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The Reproduction of Spanish Art: Hill and Adamson's Calotypes and Sir William Stirling Maxwell's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848)

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1 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *Las Meninas*, calotype of the engraving by Pierre Audouin, from a drawing by Antonio Martínez after the painting by Diego Velázquez. Scottish National Photography Collection, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

THE PHOTOGRAPHY collections of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in Edinburgh contain a number of calotypes by D O Hill and Robert Adamson of prints after paintings by the seventeenth-century Spanish artists Diego Velázquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo.¹ This article throws new light on the relationship between these calotypes and the *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), the pioneering history of Spanish art by William Stirling, later Sir William Stirling Maxwell.

Hill and Adamson's calotypes are of five works by the two best-known Spanish painters in mid-nineteenth century Britain: Murillo had been well known since the eighteenth century, while Velázquez was a rapidly rising star.² The calotypes are of prints after three of Velázquez's most famous paintings in the Prado Museum, Madrid: *Las Meninas* (fig. 1), *The Spinners (Las hilanderas)* (fig. 4), and *The Surrender of Breda (La rendición de Breda*, popularly known as *Las Lanzas*) (fig. 2).³ There is also a paper negative of a print after Velázquez's *Portrait of a Woman believed to be the Artist's Wife (Juana Pacheco)* (fig. 6), also in the Prado,⁴ as well as a calotype of a print after Murillo's *St Elizabeth of Hungary* (fig. 5), which was painted for the Hospital of Charity in Seville, but displayed in the Spanish royal academy of arts, the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid, in the mid-nineteenth century.⁵ In addition, a paper negative of the calotype of the *Surrender of Breda* is in the Hill and Adamson collection at Glasgow University Library (fig. 3).⁶

Hill and Adamson were important pioneers of photography of original paintings, but the routine photographic recording of artworks in museum collections was still some way off.⁷ Instead, the calotypes after paintings by Velázquez and Murillo were taken from engravings and lithographs, which had in turn formed part of several projects by Spanish artists and institutions associated with the Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to make the great masterpieces of Spanish art better known, and to provide materials for the training of artists. The prints used were as follows:

After Velázquez:

Las Meninas, engraving by Pierre Audouin from a drawing by Antonio Martínez, 578 × 445 mm, published by the Compañía para el grabado de los cuadros de los Reales Palacios, 1796.

The Spinners, engraving by Francisco Muntaner from a drawing by Agustín Esteve, 470 × 560 mm, published by the Calcografía Nacional, Madrid, 1799.

The Surrender of Breda, lithograph by Florentino de Craene, under the direction of José de Madrazo, 373 × 424 mm, published in the *Colección litográfica de los cuadros del Rey de España*, Real Establecimiento Litográfico, Madrid 1826, vol. II, plate LXXIV.

Portrait of a Woman believed to be the Artist's Wife, lithograph by Enrique Blanco, under the direction of José de Madrazo, 328 × 238 mm, published in the *Colección litográfica de los cuadros del Rey de España*, Real

Establecimiento Litográfico, Madrid 1826, vol. II, plate LXVI.

After Murillo:

St Elizabeth of Hungary, lithograph by Florentino de Craene, under the direction of José de Madrazo, 483 × 345 mm, published in the *Colección litográfica de los cuadros del Rey de España*, Real Establecimiento Litográfico, Madrid 1826, vol. I, plate XVIII.⁸

The Murillo and the three Velázquez figure compositions were all acknowledged masterpieces, while the portrait reflected current interest in artists' biographies and portraits of artists and their families. Such interests were among those explored in the art-historical activities and the collecting of Spanish art by the important Scottish scholar, Sir William Stirling Maxwell (1818–78), not least in his three-volume *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (1848), the first scholarly history of Spanish art in English.⁹ Stirling devoted great attention to the illustration of the *Annals*, the text volumes of which contained over 50 engraved illustrations. A limited number of copies of an additional fourth volume of 68 Talbotype illustrations, carried out by William Henry Fox Talbot's assistant, Nicolaas Henneman, was also commissioned and paid for by Stirling as presentation copies for the author's family and friends, and for libraries such as the British Museum Library and the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh.¹⁰ This additional volume means that Stirling's *Annals of the Artists of Spain* can be considered the first book on art history to contain photographic illustrations.

The fact that the SNPG holdings of the Spanish art subjects by Hill and Adamson include nearly 100 calotypes from three different sizes of negatives of the print after the *Surrender of Breda* (fig. 3) is a strong clue that these calotypes were also related to a publishing project.¹¹ The only possible client was William Stirling, but the precise nature and extent of the involvement of Hill and Adamson in the project for photographic illustrations to the *Annals* has remained unclear. However, three recently discovered letters from Hill to Stirling in 1847–48 (see Appendix) go some way towards clarifying these matters, and show that Stirling had commissioned 50 copies of each of these five calotypes. Although the Talbotype illustrations state that only 25 copies of the additional volume of the *Annals* were printed, new research has shown that 50 copies were in fact produced, and it now appears highly likely that Stirling had intended to include the Hill and Adamson calotypes in the additional volume.¹²

What led to Stirling's decision to produce an experimental volume of photographic illustrations to his history of Spanish art is not clear. He may have been prompted by early interest in photography in Scotland, and may have known Sir David Brewster's article on photography in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1843, though no evidence has so far come to light of direct contact between Stirling and Brewster until after the *Annals* were published in 1848.¹³ Stirling may likewise have been aware of Hugh Miller's article on the calotype process practised by Hill and Adamson, which, like Brewster's article, was published in 1843.¹⁴ Stirling's decision to compile a history of Spanish art dated from the beginning of the same year, after he



2 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Surrender of Breda*, calotype of the lithograph by Florentino de Craene, after the painting by Diego Velázquez. Scottish National Photography Collection, Scottish National Portrait Gallery



3 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Surrender of Breda*, paper negative of the calotype of the lithograph by Florentino de Craene, after the painting by Diego Velázquez. Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections

returned from a trip to Spain.¹⁵ The years of preparation of the *Annals* coincided with the appearance of the first books with photographic illustrations, William Henry Fox Talbot's *The Pencil of Nature*, 1844–46, and his *Sun Pictures in Scotland*, of 1845. The latter publication's photographs of places associated with Sir Walter Scott would have been of particular interest to Stirling, who was a great admirer of Scott, and who was later the instigator of the Scott Centenary Exhibition in Edinburgh in 1871.¹⁶

Talbot's two books would have alerted Stirling to the possibilities of using photography for book illustration. Likewise, if he knew Miller's article on calotypes, he would certainly have agreed with the concern expressed by Miller in it about the low quality of most book engravings.¹⁷ Many of Stirling's activities were centred on his interest in the art of the book, and in particular the illustrated book. By the early 1840s he was an active collector of antiquarian books, including books on art, and became one of a group of collectors who revived interest in emblem books.¹⁸ His collection of around 1200 emblem books (now in Glasgow University Library) is thought to have been the largest ever formed by one collector.¹⁹ Like the *Annals*, his posthumously published work on sixteenth-century Spanish history, *Don John of Austria* (1883), was lavishly illustrated with prints, and much of his later life was devoted to producing small, private editions of facsimile reprints of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century illustrated books.

Related to Stirling's fascination with illustrated books was another major interest in the reproduction of fine art, through painted copies and prints. In the 1840s, Stirling began buying and commissioning copies in oil or watercolour of Spanish paintings in collections in Spain, France and Britain.²⁰ He also formed one of the

most comprehensive collections ever made of prints after Velázquez and Murillo.²¹ Such copies functioned within Stirling's art historical and collecting activities as – among other things – visual aides-mémoires and art objects that hung on his walls alongside original works. Many were used for the engraved illustrations in the text volumes of the *Annals*, as well as for the Talbotypes volume. Most significantly, in his use of photography, first in the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*, then later for the identification and documentation of particular artworks, and finally, in conjunction with other new photo-mechanical techniques to produce facsimiles, Stirling demonstrated a prophetic recognition of the new medium as an essential tool of art history.²²

Stirling's interest in the reproduction of fine art was very much in tune with D O Hill's own concerns in this area. As secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy, Hill showed awareness of the important role which copies and reproductions could play in the encouragement and education of artists. In particular, he was instrumental in the acquisition by the Academy of 63 watercolour and gouache copies of Old Master paintings, many of them Spanish, by John Frederick Lewis in 1853.²³ Interestingly, Hill also suggested producing calotypes of some of the most important subjects, as an intermediate stage in the production of wood engravings to illustrate the catalogue.²⁴ As far as the uses of photography were concerned, Hugh Miller's article on the calotype offered evidence that Hill had already been thinking of photography as a substitute for drawing in book illustration, while the calotypes of engravings and paintings by Raeburn, William Allan and William Etty by Hill and Adamson show that Hill was considering substituting photographs for engravings in art reproduction.²⁵

Hill's background as a painter and his interest in the reproduction of fine art may have influenced Stirling's decision to commission Hill and Adamson to carry out some of the photographic illustrations for the *Annals*, and in particular, to photograph prints of some of the key works by Velázquez and Murillo. Given the many interests Stirling and Hill had in common, it seems unfortunate that their collaboration was not more fruitful. A number of factors may have contributed to the non-inclusion of the Hill and Adamson calotypes in the final volume, including the fact that Talbot had taken out a patent for his Talbotype/calotype process in England but not in Scotland. If Stirling wished to distribute the volume of photographic illustrations to the *Annals* in England, Talbot could have objected that the inclusion of Hill and Adamson's calotypes breached his patent.²⁶ However, as the limited number of copies was for presentation to family, friends and scholarly institutions, the edition could not be deemed a commercial use of Talbot's patented process. Instead, the first sentence of Hill's first letter to Stirling, of 13 August 1847, must surely provide the main reason why the Hill and Adamson calotypes were not included: 'Owing to Mr Adamson's serious illness your order for 50 copies of each of the Velasquez & Murillo Engravings has not yet been completed.' As is well known, Hill always acknowledged that Adamson was the technical and chemical specialist of the partnership.²⁷

Hill's first letter shows, nevertheless, that work on the order was well under way by August 1847, apart from the difficulties with *The Spinners*, which are confirmed not only by Hill's comments, but also by the fact that he was able to send only five copies, and charged for just four. The 50, indeed 52, copies of the *Surrender of Breda* were already prepared, as well as half the order for *Las Meninas* (Velasquez and the Infanta, fig. 1), and around three-quarters of the order for each of the *Portrait of Juana Pacheco* and Murillo's *St Elizabeth*. It becomes apparent from Hill's subsequent two letters, and from Stirling's note of 6 January 1848, added at the end of Hill's first letter, that Stirling wished to pay for only half the order, that is, £11.19s.6d, rather than the £23.19s requested by Hill, and had suggested this in a letter to Hill of 30 December. In the meantime, it would seem that Hill had not sent any more of the order, no doubt again either wholly or in part because of Adamson's illness (he died on 14 January 1848), which in turn would have prevented the resolution of the problem with *The Spinners*, and perhaps also that of the white spots to which Hill referred in his first letter. In his letter of 4 January 1848, Hill offered to send 'all or as many of the Calotypes done for you as you please'. Whether Hill's offer to send more calotypes would have included some of the 92 of the *Surrender of Breda* now in the SNPG is not clear, though Hill would presumably already have selected the best examples for sending to Stirling on 13 August 1847.



4 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *The Spinners*, calotype of the engraving by Francisco Muntaner, from a drawing by Agustín Esteve after the painting by Diego Velázquez. Scottish National Photography Collection, Scottish National Portrait Gallery



5 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *St Elizabeth of Hungary*, calotype of the lithograph by Florentino de Craene, after the painting by Bartolomé Esteban Murillo. Scottish National Photography Collection, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

The photographic problems posed by *The Spinners* are particularly intriguing. The SNPG's example of the results obtained by Hill and Adamson is somewhat muddy and lacking in definition, and seems to bear out Hill's admission in his first letter that 'the negative we have, produces not better impressions than those sent & that with difficulty'. Interestingly, the SNPG's calotype also clearly shows the white spots which Hill advised Stirling were 'unavoidable' and 'should be stippled out with a little watercolour & a hair pencil'.²⁸ All of the subjects photographed by Hill and Adamson for Stirling were also photographed by Henneman. However, only one, *The Spinners*, is named in Henneman's itemised bill to Stirling for the supply of Talbotypes.²⁹ This shows that Henneman supplied 25 Talbotypes of the 'Spinning Women' at a cost of two shillings each on 28 June 1847. *The Spinners* was also the only one of the five subjects photographed by Hill and Adamson which was not included in the finished volume of Talbotypes supplied by Henneman. The engraving of this subject by Muntaner was undoubtedly the most complex of the prints included in the whole *Annals* photography project – more complex even than *Las Meninas* – and well reflects the sophistication of Velázquez's composition, with its succession of interior spaces and

light sources. Henneman also appears to have experienced difficulties in obtaining satisfactory and consistent results with this subject, as the 14 examples now at the National Museum of Photography, Film and Television, Bradford, show results ranging from very light to very dark, and problems of patchiness in the rendering of tones and hatching.³⁰ Stirling must therefore have made the painful decision to leave it out of the finished volume, even though this meant omitting one of Velázquez's most important works.

Hill's first letter also outlines his pricing. He suggested 'wholesale' prices of 3/6 for larger images and 2/- for smaller ones, a significant reduction from the 7/6 and 5/- Hill gave as their standard prices. These prices were, however, considerably higher than those quoted in Henneman's account to Stirling, which were two shillings for larger-size prints and one shilling for smaller ones. Of course, Hill might have been prepared to reduce his prices still further for a larger order. It is difficult to assess whether price would have been a significant negative factor for Stirling, whose costs for the printing of the text and the Talbotypes volumes of the *Annals* eventually amounted to over £2000.³¹ On the other hand, the calotypes produced by Hill and Adamson for the *Annals* were slightly larger than Henneman's – typically 115 × 156 mm, compared with approximately 118 × 138 mm for Henneman's large size, and approximately 63 × 78 mm for his smaller size. This might have been considered a positive factor by Stirling for the reproduction of such important examples of Spanish art, especially as he was probably aware that Hill and Adamson were experienced in producing even larger images.

The timescale of the photographic project for the *Annals* remains far from clear. Stirling was still choosing suitable subjects in the Spring of 1847.³² By early on in the project, however, he is likely to have owned examples of key subjects such as the prints after Velázquez and Murillo photographed by Hill and Adamson, and would have earmarked them for inclusion. When Stirling first approached either Henneman or Hill and Adamson about the project is not known, but Henneman's account to Stirling shows that he supplied Talbotypes on 29 March, 19 April and 28 June 1847. He wrote to Talbot on 5 May 1847 that the main order for Stirling was finished, but his account shows that he did not supply the 50 completed volumes of Talbotypes until June 1848.³³ It may, therefore, have been around the middle of 1847, once he was able to assess the results obtained by Henneman, that Stirling contacted Hill and Adamson. Indeed, Stirling perhaps approached Hill and Adamson to photograph the print of *The Spinners* only after he had seen that Henneman was having problems with this subject. Whether Henneman photographed the other four prints before or after Hill and Adamson had done theirs is also not clear. However, it is possible that this work was not carried out by Henneman until after Hill's first letter of 13 August 1847, advising of problems, and before Stirling's letter to Hill of 30 December (referred to in Hill's letter of 4 January 1848), informing Hill that he now had 'no use' for Hill's calotypes. Nevertheless, it is most likely that Stirling's original intention was to produce a volume that included

examples of the photography of art by both of the two earliest photographic establishments in Britain.³⁴

After Hill's letter of August 1847, outlining the delays in the progress of Stirling's order, his subsequent two letters of 4 and 7 January 1848 are concerned with reaching an agreement about payment. Although Hill graciously accepted the offer Stirling had made, in December 1847, of half the amount originally suggested, Hill made one last valiant effort both to make some money out of the project and to satisfy himself that he had given value for money. In his letter of 4 January, he offered Stirling a portfolio volume of '100 of our best subjects, & the best impressions of these', at 'the trade price of 30 guineas' less £11.19.6d, the payment Stirling proposed to make for the calotypes of Spanish art. This was obviously the portfolio of 100 calotypes which Hill had been trying to launch since 1845, through – among other channels – the dealers Colnaghi's in London. Its failure as a commercial venture was due largely to problems with the patent.³⁵ In this letter to Stirling, Hill shows that he was still hoping to produce a limited edition priced at 40 guineas per copy. The fact mentioned in the letter that the Royal Academicians Charles Lock Eastlake and Clarkson Stanfield were recipients of presentation copies is already documented.³⁶ Hill quotes Eastlake's endorsement of the product, revealing his hopes that these two well-known figures in the art world could be used in the marketing strategy for the portfolio.³⁷ Stirling would have been an ideal target for such a strategy, had it not been for the difficulties he had experienced with the photographic illustrations for the *Annals*, not only with Hill and Adamson's calotypes but also with Henneman's Talbotypes. It appears that Stirling did not take up Hill's offer, and instead sent a cheque for £11.19.6d on 6 January 1848, thus bringing to a close an unfulfilled collaboration between two of the most important figures in the early history of photography.

Appendix 1

*Letters from D O Hill to William Stirling*³⁸

Calton Hill House
Edinburgh 13 Aug 1847

Sir,

Owing to Mr Adamson's serious illness your order for 50 copies of each of the Velasquez & Murillo Engravings has not yet been completed – I now forward part of the whole – and the rest will be sent as soon as they can be got ready. If you wish the Spinners to go on, I will so order it – though the negative we have, produces not better impressions than those sent & that with difficulty

52 as 50 Rendition of Breda
26 as 25 Velasquez & the Infanta
41 as 40 Portrait Wife of Velasquez. Small [fig. 6]
5 as 4 Women spinning
38 as 35 Murillio [*sic*]

I have some difficulty in knowing how to charge you for these productions. The labour & expense of producing the larger sizes – (all those but the portrait) are the same as the calotypes we sell at 7/6 & 5/- each, but as the order is a somewhat wholesale one, I beg to suggest as a fair price for each of the 4 larger pictures 3/6 and for the portraits 2/.

This will make the account for those sent stand thus	
114 larger Calotypes at 3/6	£19.19
40 portraits at 2/.	4.
£23.19	

I have some heavy bills to discharge on the 17 & 18th Instant and would feel greatly obliged if you would be so kind as favor me with an order for the amount then or before.

I have the honour to be

Sir

Your most obed^t serv^t.

Dav Oct Hill

– Stirling Esquire
of Keir

P.S. I have abstained from cutting the edges or mounting them – not knowing how you wished them done, & knowing it can be done in London by the people accustomed to mount water colour drawings. The white spots which occasionally appear and which are unavoidable should be stippled out with a little watercolour & a hair pencil.

[In Stirling's hand]

6 Jan. 1848

Sent a cheque on B.of S. for

£11.19.6

W.S.

Edin.^b 4 Jany 1848

Sir,

I will be happy to accept of the sum you offer as a settlement of the Calotype account. An order for the amount would be most acceptable at present. I will be glad to send you all or as many of the Calotypes done for you as you please, or do any thing which may remove the unpleasing feeling on my own mind that I have not been fortunate enough to give you any value for your money.

We are preparing for publication a volume of 100 of our best subjects, & the best impressions of these. It is to be got up with some regard to magnificence. The size is a large folio (Columbier) and the binding will cost me about £5.5/ per copy. The circulation will, we expect, be very limited, as the price is to be 40 guineas. Mr Eastlake RA and Mr Stanfield R.A. have already got their copies, and Mr Eastlake writes me he regards his as an "inestimable treasure". My object in mentioning this book is to say that if you would like to possess a copy instead of the Calotypes done for you for which you tell me you have no use – I would be happy to make it the trade price of 30 guineas – and take as part payment your proposed remittance of £11.19.6. leaving the rest to be paid when you got your volume. Mr Lowes Dickinson New Bond Street would shew you one of these volumes.

But should you not wish this arrangement – let it be as you suggest in your note of 30th Dec.

I remain

Sir

Your obedient servt

D. O. Hill

Wm Stirling Esq

of Keir

Edinburgh 7 Jany 1847 [mistake for 1848]

Sir,

I beg to thank you very much for your remittance of £11.19.6 which I receive as a settlement in full of our claims against you. I thank you more particularly for so kindly endeavouring to reconcile it to my conscience, to receive money without having given value for it – my only regret in the transaction be assured is in this consideration.

Trusting I may have some opportunity afforded me of gratifying you in some way or another I remain with renewed thanks

Sir

Your very obed Servt

Dav Oct Hill

Wm Stirling, Esq.

of Keir etc etc



6 D O Hill and Robert Adamson, *Portrait of a Woman believed to be the Artist's Wife* (Juana Pacheco), calotype of the lithograph by Enrique Blanco, after the painting by Diego Velázquez. Scottish National Photography Collection, Scottish National Portrait Gallery

Notes

¹ I am most grateful to Sara Stevenson for showing and discussing with me the Hill and Adamson calotypes after Spanish paintings in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

² For critical opinion of Velázquez and Murillo in mid-nineteenth-century Britain, see Hilary Macartney, 'Sir William Stirling Maxwell y el gusto por Murillo en Gran Bretaña y los Estados Unidos en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX', in *El arte español fuera de España*, XI Jornadas de Arte (Madrid, 2003), pp.557–68; and Allan Braham, *El Greco to Goya: The Taste for Spanish Paintings in Britain and Ireland* (London, 1981), esp. pp. 27–44.

³ Museo del Prado, Madrid, cat. nos. 1172–1174.

⁴ Museo del Prado, Madrid, cat. no. 1197.

⁵ For the Murillo painting, see Diego Angulo Iníguez, *Murillo. Su vida, su arte, su obra*, vol. 2 (Madrid, 1981), no. 86. For the SNPG calotypes and negative, see Sara Stevenson, *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson: Catalogue of their Calotypes* (Edinburgh, 1981): *Las Meninas* ART 9, two calotypes (HA 4448), *St. Elizabeth* ART 10, one calotype (HA 4449), *Juana Pacheco* ART 11, one negative (HA 4450), *Surrender of Breda* ART 12–14, 92 calotypes from three different negatives (HA 4453–55), *The Spinners* ART 15, one calotype (HA 3155).

⁶ Glasgow University Library, Special Collections, HA 0519.

⁷ For Hill and Adamson's photography of paintings, see Sara Stevenson, *The Personal Art of D.O. Hill* (New Haven, 2002), p. 85. On early photography of fine art, see Anthony J Hamber, *A Higher Branch of the Art: Photographing the Fine Arts in England, 1839–1880* (Amsterdam, 1996).

⁸ The prints after Velázquez were listed by Stirling in his 'Catalogue of Prints after Works of Velázquez', which was published at the end of his monograph on the artist: William Stirling, *Velázquez and his Works* (London, 1855); references here are to the English-Spanish edition, *Velázquez* (Madrid, 1999), (hereafter Stirling, *Velázquez*): no. 33 *Surrender of Breda*, no. 35 *Las Hilanderas*, no. 37 *Las Meninas*, no. 159 *Juana Pacheco*. Prints after both Velázquez and Murillo were listed in Stirling's *Essay towards a Catalogue of Prints engraved from the Works of Diego ... Velázquez and Bartolomé Esteban Murillo* (London, 1873): *Las Hilanderas*, p. 9, *Surrender of Breda*, p. 9, *Las Meninas*, p. 10, *Juana Pacheco*, p. 37, *St Elizabeth*, p. 111. For recent discussion of prints after Velázquez, see Juan Carrete, 'Catalogue of Prints after Works of Velázquez by Stirling at 1855', in Stirling, *Velázquez*, pp. 355–65; and José Manuel Matilla (ed.), *Velázquez en blanco y negro* (Madrid, 2000). See also Enriqueta Harris, 'Velázquez and Murillo in Nineteenth-Century Britain: An Approach through Prints', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 50, 1987, pp. 148–59.

⁹ William Stirling, *Annals of the Artists of Spain* (hereafter *Annals*), 3 vols. (London, 1848). References are to the second edition of the *Annals*, in *The Works of Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Baronet* (hereafter *Works*) ed. Robert Guy (London, 1891), vols I–IV. For Stirling's importance as an historian of Spanish art, see Macartney, 'Sir William Stirling Maxwell: Scholar of Spanish Art', *Espacio, Tiempo y Forma, Serie VII, Historia del Arte*, vol. 12, 1999, pp. 287–316; Enriqueta Harris, 'Sir William Stirling-Maxwell and the History of Spanish Art', *Apollo*, vol. LXXIX, no. 23, 1964, pp. 73–77. For his biography, see Macartney, 'Maxwell, Sir William Stirling', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 2004.

¹⁰ The volume of Talbotype illustrations to the *Annals* is dated 1847 but was not finished till 1848. For the number of copies and their circulation, see Hilary Macartney, 'William Stirling and the Talbotypes Volume of the *Annals of the Artists of Spain*', *History of Photography*, forthcoming 2006. The British Museum Library copy is now in the British Library, and the Advocates' Library one is in the National Library of Scotland.

¹¹ See also Sara Stevenson, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 25; and John Ward and Sara Stevenson, *Printed Light: The Scientific Art of William Henry Fox Talbot and David Octavius Hill with Robert Adamson*, (Edinburgh, 1986), p. 164. The original total of the SNPG's holdings of this calotype was probably nearly 100, rather than the 92 presently held, as some were used for experimental purposes in the past. The production of double the number required by Stirling, and the production of more than one negative may indicate that Hill and Adamson had an additional use in mind for this subject. I am grateful to Sara Stevenson for information and suggestions on these points.

¹² Macartney, in *History of Photography*, forthcoming 2006.

¹³ Sir David Brewster, 'Photogenic Drawing or Drawing by the Agency of Light', *Edinburgh Review*, vol. 76, 1843, pp. 465–504. Brewster accepted an invitation to visit Stirling at Keir House, Perthshire, in his letter to Stirling of 12 October 1848, T-SK29/5/15, Stirlings of Keir Papers, on deposit at Glasgow City Archives. I am grateful to Archie Stirling of Keir for permission to quote from this material. Contact between Brewster and Stirling was perhaps established when the *Annals* were published, as Brewster owned an album which contained some examples of the Talbotypes for the *Annals*; see Graham Smirh, *Disciples of Light: Photographs in the Brewster Album* (Malibu, 1990), p. 121, nos. 151–54.

¹⁴ Hugh Miller, 'The Calotype', *The Witness*, 24 June 1843; references are to the edition in *History of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2003, pp. 7–12.

¹⁵ See *Annals* (note 9), p. xv.

¹⁶ See W Stirling Maxwell, D Laing and J Drummond, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Portraits, Busts, Published Writings and Manuscripts of Sir Walter Scott, Bart., collected and exhibited at the Scott Exhibition, Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1874), p. vii; and William Stirling Maxwell, 'Sir Walter Scott', in *Works* (note 9), vol. VI: Miscellaneous Essays and Addresses, pp. 383–406.

¹⁷ Miller, *op. cit.* (note 14), p. 9.

¹⁸ For his catalogues of these two main areas of his book collecting, see William Stirling, *Essay towards a Collection of Books relating to the Arts of Design, being a Catalogue of those at Keir* (London, 1850; 2nd ed., 1860); and William Stirling, *Essay towards a Collection of Books of Proverbs, Emblems, Apophthegms, Epitaphs and Ana, being a Catalogue of those at Keir* (London, 1860).

¹⁹ See Hester M Black, *A Short Title Catalogue of the Emblem Books and Related Works in the Stirling Maxwell Collection of Glasgow University*

Library (1499–1917) (Aldershot, 1988); David Weston, *William Stirling and the European Emblem* (Glasgow, 1987).

²⁰ See Christie's, *Sale of Objects of Art, Furniture, Pictures ... the Property of Archibald Stirling of Keir*, Dunblane, 22–25 May 1995, lots 435–46, which included watercolour copies after Spanish Old Master paintings by Joseph West and William Barclay, many of which are now in Glasgow Museums and Art Galleries and the National Galleries of Scotland. Copies in oils after Murillo by the Spanish artist José Roldán were nos. 44–47 in the *Annals* Talbotypes, while Barclay's watercolour copy of El Greco's *Lady in a Fur Wrap* was no. 10. The original of the latter was later owned by Stirling (now Glasgow Museums, Stirling Maxwell Collection, Pollok House).

²¹ See Stirling, *Velázquez* (note 8); and Stirling, *Essay towards a Catalogue of Prints* (note 8).

²² Stirling and his friend Charles Morse were using photographs as art-historical tools, most commonly to record and track down prints, from the 1850s onwards.

²³ See Sara Stevenson, *op. cit.* (note 7), p. 82; John Sweetman, 'John Frederick Lewis and the Royal Scottish Academy I: The Spanish Connection', *Burlington Magazine*, vol. CXLVII, no. 1226, May 2005, pp. 310–15; and *Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Council of the Royal Scottish Academy of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture* (Edinburgh, 1853), pp. 11–14. I am very grateful to Joanna Soden of the Royal Scottish Academy for providing information on Lewis's copies.

²⁴ Minutes of the Council of the Royal Scottish Academy, 17 May 1853.

²⁵ Stevenson, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 84–85.

²⁶ See John Ward and Sara Stevenson, *op. cit.* (note 11), p. 164.

²⁷ See Sara Stevenson, *Facing the Light: The Photography of Hill & Adamson* (Edinburgh, 2002), pp. 54–57.

²⁸ I am very grateful to Professor Larry Schaaf for suggestions about the white spots (personal communication 9 June 2005). These may have been caused by air bubbles, or by little black specks in the negative due to iron or other localised chemical contamination. The problem was not mentioned by Henneman or Talbot, and retouching was not favoured by Talbot. See Larry Schaaf, 'Talbot and Hill and Adamson', *History of Photography*, vol. 27, no. 1, 2003, pp. 17–23, for the different approach of Hill and Talbot to retouching.

²⁹ For Henneman's bill for Talbotypes supplied in 1847–48, see Macartney, in *History of Photography*, forthcoming 2006.

³⁰ National Museum of Photography, Film and Television (NMPFT), Bradford, 1937-3371/1-14.

³¹ Stirling paid for most or all of the printing costs of the publisher, John Olliver, London.

³² The Talbotypes volume includes photographs by Henneman of some small original artworks in the collection of the Hispanophile Richard Ford, whom Stirling visited for the first time in late 1846 or early 1847.

³³ For Henneman's account, see Macartney, in *History of Photography*, forthcoming 2006. For his letter to Talbot, see Fox Talbot Collection, NMPFT, Bradford, 1937-4950, quoted in V F Snow and D B Thomas, 'The Talbotype Establishment at Reading – 1844 to 1847', *Photographic Journal*, vol. 106, no. 2, 1966, p. 62. For a transcription, see www.foxtalbot.arts.gla.ac.uk/corresp/05936.

³⁴ The fact that Stirling produced another experimental volume, *Examples of the Engraved Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century*, in 1872, containing reproductions of engravings by various photographic and photo-mechanical processes, by practitioners in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow and Norwich, with the aim of 'recording the state of the arts by which prints were reproduced in 1870, 71, and 72' adds weight to this suggestion. See Sir William Stirling Maxwell, *Examples of the Engraved Portraiture of the Sixteenth Century*, 25 copies privately printed, London and Edinburgh 1872, p.v.

³⁵ For Hill's proposed portfolio of 100 calotypes, see Stevenson, in Ward and Stevenson, *op. cit.* (note 11), pp. 38–40; and Hamber, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 191, 337–38.

³⁶ See Hamber, *op. cit.* (note 7), pp. 337–38.

³⁷ Hill's quotation from Eastlake is significant, as Eastlake's letter and others praising the calotypes are missing. I am grateful to Sara Stevenson for drawing my attention to this point.

³⁸ Maxwells of Pollok Papers, on deposit at Glasgow City Archives, T-PM Box 130. I am grateful to the Maxwell Macdonald family for permission to publish these letters.