



1 – James Gillray, *CONNOISSEURS EXAMINING A COLLECTION OF GEORGE MORLAND'S*
1807, etching and aquatint, 32 x 28 cm
(courtesy Trustees of the British Museum [BMC 1971])

William Baillie, a man of many parts

NESTA BUTLER

WILLIAM BAILLIE'S LIFE AND ACHIEVEMENTS HAVE RARELY BEEN THOROUGHLY assessed. This article aims to redress the balance and highlight recent findings on him. He is of interest to Irish readers not only because of his upbringing in Ireland and his connections with the country, but because he was famous in his own lifetime as an amateur printmaker and Commissioner of Stamps.¹ He was the only printmaker to rework Rembrandt's plates in England during the eighteenth century. This was a very lucrative exercise, especially since one of the three plates which he reworked was *The Hundred Guilder Print*, the most popular of all Rembrandt's oeuvre in the period.² Being a well-educated gentleman who was considered better able to appreciate paintings than artists themselves, Baillie was also a connoisseur and dealer, and advised a number of wealthy aristocrats, particularly John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, Sir James Lowther, later Earl of Lonsdale, and their successors about the formation of the most significant part of their collections – Dutch seventeenth-century works. It was this role which brought him to the caricaturist James Gillray's attention (Plate 1). Baillie is depicted first on the left in one of the telltale poses of a connoisseur examining the details of a painting, thereby failing to appreciate the work as a whole.³ The connoisseurs' sway was at its height during this period. Gillray made a small number of caricatures attacking them, choosing only those who were well known to the cognoscenti, such as Sir William Hamilton, Richard Payne Knight, Caleb Whiteford and Baillie.⁴

BAILLIE'S EARLY LIFE AND ARMY CAREER

William Baillie (1723-1810) was probably born over his father's upholstery shop, at the sign of the Easy Chair, on the corner of Capel Street and Abbey Street in Dublin.⁵ He was baptised in the nearby St Mary's church on Mary Street, the second



2 – Nathaniel Hone the Elder, *PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BAILLIE*

1752, etching after Pine portrait (courtesy Heinz Archive and Library, National Portrait Gallery, London [NPG D23314])

opposite

3 – William Baillie
TACET ET LOQUITUR

1760, etching after Rembrandt drawing from Nathaniel Hone the Elder's collection (NLI PD 4050 TX (2) 7b; courtesy National Library of Ireland)

child in the family of six children, and was educated in Dr Thomas Sheridan's school in the former King's Mint House on Capel Street until 1735, where he probably gained his facility for languages, a love of the classics, and his ability to express himself well. He attended Trinity College, Dublin, from 1738 to 1742.⁶ His father, Robert Baillie, a protégé of William Conolly, was upholsterer to the Irish government.⁷ By 1727 Robert had built Kildrough House on the main street of Celbridge, very close to the gates of Castletown House – Conolly's Palladian residence.⁸ Robert is thought to have supplied tapestries for the first decoration of the Long Gallery at Castletown House, and he also commissioned the two extant tapestries for the former House of Lords (now the Bank of Ireland).⁹ William's life mirrored his father's both in his artistic bent and his expertise at marketing.

By 10th May 1742 William had left Ireland to train as a lawyer at the Middle Temple, London. His father probably wished that he would follow in Conolly's footsteps, but on coming of age in 1744 Baillie changed course and obtained a commission as an ensign in the Somerset Light Infantry, then stationed in Flanders. By the time Baillie left the army in 1761 he had reached the rank of captain and was a hero of the Battle of Minden (1759), having led the grenadiers of his new regiment (the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry) against the cavalry in one of the campaign's first English victories against the French.¹⁰ The battle is still celebrated

annually by the regiment, and versions of Robert Edge Pine's *Portrait of William Baillie* (Plate 4) hang in German headquarters of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry and in the Officers' and Sergeants' Messes at Gosport in England.¹¹ An etching after Pine's portrait, in the Bute Album (Plate 2), is accompanied by a handwritten note: 'Wm. Baillie 13th foot, etched by Mr Hone anno 1752. This print is unique. There were but two printed [...] the Plate is lost.'¹² In 1752 Nathaniel Hone the Elder (1718-1784) noted on the last page of his first Memorandum Book that he had received £5 5s from 'Capt.n Bayly'.¹³ Since his miniatures normally cost ten guineas, this record must refer to his etching after Pine's portrait. Hone must have misunderstood that Baillie was a captain. He did not reach that rank until three years later.

Baillie's seventeen army years had an impact on his future career. Since he was stationed in Holland and Germany for much of the time, he had the opportunity to acquaint himself with many collections, and the acclaim for his bravery at Minden probably helped build up the connections he needed in order to set himself up as a connoisseur. Baillie's first drawings and prints date from the gap between the end of the War of Austrian Succession in 1748 and the beginning of the Seven Years War in 1756. He may have learnt to draw from his father or at Sheridan's school. Mathematics, a practical subject, was taught there and at some English charity schools, and dissenting and private academies did teach drawing from the late seventeenth century onwards.¹⁴ It is more likely, however, that, like many future landscape artists such as William Gilpin and Alexander Cozens, he received some training in topography and cartography at the first Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. This had been founded in 1741 in response to the constant continental wars in order to train soldiers to produce accurate drawings when planning attacks. In an inscription to an etching of 1760, Baillie himself acknowledged that he had received instruction from Nathaniel Hone the Elder (Plate 3).¹⁵





4 – Robert Edge Pine, *Portrait of William Baillie*
c.1750, oil on canvas, 66 x 57 cm (detail)
(courtesy Royal Pavilion, Libraries & Museums, Brighton & Hove)

Baillie presented his earliest extant topographical drawing of 1750, which has hints of the picturesque in the depiction of the ivy (Plate 5), to the Earl of Bute.¹⁶ This realistic style had been introduced into England in the seventeenth century by a number of northern artists.¹⁷ Five years later, another topographical drawing of a temporary hospital for seamen again shows some hints of the picturesque in the inclusion of the fishing boat and figures (Plate 6). Baillie may have been visiting a fellow soldier, friend or relation. By the mid-eighteenth century amateur draughtsmen generally depicted landscapes. Amateur printmakers, on the other hand, either etched landscapes or made reproductive prints after other artists' drawings or paintings. Baillie mainly chose the latter. His last extant landscape drawing (Plate 7) of 1762 shows a great advance on the earlier drawings, indicating that he must have practised the skill regularly, and thus many drawings may have been lost. This is a distant panoramic view similar to those painted by Jan van Goyen in the 1640s. Baillie uses a river to lead the eye into the drawing, and populates the foreground with staffage. The detail is again typical of a topographical approach, although once more the figures are picturesque.¹⁸ A camera obscura was commonly used when an exact portrayal of the landscape was required. There is a village in the middle distance, but his depiction of the distant mountains and sky is the most interesting as it is less finished and more personal. Baillie made one landscape etching of his own invention in the same year, which was inspired by Claude or Richard Wilson, whose work was in demand particularly after 1750. His landscape drawings and etchings show that he both knew and practised a range of different styles, but did not continue long enough to develop his own manner.

In 1757 Baillie's regiment, the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, took part in the Rochefort expedition, the first of a number of raids on the French coast, whose purpose was to draw attention away from the allies in Germany. Despite expensive and prolonged preparations, however, it was a fiasco. It was common for descriptive and satirical prints about the event to be made after new military or naval developments, as well as portraits of military or naval heroes.¹⁹ When the commander, Mordaunt, was exonerated at a court martial, the public was outraged. This resulted in a plethora of pamphlets on the subject for some time afterwards while Baillie took the opportunity to etch a print of the expedition (Plate 8). Its topicality would have been an important selling point and the inscribed Latin motto, '*Militia est potior, drawn on t. secret expedition*' ('War is to acquire') recalled the Roman navy and what the expedition should have achieved. Following the example of William van de Velde, who had arrived in England in the seventeenth century, the ships are well depicted; the regularity of the waves, however, is unconvincing.

Soon afterwards, Baillie dedicated a seascape etching (Plate 9) – again probably inspired by Dutch seventeenth-century artists and depicting the imminent ruin of the French fleet – to the great sea voyager and popular hero Admiral Anson (1697-



William Baillie

5 – *RUIN ON ST CATHERINE'S HILL NEAR GUILDFORD, 1750, wash drawing, 18 x 23.5 cm (detail), Bute Album*

6 – *A TEMPORARY HOSPITAL NEAR GOSPORT ANNO 1755, 1755, wash drawing, 13.5 x 20 cm, Bute Album*

(courtesy Fondation Custodia: Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris [inv. no. 6436])





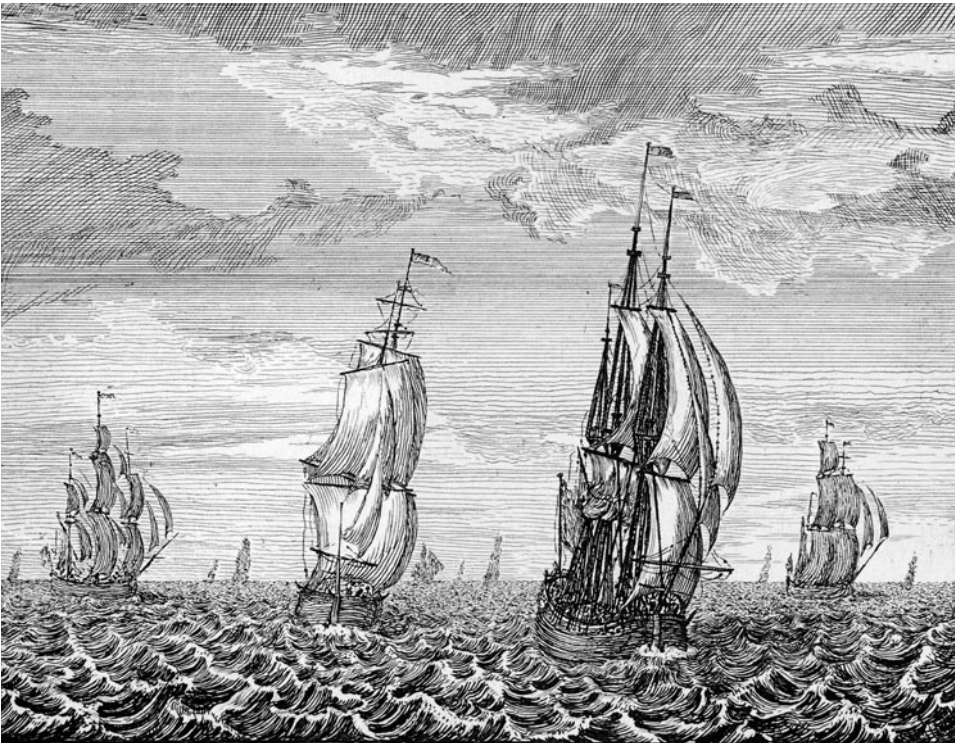
William Baillie

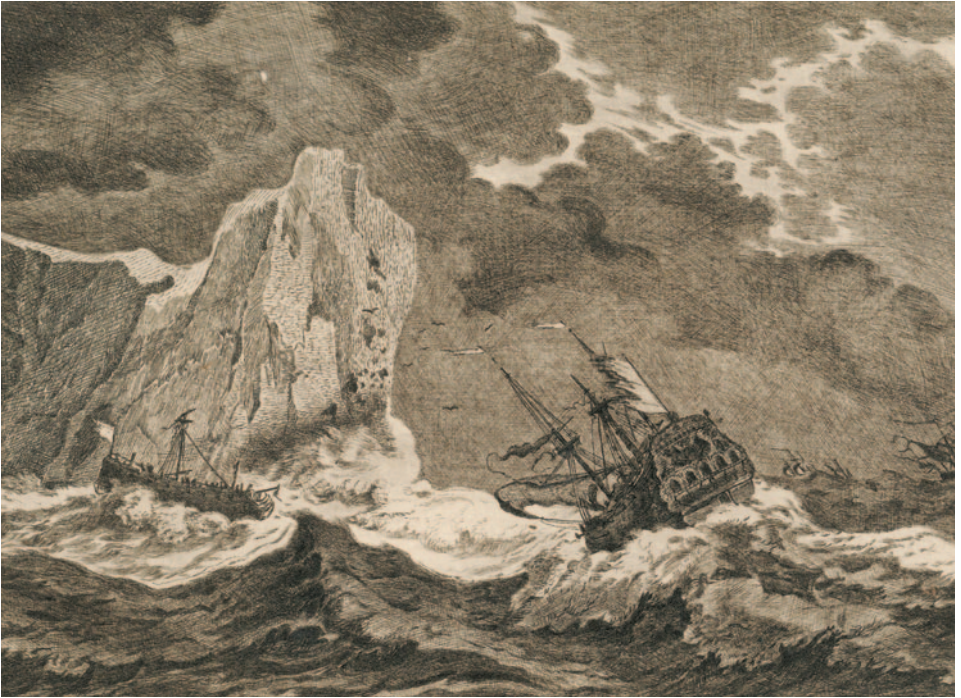
7 – PENTLAND HILLS NEAR EDINBURGH, DRAWN FROM INVERASK

1762, wash drawing in colour, 25.5 x 40 cm, Bute Album (detail)

(courtesy Fondation Custodia: Frits Lugt Collection, Institut Néerlandais, Paris [inv. no. 6436])

8 – MILITIA EST POTIOR 1757, etching (courtesy Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London)





1762), whose exploits were celebrated in newspaper articles, song and print. The signature ‘W Baillie 3 Reg. Cavall. Legiera’ added an immediacy which undoubtedly attracted the collector. Baillie had now transferred to the 18th Light Dragoons in Germany.²⁰ Although there is no evidence that he ever went to Italy, the Italian inscription hinted that he had made the Grand Tour, and compares Anson to a Roman admiral. The waves are no longer formulaic as in his earlier seascape. Over ten years earlier, Arthur Pond had illustrated Walters’ *Voyage around the World by Commodore Anson*. Several thousand illustrations were sold.²¹ The high status of history painting and the popularity of Hogarth’s moral subjects probably inspired the idea of depicting events involving English heroes. Pond and Hogarth had shown that illustrating books was an effective way of gaining a reputation, but Baillie did not succeed in this as only two of his designs were used as illustrations.²²

Baillie’s earliest prints had military rather than landscape subjects (Plate 10) and may have been inspired by Bickham’s prints after David Morier’s paintings of grenadiers (Royal Collection, Windsor). He may have used manuals to develop his skill in depicting figures. In 1760 he etched another soldier, Daniel Brown, with a battle raging in the background (Plate 11). Brown is shown as a personality, not a mere mannequin, as in his earlier prints. Baillie signed himself as ‘W Baillie Cap di 3 Reg Caval Legiera’, and with equal bravado he claimed to have made the print in

William Baillie

11 – CAPTAIN BAILLIE’S
ADJUTANT, DANIEL BROWN
1760, etching
(courtesy National Library of
Ireland [PD 4550 TX (2) 5b])

opposite

9 – SEASCAPE DEDICATED TO
ADMIRAL ANSON
c.1760, etching
(courtesy NLI [PD 4050 TX(2) 6a])

10 – JOHN GOLDING,
GRENADIER IN 13TH REGIMENT
1753, etching
(courtesy NLI [PD 4050 TX(2) 4b])





12 – JAMES, DUKE OF MONMOUTH

1774, mezzotint after Caspar Netscher and Jan Wyck painting (courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

opposite 13 – William Baillie, COLONEL KELLETT

1786, stipple (courtesy Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London)

three hours. The Latin *'Spectemur agendo'* or 'Let us be recognised by our deeds or exploits', written over the print, conveys the same idea and emphasises the similarity between the English and Roman soldier. 'My Standard Bearer' in Greek, under the print, increases the sense of immediacy. Jingoism was prevalent during this period since England had become an imperial power. According to Walpole: 'The Romans conquered the World but they were three hundred years about it; we subdue the globe in three campaigns.'²³

Older prints of battles or heroes were reissued at the same time as prints about recent events. In 1774 Baillie made a mezzotint after Caspar Netscher and Jan Wyck's *James, Duke of Monmouth* from his own collection, with lettering in Latin and English (Plate 12).²⁴ Monmouth had a dramatic life, which would have appealed to Walpole, who owned an impression of the print.²⁵ In 1779, and again in 1786,

Baillie made a stipple portrait engraving of Colonel Kellett (Plate 13). Baillie may have met Kellett in 1754 when the Somerset Light Infantry went to Gibraltar. The portrait is akin to Hogarth's work in the absence of any effort to flatter the sitter. It was a furniture print for display, and was available in colour. According to the printseller Caulfield: 'There was scarce a village through out the Kingdoms but had the walls of its cottages decorated with the portraits of these brave soldiers.'²⁶ Baillie's statement that Kellett was an 'old friend and brother officer' who took part in 'the Glorious defence of Gibraltar when besieged by the united force of Spain & France', adds to the implied heroism of the print.

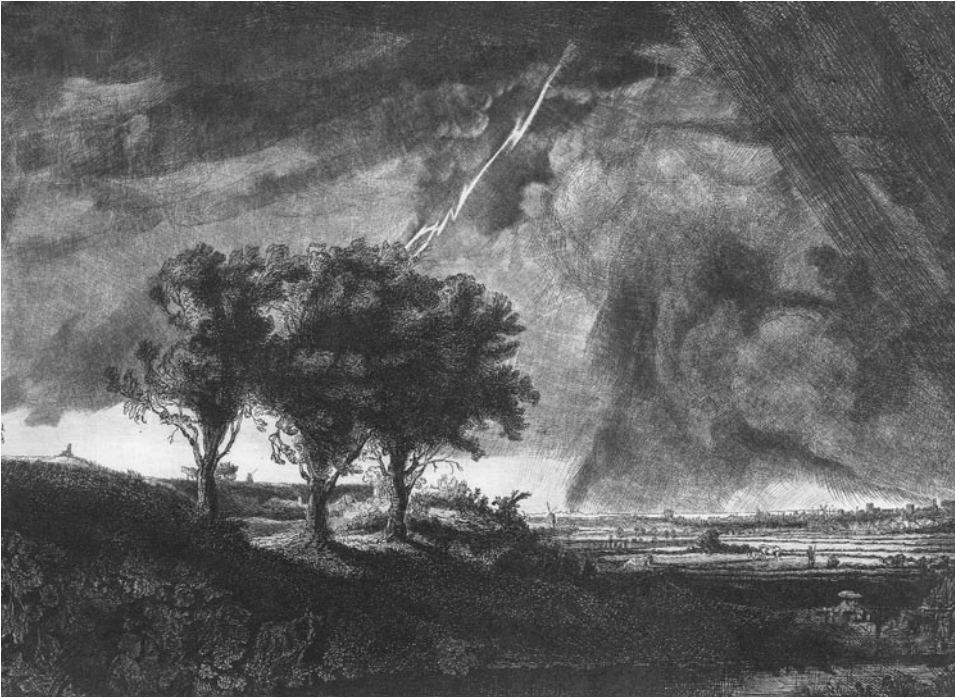


BAILLIE AND REMBRANDT

By 1758, Baillie's interest in military prints was largely overtaken by the latest trend for reproducing Rembrandt's works. He began by copying Rembrandt's etching of *The Three Trees*, which he later embellished with additional lightening (Plate 14). The Keeper of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, J.T. Smith (1766-1833), was particularly critical of this:

When not engaged in his duties as a commissioner of the Stamp Office he for years amused himself in what he called etching; but in what Rembrandt, as well as every true artist, would call scratching. He could not draw, nor had he an eye for effect. To prove this assertion I will 'end him at a blow' by bringing to my informed reader's recollection the captain's execrable plate, which he considered to be an improvement upon Rembrandt's Three Trees.²⁷

But Smith was the only contemporary author to criticise Baillie's work in this way, and many artists of the period believed that they could improve the master's work. At the time there was no prejudice against the idea of reproduction. In 1773 Baillie sent thirty of what he considered to be his best prints to the Rev James Granger, author of *A Biographical History of England*, hoping that he would be mentioned in



14 – William Baillie, *THE THREE TREES*

1758, print after Rembrandt's etching with additional lightening (courtesy NLI [PD 4050 TX(2) 9a]).

his forthcoming *Supplement*.²⁸ The prints were all reproductive.

Baillie came to be regarded as an expert on Rembrandt. A number of his exhibits at the Society of Artists between 1762 and 1776, where Baillie was an honorary exhibitor, were Rembrandtesque or after the master, and the first prints after works in Baillie's own collection were also after the artist.²⁹ In addition, he sold paintings attributed to the artist, including Rembrandt's *Philemon and Baucis* (Plate 15), which was in his 1771 Langford sale in London. The artist's use of pronounced chiaroscuro and warm colours would have greatly appealed to eighteenth-century taste, although his use of impasto to achieve the sparkling effect for Jupiter's costume would have been severely criticised. Collectors did not, however, always follow contemporary authors to the letter. Although prints after Rembrandt were an important part of his oeuvre, Baillie built up his reputation as a connoisseur in the same way for other Dutch seventeenth-century artists, and he also made prints after Flemish, French and Italian artists. Baillie continued making prints up to 1787 and reworked plates after this as well.

J.T. Smith's acerbic comments on Baillie's abilities as a printmaker have frequently been quoted without question. Apart from criticising Baillie's additions to

The Three Trees, he also scorned his restoration of Rembrandt's worn plate of *The Hundred Guilder Print*. Baillie had acquired the plate in 1775 from the American auctioneer and artist John Greenwood, whom he first met in 1762. The following year he exhibited at the Society of Artists' Exhibition a print from the restored plate side by side with one taken from Rembrandt's worn plate. This showman-like gesture may have prompted Smith's remarks:

Mr West classed him amongst the conceited men. 'Sir', said the venerable President, 'when I requested him to shew me a fine impression of Rembrandt's Hundred Guilder print, he placed one of his own restored impressions before me, with as much confidence as my little friend Edwards attempts to teach Perspective in the Royal Academy'.³⁰

However, these comments reflect on Smith's and possibly West's characters more than on Baillie in the way they chose to ridicule in the same breath the drawing instructor and author, Edward Edwards, who was a hunchback. In truth, Baillie was

15 – Rembrandt van Rijn, *PHILEMON AND BAUCIS*

1658, oil on wood, 53.3 x 68.5 cm

(photo Richard Carafelli; courtesy National Gallery of Art, Washington: Widener Collection [1942.9.65 (pa)])



widely collected and greatly admired by contemporary authors on printmaking, including Adam Bartsch, who extended his classification of the number of states of *The Hundred Guilder Print* in his catalogue raisonné of Rembrandt's oeuvre because of Baillie's intervention, and praised his restoration of Rembrandt's plate lavishly: '*Baillie la retoucha ou plutôt la rétablit avec tant de soin et d'intelligence qu'il faut l'oeuil d'un connoisseur bien exercé pour ne pas confondre ses épreuves avec les plus belles de la planche intacte.*'³¹

The third state referred to the plate when it was '*entièrement retouchée par Guillaume Baillie, Capataine Anglois*'.³² Bartsch then simply classified Baillie's division of the plate as the fourth state. Baillie had not adhered to his promise made in the prospectus or advertisement for the restored print to take only a few impressions from the plate. When this was suspected, he divided the plate, ostensibly to preserve its rarity. Bartsch did not question this action. On the contrary, he admired the largest, central fragment which he believed formed a complete picture with a perfect and interesting composition, classifying it as the fifth state:

*G Baillie y a fait un changement qui fournit la cinquième épreuve. Le changement consiste en ce que la planche a été ceintrée par le haut, que le chien au bas de la gauche a été entièrement effacé et que le pied du malade couché sur une brouette lequel pied se voit tout près du bord droit de la planche, a été entièrement couvert de hachures.*³³

Bartsch's assessment was crucial as it gave Baillie's work great prominence, and his high opinion has often been quoted.

BAILLIE'S LIFE IN LONDON

Baillie lived in London for almost fifty years after his retirement from the army in 1761. A number of artists and authors give us a glimpse of his milieu. Although the identity of many of the participants in John Hamilton Mortimer's *Oyster Party* (Plate 16) is uncertain, Baillie (the figure on the right with the military hat) obviously mixed with a stimulating and amusing group who would not have tolerated him if he was not able to offer a quick wit in return. Mortimer's studio was renowned for being the meeting place for 'all the tip top dramatic writers, players, sculptors and painters' of the day, and according to the author and swordsman Henry Angelo (1760-1839), Baillie 'knew all the distinguished artists for more than half a century as I have heard him say'.³⁴ Mortimer depicted himself on the left with his master Giovanni Battista Cipriani looking down on him. Captain Grose, the antiquarian, stands between the composer Thomas Arne, who raises a glass, and the central figure, baring his chest, Laurence Sterne, the famous author of *Tristram Shandy*. The

painter Richard Wilson, who was a friend of both Mortimer's and Baillie's, is probably the figure with the large nose, under Grose.

The author William Henry Pyne (1769-1843) also described Baillie at one of Mortimer's parties in his book about eighteenth-century artistic circles, *Wine and Walnuts*. During the party, at the historian Edward Gibbon's request, the actor Harry Woodward and Baillie told the company about the day John Wilkes was liberated.³⁵ Angelo related how Baillie spent his time:

[He] used to pass his mornings for a considerable time in going from one apartment to another over the piazza to the respective artists who lived there. It appears from memoranda before me that in the year 1764 no less than 10 painters occupied houses or apartments on this side of Covent Garden.³⁶

The only dissenting voice in all this is again J.T. Smith's, who provides an image of Baillie as a somewhat ridiculous figure: 'Captain Baillie often wore a camlet coat, and walked so slowly and with such measured steps that he appeared to be a man heavily laden with jackboots and Munchausen spurs'.³⁷ His most enduring description of Baillie was, however, at print sales. In 1783 Smith observed a few of 'the most singular of those who constantly attended auctions' at Patterson's and Hutchins', the auctioneers he knew best:

Captain William Baillie was also an amateur in art; he suffered from an asthma, which often stood his friend by allowing a lengthened fit of coughing to stop a sentence whenever he found himself in want of words to complete it ... and whenever he entered an auction room, he generally permitted his cough to announce his arrival.³⁸

Smith's descriptions were really caricatures in writing, just as Horace Walpole's were portraits. He was more interested in producing a colourful effect than in giving an accurate account. He implied that Baillie switched his cough on and off according to necessity so that he rarely finished a sentence, giving a very different picture of him from the storyteller portrayed by Pyne and Angelo. Even Baillie's letters give an impression of someone quite unlike the eccentric portrayed by Smith.

Paul Sandby (1730-1809), an able caricaturist and draughtsman, sketched Baillie and Hone at auction on sales catalogues around the same period (Plates 17, 18).³⁹ Hone was already buying and selling prints and drawings in 1752, particularly in the early part of the year.⁴⁰ Baillie was also acquiring works at Antoine Coypel's posthumous sale in Paris in April 1753.⁴¹ Two surveys of Christie's auction catalogues in the 1760s and 1772, undertaken as part of this research, show both Hone and Baillie to be constant buyers.⁴² Hone also had at least two print sales, on 11th February 1765 and the following days at Langford's, and on 4th-7th April 1781 at Christie's, where Baillie made a substantial number of acquisitions, including ten



16 – John Hamilton Mortimer, *THE OYSTER PARTY*

c.1765-70, oil on canvas, 84 x 107 cm (courtesy Yale Centre for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection [BI981.25.467])

17 – Paul Sandby, *SKETCH OF WILLIAM BAILLIE AT AUCTION*

18 – Paul Sandby, *SKETCH OF NATHANIEL HONE THE ELDER AT AUCTION*

c.1783, drawings (Windsor Castle; courtesy Royal Collection, Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II)

prints by Wenceslas Hollar, nine by Adriaen van Ostade, and twenty by Marcantonio Raimondi.⁴³ Several drawings formerly in Hone's collection, which are distinguished by his mark of a human eye, are in the British Museum, the National Gallery of Ireland and the National Gallery of Scotland.⁴⁴

Pyne, who probably knew Baillie, noted how he spoke in the 'connoisseur cant of Langford and Christie's'.⁴⁵ He also described a scene where guests at a nearby house observed Baillie, accompanied by Grose, arriving back late to his house in his new chariot after an auction. A 'shining gold frame' was spotted, and one of the guests complained how Baillie's library was twice as valuable as his own, which had cost him a fortune.⁴⁶ Among the items particularly pinpointed in the catalogue by Christie's, who conducted Baillie's posthumous library sale on 15th March 1811, was a copy of the Rev Matthew Pilkington's *Gentleman's and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters*, which Baillie had annotated. This was acquired by the 1st Marquess of Bute, the 3rd Earl of Bute's son, at the sale.⁴⁷ Pilkington (1701-1774) had written his *Dictionary* at Newbridge, county Dublin, where Archbishop Cobbe had given him a parish. It was first published in 1770 and was widely used by connoisseurs and collectors of the period. Although other English writers had written on different aspects of art or translated other European authors, this was the first dictionary of artists to have been written primarily in English.⁴⁸ Pilkington included many northern artists in his *Dictionary*, but Italian artists predominated. This was the common pattern for eighteenth-century literature. Thus only twenty-two out of 350 pages in Jonathan Richardson's influential book about his European travels, *Account of the Statues, Bas-Reliefs, Drawings and Pictures in Italy* of 1722 were devoted to Holland, Flanders and France. The remaining part of the book was devoted to Italy.

BAILLIE AND NATHANIEL HONE

Angelo underlined the close friendship between Baillie and Hone:

Captain Bailey well known as an amateur of the arts and old Hone the portrait painter were almost inseparable. At all his parties (Hone's) our family [Angelo's] being intimate I seldom missed his friend at his house. Hone at this time lived in the court at the farthest end of St James' Place facing Green Park door.⁴⁹

J.T. Smith also wrote about their friendship in his book on the sculptor Joseph Nollekens (1737-1823). Smith and Nollekens clearly had little regard for Hone or Baillie. Nollekens' reply to Hone's greeting as he arrived at his studio in the late 1770s must have left Hone in no doubt about this. He informed Hone that he would



19 – Nathaniel Hone the Elder, *MONACHUM NON FACIT CUCULLUS*
1772, mezzotint after Hone painting (courtesy National Gallery of Ireland)

never vote against Reynolds, accusing Hone of ‘always running your rigs against Sir Joshua’. He was not surprised that Hone’s *The Conjuror* was refused by the Academy, and had a low opinion of Hone since he had painted it.⁵⁰ Nollekens was known as an eccentric. Thus, Hone, far from perturbed, offered him two prints he had bought at Gerard’s. This resulted in Nollekens accusing him of bribery. Still unruffled, Hone protested that one of the prints was by Captain Baillie, a Commissioner of the Stamp Office, to which Nollekens retorted:

Ay, he’s another swaggering fellow too: he was praising the print you have engraved in mezzo-tinto of Grose and Forrest from another picture that did you no good. It proves you to be a man of no religion or you would not sport with the Roman Catholics in that way.⁵¹

Hone and Baillie were clearly inseparable, since Nollekens classed them together. Like most other commentators on Hone’s *Two Gentlemen in Masquerade as Gluttonous Friars at a Feast* (1770), and the mezzotint he made after it in 1772,

Monachum non facit cucullus (Plate 19), Smith assumed that Hone's two subjects were Theodosius Forrest (1728-1784), a draughtsman, singer, composer, solicitor and honorary exhibitor at the Society of Artists, and Captain Grose. Angelo had a different story:

Captain Grose whose stories were at all times humorous, in his bulky shape and chubby countenance was quite the reverse of Baillie. Hone with his Irish pleasantry (there was no Catholic question at the time) by way of a contrast painted them (three quarters) two friars at a table. Previous to the dinner, Grose, the jolly fat friar both hands raised in the act of saying grace, yet careful at the time they should not be idle, is squeezing a lemon over a roasted turkey under him. The other, with a lank countenance and figure resembling the lay brother in Sheridan's *Duenna*, as his assistant is employed in stirring a bowl of punch with a cross.⁵²

Angelo was not the only writer to notice the contrast between the two captains. Pyne also referred to 'long-legged Baillie' and 'fatty Grose' coming home from an auction.⁵³ Baillie, Grose and Forrest were all Hone's friends, and Grose died at the Dublin home of Hone's son Horace in 1791. Nathaniel Dance's *Group Portrait*, and Bartolozzi's print after the painting, portray Forrest, Grose and Hone together.⁵⁴

20 – William Baillie, *PIPING BOY*

1769, mezzotint after Nathaniel Hone painting
(courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)



However, neither Hone's solo exhibition catalogue nor the list of the Royal Academy exhibitors identified the models for the friars.⁵⁵ Graves added Forrest and Grose's names in italics to the latter. Angelo is the only writer to name Baillie as the model for the second friar, but he is also alone in giving a detailed account of the circumstances surrounding the painting. On seeing an impression of the print some time later, Angelo pointed out that: 'Having known the parties, it was a great treat to me.'⁵⁶ This nostalgic remark supports the identification. A comparison of the monk's physiognomy with other portraits of Baillie is also strong evidence for the claim. Forrest was affectionately known as 'Little Forrest', but his small stature would not have been such a striking contrast with Grose as the tall,



21 – William Baillie, *MOONLIGHT*

1773, mezzotint after Aelbert Cuyp painting (courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

thin Baillie, who, as a former grenadier, was exceptionally tall for the period. Although the second monk looks small in comparison to the immensely corpulent Grose, he does not look unusually short.

Baillie and Hone's paths had crossed in 1752 and 1753 when Hone etched his portrait and probably taught him the rudiments of printmaking, but they probably had known each other for far longer as they had grown up in the centre of Dublin where their fathers were both merchants. Hone's father's clothmaking business on Wood Quay was very close to Robert Baillie's shop on the other side of the Liffey, and he may even have supplied Robert with fabric. Hone was probably a pupil of Robert West, who later started the first drawing school at the Dublin Society, and may also have received some training from John Brooks, who set up as a mezzotint engraver in Dublin in 1741. But the following year he had gone to England; thus he left Ireland around the same time as Baillie. After Baillie's retirement from the army in 1761, they lived fairly close to each other in London, when Baillie was in Kensington and Hone was in the St James's area.⁵⁷ Both men exhibited at the Society of Artists until 1768 when Hone left to become one of the founder members of the Royal Academy. Baillie also made prints after a number of Hone's paintings,

particularly *The Piping Boy*, which undoubtedly owes its popularity largely to the print (Plate 20).

Hone probably introduced Baillie to the famous collector, John Barnard (d.1784), as he had known him since at least 1752, when he dined with him on 9th January, bought and sold prints to him in the following months and completed a miniature of him on 6th April. Both men had print sales and attended auctions.⁵⁸ At his solo exhibition in 1775 there was also a copy after a Salvador Rosa landscape from Barnard's collection. When Baillie entered the Stamp Office in 1765, Barnard was a Commissioner of Stamps, and when Barnard retired in 1773 Baillie took his place. Barnard then received Baillie's pension.⁵⁹ Barnard had been a serious collector for some time before Baillie appeared on the scene, but there was a greater emphasis on Dutch seventeenth-century paintings, particularly those of Aelbert Cuyp, after he had made Baillie's acquaintance. Baillie had a special association with Cuyp's paintings, as he imported several important examples into England and also engraved one of them, which would have helped increase the demand for the artist (Plate 21). Apart from those which he acquired for the Bute collection and for the 1st Earl of Liverpool, there were five attributed to the artist in his 1771 sale, including *The Small Dort* (Plate 22) and possibly the Bute *Orpheus* (private collection). He also imported *Dordrecht from the North* (Plate 23).⁶⁰ When Barnard's collection was first recorded by Dodsley in 1761, there was one painting attributed to Cuyp, which is no longer regarded as authentic. By the time of his death, Barnard owned several important Cuyp works which are now in museums in Europe and the United States. However, Barnard was most renowned for his collection of 449 Rembrandt prints and ten drawings, some of which are now in the British Museum.⁶¹ He bequeathed £200 to Baillie and a further £500 to his brother Thomas, following his dismissal from his post as lieutenant governor of Greenwich hospital for championing the cause of the seamen residing at the hospital.⁶² Baillie later acted for Barnard's grandchildren in a case against his main beneficiary – his nephew, Hankey. He also engraved some of his collection.

Like Baillie, Hone collected Rembrandt's prints and drawings and also owned a version of Rembrandt's *Angel Departing from the Family of Tobias*.⁶³ There were impressions of Rembrandt's *Goldweigher* and *Cornelis Anslø* in his 1781 auction, and there were also some prints by the master, including *The Hundred Guilder Print*, in his posthumous sale in 1785.⁶⁴ In addition, he painted a number of Rembrandtesque portraits, among which Hone's *Portrait of Baillie* (Plate 24) is a particularly striking example.⁶⁵ It seems to be a joint tribute by the artist and sitter to the master. His hat and banyan, or gown, are almost direct quotes from Rembrandt's portrait etching of Cornelis Anslø.⁶⁶

Baillie's last reference to Hone was in a note to the Irish MP, collector and patron, Andrew Caldwell, which was written in August 1784. He had just attended

his friend Hone's funeral at Hendon, 'enclosed in a gloomy mourning Coach; and a melancholy ceremony', and was going that evening to pack books and pictures, which may have been from Hone's collection.⁶⁷ On the last day of Hone's posthumous sale of drawings and prints, thirty lots consisted of 207 impressions of Baillie's prints and a proof impression after Hone's *Portrait of Baillie* (Plate 25).⁶⁸ Thus, it seems that Hone sold Baillie's prints. An impression of Baillie's portrait in the British Museum shows that Baillie's image was added to the empty frame with some changes in pencil.⁶⁹ A note on the verso, purportedly signed by Baillie, claims that this was Hone's drawing, but the signature does not look authentic. Further doubt is cast on this by J.T. Smith's intervention, as he copied the inscription and signed his name! In 1791 Baillie claimed he had sold a Jacob van Ruisdael landscape to Hone for twenty-five guineas which was now valued at two hundred guineas.⁷⁰

BAILLIE'S OTHER IRISH CONNECTIONS

Baillie had other Irish connections besides Hone: Welbore Ellis Agar, who lived in London but was the third son of Henry Agar of Gowran Castle, county Kilkenny, and Andrew Caldwell, already mentioned. Both were important collectors.⁷¹ Baillie's first known contact with Agar occurred in 1778 when he made a print after a painting in Agar's collection (Plate 26).⁷² According to a note which Baillie wrote beside an impression of the print in the Bute Album (Institut Néerlandais, Paris): 'The orig Picture sold at Mons de Gagne Sale for 340 Louis d'or'.⁷³ The author and leading Parisian print dealer and importer of English prints, Pierre-François Basan (1723-1797), may have acquired the painting for Baillie, as he is known to have procured other works for Agar at the sale.⁷⁴ In his annotations in Pilkington's *Dictionary*, Baillie wrote further notes about the collection. He believed that two paintings, including Adriaen van der Werff's *Rest on the Flight into Egypt* (National Gallery, London), had been imported by the dealer Dr Bragge (d.1778). He noted that Agar had acquired a 'fine' painting by Sassoferrato, although he generally believed his works were overrated, and related an anecdote about Claude's *Landscape with the Adoration of the Golden Calf* (Staatliche Kunsthalle, Karlsruhe).⁷⁵ Agar had eight works by Claude, one of the greatest eighteenth-century collections of the artist in England. These were acquired by the 2nd Earl of Grosvenor in 1806.

In his will of 1805, Baillie left his copy of Rubens' *The Apotheosis of Two of the Alovias' Deceased Children* to Agar, indicating their close friendship. After Agar's death, Baillie replied to a request from James Christie to help him with the executors of his 'late dear old Friend W.E. Agar'.⁷⁶ Baillie promised him he would



22 – *Aelbert Cuyp, A Distant View of Dordrecht with a Sleeping Herdsman and Five Cows, The Small Dort c.1645-50, oil on oak, 66.5 x 100 cm (courtesy National Gallery, London [NG 962])*

23 – *Aelbert Cuyp, View of Dordrecht*

c.1655, oil on canvas, 68.5 x 190 cm

(Anthony de Rothschild Collection, Ascott; courtesy The National Trust; © NTPL/ John Hammond)



24 – Nathaniel Hone
the Elder

PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM BAILLIE
1783, oil on canvas, 76 x 64 cm
(detail) (courtesy William Jeavons
Baillie, New Zealand)

25 – William Baillie

CAPTAIN WILLIAM BAILLIE
c.1783, stipple after Nathaniel
Hone painting, c.1783
(courtesy National Library of
Ireland)





26 –William Baillie, *QUARREL OF CUPID AND PSYCHE*
 1778, print after Nicolas Poussin painting from Welbore Ellis Agar's collection
 (courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)

‘say everything favourable’ about Christie’s if he was consulted, but he was not sure if the collection would be sold by auction. Christie’s did initially get the sale, so he may well have put in a good word for them. In 1806 Baillie replied to the wine merchant, connoisseur and collector, Caleb Whiteford’s request to arrange a visit of Agar’s collection before it was sold.⁷⁷ He proposed a visit between eleven and two o’clock on the following Wednesday.

Caldwell lived in Ireland, but Baillie probably only met him in London. The first recorded communication between them occurred after Hone’s funeral as described above. Baillie was supplying Caldwell with prints and possibly paintings and books at the time.⁷⁸ In 1786 Baillie made a print after what he believed to be Adriaen van Ostade’s *School* (Plate 27) from Caldwell’s collection.⁷⁹ Six years later they visited Christie’s, at 83 Pall Mall, and the old Royal Academy rooms nearby, at No. 125, where the northern component of the Orleans collection was on exhibition. Thomas Moore Slade, supported by a syndicate including Lord Kinnaird, Morland

and Hammersley, had persuaded the Duke of Orleans to part with the Dutch and Flemish component of his collection in 1792. Baillie probably advised Caldwell to acquire works from this collection, as four lots were thought to have emanated from it in his posthumous sale.⁸⁰

Baillie helped a number of artists – by getting commissions for them, as in Richard Wilson’s case; by introducing them to suitable masters, as in Thomas Jones’ case, or to potential patrons, as in Julius Caesar Ibbetson’s case.⁸¹ He also interceded on their behalf, as with Francesco Zuccarelli, and gave assistance to their widows, including Madame Zuccarelli and Mrs Edward Dayes.⁸² In 1796 Caldwell recommended to his care a former pupil of Romney’s, the artist Thomas Robinson (fl.1770-1810), who was from Windermere but had come to Dublin in 1790 and thence to the North of Ireland in 1793.⁸³ Robinson must have wanted to be an architect, as Baillie replied that he was at a disadvantage in not having one friend or even

27 – William Baillie, *THE SCHOOL*

1786, print after Adriaen van Ostade’s painting from Andrew Caldwell’s collection
(courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)





28 – Gerrit Dou, *WOMAN BY LAMPLIGHT*

1670, 19 x 14 cm (courtesy Royal Cabinet of Paintings, Mauritshuis, The Hague [no. 33]).

29 – Gerrit Dou

Portrait of his Mother

1638, black, white and sanguine
chalk with a sepia wash

(photo courtesy RMN / Gérard Blot
[inv. no. 22579, Paris, Musée du
Louvre, DAG])



30 – William Baillie

Dou's Mother

1774, stipple after Gerrit Dou
drawing from Baillie's collection
(courtesy Trustees of the Chester
Beatty Library, Dublin)



acquaintance in ‘the chief branch the gentleman is to rise’, since Sir William Chambers’ recent death.⁸⁴ Baillie showed him his collection and Agar had also ‘admitted him to sight of his Rarities’. Most collectors opened their houses to well-known painters and connoisseurs, but second-rate artists required introductions.⁸⁵ Baillie was also going to help him with ‘landscape which is the accompaniment or background [to architecture]’, and had provided him with letters which would ensure he could see Blenheim ‘in all its glow and Magnificence within & without & there is nothing will prevent him from thinking everything he has seen in Ireland mere miniature’. By 1798 Robinson had returned to Lisburn, when he exhibited, and raffled at a guinea a ticket, his first known historical subject – the topical *Battle of Ballynahinch* (Áras an Uachtaráin, Dublin) at the Belfast Assembly Rooms. This new attention to marketing techniques may have been prompted by Baillie, who was a master at the art. However, Robinson later became too ambitious when he advertised a new painting to commemorate the Lord Lieutenant’s visit to the Belfast Yeomanry in 1804 (Belfast Harbour Office), which was to include the portraits of some three hundred subscribers.⁸⁶ Robinson also undertook landscape gardening for Bishop Percy of Dromore, where again Baillie’s advice may have been useful.⁸⁷

In 1808 Robinson moved to Dublin where he ended his days as a portraitist.⁸⁸ In his letter to Caldwell, Baillie added that he had chosen a fine impression of Heath’s print after Copley’s *Death of Major Pierson*, recently published, at Boydell’s. Caldwell’s request must have been very specific, as Baillie wrote that he had not seen any difference between this impression and another without any lettering. Baillie ended his letter by boasting about a Guido Reni painting which he had recently acquired for his own ‘collection’, probably hoping that Caldwell might procure it. In his final letter to Caldwell of 3rd October 1797, Baillie gave him instructions about how he might get to his house in Little Chelsea.⁸⁹ It was obviously Caldwell’s first visit and shows a growing intimacy, but no further letter survives.

BAILLIE’S TASTE: HIS COLLECTION AND ANNOTATIONS

Baillie’s taste was an important factor in the formation of a number of aristocratic collections. There are several indicators of his artistic preferences – the contents of his own collection, his posthumous sale, and the annotations he added to the margins of his copy of Pilkington’s *Dictionary*. The notes were added to the first edition of 1770 and were mostly written after 1785.⁹⁰

The contents of Baillie’s collection are known from prints and from some of Baillie’s annotations in Pilkington. Baillie made prints after eight works and a further nine were made by other printmakers. Some of these have led to the identification of the original works such as Rembrandt’s *Man with a Beard* (Metropolitan

Museum, New York), engraved by Greenwood in 1763; Cuyp's octagonal painting; Adam Pijnacker's *Europa Point*; Jan van Goyen's two round paintings, engraved by John Pye I; and Gerrit Dou's *Candlelight with Four Figures* (private collection, Switzerland), *Woman by Lamplight* (Plate 28) and *Portrait of his Mother* (Plate 29), engraved by Baillie (Plates 31, 32, 30).⁹¹ When he saw it in Holland in 1781, Reynolds immediately recognised Dou's *Woman by Lamplight* as having been formerly in Baillie's collection, demonstrating how the print linked Baillie's name with the artist or work concerned.⁹² The paintings engraved by Pye and Baillie in the early 1770s show Baillie's interest in Dutch seventeenth-century painting widening away from the Rembrandt school to landscapes by Italianate artists such as Pijnacker, important naturalistic landscape artists such as van Goyen, and the more monumental Cuyp, as well as to marine and genre painters, particularly the Leiden school of *fijnschilders* (fine painters).

Baillie mentioned a further seventeen paintings from his collection in his annotations, and he referred to another acquisition in a letter of 1796. Since these annotations were mainly written after 1785, a further change in his taste may be detected. Ten of the works which he discussed were Italian, and he also referred to Flemish and French artists such as Velvet Brueghel and Laurent de la Hyre. The most heartfelt of all his annotations, however, concerns William van de Velde the Younger's *Brisk Gale*, 'which had every excellence imaginable'.⁹³ Greenwood, who worked with the Amsterdam printseller and dealer Pierre Fouquet, and had sold *The Hundred Guilder Print* plate to Baillie, as well as making prints after two works in his collection, had acquired the painting for him 'from Old Collins at Paris'. Greenwood had set out with Fouquet on the first of a number of trips to Holland and France to acquire art works in 1763. Greenwood's diary of his travels and accounts of his purchases show that they made many acquisitions for Baillie. A payment of £82 was recorded for van de Velde's painting.⁹⁴ According to Baillie, the painting was sold to Sir Lawrence Dundas 'at Prestages Room for 106 pounds one Shill[in]g in y.e year 1764' when he went 'abroad', but for Baillie 'it is worth a Thousand ... I shall for ever regret it.'⁹⁵ This regret was probably increased because Baillie had 'lined it' with his own hands and had removed the varnish, as it was very dirty when he bought it. When he returned from his trip abroad he tried 'to regain' his 'Prize but without Success'. Baillie's role as advisor to Sir James Lowther, and his successor Sir William Lowther, also involved conservation and, in some cases, restoration of works in their collection.

Baillie's 'collection' of thirty-two paintings and three drawings which he owned from the 1760s to 1800 was really his stock in trade. Few of the artists and none of the paintings reappeared in his posthumous sale on 15th March 1811 at Christie's, showing the elusive nature of Baillie's 'collection' and taste. The contents of the sale were probably a mixture of works from his personal collection, as



31 – William Baillie, *CANDLELIGHT WITH FOUR FIGURES*
1774, mezzotint after Gerrit Dou (courtesy Trustees of the Chester Beatty Library, Dublin)



32 – William Baillie, *WOMAN BY LAMPLIGHT*
1771, mezzotint after Gerrit Dou (courtesy Witt Library, London)

well as others which he had been unable to sell. About seventeen works which had been bought up to five years before his death were probably intended for resale. Thirty of the forty-eight lots were mainly seventeenth-century Italian religious or mythological works. This may have been in response to the depression in the market for Dutch works at the time. Three English landscapes, including one each by Richard Wilson and George Lambert (in collaboration with William Hogarth), as well as William Beechy's *Landscape*, which was painted by the artist 'during a morning visit to his friend at Chelsea', and two Reynolds portraits, were probably part of his personal collection.⁹⁶ The 1st Marquess of Bute probably procured Jan Breughel and Hendrik van Balen's *Holy Family in a Landscape*, Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout's *Simeon with the Infant Christ*, Jan Steen's *Dutch Wedding*, and *Christ Carrying the Cross*, attributed to Giorgione, at Baillie's sale.⁹⁷ The latter, 'a model for the famous picture at Venice', had been attributed to Titian when Baillie bought it in 1806.⁹⁸ Additional information about van den Eeckhout's painting in the sale catalogue made it more desirable: 'this chef d'oeuvre for composition, spirit of pencil and richness of effect, may vie with the best works of Rembrandt. Mr Pilkington mentions it as one of his finest pictures.' Baillie had admired Steen and van den Eeckhout from early in his career, and Breughel and Titian received only praise in his annotations. Thus the 1st Marquess may knowingly have bought Baillie's most prized possessions. None of the paintings were in the 1799 or 1800 inventories of Luton Hoo (the Bute residence in Bedfordshire).⁹⁹ They were all in the 1822 Bute sale, when Godfrey Bosville-Macdonald acquired Steen's *Wedding*. It remained in his collection until 1935.¹⁰⁰

BAILLIE'S OPINION OF REMBRANDT, RUBENS AND WATTEAU

The annotations which Baillie added to Pilkington's *Dictionary* which were connected neither with his own collection nor those of the aristocrats he advised were probably the best guide to his taste. Although Pilkington included painters from 1250 to 1767 in his *Dictionary*, like most collectors and connoisseurs of the period Baillie concentrated on a narrow canon of seventeenth-century painters and on some fifteenth and sixteenth-century artists. Remarkably few of Baillie's annotations concerned eighteenth-century artists. Out of a total of eighty-eight painters to which Baillie added notes and who could be identified, fifty-six were northern, demonstrating his greater familiarity with these artists and showing that he had not lost interest in these artists despite the impression made by his annotations on his own collection and his posthumous sale. His notes on northern artists were also livelier than those on their Italian or French counterparts. This was unusual for English writers who, apart from Reynolds in his *Journey to Flanders and Holland* of 1781,

and Pilkington in his *Dictionary*, had not broached the subject. Baillie's most extended comments were reserved for Rembrandt, Peter Paul Rubens and Antoine Watteau (1684-1721).

Baillie's notes about Rembrandt in the margins of his copy of the *Dictionary* are particularly interesting, given his association with the artist. They do not seem to have been inspired by disagreement with Pilkington's assessment of Rembrandt, which, like so many school reports, for every good point ceded, always had a bad one around the corner.¹⁰¹ Instead, Baillie made apparently unrelated observations about the artist. Rembrandt's originality and his prowess in printmaking were emphasised initially: 'Rembrandt had sev[era]ll Manners of painting as well as Engraving all differing from any other Master: his way of Etching being a[n] invention never yet well imitated tho there have been a great many pretenders.'¹⁰² This is a surprising statement given that Baillie himself was one of the many 'pretenders'. Only two Rembrandt prints were mentioned: *The Hundred Guilder Print*, in which 'there are sev[era]ll elegant fig[u]r[e]s & for expression of Countenance he surpasses every one', and *The Raising of Lazarus*, which with many of his other prints showed how Rembrandt was sometimes very great. Thus, for Baillie, Rembrandt's etchings possibly outshone his paintings. This was the prevalent attitude until the last decade of the century. Baillie outlined Rembrandt's different styles of painting:

His first Stile was highly finished & had a Sort of Polish on y.e Surface[:] he often did his own Face in this Stile – He painted also some Historys in the manner finished to an extraordinary Degree with a most Spirited touch however perceivable on them[:] This is the manner that enraptured his Capital Disciple G[erard] Dou who ever after adhered to it – But it was too Laborious for the Impatient Temper of our Artist –¹⁰³

Dou was well regarded at the time, and Baillie had acquired a number of his works both for himself and others. As was common in the literature of the period, Rembrandt's laziness and impatience are also brought to the fore. In Baillie's view, he abandoned his first finished style of painting purely because of this and practised his second style, which was 'brown, thin & greasy', for a 'very short time'. He described his third style in more detail:

He then took his finest manner of painting and Colouring which is a proper or rather a very careful pencilling neither polished smooth or disagreeably rough even on a close View. A perfect portrait of himself in this fine Time was offer'd to sale at Christie's in this year 1785 – but there were no bidders for It. (It was afterwards purchased by Mr Beretel & Mons.r Paliet of Paris.) Whilkst [sic] a most infamous Copy representing an Old Man with a long beard had many admirers and was knocked down at 35 guineas. It was



33 – Gerbrandt van den Eeckhout, *MORCEDAI LED IN TRIUMPH BY HAMAN*
1664, oil on canvas, 39 x 49 cm (photo Keith Hunter Photography; private collection)

bought by a Rt Reverend Connoisseur & is worth as many shill[ing]s. Thus is Rembrandt judged of!¹⁰⁴

Baillie was all too aware of the pitfalls involved in trying to acquire an original Rembrandt painting. He added more comments about Rembrandt's third manner of painting:

[It] was bold rough yet great & fine [,]a most extraord.[a]ry number of Tints abound in them undisturbed and view'd at a proper Distance they seem to melt into each other & are in ye utmost harmony & almost startle the beholder for Effect. One of his grandest Pieces in this Stile in ye Coll.[ectio]n of ye Landgrave of Hesse: Tis the Seizing of Samson. A small oval is in the same Coll.n representing Dalila Cutting of[f] his hair in his first manner.

Baillie probably saw the collection at Kassel when he was stationed in Germany in 1758 and 1759, as Landgrave William was an English ally. Rembrandt painted *The Blinding of Samson* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main), 'the apogee of



34 –William Baillie
*DANIEL PROVING THE
INNOCENCE OF SUSANNA*

1764, etching after Gerbrandt van
den Eeckhout (courtesy National
Library of Ireland)

35 –Gerbrandt van den
*Eeckhout, DANIEL PROVING
THE INNOCENCE OF SUSANNA*

1650-55, oil on canvas,
58.5 x 68.5 cm (courtesy
Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford,
CT: Ella Gallup Sumner and Mary
Catlin Sumner Collection Fund)



his baroque style', in 1636.¹⁰⁵ Since Baillie believed that it was the 'grandest' work of his 'finest manner' of painting, this implies that he did not admire Rembrandt's later work such as *The Nightwatch* (1642), *The Syndics* (1662) and others, which could be seen in Holland at the time.¹⁰⁶ In England still-life painters such as Jan van Huysum were sometimes valued more highly than Rembrandt, who was more appreciated in France.¹⁰⁷ Until the 1790s mainly artists were interested in collecting him, particularly Reynolds, despite his criticisms of his work. Even then, only very large works or those which had a lot of small figures were in demand.¹⁰⁸

Rembrandt's masterly use of colour was widely admired in the eighteenth century. Baillie was no exception to this, as was evident from his discussion of Nicolaes Maes, his pupil:

He painted Women with Children in Cradles and other fancy pieces [are] very pretty and sometimes elegant. They sometimes pass with those who are not correct for Rembrandt but they may be known by a predominant black Tint in ye Shadows instead of ye rich & forcible browns and yellows of Rembrandt.¹⁰⁹

As a painter, Baillie was also conscious of Rembrandt's technique:

This Great Man tried ye Effect of using Varnish with his Colours but was soon convin.[ce]d of his Mistake – I have seen a Profile head with Mr Denoot at Brussels all crack'd & black where this colour Poison was used – I wish our great Modern [Reynolds] had like Rembrandt only made a few Experiments.¹¹⁰

This was the only defect that Baillie noticed in Reynolds' paintings.¹¹¹ He was far more critical of Reynolds as a connoisseur when he was encroaching on Baillie's territory. Referring to a van den Eeckhout painting in the Bute collection (Plate 33), he stated: 'Reynolds who values himself on his Knowledge of Rembrandt was deceived in this picture until he was shown the name of Eeckhout on It.'¹¹² Mis-attributions were notoriously common in the period. But Baillie himself believed that van den Eeckhout sometimes equalled and even excelled his master. Referring to van den Eeckhout's *Guardroom Scene* (Bute collection), he stated that: 'there is also a most capital and elegant conversation piece with six or seven figures which was above his master for grace & transparencies & equal as to Effect.'¹¹³ Baillie also compared himself to Rembrandt. An impression of his print (Bute Album, Institut Néerlandais, Paris) (Plate 34) after van den Eeckhout's *Daniel Proving the Innocence of Susanna* (Plate 35) has 'Capt Baillie's Fifty guilders print 1775' printed above the image.

Nicolaes Berchem (1620-1683), whose name became so familiar that Ibbetson was called the 'English Berchem', was one of the first Dutch painters to

appeal to French and later English eighteenth-century collectors. For Baillie he was ‘certainly one of the first rate Landscape painters, perhaps the very best’.¹¹⁴ He was thus astonished at Reynolds’ failure to appreciate him:

What must be thought of the Judgment of Sir Joshua Reynolds whom I have heard assert that Berghem was a poor Artist – a mannerist – and not fit to be mentioned among Painters of any note – This and many other Opinions shew how uncertain is the Judgment of this great Painter whose works are deservedly admired.¹¹⁵

Baillie’s strongest attack on Reynolds as a connoisseur, however, was in the context of Rubens, whom he believed ‘take him for all and all’ was ‘the greatest Man among the Artists’. He believed that ‘no great Man was ever so hardly dealt by’: Mengs, the neoclassical painter and writer, bought Rubens’ prints solely in order to burn them, as he believed they were ‘the Poison of Artists’; Walpole ‘execrates him and excuses his clumsy Female Figures, saying the Painter represented the true flesh & Blood he was so fond of great Flemish Women’; and Reynolds believed that ‘he [Rubens] carried all the mistakes of ye Venetians to an excess & was more gross than they[.] That even his colouring is crude and too much tinted (pray what is that I ask?) That he is without nice Distinction or Elegance.’¹¹⁶ Although this was Reynolds’ opinion in his discourses, he did allow that Rubens had some merit in other contexts.¹¹⁷ Baillie believed that Reynolds was unable to appreciate Rubens as he could not distinguish his works from those of Cornelis Schut: ‘what can we say of a great Artist & Head of the Academy who has y.e. Folly to shew that miserable Piece he has lately bought representing Hercules & Omphale & call It a fine performance of Rubens.’¹¹⁸ Reynolds judged Rubens from school works or ‘wretched Druggs of the worst Disciples of Rubens’, accusing the master of their faults.

In Baillie’s opinion, Reynolds’ main problem as a connoisseur was that he did not know enough about the imitators and disciples of important artists. Thus, he acquired three Claudes in Paris, two of which were ‘wretched Copies’ and ‘a Picture he called Baroccio which was painted all over & a new Design introduced by Mr Tassaert’, which Reynolds had ‘cried up and even shewn as a Curiosity’.¹¹⁹ However, Claude’s two *Pastoral Landscapes* (Timken Museum of Art, San Diego, and Metropolitan Museum, New York), which were in Reynolds’ collection by 1775 and had been in Rémy sales in Paris in 1768, are authentic. Baillie’s own record with Claude was less impressive.¹²⁰ Baillie did not want to forget another of Reynolds’ ‘Blunders’, his acquisition of a Raphael copy from the ‘late’ Dr Bragge (d.1778) for £250. Rémy had bought it at a ‘Brokers Shop in Paris for one Louis Dor [one guinea] & sent [it] to Dr Brag charging him 15 for it’. Bragge ‘put it into a Prestage auction and bought it in for thirty six guineas’. Baillie wrote:



36 – Lemuel Francis Abbott, *Portrait of William Baillie*
c.1794, oil on canvas, 30 x 25 cm (detail) (photo Keith Hunter Photography; private collection)



37 – *Aelbert Cuyp*
RIVER LANDSCAPE WITH
HORSEMAN AND PEASANTS
c.1660, oil on canvas
124 x 241 cm (courtesy National
Gallery, London [NG 962])

38 – *William Baillie*
LORD MOUNTSTUART
1779, stipple after Nathaniel Hone
(courtesy National Gallery of
Ireland)



Sir Jos.^a was present Yet he afterwards had ye folly to fancy & still pretends to think this is a true Raphael – tho the Orig. 1 is in the King of france's Collection & was sold by Remi for ye account of the Prince of Carignan whose Family had possessed it above 200 years.¹²¹

Many believed that there were many misattributions in Reynolds' collection, and that he, or others, had restored some authentic paintings.¹²²

Baillie commended Reynolds' connoisseurship in one instance. He bought a Jordaens painting at the Solomon Deyrolles sale, which Baillie thought was his best work, as his figures were small and not too vulgar.¹²³ Echoing many authors' criticism of other northern artists, he was sorry that Jordaens did not visit Italy, as this might have refined his taste and prevented 'his exhibiting those nauseous vulgarities so prevalent in his works. His figures are frequently gigantic.' Baillie agreed with Pilkington that an anecdote related by Sandrart and de Piles about Rubens making Jordaens paint his designs in distemper so as to weaken his sense of colour was unlikely: 'Rubens must have been very diffident of his own merit & strangely overrate the talents of Jordaens to be jealous of a man by no means formed to be a competitor with him in any one particular of the art.'¹²⁴ For Baillie, Rubens was a far superior artist, but with the exception of one acquisition for Sir James Lowther in 1764 there are few records of Baillie buying or selling Rubens' works.¹²⁵ The English were indifferent to him until after 1783, when a number of Rubens' altarpieces came on the market following the dissolution of Belgian contemplative orders. In the 1790s his works increased in popularity, which probably fuelled Baillie's enthusiasm for him.¹²⁶

Given Baillie's regard for Rubens, it is not surprising that he also admired Watteau. He attributed his failure to achieve greatness to his mixing with the wrong company, which removed him from Rubens' influence. After 1721, Watteau's work, as well as that of his followers, was widely collected in England and on the Continent, but his Rococo style was subject to much adverse criticism after 1750.¹²⁷ When Baillie was writing his annotations, this cloud had not yet lifted:

Watteau had much Genius but it took a bad Bias owing unluckily to his meeting Gillot & his attachment & liking to a fellow who had no genius at all – had he been lock'd up in the Luxemburg instead of working like a Slave at the scenery of the opera-house (where the Fantastic French Taste prevail[e]d or rather predominated & has from that Date kick'd Grace out of Doors & introduced Affectation to supply her Place) Watteau wou'd have made a very Different Figure in the History of Painters.¹²⁸

Watteau was, in fact, first apprenticed to the theatrical designer, Claude Gillot, in 1705. Charles Audran, an admirer of Rubens and curator of Luxembourg Palace,

became his mentor in 1708.¹²⁹ Baillie had little regard for Watteau's new genre, the *fête galante*, where theatrical and contemporary figures are depicted together. Caylus, a friend of the artist, published a biography of Watteau in 1748 which criticised his affectation, the fault Baillie underlined.¹³⁰ Nonetheless, Baillie had to concede that, despite the influence of 'the comical Theatrical Fantastical School' and Watteau's introduction to 'the Romantic Scenes exhibited by Louis y.e 14th',

his Works are excellent in their kind & one cannot help being seduced into a kind of momentary Rapture at his beautiful Representation of his amorous & gallant Groups of Figures, the varied & pretty Action and also his delightful Scenery of y.e Backgrounds, which he has improved from stiff and formal & made appear loose wild & luxuriant, his Cascades, Jets D'Eaux and perpendicular Steeple – like Waterworks and his Alleys & cut Vistos instead of Offending the Eye administer Pleasure & make one lament the depraved taste of y.e age that corrupted so delightful a genius.¹³¹

Baillie's use of the word 'seduced' is apt, as, for him, the Rococo was depraved. His heart was in the seventeenth century and he thought that Watteau's depictions of 'the march, as an army or his attacks or Retreats or halts of military Corps' were even better than his galante scenes, excelling Adam van der Meulen and equalling Philips Wouermans in 'the truth and correctness of his little Figures'. According to Baillie, Watteau's domestic scenes, which he believed were rare, reached 'still a Note higher', equalling the best of David Teniers in their 'fantastic Expression, Transparence & colouring'.¹³² According to Baillie, Watteau was introduced to Dr Mead during his stay in London, and painted some pictures for him as well as two or three portraits, including that of the sculptor Louis François Roubiliac.¹³³ Baillie owned two authors who held opposite views on Watteau's works – Voltaire, who made scathing comments about him, and Orlandi, who praised the artist.¹³⁴

BAILLIE AS ADVISOR TO ARISTOCRATIC COLLECTORS

To judge from the inscriptions on his prints, Baillie knew a large number of collections, including those of John Blackwood, Robert Bragge, Thomas Hudson, Ralph Willett, Joshua van Neck, Jan Danser Nyman of Amsterdam, and many others.¹³⁵ In some cases he also advised about the formation of these collections.¹³⁶ Most of the collectors whom Baillie advised had some connection with the 3rd Earl of Bute, who was probably the linchpin of Baillie's enterprises because of his great influence with George III. Sir James Lowther was his son-in-law, and the 1st Earl of Liverpool his former secretary. Baillie was instrumental in acquiring Bute's Dutch and Flemish works, one of the earliest of the great British Netherlandish

collections.¹³⁷ The Bute family acknowledged his role in contemporary inventories of the collection when referring to Lemuel Francis Abbott's *Portrait of Baillie* (Plate 36), which was displayed in a prominent position at Luton Hoo and which still has an inscription on the frame.¹³⁸

The scale of Bute's collecting increased dramatically after Baillie began to advise him. Aelbert Cuyp's masterpiece, *River Landscape with Horseman and Peasants* (Plate 37), was one of Baillie's earliest acquisitions for the earl in 1762.¹³⁹ From surviving letters in the Bute and Lowther archives it can be seen that Baillie proposed other acquisitions from both Dutch and English collectors and dealers, but for the most part he employed Fouquet to procure works for both Bute and Lowther.¹⁴⁰ Evidence that he was specific about these acquisitions can be seen in references to Baillie in Greenwood's letters to Sir Lawrence Dundas in early 1762.¹⁴¹ Greenwood's diary (1763-65) also shows that Baillie was a major buyer.¹⁴² Many of these works must have been for Bute, given the scale of his collecting during this period. Bute's Coutts account shows that he was paying Baillie large amounts particularly from 1762 to 1765.¹⁴³ In addition, Baillie oversaw transactions involving other dealers. Bute may have acquired some works at Baillie's 1771 sale in London, and Baillie procured a number of paintings at auction for Bute's seaside residence at Highcliffe.¹⁴⁴ The Butes also procured three paintings from Baillie's collection – van Goyen's two circular paintings which were engraved by Pye and Netscher, and Wyck's *Duke of Monmouth*, engraved by Baillie (Plate 12). In addition, Baillie was probably responsible for Bute's collection of prints and drawings, and he decided on the display of works at Highcliffe (Robert Adam probably decided on this at Luton Hoo), the cataloguing of the print collection, and was involved in compiling the 1799 Luton Hoo inventories. He engraved some sixteen works from the collection (dedicating two of them to the 3rd Earl), as well as designing the frontispiece for Bute's botanical book of 1785. In his annotations to Pilkington's *Dictionary*, Baillie referred to some twenty-five works from the collection, which far outnumbers his references to other collections.

Baillie also advised Lord Mountstuart, later the 1st Marquess of Bute, who had a particular interest in portraiture, and attended auctions with him. He probably introduced Hone to Mountstuart. The artist made a miniature of him and painted his portrait twice. Baillie made a print after Hone's portrait (Plate 38), and dedicated a print after Guido Reni to him in 1785, including his coat of arms. Abbott also painted a portrait of the 1st Marquess. This has much in common with his portrait of Baillie. The 1st Marquess was probably responsible for the tribute paid to Baillie in the Luton Hoo inventories. Ibbetson acknowledged that Baillie helped him by introducing him to the Butes.¹⁴⁵ He stayed at Cardiff Castle, and a number of his paintings were acquired by the Marquess.¹⁴⁶ It was probably also due to Baillie that Ibbetson was later appointed to oversee the Lowther collection.¹⁴⁷

39 – Sir Anthony van Dyck,
CHARITY

c.1627, oil on oak panel,
151 x 107 cm (courtesy National
Gallery, London [NG 962])

40 – Battista dell'Angolo del
Moro, *MARS AND VENUS*

c.1550, 80 x 47 cm
(formerly in Lowther collection,
whereabouts unknown; courtesy
Christie's Images, London)





41 – Jan Steen, *THE OYSTER MEAL*

1660, oil on canvas, 107 x 137 cm (private collection)

Seventeenth-century northern works were also the most important part of the Lowther collection. Some letters in the Lowther archives show that Baillie approached Sir James or his wife through Bute at first.¹⁴⁸ Baillie's correspondent Fouquet acquired a number of works, including Jan Steen's *Oyster Meal* (Plate 41), at the famous Lormier sale in The Hague in 1763, and paintings by van Dyck (Plate 39) and Rubens at Antwerp in 1764 for Sir James Lowther.¹⁴⁹ There is a lengthy correspondence between Baillie, Sir James and the artist Francesco Zuccarelli, and later his widow, in Florence, which shows that Baillie encouraged Sir James to invest in the artist's works, including a substantial number of his paintings, drawings and prints. Five *Views of the Estate* were commissioned by Lowther, two of which are still in the collection (Plate 42). There are documents which show that Baillie advised Sir James and his successor about displaying, restoring, conserving and cataloguing the collection. He made prints after four works, and was also concerned with ensuring that sufficient prints of the collection were available. There is no evidence of any communication between Sir James and Baillie after 1789, but he again took up an advisory role with Sir William Lowther in 1802. Although only

one of Baillie's letters refers to a case against the dealer and author Michael Bryan, this was well documented by Farington in his diary.¹⁵⁰ The case concerned the authenticity of Lowther's 'Titian' (Plate 40), and Baillie's connoisseurship was put to the test against the most powerful painters of the day – Benjamin West, the president of the Royal Academy, and Joseph Farington, as well as the patron Sir George Beaumont. Baillie believed that the painting was certainly not one of Titian's best works as 'the features or characters of the figures' lacked 'grace expression and elegance'. West, on the contrary, believed the painting to be 'very fine'. In Baillie's opinion, if West had looked at the painting more carefully the dispute might have been avoided. In 1787, at another trial concerning the authenticity of a painting, Baillie had stated: 'There are many ingenious painters who are no connoisseurs.'¹⁵¹ This again shows the relevance of Gillray's print (Plate 1).

CONCLUSION

This review of Baillie's life gives us an insight into the progress of the gifted son of an eighteenth-century Irish upholsterer, who left to seek his fortune in the army in Europe and ended up in the heart of London artistic life. His greatest talents were

42 – Francesco and Andrea Zuccarelli, *VIEW OF OLD LOWTHER HALL AND GROUNDS* [detail]
1788-90, oil on canvas, 150 x 274 cm (private collection)



probably his social ease and quick wit, which enabled him to mix with very different strata of London society, from Wilkes to the Earl of Bute, and from Richard Wilson to Welbore Ellis Agar. This capacity to meld into different societies also applied to other countries, where once again he was able to find the milieu to suit his purposes. He was also an entrepreneur who admired Rembrandt, while at the same time profiting from his work. He was an obvious companion for collectors and a helping hand for the artist. His annotations demonstrate the confidence and intelligence which made him immensely useful.

This account serves the important purpose of redressing Baillie's image from the stilted personality outlined by Smith. Baillie's contribution to the popularity of Cuypp's works in England is important, particularly in view of the considerable influence that his paintings exerted on English artists. It was not enough for aristocrats such as Bute or Lowther to desire to possess impressive collections, they needed dealers such as Baillie to facilitate their needs and widen their horizons.



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NOTE

The attributions of most of the works in this article are Baillie's. Whenever possible they are confirmed or reattributed.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Stamp duties, which were the most important form of taxation in the eighteenth century, were imposed on legal documents, insurance policies, newspapers, patent medicines, and many other items. Baillie was one of five-to-seven commissioners. The post was probably a sinecure which Baillie received from the 3rd Earl of Bute.
- ² Baillie also reworked Rembrandt's plates of the *Goldweigher* and *Cornelis Anso*.
- ³ Baillie is included in five of the six preparatory drawings for the caricature. Gillray scribbled his name on one of these (Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Dyce 765-70).
- ⁴ John Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination* (London 1997) 265-66. The author and antiquarian Sir William Hamilton was British envoy to Naples from 1764 to 1800, and made an important contribution to the early development of the British Museum. Richard Payne Knight had enormous cultural power and was feared by both artists and fellow connoisseurs. The collector Caleb Whiteford, a wine merchant and wit, was often described in the same milieu as Baillie, and is a fellow victim in Gillray's *Connoisseurs Examining a Collection of George Morland's*.
- ⁵ Ada K. Longfield, 'History of Tapestry-making in Ireland in the 17th and 18th Centuries', *Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, 68 (1938) 97; *Directory of Dublin for the Year 1738*. William Stuart (d.1995) of Kildrough House discovered the name of the shop (lease 27/229/ 16737). Robert Baillie was described as an upholsterer in Abbey Street in 1733 and in 1738.
- ⁶ Dublin, Representative Church Body, Parish Records, 6. 251-300, 1.1, The Account of Christenings or Baptisms in the Parish of St. Maries Dublin beginning anno domini 1697; William Henry Pyne, *Somerset House Gazette*, I (London 1824) 300; Burtchaell and Sadlier, *Alumni Dublinesis 1593-1860* (Dublin 1935) 33, 131; H.A.C. Sturgess, *Register of Admissions to the Honorable Society of the Middle Temple*, 3 vols (London 1949) I, 330.
- ⁷ F.G. Hall, *The Bank of Ireland, 1783-1946* (Dublin 1949) 451; W. G. Strickland, *Dictionary of Irish Artists*, 2 vols (Dublin (1913) 1989) I, 475.
- ⁸ Irish Architectural Archive, Kildrough House lease, Castletown MS 97/ 84, E 16. The lease was agreed in 1720 on condition that Robert spent £150 in seven years, and it was stipulated that Robert had to pay £300 if the building was not finished by 1727.
- ⁹ Ada K. Longfield, 'Some Irish Tapestry Makers', *Burlington Magazine*, October 1944, 253-57; Ann Margaret Keller, 'The Long Gallery of Castletown House', *The Bulletin of the Irish Georgian Society*, 21 (1979) 1.
- ¹⁰ Col. C.B. Wylly, *History of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry*, 4 vols (London 1926) I, 46; *The Bugle*, XXXI, no. 1, 65; National Archives, Kew, London, WO 31/ 956, 72225, George Baillie (William's son) to Lord Fitzroy Somerset, Commander in Chief of King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, 13th October 1848; C.P. Deedes, Register of Officers, *History of the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry*, 4 vols (London 1947) IV, 21. Deedes cites an account that Baillie was on piquet duty at Minden and did not command the Grenadier Company, but gives no source for this.
- ¹¹ Pine painted the portrait prior to 1752 when Baillie was still in the Somerset Light Infantry. The colours of his uniform are changed in the different versions of the portrait as he had joined a new regiment.
- ¹² The Bute Album (Institut Néerlandais, Paris, inventory number 6436) originally belonged to

- the 3rd Earl of Bute and contains a collection of Baillie's prints and drawings, many of which are annotated. The second impression of the print is in the Heinz Archive Library, London.
- ¹³ London, British Library, Memorandum Book, Hone MS 44024, 52, 1752.
- ¹⁴ Swift complained that his friend Sheridan was 'enslaved by mathematics'. Sir Walter Scott, *The Works of Jonathan Swift*, 19 vols (London 1824) XVI, 484-85.
- ¹⁵ Baillie attributed the drawing to Rembrandt but it is now thought to be the work of Jan Ruischer.
- ¹⁶ Bute Archives, Mountstuart, Isle of Bute, Scotland, Baillie to 3rd Earl of Bute, undated letter. Baillie presented the drawing with a 'little Cuyp' and his copy of a C. Poelenberg painting from the collection. This may have been his way of introducing himself to the 3rd Earl of Bute.
- ¹⁷ Ann Bermingham, *Learning to Draw: Studies in the Cultural History of a Polite and Useful Art* (London 2000) 77 ff. Northern artists included Hollar, Thomas and Jan Wyck and Peter Tillemans.
- ¹⁸ Timothy Clayton, *The English Print* (London 1997) 161. William Bellers has similar figures in his *Six Views*, which were engraved in the 1750s.
- ¹⁹ *ibid.*, 148-50.
- ²⁰ Baillie exchanged with Captain Kirby of the 18th Light Dragoons on 1st May 1760. It was known as the 3rd Light Cavalry for a short period, and was renamed the 17th in 1763 .
- ²¹ Louise Lippincott, *Selling Art in Georgian London, the Rise of Arthur Pond* (London 1983) 29, 47, 52, 148-49, 153-56.
- ²² Richard Beranger, *The Art of Horsemanship*, 2 vols, (London 1771) II; John Stuart, 3rd Earl of Bute, *Botanical Tables* (1785). Baillie etched the frontispiece of Beranger's book and designed the half title illustrations for Bute's book, which was etched by Heath.
- ²³ The Hon Mrs Edward Stuart Wortley, *A Prime Minister and his Son, from the Correspondence of the 3rd Earl of Bute and of Lt. General the Hon. Sir Charles Stuart, K.B.* (London 1925) 23-24 .
- ²⁴ Baillie attributed the painting to the two artists, but it is most likely that Wyck alone was responsible for the work.
- ²⁵ The Lewis Walpole Library confirms that Walpole owned an impression of the print, which was in a sale of 1883, lot 266, not in the 1842 Strawberry Hill Sale. Monmouth was the illegitimate son of Charles II, and was executed by James II after he led a rebellion against him.
- ²⁶ Clayton, *The English Print*, 150.
- ²⁷ J.T. Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day* (London 1845) 96-97. Smith implied that Baillie scratched or made mezzotints in order to achieve the same effects as Rembrandt, but over half of Baillie's oeuvre of some 112 prints consists of etchings, far outnumbering his twenty-one mezzotints.
- ²⁸ W.S. Lewis et al (eds), *Horace Walpole's Correspondence*, 42 vols (New Haven and London 1937-80) II, 12; Maurice R. Brownell, *The Prime Minister of Taste* (New Haven and London 2001); Free Library of Philadelphia, Autographs of Engravers' Letters, John Frederick Lewis Collection, Baillie to Rev James Granger, 15th December 1773. Baillie was mentioned as an amateur in a footnote of Granger's book of 1769.
- ²⁹ Horace Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting in England, 1760-1795, collected by Horace Walpole and now digested and published from his original MSS by Frederick W. Hilles and Philip B. Daghlian*, V (New Haven and London 1937), 206. By 1765 his 'etching of a head' (now attributed to Ferdinand Bol) came to Walpole's attention, who noted: 'About this time and a

- little before several prints in the manner of Rembrandt were etched by Captain Baillie, a Scot.’ His reference to Baillie as a Scot is a mystery, though it was a well-known Scottish name.
- ³⁰ Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day*, 97. Benjamin West was the president of the Royal Academy.
- ³¹ Adam Bartsch, *Catalogue raisonné de toutes les estampes qui forment l’oeuvre de Rembrandt* (Vienna 1797) 76-77. ‘Baillie reworked or rather restored the plate with so much care and intelligence that you would need an experienced connoisseur’s eye to avoid confusing Baillie’s impressions with Rembrandt’s own work.’ A state refers to any additional change which is made to the plate after the first printing.
- ³² ‘totally reworked by William Baillie, the English Captain’.
- ³³ ‘Baillie made a change which produced a fifth state. This change involved curving the upper edge of the plate, removing the dog at the bottom on the left and completely covering the invalid’s foot which is near the right edge of the plate with hatching.’ (The invalid was lying on a stretcher.)
- ³⁴ Henry Angelo, *Reminiscences, with memoirs of his late father and friends*, 2 vols (London (1828) reprint 1904) I, 106, 250-61.
- ³⁵ William Henry Pyne, *Wine and Walnuts*, 2 vols (London 1823) II, 169-75. Baillie seemed well acquainted with the politician and Bute antagonist John Wilkes, which is surprising considering his association with Bute. Wilkes was liberated following a hearing at Westminster on 6th May 1763.
- ³⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, I, 250-61.
- ³⁷ Smith, *A Book for a Rainy Day*, 96-97.
- ³⁸ *ibid.*
- ³⁹ A.P. Oppé, *The Drawings of Paul and Thomas Sandby in the Collection of His Majesty the King at Windsor Castle* (London 1947) 83-85. Sandby drew sixty-two portraits in all, which are now in an album. The dates are known in a few cases where a portion of the catalogue was cut out with the sketch. These sales all took place in 1783 or 1786. According to Smith, Rowlandson also made drawings of Hutchins’ print auctions, and produced an etching with many of the same characters.
- ⁴⁰ British Library, Hone MS 44024, 27th January–2nd February; 23rd March and 6th-20th April 1752. He spent £1 on ‘Bloemarts drawing book’ in January, £1 11s 6d for ‘two watercolour heads’ at Langford’s, and 10s 6d on prints in March. He also sold prints to Mr Darres for twelve guineas in March. (Lugt cites a Darres print sale in late March also at Langford’s.) In April he sold two Cows to Mr Price for £9 15s, and a van der Meulen battle picture to Dalton for ten guineas.
- ⁴¹ Getty Provenance index, www.getty.edu/museum/research/provenance. Baillie acquired Coypel’s studies for the Gallery of the Palais Royal as well as drawings by Leonard Bramer and François Perrier (Le Bourguignon), which were after antique bas reliefs, at the Mariette sale sometime after 19th April 1753.
- ⁴² Baillie was more active in 1772, while Hone was equally active in both periods. These surveys were made in Christie’s Archives, where most, or all, of the buyers and sellers are noted. Many other eighteenth-century catalogues are not annotated.
- ⁴³ Walpole, *Anecdotes of Painting*, V, 129-30; Christie’s Archives, London.
- ⁴⁴ Anne Crookshank and the Knight of Glin, *Ireland’s Painters, 1600-1940* (New Haven and London 2002) 101; Adrian le Harivel (ed.), *National Gallery of Ireland Illustrated Summary Catalogue of Prints and Sculpture* (Dublin 1988) 821; Adrian le Harivel, *Nathaniel Hone the*

- Elder* (Dublin 1992) 33; Edward Edwards, *Anecdotes of Painting* (London 1808) 103; Keith Andrews, *Catalogue of Netherlandish Drawings in the National Gallery of Scotland* (Edinburgh 1985) 94, D1018; 97, D610; 116, RSA1092. According to Edwards, Hone's Bartolommeo album (British Museum, London) was imported by Kent and was later in West's collection.
- ⁴⁵ Pyne, *Wine and Walnuts*, II, 265.
- ⁴⁶ *ibid.*, 169-75. The famous Shakespearean actor David Garrick and the connoisseur and collector Caleb Whiteford were among the guests who defended Baillie against accusations of puffing at auction.
- ⁴⁷ Christie's Archives, London, handwritten note on Baillie's sale catalogue of 15th March 1811; Matthew Pilkington, *Gentleman's and Connoisseur's Dictionary of Painters* (London 1770). The *Dictionary* (lot 45 on 15th March 1811) was bought for the Marquis of Bute for £15 4s 6d. David Alexander owns a copy of Pilkington's *Dictionary* annotated by Baillie, which he does not believe is the copy sold in the posthumous sale. It had 'recently belonged to Dr Robert Raines, known for his writing on Laroon and Mercier'. No further provenance is given. There is no annotated copy of Pilkington's *Dictionary* in the Bute collection and no record of what happened to it (Andrew McLean, archivist, Mountstuart, Isle of Bute, Scotland).
- ⁴⁸ For example, Bainbrigg Buckeridge's essay concerned English artists only.
- ⁴⁹ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, I, 112.
- ⁵⁰ J.T. Smith, *Nollekens and his Times* (London (1828) 1949) 70.
- ⁵¹ *ibid.*
- ⁵² Angelo, *Reminiscences*, II, 83-84. According to Angelo, Reynolds refused Hone's painting at the Royal Academy until he replaced the cross with a ladle. It was considered irreverent, although satirising monks was a common theme in northern art from medieval times. Angelo did not believe that it was anti-Catholic.
- ⁵³ Pyne, *Wine and Walnuts*, II, 170.
- ⁵⁴ G. Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford (1917) re-edited 1968); George Stephens, *Catalogue of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, Satires*, IV (London 1883) 1761-70; Charles Mitchell, *Hogarth's Peregrination* (Mitchell (Ebenezer Forrest, 1759) Oxford 1952) xix. Neither works by Dance or Bartolozzi have been traced. Stephens also cites a caricature of Forrest (whereabouts unknown). He also postulated that a paper with 'Lent y 1st Volume of the Memoirs to B The' in the background of the print might refer to Brother T. Forrest. Mitchell believes that Hone may have been ridiculing the romantic antiquarianism of the Forrest household in the 1770s.
- ⁵⁵ Nathaniel Hone, *The Exhibition of Pictures by Nathaniel Hone* (London 1775); Algernon Graves, *The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from its Foundation, 1769-1904* (London 1905).
- ⁵⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, II, 84.
- ⁵⁷ Algernon Graves, *Society of Artists of Great Britain, 1760-91; the Free Society of Artists, 1761-83: A complete Dictionary of Contributors and their Work from the Foundation of the Society to 1791* (London 1907); *The Royal Academy of Arts* (London 1905); F.H.W. Sheppard, *Survey of London*, XXIX (London 1960), 346, 348, 364 and (London 1970) XXXVI, 231. Hone lived in Frith Street in Soho from 1752, then St James's Place from 1764 to 1774, whence he moved to 88 Pall Mall. His last residence was at Rathbone Place from 1780.
- ⁵⁸ British Library, Hone MS 44024, 9th January, 21st February, 23rd March and 6th April 1752.

- Hone noted that he spent £24 5s 6d at a Barnard sale in February 1752. (Lugt cites an anonymous sale at Langford's from 20th-27th February.) In March 1752 he sold Barnard prints worth £30, and on 6th April 1752 he received 'a book of Van Dycks and a picture of dead game from the same'. At the end of the month he paid Barnard another £30.
- ⁵⁹ National Archives, Kew, London, Treasury records, T1/443; *The Gentleman's Magazine*, August 1773. After he retired from the army, Baillie received a pension of £400 per annum from the Irish government, probably through the auspices of the 3rd Earl of Bute.
- ⁶⁰ Alan Chong, 'Aelbert Cuyp and the Meaning of Landscape' Ph.D. dissertation (New York 1992); Samuel and Richard Redgrave, *A Century of Painters of the English School, with critical notices of their works and an account of the progress of art in England*, I (London 1866), 16. Baillie's connection with the Bute collection is discussed below. In the Liverpool 1829 sale catalogue it was stated that Cuyp's *A Grand Landscape* was acquired for the Earl by Baillie. Baillie's sale, which was held at Langford's in London on 1st-2nd February 1771, also included Cuyp's *Orpheus*, which was acquired for the Bute collection. The Ascott Cuyp was sold as two paintings in 1774. The Redgraves accused Baillie of dividing the painting before it appeared on the market, but there is now doubt that the two should ever have been joined.
- ⁶¹ R. and J.D. Dodsley, *London and its Environs described*, 6 vols (1761) I, 279-94; Frits Lugt, *Les Marques des Collections* (Amsterdam 1921) 256; Antony Griffiths, *Landmarks in Print Collecting* (London 1996) 48.
- ⁶² Family Record Centre, Copy will, PROB 11/1383. In his will of 1802, Thomas bequeathed £500 to William as he stated that he had received the money from Barnard because of William's friendship with him.
- ⁶³ Christopher White, David Alexander and Ellen d'Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England* (New Haven 1983) 118; Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century, based on the work of John Smith*, VI, no. 70 (London (1907-27) reduced facsimile reprint Cambridge 1976). His drawings were Benesch nos 600, 609, 413, 840, 1309 and 1355. The painting was probably a copy of the Louvre painting and was engraved by A. Walker. ⁶⁴ Lugt, *Les Marques*. The sales were on 4th-7th April 1781 (Christie's) and 7th-14th February 1785 (Hutchins). ⁶⁵ White et al, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England*, 22, 23, 29.
- ⁶⁶ This was one of the three Rembrandt plates which Baillie reworked.
- ⁶⁷ Private collection, England, Caldwell of New Grange Letters and Papers 1794-1800, vol 5, 23, no. 70. Baillie to Caldwell, August 1784; Rev Daniel Lysons, *The Environs of London*, III (London 1795) 12, 19; M. Bryan, *A Biographical and Critical Dictionary of Painters and Engravers* (London 1964). Hone was buried in a tomb with a number of his children in Hendon Church yard on 20th August 1784. He had a small estate at Hendon. The note is incorrectly placed in vol. 5 of Letters.
- ⁶⁸ Le Harivel, *Nathaniel Hone*, 33. The prints and drawings sale was held on 7th-15th February 1785, under Hutchins. The second Hutchins sale, of his enamels, miniatures and pictures, was on 2nd-3rd March 1785. I was unable to trace a copy of this sale catalogue. According to le Harivel, no catalogue survives for the second day.
- ⁶⁹ This impression was in the Anderdon collection of exhibition catalogues of the Society of Artists of Great Britain, III, Department of Prints and Drawings, British Museum.
- ⁷⁰ Bute Archives, Baillie to 3rd Earl of Bute, 29th January 1791.
- ⁷¹ A.P.W. Malcomson, *Archbishop Charles Agar: Churchmanship and Politics in Ireland, 1760-*

- 1810 (Dublin 2002) 30, 45-47; G. Redford, *Art Sales: a History of Sales of Pictures*, I (London 1888) 95; Philip McEvansoneya, 'An Irish artist goes to Bath: letters from John Warren to Andrew Caldwell, 1776-1784', *Irish Architectural and Decorative Studies*, II (1999) 147-48, 153; Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 60 and 172-74. Agar was Archbishop Charles Agar's elder brother and had a career of English office holding. Most of his paintings were probably acquired on his travels abroad or possibly by Gavin Hamilton. Caldwell served on the Wide Streets Commission and on the Committee of the Dublin Society, which was responsible for Dublin's only art school.
- ⁷² Getty Provenance index, www.getty.edu/museum/research/provenance. The 1806 French catalogue of Agar's collection has a painting attributed to Poussin which matches the subject of the print. This catalogue was printed by Christie's, but the 2nd Earl Grosvenor acquired the whole collection prior to the sale.
- ⁷³ Clayton, *The English Print*, 232. One *louis d'or* was worth approximately one guinea.
- ⁷⁴ *Grosvenor Treasures*, Sotheby's catalogue (London 1984). Basan bought Claude's *Morning and Evening* at the Blondel de Gagny sale in Paris in 1776; they were in Agar's collection by 1782.
- ⁷⁵ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 103, 544, 140.
- ⁷⁶ Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Weyhe Gift, Baillie to James Christie, Pall Mall, 5th November 1805. Brendan Rooney (NGI) provided me with a copy of this letter.
- ⁷⁷ British Library, Baillie to Whiteford, 1806, Add. MS 36594, f 215.
- ⁷⁸ Caldwell of Newgrange Letters and Papers, V, 23, no. 70, Baillie to Caldwell, August 1784. After Hone's funeral, Baillie wrote to Caldwell that he was going back to pack books and pictures and was getting a carpenter for the packing case, but he would be ready to meet Caldwell whenever he wished and would bring 'two more prints for y.r Books'.
- ⁷⁹ Jacob Rosenberg, Seymour Slive and E.H. ter Kuile, *Dutch Art and Architecture, 1600-1800* (London 1989) 186-87. *The School* (lot 107) was sold with another Ostade (lot 109) of an unknown subject, to Caldwell's nephew, General Cockburn, for seven guineas at Caldwell's posthumous sale on 2nd March 1809. On 28th October 1937, *The School*, now attributed to Isaac van Ostade (fl.1639-49), reappeared in a Stroefler sale, Bohler, Munich (31 x 41 cm). Isaac's early work was indistinguishable from that of his brother Adriaen. Later Isaac painted landscapes with people and scenes outside houses.
- ⁸⁰ Caldwell of Newgrange Letters and Papers, V, 22, no. 66, Baillie to Caldwell, undated; Getty Provenance index, www.getty.edu/museum/research/provenance. The four paintings were Jan Brueghel's *Landscape*, Jacob van Ruisdael's *Alpine View*, David Teniers' *Politicians*, and Philips Wouwerman's *Returning from the Chase*, lots 125, 122, 126, 127, on 2 March 1809 at Jones' auction rooms, Dublin. The last, which was in a previous sale on 12 March 1796, sold for £227 10s, the highest price at the sale. No measurements were given in the catalogue and there are some misattributions.
- ⁸¹ *ibid.*; Pyne, *Somerset House Gazette*, I, 300-01, 414; Joseph Farington, *The Diary of Joseph Farington*, IV (London 1978-84) 1511, 1547, 1548; Thomas Jones, 'Memoirs of Thomas Jones', *The Walpole Society*, XXXII (London 1951) 9-10; Lindsay Stainton, 'Before Italy, the Making of an Artist', and Christopher Riopelle, 'Thomas Jones in Italy' in *Thomas Jones, 1742-1803* (London 2003) 30, 47, 63.
- ⁸² Record Office, Carlisle, Lowther Archives, 'Catalogues and Correspondence', D/Lons/L23/114, 87-89 and Baillie's posthumous library sale on 15th March 1811. Baillie correspond-

- ed with Zuccarelli on Sir James Lowther's behalf. See below. Baillie owned one of his drawings and his *Works with Engravings*, and he enlisted Sir William Lowther as a subscriber to Dayes' *Excursion to Derbyshire & Yorkshire*, six months after the artist's suicide.
- ⁸³ McEvansoneya, 'An Irish artist goes to Bath'. Caldwell had earlier recommended the Irish artist John Warren to others in 1776, when the latter went to Bath.
- ⁸⁴ Caldwell of Newgrange Letters and Papers, V, 13, no. 42, Baillie to Caldwell, 15th June 1796.
- ⁸⁵ Brewer, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, 221.
- ⁸⁶ Eileen Black, *Art in Belfast 1760-1888: Art Lovers or Philistines?* (Dublin 2006) 7-10. Robinson stipulated that he would exhibit the painting for two months and that he alone would have the right to engrave it, after which it would belong to the subscribers. In the end there were only forty-four subscribers, and despite more advertisements and exhibitions, as well as changes to the work, he failed to sell it.
- ⁸⁷ *ibid.*, 6, 222, n.31
- ⁸⁸ Crookshank and Glin, *Ireland's Painters*, 174. Percy wrote to General Cockburn, Caldwell's nephew, in 1808: 'To so good a judge of painting as Mr Caldwell the Bishop of Dromore has great pleasure in announcing that Mr Robinson of Windermere whose portraits have been formerly much approved by Mr Caldwell intends soon to settle in Dublin.' At the end of his letter in 1796, Baillie asked Caldwell to remember him to 'Col Cockburn & Lady'.
- ⁸⁹ Caldwell of Newgrange Letters and Papers, V, 23, no. 69. Baillie advised Caldwell to sit in Hatchett's Coffee house, Piccadilly, near Dover Street, and to watch out for a fat fellow in a red coat, who could tell him when the next hackney coach was due.
- ⁹⁰ Barbara and Julius Bryant in Alastair Laing, *Clerics and Connoisseurs* (London 2001) 9, 60-61, 56, 59, 372, n.51; Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 506, 262, 435, 531, 113, 533. The *Dictionary* in Baillie's posthumous sale may have been a later edition of 1798 or 1805. There were some 1,400 biographies in the *Dictionary*. In Alexander's copy of the *Dictionary* (see note 47), Baillie had added notes to ninety-two of these. David Alexander transcribed seventy-four of these for me, choosing those notes which had 'personal information about Baillie's activities', not with general comments on artists. However, the former often included Baillie's opinion on different artists' work. Square brackets are used for missing words or punctuation marks.
- ⁹¹ New York Historical Society Library, B.V. Greenwood, 'Original Memorandum Book number 4 of John Greenwood, artist, being the Diary of a Trip; from Amsterdam to London, via Paris and return, etc.; extending from July 25, 1763 – February 2, 1765. With some crayon sketches and notes as to the purchase and sale of paintings, etc.', October-December 1763; Hans Ulrick Beck, *Jan van Goyen, 1596-1656: ein Oeuvrezeichniss in zwei Bänden*, II (Amsterdam 1972) 60, 67, cats 118, 134. Cuyp's *Shepherds Near a Cliff* was in a sale on 2nd July 1986 (lot 153) at Sotheby's, London, and van Goyen's *River Scene and Travelling Market* were acquired for the Bute collection. They were sold in the 1822 Bute sale and reappeared in von Grunelius' sale, Frankfurt am Main in 1925 (lots 88, 89).
- ⁹² Joshua Reynolds, *A Journey to Holland and Flanders* (London and Cambridge (1797) 1996) 88, 96, 167, n.403; 170, n.474. He also saw Dou's *A Woman Asleep*, but did not link Baillie's print with it.
- ⁹³ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 637.
- ⁹⁴ Greenwood, 'Original Memorandum Book', Accounts, 4. The payment is undated but was probably made in 1763.
- ⁹⁵ Denys Sutton, 'The Dundas Pictures', *Apollo*, 86, September 1967, App.13, 213. Among the

- documents published relating to the Dundas collection, an account of pictures bought at Prestage's includes 'A[resh] Gale Van de Velde' for £99 15s in January 1765. The Dundas sale took place on 29th May 1794.
- ⁹⁶ Angelo, *Reminiscences*, I, 308; E.K. Waterhouse, *Painting in Britain, 1530-1790* (New Haven and London (1953) 1994) 156-57. Angelo refers to Baillie having conversations with Hogarth. Lambert and Hogarth were believed to have collaborated in a set of paintings for Wilton.
- ⁹⁷ Gerald Reitlinger, *The Economics of Taste, the Rise and Fall of Picture Prices, 1760-1960*, I (London 1961-63). *Simeon* and *The Wedding* were bought in for £28 7s and £34 13s. *A Holy Family in a Landscape* was probably purchased from Mr 'Court', who acquired it for £39 18s at the sale. According to Reitlinger, paintings that were held in high esteem in the late eighteenth century had to be bought in, as auction rooms normally handled less expensive works.
- ⁹⁸ Many paintings were misattributed to Giorgione, whose oeuvre was small. Baillie had bought it for eight guineas. It was bought in for seventeen guineas at his sale (lot 43), and sold for five guineas in the Bute sale on 7th June 1822 (lot 25).
- ⁹⁹ Andrew Mc Lean, archivist at Mountstuart, checked the 1800 inventory. The archives are closed to the public.
- ¹⁰⁰ De Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, I, no. 473; Karel Braun, *Meesters der Schilderkunst, Alle tot nu toe bekende schilderijen van Jan Steen* no. 352 (Rotterdam 1980); S.J. Gudlaugsson, *The Comedians in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries* (Davaco (Netherlands 1945) 1975) 41-44. *Simeon* and *The Wedding* sold for sixteen guineas and £65 2s on 7th June 1822 (lots 78 and 81). Baillie may have acquired Steen's *Wedding* from the dealer Katz's collection, at Dieren, in the second half of the eighteenth century. The Bosville-Macdonald sale was held on 22nd February 1935 at Christie's London.
- ¹⁰¹ White et al, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England*, 6, 8-9, 10. Pilkington's account of Rembrandt's life and work was a conflation of the opinions of Houbraken, de Piles and Sandrart.
- ¹⁰² Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 187.
- ¹⁰³ *ibid.* Pilkington also underlined Dou's patience in achieving his colours, his neatness and finish, which was superior to all other masters.
- ¹⁰⁴ Beretel may have been John Bertols, an auctioneer from Brussels.
- ¹⁰⁵ Christopher White, *Rembrandt* (London (1984) 1989) 65; Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (London 1999) 264. Frankfurt am Main is one of the major cities of the present state of Hesse. Rembrandt's *Samson and Delilah* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin) is not oval.
- ¹⁰⁶ Reynolds, *Journey*, 91, 93, 95; White et al, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century England*, 13-14. Reynolds saw all of these in Holland in 1781 and 1785 but was not moved by many of them, although he was enthusiastic about *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr Deyman*.
- ¹⁰⁷ Reitlinger, *Economics of Taste*, I, 24. In his estimate of the Houghton collection in 1779, West valued a pair of works by van Huysum at twice the value of Rembrandt's *Sacrifice of Isaac* and *Portrait of Saskia*.
- ¹⁰⁸ *ibid.*, 15, 24. Thus *Susanna and the Elders* (Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), formerly in Reynolds' collection, was not acquired by the Royal Academy in 1807 when it was offered for £200 as it did not have these criteria.
- ¹⁰⁹ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 362. The remarks on Maes probably also postdate 1785.
- ¹¹⁰ Reynolds, *Journey*, 19-20. Reynolds also visited the cabinet of the banker Danoot. He noted only one Rembrandt painting, a late half-length self-portrait (Iveagh Bequest, Kenwood) in his

- collection, which was in a 'very unfinished manner', but this portrait is not in profile.
- ¹¹¹ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 506. This may refer to Reynolds' use of bitumen, a brown pigment which was very popular in the eighteenth century and which caused problems as it never fully dries.
- ¹¹² *ibid.*, 194.
- ¹¹³ Baillie believed that Philips de Koninck, another Rembrandt pupil, was also equal to him: 'The profound skill displayed in the chiaroscuro, and the surprising effect of the whole render it no way inferior to Rembrandt.' Baillie was quoted in a Phillips sale catalogue (London) of 24th February 1806. De Koninck's 'A View in North Holland, one of his most capital works' was sold by Bearcroft to de Vinne on 24th February 1806 at Phillips, London. Baillie was a previous owner.
- ¹¹⁴ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 50.
- ¹¹⁵ *ibid.* In 1806 Berchem's *Chateau de Bentheim*, at over £3,000, had the highest value in Agar's collection, despite the poor Dutch market at the time
- ¹¹⁶ *ibid.*, 533.
- ¹¹⁷ Reynolds, *Journey*, xlv. Reynolds underwent a conversion to Rubens during his journey of 1781.
- ¹¹⁸ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 533. Schut worked with Rubens decorating the *Triumphal Entry of Cardinal Infante Ferdinand into Antwerp* in 1635, and painted allegorical compositions of his entry into Ghent.
- ¹¹⁹ *ibid.*, 533. This knowledge was essential information for the connoisseur. Pilkington provided appendices on this problem. Baillie added his knowledge about it in his notes.
- ¹²⁰ Getty Provenance index, www.getty.edu/museum/research/provenance; M.G. Rothlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (London 1979), 265, 273, 277, LV103, LV109, LV 277; M.G. Rothlisberger, *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (London 1961) 548, n.311. Reynolds' Claudes are listed under Liber Veritatis paintings. He also had a third work, with a different provenance which was also authentic, *Coastal View with Rape of Europa*, by 1771. Pye's print after Claude's *Hagar and the Angel* from Baillie's collection of 1770 was reattributed to Swanevelt in 1773. *A Landscape with Peasants Dancing* was in Baillie's posthumous sale. Two others, previously in his collection, appeared after his death.
- ¹²¹ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 533; Brownell, *The Prime Minister of Taste*, 31-33, 34-36. This echoes similar well-founded accusations against Walpole.
- ¹²² Jeremy Cooper, *Under the Hammer: the Auctions and Auctioneers in London* (London 1977) 48; Reitlinger, *Economics of Taste*, 9. Reynolds' posthumous sale catalogue seems to confirm this but this may have been the fault of Reynolds' executors. There were seventy van Dycks, fifty-four Correggios, forty-four Michelangelos, twenty-four Raphaels and twelve Leonardos among the 411 paintings in the sale.
- ¹²³ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 310. Baillie must have shared Pilkington's view that the Flemish 'national taste' for heavy, short figures was lamentable.
- ¹²⁴ *ibid.*, 311.
- ¹²⁵ A landscape attributed to Rubens in Baillie's posthumous sale was undoubtedly a copy. Rubens painted a number of landscapes towards the end of his life. *Chateau de Steen* (National Gallery, London) was bought by Lady Beaumont for her husband, who later donated it to the National Gallery.
- ¹²⁶ Between 1798 and 1800, nine Rubens paintings made over £1,000 each, and several were sold

- for over £4,000.
- ¹²⁷ Jean Baptiste Pater and Nicolas Lancret adopted the *fêtes galantes*, Watteau's innovation, in France, and Philip Mercier and Hogarth painted the closely related conversation piece in England.
- ¹²⁸ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 685.
- ¹²⁹ Rubens' *Medici Series* (Louvre, Paris), which Watteau studied, was in the Luxembourg Palace in Paris in the 1700s. A book of Luxembourg prints sold for fifteen guineas at Baillie's 1811 sale.
- ¹³⁰ Ettore Camesasca and J. Sunderland, *The Complete Paintings of Watteau* (London 1971) 9-10; 86; 123, n.197, 200; 203; nos 3, 4, 6.
- ¹³¹ Pilkington, *Dictionary*, 685.
- ¹³² He knew of only one example: 'Mr Pratt had a small one in this Stile which cost about 40 Guineas'. Watteau's domestic scenes were often derived from Teniers, Dou, Van Ostade and Le Nain.
- ¹³³ Watteau may have gone to London, hoping Dr Mead would cure his tuberculosis, and probably painted three works for him: *L'Amour paisible*, known from a print, made when it was in Mead's collection; *The Italian Comedians* (Washington, D C); and possibly *Iris c'est de bonne heure* (Staatliche Museum, Berlin). He probably also painted the engraver Dorigny's portrait, not Roubiliac's, who was only seventeen in 1719.
- ¹³⁴ Baillie owned Voltaire's *Works*, in 38 volumes, and Orlandi's *Abecedario Pittorico*, 1719. Voltaire wrote that Watteau 'never did any thing great: he was incapable of it' (*Le Temple de Gout*, 1731), and he 'was to the graceful almost what Teniers was to the grotesque' (*Le Siecle de Louis XIV*, 1752). Mariette added unfavourable comments to a later edition of Orlandi's work in 1745, regretting that he did not paint in the grand manner, but added: 'his brush strokes were amongst the most spiritual, the pose of his figures most pleasing, his expressions ... full of grace; his workmanship light'.
- ¹³⁵ John Blackwood (d.1777) was a Glasgow merchant, MP, collector and dealer; Robert Bragge, a connoisseur and international dealer; and Thomas Hudson, a painter and collector. Ralph Willett (d.1795) inherited a West Indies fortune, which he spent on his library and collection of paintings.
- ¹³⁶ E. Kolloff in J. Meyer, *Allgemeines Künstler-Lexicon* (Leipzig 1878) 549-56; H.P. Rossiter, 'Captain William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood', *Bulletin of Museum of Fine Arts*, 41, June 1943, 28-32. Kolloff and Rossiter believed that Baillie advised the Duke of Montagu, but there is no evidence for this, although Baillie dedicated a print to him, including his coat of arms.
- ¹³⁷ Pyne, *Somerset House Gazette*; Getty Provenance index, www.getty.edu/museum/research/provenance, Robins sale catalogue, Wilts, Watson Taylor to Clarke, 24th July 1832; J.P. Richter, *Catalogue of the Collection of Paintings lent for the exhibition by The Marquess of Bute, Bethnal Green Branch Museum* (London 1883); E.K. Waterhouse, *Dutch and Flemish paintings from the Collection of the Marquess of Bute* (National Gallery of Scotland 1949); F. Russell, *John, 3rd Earl of Bute, Patron and Collector* (London 2004) 184; J. Lloyd Williams, *Dutch Art in Scotland* (National Gallery of Scotland 1992) 160.
- ¹³⁸ National Gallery, London, 'List of the Luton Pictures' (1799) and Luton Hoo, Bedfordshire, 'Catalogue Raisonné à l'Usage des Amateurs' (1822). The portrait was second in the 1799 list: 'Abbot Portrait of W Baillie Esq to whose taste the collection of pictures as well as drawings is

- much indebted'. The portrait was still in a prominent position in 1822: 'The present entrance is on the West through the Hall wherein is a Portrait of Captain Baillie under whose inspect and judgement the greater part of this collection was formed and purchased.' The frame still bears a contemporary inscription: 'William Baillie, Under whose direction and management the Luton collection of Pictures and Drawings were formed'. Bute's print collection must have been sold before the portrait was painted. The print sale took place from 31st March to 19th April 1794 at Hutchins, London.
- ¹³⁹ Farington, *Diary*, XV, 5203.
- ¹⁴⁰ Bute archives, Baillie to Bute, 23rd July 1765 and 9th August 1766; Lowther archives, D/Lons/L23/114, 63-66, c.1769 (undated).
- ¹⁴¹ Sutton, 'The Dundas Pictures', 206, 208.
- ¹⁴² Greenwood, Memorandum Book 4, 25th July 1763 to February 1765. Five pages from the accounts section of Greenwood's Memorandum Book for the years 1763-65 show that Baillie was receiving large quantities of unidentified paintings and prints from Fouquet and Greenwood on their return from their trips to Holland and France.
- ¹⁴³ Russell, *John, 3rd Earl of Bute*, 184-86.
- ¹⁴⁴ There is no annotated copy of the sale which took place on 1st-2nd February 1771 at Langford's in London. The paintings were 'selected by Captain Baillie in several Tours Abroad out of various choice Cabinets'. Among the paintings which may have been acquired at the sale are Cuyp's *Orpheus* and Allaert van Everdingen's *View in Norway*, both of which are still in the Bute collection. Baillie also acquired paintings by Ludolf Bakhuizen, Abraham Storck, Simon de Vlieger and Charles Brooking at auction for Highcliffe in 1772 and 1781 at Christie's.
- ¹⁴⁵ Julius Caesar Ibbetson, *An accidence or Gamut of painting in oil and watercolours* (London 1803) 25. Ibbetson paid his own tribute to Baillie: 'Of those from whom I received kindness inexpressible I cannot help enumerating Messrs C. & R. Greville, Marquis of Bute, [not the 3rd Earl], Sir George Beaumont, Captain Baillie, Mr Knight etc.'
- ¹⁴⁶ *ibid.* Anonymous (but probably by Ibbetson's wife), *Memoir* (London (1803)1828) vii; James Mitchell, *Julius Caesar Ibbetson (1759-1817): the Berchem of England* (London 1999) 30, 62. Ibbetson also referred to Mountstuart in a letter about his Welsh visits. 'The Long Inventory', 1799, included six Ibbetson paintings, the largest group of contemporary works in the Bute collection. His *Portrait Group, Cardiff Castle* is still in the collection.
- ¹⁴⁷ Lowther archives, D/Lons/L23/114, 87-89, Baillie to Sir William Lowther, 1804. Ibbetson settled in the Lake District adjacent to the Lowther residence in 1801 and stayed until 1805. Baillie wrote to advise Sir William about how to prevent Ibbetson interfering too much with the collection.
- ¹⁴⁸ Bute archives, Baillie to Bute, 23rd July 1765; Lowther archives, D/LONS/L23/114, 63-66.
- ¹⁴⁹ National Gallery Library, London, annotated Lormier sale catalogue; Lowther archives, D/LONS/L23/114, 106-108.
- ¹⁵⁰ Lowther archives, D/LONS/L23/114, 82-85; Farington, *Diary*, VI, 2035-37, 2044, 2079, 2217-18, 2299, 2301, 2307-08, 2312, 2320-24, 2349-50; XII, 4156-57.
- ¹⁵¹ William T. Whitley, *Thomas Gainsborough* (Cambridge 1916) 278-79.