no matter how sparse and selective, London City could regain some of its power. The impact of these regular, authoritative interventions can only be measured against the existing city fabric. Its chaos and congestion can be seen in John Rocque's map of 1747.

By 1774, Dance ventured the Building Act together with Sir Robert Taylor, a milestone in the history of London improvement[58]. Fire regulations were the occasion for the act, but the act also resulted in a far-reaching standardization of housing, giving order and some degree of dignity to the suburbs, as well as a minimum standard for working-class housing. The act forbade all use of woodwork for ornamentation, which was the cheapest material available for that purpose. The act stipulated shape, size and height of houses. Furthermore, it discarded all protrusions and pushed back window-frames from the wall-face. All measures intended to reduce the risk of fire spreading across streets. The standardization that followed from the Building Act, whether so intended or not, resulted in the monotony that is now deemed characteristic of the Georgian Period, but that was detested in the nineteenth century. Following its reputation the act was dubbed the "Black Act"[59]. Whatever its reputed consequences, the act seriously restricted the freedom of builders.

55 John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved*, *op. cit.*, p. 12 and p. 61-9

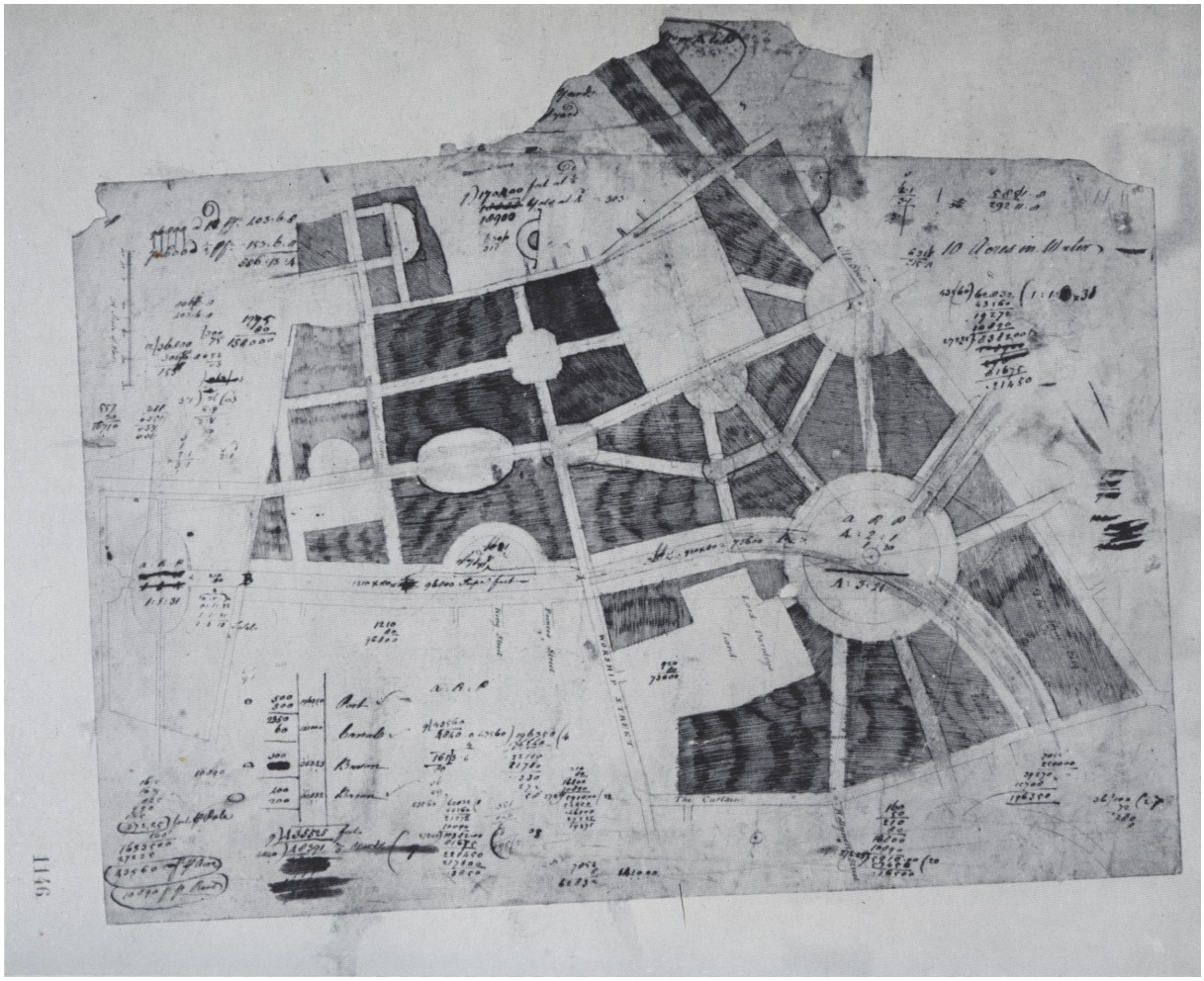
56 See appendix 2 for a full overview of Dance's projects.

57 Dance supposedly visited Bath in 1767, see Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 84. The book by Panvinio was in Dance's private library. See Appendix 1.

58 John Summerson, *Georgian London*, *op. cit.*, p. 124

59 Ibid., p. 124-7

15. Excerpt from John Rocque's London map, 1742



16. Finsbury Estate, study scheme with circuses and crescents, by Dance, 1768

A double spirit of improvement can be deduced from the building act and Dance's urban schemes, a spirit involved in two different concepts of improvement: elimination of congestion and thus improvement of living conditions and social welfare on the one hand, and improvement of the character of the city on the other. This double implication, too, was at stake at St. Luke's Hospital and Newgate Gaol. The institutions provided room for the mentally impaired and the physically suppressed, but at the same time the buildings hid them behind a facade that denied their existence or their partaking in society. The facades showed, instead, an image of a civilized society, without the relentless reverse of its defects. The close affinity between Gwynn's *Improvement* programme and Dance's work becomes apparent only when we take a closer look at his requirements:

> *"It must be allowed that publick works of real magnificence, taste, elegance and utility, in a commercial city, are of the utmost consequence; they are not only of real use in point of splendor and convenience, but as necessary to the community as health and cloathing to the human body, they are the great sources of invention and of ingenious employments, and are a means of stamping real value upon materials of every kind. It is entirely owing to the encouragement of works of this sort [..] that this nation, to the full as ingenious as the French, can ever hope to make a figure in the arts equal to what they now make in arms."* [60]

Gwynn's *Improvement* did not only require an architect to embellish the city; he provided the task to bring the whole country on a par with what might be expected from a leading empire. Thus, he provided a mandate for architects (and other artists, too) that was readily picked up by Dance. This mandate, as can be witnessed from the quotation above, included four directives. It was an ineluctable necessity for the welfare of the country; it required not only the interest of the state, but specifically the great wealth of commercial enterprises; it urged to employ ingenuity and invention; and finally it set the goal to "stamp real value upon materials".

Gwynn as a critic praised uncompromised genius, yet largely through his effort, architecture incited a constant stream of criticism[61], most revealing of which was a text published under pseudonym in 1771[62]. It was an attack on the imaginary designs

60 John Gwynn, *London and Westminster Improved*, *op. cit.*, p. 20-1

61 Notably in this respect are Gwynn's own work, an essay by James Stuart, *Critical observations on the buildings and improvements of London*, London: J. Dodsley, 1771 and the work by James Ralph, *Critical Review*, *op. cit.*, an extended version of the original publication in 1738.

62 Roger Shanhagan, *The Exhibition, or a second Anticipation: Being Remarks on the principal Works to be Exhibited next Month, at the Royal Academy*, London: Richardson and Urqumart, 1779 See David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment*

exhibited at the Royal Academy. The author praised uncompromised genius, but he detested the "Genius and Taste" as learned at the Royal Academy. "Genius is a happy madness that decides and determines without thought, reflection, or foresight." He denounced William Chamber's own Somerset House, perhaps the greatest public commission to be completed in the second half of the eighteenth century[63]. The disapproval of Somerset House was based on the contrasting treatment of the two ends of the building: one directed to the Strand, where the Royal Academy itself housed, with a Corinthian order, delicate and artistically refined; the other directed at the Thames bank, housing the naval admiralty and set up in bold, imposing gestures. Chambers's building thus incorporated opposing royal institutions in an attempt to find majestic expression that reconciled the bureaucratic with the academic[64]. The example shows that proper display of magnificence was not only a matter of expression of grandeur, but also required a sense of appropriateness in its composition.

Dance took the advice at heart when in 1794 he started to work on what might have become his most impressive project, had it been executed. The Legal Quays project was an attempt of the Corporation of London to unclog the Thames harbour area, which had experienced a rapid growth in recent years: in less than half a century, trade numbers in the harbour had more than doubled, without any planning for its organization[65]. Besides a defaced entrance, the lack of organization meant a financial deficit for the city. From 1796 to 1804, Dance presented a series of designs that both effectively dealt with economic restraints and offered a compelling impression on anyone entering the city via the water. Dance's schemes started with the Legal Quays, east of Old London Bridge, but ended up to include a comprehensive and totalizing view of the entire harbour area, with as its most startling aspect a redesign of the bridge itself and a surrounding circus that could easily have rivalled with the great urban schemes of other European cities[66].

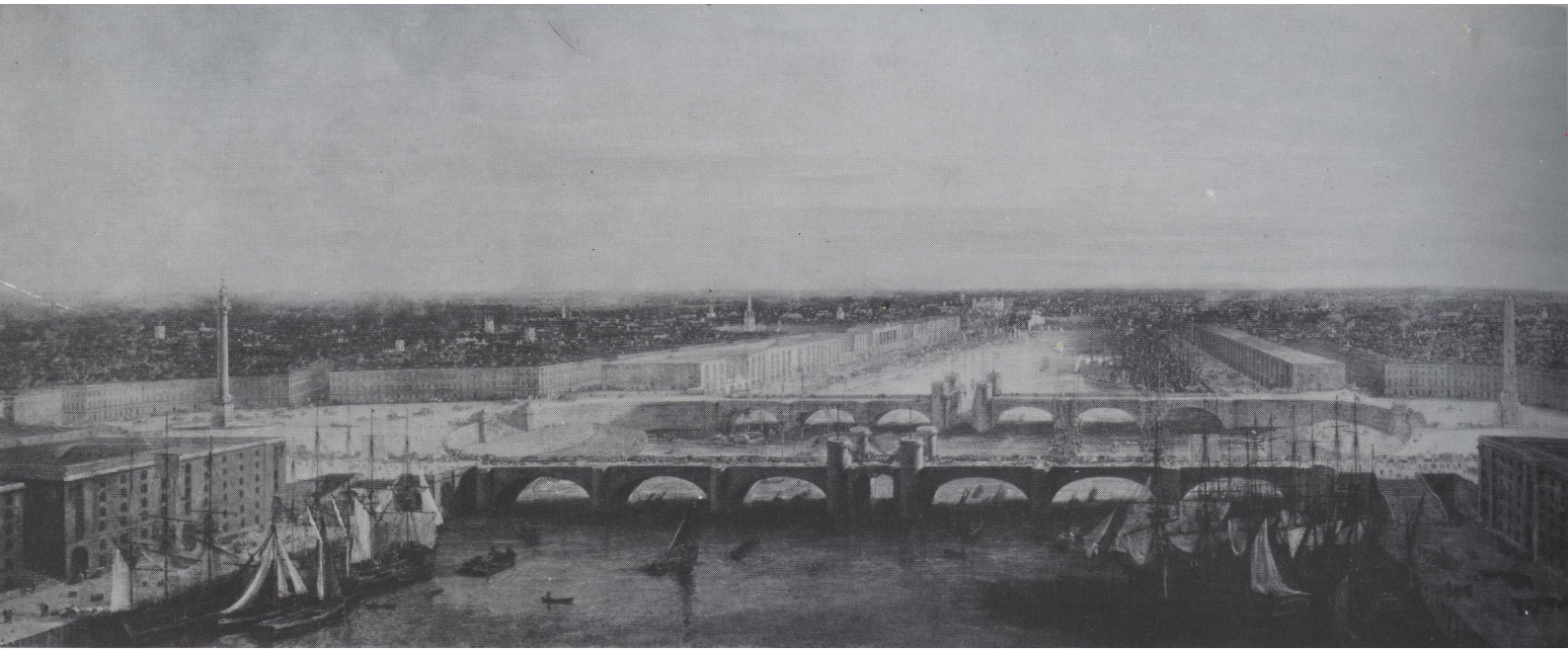
thought and the Royal Academy lectures, *op. cit.*, p. 29, who supposes that the essay was written by the elder Robert Smirke and William Porden, a pupil of James Wyatt. Later on, Wyatt had the opportunity to hold the chair of Professor of Architecture at the Royal Academy. See Joseph Farington, *Diary*, *op. cit., July 21st, 1798*

63 Roger Shanhagan, *The Exhibition*, *op. cit.*, p. 3, 8, 17, 41-5

64 Edward Wendt, *The Burkean Sublime in British Architecture*, Unpublished PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 2002, p. 89

65 Sir Frederick Morton Eden, *Porto-Bello: Or, a Plan for the Improvement of the Port and City of London.*, London: B. White, 1798, p. 6-7

66 Documentation of the schemes can be found in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 133-40, catalogue items [39] – [44], Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane*, *op. cit.*, p. 120-31, Dorothy Stroud, *George Dance*, *op. cit.*, p. 151-6 and Edward Wendt, *The Burkean Sublime in British Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 130-3



17. London Bridge and Legal Quays project, perspective, 1802.

Thought of as a giant Roman circus with elliptical ends in the centre of straight quays stretching out to either side, Dance aimed to bring harbour activity back into the heart of the city. He envisioned a double bridge that could allegedly solve the problematic junction of ships and wagons. Between the bridges, which would stand a hundred meters apart, another circus emerged, flooded, its apses sloping down in gentle steps of opposite curvature, reconciling water and city. Wren's monument to the 1666 Fire of London stood in the focal point of the crescent on the north bank. Dance matched the monument with an obelisk commemorating British naval victories on the south bank. The reciprocal balance between navy and city was evident. Surrounding the circus stood terraced housing, inducing a direct experience between citizens and sailors, and vice versa. The message, other than Chambers's reconciliation of royal administration and the academy, was the reconciliation of power and wealth, brought to London by economic prosperity.

The scheme incorporated straight rows of bold warehouses flanking the imposing piazza, stretching out over five hundred meters to either side. Traditional

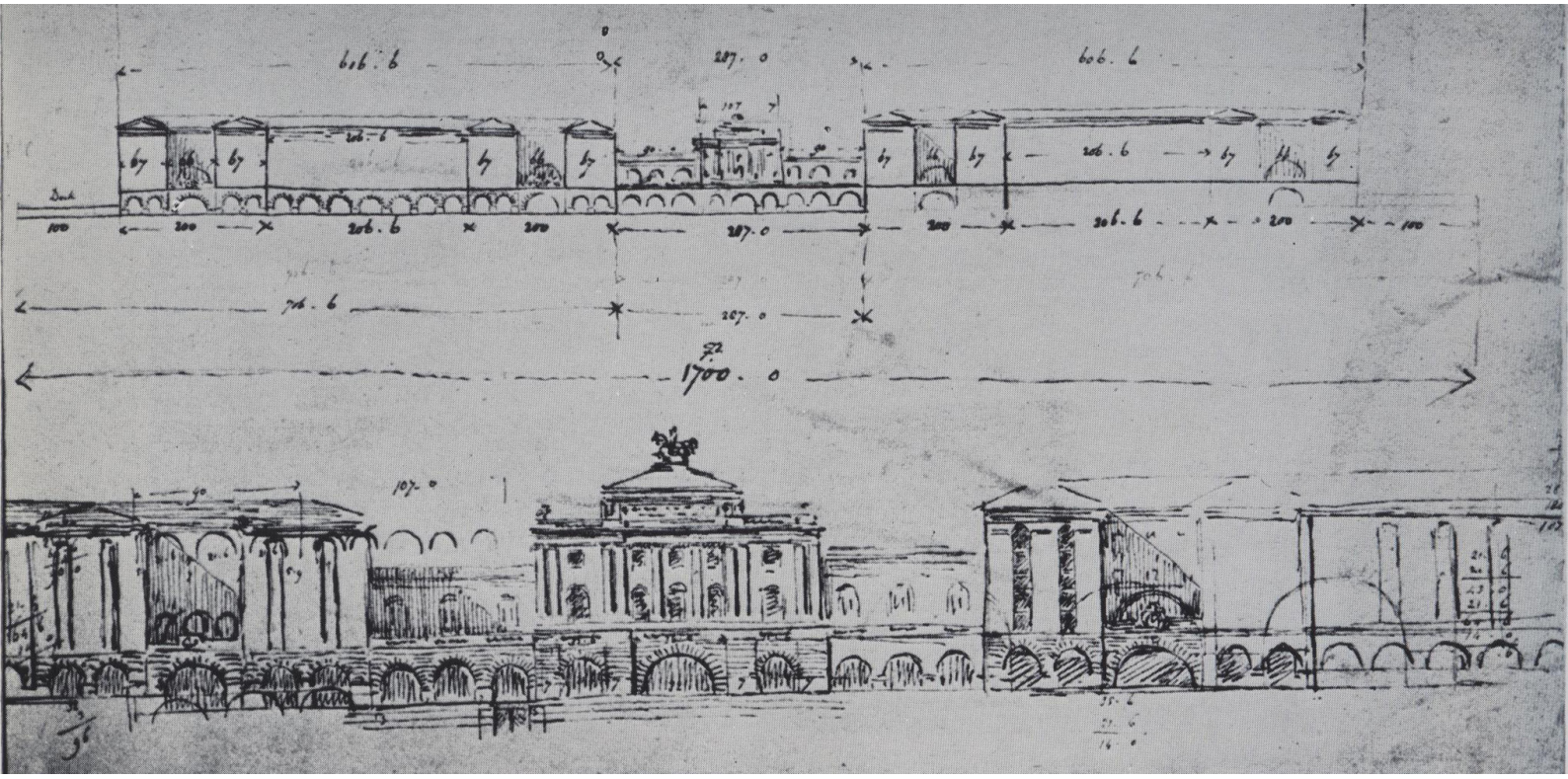
architectural interventions had become useless here. If we recall Morris's and other's recommendation to use a proper order for a fitting exposé of a building's situation, what might we think of these warehouses? Certainly, no order could have arranged for the status of the buildings, if only because the warehouses themselves would not reflect the imposition brought up by the urban scale. Dance was pointed to this when he conferred the first plans with his brother Nathaniel and Joseph Farington. Farington commented: "a long even line of 200 ft. interrupted by the centre which rises higher, is preferable to having it broken into pediments; the latter giving a meanness to it. N Dance came in and agreed with me."[67] If we compare Dance's drawings for the project, we see a tendency to reduce the intricacy of the design. Together with the abstraction, Dance changed his means of articulation. For although the quays extended over five hundred meters, the design never betrayed boredom of repetition. Instead, even in its abstract form and without the symbolism of orders, pediments or uniting cornices, the drawings present the quays as a complete entity.

In the first design sketches, Dance resorted to a hierarchy that hinged on traditional elements. He dissected the long quay in a left, right and middle block, each of which had its own hierarchy of centre and side. Two square blocks of warehouses with internal docks flanked the custom house in the centre. The warehouse ensemble itself was again flanked by two perpendicularly placed docks, projecting from the sides of the main block and emphasizing its entrances. As a whole, the docks could be interpreted to flank both the custom house and their own inner court yards.

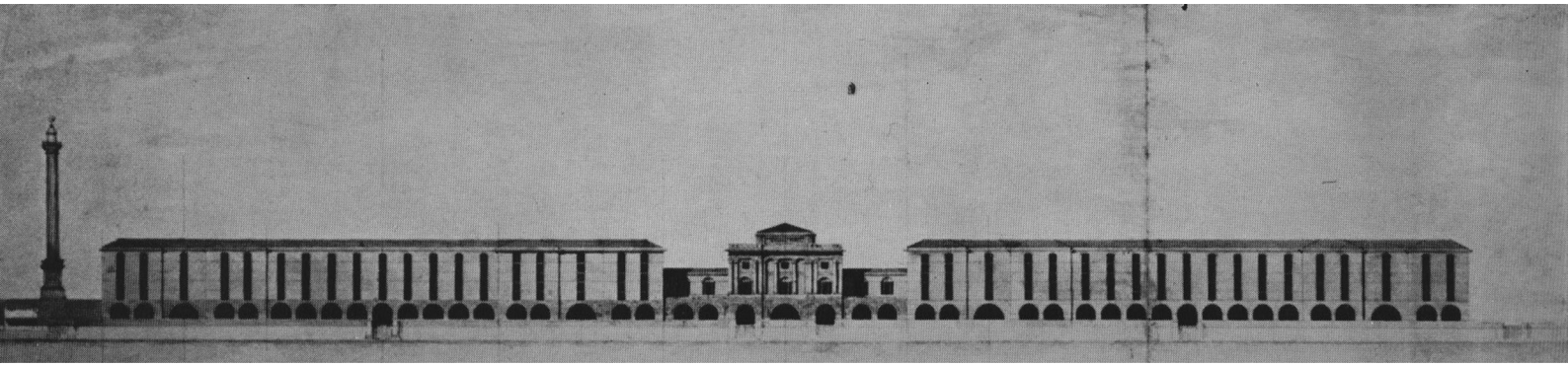
In his second designs, the hierarchical play was obliterated in favour of a simpler scheme: the pediments on the dock-heads had disappeared, the warehouse

18. London Bridge, perspective showing twin bridges, drawn by Dance, c. 1799.

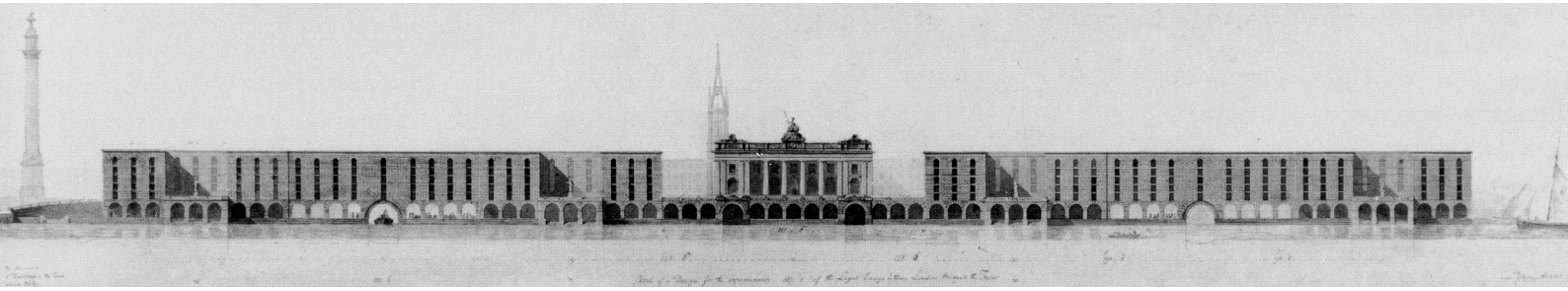
67 Farington quoted in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 134



19. Legal Quays, elevation, drawn by Dance, ca. 1796. First design sketch.



20. Legal Quays, elevation, drawn by Dance, ca. 1796. Second design.



21. Legal Quays, elevation, drawn by Dance, ca. 1796. Third design.

blocks were conflated into a whole and the articulation of the block was further reduced to a stripped rhythm of windows and walls. By the sheer size of the massive warehouse walls, the custom house seemed reduced to a subversive niche, not at all the impression its giant order craved, nor what its position deserved.

Only in the third design did the balance return, but paradoxically so by further obliterating the distinction between sides and centre. The pediment of the custom house was sacrificed in favour of a rectilinear parapet, vertically aligned with the warehouses. The fronts of the warehouses recessed and advanced so as to articulate the entrance porches and the loading quays. The plinth of the building subsequently retained the continuity of the warehouses on top, and vice versa. The intricate interconnection between recessing and protruding juxtaposed volumes combined the hierarchy of the first design with the abstraction of the second. In a quick sketch drawn on the back of one of the drawings, Dance visualized the design in a draft perspective view[68]. It showed a purely volumetric conception of the blocks. The relationship between custom house and warehouses was no longer hierarchical, but had become reciprocal. The custom house seemed now rather a *primus inter pares*, well-aware that its situation depended on the warehouses at its sides.

Dance's design announced a new economic situation. The navy had been surpassed by commerce to occupy the greatest port facilities of the city. Booming economy, rather than military strength, portrayed the power of the nation. The change of focus might have induced the change in articulation, from a central power institution to an extensive succession of commercial offices. The image of the city implied by the Legal Quays and London Bridge schemes was not that of strength enforced by power, but that of strength created from wealth and riches[69].

Thomas Sandby, professor of architecture at the Royal Academy when Dance made his designs, remarked that a building could evoke different emotions, when it was perceived from far away or close-by: "Every body knows that the most magnificent Building viewed from a great distance, appears to the Eye nothing but a plain surface of White or Red. On a nearer approach, we perceive irregularities, which excite the Idea of Grandeur. [..] As we advance to the Structure, our curiosity anticipating our progress [..], on close inspection, we are perfectly satisfied with viewing a noble Pile of Building, enriched with every Ornament a skilful architect can introduce."[70] The argument here is organized through a notion of movement. A

68 Ibid., catalogue item [39].2v
69 Edward Wendt, *The Burkean Sublime in British Architecture*, *op. cit.*, p. 133
70 Thomas Sandby, *Lectures by Thomas Sandby given at the Royal Academy of Arts*, ca. 1770-1798, London: Royal Institute of British Architects Drawings & Archive Collections, SaT/1/1-2A, 4, 59

building would evoke different sensations from different points of view and from different distances. It should then be designed with the beholder's position in mind.

Both the procession of distance and the succession of passing volumes when one entered the city by ship made the Legal Quays project eligible for an understanding in terms formulated by Sandby. The triumph of entering the city at the arrival of London Bridge and its *piazza* proved equally evocative of Sandby's description of architectural quality. His sixth lecture had as its objective to demonstrate that grandeur, magnificence and sublimity are the shared characteristics of all great endeavours in the history of building. Sandby wrote: "To produce magnificence in Buildings, greatness of dimensions seems to be the most essential requisite; for it is certain that in viewing few parts, & those but small, the imagination cannot soar to the Idea of infinity, which must be produced to excite magnificence."[71]

For his plans Dance might have looked at projects in other European cities: the *Porto di Ripetta* in Rome with its characteristic crescent stairs receding into the water or the *Place Royale* of Ange-Jacques Gabriel in Bordeaux, which incorporated the river front within the city. The most compelling example, however, might have been the *Praça do Commercio* in Lisbon. Here, a new stage for public life was devised, merging the busy river activities with administrative buildings, arcades with shops and cafes, justice halls, a royal statue and public spectacles[72]. It shared with Dance's design a view of a modern world that portrayed the riches of public life in virtue of economic prosperity.

Yet the fundamental qualities of reconciling the economic power base with an architectural articulation were Dance's own. His design drawings, particularly in the third phase, show a boldness of geometry that is articulated spaciously by shadow markings indicating deep recesses of window bays. Literal symbolism such as was employed above the entrances of Newgate Gaol, has been obliterated in favour of repetitions of volumes that, in the drawings, bear the suggestion of a lively and changing spectacle on the journey through the port. Whereas at the London bridge scheme naval and city stood in mutual opposition, along the quays the never-ending grandness and riches of economic blossoming are celebrated – the celebrant being the vessel that arrives to bring even more economic prosperity.

By forcing the commercial activities into the straitjacket of unarticulated masses, Dance spoke out a powerful message of equality to the represented enterprises and the governors: they could not do without each other. Thus we return

71 Ibid., lecture 6
72 Barry Bergdoll, *European Architecture 1750 - 1890*, *op. cit.*, p. 52-3

to both the idea of simplicity leaving a directly gauged impression on the mind, and the ethical justifications of architecture, here expressed through equality of power. Whereas the church of All Hallows abided primarily in the first, and both Newgate Gaol and St. Luke's hospital hinted at the latter, the Legal Quays schemes incorporate both sides of the spectre, and thus bring together the means that Dance employed to the end of making his designs appropriate.

Monuments and Chimeras Dire

Although few of his buildings have survived, Dance was a prolific architect, and spent much of his time in his role of Clerk of the City Works. The foregoing chapters have been devoted to some of the most expressive of these works. Dance and his office had, however, also been intensively busy with urban works of minor interest to the profession, such as many of the small restorations and restructurings of London's roads and the ongoing maintenance of public buildings. Those matters involved little design work. Yet beside his practical attitude to the discipline, he seems also to have had an extensive interest in design practice. One can gauge his broad perspective on architectural matters from a look at his library, but when it comes to the topic at hand – the adaptation of his maxim to liberate the profession from restraining rules towards a design method – there is another, fruitful bundle of sources available. He has committed to paper many sketches, test-designs, less serious designs and engagements in seemingly trivial affairs, which bear interesting traces in light of his proclamation.

With respect to the establishment of correct features of art, independent of the specific subject of that art, Dance was well aware of the work of Johann Kaspar Lavater on physiognomy[73]. The work stressed the uniqueness and the wholeness of each individual: "Every minute part has the nature and character of the whole. [..] Each trait contains the whole character of man."[74] The emphasis on distinction that Lavater stressed revealed itself in the portraits that Dance made of his colleagues, patrons and fellow Royal Academicians. Though sketchily drawn, and apparently no more than a pleasant past-time, the portraits reveal traits of men that, in light of Lavater's implications, might have been well understood by Dance and his

73 John Graham, "Lavater's Physiognomy in England", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 22, no. 4, 1961, p. 561-72, p. 562 shows how widespread the works of Lavater were throughout Europe. In the 1780s, two English editions were published. In the 1790s, twelve new versions were brought to the market, from 5 different translations.

74 Quoted from ibid., p. 563

contemporaries as traits in character, rather than mere facial features. Lavater focused on one other aspect of the unity of each individual being:

"The finger of one body is not adapted to the hand of another body. Each part of an organized body is an image of the whole, has the character of the whole. The blood in the extremity of the finger has the character of the blood in the heart. The same congeniality is found in the nerves, in the bones.[75]

The unity of the whole, the arrangement of fitting parts together, even the congruence of the visible parts of a body with the structural system underneath, could all be readily applied to architecture as well. Indeed, the description of appropriate union as recalled by Lavater reminds us of the fitting propriety in the opening lines of Horace's *Ars Poetica*:

> *"If a painter were willing to join a horse's neck to a human head and spread on multicolored feathers, with different parts of the body brought in from anywhere and everywhere, so that what starts out as a beautiful woman ends up horribly as a black fish, could you my friends, if you had been admitted to the spectacle, hold back your laughter?"*[76]

As the practitioner of physiognomy had to regard details in order to fully captivate the character of his study, so the portrait drawer had to search for fit propriety in his study. The architect's job was somewhat removed from this, as he had to invent without a study model to work from. Yet his task remained the same, and his qualities were expressed in similar terms. As Soane reminded himself after reading a note by Le Camus de Mézières, "how much more sensible [would it be] if we united Architecture, Painting and Sculpture? Who could then resist this triple magic whose illusions make the mind feel almost every sensation which is known to us?"[77] If judgement happens in the mind, and the mind does not make sensual differences between the arts, it seems unreasonable for the artist to do so.

Three specific sketches, one not directly related to architecture and the other not connected to any specific project, show in particular how the combination of mood and setting fused among the arts. Their respective settings recall the occasion that is depicted in perfect correspondence. The first shows an interior of a hall in a gothic mood and happy characters joint in an exuberant dinner. The characters all wear pointy beards, which direct us to the citation below the drawing: "Merry in the

75 Quoted from ibid., p. 563
76 Quoted from Horace, *Ars Poetica*, *op. cit.*, p. 7
77 Quoted from David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 213

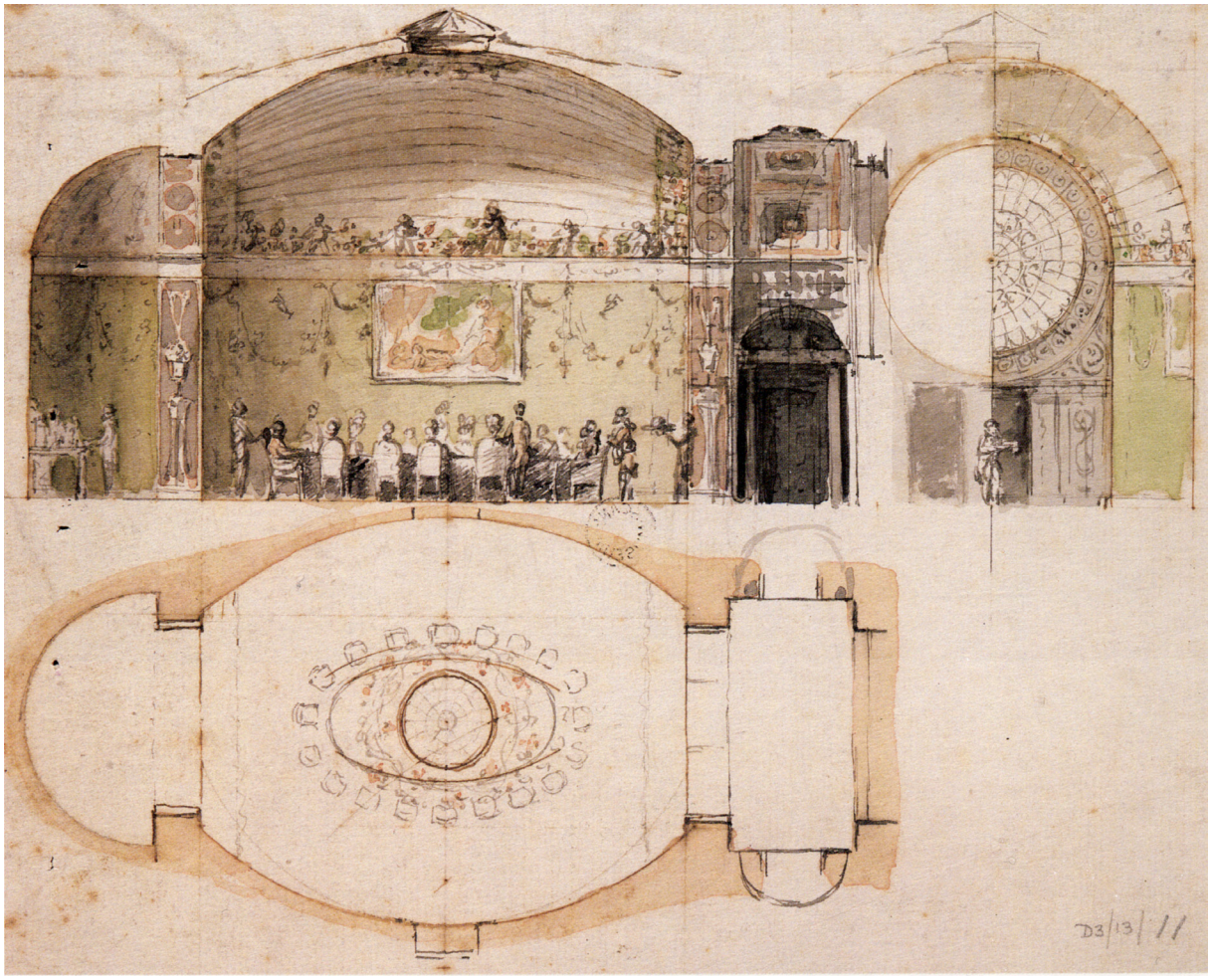
22. "Merry in the Hall, when Beards wag all". Sketch by Dance

23. Sketch of Guildhall administration, drawn by Dance, undated.

Hall, when Beards wag all". The proverb, stemming from a play by Shakespeare[78], was associated strongly with mediaeval castles and setting. For instance, Jospeph Nicholson wrote in 1777: "In all of them [old houses in the northern parts] was one large room, called the hall, where they transacted all business, and according to the laudable practice of hospitality, entertained and feasted their friends and dependents; hence came the proverb"[79]. For Dance, then, it was a matter of appropriateness to

78 Henry IV, part 2, Act 5, Scene III: "For women are shrews, both short and tall: / 'Tis merry in hall when beards wag all"

79 Joseph Nicolson and Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland and Cumberland in Two Volumes*, Vol. 1, London: W. Strahan, 1777, p. 225



24. Design for a dining room, drawn by Dance, undated.

25. Drawings from the album "The Sublime & Beautyful", drawn by Dance, undated

clad an image of this quotation in a guise that belonged to such castles, with pointed arches and dark recesses.

A second sketch depicted a congregation of city administrators in Guildhall. Here, the depiction of the governors' garments – plain, unadorned – is mirrored in the likewise plain geometry of the hall. The space delimited by the arches and apse has a curvature equal to the arrangement of the seats.

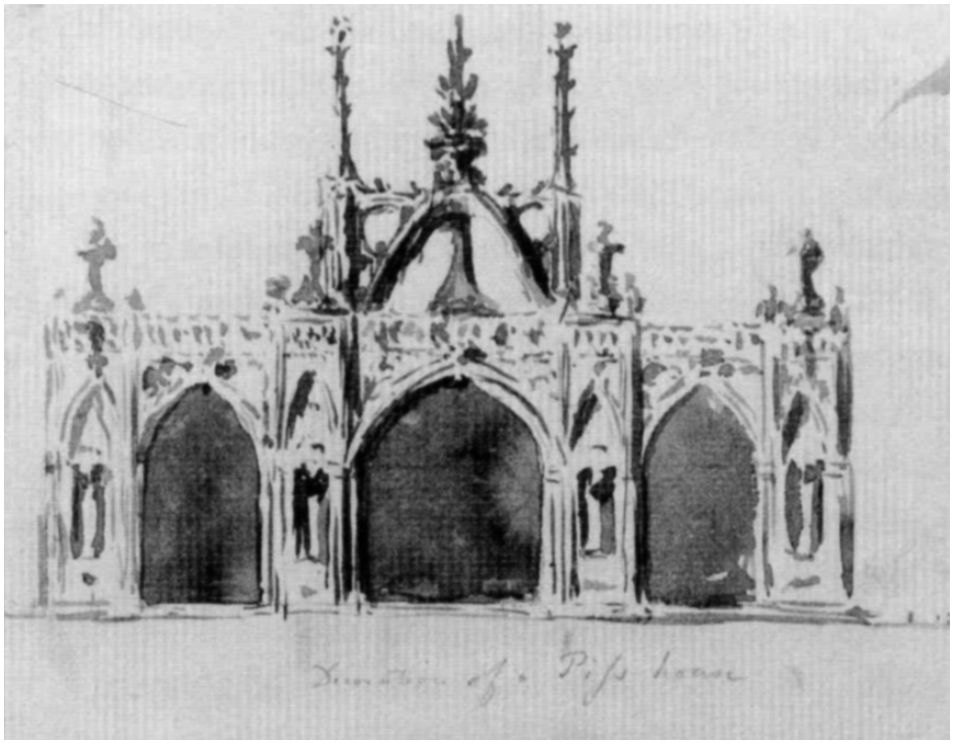
But the third image draws the closest resemblance between space and occupation. A convivial gathering joined for a banquet around an elliptical table, is enclosed in a space that has the shape, outline and incisions of a wine cask. Setting, occasion and architecture fuse seamlessly into one, here translated in drawings that could find immediate application in design.

Dance produced a sketchbook with a series of humorous, caricatural pencil drawings in the 1790s[80]. The scrapbook contained over a hundred small drawings, devoted not so much to the philosophical theme of the sublime or aesthetics in general, but to some of the fears or emotions that resembled early Gothic horror stories. Indeed, among the returning characters in the sketches are frightening skeletons and thrilled women, though other sketches are mere caricature drawings. Gathered in the same volume are the profile drawings Dance made of fellow Royal Academicians. Compared to other satirical sketches of the day, such as those by the contemporary caricaturist James Gillray, the caricatures miss political acuteness or the sharp undertone of a political message. Instead, the sketches ridicule members of the Royal Academy, and others within the close circle of the Dance's, without the harshness characteristic of sharp satire. The book's subtitle gives some idea of the author's intention:

> *"These Gigs, & odd Roaring, Ranting, Smiling, Frowning, Cap'ring Sluts, Booby's, Kings, &c. with Chimera's dire! have been all drawn by Geo. Dance Esq. R.A. except those marked with other names, or initials."*

It is in line with these sketches and caricatures that some more frivolous designs had been made. This is the case with a sketch by Dance for a lavatory, inscribed "Decoration of a Piss house"[81], a loosely ornamented semi-circular wall with three pointed arches and a steeple flanked by two crinkled pinnacles, and similarly with a humorous response to the overly stylized mausoleum design that

80 George Dance, *The Sublime & Beautiful*, London: Royal Academy Collection, 07/4342
81 Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 364, [113]



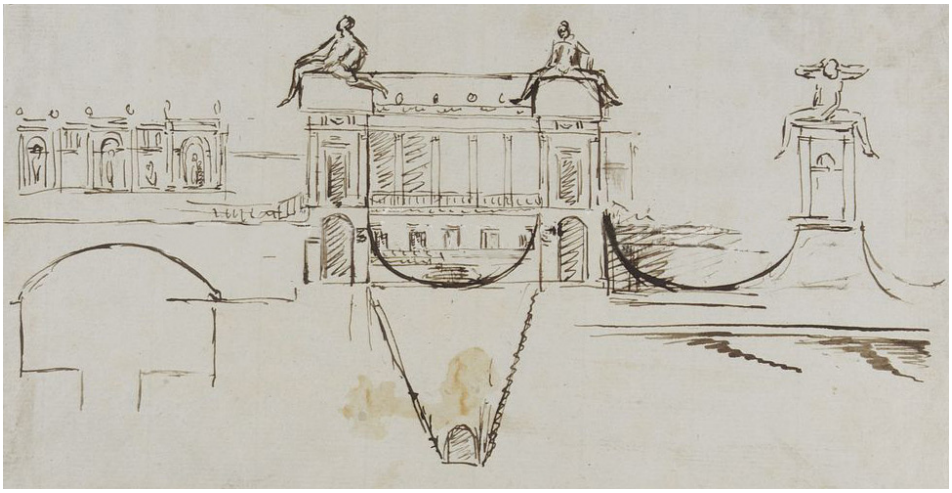
26. Design for a lavatory, drawn by Dance, undated.

John Soane made in 1776, to which Dance responded with a sketch inscribed "a surprising antique Edifice in the Middle of the Desart (sic) of Arabia adjoin'd wth Colossal figures of exquisite sculpture."[82]

The light-hearted and trivial character of these sketches notwithstanding, in all of these there is a close and direct relationship between comment and drawing, as if intention could be assessed from a drawing in a direct way, and consequently, that this intention was notable through the characters and entourage that accompanied the purely architectural elements of the drawing. As noted with the interior drawings of churches before, Dance used to incorporate figures in his drawings, even those that did not have spatial depth. It could be expected that his challenge was to make the drawing more easily accessible, but here we might find that the figures were meant to complement the reconciliation of space and occupation. A beholder of the drawing, perhaps not versed in architecture but obviously well-acquainted with custom and garment, would then also be able to assess the appropriateness of the architecture, independent of his architectural knowledge.

Thus the entanglement of rules and architecture dissolved as public, users, or laymen were enabled to judge these drawings in their own right. With this assumption in mind, we can take a closer look to his more architecturally driven sketches, such

82 Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 166



27. Satirical design for a mausoleum, drawn by Dance, undated.

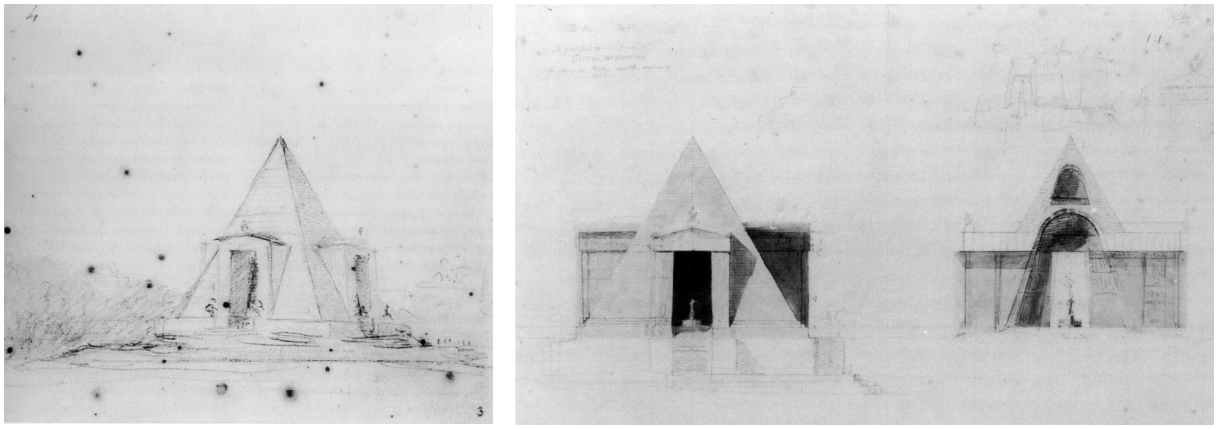
as some of his designs for memorials. Dance's most spectacular mausoleum design[83] is unlike most eighteenth century mausoleums that use the precedent of the temple, pyramid or rotunda. Instead the design is rich in non-architectural symbolism. Lions guard the door to the mausoleum; a snake circles around the base, biting its own tail; a mourning figure sits on top of the door and in the blind lantern stand female allegories in military guise. But it is not so much the building as well as the setting that gives the drawing of the design an eerie feeling. The mausoleum is surrounded by pine trees. It stands not on top of a hill, but halfway in a small cove. The clouds suggest the verge of a storm, as do the bending trees in the background. The fading light and darkening shades of green sadden the viewer. Symbolism and expression merge. Symbolically, the drawing provides a very literal sense of its purport: here lies someone buried. Expressively, it emanates a presence of mourning.

The stress on situation in this drawing is particularly remarkable, as Dance made very few drawings that betray a direct concern for environment. The effect here is achieved not only by the work of architecture itself, but also by its close surrounding: work and context join to produce the same effect.

Dance had been occupied with the design of several other monuments and public memorials. All of these remained on paper; only few can be identified with actual projects Dance was working on. In these designs in particular, the active involvement of a public was contemplated. His monument for George Washington offers quite a contrast with the unidentified monument discussed above. The

83 Two sketch drawings for a similar design also survive. The sketches are listed among Harold D. Kalman, *Catalogue of the drawings collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects. C-F*, *op. cit.*, p. 63, no. 120-1; the presentation drawing is listed in Jill Lever, *Catalogue*, *op. cit.*, p. 102, [29]

28. Unidentified mausoleum, elevation, drawn by Dance, ca. 1785.



29. Mausoleum for George Washington, sketch and design drawings, drawn by Dance, 1800.

sketches show hardly any background, and the design is an utmost form of reduction to a primitive base, the pyramid. In the centre of the huge building (36 meters high), within a conical interior space, stands a magnificent statue of Washington. The four colossal entrances mimic monoliths of archaic character. Between them, these mausoleums show opposite ways of dealing with sensations of awe and profound impression: the one through icons that refer to memories of pride, strength and eternity, settled in a gloomy environment that endorses its character, the other through impressions of grand scale, monumental disengagement and a single, solemn statue.

The sketchy and unbound character of the monuments and mausoleums that Dance designed give an insight of his method in capturing the mood, whilst entirely freed from the limitations of reality and only concerned with the evocation of effect.

Dance discussed design issues for the Bank of England with John Soane, who, from 1788 onward functioned as the surveyor of the bank[84]. In the sketches for the bank, each remnant of architectural order has been lost. A careful moulding of space remained, with incised decorative lines that did not resemble pilasters or other weight-bearing elements, but only offered the walls and domes geometric and rhythmic subdivisions.

The strongest model in case, however, is an undated sketch design for a mausoleum. Its sheer size alone is pressing, as can be witnessed from the quickly drawn figures on the bottom, but what is most remarkable about the sketch is that it has lost even the last distinction between wall and dome, that still offered the sketches for the Bank of England some structural reassurance. This sketch can only

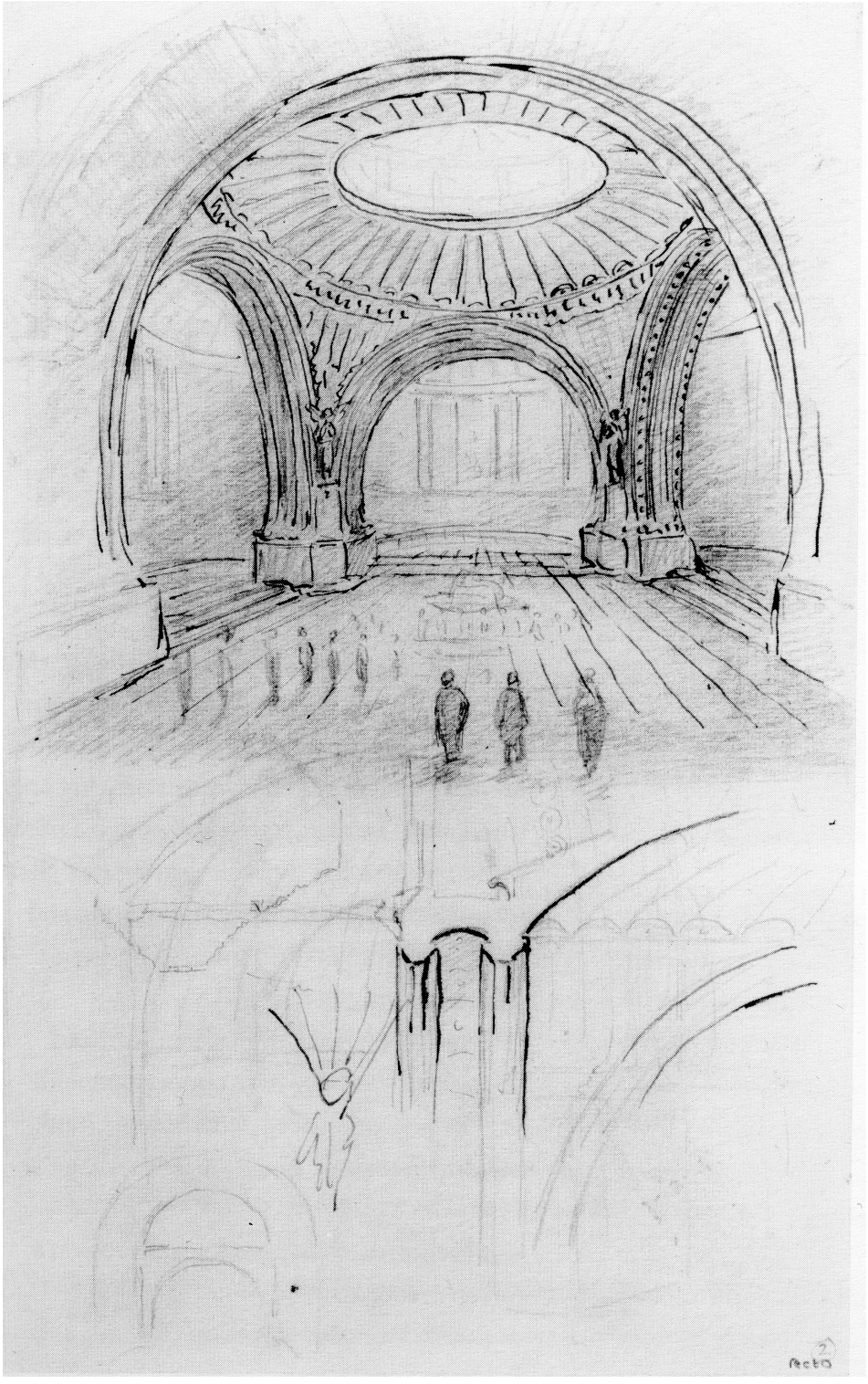
84 Jill Lever, "The Soane-Dance Collaboration, 1771-1799", *op. cit.*, p. 169

be compared with the upper storey of Nicolas Le Camus de Mézières's Halle aux Blés in Paris, built in 1763-7[85]. It is telling, in this respect, to note the interest by John Soane in the theory of Le Camus, whose book *Le Génie de l'architecture* related sensation with character[86]. It is unknown whether Dance was acquainted with the book, because it is not in his library and Soane started studying it only after 1807, but the stress that Le Camus laid on light as the key element to determine the character of buildings must have struck a familiar note.

The sketches show an understanding of qualities of space that require a visualization of design as a mobile activity rather than a passive arithmetic. Yet there is almost no discussion of space in English architectural literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, but for the philosophical discussion on the subject by John Locke known to Dance. In a description that persisted in the eighteenth century, Locke understood space in terms of haptic perception[87], not in terms of optical impression. The distinction between visual and haptic perception mirror in the means that Dance choose in order to visualize the monument, in perspectival rather than parallel projection. Whereas the latter is primarily concerned with measurement of objects, the first deals with the character of transformation that is inherent in images[88]. Parallel drawings provide exact measurement and thus sure ground for building, and correspondingly its projective counterpart allowed for a subjective stance to be considered.

Dance's unidentified sketches imply a sense of handling of space that is not restricted by geometrical exactitudes. The sketches deal with space not in terms of tangible solids, but in terms of its reverse - of what is not there, of "void spaces"[89]. Its handling is visible already in Dance's treatment of interior spaces of country houses such as Cranbury Park, and of public assembly rooms, such as the Common Council Chamber of Guildhall. In the ballroom of Cranbury Park every intention to portray an order in the canonical sense is reduced to thin incisions in the wall relief. In the Guildhall Common Council Chamber, similarly, the traditional tripartite construction of a dome (arc, pendentive and dome) is obliterated into one fluent gesture, from the floor to the oculus in the top. The similarity between the geometry of the dome and the *cul-de-four* in Jean-Baptiste de la Rue's *Traité de la coupe des pierres* from 1728 has been noted as a source, but in following projects and sketches by Dance the geometrical pattern is incorporated without any reference to its supposed volumetric

85 Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, *op. cit.*, p. 116
86 David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 211
87 John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Humane Understanding*, *op. cit., book II, chapter XIII*
88 Robin Evans, *The Projective Cast: Architecture and Its Three Geometries*, *op. cit.*, p. 351
89 A term coined by Soane in his lectures. See David Watkin, *Sir John Soane: enlightenment thought and the Royal Academy lectures*, *op. cit.*, p. 602



30. Preliminary designs for an unidentified mausoleum, drawn by Dance, undated.

31. Guildhall Common Council Chamber, interior perspective, 1778

32. Cranbury Park, ceiling of ballroom, 1776-81

precedence[90]. Visually, the result corresponds to Dance's Council Chamber, but that seems merely a single instance. The Cranbury Park ballroom ceiling, the receding cross-vaults in the roof of All Hallows, the half-domes above the apses in Lansdowne Library all conceived a similar result as the Guildhall dome without the geometrical analogy.

If the spatial quality of curved walls and ceilings, fused together in a single gesture, has one requirement, it is the great trust in the architect to visualize the effects in a proper manner. Yet, at the same time, those visualizations speak immediately to the beholder, requiring no knowledge of the building trade, their descriptive means of drawings, or understanding of the sectional representations of buildings. They present an idea of a building as-is: immediate, unrestrained, and conceived by architectural genius. It is through these designs that Dance's architecture becomes truly unshackled.

90 See Robin Middleton and David Watkin, *Architecture of the nineteenth century*, *op. cit.*, p. 198-9. De la Rue took half a dome and cut off slices such that a square ground plan remained.

33. Rough perspective by Dance, showing a three-storey concave front with a tunnel-like entrance, design sketch for a mausoleum to the memory of James King by John Soane, 1776?

Conclusions

In his study of Dance, George Teyssot claimed that "architecture unshackled" as professed by Dance implied an arbitrary eclecticism. The economic situation after the turn of the century would have forced Dance to relinquish his standards of taste. His derision of rules led to treatment of architecture as commodity, answering only to the will of the commissioner[1]. The demanding nature of the market widened the availability of architectural vocabulary. Teyssot takes Soane's word as symptomatic: "This is indebted by the economic system, which has unleashed an orgy of speculative construction and, fatally, reached the abolition of each trace of good Taste and sound construction"[2]. The diagnosis of Manfredo Tafuri's *Progetto e utopia* resounds in the conclusion: architectural thought has ceased to have any power in capitalist society[3]:

1 Georges Teyssot, *Città e utopia nell'illuminismo inglese: George Dance il giovane*, Roma: Officina, 1974, p. 144

2 Teyssot quotes Soane from his academy lectures: "Questo è dovuto al sistema economico, il quale ha scatenato un'orgia di costruzioni speculativi e, fatalmente, si è giunti all'abolizione di ogni traccia di buon gusto e di salde costruzioni." Ibid., p. 138, my own translation. Coincidentally, the Italian "scatenato" returns in Teyssot's translation of architecture unshackled as "architettura scatenata".

3 Andrew Leach, *Manfredo Tafuri. Choosing History*, Ghent: Department of Architecture & Urbanism, Ghent University, 2007, p. 37

> *"Il frammentismo prefigurato ideologicamente diviene collezione di oggetti immediatamente consumabili, senza significati, sparsi nel 'cimitero archeologico' della metropoli. La profezia contenuta nel Campo Marzio piranesiano deflagra nella molteplicità dei meccanismi economici della città capitalista, in formazione, sprofonda finalmente nell' impurità assoluta."*[4]

Though written over forty years ago, the conclusion has left its marks on the historiography of Dance, to the extent that Jill Lever in her recent catalogue typifies his work "safely" as "eclectic"[5], but this characterization does not do justice to the efforts that the architect himself took in his education, nor in carefully aligning the expectations of his audience with the experience that his designs would evoke. Indeed, neither does the characterization take into account contemporary critique, which, as I have tried to show, took a fundamental role in the design process. Rather than expressing unabridged and whimsical freedom that took the character of fashion instead of taste, the maxim "architecture unshackled" stood between the freedom of an architect in his artistic activity and the requirement of appropriateness in the judgement of his work. The first was achieved by the formation of the architectural profession and its careful positioning in society. George Dance in particular followed a training that enabled him to discuss, shape and engage in the architectural scene at the highest level. He was held in high regard amongst his colleagues and clients for his knowledge, abilities and artistic vigour. The liberty of an architect, for Dance, was based on these three tenets and could be propagated accordingly: the architect, being capable of making proper decisions, and held in such esteem, must be allowed the freedom to create and judge his own works.

The appropriateness that allowed the architect to make proper design decisions emerged from critical approval, and therefore from the effect it had on those who assessed it. For Dance, the effect that a building had on its beholder seems to have been of great interest. All Hallows reflected mystifying esteem in its illumination; Newgate Gaol showed gloomy sternness, St. Luke's Hospital vivid well-being. The power of state and commerce merged on the Legal Quays as its wealth did on the banks of London Bridge. Mausoleums inspired solemn awe; lavatories and dog houses evoked a satirical smile. In the approach, little difference existed between the arts. The expressive countenance that Dance invested in his architectural projects was matched by a similar countenance in his caricatural and

4 Georges Teyssot, *George Dance il giovane, op. cit.*, p. 145

5 Jill Lever, *Catalogue of the drawings of George Dance the Younger (1741-1825) and of George Dance the Elder (1695-1768): from the collection of Sir John Soane's Museum*, Oxford: Azimuth, 2003, p. 388

satirical sketches, as well as in his famed portrait drawings. Indeed, even the march he composed for the king was met with approval for its nationalistic character. Dance did not arrive at different premises for different arts; he found but one, that of expressive countenance, and found its proper application by use of his artistic talents. It is within this frame that “architecture unshackled” has to be understood.

It is a pity that little work of Dance has survived, and that his most imaginative designs have not been executed, but the possibilities of paper designs offered him an opportunity to create architectural instances that reveal their effect in the most powerful way. Through drawings, he was able to communicate the effects of his buildings with commissioners and colleagues alike. Moreover, he was able to attain a sense of space that had direct effect on the perceiver. Drawing, the medium that once enabled architects to elevate themselves from the builder’s trade, now allowed Dance to unshackle architecture from its trivial rules and offered himself “the greatest opportunities of producing the most powerful effort of the human mind”.

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Archives, primary sources, secondary literature & illustrations

Several archives contain works by Dance. In addition several catalogues have been published that enlist some of his works, mainly surviving drawings. Drawings by Dance in the RIBA collection are catalogued by Kalman (1973), and include the invaluable grangerised copy of Leoni's translation of Palladio. Drawings by Dance in the SM collection are catalogued by Lever (2003), and are referenced in the text within square brackets, as they are in the catalogue. During my research, I have consulted the following archives and catalogues:

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- Royal Academy Archives, London
- Royal Institute of British Architects, Library Drawings and Archives Collections, London
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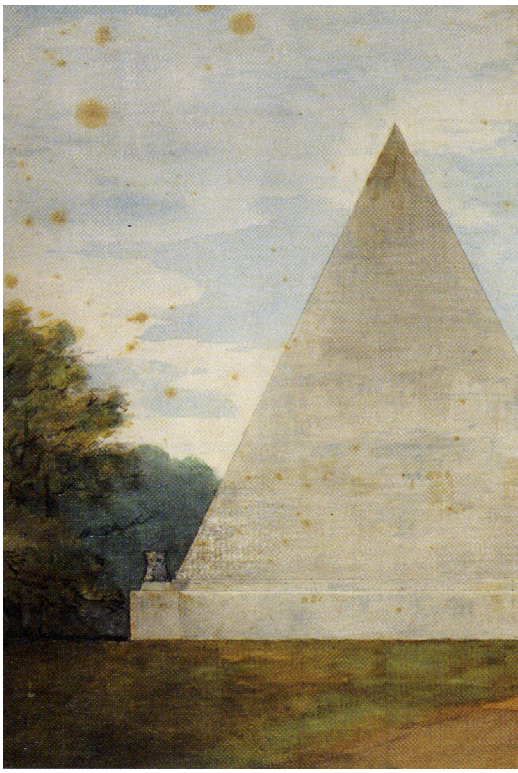
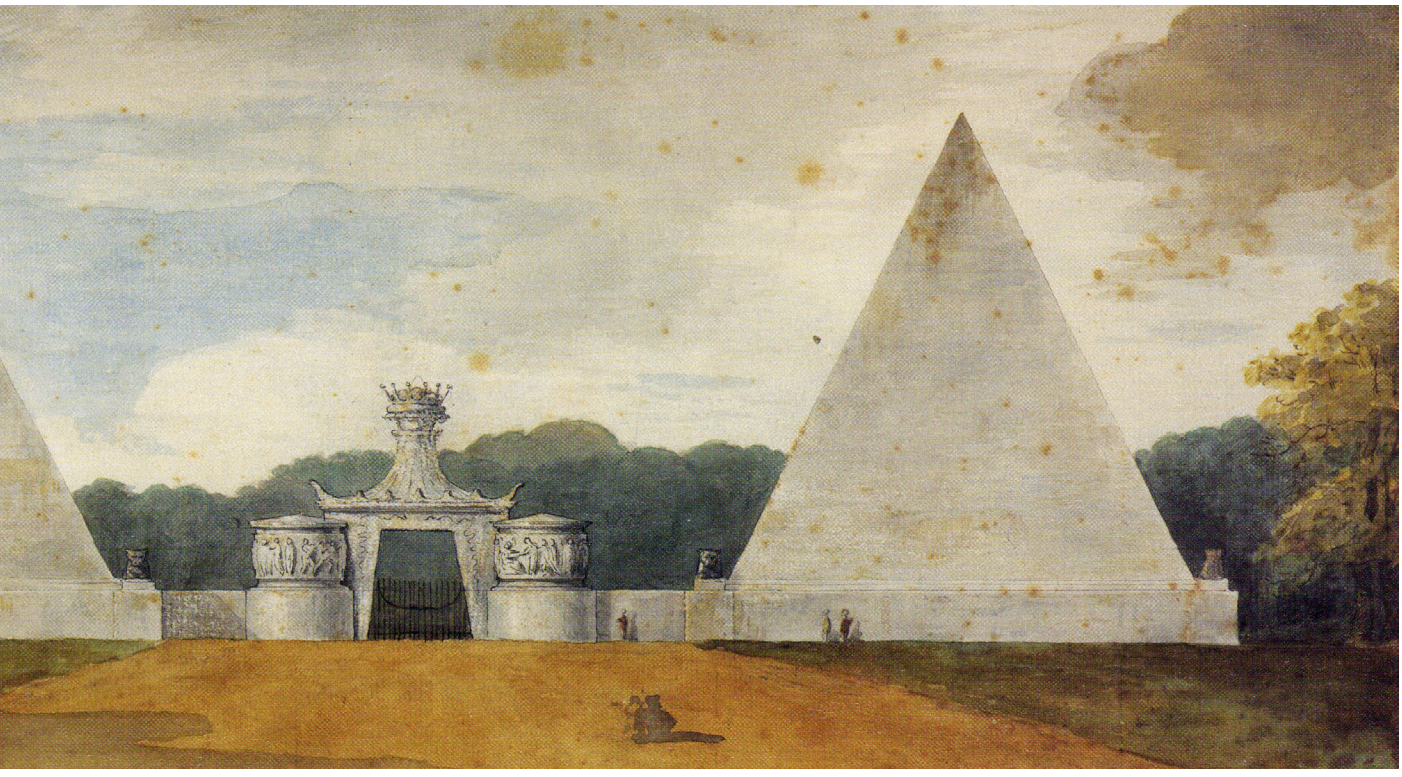


34. Design for a monumental entrance, possibly for the monument for George Washington, by Dance, 1800?



George Dance in Italy

1758

December • set out for Italy to join his brother Nathaniel in Florence

1759

April • met Robert Mylne (on his return) in Florence. Headed out for Rome.

May • Arrived in Rome, where he lived at no. 77, Strada Felice until 1763

1760

October • First mention of his teacher, Nicolò Giansimone

November • Joined Piranesi to climb the scaffolding on Temple of Jupiter

1761

October • met Thomas Pitt, later Lord Camelford, for whom he drew the Galleria Colonna

1762

Spring • went to Porto Antio, where he met the elderly Cardinal Corsini and his two nephews, Cardinal Corsini and Prince Corsini, Grand Prior of Malta

Autumn • went to Tivoli, to draw the temple of Vesta

1763

April • sent a winning design for a public gallery to Parma

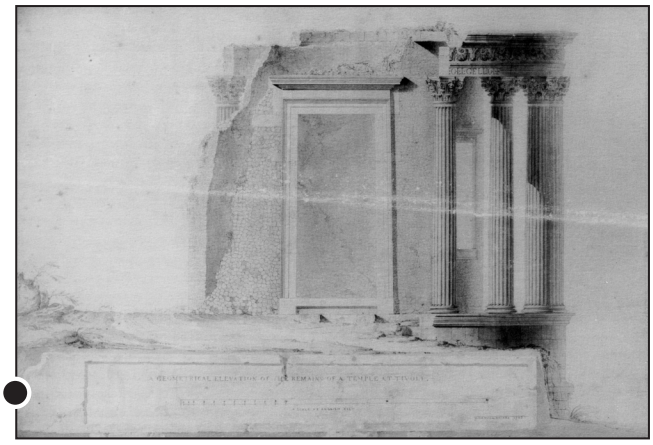
1764

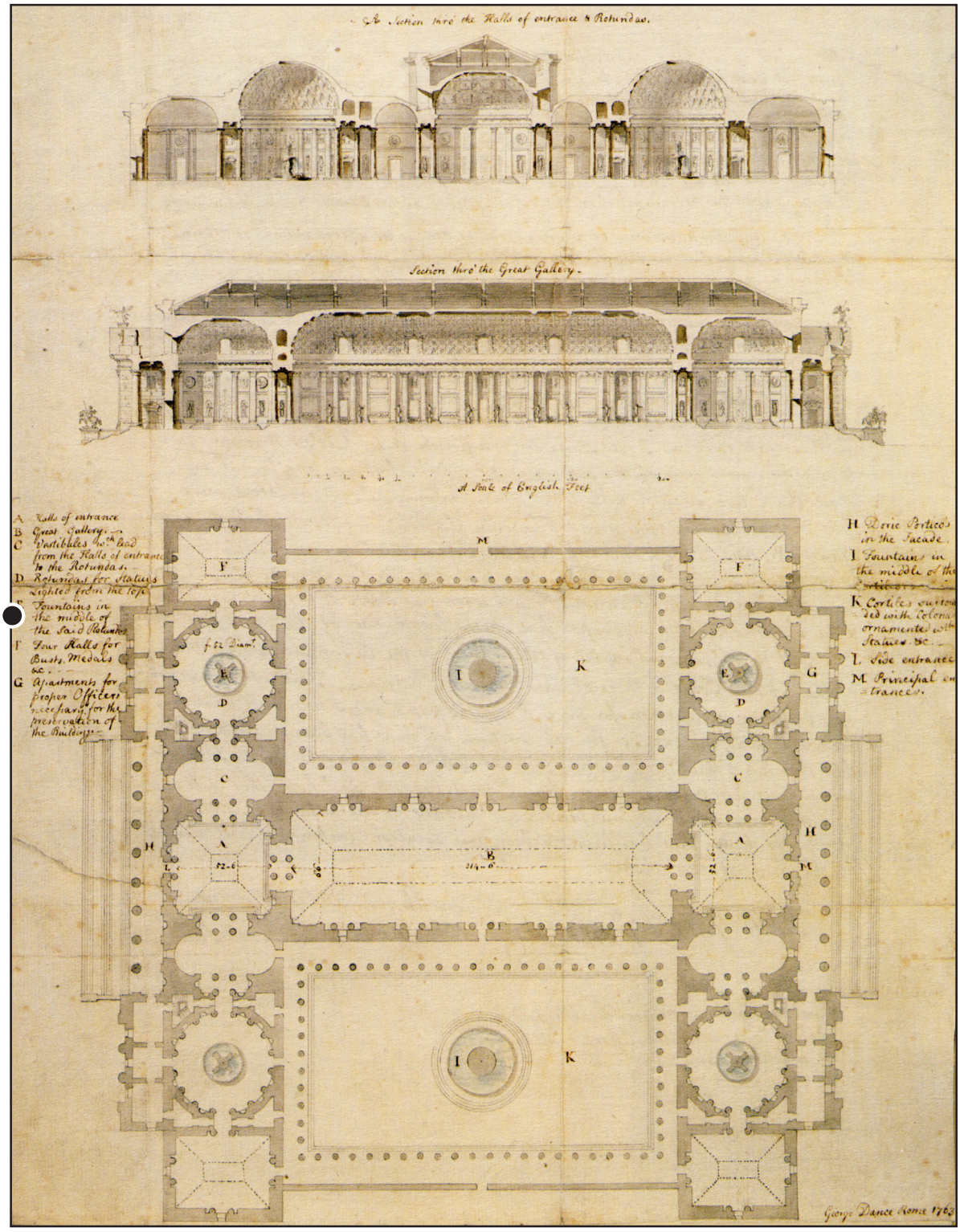
June • went to Naples

Autumn • elected member of the Academy of St. Luke and the Arcadian College

1765

February • departed for England

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Section thro' the Great Gallery.
A Scale of English Feet
A Halls of entrance
B Great Gallery
C Vestibules &c. Lead from the Halls of entrance to the Rotundas.
D Rotundas for Statues Lighted from the Top
E Fountains in the middle of the Said Rotundas
F Four Halls for Busts, Medals &c.
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Semple*, On Building in Water,* 1780
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Corneille*, Poemes Dramatiques,* 1748
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Macklin*, Man of the World,* 1793 (a play)
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Burrow*, On the Elgin Marbles,* 1817
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1. Politics, society

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Colquhoun, *Police of the Metropolis,* 1797
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Mirabeau, *De la Monarchie Prussiennne,* 1788
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Moore, *View of Society in France and Italy,* 1786-7
Von Troil, *Letters on Iceland,* 1780
Wilkes, *View of the Stage,* 1759

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Brumoy, *Greek Theatre. By Lennox,* 1759
Buffon, *Natural History. By Smellie,* 1785
Burney, *History of Music,* 1776
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Goldsmith, *History of the Earth and Animated Nature,* 1774
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Hooke, *Roman History,* 1757
Miller, *Retrospect of the XVIIIth Century,* 1805
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D'Alembert, *Traite de Dynamique,* 1796
Euclide, *Elementi Geometrici. Dal Grandi,* 1740
Euclid, *Geometry. By Cunn,* 1728
Doctrine of Motion, 1769
Fulton, *On Canal Navigation,* 1796
Girard, *Traité de la Resistance des Solides,* 1798
Grandi, *Instituzioni Geometriche,* 1740
Memmo, *Vita e Macchine di B. Ferracino,* 1754
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Newton, *On the Quadrature of Curves. By Stewart,* 1745
Saussure, *Voyage dans les Alpes,* 1796
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Chambers, *Cyclopaedia. By Rees,* 1786
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Pemberton, *View of Newton's Philosophy,* 1728

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Ganganelli, *Letters,* 1777
Savary, *Lettres sur l'Egypte,* 1786

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Le Sage, *Devil on Two Sticks,* 1780
Lobeira, *Amadis of Gaul,* by Southey, 1803
Marmontel, *Contes Moraux et Belisaire,* 1781
Memoirs de Du Guay Trouin, 1740
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Burges, *Riches,* 1807-16
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Dryden, *Prose Works. By Malone,* 1800
Foote, *Life of J. Hunter,* 1794
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Harleian, *Miscellany,* 1793
Hervey, *Works,* 1802
Koran
Smart, *Table of Interest,* 1780
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Spenser, *Works. With his Life and Notes by Todd,* 1805
Sterne, *Works,* with his life, 1790
The Artist, *Wants title,* 1807
Wilmot, *Memoirs of Sir J.E. Wilmot,* 1811

GEORGE DANCE • NOTABLE PROJECTS

ALL HALLOWS ON THE WALL
1768 • elision of architrave

NEWGATE GAOL
1768 • severe rustication • suppressive sensations

LANSDOWNE LIBRARY
1788 •

PUBLIC GALLERY
1762 • competition design • Parma Academy
Juxtaposition of shapes • varying lighting-schemes

COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER
1788 • continuing pendentives

FINSBURY SQUARE
1783 • crescent

1760 | 1770 | 1780

EARLY YEARS

- DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE
- DESIGN FOR A VILLA ON A TRIANGULAR PLAN
- VARIANT DESIGNS FOR A 'GENTLEMAN'S COUNTRY HOUSE'
- DESIGN FOR A GARDEN TEMPLE ON A TREFOIL PLAN
- DESIGN FOR A HOUSE (OFFICE?) WITH A SIDE ENTRANCE

ROME

- DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPIECES SENT FROM ROME
- BATHS OF CARACALLA
- FARNESE THEATRE
- TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA
- TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX
- TEMPLE OF HERCULES, CORA
- TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN
- COMPETITION DESIGN FOR A PALAZZO WITH A THEATRE
- UNIDENTIFIED PIAZZA
- PUBLIC GALLERY, PARMA ACADEMY
- TEMPLE OF VESTA

CLERK OF THE CITY WORKS

- ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, LONDON WALL
- ST MARTIN OUTWICH
- MEMORIAL FOR FRANK DUROURE
- MINORIES, DEVELOPMENT OF CRESCENT, CIRCUS
- LORD MAYOR'S COACH-HOUSE
- PITZHANGER MANOR
- NEWGATE GAOL
- FINSBURY ESTATE
- NEWGATE SESSIONS HOUSE
- ALMSHOUSES, 'FOUR DOUBLE', WHITECROSS STREET
- UNIDENTIFIED COUNTRY HOUSE
- CONDUIT MEAD ESTATE
- WEBB'S HOUSE
- BANNER STREET AND SQUARE
- PALMER, SHOP IN CITY
- CHLOMLEYS, SHOP FRONT
- PLOMER, SHOP IN CITY
- WARREN'S SHOP, MINORIES
- WESLEY'S CHAPEL
- GUILDHALL COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER
- CRANBURY PARK
- ST LUKE'S HOSPITAL FOR LUNATICS
- NEW STREETS
- JEWIN STREET & JEWIN CRESCENT
- FINSBURY SQUARE, ISLINGTON
- THOMAS MOORE, SHOP
- BOROUGH COMPTER
- UNIDENTIFIED MAUSOLEUM
- BRIDGE HOUSE ESTATE
- GILTSPUR STREET COMPTER

- CHAMBERLAIN'S COURT AND OFFICES FOR CLERK OF WORKS
- LANSDOWNE HOUSE, LIBRARY
- GUILDHALL, REBUILDING OF SOUTH FRONT

LEGAL QUAYS
1796 •

NEW LONDON BRIDGE
c. 1799 •

COLEORTON
c. 1802 • polygonal hall

ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS
1805 • museum • theatre

SHAKESPEARE GALLERY
1788 • ammonite order

ASHBURNHAM PLACE
1813 •

1790 1800 1810 1820

LONDON

SHAKESPEARE GALLERY, PALL MALL
BUNHILL FIELDS
ST BARTHOLOMEW-THE-LESS
PROCESSIONAL ROUTE TO ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT
HOLBORN IMPROVEMENTS, FORMATION OF SKINNER STREET
ST BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL AND SURGEONS THEATRE
MARTIN'S BANK
CHIMNEY PIECE, 22 ARLINGTON STREET
STRAND IMPROVEMENTS, TEMPLE BAR, PICKETT STREET
CHISWELL STREET
COUNTRY HOUSE FREEFOLK
COUNTRY HOUSE, BOWOOD; WITH LIBRARY
GUILDHALL JUSTICE ROOMS
MANSION HOUSE, ROOF OF THE EGYPTIAN HALL
ST MARGARET-AT-HILL COURT HOUSE, FACADE
LEGAL QUAYS, PORT OF LONDON
WEST INDIA DOCKS AND LIMEHOUSE CANAL
EAST INDIA HOUSE
COUNTRY HOUSE, PAUL (POSSIBLY TRENGWAINTON)
BILLINGSGATE MARKET, MARKET HOUSE AND EMBANKMENT
IMPROVEMENT OF THE PORT OF LONDON
NEW LONDON BRIDGE
FINSBURY CIRCUS
MAUSOLEUM FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON
ST GEORGE IN THE EAST, RECTORY
COLEORTON
33 HILL STREET, MAYFAIR, FOR FRANCIS BARING
ALFRED PLACE, NEAR TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD
LOWTHER CASTLE
ICKWORTH
MOUNT STEWART, COUNTY DOWN
STRATTON PARK
ST MARY THE VIRGIN
THEATRE ROYAL
LORD LONDONDERRY'S HOUSE, N. IRELAND
ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS
ST MARY THE VIRGIN
CHAPEL OF ST BARTHOLOMEW
EAST STRATTON, ESTATE COTTAGES
DESIGN FOR THE LONDON INSTITUTION
143 PICCADILLY AND MEWS, HYDE PARK CORNER
CAMDEN PLACE, CHISLEHURST
STRATTON PARK, GATE AND LODGE HOUSE, LONDON ROAD
STRATTON PARK, LODGE HOUSE, WINCHESTER ROAD
PRISON, ST PETER PORT
COUNTRY HOUSE FOR SIR THOMAS BARING
NORMAN COURT
WILDERNESS PARK
BAYHAM HALL
LAXTON HALL, ENTRANCE HALL
ASHBURNHAM PLACE
COMBE BANK
WHITECROSS STREET PENITENTIARY
10 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
KIDBROOK PARK
6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
LANGDOWN HOUSE

CITY WORKS & PRIVATE COMMISSIONS

GEORGE DANCE • CITY IMPROVEMENTS

1758
1760
1770
1780
1790

DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE
DESIGN FOR A VILLA ON A TRIANGULAR PLAN
VARIANT DESIGNS FOR A 'GENTLEMAN'S COUNTRY HOUSE'
DESIGN FOR A GARDEN TEMPLE ON A TREFOIL PLAN
DESIGN FOR A HOUSE (OFFICE?) WITH A SIDE ENTRANCE
DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPIECES SENT FROM ROME
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FARNESE THEATRE
TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA
TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX
TEMPLE OF HERCULES, CORA
TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN
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TEMPLE OF VESTA
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ST MARTIN OUTWICH
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NEWGATE GAOL

FINSBURY ESTATE

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WESLEY'S CHAPEL
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BRIDGE HOUSE ESTATE

GILTSPUR STREET COMPTER
CHAMBERLAIN'S COURT AND OFFICES FOR CLERK OF WORKS
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GUILDHALL, REBUILDING OF SOUTH FRONT
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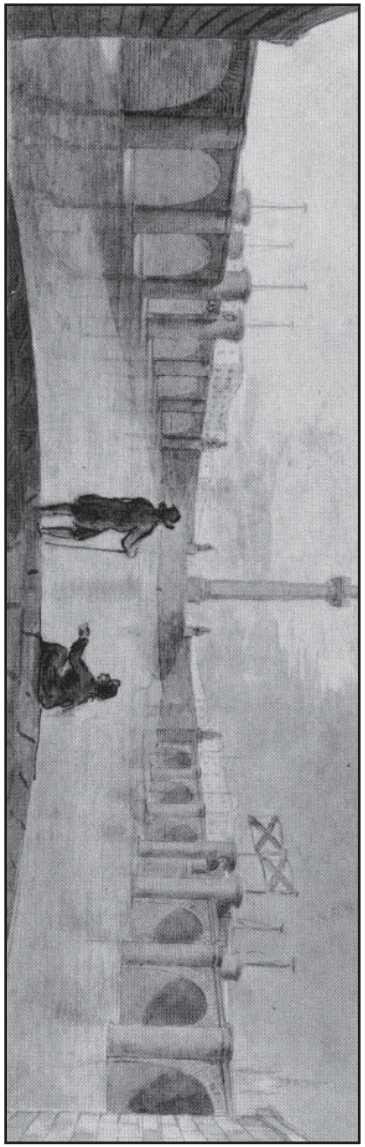
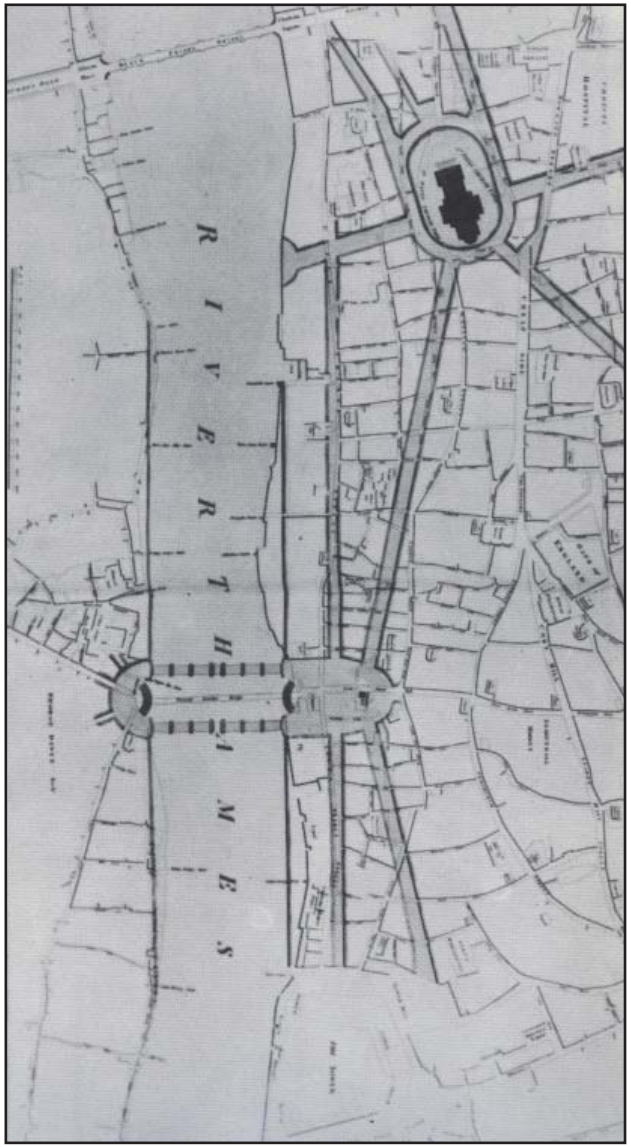
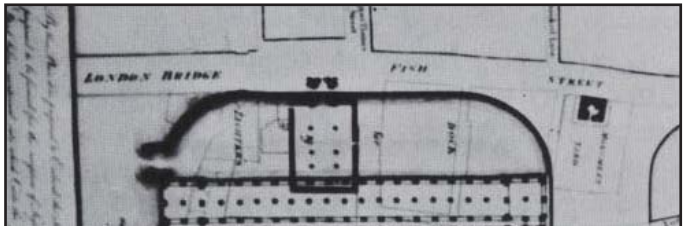
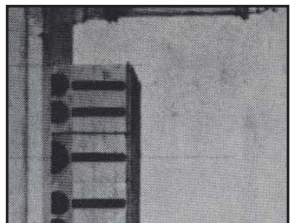
BUNHILL FIELDS
ST BARTHOLOMEW-THE-LESS
PROCESSIONAL ROUTE TO ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT









CAMDEN ESTATE DEVELOPMENT

FORMATION OF SKINNER STREET

ST BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL AND SURGEONS THEATRE
MARTIN'S BANK
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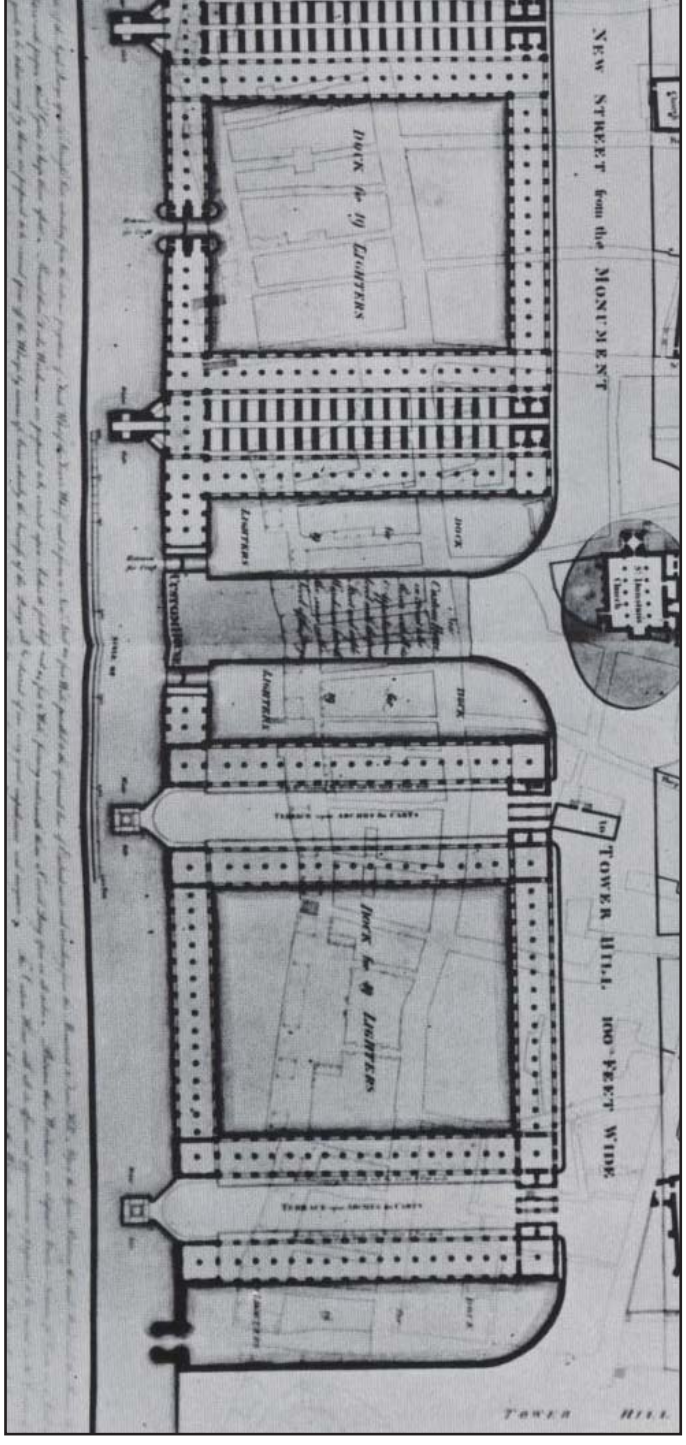
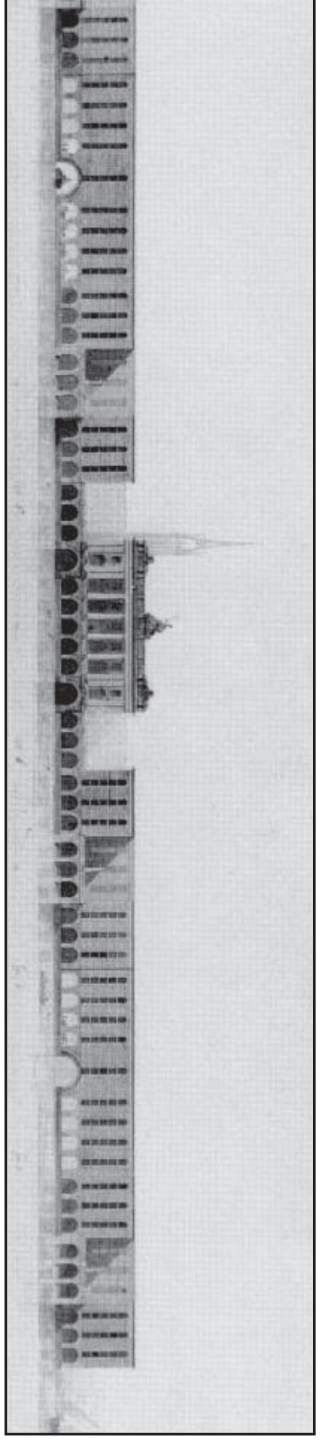
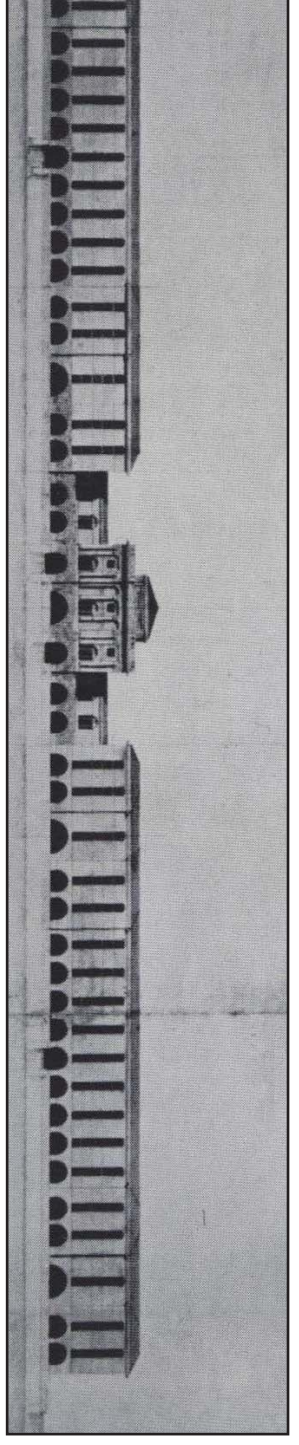
10 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
KIDBROOK PARK
6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
LANGDOWN HOUSE

1800
1810
1817

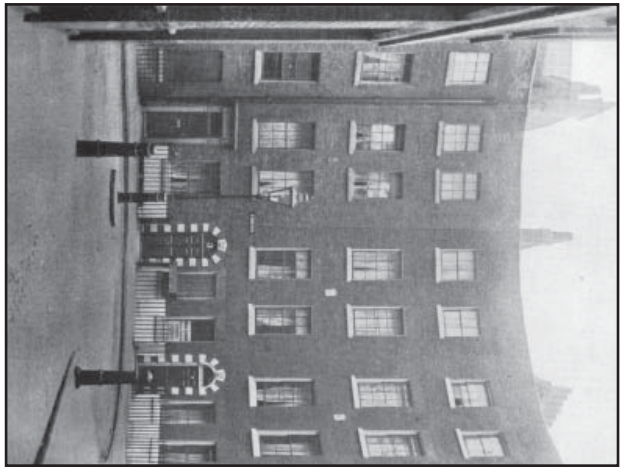
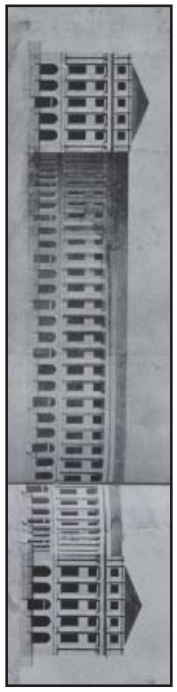
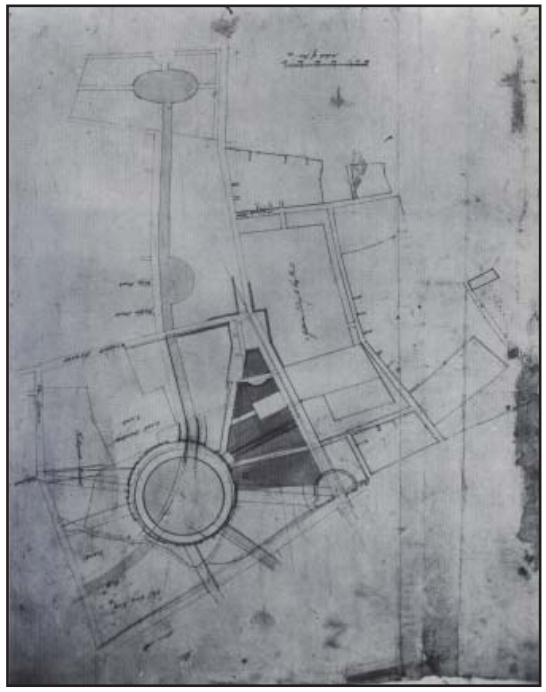
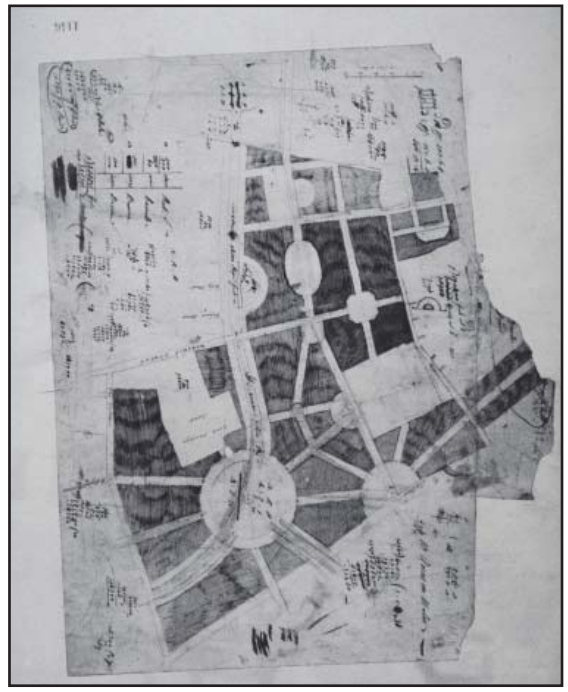






GEORGE DANCE • CRESCENT IN LONDON



1758

DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE
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DESIGN FOR A GARDEN TEMPLE ON A TREFOIL PLAN
DESIGN FOR A HOUSE (OFFICE?) WITH A SIDE ENTRANCE
DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPIECES SENT FROM ROME
BATHS OF CARACALLA
FARNESE THEATRE

1760

TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA
TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX
TEMPLE OF HERCULES, CORA
TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN
COMPETITION DESIGN FOR A PALAZZO WITH A THEATRE
UNIDENTIFIED PIAZZA
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TEMPLE OF VESTA
ALL HALLOWS CHURCH, LONDON WALL
ST MARTIN OUTWICH
MEMORIAL FOR FRANK DUROURE

MINORIES

LORD MAYOR'S COACH-HOUSE
PITZHANGER MANOR
NEWGATE GAOL

1770

FINSBURY ESTATE

NEWGATE SESSIONS HOUSE
ALMSHOUSES, 'FOUR DOUBLE', WHITECROSS STREET
UNIDENTIFIED COUNTRY HOUSE
CONDUIT MEAD ESTATE
WEBB'S HOUSE
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WESLEY'S CHAPEL
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CRANBURY PARK
ST LUKE'S HOSPITAL FOR LUNATICS
NEW STREETS
JEWIN STREET & JEWIN CRESCENT

1780

FINSBURY SQUARE

THOMAS MOORE, SHOP
BOROUGH COMPTER
UNIDENTIFIED MAUSOLEUM

BRIDGE HOUSE ESTATE

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ST BARTHOLOMEW-THE-LESS
PROCESSIONAL ROUTE TO ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL

1790

CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT

CAMDEN ESTATE DEVELOPMENT

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EAST INDIA HOUSE

COUNTRY HOUSE, PAUL (POSSIBLY TRENGWAINTON)

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PRISON, ST PETER PORT

COUNTRY HOUSE FOR SIR THOMAS BARING

NORMAN COURT

WILDERNESS PARK

BAYHAM HALL

LAXTON HALL, ENTRANCE HALL

ASHBURNHAM PLACE

COMBE BANK

WHITECROSS STREET PENITENTIARY

10 ST JAMES'S SQUARE

KIDBROOK PARK

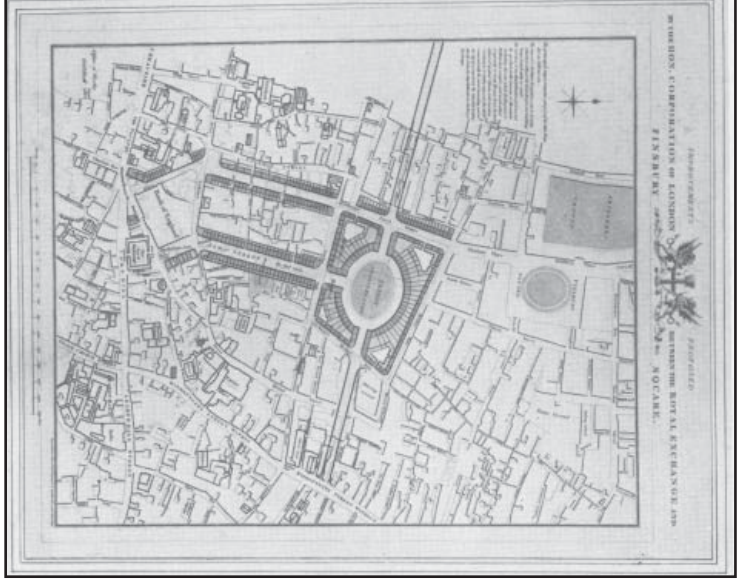
6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE

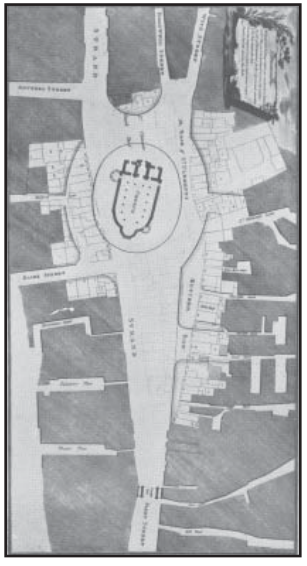
LANGDOWN HOUSE

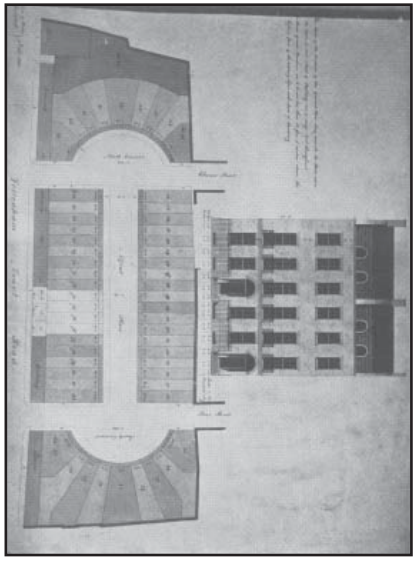
1800

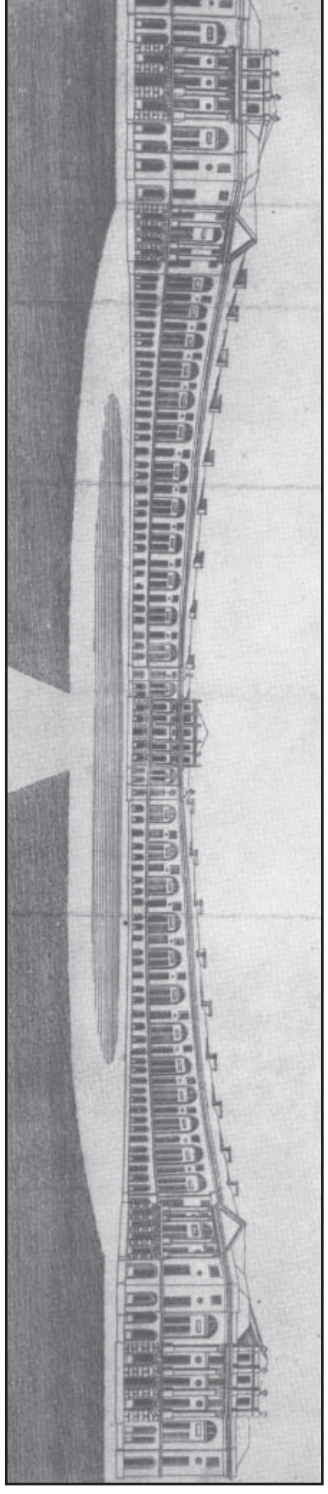
1810

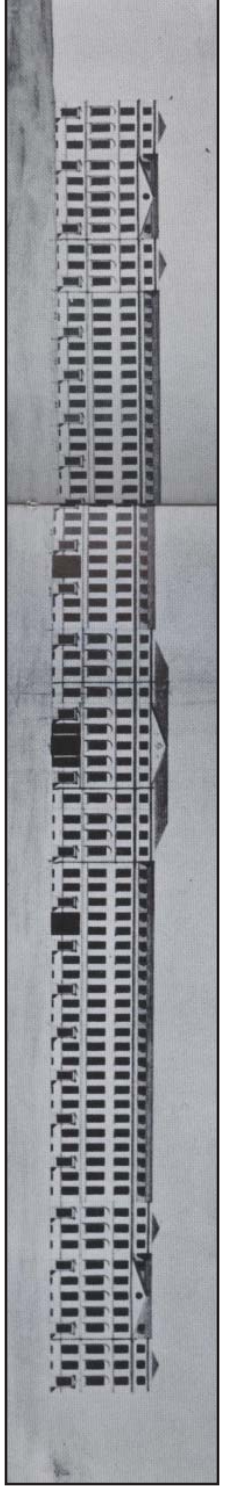
1817



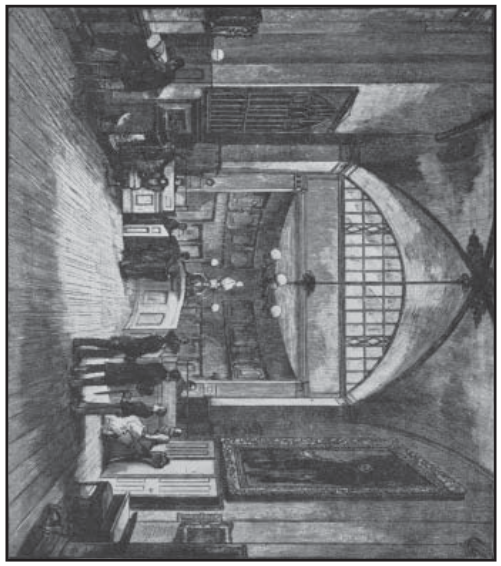


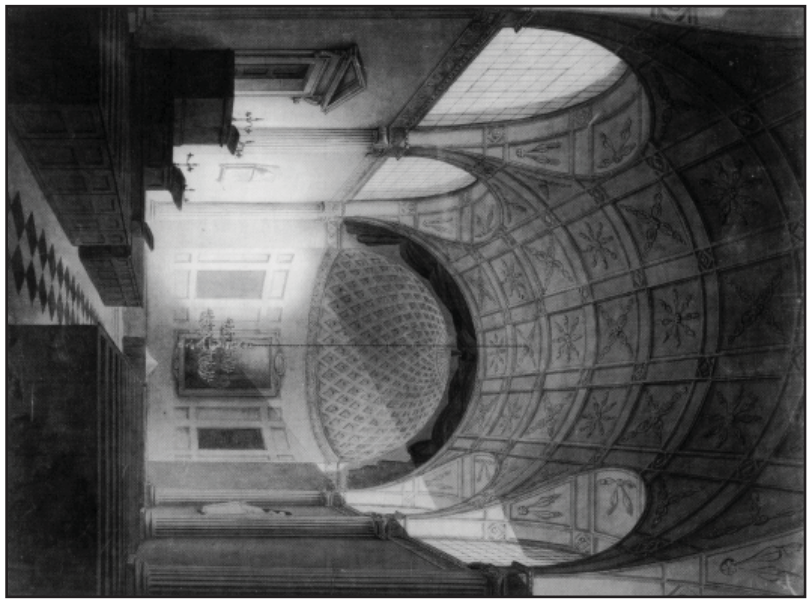


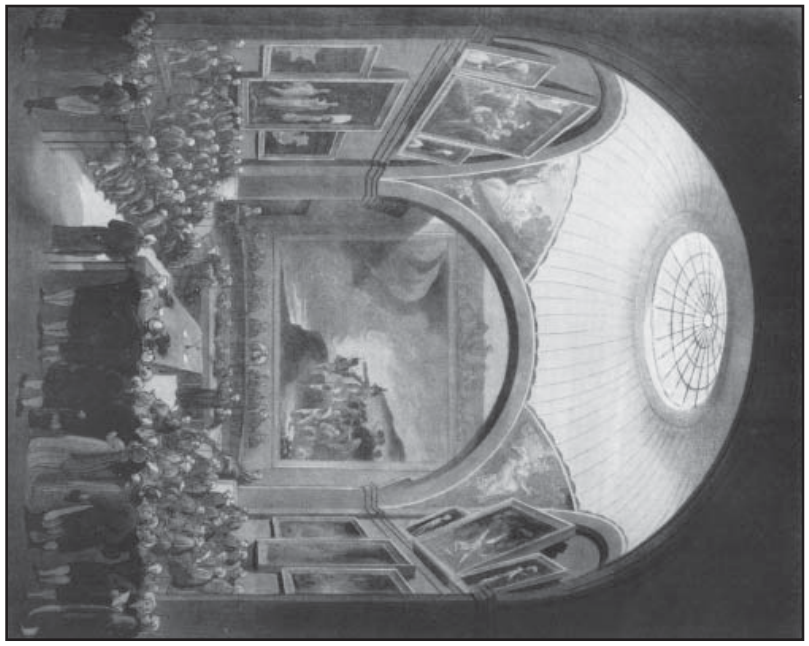




GEORGE DANCE • LIGHTING CONDITIONS







1758

DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE
DESIGN FOR A VILLA ON A TRIANGULAR PLAN
VARIANT DESIGNS FOR A 'GENTLEMAN'S COUNTRY HOUSE'
DESIGN FOR A GARDEN TEMPLE ON A TREFOIL PLAN
DESIGN FOR A HOUSE (OFFICE?) WITH A SIDE ENTRANCE
DESIGNS FOR CHIMNEYPIECES SENT FROM ROME

1760

BATHS OF CARACALLA
FARNESE THEATRE
TEMPLE OF ANTONINUS AND FAUSTINA
TEMPLE OF CASTOR AND POLLUX
TEMPLE OF HERCULES, CORA
TEMPLE OF VESPASIAN
COMPETITION DESIGN FOR A PALAZZO WITH A THEATRE
UNIDENTIFIED PIAZZA

PUBLIC GALLERY, PARMA

TEMPLE OF VESTA

ALL HALLOWS CHURCH

1770

ST MARTIN OUTWICH
MEMORIAL FOR FRANK DUROURE
MINORIES, DEVELOPMENT OF CRESCENT, CIRCUS
LORD MAYOR'S COACH-HOUSE
PITZHANGER MANOR
NEWGATE GAOL
FINSBURY ESTATE
NEWGATE SESSIONS HOUSE
ALMSHOUSES, 'FOUR DOUBLE', WHITECROSS STREET
UNIDENTIFIED COUNTRY HOUSE
CONDUIT MEAD ESTATE
WEBB'S HOUSE
BANNER STREET AND SQUARE
PALMER, SHOP IN CITY
CHLOMLEYS, SHOP FRONT
PLOMER, SHOP IN CITY
WARREN'S SHOP, MINORIES
WESLEY'S CHAPEL

COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER

CRANBURY PARK

ST LUKE'S HOSPITAL

1780

NEW STREETS
JEWIN STREET & JEWIN CRESCENT
FINSBURY SQUARE, ISLINGTON
THOMAS MOORE, SHOP
BOROUGH COMPTER
UNIDENTIFIED MAUSOLEUM
BRIDGE HOUSE ESTATE
GILTSPUR STREET COMPTER
CHAMBERLAIN'S COURT AND OFFICES FOR CLERK OF WORKS

LANSDOWNE HOUSE, LIBRARY

GUILDHALL, REBUILDING OF SOUTH FRONT

SHAKESPEARE GALLERY

BUNHILL FIELDS
ST BARTHOLOMEW-THE-LESS
PROCESSIONAL ROUTE TO ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL
CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT

1790

CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT
HOLBORN IMPROVEMENTS, FORMATION OF SKINNER STREET
ST BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL AND SURGEONS THEATRE
MARTIN'S BANK
CHIMNEY PIECE, 22 ARLINGTON STREET
STRAND IMPROVEMENTS, TEMPLE BAR, AND PICKETT STREET
CHISWELL STREET
COUNTRY HOUSE FREEFOLK
COUNTRY HOUSE, BOWOOD; WITH LIBRARY
GUILDHALL JUSTICE ROOMS
MANSION HOUSE, ROOF OF THE EGYPTIAN HALL
ST MARGARET-AT-HILL COURT HOUSE, FACADE
LEGAL QUAYS, PORT OF LONDON
WEST INDIA DOCKS AND LIMEHOUSE CANAL
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COUNTRY HOUSE, PAUL (POSSIBLY TRENGWAINTON)
BILLINGSGATE MARKET, MARKET HOUSE AND EMBANKMENT
IMPROVEMENT OF THE PORT OF LONDON
NEW LONDON BRIDGE
FINSBURY CIRCUS
MAUSOLEUM FOR GEORGE WASHINGTON
ST GEORGE IN THE EAST, RECTORY

COLEORTON

33 HILL STREET, MAYFAIR, FOR FRANCIS BARING
ALFRED PLACE, NEAR TOTTENHAM COURT ROAD
LOWTHER CASTLE
ICKWORTH
MOUNT STEWART, COUNTY DOWN
STRATTON PARK
ST MARY THE VIRGIN
THEATRE ROYAL
LORD LONDONDERRY'S HOUSE, N. IRELAND
ROYAL COLLEGE OF SURGEONS
ST MARY THE VIRGIN
CHAPEL OF ST BARTHOLOMEW
EAST STRATTON, ESTATE COTTAGES
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143 PICCADILLY AND MEWS, HYDE PARK CORNER
CAMDEN PLACE, CHISLEHURST
STRATTON PARK, GATE AND LODGE HOUSE, LONDON ROAD
STRATTON PARK, LODGE HOUSE, WINCHESTER ROAD
PRISON, ST PETER PORT

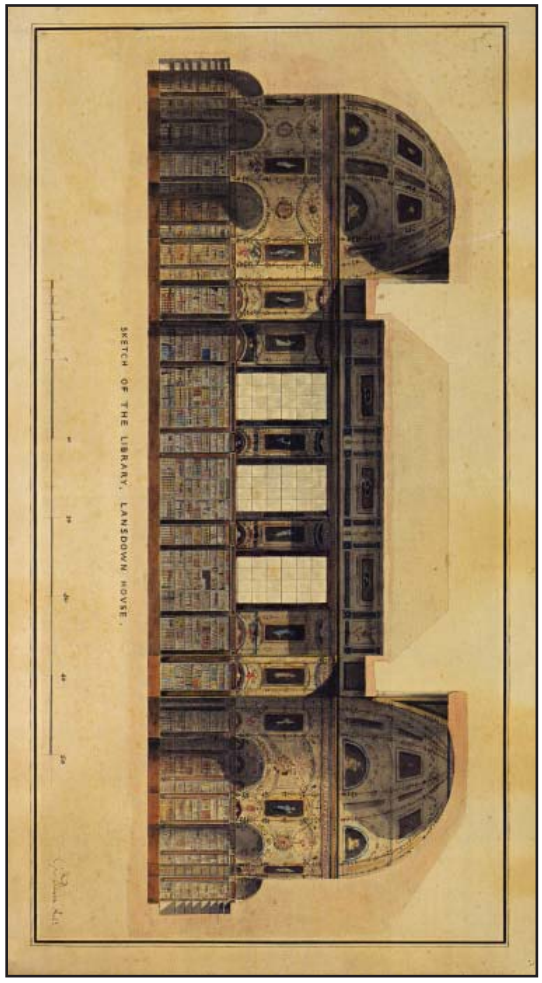
T. BARING COUNTRY HOUSE

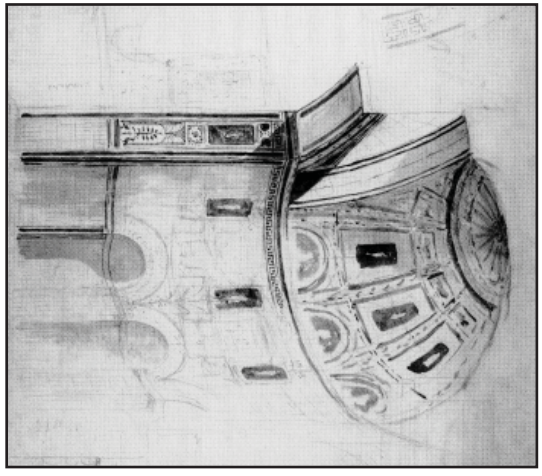
NORMAN COURT
WILDERNESS PARK
BAYHAM HALL
LAXTON HALL, ENTRANCE HALL

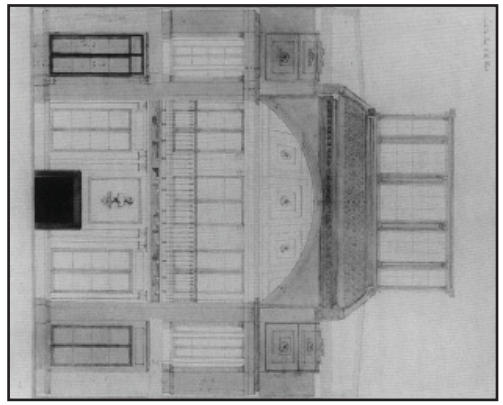
ASHBURNHAM PLACE

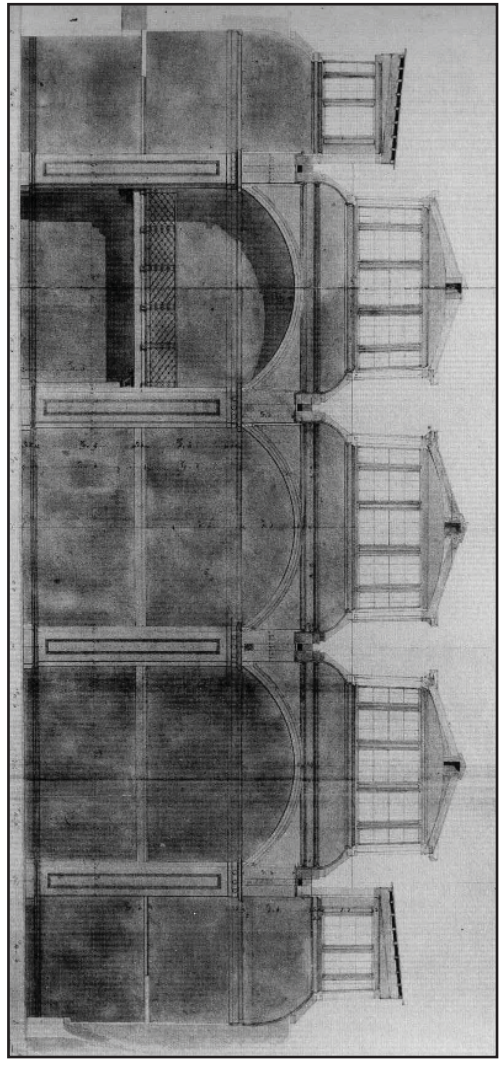
COMBE BANK
WHITECROSS STREET PENITENTIARY
10 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
KIDBROOK PARK
6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
LANGDOWN HOUSE

1790
1800
1810
1817









GEORGE DANCE • MONUMENTS

1758 1760 1770 1780 1790

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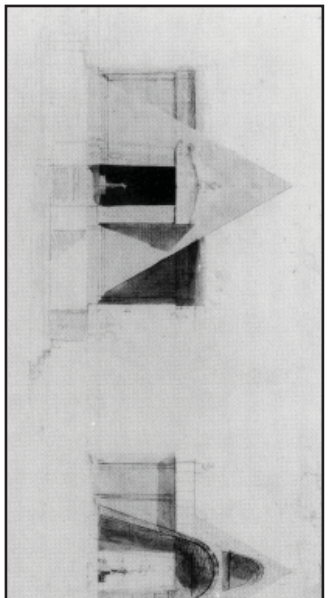
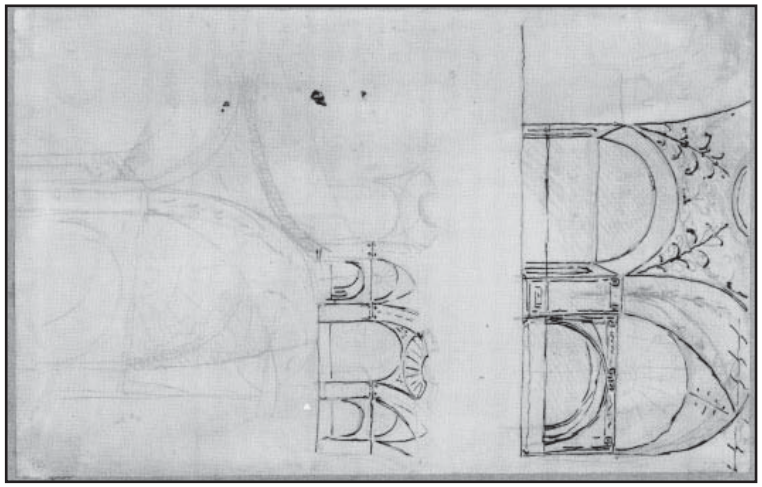
CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT





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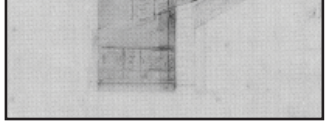

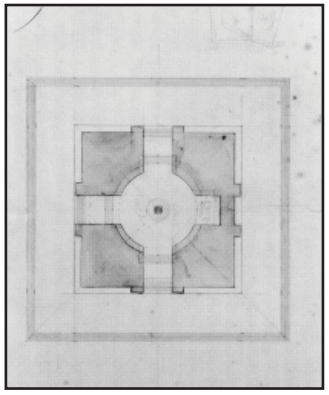

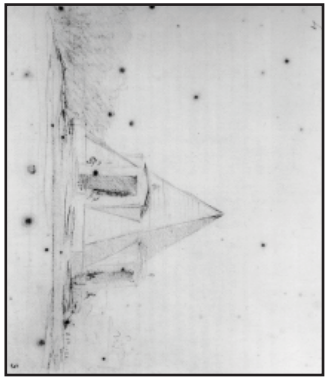

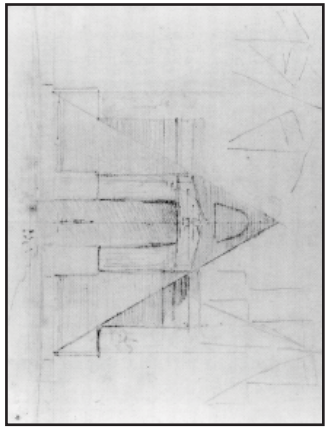

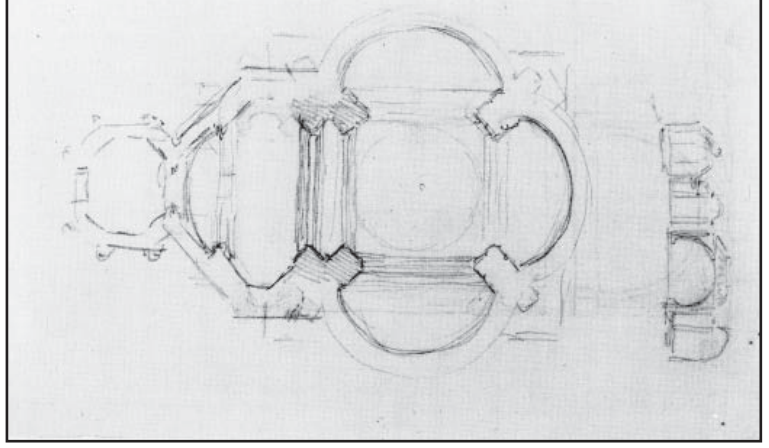

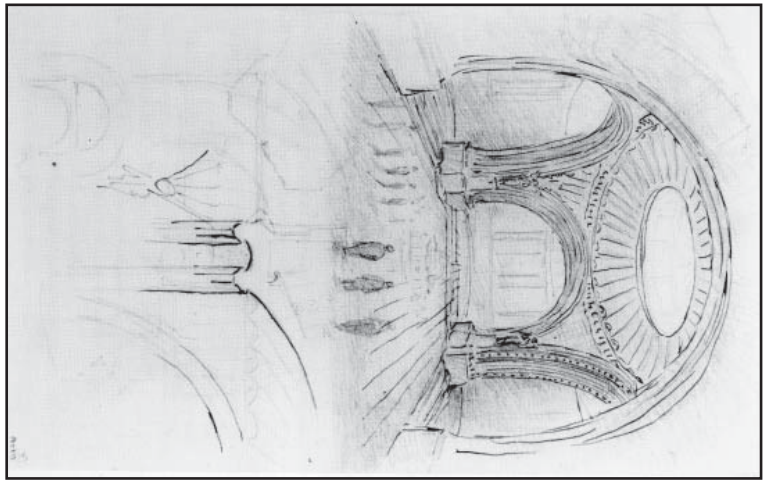

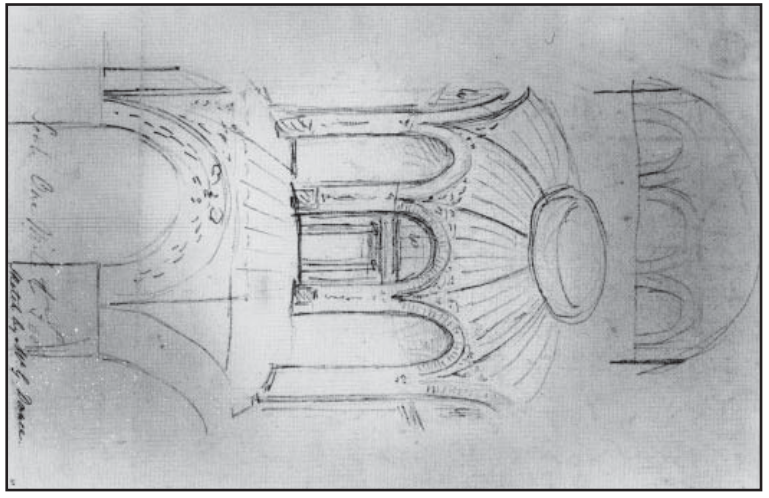

GEORGE DANCE • INNOVATIONS

1758

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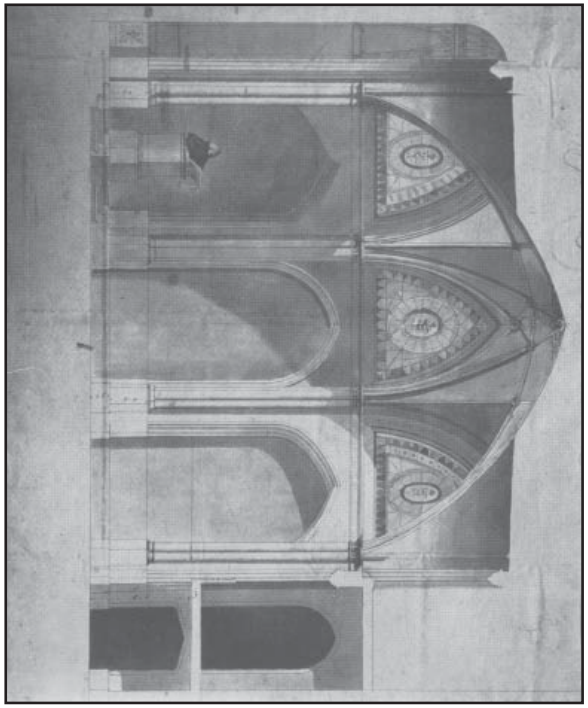
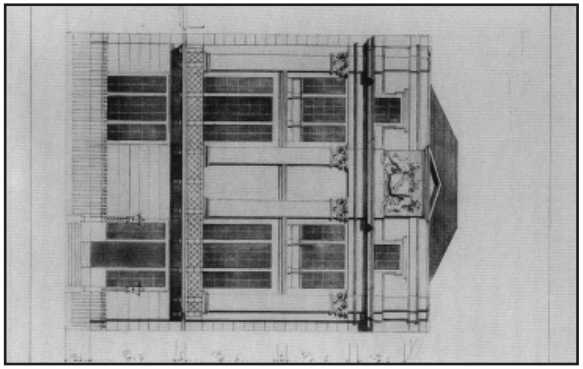
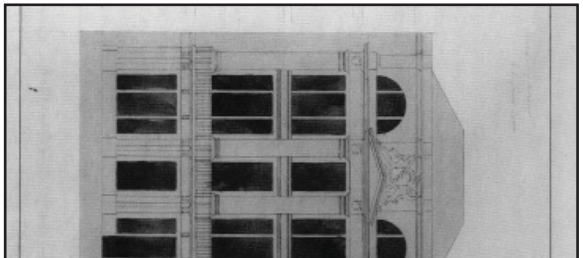
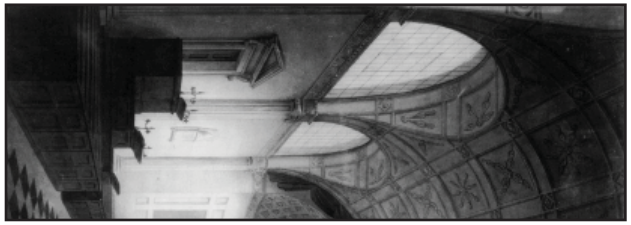
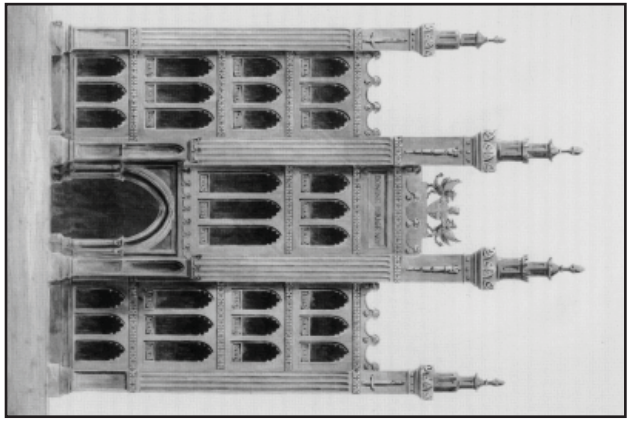
1790

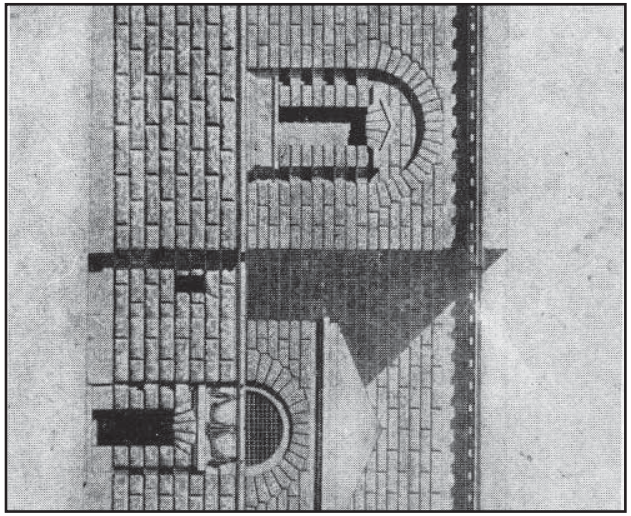












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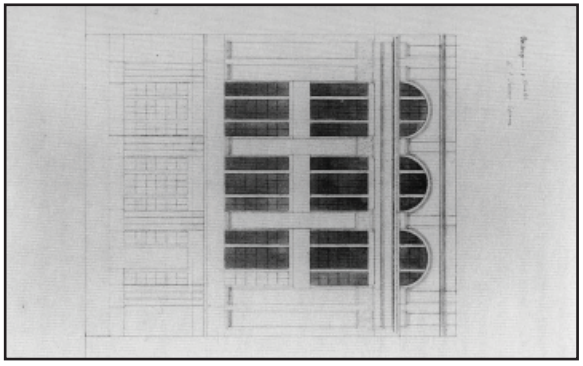

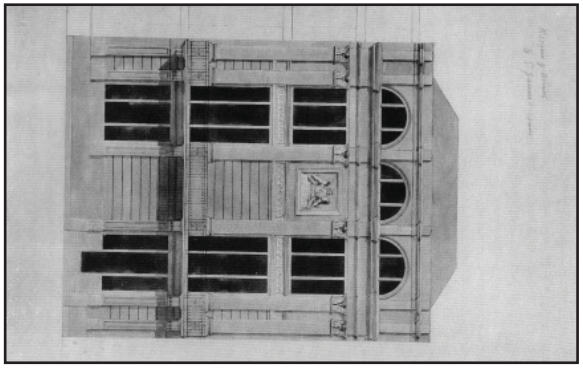

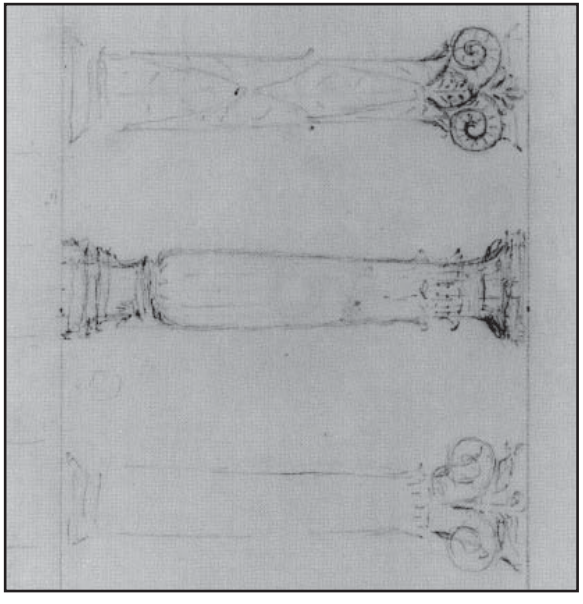

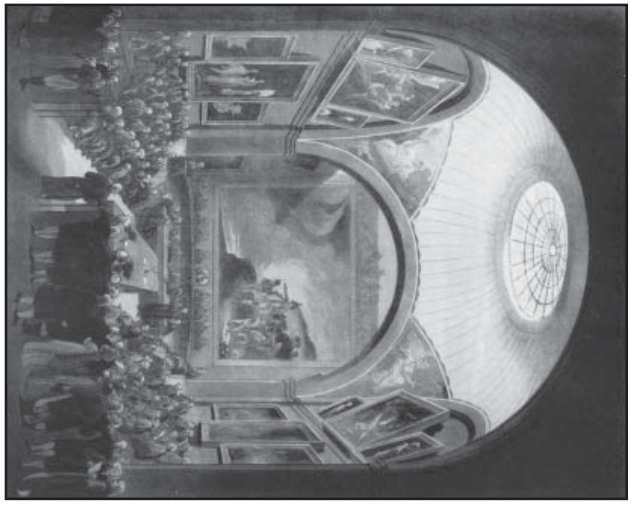

GEORGE DANCE • COUNTRY HOUSES • INTERIORS

1758

DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE

VILLA ON A TRIANGULAR PLAN, ‘GENTLEMAN’S COUNTRY HOUSE’

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1760

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MINORIES, DEVELOPMENT OF CRESCENT, CIRCUS
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PITZHANGER MANOR

1770

NEWGATE GAOL
FINSBURY ESTATE
NEWGATE SESSIONS HOUSE
ALMSHOUSES, ‘FOUR DOUBLE’, WHITECROSS STREET

UNIDENTIFIED COUNTRY HOUSE

CONDUIT MEAD ESTATE
WEBB’S HOUSE
BANNER STREET AND SQUARE
PALMER, SHOP IN CITY
CHLOMLEYS, SHOP FRONT
PLOMER, SHOP IN CITY
WARREN’S SHOP, MINORIES
WESLEY’S CHAPEL
GUILDHALL COMMON COUNCIL CHAMBER

CRANBURY PARK

1780

ST LUKE’S HOSPITAL FOR LUNATICS
NEW STREETS
JEWIN STREET & JEWIN CRESCENT
FINSBURY SQUARE, ISLINGTON
THOMAS MOORE, SHOP
BOROUGH COMPTER
UNIDENTIFIED MAUSOLEUM
BRIDGE HOUSE ESTATE
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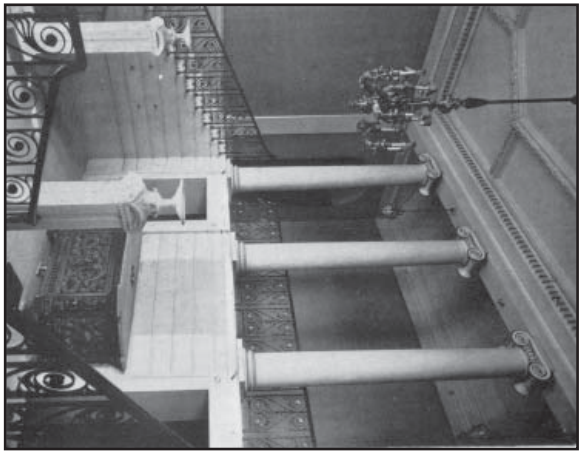
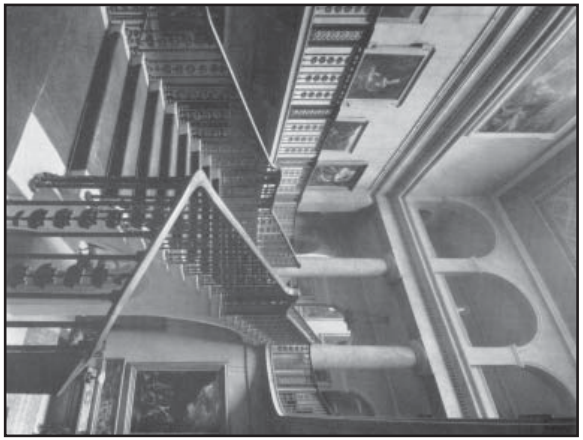
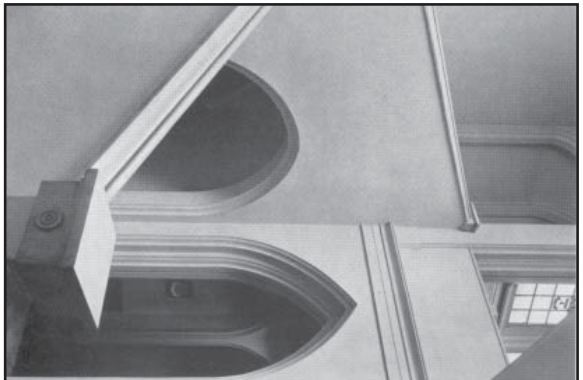
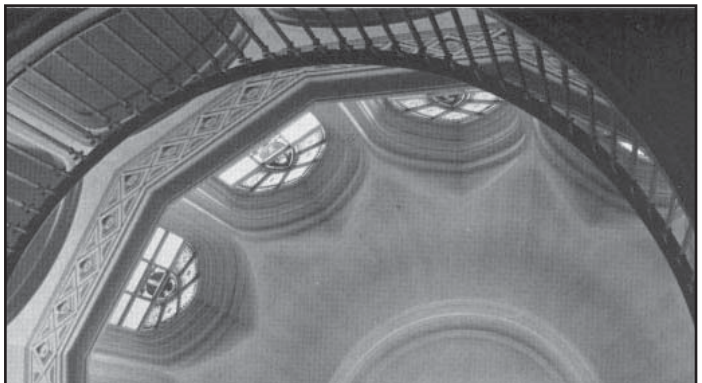
CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT

1790









CAMDEN ESTATE, DEVELOPMENT
HOLBORN IMPROVEMENTS, FORMATION OF SKINNER STREET
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COMBE BANK
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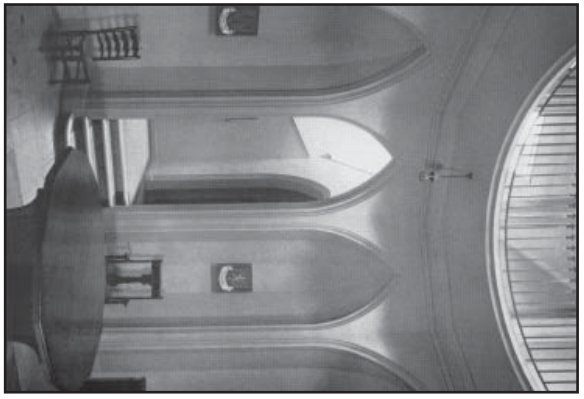
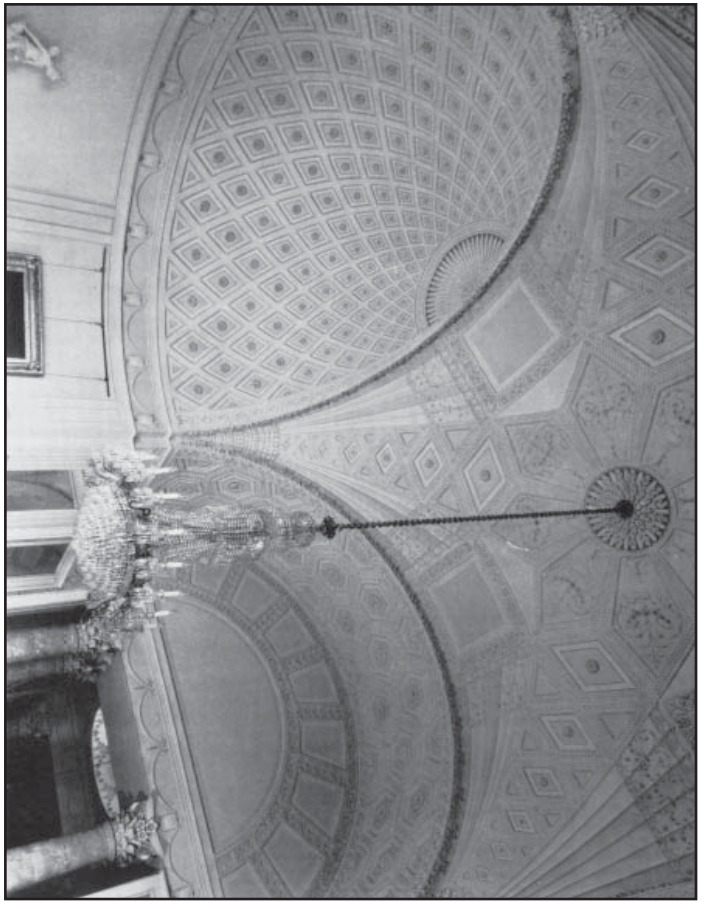
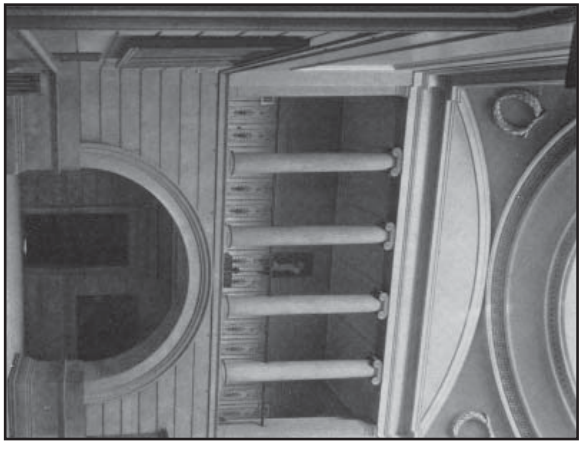
KIDBROOK PARK

6 ST JAMES'S SQUARE
LANGDOWN HOUSE

1790
1800
1810
1817







GEORGE DANCE • COUNTRY HOUSES • EXTERIORS

1758

DESIGN FOR A TOWN HOUSE

VILLA ON A TRIANGULAR PLAN, ‘GENTLEMAN’S COUNTRY HOUSE’

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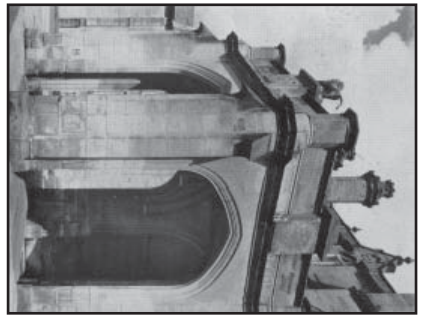

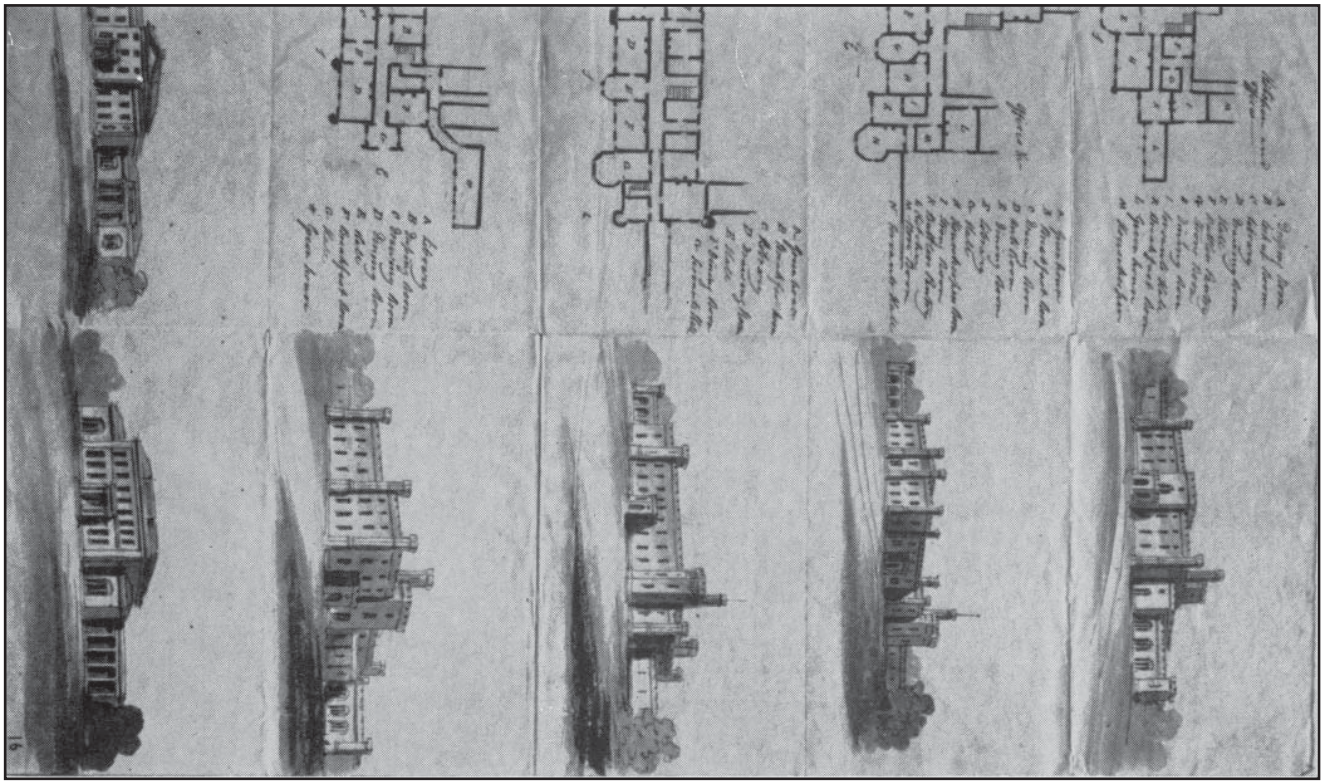

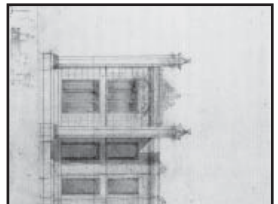

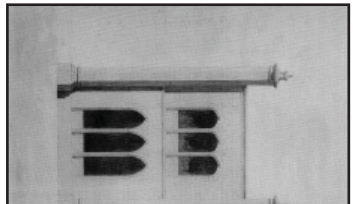

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