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RAEBURN, LIFE AND ART

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BY  
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VOLUME I, TEXT



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To my mother, Nan Mackie  
and my late father,  
David Mackie (1924-1991).

DECLARATION:

I hereby declare that this thesis has been composed by me and that the work is my own,

David A.T. Mackie  
31 October 1993

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 3.5.10)

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This thesis gives the biography of the Scottish portrait painter Sir Henry Raeburn R.A. (1756-1823), an outline of his training, a description of his stylistic development and a catalogue of his works.

The problem of his activities as a miniaturist is addressed: only two are known but he is reported to have produced many. It is proposed that mourning jewels, made when he was an apprentice goldsmith, may have constituted part of this lost body of work. Raeburn was given some training by David Deuchar (1743-1808), Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) and David Martin (1737-1798). New evidence relating to Raeburn's time with Martin is given. Raeburn's portrait George Chalmers of Pittencrieff is not accepted as dating from before the trip to Rome. Only one independent portrait commission is dated in the thesis to that period. It is suggested that as an artist Raeburn was a probationer when he left Scotland and that he rapidly matured in Italy. He studied in Rome from 1784 - c. 1787 in the circle of James Byres (1734-1817). An important portrait from his Roman years has been uncovered. He returned to Scotland in about 1787 and spent his entire career in Edinburgh. It is argued that it was his time in Italy which formed his early style, rather than some presumed contact with the work of Reynolds.

Raeburn's painting of c. 1800 responded to new concerns. He is also recorded as working as an underwriter shortly after that date. For an unknown reason the artist went bankrupt in 1808. New documents on this matter are presented.

An examination is made of the widely held view that Raeburn's late style was due to a trip he made to London in 1810. Proof is given dating from before 1810 of a move in this new artistic direction.

Those with closed minds on Raeburn, holding views formulated ninety years ago, will not read these sections with pleasure.

The catalogue contains slightly more than eight hundred entries dealing with almost one thousand works. Dating Raeburn's portraits is difficult and consequently the catalogue is arranged alphabetically. The catalogue contains entries on the copies Raeburn made after the works of other artists and entries on works known only from archival sources. Rejected works are not listed. The thesis does not deal with Raeburn's influence on other painters.

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## INTRODUCTION

Was Du ererbt von Deinen Vatern hast, erwirb es um es zu besitzen.

Goethe

[In order to possess our heritage, we first have to acquire it.

Translation: H. Gerson]

Raeburn is one of the figures in British art history who is widely recognised as of the highest standing but around whom there is a silence. The last extended and relatively reliable study of his work was the check-list published by James L. Caw in Armstrong's book of 1901. The main difficulties in studying Raeburn's art are that documents are scarce and works are not signed or dated. As a result the oeuvre and chronology have to be established from an entirely subjective point of view. In such a situation the two criteria on which reliance must be placed are quality and consistency in style but this is difficult with a figure as fruitful and as variable as Raeburn. He was an artist capable of the greatest diversity and unevenness in standard, especially in his last, highly productive years. To this must be added the problem that, particularly in the last fifteen or so years of his life, his work does not follow a strictly linear development. In this period he appears to have produced works widely divergent in style but contemporary in date. Dating Raeburn's portraits is then a fertile area for disagreement. The time was long overdue for a sustained archival study of Raeburn to assist in resolving some of the difficulties the oeuvre presents.

As with all artists of great talent, Raeburn was imitated from his earliest days. During the first decades of the twentieth century the prices of British portraits prompted many wilful misattributions and works by lesser artists were incorporated into Raeburn's oeuvre. This

thesis offers no surprises in the area of rejected works, although the same cannot be said on questions of dating. A list of these rejected portraits would be as long as the present catalogue and must wait for another day. Little can be said about the sources on which Raeburn drew for inspiration; perhaps that will be possible in the future. The impact Raeburn had on other painters in Scotland is a vast topic which is not treated here.

The catalogue is the most important part of this thesis. It is supported by a brief discussion of what is known of the artist's life and a short description of his stylistic development.

The catalogue is composed of works on which visual or documentary information was available or to which access has been gained. No doubt some paintings have evaded detection. On the other hand, many portraits which have fallen from notice have been brought out of obscurity after seventy or more years of neglect. The catalogue gives detailed entries on almost one thousand paintings which it is hoped will win acceptance as forming the main body of Raeburn's oeuvre. Entries are exhaustive and include biographies of the sitters and complete transcriptions of related documentary material. Research resources have been very limited and as the works are scattered throughout the world it has been necessary to rely heavily on photographs, many of them of great age. Attributions made on this basis clearly have a provisional status. There can be little doubt given the volume of work produced by Raeburn that he had some studio assistance but on this subject contemporary sources are mute. This matter cannot therefore feature in the present discussion. For the sake of completeness, entries are given on all works which appear to

the compiler to be from Raeburn's immediate circle and, when known, later copies by other hands are mentioned. A general selection of portraits is reproduced; only two comparative illustrations are given.

## Chapter I

### LITERATURE, SOURCES, AIMS AND METHODS

The Literature on Raeburn begins in the year of his death, 1823, with his Obituary. It was written by Hugh Murray and after being reworked by Sir Walter Scott, it was published anonymously.{1} Thirty-four paintings by him were listed. The late portraits received particular attention but no miniatures or works dating from before the trip to Rome were identified. It gives an idealised picture of Raeburn both as an artist and as a man. One example of its many inaccuracies, and one which reveals the somewhat propagandistic tone of the Obituary, is the claim that Raeburn was elected an associate member of the Royal Academy on his first sending a portrait for exhibition in 1814.{2} The truth is that Raeburn first exhibited at the R.A. in 1792 and was elected A.R.A. in 1812. The Obituary made several claims which were to have a marked influence on later writers. It stated that as a painter, Raeburn appeared: "without any lesson or example, and without even having seen a picture"; that he was highly productive from an early age, producing two miniatures in a week {3}; that he began to paint large works in oils when still an apprentice silversmith and that he became a professional portrait painter immediately on finishing his apprenticeship.{4} These points were to convince later writers that Raeburn's independent career started unusually early, that large numbers of miniatures could be found and that oil portraits with dates as early as the 1770s had been painted - that is to say, during the time when Raeburn was still in the silversmith's workshop. The Obituary also took pains to stress Raeburn's accuracy of drawing, his

abilities as both a colourist and a horse painter and praised his "finish".{5} It should be noted, however, that these were the features of Raeburn's art which were attacked in the press during the artist's last years. General Sir David Baird (no. 30) had come in for criticism in 1815 on some of these matters and the Scots Magazine reported in the same year the opinion of a group of critics that Raeburn's portraits were suffering from faults caused by a "growing defect of vision".{6} Clearly, the writers of the Obituary saw answering criticism as one of their primary functions. Raeburn's son, who had the Obituary written, was not satisfied with its treatment of the artist's career (Document 22), yet on many matters, in particular on Raeburn's alleged appearance as a mature artist at a young age, the Obituary has been accepted unquestioningly and later writers have shaped their researches to confirm rather than to examine this claim.

Notable among the early publications is Andrew Duncan's memoir (no. 236).{7} Although dependent on the Obituary, his writings made many errors when dealing with matters which were properly stated in the earlier source. Duncan first met Raeburn in 1778 and gave a good account of the artist's career before 1800 (see no. 781). He mentioned a total of seventeen portraits, the majority of them late works, he gave the locations of eight of them and identified some early patrons.

A commemorative exhibition of the artist's portraits was held in the same year as Duncan published his memoir, 1824. Most of the fifty-eight portraits date from the last decade of Raeburn's career and this exhibition probably accounts for the familiarity of the early biographers with the late paintings. The 1824 catalogue lists all

sitters' names, an unusual feature for an early exhibition catalogue.{8}

Allan Cunningham's Life of Raeburn is also dependent on the Obituary but quotes some documentary material which is not otherwise known.{9} His account of Raeburn's working methods has been its most influential feature but nothing has emerged to verify its authenticity. Cunningham's description indicated that Raeburn worked with great speed and fluency and that the artist's first touches with the brush were the forehead, chin and mouth.{10} Technical discussions are outwith the scope of this thesis but the examinations carried out by the National Galleries of Scotland on John Smith of Craigend (no. 657) and another early work, Coronet Lyon (no. 474), prompted Dr Duncan Thomson to say that they disposed "of the story [of Cunningham's] that Raeburn's premier coup was the bold blocking-in of the highlights of forehead, nose and chin."{11} Many other traditions concerned with Raeburn's life and work were first recorded by Cunningham. Some perhaps deserve a certain respect but a great many are no more than fables, yet Cunningham's influence has proved widespread and durable.{12}

John Morrison's writings on Raeburn are concerned with the last years of the artist's life.{13} He gave an account of the circumstances relating to Raeburn's late portraits of Sir Walter Scott (nos. 640c and d), he recorded Sir Thomas Lawrence's views on Raeburn's work and described Raeburn's last illness and death. Morrison mentioned a manuscript he owned recording Raeburn's views on painting but it has not survived.

The contribution of John Brown is divided into four parts.{14} There is a biographical essay which followed Cunningham but which is the first to mention Ann Raeburn's earlier marriage. It is followed by an account of a visit to the home of Raeburn's descendants which mentions thirty-three Raeburn portraits then in the hands of the artist's family. Brown also gave thirty-one biographies of sitters but these made few historical or critical references to the paintings. Brown could date only two portraits.

In 1876, three years after the supposed date of Brown's publication, three hundred and twenty-five of Raeburn's pictures were shown at the Royal Scottish Academy.{15} This catalogue has been an important foundation for subsequent lists of Raeburn's work.{16} Robert Louis Stevenson wrote a review of the 1876 exhibition.{17} It was a literary indulgence of limited historical value. Taking his lead from the obituary, Stevenson repeated and expanded on what the Obituary said about the facility with which Raeburn worked. This essay was the first to draw a parallel between Raeburn and the late nineteenth-century French painter E.-A. Carolus-Duran (1838-1917).

William Raeburn Andrew's eulogistic account of his great-grandfather's life and work was derived from earlier writings and made no contribution to the critical or historical discussion. The same can be said for William Ernest Henley, whose volume was similar to Brown's. These are some of the prototypes for the lightly written, often lavishly illustrated works on Raeburn which proliferated in the early years of the twentieth century.{18}

The serious historical treatment of the artist's work began in 1901 with James L. Caw's check-list of Raeburn's portraits.[19] Of the 759 entries Caw gave precise dates for sixty-one works, without supplying supporting evidence. It is never clear if Caw's dates are based on documentary material or if the date is an estimate. Of Caw's dates it has been possible to confirm only fifteen.

To establish Caw's views on Raeburn, a group of other short essays have to be taken into account. In his chapter on Raeburn for his encyclopaedic book on Scottish art of 1908, Caw established 1812 as the correct date of Raeburn's election to associate membership of the R.A. and by publishing extracts from four letters by Raeburn and by alluding to others in his discussion of Raeburn's prices he began to apply a more rigorous historical method to the study of the artist.[20] In the 1901 list, Caw accepted some unverifiable archival work which indicated that Raeburn's portrait George Chalmers of Pittencrieff (Plate 26) dated from 1776, when Raeburn was twenty years old.[21] Dating a work to 1776 demanded that yet other portraits be found from the time before Raeburn went to Rome in 1784. Caw proposed that Mrs Ferguson and Her Two Children (Plate 37) dated from c. 1781.[22] That he arrived at this false conclusion was in part due to one of the children being wrongly identified. The Ferguson portrait has long been accepted as a work of c. 1790. Other portraits which Caw dated without firm evidence to the period before the journey to Rome were James Hutton (no. 418) and Joseph Black (no. 51), but on Black's portrait he later changed his mind. In his discussion of Joseph Black's portrait he expressed his belief that Reynolds had been

an early influence on Raeburn. To overcome the problem raised of how Raeburn could have seen Reynolds's work without having left Edinburgh, Caw proposed that engravings after Reynolds, rather than the portraits themselves, had been studied by the young painter.[23] The removal of these portraits from their proper context, the years from c. 1790 to c. 1795, gave rise to Caw's next error. He concluded that since Raeburn's style was virtually identical before and after the visit to Rome, his sojourn there had almost no effect on his development.[24] Another consequence of these misdatings was that Caw was unable to identify any clearly distinguishable periods in Raeburn's career. He stated that there were only two: the work in miniature and that in oils.[25] The volume of 1901 also contained an extended essay by Sir Walter Armstrong which is responsible for a further misunderstanding of the artist. Armstrong claimed to be able to detect the influences of Lawrence and Hoppner in Raeburn's painting in the years towards the end of the first decade of the nineteenth century.[26] Armstrong gave no evidence. He did not list works by Raeburn in which the changes were manifest nor list the works by the London artists which prompted the developments he detected.

Caw's views can be summarised as follows: he believed 1) that Raeburn was a prodigy who appeared as a mature artist in 1776, to which year Caw dated George Chalmers of Pittencreeff; 2) that a small group of portraits of important personalities could be dated to the period before 1784; 3) that Reynolds influenced Raeburn during this early period; 4) that Raeburn's style was established before his departure for Rome; inevitably, this led to: 5) the belief that Italy had little impact on Raeburn and, finally, 6) Caw stated that the artist's career

could not be readily divided into clear periods. To this list must be added the point raised by Armstrong that Lawrence and other London artists were a major influence on Raeburn. These theories have undergone vague modification over the years. For example, it is now generally accepted that Reynolds influenced Raeburn during the years after the young artist's return from Rome {27} and it is now rarely claimed that Hoppner played any part in Raeburn's development. At the outset of this study these beliefs formed the core of our understanding of Raeburn. Few commentators have subjected them to any scrutiny.{28}

Together with Caw's check-list and essay, and the writings of Armstrong, R.A.M. Stevenson contributed an essay to the 1901 volume. Stevenson established a vocabulary for the discussion of Raeburn which is still in use by writers who have not taken an historical approach to the artist.{29} Stevenson divided painters into two camps: those who made use of what he termed "process" and those who used what he dubbed "direct painting". When Stevenson used these terms he had specific meanings in mind. When he stated that a painter worked by "process" he meant that he painted from preliminary drawings. An artist who used "direct painting" worked on the canvas without the aid of drawings. For Stevenson, "direct painting" was the most important tradition in the history of western art. This tradition, he believed, began with artists such as Titian, was continued by Velazquez and Hals and reached its peak with the late nineteenth-century French painters. Stevenson aligned Raeburn with this group. Under his pen, Raeburn moved from obscurity into the mainstream of European painting and came to be seen as in some way a precursor of the Impressionists.{30}

Stevenson's justification for considering Raeburn part of this tradition was Cunningham's unverified account of Raeburn's working methods.

If Caw was the first to adopt a modern scholarly approach to Raeburn, James Greig was the first to emphasise the documentary sources with which he supplemented his otherwise conventional account.{31} He gave transcriptions of twenty-seven documents either by Raeburn or relating to his work. His list of 1016 portraits duplicated Caw's list, preserved all of Caw's inaccuracies and added more. On matters of stylistic development and artistic influence he followed Caw and Armstrong. In 1930 Greig announced his intention of producing a new edition and called for information from owners.{32} The material on Raeburn which Greig collected survives and throughout the thesis this archive is referred to as the Greig Manuscript. Unfortunately, no new edition was forthcoming. However, Greig's aim to produce a detailed catalogue of Raeburn's work means that the Greig Manuscript, despite its inaccuracies, is the direct predecessor of the present study. Another attempt to produce a catalogue of Raeburn's paintings was made by an elusive figure, Max Saffron, but that study was also left unfinished.{33}

E. Rimbault Dibdin's book of 1925 has not been superseded and, in terms of the artist's life, the present study adds little to Dibdin's account.{34} Dibdin had in common with many of his fellow writers on Raeburn a reticence regarding his sources but when it has been possible to trace them he has unfailingly proved reliable. However, Dibdin revealed his shortcomings in the area of connoisseurship by his

unquestioning attribution to Raeburn of a painting which is only a copy by Raeburn after a portrait by Allan Ramsay.{35} It is a testimony to Dibdin's skills as an archivist that such mistakes do not devalue his contribution.

William T. Whitley also formed an archive of Raeburn material. Part of the Whitley Papers, it is preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings of the British Museum.{36} It was the richest unpublished source of accurate historical material that existed on the artist. Ten sheets are devoted to Raeburn and they carry sixty-five references. Three Raeburn documents are known to the compiler only from this source.{37} Some of this material was published by Whitley in his books, Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799 and Art in England, 1800-1820.{38} In the first, he recounted that Raeburn joined an art class under Alexander Runciman but he did not quote the date when this occurred, 1782. Had this date been given it may have had important consequences for the discussion of Raeburn's development and, in particular, the acceptance of the date of 1776 associated with George Chalmers of Pittencrieff.

The exacting standards of historical enquiry met in Whitley's researches and writings also characterise those of C.H. Collins Baker who was more cautious than most in connecting Raeburn with Reynolds and Lawrence, and who was also the first to question the date of c. 1780 which Caw had attached to Mrs Ferguson of Raith and Her Two Children. In doing so, he challenged the stylistic development which Caw and Armstrong had proposed.{39}

The exhibition held in 1956 to celebrate the bi-centenary of Raeburn's birth was the first attempt for many decades to take a wide look at the artist. The catalogue published much new information on the fifty works displayed but the sources of that new material were not recorded. The 1956 exhibition had been preceded by two exhibitions held in Edinburgh during 1951, mounted by the National Trust for Scotland and National Gallery of Scotland. The earlier was by far the more important as the accompanying essay introduced to the literature a dated document concerning Raeburn's departure from London for Italy, and further, of the twenty-nine exhibited works, twenty-two had not previously been seen in public. This exhibition also emphasised Raeburn's activities as a copyist.{40}

Kenneth Garlick cast a much needed fresh eye on both Raeburn's paintings and the literature in his essay of 1966. He did not go so far as to dismiss the traditional date of 1776 for George Chalmers of Pittencrieff but he was the first to question it.{41} These essays of Collins Baker and Garlick show an independence of vision and analysis which remains rare in the literature. Probably because they are not as accessible as the monographs on Raeburn they have had little impact and have not dislodged the view of Raeburn established by Caw and Armstrong in 1901.

In 1973 Francina Irwin returned to some of the problems which had attracted the attention of Collins Baker and Garlick. She focused attention on the period between the early 1770s and 1793. She gave transcriptions of three documents, but the information contained in them had previously entered the Raeburn literature.{42} She

persuasively argued that Mrs Ferguson of Raith and her Two Children dated from after the trip to Rome, as had been suspected, and advanced the view that Rome had a marked influence on Raeburn, yet she also held to the opinion that Raeburn was heavily dependent on Reynolds. Somewhat surprisingly given the need she felt to scrutinise the Ferguson portrait, she was content to accept the date of 1776 so long associated with George Chalmers of Pittencrieff.

In the year before the publication of Irwin's article, Daphne Foskett published a dictionary entry on Raeburn in which she presented for the first time Raeburn's documented miniature George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (Plate <sup>39</sup> 114) which he executed in Rome in 1786.

Publication of the miniature makes Foskett's article a highly important contribution to the Raeburn literature.{43}

Francina Irwin and David Irwin in their book Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 were the first writers since the 1956 Raeburn Exhibition to take a comprehensive view of Raeburn.{44} They introduced much new documentary material to the literature. While acknowledging that Rome had some effect on Raeburn's development, they emphasised that Reynolds, and later Lawrence, were the more important influences.

Only one writer has approached the intractable problem of Raeburn's activities as a builder. Andrew Kerr's publication on Ann Street presented new information on Raeburn's land holding, the ownership of the houses built on that land and the personalities involved in the building projects. Much of the information he published is in the form

of maps and drawings.{45}

The most recent writings on Raeburn have not sustained the level of historical accuracy established by Dibdin, advanced by Whitley and Collins Baker, and maintained by the authors of the exhibition catalogues of the 1950s. Raymond Lister was merely repeating the myths first presented in the artist's Obituary when he said that Raeburn was elected an Associate of the Royal Academy on first exhibiting a work at that institution.{46}

Duncan Macmillan's two contributions resemble one another in form and content.{47} In his exhibition catalogue of 1986 Macmillan dismissed the date of 1776 associated with George Chalmers of Pittencrieff but having made this useful assertion he still placed James Hutton (no. 418) in the years before Rome. Our understanding of Raeburn's development was not advanced. Macmillan makes many factual errors. For example he credits Reynolds rather than James Byres with getting Raeburn the commission for the miniature George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (Plate 113).{48} These mistakes in his handling of art-historical information do not inspire confidence in his attempts to link Raeburn with eighteenth-century philosophical writings on perception and may explain why his writings have had no influence. Macmillan sees Raeburn as a precise recorder of visual world - he speaks of such things as "the inviolability of observed fact" - and he believes that the artist had been influenced by the writings on perception of the Scottish philosopher, Thomas Reid (1710-1796) (no. 610).{49} Macmillan overlooks the crucial point that Reid appears to have been influenced by painters. Reid wrote on the use by painters of

perspective, on their understanding of the effects of distance on colour, on their use of the camera obscura and on many other matters concerned with painting.{50} It is possible that the direction of influence is the opposite to that suggested by Macmillan. Rather than Raeburn being influenced by Reid, Reid's writings on perception appear to have been influenced by artists.

\* \* \*

The exhibition catalogues of the 1950s point the way forward in Raeburn studies. These exhibitions had prompted archival research on Raeburn's life and art, eschewing aesthetic and cultural theorising. However, the number of paintings which had benefitted from such detailed archival enquiry prior to this study was surprisingly small. A detailed scholarly work giving particular attention to the paintings was called for.

A crucial undertaking in Raeburn studies was the separation of genuine works from the many hundreds of portraits wrongly ascribed to the artist. Only after that had been achieved would it be possible to attempt the analysis and description of Raeburn's stylistic development and to compare it with that proposed by Caw and Armstrong in 1901 which is now so widely believed.

Engravings afford one of the most secure ways of establishing a group of autograph works. Four lists of engravings after Raeburn are known. The earliest is that of John Miller Gray (1850-1895); next is that

incorporated by Caw in his check-list of Raeburn portraits; in addition, there is the list published in 1925 by Kenneth Sanderson which concentrated on the mezzotints and, finally, there is Sanderson's manuscript notes for this article where reference can be found to all the engravings after Raeburn with which Sanderson was familiar. Two print collections are of particular importance, those of the British Museum and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.{51} The information derived from these enquiries established a secure foundation for a catalogue of the artist's work. The use of prints as a source on an artist does, however, present some problems. The delay between the completion of a portrait and the publication of the associated engraving can seldom be gauged; the gap may be one of several years.{52} Further, it is clear that the engraved image sometimes deviates from the painting or shows only part of the portrait. As a consequence, prints cannot be taken as strictly accurate records of the visual appearance of lost works.{53}

Photographs are the other important visual source apart from the paintings themselves. It has been necessary to place considerable reliance on photographs as the whereabouts of many portraits remain unknown and the cost of travel to examine works has usually been prohibitive. It should not be forgotten by readers that an implied question mark hangs over the attribution of works which have not been examined. Five collections of photographs have been drawn on for this study. These are located in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery; the Witt Library, London; the Frick Art Reference Library, New York; the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, Connecticut; and the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery at San Marino, California. The

Scottish National Portrait Gallery is strong on works in Scottish private collections. The Witt Library is particularly rich in reproductions of works which appeared on the London market prior to the departure of those portraits for America.{54} The Frick Art Reference Library holds photographs of works which have appeared on the New York market, allowing the provenances of portraits to be traced after their departure from Britain. The cataloguing of Raeburn material at the Frick stopped some twenty years ago but the Photographic Archive at the Yale Center for British Art was established shortly thereafter and has supplied the current locations of many paintings. The great strength of the Henry E. Huntington Library's photographic collection is a number of early photographs of portraits which are not otherwise known. On two occasions early photographs were uncovered which preserved the sitters' identities when the portraits were thought to be of unknown sitters.{55}

The prices at which Raeburn portraits were traded in the early years of this century are surprising when translated into present-day values and this explains the many early misattributions.{56} During the Depression interest in Raeburn collapsed and the years which followed saw many owners giving their discounted portraits to public collections. Museum catalogues have tended to concentrate on the biographies of sitters rather than stylistic questions.{57} Few reach the standard of the entries given by the Frick Collection on Mr and Mrs James Cruikshank of Langley Park (nos. 181 and 182). The most admirable catalogue entries of recent years are those by Dr Duncan Thomson on the Raeburn portraits at Fyvie Castle which alone give stylistic assessments. The most detailed are those by Richard Dorment

on the portraits at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. The limited entries in published catalogues of collections can give a false notion of what is held in curatorial records. The Department of Archives at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, is a rich repository of information on works in that collection while the curatorial files of the National Galleries of Scotland are surprisingly weak. A concentration on biography is also found in the numerous articles on Raeburn scattered in the bulletins of American museums.{58} In the main, such articles tend to follow the view of Raeburn which Caw and Armstrong first established.

The documents which have survived relating to the artist and his family are the cold and impersonal chronicles of life's major events: records of births, of marriages, of deaths and of legal and financial crises. The other surviving documents are concerned with the cost and dispatch of individual portraits and, on a few occasions, with Raeburn's relationship with the artistic community. Nothing of an introspective nature is known and those who are curious with regard to the psychology of artists will be disappointed in Raeburn. The majority of papers are to be found in Edinburgh, divided between the Scottish Record Office; the Scottish Record Office, West Register House; and the National Library of Scotland. The inventory of the artist's property at the time of his death (Document 21), here termed the 1824 Inventory, was first made public at an exhibition of documents held by the Scottish Record Office in 1956.{59} Raeburn died intestate and this inventory is the equivalent of his will. The major part of the 1824 Inventory is a list of fifty-six debts due to the artist at his death. By 1 May 1824, thirty-one of them had been

settled while twenty-five remained unpaid on 9 June 1824 when the Inventory was lodged at the Commissary Court of Edinburgh.{60} Below the list of debts settled by 1 May of that year, a line in the inventory reads: "Deduct paid Mr Syme, Portrait Painter and other expenses of finishing several of the above pictures - £275 15". This indicates that the debts refer, in some way, to portrait commissions. However, the 1824 Inventory must be treated with caution as it can be shown that some of the names which appear are not those of sitters but of patrons.{61} The assumption that sitter and patron are one and the same is constantly made in the literature; it must be avoided. The Inventory raises many questions that are difficult to answer: for instance, who was the J. Wilson who paid £15. 15 on 15 December 1823 and what is the significance of the debt of Patrick White Leeds and Butterworth of £100 outstanding on 9 June 1824? Furthermore, the 1824 Inventory cannot be taken as a complete list of the works remaining in Raeburn's studio at the time of his death. Other records survive which prove the presence there of portraits which are not listed in this document. The 1824 Inventory, therefore, represents the late commissions which were expected to raise funds for the artist's estate.{62} West Register House holds the legal processes relating to Raeburn's bankruptcy.{63} In general, this is a difficult archive to use. The National Library of Scotland holds slightly less than forty documents, covering a period from 1746 to 1840. The holdings of the library are well catalogued making it a more functional repository than the two archives discussed above.

No new journals or diaries have been found which cast light on Raeburn. Surely some will be uncovered one day.{64} Dating portraits

by costume and style of hair is problematic. The comments made by Anne Buck to David Baxandall at the time of the 1956 exhibition have assisted in dating a group of portraits and have allowed comparisons to be made with similar works.{65} Uniforms also present many problems as a source. Most often, too little of the uniform is visible to allow accurate assessments of regiment or rank, see for example General Robert Melville (no. 529). On other occasions the uniform was changed by the artist at a later date, as in Rear-Admiral Charles Inglis (no. 419). The inaccuracies in the depiction of uniforms in Raeburn portraits suggest that he did not paint them with either interest or patience.

Once the authenticity of a portrait had been established, biographical studies began. Apart from their intrinsic interest, these have often helped to establish the date of a painting. Raeburn scholars have always used the publications of Burke to establish biographies but most other such publications have been neglected. One of the most helpful for Raeburn is the list of members of the Edinburgh legal club, the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet. The lists published by the Army and the Navy are also important as are the publications of the History of Parliament Trust. Hew Scott's extensive records of the ministers in the Church of Scotland is an old and important but neglected source.{66}

Some new biographical material on Raeburn has been found, in particular on his family background and his bankruptcy. These documents have been used to refresh the account given here of the artist's life, but, in essence, it remains little changed from that

published by Dibdin in 1925. With the paintings the situation is different. Much new information was available and many important questions needed to be addressed. Was Raeburn an independent artist before his trip to Rome as has been claimed for so long? If so, what paintings can be dated to before 1784 when Raeburn left for Italy? Can any works be dated to the Roman years in addition to the miniature of George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer? What, if anything, can be made of the virtual lacuna in Raeburn's career, his work as a miniaturist? What was the stylistic development of the artist after his return from Rome? In particular, did Reynolds have the effect on Raeburn that all have claimed? What was the line of Raeburn's development during the first decade of the nineteenth century? How can it be described and was it influenced by Sir Thomas Lawrence or other London portraitists as is universally believed? Finally, how did Raeburn's painting develop during the years after 1810?

The last extensive and relatively secure treatment of Raeburn's oeuvre was the check-list published by Caw in 1901. An examination of the artist's life and work which subjected old preconceptions to the closest scrutiny was long overdue.

## Chapter II

### EARLY LIFE AND TRAINING, 1746-1786

#### Background.

After the Union of the Crowns in 1603 the fine arts in Scotland were at a low ebb and no revival came for a protracted period. The departure of wealthy families to the court in London and the political uncertainties throughout the seventeenth century excluded the possibility of the development of major centres of patronage, although small pockets of enlightenment always existed. Yet from this austere climate individuals with remarkable gifts were to develop. In the eighteenth century there were practitioners of all the arts working at the highest levels of achievement: James Gibbs (1682-1754), William Adam (1689-1748) and his son Robert Adam (1728-1792) in the field of architecture; Allan Ramsay (1713-1784) in painting; Sir Robert Strange (1721-1792) in engraving, together with many others. Raeburn comes from the generation after these men. The Jacobite Rebellion of 1745, in which Raeburn's father appears to have taken part (Document 1), was the last military activity in Scotland and afterwards prosperity in the country grew.

#### Life.

An outline of the biographical facts of Henry Raeburn's life as they can be established today is briefly given. He was baptised in the Presbyterian Church of St Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, on 7 March 1756, the son of a weaver (Document 2). Raeburn was an orphan by the time he entered George Heriot's Hospital on 15 April 1765 (Document 3). At a

date no later than 27 June 1772 he was apprenticed silversmith to James Gilliland (Document 4). He was still with Gilliland in the middle of 1778 as at that time he met and received a commission (no. 781) from Andrew Duncan (no. 236), an early biographer of the painter. At an unknown date, but before 1781, he married Ann Edgar (no. 599), a wealthy widow whose previous husband, James Leslie, had died - some say by his own hand - early in 1778; she had two daughters by that man (nos. 464, 727) and possibly a son as well; later she had two sons by Raeburn (no. 600), the first was born in 1781. In 1782, with some friends, Raeburn formed a drawing class under the guidance of Alexander Runciman (1736-1785) (Document 5). Raeburn is said, no doubt correctly, to have been given some pictures to copy by David Martin (1737-1798), who had been Allan Ramsay's assistant. In 1784 he left Edinburgh to visit Italy (Documents 6 and 7) and stopped briefly in London, there he is traditionally said to have visited Reynolds. He was still in Rome in January 1786 in the circle of the Scottish antiquarian, James Byres (1734-1817) (no. 97). He is next recorded in Edinburgh in August 1787 when he painted Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President (Plate 35). He established a studio in George Street, Edinburgh, by 1788 and there he painted until he moved to a studio he had built in York Place at a date before 1801; there he practised until his death. At some point before 1808 he began to work as an underwriter while continuing his career as a portrait painter. He went bankrupt in 1808 (Documents 8 to 15) and made one of his rare visits to London in 1810 (Document 16). He took part in the exhibitions of the Associated Society of Artists in Edinburgh from 1809 and was elected President in 1812 after a disagreement with a colleague (Document 17). The Society foundered and others were formed

under Raeburn's direction or with his help (Document 20). Elected Associate R.A. in 1812 he became a full R.A. in 1815. During his last decade he was involved in building a housing estate on land he owned at Stockbridge, where he lived, on the outskirts of Edinburgh. No records have been found to confirm the litigious streak that later commentators say was part of Raeburn's personality. Knighted in 1822 and made King's Limner for Scotland in 1823, he died some months later, on 8 July 1823, and was buried in the Episcopalian churchyard of St John's, Edinburgh. An inventory of his possessions and debts was drawn up in 1824 (Document 21). A discussion of Raeburn's stylistic development provides more scope for disagreement.

#### The Artist's Family.

It was with some incredulity that Cunningham reported the artist's descent from a landed Borders family, the Raeburns of Raeburn. That dignifying fiction originated in the imaginative researches conducted at the request of the artist's family in preparation for Cunningham writing Raeburn's life.[1] Although it was long known that the artist's parents married on 9 November 1740, almost sixteen years before the birth of the artist, the preceding history of his family was a blank.[2] New material has come to light which gives more information on the family. A recently catalogued document in the National Library of Scotland seems to be of relevance (Document 1). On 6 February 1746, six years after his marriage, in the aftermath of the 1745 Rebellion, a figure who is almost certainly identical with the artist's father, "Robert Raeburn, Weaver of Sciennes near Edinburgh", was arrested on suspicion of involvement in the Rebellion. The outcome of his arrest is not known. Although the relationship between this

figure and the future artist is not established beyond doubt, it has never been questioned that the Robert Raeburn who was admitted burghess of the city of Edinburgh on 13 June 1750, was indeed the father of the painter.{3} Despite his apparent involvement in the Rebellion of 1745, Robert Raeburn's career flourished during the 1750s, but towards the end of that decade clouds began to gather.

The records of a law suit dated 18 January 1760, brought against Robert Raeburn by an Edinburgh Merchant, Alexander Newlands, allow new insights into the painter's origins.{4} They record that Robert Raeburn stood accused of owing the sum of £46. 7. 3 1/2d plus £15. 10s in interest to Alexander Newlands by 25 July 1757. More delicate still, Robert Raeburn was accused of fraudulently attaching the signature of Alexander Newlands to the relevant bills in an attempt to clear the debts. The records of the trial show that Robert Raeburn was more than simply a weaver. By 1760 he was the owner of land at Stockbridge and of a quarry there from which he sold building materials.{5} Between the end of 1752 and early 1753 he built a house at Stockbridge, which also served him as a boiling-house, and in late 1753 or early 1754 he built an extension to this house.{6} In 1755 he erected on this land a drying-house one hundred and fourteen feet in length and, two years later, in 1757, he built another house at Stockbridge.{7} He was the Treasurer of the Incorporation of Weavers of Easter and Wester Portsburgh from September 1754 until September 1758, at which time he was chosen their Deacon. In 1759 he was made Convener of all the Incorporated Trades at Portsburgh.{8} He had also acted in the capacity of agent, or manager, for David Doig, Deacon of the Weavers in Edinburgh.{9} Several character witnesses were called

on Robert Raeburn's behalf. One was Christian Crawford who had worked for him over a period of nine or ten years as a washerwoman. The prosecution objected to this witness because it had been rumoured that she had had several illegitimate children by Robert Raeburn.{10} She acknowledged the rumour but denied that they were Robert Raeburn's children and her evidence was taken. The records of this case also make intriguing reference to a daughter of Robert Raeburn's, described in 1757-8 as "of about eight years of age"; her name was not recorded.{11} On the 18 January 1760 the court found Robert Raeburn guilty but the sentence is not known.

#### Early Life.

The future artist was born on 4 March 1756 (Document 2). As the sums owed by Robert Raeburn fell due in July of the following year, Henry Raeburn's earliest days must have been spent in an atmosphere of increasing anxiety as the payment was not met and the possibility of litigation grew. Greater misfortunes were to follow the court case and the guilty verdict: Robert Raeburn and his wife were to die in rapid succession.{12} Robert's date of death is not known but it appears to have occurred no later than 1763 because he is believed to have predeceased his wife, Ann Elder, whom Dibdin said died in August 1763.{13} Three children were left orphans. Until his own death in 1810 the artist's brother, William, worked their father's business. On 6 September 1758 William had been admitted burgess of the City of Edinburgh by right of his father's previous membership.{14} This suggests that he was born in the early or mid 1740s. Nothing is known of what happened to the seven year old Henry Raeburn between the burial of his widowed mother in August 1763 and his entry in April

1765, a few weeks after his ninth birthday, to George Heriot's Hospital, a school for fatherless boys (Document 3).

During his time at Heriot's Raeburn won two prizes for writing, in 1770 and 1771, but nothing more is known of his education.[15] The purpose of the school was to educate fatherless boys for a trade and Andrew Duncan's suggestion that Raeburn had a classical education and that he established friendships at school with some who were to become eminent in later life was an attempt at the posthumous propagation of dignifying myths.[16] Raeburn came from a background where people worked with their hands and were members of guilds. Despite the cosmetic efforts of later writers, the young Raeburn was not a gentleman as the eighteenth century understood that term. As the son of a burgher he was not on the lowest rung of Edinburgh society but his expectations in life must have been modest.

On leaving school Raeburn was apprenticed to the goldsmith James Gilliland.[17] The precise date when he left Heriot's Hospital and entered Gilliland's workshop is difficult to establish as the information was recorded in different places on different dates. The records of Heriot's Hospital give the date of the indenture as 21 October 1771 (Document 3) while the latest date given by any source is 27 June 1772 (Document 4).[18] There can be no doubt, given the pieces which bear Gilliland's mark in the Royal Museums of Scotland, that Raeburn received a training to a high standard in both workmanship and design. But Raeburn's mature style, as generally understood, of broadly handled paint applied in a manner suggestive of speedy execution, is not what one would expect from a training as a

goldsmith. One might, rather, anticipate a respect for fine surface and accuracy of line.

At an uncertain date towards the end of the 1770s Raeburn married Ann Edgar (1744-1832) (no. 599). His wife's first husband, James Leslie, was the son of George Leslie by his first wife, Elizabeth Bowles. It is clear from the surviving documents that this family were wealthy and owned property in both Edinburgh and France. It may be this French connection that resulted in James Leslie using the title "Count Leslie", to which his claim was, at most, slight. Certainly his father did not use the title. Ann Edgar's marriage to James Leslie took place on 16 September 1772.{19} It is not known how James Leslie made his living but a letter in the National Library of Scotland records that he had at one time been in partnership as a wine and spirit merchant with Thomas Elder of Forneth (no. 253).{20}

The will of George Leslie, James Leslie's father, gives some information on the family of Ann Edgar's first husband. It was signed on 6 February 1778, George Leslie died on 23 December 1779, and the will was registered on 4 July 1780. Provision was made in the will for James Leslie's two daughters by Ann Edgar, Ann and Jacobina, sometimes called Jacolina, and any posthumous child. This has led to the suggestion that three children survived from this marriage but this clause only provides for the possibility of a pregnancy at the time of the father's death and need not mean that a child was born posthumously, or even that one was expected.{21} Together with Ann and Jacobina Leslie, a son is said to have come from this marriage and it is reported that the son drowned in infancy.{22} George Leslie owned

considerable property in Edinburgh and Lady Raeburn would afterwards draw a monthly income from his estate (Document 6).

The Window Tax Assessment for Midlothian shows that James Leslie took up residence at Deanhaugh House between April 1776 and April 1777.{23} The sasine of the house was not recorded which may indicate that the house was rented, rather than purchased, by James Leslie. As Leslie's will dates from 1773, three years before he took residence at Deanhaugh, it can give no information on his ownership of the property. It may be of significance that Deanhaugh House had been advertised as available for rent in 1771.{24} The house was close to the Raeburn family's property so the artist and his future wife presumably knew one another for some time before their marriage.

The circumstances surrounding James Leslie's death are not clear but an unsubstantiated claim was made in 1886 that jealousy caused him to take his own life and that shortly afterwards his widow married the young Henry Raeburn.{25}

James Leslie signed his will on 20 November 1773 and it was recorded on 1 March 1778.{26} He is stated in his testament dative to have died in 1778 but the month is not given. It seems to have occurred in January of that year as his marriage contract was registered on 27th of that month and his father's will of 6 February 1778 describes him as "deceased". Furthermore, inventories of his goods were taken on 20 February of the same year. It is clear from this that Ann Edgar was free to marry at any point after late January 1778 but it has not been possible to determine when her marriage to Henry Raeburn took

place.{27} It is stated in the artist's Obituary that it occurred when he was twenty-two years old, that is between March 1778 and March 1779.{28} However, as their first child, Peter, was born on 18 May 1781 it has also been suggested that the marriage took place during the middle of 1780. Their second child, Henry, was born on 10 November 1783.{29}

In spite of the considerable difference in wealth and social standing Henry Raeburn and Ann Edgar appear to have spent a happy life together. Raeburn's easy association with the landowning and professional classes of Scotland must have been facilitated by his marriage. Indeed, it was probably Ann Edgar's money which enabled Raeburn to pursue a career as a painter.

#### Early artistic career.

Beyond portraits in oil, few objects made by Raeburn have survived. Of miniatures there are only two (nos. 778 and 779); there is one piece of sculpture, a self-portrait medallion in low relief (no. 786), and the surviving sheet of drawings of Sir Francis Chantrey (no. 780) was an experimental work of little relevance. However, Cunningham mentioned Raeburn's many pastimes and, in particular, he referred to the artist's interest in naval architecture. Cunningham described the model ships the painter made, saying that they were "neat, clean-built, ingenious things, all about three feet long in the keel", a description that could be taken to indicate that Cunningham knew these models first hand. In addition, Cunningham spoke of Raeburn's interest in designing and experimenting with hot-house flues and of investigations on perpetual motion.{30} Although none of the varied

objects described by Cunningham have come down to us, nor anything which enables us to state with confidence what Raeburn learned from Gilliland in terms of style, it must have been in the goldsmith's workshop that Raeburn developed his considerable powers of manual dexterity and where he developed his sensibility as a maker of objects.

In the artist's Obituary it was stated that Raeburn's first paintings were miniatures, done while he was an apprentice.{31} But, as has been said, only two miniatures are known today, although Caw listed nine in 1901. It is at least possible that some of the miniatures listed by Caw were copies by unknown hands of large scale Raeburn portraits as it was common practice for life-sized oil portraits to be copied in miniature form.{32} Raeburn's miniature George John Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer (no. 779) is a case in point. The Obituary also tells us that Raeburn came to an arrangement with his master which allowed him to abandon his apprenticeship and become a painter. Certainly the published records show that Raeburn never became either a burgess or a guildbrother, indicating that he never became an independent silversmith {33} but there is some evidence to indicate that Raeburn spent many years in Gilliland's workshop, possibly the full term of seven years. Raeburn took up his apprenticeship at some point between 16 November 1771 and 27 June 1772. It can be established that Raeburn was still working for Gilliland as late as the summer of 1778, two years after the supposed date of George Chalmers of Pittencrieff (Plate 26). This evidence comes from Raeburn's early biographer, Andrew Duncan (no. 236), a lecturer in medicine who was the friend of Charles Darwin, a medical student who died at Edinburgh on 15 May

1778. In 1824, the year after Raeburn's death, Duncan wrote his memoir of the artist in which he says that at some point after Darwin's death he approached Gilliland to commission a mourning trinket to commemorate his friend. Duncan records that Gilliland claimed "one of his present apprentices was a young man of great genius, and could prepare for me in hair, a memorial that would demonstrate both taste and art." [34] This young man proved to be Henry Raeburn, then aged twenty-two. The resulting jewel, which has not survived (no. 781), was described by Duncan as representing a muse weeping over an urn. There is a distinct possibility that this trinket incorporated a painted miniature. The National Museums of Scotland have a collection of mourning trinkets, mostly rings, which conform to Andrew Duncan's description of the trinket produced by Raeburn. They are composed of miniature paintings of meditative figures seated by urns or tombs and generally have human hair incorporated into the design. A particularly fine example is the mourning ring for Reverend Alexander Gib, dated 1788 (Plate 121). [35] It may be that the efforts to find Raeburn miniatures have been unsuccessful because it was assumed that they were portraits when in fact the young artist was painting mourning jewellery, essentially an anonymous and repetitious art form.

One of Raeburn's two known miniatures has strong connections with Raeburn's time with Gilliland, the miniature of David Deuchar (1743-1808) (Plate 112). Although this work was first recorded in 1876 when it was included in the Raeburn Exhibition of that year and also the exhibition of 1956, it has never been discussed in any detail. There is an old account of Deuchar giving lessons to the young Raeburn, recorded only in 1900, which appears to rest on an oral tradition

preserved by Deuchar's descendants.{36} Some circumstantial evidence supports the tradition: there is no doubt that Deuchar and Gilliland were neighbours and, as a minor engraver, Deuchar was in a position to help an aspirant painter. The identification of the sitter as Deuchar is traditional but the date given by a label on the reverse, 1773, was clearly added at a much later period and must not be taken seriously.{37} It is impossible to date the miniature with accuracy as there is nothing with which it can be compared. Some stylistic features support the attribution to Raeburn. These are the strong characterisation of the sitter, the masterly command of interval in the placing of the head and the sense of sculptural volume the miniature conveys. The interest in line, which is especially marked in the sitter's pleated neck linen, is untypical of Raeburn but a feature one might anticipate from a young artist who had been encouraged by an engraver, and indeed, who was painting one. The feeling for personality in this scrutinising portrait owes much to the attention the artist has directed towards the sitter's eyes. The quizzical expression created by the continuous, flowing line of the eyebrows is heightened by the manipulation of the light: the left side of Deuchar's face is in deep shadow which is broken to illuminate his left eye. This creates a disturbing tension between the two sides of the sitter's face and it is on this that much of the psychological power of the portrait rests. It is clear from the Deuchar miniature that Raeburn believed a face could speak eloquently of a sitter's nature. Although there is no reason to think that he would have accepted Jean Caspard Lavater's science of physiognomy, which held that specific facial features were translatable into aspects of personality, Raeburn does seem to have held the view that some

correlation existed between a sitter's appearance and personality.{38} The miniature of David Deuchar, with its tense and mysterious glance, suggestive of nervous mental activity, was only possible because of the experimental work done in Rome by a cosmopolitan group of artists centred on Henry Fuseli (1741-1835) who are now recognised as among the originators of the visual expressions of Romanticism. These artists, who have been termed the Fuseli Circle, began to make portraiture a more intimate, expressive and character-filled medium. Their interests lay less in celebrating a sitter's material success than in an examination of the inner self. In their portraits, in particular portraits of their friends, this group attempted to depict a sitter's psychological qualities: their imaginative, intellectual or emotional capacity, rather than outward considerations such as social status or wealth.{39} Among the artists associated with this group were the Scottish painters John Runciman (1744-1768/9), Alexander Runciman (1736-1785), who taught Raeburn for a time and one of whose paintings was in Raeburn's collection, and John Brown (1749-1787).{40} It is an unusual feature of Raeburn's art that he extended this scrutinising approach to almost all his sitters, at least in his early days, whereas the Fuseli Circle were more circumspect and restricted it to their close companions.{41} Raeburn's interest in expressionism and the depiction of complex individuality was never to have the intensity or egocentricity of Runciman's. This less extreme stance is related to Raeburn's role as a society portrait painter, but it is also connected with his superior technical accomplishments.

In addition to lessons from Deuchar, Raeburn took lessons from Alexander Runciman in 1782 (Document 5). Clearly, at this date Raeburn

was still training. This information is in itself enough to dismiss any claim that George Chalmers of Pittencrieff (Plate 26) dates from 1776.

The first mention of Raeburn being given some instruction by David Martin (1737-1797) is found in the artist's obituary.{42} It has always been assumed that this contact occurred in 1775, or shortly thereafter, as it was believed that in that year Martin moved his studio from London to Edinburgh. This date is wrong by almost a decade. Francina Irwin has shown that Martin still had a studio in London in April 1778. In his biography of the artist, Martin's brother states that David Martin moved to Edinburgh in 1784. That date of arrival in Edinburgh is confirmed by the Edinburgh Directory in which his name appears for the first time in the edition of 1784.{43} The date of 1775 associated with Martin's arrival played no small part in encouraging acceptance for the date of 1776 associated with George Chalmers of Pittencrieff.

Raeburn's Obituary describes an unusual relationship of semi-independence between Martin and Raeburn. It records that Martin gave Raeburn some paintings to copy but no direct instruction. Shortly afterwards, Martin is said to have accused the younger artist of selling a copy and this incident ended their relationship.{44} A portrait has come to light which has some claim to date from the time of Raeburn's relationship with Martin. It is Thomas Tod (Plate 118) in the collection of the Dean Orphanage, Edinburgh. It bears a traditional attribution to Raeburn but the provenance is not known and no records of the sitter's life have come to light. This portrait

clearly depicts the same man as that in a portrait traditionally attributed to David Martin where the sitter's name is recorded as Thomas Dodd of Leith (Plate 120).{45} There are many small differences between these two portraits but, of the two, the portrait attributed to Martin is the more confident work. In the Raeburn portrait, the clumsy spatial construction, as well as the disparate handling of still life, landscape and figure, attest to the immaturity of the artist. But the ease with which the quill has been created, with all the suggestion of the feather's texture, speaks eloquently of Raeburn's authorship. The many differences between Raeburn's copy and Martin's original painting suggest that Raeburn was not working directly as Martin's assistant but had some independence. This is borne out by the background in the Raeburn which is completely different from that in Martin's painting. Raeburn has also introduced into his composition a rather ineptly drawn chair arm. These liberal alterations point to a quite different relationship between Martin and Raeburn than the traditional one of master and pupil.

Only one Raeburn portrait is known to the compiler which has a claim to be an independent commission dating from before the trip to Rome, possibly of c. 1782-84. It is Mrs John Liddell (Plate 69) at the Hunterian Art Gallery, Glasgow. Stylistically this painting is quite isolated in Raeburn's output. Indeed, it would be a brave commentator who would ascribe this portrait to Raeburn without the old inscription which the portrait bears recording Raeburn's authorship. It is an ambitious work of limited competence and appears to be the precursor of the many half length portraits which date from the years shortly after the artist's return from Rome, such as Eleanor Drinkwater

Bethune (no. 46). The figure of Mrs Liddell sits well in the picture space and there is a convincing three dimensional sense but the transparent layers of muslin forming the sitter's dress are not handled with the assurance that is characteristic of Raeburn. On the other hand, the management of the tonal transitions in the background on which the figure's shadow is cast are typical of his skills in this aspect of portrait painting. No other oils in the oeuvre can be dated to the years before Raeburn went to Italy.

There is then important archival evidence which makes it clear that Raeburn's career was much slower in starting than the conventional account of his work would suggest. He was still in the silversmith's workshop in 1778, he joined an art class in 1782, some six years after the putative date of George Chalmers of Pittencrieff, and his contact with David Martin cannot have taken place until 1784, almost ten years later than is generally supposed. This contact must have been brief as Raeburn left for Italy in the middle of the year in which Martin came to Scotland, 1784.

Rome.

At the age of twenty-eight, in 1784, step-father of two young girls and father of a six month old baby and a boy of three, Raeburn drew up a Factory giving control of his affairs to his wife and left his family for Italy (Document 6). Rome was at this time the most important city for the study of the arts. David Martin, Alexander Runciman and John Brown had all visited Rome and by April 1783 the landscape painter Alexander Nasmyth (1758-1840), Raeburn's close contemporary, had established himself there in the circle of James

Byres. The popularity of the city with aspirant artists and, more importantly, those who wished to be seen as cultured and took the Grand Tour, gave rise to a group of men who acted as guides in the city. Of them, James Byres was the most important for English speaking visitors. It may be of significance that Byres visited Scotland during August 1783, the year prior to Raeburn's departure.{46} A knowledge of Byres's interests and activities can illuminate how Raeburn spent his time in Italy.

The archival evidence connected with Raeburn's travels is limited: two letters, the reported contents of a third and an entry in a Roman inventory. All confirm that he moved in the circle of Byres. Raeburn registered a Factory (Document 6) giving control of his affairs to his wife on 14 May 1784 and by 9 July 1784 his departure from London for Rome was imminent (Document 7). If Raeburn left Edinburgh shortly after the 1784 Factory was registered he can have spent six weeks at most in London, allowing some time for the journey south. There is no documentary evidence to suggest that he was a pupil of Reynolds during this visit to London. It is known Raeburn and Reynolds met but the date is not established.{47}

The shortest time in which the journey to Rome could be completed was three weeks. If Raeburn journeyed there at top speed he would have arrived in the early days of August 1784.{48}

Four paintings can be identified from the time spent abroad: two documented works and two oil studies of a less secure status. These represent the scant resources available for the study of Raeburn's

development in Rome, the most important part of his artistic training.

The most important oil study is David with the Head of Goliath (Plate 114), the other is a Classical Female Figure (Plate 115). The stylistic feature of the David which speaks most strongly of Raeburn's authorship is the bold and, it must be admitted, illogical manipulation of the light: the underside of David's leg is illuminated when it should be in shadow. The study is in the manner of Guido Reni (1575-1642), in particular, those works by Reni which date from the first years of the sixteenth century when Reni was at his most caravaggesque but it is not a copy after any known work by Reni. Raeburn's preference for lighting systems which created strong oppositions between areas of light and dark in his portraits of the 1790s suggests some influence from the Baroque. This study of David is the earliest example of Raeburn's work in which an interest in the Baroque is manifest. It is possible that this interest in the Baroque could have been stimulated in Raeburn by Byres. Several important works by Poussin passed through Byres's hands and it is known that Byres encouraged Grand Tourists to study that artist. With the second oil study it is again difficult to identify a specific source but easy to associate it with the circle around Byres. This study has something in common with the figures which people the landscapes of Jacob More (1740-1793) whose work was represented in Byres's collection. Another contemporary artist who might have been Raeburn's inspiration was Gavin Hamilton (1723-1798). It is documented that Hamilton and Raeburn knew one another (see below) and Raeburn must surely have been shown Hamilton's neo-classical decorations of the Stanze de Elena e Paride in the Borghese Gallery, begun in 1782 and finished in the year of

Raeburn's arrival in Rome, 1784.{49}

The first of Raeburn's documented Roman works is a copy in miniature after a lost portrait, John James Spencer, 2nd Earl Spencer by Hugh Douglas Hamilton (Plate 114). It was finished on 25 January 1786 and Byres, who passed the commission to Raeburn, dispatched the miniature the following day. The enthusiasm with which others have written on this miniature needs to be tempered as it is a copy and can tell us nothing about Raeburn's stylistic development until the original is found, and possibly not even then. No doubt Raeburn undertook the commission for financial reasons, as by this date he had been away from home for well over a year. 3

One oil portrait can be dated to Raeburn's Roman years, Patrick Moir (Plate 85) It was first recorded in Byres' inventory, drawn up in preparation for his departure from Rome in 1790. It is possible to state with some confidence how this portrait came to be in Byres's hands. The artist Thomas Jones described in his Memoirs how guides such as Byres and his rival Thomas Jenkins (d. 1798) were given a work by a young artist to be available for display to the Grand Tourists who called on the guides. The artist received a small gift of money or an antique ring in exchange.{50} As Patrick Moir was the only portrait by Raeburn in Byres's collection it presumably came into Byres's hands in the way Jones described. It can also be surmised on the grounds of it being the only work by Raeburn that Byres owned that the aspirant artist's reputation in Rome rested upon this painting.

Nothing in Raeburn's career up to this point prepares us for a work of

this quality. The sitter is shown in profile, quietly reading, unaware of the painter's attention. The composition is of a degree of refinement that suggests Raeburn might have used preliminary drawings but no such preparatory works survive from his career. The portrait shows no marked dependence on any artist but it does introduce several themes which were to preoccupy Raeburn over the next few years. These are the depiction of a sitter engaged in a pastime, the placing of the sitter in profile and the illumination of the figure so as to create within the form sharp contrasts of light and shade. A high source of light is used, something which Raeburn would return to in the early years of the nineteenth century. Raeburn as a painter of still life is shown fully formed in details such as the book the young boy reads. The contrast with Mrs John Liddell (Plate 69) could not be more startling. This mastery seems to come from nowhere.

As Raeburn was in the circle of Byres, one of the most important guides to Rome, we can be certain that he left the city familiar with its major works in painting, architecture and sculpture. In Raeburn's Obituary it is stated that during his visit to Italy he devoted much time to the study of sculpture but nothing has emerged to support this. {51} Based on the Study of David there can be no doubt that Raeburn looked at the work of Reni and it is likely that he was familiar with classicising works by old masters such as Poussin and of modern masters such as Hamilton and More. The complexity of design in the portrait of Patrick Moir and some works done after the trip to Rome such as Coronet Lyon (no. 474) suggest that at this stage Raeburn may have made some drawings. The severely limited evidence, the oil sketch of David with the Head of Goliath (Plate 114) and his

friendship with Byres, suggest that he studied the Baroque. His later interests in dramatic lighting, in movement and in the expression of emotion seem to originate in the art of that period.

The surviving extracts from a lost letter of Gavin Hamilton's to an unknown correspondent, dated December 1785, state that "young Raeburn would soon be leaving Italy" and: "he might stay a while in Paris".{52} This date of departure from Rome is problematic as it implies travelling north during the winter months. It is more likely that Raeburn took such a journey during the spring, when the roads would have been in better condition. His date of departure and route home are unknown. The portrait of Mrs John Liddell (Plate 69) suggests that Raeburn arrived in Rome as an immature painter. He left the Eternal City with a mastery of the art of portraiture that was acquired in a surprisingly brief time.

### Chapter III

1787 - 1799

Life.

There is a gap in the records of Raeburn's life of eighteen months between the dispatch of the Spencer miniature (no. 779) from Rome early in 1786 and the inscription on Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President (Plate 34) dating it to August 1787. Raeburn's movements in that period are not known but the Edinburgh Directory for the following year, 1788, lists Raeburn's studio in Edinburgh's New Town, at 18 George Street, south side. The expansion of Edinburgh represented by the building of the New Town indicates the growing wealth and sense of wellbeing in the country and this improved economic state may have suggested to Raeburn the possibility of following a career in his native city. He faced little competition. Alexander Nasmyth had returned from Rome and produced portraits in his early days but soon he concentrated on landscapes. After a period working as a portraitist in India, George Willison (b. 1741) settled in Edinburgh in about 1785. Both he and David Martin were soon eclipsed by Raeburn's vigorous new style and by 1798 both were dead.

Virtually nothing is known of Raeburn's private life during the years between the return from Rome and the opening of the new century. He signed the feu contract for St Bernards Well at Stockbridge in 1789 and bought burial ground in 1792. Andrew Robertson visited his studio c. 1793 when he copied John Tait of Harviestoun (no. 697) but his record of the visit tells us little. Raeburn's financial success is

suggested by the purchase of some land in 1794. An anonymous note in the Raeburn files at Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, states that Raeburn's bank books were sent to paper salvage during World War II, but some brief, though unrevealing, bank records are known from 1795. The following year he commented on the appointment of a new Master at the Trustees' Academy. The artist joined various clubs during this period and several commissions came from them. For example James Balfour (no. 32) was commissioned by Raeburn's golf club and William Inglis (no. 424) were commissioned by the Harveian Society of which Raeburn was also a member. On 6 February 1798 his eldest son died. Fragments such as these are all that can be established of Raeburn's private life during this period.{1}

Art.

On his return from Rome, Raeburn somehow found his way into the circle of John Davidson of Stewartfield and Halltree, W.S. (d. 1797) for whom he painted Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President (Plate 34). Over the next few years Raeburn painted three other portraits for Davidson that are of the greatest significance both as social records and as works of art. These were the portraits of the geologist, James Hutton (no. 418), of the chemist, Joseph Black (no. 51) and of the dramatist, Reverend John Home (Plate 59). All but the Hutton portrait exist in more than one version but only that of Dundas can be dated accurately. As a member of the Society of Writers to the Signet, Davidson's biography can be readily traced in outline. The son of James Davidson of Halltree, a bookseller in Edinburgh, he came from a cultured, minor landowning background. On 3 April 1749 he became a W.S., suggesting a date of birth shortly before 1729, and he was

himself a literary figure. He wrote a tract on the Regiam Majestatem and another on the Black Acts; Accounts of the Chamberlain of Scotland, 1329-31. In addition, he was Depute Keeper of the Signet from 1778-1797 and Crown Agent.<sup>{2}</sup> Throughout Raeburn's life major patrons were to come from the legal profession, most of whom were from the landowning class as a legal training was restricted to those who could afford the fees.

The portrait of 2nd Lord President Dundas which John Davidson commissioned introduced Raeburn to the most important and powerful family in Scottish law and politics, Dundas of Arniston. Stylistically, the Dundas portrait is derived from Italian sources. Searching for specific references is futile but, as has been acknowledged since the portrait entered the Raeburn literature, the Dundas has a general affinity to ecclesiastical portraiture in Rome of the seventeenth century which rests on a tradition established by Raphael's Pope Julius II. Carlo Maratti (1625-1713) is one of many artists whose work might have been seen by Raeburn. In this, Raeburn's first oil portrait which can be dated, we see him establishing a design for seated portraits that he was to use for the remainder of his career with only minor modifications. Composed along a diagonal running from the upper right to lower left, Dundas's head is placed on the pyramid created by his upper arms and the legal robes. Among other features, it was the economic deployment of a limited number of portrait designs, such as that established in the Dundas portrait, which enabled Raeburn to become the highly productive painter that he was. The repeated use by Raeburn of established compositions may go some way towards explaining the absence of drawings from his oeuvre.

Engravings after the Dundas and William Tytler of Woodhouselee, W.S. (no. 715) were issued in 1790, prints which would have spread Raeburn's name widely in Scotland's political, legal and literary circles.

The power of the Dundas of Arniston family in Scotland made them unpopular with many but the commission for the Dundas portrait did not lock Raeburn into a narrow vein of political patronage. The most powerful member of the Dundas of Arniston family was the London-based kinsman of Lord President Dundas, Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (no. 240). After the Lord President's death in 1787, his heir, Robert Dundas, Lord Chief Baron (no. 242), became Viscount Melville's chief functionary, running Scotland on Melville's behalf. One of the few M.Ps. not of the Dundas camp to be returned in a Scottish seat at the election of 1796 was Sir David Carnegie (1735-1805) (see no. 137), a man who was an enemy of Melville's. Raeburn's political neutrality is shown by Sir David Carnegie's wife, Lady Agnes Carnegie (no. 138a), sitting to Raeburn during the year following the election. It is characteristic of Raeburn that throughout his career he painted sitters across the full political spectrum.{3}

Although some early commentators suggested that Joseph Black (no. 51) dated from before Raeburn's travel to Rome, those ideas have been abandoned without any commentator on Raeburn raising complaint. The portrait is now widely acknowledged to be a work of the 1790s and it need not detain us. The James Hutton portrait on the other hand is still dated by all writers to the period before Raeburn left for Rome. But those who would date it to c. 1780-1784 have paid insufficient

regard to the records of Raeburn joining a private art class in 1782 (Document 5), his contact with David Martin in 1784 and the implications this information has for Raeburn's development as a painter. It is clear from this that Raeburn was an immature artist at the time of his departure for Rome. There is considerable stylistic evidence for dating James Hutton to c. 1790. The drawing of Hutton's head has much in common with four portraits which can be dated with confidence to the period around 1790. In all four the sitter's head is constructed in a distinctive manner. The first and best known of this group is Coronet Lyon (Plate 73) which can be dated to 1788 on the basis of the uniform. The painting of the face in the Lyon portrait is typical of how Raeburn constructed a head in the first four or five years of his career. It is a tight, circumscribed oval, solidly built up of white and cream paints. In many ways it resembles the face of an old fashioned doll. In the portrait of Hutton, his head is created in a manner similar to the head in Coronet Lyon. The three other works sharing this short-lived stylistic feature are Captain Patrick Miller of Dalswinton (no. 535), datable to c. 1789 on the basis of biography and uniform, Charles Gordon of Buthlaw (Plate 46) dated to 1790 by an inscription and Dr Benjamin Bell (no. 38) which was engraved in 1791. Further evidence for dating the Hutton to c. 1790 comes from the handling in the books on the table by Hutton's side: the treatment is similar to the portfolio in Coronet Lyon. The available evidence, both stylistic and from Raeburn's documented biography, points to the Hutton portrait dating from c. 1790.

Before looking at the final portrait commissioned by Davidson of Stewartfield, two portraits from 1788 deserve some attention because

they so clearly reveal the diversity of Raeburn at this early stage. These are the portraits David Hunter of Blackness (Plate 60) and Coronet Lyon (Plate 73), which is listed in an inventory of 1788. Although dating from the same year, these portraits have little in common. The Hunter portrait does not have the typical oval head found in the Lyon and the juxtaposition of Hunter's body against the distant landscape, although typical of many other works by Raeburn, does not resemble the relationship between figure and setting found in the Lyon portrait. The handling in these landscapes is also different. Both, however, share a daylight setting - an approach Raeburn was to use until the end of the 1790s. Such wide differences between portraits which are close in date lends support to Caw's statement that Raeburn's art does not fall into clearly defined periods.

The fourth portrait which Raeburn executed for John Davidson is Reverend John Home (Plate 59). A version of this portrait was sent by Raeburn to London in 1792 as one of his first contributions to the Royal Academy exhibitions; Home was a well known and important figure in society both as a dramatist and as former tutor to the Prince of Wales. In Raeburn's portrait of Home the space is more claustrophobic than in most of the artist's works of this time and the brush has moved rapidly and without hesitation to define the drape over Home's head. This freedom in the handling of paint characterises Raeburn's work of the 1790s and has been termed his "square touch". The sitter glances upwards towards the spectator's left and he gestures with his right hand. The sense of movement is enhanced by the cropped composition. The suggestion of movement or social activity is a

typical feature of Raeburn portraits from this period. One of the best examples is James Balfour (no. 32) for which payment was made in 1793. In this portrait Raeburn has shown the sitter in the middle of singing a song. He has sheet-music lying by his side while he gestures with his hands. Another example showing an active sitter is David Anderson of St Germain's (Plate 6) of 1790 who is depicted walking in a landscape. There are many other similar examples: a young woman reads aloud to her elderly relatives in John Johnstone of Alva with his Sister and Niece (Plate 66); in a portrait usually identified as General Sir Ronald Ferguson (Plate 40) the sitter raises his gun preparing to shoot. The best known example of these active portraits is Reverend Walker Skating on Duddingston Loch (Plate 105). Here the sitter is in profile, another typical feature of portraits from the 1790s. One of the most vigorous of these "active" paintings is the lost portrait of Raeburn's young friend, the advocate, John Clerk (Plate 28). Everything in the portrait of Clerk suggests heated conversation, vigorous mental activity and the presence of others. As in Baroque art the portraits of John Clerk and James Balfour are construed to create a continuum of psychological space, the world of the sitter and the action taking place therein extends into our own environment. The origins of Raeburn's spirited portraiture of the late 1780s and 1790s is likely to be the richly expressive religious painting of seventeenth-century Rome.

Raeburn sent two other works to the R.A. exhibition of 1792, a portrait of a woman which cannot be identified and a work which arrived too late to be included, Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik (Plate 29), the aunt and uncle of the young John Clerk (Plate 28).

Despite its late arrival in London the Clerk double portrait was shown at the Shakespeare Gallery. This painting of two elderly people is one of Raeburn's finest works. The gap between this and Mrs John Liddell (Plate 69) may be as little as six years but the Clerk portrait is a major masterpiece of British art. It is a portrait which examines new areas of expression in painting and heralds the future development of British art towards the emotional concerns of Romanticism. The portrait has the same form as Robert and Ronald Ferguson of Raith, The Archers (Plate 38), two figures in subdued light, standing half length in a landscape with the foliage of the trees forming a crescent over their heads and the shadow below completing the ellipse. This places the sitters in a vignette, a lighting device Raeburn was to use regularly at a later point in his career, c. 1810. The landscape in the Clerk portrait penetrates to a vast distance and there is a marked spatial disjunction between the place where Sir John and his wife stand and the wild, untamed landscape behind. Raeburn's use of light - in his hands a malleable, almost tangible medium - is here used to accentuate the emotional interdependence of Sir John and Lady Clerk. Sir John's hat shades his face from the sun but his features are illuminated by the light reflected from Lady Clerk. This is a serene and private painting, a testimony of a shared life. It has sometimes been compared with Reynolds's, John, 2nd Earl of Egmont with his Wife Catherine, in the grounds of Kanturk Castle. The similarities are slight, however, and the paintings unconnected. As the title of the Reynolds suggests, that work is concerned with material display whereas the essence of the Raeburn portrait is its psychological and emotional content, the pre-eminent features of Romantic painting.



Despite the widespread view that Reynolds influenced Raeburn at this time, very few Raeburn portraits have been cited as showing a response to Reynolds. One which has been discussed in these terms is Mrs Ferguson of Raith and Her Two Children (Plate 37). Francina Irwin found parallels between this work, which she dated to the end of the 1780s, and Reynolds's Elizabeth, Duchess of Buccleuch with Lady Mary Scott at Bowhill.[4] But both the Raeburn and the Reynolds portraits are part of a long tradition in British art of group portraits set in a landscape. This tradition can be traced back to early works by Gainsborough (1727-1788) such as Mr and Mrs Robert Andrews of 1748-9 and it is found even earlier, in the work of Gainsborough's teacher, Francis Hayman (1708-1776).

Similar arguments can be raised against Macmillan's belief that Reynolds's portrait Dr John Ash (1723-1798), exhibited in 1788 and engraved in 1791, was Raeburn's inspiration for George Chalmers of Pittencrieff (Plate 26).[5] The tradition of seated full length portraits on which Raeburn and Reynolds were drawing is at least as old as Titian's Emperor Charles V at Munich of 1548.

Despite the widely held belief that Reynolds was a strong influence on Raeburn during the late 1780s and early 1790s there is no evidence to support this view. Both artists used long established compositional forms in their portraiture and there is no reason for suggesting that Raeburn adopted them from Reynolds.

Raeburn's portrait of Sir John and Lady Clerk was highly praised in the

London press but Raeburn was to exhibit only two other works at the R.A. during the 1790s, a portrait of a man as no. 578 in 1799, which cannot now be traced, and Sir Walter Farquhar (no. 270) in the previous year. The latter portrait had been engraved in 1797 by the London engraver, William Sharp. It is a portrait of an important London Scot who was a physician to the Royal Household. Even in London, Raeburn showed unusual ability in getting to know the right people. Raeburn painted a large number of portraits like that of Farquhar. They show the sitter in an interior with a view of a landscape through an opening. George Chalmers of Pittencreeff (Plate 26) is one of this group and surely dates from the period c. 1790 - c. 1795.

During the 1790s Raeburn often used back lighting. In his hands this lighting arrangement resulted in a sitter's form being outlined in pure light, as if the figure is drawn with a white line. There are numerous examples, among them the previously mentioned Reverend Walker Skating on Duddingston Loch (Plate 105), and the young woman reading aloud in John Johnstone of Alva with his Sister and Niece (Plate 66). Another example is his first full length equestrian portrait Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood, 6th Bt. (no. 527). The horse and Maxwell's face and body are defined by the brightness of the daylight which streams past them.

A less dramatic form of portrait is that of Eleanor Urquhart of Craigston (Plate 102) of 1793. Raeburn produced large numbers of portraits such as this. They were clearly popular and won him many female clients of all ages.

Raeburn's full length portrait format was established with Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster (Plate 94) in c. 1794. As with the three-quarter length portrait format which first appeared in Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President (Plate 34) of 1787, Raeburn developed a full length portrait form and made use of it for the remaining thirty years of his life. The full lengths are without contrapposto, the vertical axis of the portrait is reiterated in the sitter's arm hanging loosely by his side and the other hand usually rests on their hip. Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (no. 240) of 1806 is only one of many later portraits which repeat the design of Sinclair of Ulbster. By cropping the composition at the knees Raeburn also produced three-quarter length portraits of standing figures, for example Archibald Constable (no. 168). The Constable portrait dates from as late as c. 1820 but it is directly derived from Sir John Sinclair of Ulbster of c. 1794.

There is some information from the 1790s to support the claims made in the Obituary for Raeburn's vaunted speed and productivity. On the one hand, his portrait of Reverend Alexander Carlyle (no. 131) was executed between 19 May and 9 June 1796. But on the other, there is the documentary material connected with the lost portrait of Mrs Murchison (no. 560) which makes it clear that an extended period had been necessary before Raeburn was able to bring the portrait to completion. The claims made on these matters in the artist's Obituary and by later writers must be treated with caution.

The period from 1787 until the turn of the century saw Raeburn

establish himself as the foremost portraitist in Scotland. On his return from Italy the most remarkable feature of his painting is its great variety. Portraits from the same year display widely divergent styles and even portrait pairs such as Mr and Mrs Charles Gordon of Buthlaw (Plates 46 and 47) have little in common with one another. Throughout the 1780s and 1790s, indeed, throughout his career, Raeburn's style was influenced by his experiences in Rome. The rapid maturation of his art was a remarkable feat for a man who left Scotland as a virtual probationer in 1784 at the age of almost thirty.

## Chapter IV

1800 - 1808

### Life.

Beyond what is revealed in Raeburn's bankruptcy papers, which will be discussed below, little is known of the artist's private affairs during the first decade of the nineteenth century. In 1799 he moved studio and he judged student drawings for the Trustees' Academy in February 1802. He was made a director of the Caledonian Insurance Company at its foundation in 1805 and designed the firm's policy forms (no. 784) but he resigned the next year. In 1806 Henry David Inglis Sr. (no. 420) died. He was a relative of Raeburn's wife and it is indicative of the respect the artist won in that family that he was appointed both a joint trustee, along with William Inglis of Middleton (no. 425), and guardian of Henry David Inglis Jr. {1}

### Art.

Important changes took place in Raeburn's painting towards the close of the 1790s and in the first years of the new century. There is an increased interest in outline, he abandoned his characteristic handling of paint, his "square touch", and strove instead for perfection of surface and smooth finish. He also dropped his interest in depicting movement and in showing sitters engaged in activities or games. The most noticeable change is that in his palette. He adopted dark, subaqueous colours and the daylight settings, so common in the 1790s, were abandoned. The difference between Raeburn's painting at the start of the 1790s and at the end is clearly seen in his two

portraits of Sir Patrick Inglis, 6th Bt. of Cramond (Plates 62 and 63). There is a shift from rich colourful paint, freely applied to a more austere palette; from a Baroque robustness, to a gaunt Neoclassical linearity and attenuation of form. These changes are all responses to the contemporary artistic trends of Neoclassicism and Romanticism. It has been suggested that Raeburn studied the French Neoclassical painter Henri Pierre Danloux (1753-1809) who was working in Scotland during the late 1790s.[2] But it was unnecessary for Raeburn to see the work of Danloux when he had known Gavin Hamilton in Rome, an artist who played a major part in the development of Neoclassicism. Furthermore, through James Byres, Raeburn must also have been familiar with some of the primary sources for Neoclassicism, figures such as Poussin.

With an artist as versatile as Raeburn, dating the changes that came about towards the end of the eighteenth century is not easy. One of the first glimpses of his concentration on outline comes from Mrs James Gregory (Plate 50) where it is particularly apparent because of the plain background, but Raeburn's earlier interest in showing the sitter in profile is part of the same trend. In other ways Mrs Gregory's portrait is not Neoclassical because Raeburn still used his brush in a vigorous, uninhibited manner. It is a portrait that is Neoclassical in form but not in execution. Sir John Gibson-Carmichael, 6th Bt of Skirling (no. 134) of c. 1800 is a transitional work in which the colours are deep but the figure is shown in the open air against a distant horizon, a combination Raeburn had started to use in the late 1780s.

In the new century an unemphatic calm began to take over from the exuberance of the 1790s. Mrs Campbell of Kilberry (Plate 18) of c. 1803 shows this well. One of the few works which can be dated with confidence at this stage in Raeburn's career is William Fraser of Reelig (Plate 43) of 1801. Here we do not find the free brushwork that is so marked a feature of Raeburn's art during the 1790s. The illumination of the face in this portrait is another new feature, one which appears also in Lord William Robertson (Plate 91) of 1805, a portrait which in its composition and Baroque grandeur is very close to Robert Dundas, 2nd Lord President (Plate 35). For much of Raeburn's remaining career the figure is cast in semi-darkness as in the Fraser and Robertson portraits. In these portraits a strong light falls on the sitter from a source which is not revealed. In particular, it falls on the sitter's face which glows and, paradoxically, seems almost the source of illumination. At this time, Raeburn moved from George Street to a studio a few hundred yards down the hill in York Place. He first appeared at that address in the Edinburgh Directory of 1799-1800 although the sasine is dated 1801.[3] It has been long known that Raeburn had a shuttering system on the window of his new painting room and the stark lighting found in many of the portraits of this period is thought to result from the use of this mechanism.[4] The lighting in such portraits from this period isolates the sitter in an ill-defined, shallow picture space, outside the realm of everyday life and unconnected with the conventions of perspective. A particularly noteworthy example of these austere, almost monochromatic paintings is The Honourable David Stewart Erskine (no. 267), which probably dates from 1805 when the sitter turned twenty-one. It is one of Raeburn's masterpieces of this period.

Throughout, it is an essay in black and tones of darkest grey. All emotion and movement have been striped away.

In a number of instances Raeburn's efforts to arrive at a smooth finish led to him abandoning the coarse twill canvas that he used almost without exception during the 1790s. Miss Eleanor Margaret Gibson-Carmichael (Plate 23), which can be dated with some confidence to c. 1804, shows this feature. It is also apparent in Mrs Hay of Spot (Plate 57), a portrait which presents a severe test to anyone attempting to date Raeburn's works. The struggle to achieve a smooth surface - and struggle it clearly was for Raeburn was naturally gifted as a "strong" painter, given to unbridled brushwork - frequently gave way when occasion allowed to dashing passages, as in Mrs Spot's folded mantle. In the portrait of Mrs Spot both tendencies can be detected in the brushwork but the anonymity of the handling is persuasive of a date for the portrait in the vicinity of c. 1805, rather than the more generally favoured one of c. 1810.

This desire to heighten the emotional content has been long recognised as a feature of Raeburn's art in the last ten or twelve years of his life. This feature is usually said to become apparent after 1810 when Raeburn visited London. Yet there are examples of Raeburn's portraiture dating from before 1810 which, by general agreement, manifest this desire on the artist's part to produce more expressive portraits. For instance, it is acknowledged by all recent commentators that this tendency can be detected in Raeburn's first portrait of Walter Scott (no. 640a), a portrait which can be dated to 1808 on a secure documentary basis. Surprisingly, the obvious conclusion has not

been drawn: Raeburn was well advanced on the pathway towards highly expressive Romantic portraiture before he visited London in 1810. One of the most widely held views on Raeburn's development, that he changed his style on contact with Sir Thomas Lawrence and the other London artists in 1810, must therefore be abandoned.{5}

There are a small number of other portraits which support the view that the London visit of 1810 does not signal the watershed in Raeburn's art that is always stressed. A work which is not well known but which shares many similarities with the Scott is the standing full length Sir Arscott Ourry Molesworth, 7th Bt. of Pencarrow (Plate 86). This sitter hailed from Cornwall but married at Edinburgh in 1809. Consequently, 1809 is the most likely date of the painting, one year before Raeburn's London visit. The final work in this group, William Hunt of Pittencrieff (no. 412), cannot be dated with any confidence. This is unfortunate because it is the closest to the portrait of Walter Scott. Hunt died in 1811 but establishing when sittings occurred is at present impossible. The separation in time between the Scott and the Hunt portraits could be days or years.

There are, undoubtedly, some similarities between the portraits of Raeburn and Lawrence, but these are not due to stylistic influence flowing from Lawrence to Raeburn, or even to shared preoccupations with the currents of Romanticism. These similarities are due to the sitters' costumes and styles of hair being substantially the same north and south of the Scottish-English border.

Raeburn took many routes to achieve his aim of heightening the

emotional drive of his portraits and to expand his range in portraiture. William Sinclair of Ulbster (Plate 96) is yet one more Romantic portrait dating from before the London trip of 1810. It appears to be of c. 1808 and is dependent on depictions of the young St John the Baptist, hardly a common subject in presbyterian Scotland. This and other portraits show Raeburn searching through his knowledge of the history of painting for a new visual vocabulary to incorporate into his portraiture. He was now fifty years old yet he was displaying great open mindedness and inventiveness in this pursuit. One example which shows this well is the portrait of Master Thomas Bissland (Plate 13) of c. 1809. It relies on antique prototypes which had been revised by Michaelangelo and were current from that time forwards, a figure twisted through one hundred and eighty degrees so that head and feet point in opposite directions. Raeburn has borrowed this classical pose and created a work which is unique in his oeuvre.

The finest mezzotints after Raeburn are, by general agreement, those of Charles Turner whose first engraving after Raeburn was Professor John Robinson (no. 621) of 1805. The majority of the other celebrated mezzotints after Raeburn are by George Dawe. Dawe's engraving after Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (no. 240) of 1806 was the most important in terms of the sitter's political and social standing. Towards the close of the first decade of the new century Raeburn's first portrait of Walter Scott (no. 640a) was engraved by Turner for Archibald Constable (no. 168), the owner of the painting. It is not clear who made the decisions regarding the issue of engravings and what control, if any, Raeburn had over plates. Raeburn's letter to William Walker concerning the engraving after Reverend Andrew

Mitchell Thomson (no. 702) shows that the plate could become the property of the patrons and, presumably, be beyond the artist's control.

Bankruptcy.

On 11 January 1808 Raeburn signed a Mandate initiating the sequestration of his personal property (Document 8). Throughout the papers relating to his bankruptcy he is described as "portrait painter and underwriter" but the surviving records do not reveal what misfortune caused his ruin. The sequestration papers make reference to the firm of Henry Raeburn and Company, Merchants, Leith, and it is clear that the artist had a stake in that firm. A separate process of sequestration was initiated against that firm when the sequestration of the artist's personal property began. Those records were transferred to the Court of Session at Edinburgh in 1884 and were not returned, with the result that nothing is known of the company's affairs.{6}

The Court appointed Adam Rolland of Gask W.S. (no. 622) "interim factor or trustee" on 16 January but at the first meeting of creditors, on 22 January, the Edinburgh accountant William Scott Moncrieff was given the position of interim factor and authorised to apply for a personal protection for the artist to save him from the "diligence of his creditors". This was awarded by the court on 27 January. The meeting also recommended that a weekly allowance be paid to Raeburn. Some insight to Raeburn's financial standing comes from the Minutes of the second meeting, held on 12 February, at which Scott Moncrieff was appointed trustee on the sequestered estate. With a view

to the sale of the property, detailed descriptions were given of land at Stockbridge, the artist's studio in York Place, its associated offices and the commercial property at Leith which had been the base for Henry Raeburn and Company prior to the firm's collapse. On 1 April Raeburn put before his creditors a composition, or offer of settlement, amounting to four shillings in the pound (Document 9). At this meeting, however, the creditors took the precaution of directing "the Trustee to advertise the property of St Bernards to be let, at the Rent and under the conditions to be afterwards settled". This suggests that Raeburn was the owner of the house by this time. Such moves became superfluous, however, as at a meeting on 27 April the majority of the creditors accepted Raeburn's offer of a composition. The artist's debts were tabulated on 22 June and again on 6 July (Documents 10 and 11). They totalled £36,427. 17. 3 1/2. As Raeburn's offer of a composition was valued at £7,345. 11. 5 1/2, while sequestration of his property would have yielded only £5,188. 7. 6. On 8 July 1808, the courts approved the acceptance of the composition. Two merchant firms in Leith raised objections to this decision, Messrs. Scales and Sons, and Robert Brunton. Their petition to the courts hinged on the value placed on Raeburn's landholding at Stockbridge which they claimed was too low. Raeburn made a detailed reply to this petition (Document 12). In this, the artist makes it clear that he intended to work as a portrait painter for the remainder of his life to meet his obligations to the men who financed the composition. The Scales and Brunton petition was refused on 10 December 1808 by Charles Hope, Lord Granton (no. 400) and the sequestration declared at an end (Document 13). From this it might appear that Raeburn was left with his property intact but this is not

the case. By February of 1808 he had raised substantial sums in cash (Document 14) from sources which cannot be established and at an unknown date he sold his studio at York Place but retained tenancy (Document 15). The sums of money involved in Raeburn's personal sequestration indicate that he was a man of great wealth prior to 1808 but the little known of his financial position in the following years suggests that he was never again financially secure. At his death, his bank balance stood at £16. 16. 3 (Document 21).

## Chapter V

1809 - 1823

Life.

From January to December 1808, Raeburn's sequestration was before the courts but he carried on painting during the period of litigation. Among others, Sir Walter Scott (no. 640a) sat to Raeburn at that time. It is recorded in February 1808 that Raeburn was thinking about moving to London as a consequence of his bankruptcy but it was to be two years before he went to see what prospects the metropolis offered (Document 14). On 2 March 1810 David Wilkie wrote in his diary that Raeburn intended to take the house of Lawrence's great rival, John Hoppner (c. 1758-1810), who had died during the preceding January. On 12 May 1810 Raeburn called on Wilkie and over the next few weeks they were often together (Document 16). Raeburn was still in London on 9 June, four weeks after his arrival, but his date of departure is not known.{1} Cunningham says that Sir Thomas Lawrence was responsible for persuading Raeburn to stay in Edinburgh.{2} By 1810 Raeburn was in his middle fifties and his wife was some ten years older. Throughout his life Edinburgh had been his home and perhaps considerations of age encouraged him to reconsider making a fresh start in a new city. He remained in Edinburgh for the rest of his life.

Art.

The visit to London of 1810 has been seen by most earlier writers as a watershed in Raeburn's career. The conventional view is that after his return to Edinburgh he began to paint in a more emotionally expressive

- a more Romantic - manner. But this is not a complete description of Raeburn's stylistic development. As has been shown, several examples of richly expressive painting of the type usually thought to date from after the trip to London can be dated on documentary grounds to before 1810. It may yet prove to be the case that some of the changes in Raeburn's art after 1810 were a response to his financial difficulties. The increased dimensions of the portraits, the production of many repetitions and the copies he produced after the works of other artists (nos. 800 to 830) from c. 1810 onwards could certainly be attributed to economic forces.

One of the best examples of these late, highly Romantic portraits is Lady Gordon-Cumming, which was exhibited in 1817 (Plate 31). In this and related works the sitter is usually viewed from a low vantage point, the head is tilted back, the mouth tends to fall open and the orbits of the eyes are exaggeratedly large and widely spaced. Such portraits possess an over-refined elegance and tend towards an apotheosis of the sitter, rather than a simple description of appearance.

Another method Raeburn used to attain dramatic effects was to return once again to the vignette, a compositional and lighting system with which he had toyed as early as c. 1790 in Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik (Plate 29). That the re-adoption of the vignette was not stimulated only by the trip to London is suggested by its use in Mrs Renny Strachan (no. 684) of c. 1807. Raeburn's use of the vignette is shown particularly well in William Baillie, Lord Polkemmet (Plate 10) of 1815 and a group of child portraits of c. 1814 which includes

Master William Blair (Plate 14). It is not, alas, a feature which is easily captured by the camera. Again, the sitter tends to be viewed from below, causing some distortions to the face: the nostrils are flared and the lips and eyelids seem exaggerated in their thickness. Further, the vignette tends to distort the spacial arrangement so that in the case of a head and shoulders portrait the figure seems suspended in an ill-defined picture space. The overall tendency is towards a rejection of the visual world and to emphasise expressionism. The fanciful dress in Master William Blair is another aspect of this willingness to dismiss everyday appearance.

It was clearly not easy for Raeburn to work in this manner and many portraits show the strain. The striving for expressiveness resulted in Raeburn losing, to some degree, the freedom in his brushwork that was such a pronounced feature of his painting before 1800. From c. 1810 onwards Raeburn was sometimes guilty of laboured handling in his portraits. This is apparent in Mrs Finlay of Glencorse (Plate 41) but even more so in John Stirling of Kippendavie and Daughter (no. 681) of c. 1813 where Stirling's right hand has been repainted many times.

The wide stylistic range in Raeburn's art at this time makes it clear that he did not have only one aim in view and so to speak of a single late style is an error. Other portraits from the same date as William Blair show quite different aims. Allan Maconochie, 1st Lord Meadowbank (Plate 81) of 1814 in its calm reticence and monochromaticism has more in common with works of c. 1803-1805 than with Lord Polkemmet (Plate 10) to which it is close in date.

John Campbell, 4th Earl of Breadalbane (no. 119) shows another aspect of Raeburn's late approach to portraiture in which the aim appears to be the depiction of the sitter in a private place. Breadalbane is surrounded by objects that are personal to him: the furniture that is shown is not found in other Raeburn portraits. The appointments are lavish and include expensive display pieces such as the large urn on the left. The same approach is taken in Lady Mary Montgomerie with her Son (no. 548). In the Breadalbane portrait the standard devices of a Romantic landscape and Baroque drape are still used to stress the sitter's status, despite the intimate nature of the setting. Breadalbane's pose is relaxed and sociable without the emotionalism of so many works of the last years of the artist's career.

The clearest example of the variety that Raeburn could achieve in his painting during his last years is given by the two portraits of the American sitter Peter van Brugh Livingston (Plates 71 and 72) of 1819. Sittings were separated only by days yet these portraits differ from one another so much that without documentary evidence it would be tempting to suggest that they were separated by a number of years. In fact, the discrepancy in likeness between them is so great that were it not for archival material it would be natural to conclude that the two portraits were of different men.

Raeburn and Exhibition Societies.

The first public exhibition of paintings to be held in Scotland opened in June 1808. It was organised by the recently founded Associated

Society of Artists. The following year Raeburn joined as an ordinary member and he allowed his gallery at York Place to be used for the annual exhibitions from 1809 until the Society was disbanded.[3] The exhibitions created a new form of writer in the Scottish press, the art critic. A small but important group of reviews of these exhibitions was published by the Scots Magazine. It is not known who wrote these articles, what their qualifications were for doing so or by what standards they were making their judgements, but they give some information on Raeburn's work, including the identities of some sitters, and they record contemporary attitudes to his paintings.[4]

It becomes clear during 1812 that Raeburn was dissatisfied with the organisation of the exhibitions of the Associated Society of Artists and with the behaviour of the President, George Watson (1767-1837), in particular. At the exhibition of 1812 Raeburn believed that preference had been given in the hang to Watson's portraits and on 2 April, Raeburn resigned. He wrote to the Secretary of the Society expressing his grievance (Document 17). As a result, a committee meeting was held and Raeburn was elected President, but the Society came to an end the following year. The ultimate cause of this is said to have been the financial success of the yearly exhibitions (Document 20). The following year, Raeburn and some colleagues founded the Edinburgh Exhibition Society which held annual exhibitions from 1814 until 1816.[5] Dispirited with the activities of the artists, in 1819 the gentlemen and noblemen of Scotland formed the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts and they too used Raeburn's gallery for exhibitions. The first exhibitions held by the Institution were devoted to old masters but the number of suitable pictures was limited

and modern works were included in 1821. Raeburn, who was the only artist allowed full membership, exhibited three works in that year and the same number in 1822.{6}

By far the most important exhibition society was the Royal Academy and from his surviving correspondence it is clear that Raeburn coveted membership (Document 18). When the number of portraits Raeburn exhibited at the R.A. is examined it comes as somewhat of a surprise that he was elected an Associate Royal Academician in 1812 as he had only exhibited on three occasions since in the preceding ten years. He had sent one work in each of the years 1802, 1810 and 1811.{7} In 1812, the year of his election, he exhibited four works. One of them, Alastair Macdonell of Glengarry (no. 482) was given first place in the exhibition.{8} Raeburn made one of his rare visits to London at some point during the four week period beginning 22 June 1812. During this time the Candidate List for Associate Membership of the Royal Academy was open and it bears Raeburn's signature. In 1812, elections to the Royal Academy were held on 2 November. At that meeting it was decided that four Associates should be elected from the list of thirty-three aspirant members. Raeburn's name appears at the top of this list and he was the first to be elected to a vacancy.{9} Both the appearance of his name as first on the list and the Glengarry being exhibited as number one in the exhibition suggests that someone was doing everything in his power to assist Raeburn's election.

On 13 February 1813 David Wilkie noted in his diary that he had encouraged Raeburn "to put forward all his strength at the next exhibition" but Raeburn sent only one work that year, Sir George

Steuart Mackenzie of Coul (no. 500b).{10} During 1814 Raeburn wrote to an unknown correspondent in London who was concerning himself with Raeburn's election to full academician status. Raeburn's interest in becoming a member is clear from the letter (Document 18). He sent four works to London in 1814.{11} On 10 February 1815 there was a meeting of the academicians to fill the places left by the deaths of two of their number. Raeburn was elected to the second vacancy. He did not complete the formalities of becoming a Royal Academician until 3 November 1817.{12}

Raeburn sent four works to the R.A. in 1815 {13} and five in 1816 but only two sitters were identified in the latter year.{14} On 5 July 1817 Raeburn was elected an honorary member of the American Academy of the Fine Arts and two years later he sent with his letter of acceptance Peter van Brugh Livingston (Plate 71). He exhibited three works at the R.A. in 1817. One of them, Lady Gordon-Cumming (no. 187), won high praise.{15} It has been suggested that Raeburn's election to the Imperial Academy of Florence took place in 1817 but no documentary material relating to that election is known. In 1821 he was invited to become an honorary member of the Academy of Arts of South Carolina.{16} In 1818, Raeburn sent a varied group of works to the London exhibition: he showed a full length equestrian portrait of a child, Archibald William Montgomerie, 13th Earl of Eglinton (no. 547), a full length of a man in uniform, Rear-Admiral Sir David Milne (no. 539), a small half length of a political figure, Alexander Maconochie Welwood (no. 745) and a portrait of a Lady, exhibited as number 203. In general, the sitter's social eminence appears to have played an important part in Raeburn's choice of works

for exhibition. Only one of the four exhibited works at the R.A. of 1819 can be identified, Francis Chantrey (no. 149). Raeburn's only known drawing is of Chantrey, done in 1818 (no. 780). All five portraits shown in 1820 were named. In 1821 the names of three of his five exhibited works were given in the catalogue.{17} Identifiable portraits become fewer in Raeburn's last two years. Of the three works exhibited in 1822 Lord Douglas (no. 212) alone was identified in the catalogue while none of the four portraits shown in 1823 was named.{18}

Life, the closing years.

After almost thirty years residence in Deanhaugh House the artist and his wife are said by Greig to have moved out of their home in 1809 and to have bought the neighbouring property of St Bernards.{19} How Raeburn managed to finance this purchase after his bankruptcy cannot at present be explained. The death of the artist's brother, William Raeburn, occurred in 1810 and the artist, together with his elusive sister, appointed a factor on their brother's estate. The outcome of this legal manoeuvre is not known.{20} In 1812 Raeburn's son, Henry Raeburn Jr. (no. 600) married Charlotte White (no. 601), daughter of John White of Kellerstane and Howden.{21} The following year, 1813, saw Raeburn involved in planning an extensive building campaign. Because of the settlement which was accepted by his creditors at the time of his sequestration, he retained ownership of tracts of land in the neighbourhood of Stockbridge. In 1813 he began to lay out and feu that land for a housing estate. Raeburn Place, a main thoroughfare out of the city, was the first to be built. Dean Street was started in 1816 and then Ann Street was begun in 1817.{22} Financial difficulties

appear to have been a worry to Raeburn in the years after his bankruptcy. This is suggested by a letter he wrote at the end of 1815 asking the Edinburgh furniture maker W. Trotter not to send his account as he was unable to settle it.{23} On 18 June 1818 Raeburn wrote a short letter of introduction for the young sculptor Thomas Campbell (1790-1858) to Sir Thomas Lawrence. In this, Raeburn stressed his "slight acquaintance" with Lawrence but felt that Campbell would benefit from the introduction. Campbell later sculpted Raeburn's portrait bust.{24} The strongest indication that the artist's personal standing in Edinburgh had recovered from the embarrassment of his bankruptcy is his election to the socially exclusive Royal Society of Edinburgh on 20 January 1820. He was sponsored by Sir David Brewster (no. 71), Sir George Mackenzie of Coul (no. 500) and Lord Chief Commissioner William Adam of Blairadam (no. 11).{25} Raeburn never addressed the Society.

In 1822 George IV made a State Visit to Scotland, the first by any Hanoverian monarch. Much of the King's visit was organised by Sir Walter Scott and an air of festivity existed throughout Edinburgh where notables from all over the country had gathered. Several artists were in the King's entourage, among them J.M.W. Turner (1775-1851) who dined with Raeburn and his wife on 22 August 1822.{26} A week after this dinner, shortly before the royal party was due to leave Scotland, the Right Honourable Robert Peel instructed Raeburn to attend the King at Hopetoun House where the artist was to be knighted.{27} The King had his base at Dalkeith Palace but on his last day he made a ceremonial procession through Edinburgh to Hopetoun House where he was awaited by a throng of eminent Scots. There, in a house which

contained a number of his works, Raeburn was knighted. The next day a private dinner was held at the artist's house which was attended by David Wilkie. Alexander Nasmyth organised a public dinner on 5 October 1822 to celebrate Raeburn's knighthood.{28} The last Scottish artist to have been knighted was Sir John Baptiste de Medina (c. 1659-1710). In the art world of Scotland, Raeburn reigned supreme.

Hatton, the Edinburgh print publisher, issued an engraved portrait of George IV (no. 787) as part of the celebrations for the King's visit. It was derived from Hodgetts' engraving after Raeburn's Thomas Charles Hope (no. 405). That a plate should be altered in this manner is further evidence that Raeburn had little control over the issue of engravings after his work. In the last years of Raeburn's life a fine printmaker was available in Scotland, William Walker (1791-1867), who lived at Kellie Castle, Pittenweem. Some important correspondence survives between Raeburn and Walker and an outstanding group of prints, which includes John Hope, 4th Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404) and Raeburn's self-portrait (no. 597). Walker continued to engrave Raeburn portraits after the artist's death, for example Sir John Archibald Murray (no. 565).

Towards the end of 1822 the artists of the city approached Raeburn on the question of forming another society devoted to the visual arts, one which would be distinct from the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in which artists were not allowed full membership (Document 20). These efforts by the artists resulted in the establishment of what eventually became the Royal Scottish Academy.{29}

On 10 May 1823 Raeburn was made Limner to His Majesty in Scotland but he did not hold this position long.[30] He appeared to be in perfect health on a trip he made to Fife during late June with a party which included Sir Walter Scott (no. 640c), the Irish novelist Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) and Lord Chief Commissioner William Adam of Blairadam (no. 11).[31] However, shortly after his return, he attempted to work on the portrait Mrs Denniston (no. 198) but, feeling unwell, he retired to his bed. He lay ill for a week and died on 8 July 1823 at four in the morning.[32] Many of the incomplete portraits left in his studio were "finished" by John Syme (1795-1861) (Document 21).

#### Summary and Conclusion.

Apart from a visit to Rome and some brief trips to London, Raeburn's entire life was spent within a few miles of Stockbridge where he was born. His days he spent in Edinburgh, first at his studio in George Street and later in York Place. Within these narrow geographic confines Raeburn travelled what might be termed great social distances. His father almost certainly fought against the Hanoverians in the Jacobite Rebellion of 1745 but at the end of his life Raeburn was knighted by a Hanoverian king. His early days were spent in a modest house on the south bank of the Water of Leith. Educated in an orphanage, he married a wealthy neighbour from the other bank of the river, he greatly increased their wealth and then almost lost everything in the bankruptcy courts. With seeming ease he combined painting, property development and underwriting. In the time of his success he lived in fine mansions, first at Deanhaugh and later at St

Bernards. From there his body was carried, past the edge of the expanding New Town of Edinburgh where he had spent his working life, to be buried in the grounds of the Episcopal church of St John's, some yards away from St Cuthbert's parish church where he had been baptised.

An account of his life is easier to give and leaves less room for debate than an account of his artistic career. That career began late. There is evidence that Raeburn was still in the silversmith's workshop in 1778, two years after the supposed date of George Chalmers of Pittencrieff (Plate 26). Nothing has emerged to support the claim for Raeburn's productivity as a miniaturist. It may be that his miniature work took the form of rote, decorative painting for mourning jewellery (Plate 122). In 1782 Raeburn joined an art class under the direction of Alexander Runciman which suggests that Raeburn was a beginner still in artistic matters. Raeburn can have met David Martin only in 1784 when Martin settled in Edinburgh, rather than in 1775, as previously supposed. These facts allow the traditional date of 1776 given to George Chalmers of Pittencrieff to be dismissed and with it any claims for Raeburn's appearance as a prodigy. With the exception of Mrs John Liddell (Plate 70), all the portraits dated by earlier writers to before 1784 are dated in this study to the time after Raeburn's return from Rome. By this account Raeburn matured somewhat late. When he went to Italy in 1784 at the age of twenty-eight he was not the fully formed artist that all earlier writers imagined. There, in the circle of the Scottish antiquarian and guide, James Byres, during a period of rapid development, Raeburn began to produce portraits of considerable sophistication, as shown by Patrick Moir

(Plate 85). One oil sketch, David with the Head of Goliath (Plate 114), suggests that Raeburn studied the Baroque. By the age of thirty-one, in 1787, he was back in Edinburgh and only then did his independent career begin. His portraits from that time display the influence of seventeenth-century Italian art, for example, in Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President (Plate 35). Other portraits from this period show sitters engaged in a pastime, or in conversation. This depiction of movement and activity may also have its origins in the art of the seventeenth-century. Many portraits from c. 1787 onwards show Raeburn working in established portrait traditions, traditions that were old before Reynolds used them and there is no need to postulate some line of influence between Reynolds and Raeburn. In about 1800 a change occurred in Raeburn's painting when he responded to the international currents of Neoclassicism and Romanticism. A change in palette from bright to dark colours and in handling from his characteristic "square touch" to a smooth surface typify this shift. Dating works in the period 1787 - 1799 is not easy but the period 1800-1823 brings more problems. In general terms, Raeburn begins this period with works of great austerity in handling and palette: a smooth surface and a grey-black monochromaticism. There is a movement towards a somewhat mannered expressiveness beginning before he visited London. The view is widely held that this visit to London of 1810 was a watershed in his career and that the changes can be attributed to an encounter with the art of Sir Thomas Lawrence. The actual situation is more complicated. The tendency towards loading the portraits with an overt emotionalism can be traced to the time before 1810 and many works after that date do not betray these expressive intentions. The influence of London and Sir Thomas Lawrence has been

over emphasised. Many of the parallels between portraits by the two painters are due to similarities in dress and hair style in the two countries. Some of the changes which are observable c. 1810 - the increase in canvas size and number of repetitions - may be due to financial considerations occasioned by Raeburn's bankruptcy in 1808.

Many areas are untouched by this thesis. Future scholars may be drawn to the difficult question of the degree of studio participation in Raeburn's work and to identifying the personalities involved, or to the Herculean task of exhuming Raeburn's banking records to assist in dating. Only slightly easier would be an investigation of aesthetic matters such as the influence on Raeburn's paintings of some of the different aspects of Romanticism, the Cult of Sensibility or the Sublime. An important but probably impossible task would be to attempt to uncover the nature of the books and prints in Raeburn's hands which he used for study purposes and to which he referred in Document 20.

At the outset of this study it was difficult even to ascertain the locations of Raeburn's paintings. Of his sitters' lives, little was known beyond their names, provenance records tended to end no later than c. 1920, many of them as early as 1900, and a large number of portraits had never received any scholarly attention. The following catalogue presents eight hundred and eighteen detailed entries concerned with almost one thousand works.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1

The Obituary was published twice, first as [Hugh Murray and Sir Walter Scott], "Sir Henry Raeburn", The Annual Biography for 1823 (London: 1824), to which all following references are made, and as: "Biographic Sketches, Sir Henry Raeburn", Chamber's Edinburgh Journal (22 September 1832), 268-9. Concerning the authorship of the obituary see H.J.C. Grierson, ed., Letters of Sir Walter Scott (London: Constable and Co., 1932-7), 8,63; 8,68; see also Document 22.

2

Ibid., p. 18.

3

Ibid., p. 5.

4

Ibid., p. 6.

5

Ibid., pp. 11, 14.

6

"Observations on the Edinburgh Exhibition of Paintings", Scots Magazine (1815), p. 413.

7

Andrew Duncan, A Tribute of Regard to the Memory of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1824).

8

Catalogue of Portraits by the Late Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., Now Exhibiting in no. 32 York Place, (Edinburgh: Ruthven & Son, 1824); Raeburn's exhibited works can be traced in: Algernon Graves, A Dictionary of the Artists Who Have Exhibited Works in the Principal London Exhibitions from 1760-1893, 3rd ed. (London: Henry Graves and Co. Ltd., 1901), p. 227; Graves, The Royal Academy of Arts: A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Works from its Foundation in 1768 to 1904, 8 vols. (London: 1905-6); and Frank Rinder and William D. McKay, The Royal Scottish Academy Catalogue, 1826-1916 (Glasgow: 1917), pp. 320-3.

9

Allan Cunningham, "Raeburn", The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects, 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1829-33), 5,204-241; the Life of Raeburn was first published in 1832; for some Raeburn correspondence published by Cunningham see Ibid., 5,227-8 and 5,232-3.

10

Ibid., p. 218.

11

Dr Duncan Thomson, "Raeburn - Stylistic Change", paper presented at the Centenary Celebrations of the Watson Gordon Chair of Fine Art, the University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh, April 1981. (Typewritten.)

12

One of the many paraphrases of Cunningham is Dictionary of National Biography, 1908, s.v. "Raeburn, Henry," by Sir Walter Armstrong.

13

John Morrison, "Random Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott, The Ettrick Shepherd, Sir Henry Raeburn, ec. ec.", Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, September 1843, pp., 626-8; December 1843, pp. 780-6; and January 1844, pp. 15-19.

14

John Brown, Portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn, Photographs by Thomas Annan, with Biographical Sketches, (Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, [1873]).

15

Royal Academy National Galleries, Edinburgh, Catalogue of the Works of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. Exhibiting in the Royal Academy National Galleries, Edinburgh, (Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark, 1876).

16

Other important exhibitions were South Kensington Museum, Catalogue of the Second Special Exhibition of National Portraits, Commencing with the Reign of William and Mary and Ending with the Year 1800 (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1867); and South Kensington Museum, Catalogue of the Third and Concluding Exhibition of National Portraits, Commencing with the Fortieth Year of the Reign of George the Third and Ending with the Year 1868 (London: Strangeways and Walden, 1868).

17

Robert Louis Stevenson, The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson, ed. E. Gosse, Vol. 2: Virginibus Puerisque "Some Portraits by Raeburn" (London: Cassell & Co., 1906), pp. 405-413.

18

William Raeburn Andrew, Life of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. with Portraits and Appendix, (London: W.H. Allen, 1886); William Ernest Henley, Sir Henry Raeburn, a Selection from his Portraits Reproduced in Photogravure by T. and R. Annan, with Introduction and Notes (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 1890).

19

Sir Walter Armstrong, R.A.M. Stevenson, and James L. Caw, Sir Henry Raeburn, with an Introduction by R.A.M. Stevenson and a Biographical and Descriptive Catalogue by J.L. Caw (London: William Heinemann, 1901), pp. 95-116; see also Edward Pinnington, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. (London: The Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., 1904), pp. 217-253.

20

James L. Caw, Scottish Painting Past and Present, 1620-1908, (Edinburgh: 1908; reprint ed., Bath: Kingsmead Reprints, 1975), pp. 69-78.

21

Armstrong, Raeburn, p. 98.

22

Ibid., p. 102.

23

See James L. Caw, Scottish Portraits With an Historical and Critical Introduction and Notes, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: T.C. & E.C. Jack, 1903), especially the essays "Professor Joseph Black", 2,56-7; and "James Hutton", 2,54-5.

24 Armstrong, Raeburn, p. 89.                      25 Ibid., p. 88.                      26 Ibid., p. 74.

27 Typical of many is Peter Murray and Linda Murray, The Penguin Dictionary of Art and Artists, 4th ed. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1978), s.v. "Raeburn, Sir Henry".

28 For an attempt to dismiss Armstrong's claims for the influence of Lawrence and Hoppner, see James L. Caw, Raeburn Masterpieces in Colour (London: T.C. & E.C. Jack, n.d.), p. 67, it had little effect.

29 See Armstrong, Raeburn, pp. 1-22.

30 See also Robert Arthur Mowbray Stevenson, The Art of Velazquez, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1895; reprint ed., with a biographical study of the author by Denys Sutton, the text revised and annotated by Theodore Crombie, London: George Bell and Sons, 1962).

31 See James Greig, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., his Life and Works, with a Catalogue of his Pictures (London: The Connoisseur, 1911).

32 See James Greig, "Unrecorded Raeburns", Connoisseur 85 (June 1930), 343-50 and James Greig, "Masterly Portrait by Raeburn, Fresh Information About His Art", Apollo 2 (June 1930), 412.

33 The Greig Manuscript is a box of loose papers and an accurate reference to material within it is never possible. (I am grateful to Mrs Betty Muirden of the Yale Center for British Art for bringing this material to my attention.) The Office of the Registrar, The Art Institute of Chicago, (RG.5-003, Box 1 of 2) holds the largest collection of records known to the compiler connected with Max Saffron.

34 E. Rimbault Dibdin, Raeburn (London: Philip Allan & Co., 1925).

35 The portrait in question is a copy by Raeburn (no. 805) of Ramsay's Lady Inglis of Cramond reproduced by Dibdin facing page 130.

36

British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.ff.1218-1227.

37

These documents are a letter from Raeburn to Robert Thomson Jr. of Camphill of 20 October 1821 concerning portraits for his family (see no. 703); a letter from Sir Walter Scott to Raeburn of 10 August [1821] concerning a portrait of Lord Douglas (no. 212); and Document 22.

38

William T. Whitley, Artists and Their Friends in England, 1700-1799, 2 vols. (London: Medici Society, 1928), 1, 334-5; 2, 168-70, 348; and William T. Whitley, Art In England, 1800-1820, (Cambridge: University Press, 1928).

39

C.H. Collins Baker, British Painting (London: Medici Society, 1933), pp. 162-5.

40

National Gallery of Scotland, Raeburn, Bi-Centenary Exhibition (Edinburgh: Arts Council, Scottish Committee, 1956); on Raeburn's journey to Italy see National Trust for Scotland, Raeburns and Eighteenth-Century Silver (Edinburgh: National Trust for Scotland, 1951), p. 5 and for his work as a copyist see exhibition numbers 19 and 20.

41

Encyclopedia of World Art, s.v. "Raeburn, Sir Henry," by Kenneth Garlick.

42

Francina Irwin, "Early Raeburn Reconsidered", Burlington Magazine 105 (April 1973), 239-44.

43

Daphne Foskett, A Dictionary of British Miniature Painters, 2 vols. (London: Faber and Faber, 1972), 1, 460.

44

David Irwin and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 146-64.

45

Andrew Kerr, A History of Ann Street (Edinburgh: By the Author, 1982).

46

Raymond Lister, British Romantic Painting (Cambridge: Pevensey Press, 1989), no. 25.

47

J. Duncan Macmillan, Painting in Scotland, the Golden Age, (Oxford: Phaidon, 1985), pp. 74-136; and Scottish Art 1460-1990, (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990), pp. 149-162.

48

Macmillan, Golden Age, p. 76.

49

Macmillan, Scottish Art, p. 154.

50

See Thomas Reid, The Works of Thomas Reid, D.D., Now Fully Collected, with Selections from his Unpublished Letters, ed. Sir W. Hamilton Bt., An Inquiry into the Human Mind, 2nd ed. (Edinburgh: Maclachlan, Stewart and Co., 1849) especially pp. 135-6 and 188-93.

51

John Miller Gray's list is located in the Library of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, 1876.43(8); Kenneth Sanderson, "Engravings After Raeburn", Print Collectors' Quarterly 12 (1925), 129-55; Sanderson's manuscript notes are preserved in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, Raeburn Biography File, items nos. 7, 22 and 23; on the collection in the British Museum see Freeman O'Donoghue and Henry M. Hake, Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum, 6 vols. (London: British Museum, 1908-25).

52

See for example Walker's engraving after Sir John Archibald Murray (no. 565), published in 1835.

53

Hodgetts' engraving after Alistair Macdonnell of Glengarry (no. 482) shows several deviations from the original portrait; General Sir Donald Macleod, K.C.B. (no. 509) is known only from the engraving.

54

The Scottish National Portrait Gallery holds photographs of 262 works by Raeburn (I am grateful to Dr Rosalind Marshall for a listing of this information); there are twenty-nine boxes of photographs in the Witt Library, numbers 1931 to 1959 inclusive.

55

See General Sir William Maxwell of Calderwood, 7th Bt. (no. 528) and Mrs John Rutherford (no. 632) which currently hang as portraits of unknown sitters.

56

It has been estimated that a Raeburn portrait which cost £20,000 in 1910 would carry a price of £3.3 million in today's terms; see W. Gordon Smith, "Sir Henry Raeburn, An Old Master's Clerical Error", Observer, 27 November 1988, p. 8.

57

The concentration on sitters' biography is also a feature of the writings of William Roberts which are preserved in the National Art Library's Special Collections, Art Monographs, (vols. II and III), Press Mark II RC.K.1 a,b. In vol. II, numbers 1 to 5 are on Raeburn as are numbers 20 to 25 in vol. III.

58

See Frick Collection, The Frick Collection, An Illustrated Catalogue, 2 vols., (New York: The Frick Collection, 1968), 2, 85-8; Scottish National Portrait Gallery, [Dr Duncan Thomson], Treasures of Fyvie (Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1985), pp. 54-61; Richard Dorment, British Paintings in the Philadelphia Museum of Art from the Seventeenth Century Through the Nineteenth Century, (London: in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), pp. 253-83.

59

Scottish Record Office, Raeburn and his Times, An Exhibition of Raeburn Documents, Plus Some Manuscripts of Sitters (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Office, 1956).

60

Scottish Record Office, Commissariat of Edinburgh, Inventories, vol. 31, April 29 to October 12 1824, Scottish Record Office, S.C.70.1.31.ff.246-9.

61

For example, other surviving documentation leaves no doubt that the payment made by Lord Montagu on 27 October 1823 was for Sir Walter Scott (no. 640d); the entry on A. Greig, W.S. may represent an agent rather than the patron, see no. 354

62

Some works which do not appear in the 1824 Inventory passed into the hands of the artist's descendants, see Brown, Portraits by Raeburn, pp. 8-11; many works which do not appear in the 1824 Inventory appeared at the Studio Sale. See Christie, Masson and Woods, Catalogue of the Works of the Late Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. Recently Exhibited in the Royal Academy, National Galleries, Edinburgh, and Burlington House: Which, by Order of the Raeburn Family, Will be Sold by Auction, on Monday, May 7, 1877 (London: Christie, Masson and Woods, 1877).

63

Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.29.10 December 1808, Box 1867. An anonymous note in the Raeburn file at Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries, Kelvingrove, states that Raeburn's bank books survived until the time of the Second World War when they were sent to paper salvage.

64

The most useful is Mrs J.H. Gray, ed., Autobiography of a Scotch Country Gentleman, the Rev. John Hamilton Gray, (Edinburgh: By the Editor, 1868), pp. 55-7; see Margaret Alwyne, Lady Compton, later Marchioness of Northampton (no. 22).

65

I am grateful to David Baxandall for allowing me access to the notes which he made in 1956 of conversations with Anne Buck.

66

To establish the edition of Burke's which must be consulted see

Burke's Peerage Limited, Burke's Family Index (London: Burke's Peerage Limited, 1976); on legal sitters see Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, A History of The Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet with a List of the Members of the Society from 1594 to 1890 and an Abstract of the Minutes (Edinburgh: Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, 1890); for the army in India see V.S.P. Hodson, List of Officers of the Bengal Army, 1758-1834, 4 vols. (London: Constable and Co., 1927-47); for politicians see the History of Parliament Trust, History of Parliament, 19 vols. (London: History of Parliament Trust, 1982-6); on ministers of the Church of Scotland see Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; the Succession of the Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland, from 1560 to the Present Time, 7 vols., new edition (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1915-28).

NOTES TO CHAPTER II

1

See National Library of Scotland, MS.832.ff.28-9.

2

The record of the marriage of the artist's parents was published by the Scottish Record Society, Register of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750: "Robert Raeburn, weaver in North East Parish, married Ann Elder, daughter of Henry Elder, indweller in Aberdour parish, now in North West Parish, 9 November 1740."

3

Scottish Record Society, C. Boog Watson, ed., Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethern (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929), p. 29.

4

State of the Process, Alexander Newlands, Merchant in Edinburgh, Charger; Against Robert Raeburn, Weaver in Edinburgh, Suspender (Edinburgh: 12 June 1760).

5

Ibid., pp. 2, 14.

6

Ibid., pp. 8-9. Later in the proceedings, David Doig, a character witness called on behalf of Robert Raeburn, stated that the feu for this house was obtained with Doig's help from Heriot's Hospital where the future artist was to be educated, *ibid.*, p. 32.

7

Ibid., p. 9.

8

See the evidence of Patrick Bowie, first witness, given on 15 August 1759, *ibid.*, pp. 26-8.

9

Ibid., p. 32. Doig testified that since 1749 Robert Raeburn had charge of Doig's business connected with textiles to the extent of a sum in excess of £20,000.

10

Ibid., pp. 33-4.

11

The State of the Process has a two page appendage entitled Declaration of Robert Raeburn dated 13 December 1760, the reference to the artist's sister is on p. 2 of this addition.

12

See [Hugh Murray and Sir Walter Scott], "Sir Henry Raeburn", The Annual Biography for 1823 (London: 1823), p. 4.

13

This date was recorded by E. Rimbault Dibdin, Sir Henry Raeburn (London: Philip Allan & Co., 1925), p. 10, his sources have not been traced.

14

Scottish Record Society, Burgesses and Guild Brethren, p. 29; on William Raeburn see also David Irwin and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 148; on William Raeburn's death see Mrs George Joseph Bell (no. 43).

15

James Greig, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., (London: The Connoisseur, Otto Ltd., 1911), pp. xiii-xiv.

16

Andrew Duncan, A Tribute of Regard to the Memory of Sir Henry Raeburn (Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1824), p. 9.

17

On James Gilliland's family background see see Hew Scott, Fasti Ecclesiae Scoticae; the Succession of Ministers in the Parish Churches of Scotland, from 1560 to the Present Time, 7 vols. (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1917), 2, 19; he was apprenticed on 25 February 1730 to Archibald Ure; on 17 August 1748, he was admitted to the Incorporation of Goldsmiths of Edinburgh (Stuart Maxwell, private papers); in 1749 Gilliland married at Edinburgh, Catherine Thomson, daughter of the late bailie Robert Thomson, shoemaker at Irvine, see Scottish Record Society, C. Boog Watson, ed., Record of Marriages for the Parish of Edinburgh, 1701-1750 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society); on Gilliland's place of business in Parliament Close, Edinburgh, see Dibdin, p. 19; Gilliland had numerous apprentices, the dates of their indentures and their names are as follows: 1757, Neil Paton, from Heriot's Hospital; 1758, James Sands; 1762, A. McEwan; 1765, John Chalmers; 1767, Robert Bowman, from Heriot's Hospital; 1772, Henry Raeburn, from Heriot's Hospital; 1778, Robert Stewart; 1783, Francis Clark; and finally, in 1786, Alexander Grant. (Stuart Maxwell, private papers.)

18

The date of the apprenticeship has been given most recently, by Francina Irwin, as 1773, but this is incorrect, see Francina Irwin, "Early Raeburn Reconsidered", Burlington Magazine 115 (April 1973), 239; the date given by the school is supported by M. Wood, who gave 16 November 1771 as the date of the apprenticeship which was to last seven years, see Scottish Record Society, M. Wood, ed., Register of Apprentices of the City of Edinburgh 1756-1800 (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1963), p. 53.

19

See Scottish Record Office, Register of Deeds, Rae and Boswell, 17021.f.184, Articles of marriage betwixt Mr James Leslie and Miss Ann Edgar. Notice of the marriage was also given in the Scots Magazine 34 (October 1772), 516, as: "at Edinburgh". (I am grateful to Andrew Kerr for these references.)

20

National Library of Scotland, MS.830.f.132, the relevant section reads:

The young lady appears to have been a widow. Raeburn married a Mrs Leslie, the widow of Mr Leslie, a wine and spirit merchant at the Cross in partnership with that highly respected magistrate, Provost Elder. When a lad I was intimate with Jamie Leslie and Harry Raeburn, her sons by her two husbands. T. Vaughan to A.C. [Allan Cunningham]

No other information is available on Jamie Leslie but see notes 21 and 22.

21

For George Leslie's will see Scottish Record Office, CC.8.8.125. A search for the dates of birth of the children of James Leslie and Ann Edgar was conducted by Mrs M. Brown for Andrew Kerr in St Paul's and St George's Episcopal Church, York Place, Edinburgh, Register of Baptism, September 1772-1778, no reference was found. However, see notes 20 and 22.

22

On the son of James Leslie and Ann Edgar who is said to have drowned see Committee of the Grampian Club, Genealogical Collections of the Scottish House of Edgar (London: The Grampian Club), p. 11.

23

For the Window Tax Assessments see Scottish Record Office E.326.1.90. The Edinburgh Directories first listed a James Leslie in 1774: "Leslie, James, gentleman, Riekie's land, Nicolson's Street", he last appeared in the directories in 1778. It cannot be stated with certainty that this figure was the husband of Ann Edgar.

24

I am grateful to Andrew Kerr for sharing with me a description of Deanhaugh House which he found in the Edinburgh Advertiser, 26 March 1771:

To be let or sold. That house of Deanhaugh, near St Bernard's Well, and opposite Stockbridge, consisting of: five bedrooms, four of which have closets, diningroom, drawing room, small parlour and kitchen, with a large lumber garret which may serve for servants sleeping in; also alehouse, wine cellar, larder pantry and chaise-house; also stable for five horses, byre for like number of cows, both on the east side of a convenient backcourt; a parterre in the front of the house with a small garden to the west side of said house. All lying in a pleasant valley on the banks of the Water of Leith, a mile from Edinburgh and a mile from Leith.

25

The entry in Notes and Queries, 7th S. II, 27 November 1886 gives:

It is surprising that the editor of Chambers's Biographical Dictionary of Eminent Scotsmen (1855) should not have suppressed the apocryphal anecdote of Peter Edgar's daughter falling in love with and marrying the young artist, considering that the facts have been notorious in Edinburgh since that period. These facts are that James Leslie of Deanhaugh - the representative of Leslie of Leslie, and also of Leslie of New Leslie (strangely ignored by the late author of The House of Leslie, although aware of his place in "the house") - married Anne [sic], daughter of Peter Edgar and his wife Anne Hay and -if the truth must be told - committed suicide at Deanhaugh House (adjoining St. Bernard's) with a pistol, in consequence of jealousy excited under very remarkable circumstances. Immediately after the tragedy the widow married the artist and enabled him to cultivate his talents.

The contributor signed himself "S.P.", he did not give his sources and it has not been possible to verify his information.

26

For James Leslie's will see Scottish Record Office, R.D.4.227.ff. 474-5. (I am grateful to Andrew Kerr for this reference.)

27

There is no record in the index of marriages extracted from the Scots Magazine in the office of the Lord Lyon King at Arms. The records of St Paul's and St George's Episcopal Church, York Place, Edinburgh, Register of Marriage, 1778-1781 were searched by Mrs M. Brown for Andrew Kerr. There are large gaps in the register; no reference was found.

28

[Murray and Scott], Annual Biography, p. 6.

29

On the birth of the artist's son, Peter, and the conclusions which have been drawn from this regarding the date of the artist's marriage see National Gallery of Scotland, Raeburn Bi-Centenary Exhibition (Edinburgh: Arts Council Scottish Committee, 1956), p. 30. The Register of St Cuthbert's, Baptisms, gives under 25 May 1781, "Mr Henry Raeburn, portrait painter in Edinburgh, residenter in Deanhaugh, and Mrs Ann Edgar, his spouse, had a son, born Friday the 18th inst. name Peter. Wits. John Edgar, Esq., of Marchfield and Mr William Raeburn, manufacturer, in Stockbridge." The artist's second son was baptised on 10 November 1783, the Register reads: "Mr Henry Raeburn, portrait painter, residing in Deanhaugh, and Mrs Ann Edgar, his spouse, had a son born, Friday the 24 ult., named Henry. Wits. Messrs William Raeburn, manufacturer at Stockbridge, and John Edgar, Writer to the Signet." These are the earliest documentary references to Henry Raeburn describing him as a portrait painter.

30

See Allan Cunningham, The Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects, 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1829-33), 5, 234-5.

31

See [Murray and Scott], Annual Biography, p. 5. This was repeated by Duncan, Tribute, p. 12. This has been followed by all later commentators.

32

Caw listed the following miniatures: Mrs Cochrane, formerly collection of Miss Cochrane, see Walter Armstrong, Sir Henry Raeburn, (London: William Heinemann, 1901), p. 98; Dr Gardiner, formerly collection of Miss Lee, *ibid.*, p. 102; Sir John Peter Grant of Rothiemurchus, Bt., M.P., formerly collection J.P. Grant, *ibid.*, p. 103; Professor James Hamilton, M.D., formerly collection Mrs Leatham, *ibid.*, p. 104 (see no. 364 in the catalogue); Miss Ritchie, formerly collection Mrs Brown, *ibid.*, p. 110; Mrs Wallace of Biscally, formerly collection Hugh R. Wallace, *ibid.*, p. 113; Andrew Wood, Surgeon (1742-1821), formerly collection Miss Edmonstone, *ibid.*, p. 114 and reproduced p. 4; Head of a Madonna, formerly Gibson-Craig collection and described as signed "H.R." and dated 1777, *ibid.*, p. 116; and, in addition, David Deuchar (no. 790). With the exception of the Deuchar miniature no other details of these works have emerged during the time of this study. See in addition J.J. Foster, A Dictionary of Painters of Miniatures, 1525-1850 (London: Philip Alland and Co., 1926), p. 245.

33

See Scottish Record Society, C. Boog Watson, ed., Roll of Edinburgh Burgesses and Guild Brethren (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1929).

34

Duncan, Tribute, p. 12.

35

National Museums of Scotland catalogue number NJ59. I am grateful to Mr George Dalgleish for bringing this ring to my attention.

36

Caledonian Insurance Company, "Sir Henry Raeburn", Caledonian Jottings, for Private Circulation Among the Agents and Officers of the Caledonian Insurance Company 4 (1900), 5-9. The Deuchars were Masons but nothing has come to light to suggest Raeburn's membership, see George S. Draffen, Pour La Foi, (Dundee: 1949), pp. 8-84. On members of Raeburn's wife's family who were members of the Masons see William Inglis of Middleton, W.S. (no. 425).

37

See the catalogue entry (no. 790) for a transcription.

38

See Jean Gaspard Lavater, Essays on Physiognomy: for the Promotion of the Knowledge and Love of Mankind, 3 vols. (London: 1789), together with many other editions. For a discussion of them see William Vaughan, Romantic Art, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978), pp. 47-59.

39

See Nancy Pressly, The Fuseli Circle in Rome: Early Romantic Art of the 1770's, Exhibition Catalogue, (The Yale Center for British Art, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979).

40

The Raeburn family owned a portrait by Alexander Runciman of the poet Robert Fergusson (1750-1774), see John Brown, Portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn Photographed by Thomas Annan, with Biographical Sketches, (Edinburgh: Elliot, [1874]), p. 9. It is not known to the compiler if this portrait of Fergusson from the Raeburn family is the same as that by Runciman now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 1863.

41

As an example of a friendship portrait see Alexander Runciman's Self-portrait with John Brown in the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

42

See [Murray and Scott], Annual Biography, p. 5.

43

James Boswell recorded visiting Martin's studio in London during April of 1778, see Francina Irwin, Early Raeburn, p. 239; her source was Boswell in Extremes 1776-78, C. McWeiss and F.A. Pottle, eds., (London, 1971), p. 311. The earliest mention in the Raeburn literature of Martin arriving in Scotland in 1775 is found in Armstrong, Raeburn, p. 44, no reason for this date was given; see also "Biography of David Martin, Portrait Painter, By His Brother", Scottish National Gallery, Artist's Files, p. 9; Martin's name appears for the first time in Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, from June 1784 to June 1785 (Edinburgh: P. Williamson, 1784), p. 53; it reads: "Martin David, portrait painter Princes street [sic]".

44

[Murray and Scott] Annual Biography, p. 5-6.

45

This portrait appeared at Christie's, 22 November 1985, lot 57; for another link between Raeburn and Martin see Robert Cunningham Graham of Gartmore (no. 800).

46

Nasmyth's arrival in Rome is recorded in a letter from James Byres to Philip Yorke, later Earl of Hardwicke, see William T. Whitley, Artists and Their Friends in England, 1770-1790, (London: Medici Society, 1928), 2,348; on Byres see Brinsley Ford, "James Byres,

Principal Antiquarian for the English Visitors to Rome", Apollo 99 (June 1974), 446-461; on Byres visiting Scotland in 1773, *Ibid.*, p. 457; Byres is known to have encouraged the Scottish painter Anne Forbes to enter his circle in Rome and could have urged Raeburn to do the same, *Ibid.*, p. 453.

47

James Northcote (1746-1831), Reynolds' pupil and biographer, wrote to Sir W. Knighton on 23 July 1805 saying:

If you and Mrs Knighton see Raeburn the painter [in Edinburgh], let me have your opinion of his works. I believe he knows a little of me. I dined with him once at Sir Joshua Reynolds'.

British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.f.1218. This must have taken place before 1792 when Reynolds died, but the meeting could have occurred on either Raeburn's outward or return journey. Apart from Raeburn's Obituary which states that he visited Reynolds and showed him his work, this is the only record of contact.

48

See Brinsley Ford, "The Englishman in Italy", G. Jackson-Stops, ed., The Treasure Houses of Britain, Five Hundred Years of Private Patronage and Art Collecting, (New Haven: Yale University Press, in association with the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1985), pp. 41-9.

49

On Byres and Poussin see Ford, Byres, pp. 451, 459; Byres owned a view of Rome by More, *Ibid.*, p. 356; he also had in his collection a picture of Cupid and Psyche by Hamilton, *ibid.*, p. 453; on Hamilton's Borghese decorations see Lucian Ferrar, "La 'Stanza de Elena e Paride' nella Galleria Borghese", Rivista dell' Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, 3 (1954), 242-55.

50

See "Memoir of Thomas Jones", The Walpole Society (1951), p. 94.

51

[Murray and Scott] Annual Biography, p. 15. The only three dimensional work known is the self-portrait medallion (no. 786).

52

These fragments are recorded in a letter from Basil Skinner to Sir Brinsley Ford of 6 October 1961, preserved in the Ford Archive, The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, filed under Raeburn; the quotation cannot be traced beyond Skinner's comment "from a pamphlet by Barrington Nash" on Robert Burns. See also the entry on Mrs Buchan-Hepburn (no. 386).

NOTES TO CHAPTER III

1

On the St Bernards feu contract see E. Rimbault Dibdin, Raeburn (London: Philip Allan & Co., 1925), p. 117; on the purchase of burial ground and the death of the artist's son see William Pitcairn Anderson, Silences that Speak, Records of Edinburgh's Ancient Churches and Burial Grounds etc. (Edinburgh: Alexander Brunton, 1931), pp. 65-6; on the purchase of land see David Irwin and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 150; on banking records see Charles A. Malcolm, The Bank of Scotland, 1695-1945 (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark Ltd., 1945), p. 227; for his comments on the appointment at the Trustees' Academy see J. Mason, "The Edinburgh School of Design", Book of the Old Edinburgh Club xxvii (1949), 74.

2

On Davidson see Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet (Edinburgh: Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, 1890), p. 53.

3

On opposition to the Dundas family see Bruce Lenman, Integration, Enlightenment and Industrialization, Scotland 1746-1832 (London: E. Arnold, 1981), pp. 77, 104.

4

See Francina Irwin, "Early Raeburn Reconsidered", Burlington Magazine 105 (April 1973), 243.

5

For Macmillan's view on the portrait of Chalmers see J. Duncan Macmillan, Painting in Scotland, The Golden Age (Oxford: Phaidon, 1986), p. 74; on Reynolds's portrait of Dr Ash see N. Penny, ed., Reynolds (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 1986), pp. 316-7.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

1

On the address of Raeburn's studio see Williamson's Directory for the City of Edinburgh, Canongate, Leith and Suburbs, from June 1788 to June 1789 (Edinburgh: P. Williamson, 1788); on Raeburn judging student's drawings see Scottish Record Office, West Register House, Trustees' Academy Minute Book, N.G.1.3.18, p.444; on his association with the Caledonian Insurance Company see Caledonian Jottings (Edinburgh: Caledonian Insurance Company) 4 (1900-1902), 8; and on his role in the estate of Henry David Inglis see Robert Strathern Lindsay, A History of the Mason Lodge of Holyrood House (St Luke's) No. 44, (Edinburgh: University Press, 1935), p. 284.

2

See David Irwin and Francina Irwin, Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900 (London: Faber and Faber, 1975), p. 158.

3

Scottish Record Office, R.S.27.482.f.27.

4

For an unconfirmed account of how Raeburn used the lighting mechanism in his painting room see Stanley Cursiter, Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century (London: George G. Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1949), pp. 62-3.

5

See Sir Walter Armstrong, Sir Henry Raeburn, with an Introduction by R.A.M. Stevenson and a Biographical and Descriptive Catalogue by James L. Caw (London: Heinemann, 1901), pp. 74-5.

6

For Raeburn's personal sequestration papers see Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.29.10 December 1808 Box 1867; all deeds in this process bear the same reference number; on the sequestration of Henry Raeburn and Co., Merchants, Leith, see Scottish Record Office, West Register House, Carrie, 1/24 (Mack), Sequestrations, Petition of Henry Raeburn and Co., Merchants, Leith, for Sequestration, 1808, where the removal of the process is recorded. For an inaccurate account of Raeburn's bankruptcy see James Greig, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., his Life and Works, with a Catalogue of his Pictures (London: The Connoisseur, 1911), p. xli.

Since writing this I have found a duplicate of the sequestration process of Henry Raeburn and Co. I will publish this material at some point in the future.

## NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1

He was still in London on 9 June 1810 as a letter bearing that date, written by Raeburn from London to an unknown correspondent, appeared in a sale catalogue of autograph letters, Messrs. Maggs, London, 1925, item no. 579. The contents of the letter were not given.

2

Cunningham says of Raeburn's intentions of moving to London:

on this delicate point he consulted Sir Thomas Lawrence. I know not by what train of reasoning Lawrence succeeded in persuading his fellow-labourer in portraiture to content himself with his Scottish practice. He did, however, succeed: and though Raeburn never expressly said it, he sometimes, I am told, seemed to insinuate, in conversations at his own fireside, that the President of the Royal Academy had been no loser by his absence from the field of competition.

Allan Cunningham, "Raeburn", Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects, 6 vols (London: John Murray, 1829-33), 5, 234.

3

On the foundation of the Society see E. Rimbault Dibdin, Raeburn (London: Philip Allan & Co., 1925), pp. 64-7. Raeburn exhibited eleven works in 1809, 1810, and in 1811; fourteen in 1812 and ten in 1813. Most of the sitters were not identified in the catalogue.

4

See for example "Remarks on the Second Exhibition of Scottish Paintings", Scots Magazine (1809), pp. 674-7, 729-32.

5

Raeburn showed thirteen work at the 1814 exhibition, twenty-one works the year after and eighteen works at the last exhibition in 1816; few of the portraits can be identified.

6

In 1821 these works were an anonymous portrait of a lady; The Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404) and John Henry Bucklitsch, Gamekeeper to the Earl of Kintore (no. 95); in 1822 Raeburn exhibited Professor James Pillans (no. 587), Sir John Hay, Bt. (probably no. 379) and Hugh W. Williams (no. 753); on the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland see E. Gordon, The Royal Scottish Academy, 1826-1976 (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Academy, 1976), pp. 1-16.

7

These works were Dr Daniel Rutherford (no. 631) in 1802, possibly exhibited because it was in London to be engraved by Hall;

Walter Scott (no. 640a) in 1810, which was probably included because it was in London with the engraver Charles Turner; similar circumstances may lie behind the exhibition at the R.A. of Reverend Sir Henry Wellwood Moncrieff (no. 743) in 1811: Charles Turner's engraving was published in 1812.

8

The other three portraits exhibited in 1812 were Archibald Skirving (no. 650) and two portraits of men who cannot be identified.

9

On Raeburn's visit to London in 1812 see William T. Whitley, Art in England, 1800-1820 (Cambridge: University Press, 1928), p. 199; on Raeburn's election see Minutes of the General Assembly of the Royal Academy, Royal Academy of Arts Library, G.A.iii.82.

10

Sir Walter Armstrong, Robert A.M. Stevenson and James L. Caw, Sir Henry Raeburn (London: Heinemann, 1901), p. 75

11

These portrait were General Sir David Baird (no. 30), Lord Seaforth (no. 498) and two anonymous portraits, one of a lady, the other of a gentleman, as number 35. It is unfortunate that the latter portrait cannot be traced as it received great praise. A newspaper review, possibly from the Examiner, is preserved in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.f.1226, it reads:

We must allude particularly to No. 35, the Portrait of a Gentleman by Mr. Raeburn in which it appears to our humble judgment that whatever has yet been done and deemed the greatest masterpieces in portrait painting are at least equalled if not eclipsed....Perhaps we admire it the more because it is an anonymous likeness, but it must be confessed that this circumstance is favourable to accurate and legitimate criticism.

12

See Minutes of the General Assembly of the Royal Academy, Royal Academy of Arts Library, G.A.iii.183-4; on Raeburn having the President sign the Obligation for him by proxy see Council Minutes of the R.A., 29 August 1817, C.V. 413 and Minutes of the General Assembly of the R.A., G.A.iii.246, of 3 November 1817.

13

Only three were identified: Professor Playfair (no. 590) and two standing full lengths, The Earl of Kinnoull (no. 222) and The Earl of Fife (no. 228).

14

The identified portraits were David Boyle (no. 67) and the lost portrait of J. Cowley (no. 170); the others were a portrait of a boy and two portraits of anonymous gentlemen, one of which was the

artist's self-portrait. The critic of the Sun, writing on 6 June 1816 described Raeburn as: "One of the best portrait painters of the time" and singled out the anonymous male portraits at the R.A. for particular praise, see the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.f.1226.

15

The other works exhibited in 1817 were W.H. Miller (no. 534) and an anonymous gentleman exhibited as number 369.

16

See Cunningham, "Raeburn", 5,233.

17

The Highland Chieftain exhibited as number 212 in 1819 is often said to have been the Francis MacNab of MacNab (no. 513) but that is not securely established, the anonymous gentleman and young gentleman exhibited as numbers 313 and 379 cannot be identified. The works exhibited in 1820 were The Marquis of Huntly (no. 324b) The Duke of Bedford (no. 628), The Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404) and, balancing those of pedigree, The Gamekeeper of the Earl of Kintore (no. 95) and E. Livingstone (no. 468). The portraits exhibited at the R.A. in 1821 were: an anonymous gentleman and a lady as numbers 276 and 420 respectively, The Marquis of Bute (no. 689), Sir John Hay Bt. (probably no. 379) and Earl Compton (no. 21).

18

The other works exhibited in 1822 were an unknown officer and a gentleman as numbers 62 and 176. The portraits shown in 1823 were An Officer of the R.N. as number 42; portraits of anonymous gentlemen as numbers 94 and 142 and A Lady and a Child as number 200. The latter may be identical with Mrs Lee Harvey and Child (no. 372).

19

See James Greig, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. (London: The Connoisseur, (Otto Ltd.), 1911), p. xl.

20

See Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.235.R.20.6 (Box 334). The estate had passed to William Raeburn's son, Robert Raeburn who was untraced in the West Indies. (I am grateful to Mr Joe Rock for this reference.) William Raeburn's widow was listed in the Edinburgh Directory until 1821. On the death of William Raeburn see Mrs George Joseph Bell (no. 43).

21

See E. Rimbault Dibdin, Raeburn (London: Philip Allan & Co., 1925), p. 80; on the death of the artist's son see the Gentleman's Magazine October 1863; on the family of White of Kellerstane see Burke's Landed Gentry, 1921

22

See A.J. Youngson, The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840 (Edinburgh: University Press, 1966), p. 214-5 and Andrew Kerr A History of Ann Street (Edinburgh: By the Author, 1982), p. 7; the

Chartulary of this land, termed the Raeburn Estate, is with Messrs. Morton, Fraser and Milligan, 15-19 York Place, Edinburgh.

23

See Edinburgh University Library, La.ii.133; see also the discussion of Sir Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine (no. 111).

24

For this letter see Royal Academy of Arts, Library, Lawrence Papers, LAW/2/288; Campbell's bust of Raeburn of 1822 is in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PG 1037.

25

See Dibdin, Raeburn, p. 82.

26

The company at dinner included Reverend John Thomson of Duddingston (no. 708), Alexander Nasmyth, Hugh W. Williams (no. 753) and the architect, Charles Robert Cockerell (1778-1863), see Cockerell's Diary, Royal Institution of British Architects Library, London, Coc/9/3, vol.2, 1822. (I am grateful to Mr Joe Rock for this reference.) John Flaxman, R.A. (1755-1826) was also in Edinburgh at this time; Raeburn wrote him a short note on 22 August, see the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California, MS.145982-v-3, p.115. Some fragmentary correspondence also of 1822 is known between Raeburn and William Carey, a London based writer on art. The first mention of his name in connection with Raeburn is in Document 19, but see also British Library Manuscript Collection, Eq.2075.f.26 and Eq.2675.f.26; there are also numerous references to Carey in relation to Raeburn in the Whitley Papers, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, vol.x.ff.1221, among them Document 22. In addition see Lady Gordon Cumming (no. 187).

27

Peel's letter has not survived but Cunningham had access to it and gave an extract, Cunningham, Lives, 5,282; Raeburn's reply of 29 August 1822 is preserved in the British Library Manuscript Collection, MS.40350, f.190. On 1 September 1822 Raeburn wrote to Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (no. 240) to thank him for the part he had played in the award of the knighthood, see National Library of Scotland, Acc.1185.ff.213-4; on the same date the artist wrote to John Maxwell (no. 525) with the same purpose, see National Library of Scotland, MS.3553.f.12; also on this matter see the National Register of Archives, 0063, Adam of Blairadam Muniments, TD.77/142. Box: William Adam, miscellaneous correspondence and papers, 1820-1829; among letters of congratulation to Raeburn was one from Sir William Beechey R.A. (1753-1839), Raeburn's reply of 7 September 1822 was published by Greig, Raeburn, p. 1.

28

Wilkie described the dinner at Raeburn's house in a letter to his sister of 15 September 1822, for a transcription see William R. Andrew, Life of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. (London: W.H. Allen and Co., 1886), p. 79; on the public dinner see Cunningham, Lives, 5,282 and Dibdin, p. 98.

29

Raeburn wrote his last known letter to David Wilkie on 12 March 1823 and in it he mentions the plans of the local artists to form a new society, see National Library of Scotland, MS.9835.ff.162-3.

30

See the copy of the letter from Peel to Raeburn of 10 May 1823 announcing this appointment, British Library Manuscript Collection, MS.40356.ff.76; Raeburn's reply of 14 May 1823 is in the same collection, MS.40356.ff.106.

31

For an account of this trip and Raeburn's last days see John Morrison, "Reminiscences of Sir Walter Scott, The Ettrick Shepherd, Sir Henry Raeburn, III", Tait's Edinburgh Magazine n.s. 10 (December 1834), pp. 782-3.

32

On Raeburn's death see the letter from Andrew Wilson to Andrew Geddes (then in London) of 8 July 1823, University of Edinburgh Library, Laing Manuscripts, La.iv.26, Geddes bundle, no. 7 (unindexed); a deathmask appears to have been taken but is not known to have survived, see the letter from Henry Reburn Jr. of 7 August 1823 to the phrenologist, George Combe (1788-1858), National Library of Scotland, MS.721.f.25-6; Raeburn died intestate, see Document 21.

APPENDIX 1

IMPORTANT DOCUMENTS

DOCUMENT 1: 1746. On the arrest of Robert Raeburn, Weaver at Sciennes, supposed father of the artist, 6 February 1746.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, Informations, precognitions, certificates and similar papers concerning prisoners and others suspected of having participated in the rising, 1745-55, MS.17515.f.49.

Edinr. 6th February 1746.

Mathew Ryely servant to the Late Colonell [sic] Powell of Briggadier [sic] Cholmondley's Regiment being brought before the Honble. Alexander Lind of Gorgie Esqr. one of the Sherriffs [sic] of Edinburgh And by him examined Declares that he went along with the Regiment to Stirling and when the Regiment marched from thence he went in Company with Robert Raeburn to Culross on his way to Edinburgh where they lay all night. The next day being Wednesday they came to the North Ferry and waited on the Commander of His Majesty's ship the Happy Janet who was ashore and not well in order to get over the water who after examining the Declarant took his money from him which was thirty and a half guineas and a broad sword and bill which was given him by Captain Morris of the aforesaid Regiment which he delivered to Major Lockhart. Thereafter he sent the Declarant prisoner on board of the same ship and carried prisoner from thence to Edinburgh Guard House. This he declaires [sic] to be truth.

[signed] Mathew Reilly.  
Alexr. Lind.

Robert Raeburn Weaver at Sciennes near Edinburgh Sergeant of one of the Companys [sic] of Volunteers called the Seceding Companys being brought before the Honourable Alexander Lind of Gorgie Esq. one of the Sherriffs of Edinburgh and examined Declares Conform to the before designed Mathew Ryely as to the whole points. This he Declares to be truth.

[signed] Robt. Raeburn.  
Alexr. Lind.

DOCUMENT 2: 1756. Record of Raeburn's baptism, 4 March 1756.

Edinburgh, St Cuthbert's Church, Register of Baptisms.

Sunday, 7th March, 1756 - Robert Raeburn, yarn-boiler at Stockbridge and Spouse Ann Elder a son, Henry, born 4 March, instant. Witness, Thomas Spence and Robert Dixon weavers in Edinburgh.

DOCUMENT 3: 1765. Raeburn's entry to George Heriot's Hospital, 15

April 1765.

Edinburgh, Register of the Boys Educated in George Heriot's Hospital, f.63.

The entry is tabulated on two sheets of a ledger. The curved brackets in the following transcription indicate the subject headings under which the relevant material appears, material in curled brackets represent later additions to the document:

(No. of Boys) 505 (Dates of Admission) April 15 1765 (Boys' Names & Designations 1756) Henry - Robert Raeburn Weaver - {Upon Sandilands Presentation B.F.} (Dates of Their Birth) March 4 (Dates of their Indentures) Octr. 21 1771 (Masters Names & Designations) James Gilliland Gold Smith 1 mo: £10. SW {Mr Raeburn after his apprenticeship became a celebrated portrait painter in Ednr.} (I Moneys Payable) Octr 21 1773

DOCUMENT 4: 1772. Raeburn's indenture, 27 June 1772.

The Goldsmiths of Edinburgh Apprentice Book, 1694-1786, Scottish Record Office, G.D.1.482.13, under 27 June 1772 gives the following abstract of Raeburn's indenture:

The which compeared James Gilliland, Goldsmith in Edinburgh and produced indentures of this date betwixt him and Henry Raeburn son of the deceased Robert Raeburn Weaver in Edinr. and desired that an abstract thereof might be recorded in the Trades books which desire the Trade thought reasonable therefore the preceding indenture is hereby recorded in terms of the Act of Trade thereanent he having paid thirty shillings to the poor of the trade and six pence to the Magdalene Chapel.

DOCUMENT 5: 1782. Raeburn joins a private art class.

The quotation given here is from the Whitley notebooks, British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.f.1; Whitley's source was William Dunlap, History of the Rise and Progress of the Arts of Design in the U.S.A., 2 vols. (New York, 1834); writing on the Aberdeen artist Archibald Robertson who later settled in the U.S.A., Dunlap said that in 1782 Robertson moved to Edinburgh:

there was no Academy of Fine Arts there [in Edinburgh] then, and he therefore associated himself with Weir and Raeburn, then like himself students of painting, to form a school for mutual improvement. Robertson, Raeburn, Watson and Weir had as associates some engravers of Edinburgh, they obtained permission from the manager of the theatre to occupy the greenroom for their school on such evenings as it was not in use and these were three each week. Runciman who was the teacher of the drawing school of the college,

lent them casts and directed their operations. The college drawing school was a free school. The associates studied from the life and hired a porter as their model.

DOCUMENT 6: 1784. Raeburn gives control of his affairs to his wife.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, Register of Deeds, Mack, 235.725 (RD.4.235.ff.725-726).

Ed:die [same day: 14 May 1784] Factory Henry Raeburn in favour of Ann Edgar his Spouse

I Henry Raeburn Portrait Painter in Edinr. consideri[n]g that I will be necessarily absent for sometime from this Country, & that it is nec[essal]ry some proper person be appointed for managing my affairs in my absence, And particularly that Ann Edgar relict of the dec[ease]d. James Leslie Esqr. now my Spouse has a right to an Annuity of Sixty pounds st[er]l[ing]. payed by the Representatives & out of the Means, Estate & effects of the decd. George Leslie late of Hannover Street Edinr. father of the s[ai]d. James Leslie her first husb[an]d. And that it is proper she sh[oul]d. be authorised to uplift receive & Disch[ar]ge. such of these Annuitys as may fall due dur[ing] my absence Therefore Witt ye Me to have Nominated & Appointed as I hereby Nominate & Appoint the sd. Ann Edgar my Spouse to be my Factrix for manag[ing] all & sundry my matters & business durg my absence & to do every thing yrin [herein] as fully & freely in every respect as I could do myself if personally present And particularly to uplift & Receive from ye Representatives Estate means & effects of the late George Leslie Esqr. the foresd. Annually of Sixty pounds Str. from time to time as the same shall become due durg. my absence & to Grant Dischgs. yrfore [therefore] in her own name & as Authorised to take burden on her for me which Dischgs. so to be granted by her shall be good valid & suffic[ien]t. to the Receivers And I Cons[en]t to the Regin [registration] hereof in the Books of Council & Sess[io]n. or [illegible, possibly: compet yrin to remr for preservr] And yrto [hereto] Constitute Mr Andrew Crosbie Advot [Advocate] My prottrs [procurator?] In witness whereof I have Subscribed these presen[ts] upon Stamped paper by John Nairne Clerk to John Peat Writer in Edinr. At Edinr. the seventh of April [illegible but clearly meaning: seventeen hundred] & Eighty four yrs. Before these Witnesses the sd John Peat & John Nairne (Signed Henry Raeburn, John Peat Witness, John Nairne Witness.

DOCUMENT 7: dated on receipt, 9 July 1784. Walter Ross, W.S. to Sir James Hunter Blair on Raeburn leaving London for Italy.

The archive of Sir James Hunter Blair, Blairquhan.

I meant to have done myself the honour of waiting on you in person, but I have from various pieces of business scarce got an hour to

myself since I came to London...

Mr Dundas has done me the honour to become my cautioner to your house for a cash account of £500, I shall bring the Bond with me.

Mr Raeburn the Painter, my neighbour is here and intends setting off for Rome - I have given him upon his Brother's credit cash for the journey but a letter of credit upon Rome is wanted for one hundred pound or for fifty - please send me the one or the other anent Mr William Raeburn - I shall be answerable for the payment...

Raeburn prepares to set off on Saturday - his name is Henry.

[Transcription: F. Irwin]

DOCUMENT 8: 1808. The initiation of Raeburn's personal sequestration. Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.29.10 December 1808 Box 1867.

[Outside] Mandate by Henry Raeburn 12 January 1808  
[Contents]

Edinburgh 11 January 1808

Sir

In order to facilitate the winding up of my affairs I hereby authorise you to make application to the Court of Session, with concurrence of a Creditor to the extent required by law, for a Sequestration of my whole means & estate heritable and moveable.  
I am Sir

Your ms Obt. Servant  
[signed] Henry Raeburn

To John Ross, W.S.

DOCUMENT 9: 1808. Copy of the Minutes of the Meetings of the Creditors of Henry Raeburn Portrait Painter & Underwriter in Edinburgh held on the 1st & 27th April 1808.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S. 29/10 December 1808 Box 1867. The following transcription of a letter from Raeburn was given:

"Edinr. 1st April 1808

Sir

It is not unknown to my Creditors that I am desirous of settling this unfortunate business by a Composition, at the same time I believe it is proper that the offer should be made through you [William Scott Moncrieff].

It would have given me the greatest pleasure to have been able to have paid the last shilling I owe in the world, and it is with infinite regret I now find that after all my means are collected it will afford so small a sum to my Creditors. I am desirous however of doing everything in my power for the satisfaction of my

Creditors and therefore I beg you will make offer to them of a Composition of 4/- in the Pound payable six months after it shall have been approved by the Court of Session - and I beg leave to suggest the following Gentlemen as my surities John Taylor Esq., W.S., Thomas Hutchinson Esq. Merchant, A. Cunningham Esq. and John Buchan Esqr. W.S. to whom I shall afterwards add two more in order to lighten the responsibility on each of these Gentlemen, as they will become bound by my means.

I am Respectfully Sir,  
 Your mo. obt. Servt.  
 Signed Henry Raeburn  
 W.S.M. [William Scott Moncrieff]

NOTES: John Taylor, W.S. was more accurately John Taylor of Blackhouse, son of Reverend William Taylor, minister of New Deer; he was apprenticed to Alexander Mackenzie; became a W.S. on 20 July 1775 and died on 30 January 1810. John Buchan, W.S. (1742-1822) was the third son of John Buchan of Letham; he was apprenticed, first, to George Turnbull and, second, to Charles Brown; he became a W.S. on 10 July 1770. On A. Cunningham see Alexander Cunningham (no. 191) and Document 14.

DOCUMENT 10: 1808. List of creditors, 22 June 1808.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, CS.29.10  
 December 1808 Box 1867.

JUNE 22 1808 PET.[ITION]-HENRY RAEBURN With concurrence of Trustee and Creditors for discharge on a Composition Jo. Ross, W.S. Agent. P. Clerk. UNTO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE LORDS OF COUNCIL AND SESSION, THE PETITION OF HENRY RAEBURN, Portrait Painter and Underwriter in Edinburgh, and of William Scott Moncrieff, Accountant in Edinburgh, Trustee upon his Sequestered Estate; [extract] LIST OF CREDITORS who have lodged Claims with Oaths of Verity, against the Sequestered Estate of Henry Raeburn Portrait Painter, Edinburgh.

	Amount of Claim.	Consenters to the Composition.
1. William Simpson cashier to the Royal Bank	£10,681 14 6	£10,681 14 6
2. Daniel Vere of Stonebyres	1000 0 0	1000 0 0
3. Robert Menzies ship-builder in Leith	2922 10 1	2922 10 1
4. Donald Cameron of New Blainslie	600 0 0	600 0 0
5. Adolphus and Andrew Scales [sic] & Sons, Leith	2802 15 10 1/4	- - -
6. Patrick White, Leith	400 0 0	400 0 0
7. James Anthony tailor, Edinburgh	416 0 0	416 0 0
8. Gilbert Innes of Stow	240 0 0	240 0 0
9. Ebenezer Gilchrist manager for the British Linen Co.	1108 17 9	1108 17 9
10. Henry Berry merchant, London	120 4 1	- - -

11. Robert Bogle, jun. & Co. merchants, Glasgow	2551	0	4	2551	0	4
12. Miss Agnes Shaw	200	0	0	200	0	0
13. Alexander Goalen ship-builder, Leith	2085	18	0	2085	18	0
14. William Sibbald, Shakespeare Square, Edinburgh	900	0	0	900	0	0
15. Broomfield and Robinson builders, Edinburgh	108	6	2	108	6	2
16. Mrs Henry David Inglis	100	0	0	100	0	0
17. William Forbes Writer in Edinburgh	700	0	0	700	0	0
18. Alexander Keith of Ravelston	500	0	0	500	0	0
19. Alexander George Milne, London	4968	0	2	4968	0	2
20. Leith Banking Company	531	6	11	531	6	11
21. Alexander Macfarlane merchant, Leith	<u>69</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>1</u>	69	13	1

Amount of claims L. 33006 6 11 1/4

Amount of claims of creditors who have consented to accept of composition	<u>30083</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>30083</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>0</u>
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Claimed by two creditors, who have not consented,	L. 2922	19	11	1/4
--	---------	----	----	-----

Claimed by 19 creditors who have consented to accept of the composition	L. 30083	7	0
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9/10ths of the whole claim is	<u>29705</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3/4</u>
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Balance of claims in favour of composition	L. 377	12	8	3/4
---	--------	----	---	-----

Number of creditors	21
Number of non-consenters	<u>2</u>
Number of consenters	19
9/10ths if 21, whole number is	<u>17.1</u>
Excess of number in favour of composition	1.9

Edinburgh, 21st June 1808, certified by  
(signed) WM. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

NOTES: Of the personalities mentioned, 2. Daniel Vere was the artist's son-in-law; 6. Patrick White, may be the same as in portrait no. 751; 16. Mrs Henry David Inglis, was probably connected with the sitter in portrait no. 420; no. 18. Alexander Keith of Ravelston was depicted in portrait no. 439.

DOCUMENT 11: 1808. Additional listing of creditors.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.29.10  
December 1808 Box 1867.

Additional Report by William Scott Moncrieff Trustee on the  
Sequestrated Estate of Henry Raeburn Portrait painter and

Underwriter in Edinburgh.

Since the Trustee's former Report was presented, Interests having been lodged with him by other creditors, he has been requested to report the state of the Claims, and number and value of the Creditors now consenting to accept of the Composition which are follows vizt.

	Claims of creditors	Claims of Consenters to the Composition
£33006 6 11 1/2		£30083 7 -

[Added to these were:]

22. Robert Bruton Merchant in Leith	1160 13 10	
less a sum already entered of	£447 4 6	
plus costs	6 1	
	447 10 7	
	33689 10 2 1/2	30083 7 -

John Mowbray consented to the composition

23. Smith Jamesons £2394 15 3

24. Mrs James Philip Inglis

Amount of claims	£36427 17 3 1/2	
22 creditors accept composition	32941 18 2	
2 creditors reject	3485 19 1 1/2	
9/10ths of whole claim		£32785 1 6 3/4
Excess of claims above 9/10th in favour of Composition		156 16 7 1/4
Number of consenters to the Composition	22	
9/10ths of 24 the whole number of Creditors	21.6	
Excess in favour of Composition	.4	

Of the personalities mentioned: no. 24 was the artist's step daughter.

DOCUMENT 12: 1808. Raeburn's reply to the petition of Sceales and Brunton.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, CS.29.10  
December 1808 Box 1867.

SECOND DIVISION Dec. 5. 1808 ANS. - H Raeburn, ec TO Petition of Messrs Sceales & Brunton J. Ross, W.S. Agent. ANSWERS FOR HENRY RAEBURN, Portrait Painter and Underwriter in Edinburgh, and of William Scott Moncrieff, Trustee on his sequestrated estate TO THE PETITION of Adolphus and Andrew Sceales and Son, and Robert Brunton, merchants in Leith [extract, p. 3]:

[to the payment of the composition, Raeburn] will gladly task the remaining years of life. In the profession to which he has already

devoted the best of his days, he cannot promise himself a long period of successful exertion; for it is one which the trembling hand of age is unfit to execute long before the faculties decay; but while he does possess any remains of professional skill, his gains may enable him to save his surities from loss; and those gains he is willing to anticipate, while they are generous enough to run the risk.

[The following is an extract from Appendix, p. 2, of this document:]

State of the probable produce of Mr Henry Raeburn's Estate, compared with the composition offered by him.

Amount of debts as per additional report		L. 36427	17	3	1/2
Add for interest and small debts, for which claims may be lodged		300	0	0	
	[total]	L. 36727	17	3	1/2
Amount of funds per estimates		L. 12018	5	9	
With 10 shares of the stock of the Caledonian Insurance Company valued at		380	0	0	
	[total]	L. 12398	5	9	
Deduct					
Heritable debts		L. 5990	0	0	
One year's interest of L. 5900		295	0	0	
Amount claimed by the agent in the sequestration, for account due him as preferable, but disputed, said to amount to		280	0	0	
Assessed and other preferable taxes suppose for one year		75	0	0	
And for answering expenses of sequestration and trustees commission, Ec. at 5 per cent		L.619	18	3	
Of paid agent in sequestration to account		50	0	0	
		569	18	3	
			7209	18	3
	Remains	L.5188	7	6	
Which would yield on personal claims amounting as above to		L. 36727	17s	3	1/2
2s. 9 3/4d. per pound					
Mr Raeburn offers 4s. per pound, which on these claims amounts to			7345	11	5 1/2
Exceeding the net produce of the estate according to estimates, if the sequestration goes on, by		L.2157	3	11	1/2

Edinburgh, 24th November 1808. - The above is made up to the best of my judgment,

(signed) WM. SCOTT MONCRIEFF,

DOCUMENT 13: December 1808. Termination of sequestration.

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, West Register House, C.S.29.10  
December 1808 Box 1867.

Abstract of Act Decreet Approving of Henry Raeburn's Composition.  
8th July 1808. 10 December 1808.

Declared the sequestration to be at an end and recalled the same  
examiner William Scott Moncrieff the trustee of his intromissions  
had under authority ordained the Bond of Caution to be delivered up  
and found the Petitioner Henry Raeburn upon payment of said  
composition freed and discharged of all debts contracted by him  
prior to the fourteenth day of January last [1808] being the date  
of the sequestration awarded against him and Decreed and Declared  
accordingly etc. etc. etc.

H. M. Buchanan  
27 December  
John Eldin

DOCUMENT 14: 1808. Raeburn contemplates leaving for London.

Whereabouts unknown. Transcribed in the Glasgow Herald, 28 November  
1908.

Alexander Cunningham to John Morrison, then at Auchincruive House,  
Ayr. 16 February 1808.

I had a walk of three hours on Sunday with my worthy friend,  
Raeburn. He had realised neary £17,000, which is all gone. He has  
offerred a small composition, which he is in hopes will be accepted.  
He quits this to try his fate in London, which I trust in God will  
be successful. While I write this I feel the tear start.

NOTE: On Alexander Cunningham see Document 9.

DOCUMENT 15: 1823. Sale of York Place studio.

Whereabouts unknown. Transcribed by James L. Caw, Scottish Painting  
Past and Present, 1620-1908 (Edinburgh: 1908), p. 71.

Andrew Wilson to Andrew Geddes, 8 July 1823.

The house in York Place did not belong to Raeburn; it was purchased  
by a lady at the time of his failure, and he has since paid for it  
the interest on £2000 yearly.

Document 16: 1810. Sir David Wilkie's record of Raeburn's trip to London.

Published: Allan Cunningham, Life of Sir David Wilkie: with his Journals, Tours and Critical Remarks on Works of Art, and a Selection from his Correspondence, 3 vols. (London: J. Murray, 1843).

March 1st 1810

Went to the Academy, where Thomson told me, he understood that Raeburn was coming to London, and that Hoppner's house was to be taken for him.

May 12th 1810

Had a call from Raeburn (the painter), who told me he had come to London to look out for a house, and to see if there was any prospect of establishing himself. I took him, by his own desire, to see Sir William Beechey, who asked us both to dine with him to-morrow, which I was obliged to decline, being pre-engaged.

May 13th 1810

Called on Raeburn, and called with him on several artists, who happened to be from home, or engaged.

May 21st 1810

Raeburn called and I accompanied him to Newham Street, where we saw Stothard.

June 4th 1810

Went with Raeburn to the Crown and Anchor to meet the gentlemen of the Royal Academy. I introduced him to Flaxman; after dinner he was asked by Beechey to sit near the President [Benjamin West], where his health was proposed by Flaxman; great attention was paid to him.

NOTE: On Beechey and Flaxman see Chapter V, note 26.

Document 17: 1812. Raeburn resigns from the Associated Society of Artists, 2 April 1812.

Edinburgh, Royal Scottish Academy, uncatalogued papers.

To John Russell Es.  
Secretary to the Society of Artists.  
Copy

Edinr. 2 April 1812

Sir

You will please intimate to the first meeting of the Society of Artists that I beg leave to decline the honour of being any longer a member. I have my reasons for this step but as I do not expect that the Society would enter into any agreement with me upon the subject, it is quite unnecessary for me to trouble you with the particulars. I beg you will assure the Society at large of my

unfeigned Regard

I am ec ec  
H. Raeburn

turn over

Altho[ugh] it be unnecessary to trouble the Society Mr R. thinks it due to his particular friends to state his reasons, at least some of them.

He does not complain that he has not in as many pictures as he is entitled to - or that they are not in as good places as they deserve. On the contrary he freely admits that when compared with almost all the other members he has more pictures and in better places than he has any right to. But what he complains of is a decided and marked preference ([the following scored out:] for the pictures of Mr Watson) either given or taken both as to number and situation for the pictures of Mr Watson, who is himself a constant member of the Committee.

When he entered the Room this mor[nin]g he found Mr Watson had already nine small pictures hung, Mr R[aebur]n had then only two, he wished two more to be hung in a situation corresponding to two of Mr Watson's though not in so good a light, and this he found could not be granted because one of the situations was already preengaged for another picture of Mr Watson's.

After this, and to prevent the like in future, as he cannot prevail upon himself to act a second part in the eye of the public to any man in his own line, he feels himself compelled, thofugh] with sincere regret, to relinquish his situation as a member of the Society - preferring this mode to the making [of] any complaint or in any way disturbing the harmony of the Society.

Document 18: 1814. Concerning Raeburn's desire to be a member of the Royal Academy.

Whereabouts unknown. Published by Allan Cunningham, "Raeburn",

Lives of the Most Eminent British Painters, Sculptors and Architects. 6 vols. (London: John Murray, 1829-33), 5, 231.

Correspondent not known.

I observe what you say respecting the election of R.A.; but what am I to do here? They know I am on their list: if they choose to elect me without solicitation, it will be the more honorable to me, and I will think the more of it; but if it can only be obtained by means of sollicitaion and canvassing, I must give up all hope of it, for I would think it unfair to employ those means. I am besides out of the way and have no opportunity. I rejoice in the worthy President's increasing reputation: it is pleasing and consolatory to see that additional powers come with the increase of years. Write and tell me what artists are about, and whether anything be indispensable for a person who desires to become a member of the Royal Academy. Were you sufficiently in health to see Somerset House during last exhibition? I had some things there; but no

artist of my acquaintance has been kind enough to write me one syllable on the subject, to say either what he thought himself, or what others thought.

Document 19: 1819. Raeburn requests information from Sir David Wilkie.

Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, MS.1003.ff.74-5.

[outside] David Wilkie Esq. R.A., 4 Philmore Place, Kensington,  
London. Henry Raeburn Esq./Edinburgh 12 Sept. 1819.

[contents]

Edinr. 12 Sepr. 1819

My Dear Sir,

I let you to wit that I am still here, and long much to hear from you, both as to how you are and what you are doing. I would not wish to impose any hardship upon you, but it would give me great pleasure if you would take the trouble to write me at least once a year, if not oftener, and give me a little information of what is going on among the artists, for I do assure you I have as little communication with any of them and know almost as little about them as if I were living at the Cape of Good Hope.

I send up generally a picture or two to the Exhibition, which serve merely as an advertisement that I am still in the land of the living, but in other respects it does me no good, for I get no notice from anyone, nor have I the least conception how they look beside others. I know not in what London papers any criticisms of that kind are made, and our Edinr. ones (at least those that I see) take no notice of these matters. At any rate I would prefer a candid observation or two from an artist like you, conveying not only your own opinion but perhaps that of others, before any of them.

There came to me this morn[ing]. two critical descriptions of Mr. Stothard's Procession to Canterbury and Mr West's Death on a Pale Horse by Mr Carey, but through what channel they have come I do not yet know. As far as I have looked into them they seem to me remarkably well written. Do you know Mr Carey? If you do it would be a particular favour if you would present him with my best respects and return him many thanks for his obliging politeness. It runs in my head that I have either seen an advertisement, or a prospectus of some work on Art intended to be published by him - will you tell me if there be such a thing and the title of it that I may get it?

Are the portrait painters as well employed as ever? Sir Thos. Lawrence, they tell me, has refused to commence any more pictures till he gets done with those that are on hand, and that he has raised his price to some enormous sum. Is that true? - and will you do me the favour to tell me what his prices really are, and what Sir W. Beechey, Mr. Philips, and Mr. Owen have for their pictures? It will be a particular favour if you will take the trouble to ascertain these for me precisely, for I am raising my prices, too,

and it would be a guide to me, not that I intend to raise mine so high as your famous London artists.

I was sorry to hear that Mr. West had been far from well - I hope he is now better.

Accept my best wishes and believe me, with sincere esteem,  
yours faithfully,  
[signed] Henry Raeburn.

Document 20: 1822. Raeburn discusses the foundation of a new society for the visual arts and the dissolution of the Associated Society of Artists in a letter to James Skene (no. 660) of the Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts in Scotland.

Whereabouts unknown. Published by James Greig, Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A., His Life and Works with a Catalogue of His Pictures, (London: The Connoisseur (Otto Ltd.), 1911), p. xlviiii-xlix.

YORK PLACE, 24th December, 1822.

DEAR SIR,

I formerly mentioned to you that I had received several visits from some of the oldest and best established artists of this place, and also stated to you what had been the object of their visits.

It will probably be in your recollection that a few years ago the artists here had several Exhibitions, which were made by way of experiment, and which succeeded far beyond their expectations.

By these Exhibitions they had realised a fund amounting to between £500 and £600, and at that time it was the intention of those whose labours had, perhaps, contributed most to the success of the Exhibitions, to apply for a Charter and have themselves formed into a Corporate Body.

But unfortunately for their purpose, they had at the first outset been guilty of a great oversight. That they might not seem to act upon a system of exclusion, they had admitted too many into the Society whose works were of little importance to its success, but whose voice when a matter came to the vote was just as efficient as that of those by whom alone it may be said to have been sustained.

Before those members had matured their plan, the poorer and less efficient members threw their eyes upon the fund, a motion was made to divide it, and carried by a majority against the sense of the older and more efficient members; and thus what would otherwise have been a bond of union was dissolved.

This was to many a great disappointment, but there was no quarrel as the public supposed, for it was impossible to be displeased with them who voted for the division, as it was known that the fund, small as it was, had become an object to several, and that others to whom it was a matter of indifference had, from a knowledge of

this circumstance, voted with them.

It had been found at the same time from experience, that an annual Exhibition was too great an undertaking for this place, and more than they were able to sustain. The idea of continuing it was, therefore, laid aside for the present, and it was just beginning to be taken up again when the Institution for the encouragement of the fine Arts was established.

The purpose of instituting a Society having again been resumed by those who first projected it, they now propose to admit only a limited number, and to make it a sine qua non of admission, that the funds shall never be divided, but shall be applied to the purposes after mentioned.

When these gentlemen came to inform me of their intention, I begged to know if they were influenced by any motives or views that were hostile to the Institution. They replied that it was quite the reverse. They had the highest esteem and respect for the gentlemen of the Institution, and both their motives and their conduct met with their most unqualified approbation. But as it was their own fixed purpose that their funds, as they came in, should be laid out in the purchase of Books, Prints, and such other articles connected with Art, as would be useful both to the student and advanced artist, they considered themselves co-operating in the views of the Institution, and, therefore, had no doubt but that they would meet with their countenance and approbation.

Upon my stating that, in all probability the Institution, in as far as the application of the funds was concerned, had the same things in contemplation, they replied that it might be so, but even in that case that a separate Society and distinct funds would be necessary for the following reasons:-

1st. Because they could in no instance derive benefit from the good intentions of the Institution without previous or perhaps frequent application to that Society, that every such application would of course be delayed till there should be a meeting of the Committee, and probably a reference made by the Committee to the general meeting, and that delays even with the kindest intentions on the part of the Institution might thus take place, till the very purpose for which the application was made had gone by.

2nd. That every application necessarily implied a power of control on the one side and a state of dependence on the other, to which, in so far at least as concerns the use [of] their own property arising from the fruit of their own labours, there was no necessity for subjecting themselves.

3rd. That in the management of their own affairs, it was easy to foresee a variety of little circumstances which would require to be attended to, and arrangements that would require to be made, in order to afford conveniences and facilities to themselves in the use of their property, which it could not be expected that the Institution would condescend to be troubled with.

4th. And beside all this, there was something degrading in the idea which had gone abroad that they were unfit to conduct their own affairs, and, therefore, it had become necessary to take the management into their own hands.

Now, my dear Sir, I confess to you that there were several of these arguments which I thought unanswerable, but I shall be glad to have your opinion upon the subject, before you communicate these views of the artists to any members of the Institution.

As for myself, I have nothing to gain by the measure. I have in my own possession as many of the means of improvement as I have time to attend to, and my business, though it may fall off, cannot admit of enlargement. In so far, therefore, as I am personally concerned, I am quite indifferent about it, but I wish well to the Arts of this place, which I think this measure would rather tend to improve, and I wish well to the Artists because I believe them to be as worthy a set of men as can be found in any profession, and I have uniformly received so much kindness and regard from them, that I cannot refuse to go along with them in any matter that appears reasonable.

The present proposal I consider to be of this kind, at least according to the view that I have of it, but as I am anxious to be concerned in nothing but what shall be considered just and reasonable, I shall be glad to receive your opinion upon the subject.

I am, with great esteem and regard, my dear Sir,  
Your most obedient and faithful servant,  
[signed] HENRY RAEURN.

Document 21: 1824. Raeburn's estate, 9 June 1824, the "1824 Inventory".

Edinburgh, Scottish Record Office, Edinburgh Commissary Court,  
S.C.70.1.31.ff.246-7.

Sir Henry Raeburn 9th. June 1824

At Edinburgh the ninth day of June Eighteen hundred and twenty four years the following Inventory of the Personal Estate of Sir Henry Raeburn Knight deceased was presented by Mr John Dickie Writer to the Signet.

Inventory of the Personal Estate of Sir Henry Raeburn of St Bernards Knight Portrait Painter in Edinburgh who died on the eighth day of July one thousand eight hundred and twenty three years Given up by Henry Raeburn Esquire now of St Bernards his only son and nearest of kin

1 Cash in the house	£10. - . -.
2 Balance in hands of British Linen Company	£16. 16. 3
3 Debts due to the deceased for paintings already recovered per List	£2526. 18.

4 Do. still due and supposed recoverable per List	1000. - . -
5 Arrears of Feu duties falling due under Execution	24. 8. 9 1/2
6 The deceased's household furniture bed and table linen Plate Books liquors etc conform to Inventory and appraisement	<u>807. 11. 2</u>
	£4385. 14. 2 1/2

signed Henry Raeburn George Carphin

At Edinburgh the ninth day of June One thousand eight hundred and twenty four years In presence of George Carphin Commissary Clerk of Edinburgh Commiss[ary] court appointed by the Honourable the Commissaries of Edinburgh for taking the Deposition underwritten Appeared Henry Raeburn Esquire of Saint Bernards only son of the deceased Sir Henry Raeburn of Saint Bernards Knight Portrait Painter in Edinburgh who being solemnly sworn and examined Depones that the said Sir Henry Raeburn died intestate on the eighth day of July last One thousand eight hundred and twenty three years and that the Deponent has entered upon the possession and management of his personal and moveable estate as Executor [illegible: Dative?] nearest of kin That the Deponent knows of no settlement or other writing left by his deceased relative to the disposal of his personal Estate or Effects or any part of them that the foregoing Inventory signed by the Deponent and the said Commissioner as relative hereto is a full and true Inventory of the Personal Estate and Effects of the said deceased Sir Henry Raeburn wherever situated already recovered or known to be existing belonging or due to him beneficially at the time of his death and that the value of the said Estate situated in Scotland is of the value of Four thousand pounds sterling and under the value of Five thousand pounds sterling All which is truth as the Deponent shall answer to God. And of which debts & effects specified in said Inventory the Deponent requires confirmation to be expedite

signed Henry Raeburn George Carphin Comr.

List of Debts due to the late Sir Henry Raeburn Knight Portrait Painter in Edinburgh

recovered  
1823

September	2	Received from J.B. Fraser Esq W.S.	£ 42. - . -	[see below]
October	15	_____ Dr. Hope _____	105. - . -	[no. 398]
"	27	_____ Lord Montagu _____	52. 10. -	[no. 640d]
November	7	_____ Smith of Jordanhill _____	105. - . -	[no. 654]
"	10	_____ Francis Jeffry [sic] Esq _	31. 10. -	[no. 432]
"	13	_____ James Robertson Esq W.S.	42. - . -	[see below]
"	"	_____ James Gibson Craig Esq ____	42. - . -	[no. 172]
"	21	_____ Major Harvey Castle Semple	315. - . -	[no. 371]
"	24	_____ Sir John Douglas _____	262. - . -	[no. 215]
"	"	_____ Sir William Purves _____	52. 10. -	[see below]
"	26	_____ Lord Hardwick _____	49. 18. -	[no. 765]
December	8	_____ Stewart of Physgill _____	272. 10. -	[no. 673]
"	15	_____ J Wilson Esq _____	15. 15. -	[see below]
"	17	_____ William Allan Esq _____	93. 15. -	[see below]
"	18	_____ Mrs Denniston _____	84. - . -	[no. 198]

	19	_____	Lady Blantyre's Execrs _____	52.	10.	-	[see below]
	22	_____	A Greig W.S. _____	105.	-	-	[no. 354]
	29	_____	H. Jardine Esq K K [C ?] _____	26.	5.	-	[no. 431]
	31	_____	Lord J Campbell _____	105.	-	-	[no. 119]
	"	_____	Miss Playfair _____	3.	10.	-	[no. 590]
	"	_____	Mrs. Murray _____	80.	-	-	[see below]
1824							
January	6	_____	Lord Breadalbane _____	210.	-	-	[no. 119]
February	5	_____	Archd Fletcher Esq _____	42.	-	-	[no. 288]
	13	_____	Robt. Buchanan Esqr _____	26.	5.	-	[no. 90]
	17	_____	Sir Henry Stewart _____	131.	5.	-	[no. 667]
	"	_____	Captn. Houston Stewart _____	52.	10.	-	[no. 675]
April	6	_____	R Thomson Esq _____	105.	-	-	[no. 704]
	12	_____	Mr. George Gibson _____	35.	-	-	[see below]
	13	_____	T H. Kennedy Esq M.P. _____	78.	-	-	[no. 443]
	14	_____	Mrs. Durham Calderwood _____	78.	15.	-	[no. 793]
May	1	_____	Mr. Campbell _____	105.	-	-	[see below]
				£2802.	13.	-	

Deduct Paid Mr. Syme Portrait Painter and other Expenses of finishing several of the above Pictures 275. 15. -  
£2526. 18. -

Edinr. 9th. June 1824 This is the List referred to in the Inventory and deposition emitted by me of this date signed Henry Raeburn  
George Carphin Comr.

List of Debts due to Sir Henry Raeburn of St Bernards Knight  
Portrait Painter in Edinburgh outstanding at [blank, clearly 9 June  
1824]

Lady Baird _____	£126.	-	-	[no. 31]
McDonald of Clanranald _____	78.	15.	-	[no. 479]
Buchanan of Ardoch _____	78.	15.	-	[no. 89]
General Campbell of Lochnell _____	84.	-	-	[no. 112b]
Mr Alexander Campbell & Mrs. Campbell _____	52.	10.	-	[no. 103]
Lord Chief Commissioner _____	63.	-	-	[no. 11]
Mr. Constable _____	105.	-	-	[no. 168]
Lord John Campbell Balance _____	105.	-	-	[no. 119]
Lord Eglinton _____	105.	-	-	[no. 547]
Colin McKenzie Esquire _____	70.	-	-	[no. 496]
Duke of Hamilton _____	315.	-	-	[no. 361]
Lord Hardwick Balance _____	52.	10.	-	[no. 765]
Munro of Livingstone besides Interest _____	26.	5.	-	[see below]
Sir Henry Stewart of Allanton for Mrs. Mc. Donald of Staffa _____}	105.	-	-	[no. 670]
Major McDonald _____	105.	-	-	[no. 480]
Mrs. Richardson _____	105.	-	-	[no. 613]
Lord William Russel [sic] _____	157.	10.	-	[no. 628]
Sir Michael Shaw Stewart _____	199.	10.	-	[no. 677]
Dougald [sic] Stewart Esquire _____	105.	-	-	[no. 672b]
Mrs. Thomson Glasgow _____	42.	-	-	[see below]
Marquis of Tweedale _____	315.	-	-	[no. 378]
Mrs. Smellie _____	52.	10.	-	[no. 651]
Mr. Campbell of Possill [sic] _____	73.	15.	-	[no. 103]
Patrick White Leeds and Butterworth _____	100.	-	-	[no. 751]
	£2622.	-	-	

Colonel Noel M.P. London _____	75. - . -	[see below]
	2699. - . -	[sic]
Supposed worth	1000. - . -	

Edinburgh 9th June 1824 This is the List referred to in the Inventory & Deposition emitted by me of this date signed Henry Raeburn. George Carphin Comr.

NOTES: The following entries in the 1824 Inventory cannot be associated with any known portraits:-

J.B. Fraser Esq., W.S.

No such figure is listed in History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet (Edinburgh: Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, 1890).

James Robertson Esq., W.S.

Establishing this figure's biography is unusually difficult as there are three members of the Society of Writers to His Majesty's Signet to whom this entry could refer. They are:

- i) James Robertson, third son of Patrick Robertson, Schoolmaster at Bellie, Banffshire, who became a member in 1795, married Mary Saunders and died on 15 April 1820.
- ii) James Robertson, youngest son of Reverend Patrick Robertson, D.D., minister of Eddleston, who became a member on 1 Jun 1820 and died, unmarried, on 25 June 1864, aged sixty-nine.
- iii) James Saunders Robertson, son of James Robertson, W.S. (1763-1856) who married, on 16 April 1816, Sarah, eldest daughter of Reverend Alexander Weir of Boghead, Linlithgowshire.

It is not possible to say to which of these figures the entry refers.

William Allan.

It cannot be established if this refers to a portrait of Sir William Allan (1782-1851), the history painter, who returned from a ten year sojourn in Russia in 1814.

Colonel Noel, M.P.

No portrait can be associated with this entry but this figure can be identified with confidence: He was Gerard Noel Edwards (1759-1838) of Exton Park, Rutland; in 1798 he fell heir to his uncle, Henry, 6th Earl of Gainsborough; he inherited his uncle's encumbered estates, but not the earldom; in the same year he took the name Noel; he had a military career, first with the Rutland Militia and later with the Rutland Fencibles; he was M.P. for Maidstone from 1784 until 1788; for Rutland from 1788 until 1808; and again from 1814 until 1838. During his third parliamentary term it was said of him that: "His pride was lowered by the disarray of his affairs."

Sir William Purves, J. Wilson, Esq., Mrs Murray, Mr George Gibson, Mr Campbell, Munro of Livingstone and Mrs Thomson of Glasgow, cannot be identified. Concerning the executors of Lady Blantyre, neither the agents nor Lady Blantyre can be identified.

Document 22: 1824. Letter from the artist's son, Henry Raeburn Jr., to W. Carey, in which disappointment is expressed with the treatment in the Obituary of the artist's professional activities.

Whereabouts unknown, transcribed by William Whitley from the book of autographs belonging to Mr R.N. Crew Hunt, on 14 August 1930, transcription located in the British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, Whitley Papers, vol.x.f.1330.

St. Bernards, 15th March, 1821

Dear Sir

... I regret much that your absence from home happened at the time it did, as no one was so well qualified as yourself to be my father's biographer. Aware from your silence that you were from home, perhaps abroad, I yielded to the request of Mr. Watts (Walls?) Editor of the Annual Biography & got a memoir written by a literary friend here, & revised by Sir Walter Scott. I refer you to it in the last number of Obituary. I am very well pleased with it, except in so far as it respects my father's professional character - there I am sure you will agree with me that it is very defective, & Dr. Bruister (Brewster?) & I myself are very desirous to have this part of it, as well as any other that may occur to you, remodelled by your pen before it appears in his (Dr. B's?) or any other journal. After this has been done I will be truly happy that Mr. Campbell gives it a place in his excellent Magazine....

To W. Carey Esq., Marylebone St., Piccadilly. London.

APPENDIX II  
Raeburn's Prices

The artist's prices rose steadily through the 1790s. In 1787 the three-quarter length portrait Robert Dundas of Arniston, 2nd Lord President Dundas (no. 241) cost £18 while a half length such as Sir William Forbes of Craigievar (no. 290) of 1788 cost 8 guineas. A similar half length in 1790, Isabella Hall (no. 358), cost 12 guineas. The double portrait of Sir John and Lady Clerk of Penicuik (no. 158) is said to have cost 60 guineas shortly before 1792 and the beautiful and characteristic half length Miss Eleanor Urquhart of Craigston (no. 720) cost 15 guineas in the following year. In 1794 a portrait comparable to 2nd Lord President Dundas, Professor John Bruce (no. 81) cost 30 guineas while towards the end of the decade Baillie William Galloway (no. 314), a small half length not dissimilar to Forbes of Craigievar cost 18 guineas, a price increase of over two hundred percent in ten years. The full length of William Forbes of Callender (no. 292) cost sixty guineas in 1798.

When Farington visited Edinburgh in 1801 he listed Raeburn's prices in his diary but his record does not appear to be accurate.<sup>{1}</sup> He said that a full length portrait was 100 guineas yet the only full length of the period 1800-1810 for which the price is known is Henry Dundas, 1st Viscount Melville (no. 240) which cost ninety guineas in 1806. Farington further recorded that a half length was fifty guineas, a kit-cat thirty guineas and what he termed a "three-quarter portrait" was twenty-five guineas. However, in 1802 Raeburn charged only fifteen guineas for a small portrait of Henry Mackenzie (no. 501) and the price for this size had risen to only twenty guineas by 1807 as shown by the receipt for George Smith (no. 656): Farington appears to have been misinformed.

In 1812 Raeburn wrote concerning the portrait Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (no. 361) stating that his price for a full length was a hundred guineas and that he intended to raise this price by twenty or thirty guineas. That he did not do so is suggested by the documents of 1817 connected with John, 4th Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404): his price was unchanged, a full length was one hundred guineas or one hundred and fifty guineas with a horse. In 1819 his price for a full length was two hundred guineas, the sum he charged for the copy of Hugh Montgomerie, Earl of Eglinton after Copley (no. 811). A small head and shoulders was twenty-five guineas in 1810.<sup>{2}</sup> The sum of fifty guineas was requested for the three-quarter length General Duncan Campbell of Barcaldine (no. 111) in 1812, but that portrait may date from a somewhat earlier time. The price for the pair of three-quarter length portraits Mrs and Mrs John Gordon of Aitkenhead (nos. 331 and 332) was one hundred and forty guineas in 1818.

Notes

1

J. Greig, ed. The Farington Diary by Joseph Farington, R.A., 4th ed. (London: Hutchison & Co., 1923), 1, 327.

2

James L. Caw, Scottish Painting, p. 77.

APPENDIX III

Works exhibited by Raeburn during his lifetime

LONDON.

Shakespeare Gallery.

1792 Sir John and Lady Clerk (no. 158)

Royal Academy.

1792	Rev John Home (no. 395)	6
	Lady	351
1798	Sir Walter Farquhar (no. 270)	28
1799	Gentleman	578
1802	Dr Rutherford (no. 631)	269
1810	Sir Walter Scott (no. 640a)	79
1811	Rev. Sir H. Wellwood Moncrieff	172
	Gentleman [Archibald Skirving (no. 650)]	357
1812	Macdonnell of Glengarry (no. 482)	1
	Gentleman	304
	Gentleman	357
1813	Sir G.S. Mackenzie (no. 500b)	52
1814	Gentleman [see chapter V, note 11]	35
	Lord Seaforth (no. 498)	43
	Lady	153
	General Sir David Baird (no. 30)	247
1815	The Earl of Kinnoull (no. 222)	50
	The Earl of Fife (no. 228)	75
	General Officer [Possibly Lt.-Gen. Alexander Mackenzie Fraser of Inverallochy (no. 312)]	156
	Professor Playfair (no. 590)	277
1816	A Boy	31
	David Boyle, Lord Justice Clerk (no. 67)	183
	Gentleman	221
	Gentleman	286
	J. Cowley (no. 170)	381
1817	Lady [Lady Gordon-Cumming (no. 187)]	84
	A Young Gentleman	91
	W.H. Miller (no. 534)	232
	Gentleman	369
1818	Lord Montgomerie (no. 547)	32
	Sir David Milne (no. 539)	177
	Lady	203
	Alexander Maconochie Welwood (no. 745)	268
1819	Francis Chantrey (no. 149)	38
	A Highland Chieftain [possibly Francis McNab of McNab (no. 513)]	212
	Gentleman	313
	A Young Gentleman	379
1820	Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404)	18
	Marquis of Huntley (no. 324b)	73
	Duke of Bedford (no. 628)	104
	John Henry Bucklitsch (no. 95)	217
	E. Livingstone (no. 468)	369

1821	Marquis of Bute (no. 689)	7
	Sir John Hay of Haystoun (no. 379)	147
	Gentleman	276
	J. Alwyne, Earl Compton (no. 21)	325
	Lady [Wilton suggests M. Alwyne (no. 22)]	420
1822	An Officer	62
	Gentleman	176
	Lord Douglas (no. 212)	312
1823	An Officer of the R.N.	42
	Gentleman	94
	Gentleman	142
	A Lady and a Child [possibly Mrs Lee Harvey and Child (no. 372)]	200

#### EDINBURGH.

Associated Society of Artists. Raeburn's studio, 16 York Place.

1809	Gentleman [not in all copies of the cat.], full length	13
	Nobleman	128
	Gentleman [Gen. Maxwell, 7th Bt. (no. 528)]	129
	Gentleman [Harley Drummond (no. 218)]	144
	Lady	155
	Dr Alexander Adam (no. 8)	156
	Gentleman [Walter Scott (no. 640a)]	183
	Lady [Mrs Cochran (no. 161)]	192
	Lady	194
	Gentleman	213
	Lady	220
1810	Gentleman	50
	Nobleman, full length	71
	Gentleman	100
	Lady	103
	Gentleman	130
	Gentleman, full length	161
	Nobleman, full length	185
	Lady	189
	Lady, full length	191
	A Young Lady	195
	Gentleman	196
1811	Gentleman	38
	Lady	51
	Gentleman, full length	59
	Lady	75
	Nobleman	77
	Gentleman	85
	Gentleman	144
	Lady	156
	Two Boys [Possibly the Binning Boys (no. 48)]	187
	Gentleman	188
	Lady	190
1812	Raeburn's studio re-numbered as 32 York Place.	
	Gentleman	40

	A Young Lady	41
	Earl of Rosebery (no. 592)	52
	Lady	59
	Lady	68
	Lady	101
	Gentleman	108
	Portraits of a Gentleman and Lady	109
	A Young Gentleman	125
	Gentleman	139
	Lord Bishop of Meath (no. 578)	148
	Gentleman	150
	Lady Innes Ker (no. 445)	186
	Sir James Innes Ker (no. 444)	188
1813	Portraits of three Children [Possibly the Drummond Children (no. 219)]	35
	Gentleman	36
	Gentleman	38
	Lord Seaforth (no. 498)	55
	Lady	69
	A Young Lady	81
	Lord Elcho and Mr Charteris (no. 749)	148
	Gentleman	159
	Lady	178
	Gentleman	191

Edinburgh Exhibition Society.

1814	Gentleman and his Daughter [possibly John Stirling of Kippendavie and Daughter (no. 681)]	16
	Gentleman	37
	General Officer	39
	Portraits of a Lady and Gentleman	53
	Lady	55
	Nobleman	60
	Lady	74
	Nobleman	93
	Portrait of a Jew (no. 766)	104
	Gentleman	105
	Gentleman	163
	Lady	164
	Gentleman	176
1815	Lady	23
	Gentleman	26
	Gentleman [J.J. Hope-Vere (no. 728)]	30
	Lady	40
	A Child	42
	Gentleman	49
	David Boyle, Lord Justice Clerk (no. 67)	50
	A Young Gentleman	57
	General Sir David Dundas (no. 243)	58
	Lady	73
	Gentleman	78
	Professor Playfair (no. 590)	83
	Lady	84

	Gentleman	96
	Gentleman	147
	Gentleman	156
	Gentleman	160
	A Young Gentleman	162
	General Sir David Baird (no. 30)	163
	Gentleman	164
	Francis Horner (no. 407)	167
1816	A Young Gentleman	19
	A Young Gentleman	20
	A Young Gentleman	22
	A Young Gentleman	33
	Lady	34
	Gentleman, full length	45
	Gentleman	67
	Gentleman	68
	Gentleman	72
	Gentleman	78
	Gentleman	80
	Lady	81
	Gentleman	109
	A Child	118
	Gentleman	130
	Gentleman	133
	Gentleman and his Horse	134
	Gentleman	135
Institution for the Encouragement of the Fine Arts. Raeburn's studio.		
1821	Lady	127
	Earl of Hopetoun (no. 404)	140
	John Henry Bucklitsch (no. 95)	172
1822	Professor Pillans (no. 587)	138
	Sir John Hay of Haystoun (no. 379)	167
	H.W. Williams (no. 753)	190

## APPENDIX IV

### Outline of Locations

The main public collections of Raeburn portraits are in Edinburgh, at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and the National Gallery of Scotland. There are other major holdings in Glasgow, at Kelvingrove Art Gallery, the Burrell Collection and the Hunterian Art Gallery. Outwith these, there is a fine collection in Aberdeen Art Gallery. In London, Raeburn portraits can be seen at the Tate Gallery, the National Army Museum, the National Portrait Gallery and the Courtauld Institute Galleries. There is an important group of works at the Louvre but they have not been displayed for many years. There is one work in Copenhagen, in Essen, in Helsinki, in Munich, in Vienna and in St Petersburg. There is one work in Auckland, New Zealand, and one in Sydney, Australia. There are works in Canada, at Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton, Ontario. There is one work in Puerto Rico, at the Museo de Arte de Ponce, one in Havana, Cuba and one in Brazil at the Museo de Arte, Sao Paulo. By far the largest number of Raeburn portraits on public display are in the U.S.A. They may be seen in New York, at the Metropolitan Museum of Art and at the Frick Collection. There are fine groups of works at the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and at the Philadelphia Museum of Art. In the Mid-West there are fine examples at Detroit and Chicago. In the South there are works at Atlanta, Birmingham, Raleigh and Memphis, among other locations. In Florida there are works at Miami, Coral Gables and West Palm Beach, and at St Petersburg and Sarasota. On the West Coast there are important portraits at the Henry E. Huntington Art Gallery and at the Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. Very large numbers of local art galleries throughout America have a Raeburn portrait in their collection, including Hawaii.

#### ABBREVIATIONS

- Andrew Andrew, William, R. Life of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. London: W.H. Allen, 1886.
- Armstrong Armstrong, Sir Walter. Sir Henry Raeburn, with an Introduction by R.A.M. Stevenson and a Biographical and Descriptive Catalogue by James L. Caw. London: Heinemann, 1901.
- Brotchie Brotchie, T.C.F. Henry Raeburn, 1756-1823. London: Cassels, 1924.
- Brown Brown, John. Portraits by Sir Henry Raeburn, Photographs by Thomas Annan, with Biographical Sketches. Edinburgh: Andrew Elliot, [1873]. (Pagination can vary.)
- Caw Masterpieces Caw, James L. Raeburn, Masterpieces in Colour. London: T.C. Jack & E.C. Jack, n.d.
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- Collins Baker Collins Baker, C.H. British Painting, with a Chapter on Primitive Painting by M.R. James. London: Medici Society, 1933.
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- Cursiter Cursiter, Stanley. Scottish Art to the Close of the Nineteenth Century. London: Harrap, 1949.
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- Dibdin Dibdin, E. Rimbault. Raeburn. London: Philip Allan, 1925.
- Duncan Duncan, Andrew. A Tribute of Regard to the Memory of Sir Henry Raeburn. Edinburgh: Bell and Bradfute, 1824.
- Garlick no. Refers to the numbering in: Garlick, Kenneth. Sir Thomas Lawrence. Oxford: Phaidon, 1989.
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London: The Connoisseur, (Otto Ltd.), 1911.

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- F. Irwin Irwin, Francina. "Early Raeburn Reconsidered", Burlington Magazine 105 (April 1973), 239-244.
- Irwin and Irwin Irwin, David and Irwin, Francina. Scottish Painters at Home and Abroad, 1700-1900. London: Faber and Faber, 1975.
- McKay McKay, William D. The Scottish School of Painting. London: Duckworth, 1906.
- Macmillan, 1986 Macmillian, J. Duncan. Painting in Scotland, The Golden Age. Oxford: Phaidon, 1986.
- Macmillan, 1990 Macmillian, J. Duncan. Scottish Art, 1460-1990. Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1990.
- Obituary [Murray, Hugh and Scott, Sir Walter.] "Sir Henry Raeburn", The Annual Biography for 1823. London: 1824.
- O'Donoghue O'Donoghue, Freeman, and Hake, Henry M. Catalogue of Engraved British Portraits Preserved in the Department of Prints and Drawings in the British Museum. 6 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1908-1925.
- Pinnington Pinnington, Edward. Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. London: Scott Publishing Co., 1904.
- Raeburn Exhibition, 1824 The exhibition, Portraits of the Late Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. Now Exhibiting in no. 32 York Place. Edinburgh: J. Ruthven & Son, 1824.
- Raeburn Exhibition, 1876 Royal Academy National Galleries, Edinburgh. Catalogue of the Works of Sir Henry Raeburn, R.A. Exhibiting in the Royal Academy National Galleries, Edinburgh. Edinburgh: R. and R. Clark, 1876.
- Raeburn Exhibition 1956 National Gallery of Scotland. Raeburn, Bi-Centenary Exhibition. Edinburgh: Arts Council, Scottish Committee, 1956.
- Sanderson Sanderson, Kenneth. "Engravings After Raeburn", Print Collectors' Quarterly 12 (April 1925), 128-155.

- Chaloner Smith      Smith, John Chaloner. British Mezzotinto Portraits: Being a Descriptive Catalogue of These Engravings from the Introduction of the Art to the Early Part of the Present Century. 4 vols. London: Henry Sotheran and Co., 1883.
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The term "{12}" refers to footnote number 12.

The term "(no. 12)" refers to work number 12 in the catalogue.

The term "(Document 12)" refers to document number 12 in Appendix I, the list documents.

SELECTED LIST OF UNPUBLISHED SOURCES

Documents relating directly to portraits can be found in the appropriate catalogue entries.

SCOTLAND

Edinburgh Central Library

Edinburgh Room, YHF.5566

"State of the Process, Alexander Newlands, Merchant in Edinburgh, Charger; Against Robert Raeburn, Weaver in Edinburgh, Suspender", 12 Jun 1760.

St Paul's and St George's Episcopal Church, York Place, Edinburgh

Register of Baptisms, 1772-1778.

Scottish Record Office, General Register House, Edinburgh

Register of Deeds, Rae and Boswell

1702.f.184.

Articles of marriage betwixt Mr James Leslie and Miss Ann Edgar.

R.D.4.227.ff.474-5. James Leslie's will.

C.C.8.8.125. George Leslie's will.

R.S.27/482.f.27. York Place studio, sasine, 1801.

G.D.1/415 and 1020. Deuchar Papers.

Scottish Record Office, West Register House, Edinburgh

Carrie, 1/24 (Mack) Sequestrations.

Petition of Henry Raeburn & Co., Merchants, Leith, for sequestration, 1808 [Sent to Clerk, 1884].

C.S.29. 24 December 1808 Box 1867.

Sequestration of Henry Raeburn, 1808.

C.S.235.R.20.6 Box 334.

Factor appointed on the estate of William Raeburn, 6 December 1810.

Trustees' Academy Minute Book.

N.G.1/3/18.p.444,27. Raeburn judges student's drawings.

National Register of Archives (Scotland), West Register House, Edinburgh

0063 Adam of Blairadam Muniments, T.D.77/142. Box: William Adam, miscellaneous correspondence and papers, 1820-29. pp. 97,100,102-3. Concerning the knighthood of Raeburn.

National Library of Scotland

MS.721.f.25-6.

H. Raeburn Jr. to George Coombe, 7 August 1823, on Raeburn's deathmask.

MS.830.f.131.

Letter from T. Vaughn to Allan Cunningham on the background of Ann Edgar.

MS.830.ff.132-4.

Letter from J.H. Archer to the editor of the Illustrated London News, 3 November 1857.

MS.832.ff.28-9.

Letter from James White to Allan Cunningham on Raeburn's family background.

MS.3553.f.12.

Letter from Raeburn to John Maxwell (no. 533)

of 1 September 1823 concerning Raeburn's  
knighthood.

MS.9835.ff.162-3. Raeburn to David Wilkie, 12 March 1823.  
MS.9994.f.96-7. Raeburn to Sir Francis Chantrey, 26 January 1814.  
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40350.f.190. Raeburn to the Right Honourable Robert Peel on the  
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40356.ff.76. Copy of a letter from the Right Honourable Robert  
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appointed to the post of Painter to His Majesty  
in Scotland.  
40356.ff.106. Raeburn's reply of 14 May 1823 to the letter from  
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