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After Rembrandt: Captain William Baillie and print culture in 18th century London

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After Rembrandt: Captain William Baillie and Print Culture in 18th Century London

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the Faculty of the Undergraduate

College of Visual and Performing Arts

James Madison University

in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts

by Andrea Clare Morgan

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Accepted by the faculty of the Department of Art History, James Madison University, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Bachelor of Arts.

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Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandmother, Jean Mendez, who left me with the motivation to always do what would have made her proud.
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Introduction

This thesis examines print culture in the London art market of the eighteenth century with particular emphasis on artist Captain William E. Baillie (1723-1810). Baillie’s work in the 1750s-1770s was representative of the rapidly growing interest in prints as well as the practice of copying from or working in the style of the Old Masters, especially Rembrandt. During this time, Dutch art was not yet considered as respectable as painting from Italy or France, but as an active member of the London art community, Baillie was a leading participant in inspiring interest in such art during the eighteenth-century. Captain Baillie etched over a hundred artworks and the culmination of his career is his well-known reworking of Rembrandt’s plate of *The Hundred Guilder Print (Christ Healing the Sick)* in 1775. Through his range of skills and variety of contributions as an artist, collector, connoisseur, and dealer, this thesis will argue that Baillie was particularly influential in affecting eighteenth-century taste by promoting Rembrandt and the Dutch school.

Baillie’s work has attracted interest from modern scholars beginning in the 1940s with an article by H.P Rossiter, former Curator of Prints at the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston.¹ His article investigates Baillie’s military and artistic career in relation to his fellow print collector, an American, John Greenwood (1727-1792). Christopher White’s fundamental exhibition catalogue from 1983, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England*, discusses early artists collecting Rembrandt and the influence he had on English painting. Particularly relevant to this thesis are chapters by David Alexander and Ellen D’Oench, contributing authors to White’s book, who have provided critical analysis of Rembrandt’s prints in England. Nicholas Stogdan’s 2006 article on Baillie, while limited to *The Hundred

*Guilder Print,* provides insight on the commercial aspect of Baillie’s work. Irish scholar Nesta Butler has approached Baillie in a monographic fashion. In 2006 and 2007 she published two substantial articles on Baillie’s life and works in which she has tried to identify his artistic background, his relationship with Lord Bute and Nathaniel Hone, and his shift to working after Rembrandt.²

Rembrandt’s work was especially significant to Baillie and others in the mid to late eighteenth-century. The Dutch artist’s paintings had begun to arrive in England in the early part of the century, but the years from 1750 to 1780 saw a surge of engravers using his works and style.³ Because of the growth of England's economy, sale of Dutch collections, and contemporary literature, Rembrandt quickly became an icon for artists and collectors. Nesta Butler further suggests that the first publication of Rembrandt’s catalogue raisonné in 1752 by Edme-François Gersaint (1694-1750) also contributed to this movement as it presented his complete oeuvre to an educated audience.⁴

Baillie’s own prints have been published several times and were first made available as early as 1766. The noteworthy print publisher John Boydell (1720-1804) further issued his albums in 1792 and 1803, with copies currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, the rare books room in the University of Chicago, and the Fitzwilliam Museum in the United Kingdom. Numerous impressions of his etchings are held worldwide in these institutions as well as the British Museum in London, the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, the Rijksmuseum

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² Butler completed a dissertation, “William Baillie (1723-1810): Printmaker, Connoisseur and Dealer,” for the University College Dublin, though I have been, as of yet, unable to access it.

In addition to being an artist, Baillie was a key player in affecting eighteenth-century taste. He was a buyer for renowned collectors such as John Stuart, the Third Earl of Bute (1713-1792), and was a constant attendee at London auctions. Baillie was active in collecting prints by Rembrandt for his own collection and he came to own three of the master’s original copper plates. These included that of *The Hundred Guilder Print*, a portrait of Jan Uytenbogaert known as *The Goldweigher*, and a portrait of the Mennonite preacher, *Cornelis Anslo*. Around 1763 Baillie purchased a painting that was believed to a portrait of Rembrandt’s father. Despite losing this attribution in the early twentieth-century, this was important to Baillie’s career because it would have not only added value to his collection, but also helped to establish to his reputation in London. Baillie soon became an authority on prints and his activities and dealings as a connoisseur prompted many to seek his opinion with regards to their own collections.5

Equally significant was that Baillie was working after Rembrandt as early as 1758. While he was not the first to do this, the 1750s was a transitional period when working from Rembrandt became especially popular in London. In addition, Baillie often included his own personal touch to his prints that transformed the meaning of Rembrandt’s images.

He frequently added Classical and dedicatory inscriptions to his copies of Rembrandt’s work and, in the case of The Hundred Guilder Print, he dissected the plate into four pieces and altered the image considerably.

This paper will begin by exploring the cultural context behind the Rembrandt revival in the eighteenth-century by looking at early literature from the end of the seventeenth-century, early collectors, and the arrival of Rembrandt’s art to England. Chapter two will consist of a biography of Baillie’s life and education and an explanation of his first artworks before his transition to working after Rembrandt and other artists. This section will include Baillie’s works generally from 1758 through the 1760s, especially his laborious execution of numerous states of The Three Trees, copied directly from Rembrandt. Chapter three concerns a print recently gifted to James Madison University of an old, bearded man after a Rembrandt painting dating from 1659. This print includes a Latin inscription from the ancient Roman poet Horace and raises the issue of Baillie’s addition of quotes to a number of Rembrandt etchings. Chapter four will center on The Hundred Guilder Print and Baillie’s efforts with the plate as well as an earlier copy of Rembrandt’s image by English artist Thomas Worlidge (1700-1766). As Baillie was not alone in his admiration for Rembrandt, this thesis will conclude with an account of other collectors, artists, and dealers Baillie was closely associated with, and a summation of his place in this circle.
Chapter 1: The Developing Taste for Rembrandt in Eighteenth-Century London

Numerous factors must be considered in understanding the trend of British collectors and artists working after Rembrandt and the Dutch school. According to Anne Meadows, who, in the mid to late 1980s, studied British collecting of Dutch art, the primary supply of paintings to England from 1696-1697 was Holland and it was not until 1698 when imports from Italy began to arrive. An important factor that influenced the collecting of Dutch art in eighteenth-century England was the boost in the economy in the years after 1700. Meadows cites agriculture, trade, and international and domestic exports as reasons for economic growth during this time, which she reasons increased the demand for imported art works, especially those by Old Masters. The number of foreign paintings imported to England grew substantially by 1720 and was further heightened after 1740 with imports of Dutch art increasing as early as 1715.

With regards to Rembrandt, who died in 1669, his reputation had been established in Europe as early as 1700, though there was little activity yet in England. Writers such as Roger de Piles (1635-1709) and Richard Graham (c.1680-1720) published accounts of Rembrandt but among the earliest substantial writing about the artist was a publication by Jonathan Richardson the Elder (1665-1745), entitled An Essay on the Theory of Painting dating from 1715. Richardson was an influential portraitist and writer and in a later

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10 White, Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England, 4. Roger de Piles published Abrégé de la vie des peintres in Paris, 1669. Richard Graham’s second edition of his The Art of Painting first published in 1695 and reissued in 1716. It was not until the second volume that he mentioned Rembrandt and the entry is minimal. White states
edition of his *Essay* dating from 1725, Rembrandt is listed as a master along with Raphael and Rubens. Richardson praises his composition, his veritable skill in presenting certain subject matter (he cites *The Hundred Guilder Print* as an example) and notes his, “ability to represent what cannot be described.”

Richardson was also an early collector and the posthumous sale of his property in 1747 included over 100 drawings by Rembrandt. Additionally, during the late 1730s Richardson had taken up printmaking and Ellen D’Oench writes that some of his work, “suggest[s] the spirit, if not the quality, of Rembrandt,” though he was not necessarily working as a copyist.

In the 1720s and 30s several sales increased the demand and competition for Rembrandt’s prints. As an example of eighteenth-century preference, Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745), who is considered the first British Prime Minister, bought *Abraham’s Sacrifice* by Rembrandt in 1736 to add to his collection of Dutch art. Most relevant to the growing trend in England was the 1734 sale in Amsterdam of the collection of Willem Six, the nephew of Rembrandt’s patron, Jan Six (1616-1700). Most of the Rembrandt pieces were purchased by Jacob Houbraken who, in 1748, sold them to the London-based artist Arthur Pond (1701-1758). D’Oench places Pond in the, “forefront of the Rembrandt movement,” because of his work as a printmaker, his fondness for Dutch prints, and the purchase of

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14 D’Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England*, 67. A sale in 1720 to Venetian collector, A.M. Zanetti, included 428 prints from a Dutch dealer, J. Pz. Zoomer. D’Oench says this spread “Rembrandtism” to Italy and would have later effects in France when the same collection was sold at the end of the 18th century. See Alison McQueen, *The Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt: Reinventing an Old Master in Nineteenth-Century France*, Amsterdam, 2003.
15 D’Oench, *Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England* 67. In 1634 Rembrandt painted a portrait of Six, who was an avid art collector, friend, and patron of the artist.
these Rembrandts.\textsuperscript{17} She further credits him with introducing the use of drypoint etching, frequently employed by Rembrandt, to England in the late 1730s. By 1756 Pond sold his Rembrandts to Sir Edward Astley who resold the collection in 1760 and thereby, “released into the market place in London the treasures of the Six collection.”\textsuperscript{18} By 1752 in his publication of Rembrandt’s catalogue raisonné, Gersaint confirmed that the artist’s works were being sold at the highest of prices.\textsuperscript{19}

D’Oench notes that it is important to realize that the trend of collecting and working after Rembrandt grew rapidly, there was still much debate about Rembrandt’s talents and many had yet to recognize the masterfulness of his work. The artist’s nudes were especially criticized, as was the, “vulgarity,” of some of his subject matter.\textsuperscript{20} She argues that the growth of connoisseurship in the eighteenth century was a major contributing factor for the newfound interest in print collecting as many took pleasure in searching for art rather than artifact and to become a ‘specialist,’ as encouraged by Gersaint.\textsuperscript{21} As gentlemen turned into connoisseurs and frequently amateur artists, the years from 1750 to 1780 ultimately saw a surge of engravers using Rembrandt’s works and style and in 1747 the first example of a British print after his work was done by an engraver named Pieter van Bleek.\textsuperscript{22} Additionally, as David Alexander argues, prints were quickly becoming popular as a means of distributing information as well as relatively inexpensive decoration for those who could not afford paintings, particularly those done by old masters such as Rembrandt.\textsuperscript{23}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{17} D’Oench, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 67.\\
\textsuperscript{18} D’Oench, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 67.\\
\textsuperscript{19} D’Oench, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 68.\\
\textsuperscript{20} D’Oench, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 68.\\
\textsuperscript{21} D’Oench, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 68.\\
\textsuperscript{22} Alexander, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 49. Van Bleek engraved a copy of Rembrandt’s self-portrait painting dating from 1634.\\
\textsuperscript{23} Alexander, \textit{Rembrandt in 18th Century England}, 46.
\end{flushright}
quantify the extent to which Rembrandt’s prints were sought after, D’Oench observes that, “from 1748 until about 1790, amateurs and professionals produced copies of nearly a third of Rembrandt’s graphic work, including nearly all of his landscapes.”

One of the most influential London based artists working after Rembrandt in the mid eighteenth-century was the printmaker and painter, Thomas Worlidge. Worlidge’s reputation as an artist was so distinguished that he was said to have been called the, “English Rembrandt.” His prints and paintings were rumored to have been frequently mistaken for authentic Rembrandt’s, and were often marketed as such. Worlidge executed numerous drypoint etchings in the early 1750s with many being direct copies, while others were in the manner of Rembrandt. D’Oench argues that, “Worlidge so thoroughly identified his work with that of Rembrandt that he was seen as the single most active figures in the Rembrandt revival in eighteenth-century England.” Sir Edward Astley was a friend and patron of Worlidge, who etched a print of Astley as Jan Six, after Rembrandt, in 1762. Among Worlidge’s most well-known works is his copy of Rembrandt’s famed Hundred Guilder Print (Christ Preaching) in 1758, seventeen years before the same image was reworked by Captain Baillie.

While prints and printmaking were a prominent focus of British collectors during this time, Rembrandt’s portraiture, especially his self-portraits, were of particular importance to painters and another artist of immense influence was Sir Joshua Reynolds (1723-1792). In 1740 Reynolds worked under the portrait painter Thomas Hudson. 
1779) who was previously apprenticed to Jonathan Richardson. Like Richardson, Hudson was a collector of Rembrandt’s paintings and drawings, which Reynolds would have been able to study from.\textsuperscript{29} Reynolds moved to London in 1753 and later became the first president of the Royal Academy in 1768. Having gone on the Grand Tour, he was widely known for his works that reflect the Italian school and the aesthetics of Neo-Classicism as well as for his regular emulation of the Old Masters, which certainly heightened his status. Reynolds became a keen collector of Old Master prints, canvases, and drawings, owning numerous pieces by Rembrandt including the 1647 painting, \textit{Susanna and the Elders}.

In his \textit{Discourses} Reynolds promotes the act of imitating these artists with Rembrandt being no exception.\textsuperscript{30} White argues that Reynolds, “succeeded Rembrandt as the most regular portrayer of himself,” having been notably influenced by the master’s style of brushwork.\textsuperscript{31} Reynolds executed a \textit{Self-Portrait} c.1751 that, through the use of contrast and shading, is a distinct copy of Rembrandt’s style, though the specific painting it is after is unknown and it may be a reflection of several of Rembrandt’s pieces.\textsuperscript{32} Reynolds’ later \textit{Self-Portrait} dating from c.1775 [Fig. 1] is also among his most definitive efforts to replicate the self-portraits popularized by Rembrandt. His pose, dark tones, and use of light all recall Rembrandt’s style. Most significantly Reynolds emulated the physical characteristics of Rembrandt’s face and jaw, in order to paint himself with the master’s features. Reynolds copied at least five paintings directly after Rembrandt and White notes that, “the period of

\textsuperscript{29} White, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 32. Baillie printed an etching and mezzotint copy of Rembrandt’s drawing of \textit{The Entombment} when it was in the collection of Thomas Hudson. The precise date of the etching is unknown though it is sometime before 1773.

\textsuperscript{30} Reynolds’ \textit{Discourses on Art} was delivered at the opening of the Royal Academy on January 2, 1769, and subsequently through 1790.


\textsuperscript{32} White, \textit{Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England}, 34.
maximum influence [for Reynolds] lasts from the 1740s up to the mid 1770s.”

33 This serves as a noteworthy example of the trend that is further epitomized by Captain Baillie.

Irish-born artist Nathaniel Hone (1718-1784), who was a close companion to Baillie and a formally trained portrait painter, had several occasions to interact with Reynolds. In fact, Hone’s 1775 satirical painting *The Conjurer* [Fig. 2] was considered to be a direct criticism of Reynolds. This painting was rejected by the Royal Academy in 1775 because it was deemed offensive on several accounts. The young girl lying on the man’s knee is reported to Angelica Kauffman, a female member of the Academy and the purported lover of Reynolds, while the old conjurer is meant to be Reynolds himself. The fire in the scene is being fueled by various Old Master prints that based on his paintings, Hone knew Reynolds had drawn from. As a whole, Hone’s piece is a criticism of Reynolds’ practice of consistently replicating elements of Old Master artworks.

Interestingly, Hone’s critiques of Reynolds’ copying from the masters did not extend to his close friend Captain Baillie and it is not clear if there was any professional relationship between Reynolds and Baillie. Reynolds exhibited at the Society of Artists annually from its opening in 1760 until 1768, with the exception being 1767. Baillie was a regular honorary exhibitor and presented his work on thirteen different occasions from 1762 to 1776. Given Reynolds’ celebrity, their common years exhibiting at the Society, and Reynolds’ contentious relationship with Hone, Baillie was probably familiar with his work and likely had made his acquaintance. Reynolds’ contributions to painting in Britain are undeniable and many eighteenth-century printmakers even took to copying these modern works. Although Reynolds may not have had direct influence on the Captain, his collection

and promotion and use of the ‘Rembrandtesque’ style was part of the larger movement that contributed to the trend taken up simultaneously by artists and collectors like Baillie. Captain Baillie was quick to pick up on this development and was undoubtedly influenced by Worlidge and probably indirectly by Reynolds. Baillie spent time early on stationed in Holland and Germany during his military assignments which may he influenced his proclivity towards Dutch art later in his career. He started drawing early in the 1750s and by 1758 was working after Rembrandt. Notations written in Baillie’s copy of Pilkington’s Dictionary of Art indicate his opinions and thoughts on Rembrandt and his work. This book was a part of Baillie’s personal library and in it he, “empha[zed] Rembrandt’s originality and his prowess in printmaking.” Additionally, his notes express admiration for The Hundred Guilder Print, which he would later reprint, but he is sometimes critical of some of Rembrandt’s painting styles, which he also discusses in the notes. Butler stresses that, “For Baillie and many other artists of the period, Rembrandt’s etchings probably outshone his paintings,” which highlights a further explanation for the growing printmaking trend in England.

Chapter 2: Baillie’s Early Interest in Rembrandt: The Three Trees in 1758

Captain Baillie was a significant figure in mid-eighteenth century London. He was born on June 5, 1723, in Kilbride, in County Carlow, Ireland.\textsuperscript{37} He received an education in the liberal arts by a Dr. Thomas Sheridan in Dublin and in 1738 was attending the prestigious Trinity College, also in Dublin.\textsuperscript{38} By May of 1742 Baillie had left Ireland for England and was enrolled in Middle Temple in London under the direction of his father, Robert Baillie, to pursue a career in law.\textsuperscript{39} Shortly after, in 1744, Baillie decided to instead seek a military career and signed with the Somerset Light Infantry.\textsuperscript{40} By 1750, around age 27, Baillie first began drawing and making art while enlisted. In 1751 he transferred to the 51\textsuperscript{st} regiment and was awarded the title of Captain; he retired in 1761 as a member of the 18\textsuperscript{th} Light Dragoons.\textsuperscript{41} From 1773 to 1795 Baillie served as Commissioner of Stamps and sometime after the age of 70 he married a German woman with whom he had four children.\textsuperscript{42} At the age of 87, he died on December 22, 1810, at his London home in Lison Grove, Paddington, Middlesex, where he spent the last half of his life.\textsuperscript{43}

Baillie’s skills as an artist developed over time and there is little record of him having any formal art education. Early on, he may have learned some skills in cartography and topography at the Royal Military College in Woolwich, London. Baillie’s first artworks date from the early 1750s and were mostly simple works of landscapes and military

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{39} J. C. “Captain Baillie,” 1.
\bibitem{40} There is some discrepancy on the dates; the Oxford dictionary says that Baillie began Middle Temple in 1742 but H. P. Rossiter says in his article for the Boston Museum of Fine Arts that Baillie had already joined the infantry by 1742. France declared war on England in 1744.
\bibitem{42} Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston,” 32.
\bibitem{43} Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston,” 32.
\end{thebibliography}
figures. It was not until the late 1750s and early 1760s that Baillie shifted his interest to Rembrandt. Before this change are some early works including a drawing, *Ruin on St. Catherine’s Hill near Guildford* from 1750. [Fig. 3] Upon completion of this piece he sent it to John Stuart, the Third Earl of Bute, along with a letter as a means of introducing himself.  

Stuart was the first Scottish Prime Minister who had studied in Leiden and became an avid art collector. Baillie would later become an influential buyer for Stuart, who would come to own an important collection that included some of the greatest Dutch and Flemish masterpieces.

Baillie’s first etchings date from 1753 and show his developing skills as a printmaker. They include amateurish military portraits of a *Grenadier John Golding* and of a *Corporal Jones*. The print of Jones is an etching with pen, and written in ink reads, “WBaillie delt. & Sculpsit 1753.” [Fig. 4] Baillie did an additional topographical drawing, *A Temporary Hospital near Gosport* which he dated “Anno, 1755,” and Butler describes this and the *Ruin on St. Catherine’s Hill* as having, “hints of the picturesque.” In regards to these early scenic works, Baillie was said to frequently take evening strolls and when asked about this habit he replied, “Sir, I have been reading Nature.” In 1757 Baillie etched a scene recalling his regiment’s participation in the Rochefort expedition that depicts ships at

46 An impression of this print is in the British Museum which notes that, in addition to Baillie’s signature, reads in ink, “Corporal Jones, of Coll. Jones’s Company, 13th Regt. drawn by Lt. Wm. Baillie, whilst on a recruiting Party, at Worcester, in the Year 1753,” and on the back, “Mem. This was a Present to me, from Captain Baillie, on his Quitting the Stamps was his earliest Performance, and is now one of the scarcest of his Works. James Bindley - Stamps Office London Jany. 1. 1796.”
sea and is inscribed with the phrase, “Militia est potior, drawn on [ye] secret expedition.” Slightly later he printed a stormy scene in his, *Seascape Dedicated to Admiral Anson*, from c.1760 that is typical of his early works.

The specific time frame when Baillie transitioned to working after Rembrandt is important because it was relatively early. Nesta Butler suggests that c.1758-1760 is when Baillie’s interests in military subjects and nostalgic landscapes largely shifted toward the trend of using works copied after or in the style of Rembrandt and the Dutch school. Ellen D’Oench claims that Baillie’s first work after Rembrandt was his *Abraham and Isaac* dating from 1755, included in Baillie’s album published in 1792 now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This date is problematic because Butler argues that Baillie largely shifts his focus to Rembrandt by 1758 with his earliest attempt being his copy of *The Three Trees*. Inventories of Baillie’s oeuvre, the one by Charles le Blanc, date Baillie’s *Abraham and Isaac* to 1765. This is recorded on an impression of the print in the British Museum where Baillie lettered, “And Isaac said, Behold the Fire & the Wood: But where is the Lamb for a Burnt-offering? W Baillie invt. & Sculpt 1765,” which clearly dates the piece to 1765. For this print Baillie copied only the theme of *Abraham and Isaac* from Rembrandt as his depiction of Abraham is very different and the composition is awkward. [Fig. 6] The image

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49 Butler, “William Baillie: a many of many parts,” 171. The Rochefort expedition was an attempt by the British to capture the French port of Rochefort in 1757 during the Seven Years War.
54 Baillie executed more than one version of *Abraham and Isaac* and D’Oench may be referring to an earlier print found only in Baillie’s 1792 album. I have not had the opportunity to access Baillie’s album that contains this print.
is rudimentary and indicates Baillie’s status as an amateur printmaker in the early years of his career.

Most notably from 1758 is Baillie’s copy of Rembrandt’s scene of Amsterdam’s countryside, *The Three Trees*, etched in 1643.\(^\text{55}\) [Fig. 7] Baillie may have been influenced to turn to Rembrandt by Worlidge who, by this time, had been devotedly working after the Dutch master. Baillie executed this print in six different states that were progressively more dramatic and his efforts were met with disapproval. Perhaps Baillie’s harshest critic was John Thomas (JT) Smith (1766-1833), Keeper of Prints in the British Museum in the early nineteenth century, who described Baillie’s plate of *The Three Trees* as “execrable.”\(^\text{56}\)

The direction of Baillie’s image indicates he was not printing from the original Rembrandt plate; he may have owned a copy of the print or was referencing the image from another source, possibly an impression in the possession of one of his contemporary collectors.

The British Museum owns several states of Baillie’s print. In the first, the sky is largely empty, as it exists prior to the addition of the clouds as well as a signature. The second state exhibits a less vacant sky and includes the words, “Capt. W. Baillie fecit 1758,” at center left of the plate.\(^\text{57}\) [Fig. 8] By the third state Baillie added mezzotint and plate tone, which leaves a thin layer of ink on the paper, and, in this case, alludes to an impending storm. Not satisfied with clouds alone, Baillie dramatized the fourth and fifth states by adding the infamous lightning bolts. These states further include the techniques of drypoint and roulette. Baillie added one bolt of striking lighting to the fourth state and a second to


\(^{57}\) Using the Latin ‘fecit’ was a common way of using the past tense ‘made’ or ‘did’ when referring to an artwork.
the fifth, along with his initials “W.B.” at center left. [Fig. 9] The Rijksmuseum has an impression that Baillie printed on what is described as ‘red-orange prepared paper.’ There is no explanation as to which state the museum believes this to be, but it is likely a printing of the sixth state because it depicts additional bolts of lightning as compared to the fifth.

Considering the date of 1758, these prints predate the Romantic tendency toward drama and the sublime. It is surprising that Baillie added elements such as storm clouds and lightning bolts in a scene that is more typical of works by artists such as the English Romantic, Joseph Turner (1775-1851). It can be suggested that a potential influence behind Baillie’s aesthetic decision may have been Dutch landscape painter Jan van Goyen (1596-1656) who frequently painted scenes exhibiting stormy weather. Van Goyen lived and worked in The Hague, in the Netherlands, where Baillie spent time during his military residence. It is possible Baillie may have seen some of van Goyen’s work, especially his painting *Stormy Landscape with a Lightning Bolt over the Haarlemer Meer* from 1642. [Fig. 10] This painting depicts ships at sea under a stormy sky with several bolts of lightning coming from the clouds. Baillie’s seascape from 1760 recalls van Goyen’s image and while etching *The Three Trees*, he may have borrowed this idea from themes seen in this and other Dutch seascapes and transferred them to Rembrandt’s landscape. From his time spent in Holland and Germany, Baillie was probably familiar with artists such van Goyen and Salomon van Ruysdael (1600-1670), another popular Dutch landscape artist, which may further explain his interest in Rembrandt.58

58 Butler notes that Baillie sold a Ruysdael landscape to Nathaniel Hone c. 1776-1781 confirming he was familiar with Ruysdael’s work. While this was much later than his printing of *The Three Trees*, Baillie was probably aware of Ruysdael even as early as 1758.
The Three Trees was Rembrandt’s largest landscape print and Baillie was among several British artists who copied this work. These include James Hazard (1748-1787), James Bretherton (unknown-1799) and Rev. Richard Byron (1724-1811). Hazard executed his copy sometime after 1763 according to the British Museum. The etched sky in Hazard’s scene is darker than Rembrandt’s and Baillie’s first states and D’Oench criticizes the texture of the trees, accurately describing them as ‘unconvincing.’ [Fig. 11] Hazard was among the English collectors who owned a substantial amount of Rembrandt’s work.

Bretherton also produced a later version c. 1775 now the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, and D’Oench considers this to be a well-done copy. Rev. Richard Byron (1724-1811) printed an impression now currently in the Philadelphia Museum of Art, and the image is, like Rembrandt’s, executed in etching and drypoint though it is lighter in tone and exhibits a calmer sky. The date is not certain for this print but D’Oench indicates Byron was not active as an artist until around 1775 meaning this version would have been much later than Baillie’s. Baillie is the only artist to produce his copy in reverse and the only to produce states with increasingly dramatic scenes, including the lightning bolts. These artists were working around the same general time period though all produced their versions later than Baillie and it is unclear if any of them may have been familiar with Baillie’s early efforts. Still, this further indicates the presence and influence of Rembrandt’s work in eighteenth-century England.

Further prints exhibit Baillie’s new emphasis on Rembrandt including a landscape that also signifies another source of education he received. Among these early prints is his 1761 Shell etching copied from Rembrandt’s 1650 print, and an etching dating from 1760

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59 D’Oench, Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England, 89.
of a landscape with a tree stump. This landscape, *Tacet et Loquitur*, [Fig. 12] indicates that he acquired some art training from his contemporary and fellow Irishman, Nathanial Hone. Hone was also present in the London art market and received more formal art training than Baillie, which allowed him to educate his friend in printmaking as well as have a career as a miniaturist and portrait painter. Baillie acknowledged this training in an inscription written in Italian below the image that translates, “From a drawing by Rembrandt in the collection of Mr. Hone, this etching is given in recognition of the instruction received from him and dedicated to him by his sincere friend…” While Baillie and Hone believed this print to be by Rembrandt, Meyer attributes it to Philips Konink (1619-1688) another Dutch printmaker.\(^6\)

Baillie was similarly mistaken when he purchased what he believed to be a portrait of Rembrandt’s father around 1763. [Fig. 13] Currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, this painting was discredited as a Rembrandt in the 1940s and is now considered an imitation dating from the eighteenth-century.\(^6\) John Greenwood, an American artist and collector who was also employed by the Earl of Bute, executed a mezzotint of this painting in two states. On the back of one impression reads, “Rembrandt’s father J. Greenwood fecit 1764, from original in possession of W. Baillie.” Baillie subsequently made an engraving of the painting and despite these misattributions, these examples provide evidence that Baillie was shifting his artistic focus and early collecting habits towards the style of Rembrandt and the Dutch school.

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\(^6\) The inscription reads: “Dal Disegno originale di Rembrandt nel Museo del Signore Hone, a Qui questa Intagliatura in Ricogocenza delle Instruzioni di Lui ricevuti e Dedicata per il suo Amico sincero WBaillie Capitano nel Regno 51o di SMB.” Translation courtesy of Dr. Kathleen Arthur, James Madison University.


Chapter 3: Transforming Rembrandt: The Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus) in 1761

A Baillie print, described in an early catalogue from 1803 by John Boydell, lists an etching by the Captain, “Dilator spe lentus,” from 1761 that is an important example of his approach to Rembrandt. This print was recently given to the Madison Art Collection at James Madison University in 2012 and is a small drypoint etching dated 1761 that is after a 1659 Rembrandt painting currently in the collection of Linda and Daniel Bader of Milwaukee.63 The untitled painting measures 38.1 by 26.8 and depicts the head and bust of a bearded old man done in oil on panel. [Fig. 14] While the identity of the old man in not certain, portraiture was a common theme in Rembrandt’s oeuvre. This painting was done later in Rembrandt’s life during a time when the subject of old men became particularly common to his work. However, this piece has a slightly different aura from many of his portraits. David de Witt describes the painting as, “pensive and somber,”64 and the distant look on the man’s face suggests distant and spiritual concerns. As an example of his later work with its looser brush strokes, lighting and pose of the subject, de Witt compares this

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63 David de Witt, The Bader Collection, (Kingston, Ontario: The Anges Etherington Art Center, 2008): 266-267. De Witt’s discussion in the catalogue of the Bader collection on the 1659 Old Man painting by Rembrandt is ambiguous in its reference to prints that are after it. De Witt cites an etching done by Baillie in 1761 inscribed as after the Italian Baroque painter Salvator Rosa (1615-1673), as a copy after this painting. While Baillie did engrave a print after Rosa, it was slightly later in 1763 and the print after Rosa depicts an old man with a stick or sword-hilt (now in the Met) and is not after the particular Rembrandt painting in question. De Witt does not reference the correct Baillie print of the Old Man currently in the Madison Art Collection at James Madison University. The print is listed in Boydell’s 1803 Catalogue, (An Alphabetical Catalogue of Plates Engraved by the most Esteemed Artists of the Italian, Flemish, German, French, English, and Other Schools. London: W. Bulmer and Co. Cleveland-Row, St. James’s) as by Baillie after Rembrandt, number 32, “Dilator spe lentus,” and in the catalogue of Huber & Martini from 1808 (Manuel des curieux et des amateurs de l’art. Tome Nuevieme. Zurich: Orell Füssli), as number 70, “Vieillard à mi-corps, la tête avec beaucoup de cheveux crépus, une grande barbe carreé, et les mains dans les manches de sa robe de chamber, avec l’inscription: Dilator spe lentus iners etc. 1771.” The date is incorrectly labeled as 1771. The print is later listed in Charles le Blanc’s 1854 catalogue: number 89, “Un Viellard à mi-corps: P. Rembrandt. Haut. 131 millim. Larg. 106. 1761. P. grav. en man. noi., avec cette inscr.: Dilator, spe lentus, iners, pavidus q; futuri; Difficilis, querulous. –1er état: avant la date 1761, a la suite du monogr. –2 : avec la date, mais avant le nom de Rembrandt sous ce monogr. et cette date.”

64 De Witt, The Bader Collection, 266.
painting to Rembrandt’s *St. Matthew and the Angel* from 1661.\(^{65}\) [Fig. 15] The old man and St. Matthew appear strikingly similar, have the same contemplative expression, and the comparison implies that this may well be a depiction of the saint.

The many catalogues of Rembrandt’s etchings, especially those detailing prints done in and after 1659, do not indicate that he made an engraving of this particular image.\(^{66}\) As an eager admirer and collector it is evident why Baillie chose to engrave this image, though it is not certain exactly where he viewed Rembrandt’s piece. Two other versions of the painting exists but it is believed that Baillie saw this specific work in the collection of Sir John Clerk (1676-1755) of Penicuik, Mavisbank, Midlothian, Scotland, as the painting was recorded there by 1740, several years before the start of Baillie’s military and art career.\(^{67}\) There is proof Baillie visited this area from his 1762 wash drawing of *Pentland Hills Near Edinburgh, Drawn from Inverask* (now Inveresk). Inveresk, Scotland, is less than fifteen miles from the town of Penicuik and it is possible Baillie spent time in Penicuik (Mavisbank) in 1761 prior to this drawing. Baillie most likely knew Clerk and was given access to his collection in Mavisbank. The painting remained in the Clerk family until 1909 when it traveled to London. It was subsequently noted in various collections in London, Berlin, The Hague, and New York until it returned to London and was purchased at Christies by Alfred Bader in April of 1993.\(^{68}\) Alfred Bader gave this piece to his son Daniel Bader of Milwaukee, where it remains today.

\(^{65}\) De Witt, *The Bader Collection*, 266.
\(^{68}\) De Witt, *The Bader Collection*, 266.
The three versions of Rembrandt’s painting all vary slightly. In addition to the piece in the Bader collection, one is in The Hague, in the Netherlands, while the other is in private collection in Miami Beach.69 A 1992 catalogue from The Hague contains a small image of its version showing the same old man. In this case, his head is facing forward and is not in a tilted slant as the Bader version, and it lacks the depiction of the man’s chest and arms. The painting in Miami Beach is formerly from the collection of Sir William van Horne (1843-1915) of Montreal.70 An inventory of van Horne’s home and property after his death contains an image of this version. Like the edition in The Hague, it too shows the old man with his head in a more vertical position and lacks the chest and arms, but his face appears to have more concern in the eyes and forehead. The inventory attributes the painting to Rembrandt and lists it simply as, “Old Man.”71 Despite the similarities among the three paintings, given its location in Scotland in the mid-eighteenth-century and its distinct features, especially the presence of the chest and arms, it is presumed that the Old Man currently in the Bader collection is the version from which Baillie drew.72

Baillie’s print exists in three different states according to J. Meyer’s encyclopedia. Detailed by Meyer, the first state is etching only and includes an inscription and Baillie’s monogram. The second has the date added and is etching and drypoint while the third has Rembrandt’s name added and is also etching with drypoint.73 Many of Baillie’s prints,

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69 De Witt, The Bader Collection, 266.
70 De Witt, The Bader Collection, 266.
72 There is evidence (see H. P. Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston”) that Baillie visited The Hague in 1763 as an agent for the Earl of Lonsdale, James Lowther, and while the Old Man in the Hague was recorded there by 1647, the version now in Milwaukee is visually much more similar to Baillie’s print from 1761.
including this in its first state, are currently owned by the British Museum however, they also own a copy that is catalogued by Meyer as an “undescribed state” rather than a fourth state. This state is a first proof with no signatures or text. The print belonging to the Madison Art Collection is in the third state. [Fig. 16]

Baillie added inscriptions to many of his prints and below the Old Man is a quote in Latin taken from the ancient Roman poet Horace’s, *Ars Poetica* (*The Art of Poetry*), written c. 20 B.C.E.\(^74\) It reads, “Dilator, spe lentus, iners, pavidusq; future; Difficili, querulous.” Translations of Horace’s work by Rev. Philip Francis in 1747 and Rev. J. S. Henslow in 1843, both of London, offer similar meanings. The quote comes at the end of a verse that concludes several passages that carry the reader from childhood to old age. It describes an elderly man, “Fond of delay,” and, “of very faint hope...[he is] fearful of th’[e] approaching hour; morose, complaining...Talking the manners of their youthful Days.”\(^75\) In his notes, Francis explains that, “Hope[s] can only agree with our younger years, for old Age is more confined...Fears and Apprehensions of the Future, that usually attend old Age, are quite unknown to Youth.”\(^76\) As a comment on the passage of time, Baillie’s addition of this inscription is perfectly suiting to the somber and contemplative nature of the figure as the concerns are easily read on the old man’s face.

Also in 1761 Baillie executed a print of an *Old Man in Profile* after a lost Rembrandt painting.\(^77\) [Fig. 17] This print further indicates Baillie’s growing interest in Rembrandt and


his portraiture. The unidentified old man in this case is seen in profile and there are at least three different states of this print. Each depicts an elderly man with a full beard, wild hair, parted lips and with his eyes cast slightly upward. This is in opposition to the downcast eyes in the *Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus)* though both men exhibit concern and the wearing of time. One state of the print is dark and the man is shown wearing a coat or gown with a white collar showing. In another, the overall image is lighter and lacks the dark shading in the background and he wears a fur coat and a chain. The white collar is still visible. The British Museum indicates that these states are before the addition of Baillie’s monogram and the date, suggesting neither of these is the first state. Baillie did not add an inscription to this particular print.

Though Baillie did not include a quotation or inscription on his print of the *Old Man in Profile*, he chose to add two short lines to his impression of Rembrandt’s *The Goldweigher*, a depiction of Rembrandt’s contemporary, Jan Uytenbogaert, dating from 1639. [Fig. 18] The dating of this print is problematic. In 1762 Baillie exhibited five prints at the Society of Artists in London including an impression or a copy of *The Goldweigher*, according to Ellen D’Oench. Rembrandt’s plate remained in the family of Uytenbogaert until at least 1760 and Butler argues that Baillie probably had not purchased the plate by 1762. It is unknown if the print exhibited in 1762 was a copy or if Baillie was in possession of the plate at the time; the posthumous sale of his collection in 1811 indicated he did own a printing of *The Goldweigher* by Rembrandt. Both the British Museum and the Fitzwilliam date impressions of Baillie’s print much later to c. 1792 and c. 1800,

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respectively, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art credits him as only a publisher of the print.

This evidence suggests that in the 1760s he was working after an impression of the image, probably from his own collection, and that he did not acquire the plate until much later. The copper plate surfaced in London in 1929 and was promptly sold at Christie’s. It remained in the collection of Charles J. Rosenbloom of Pittsburgh until its bequest to the Israel Museum, Jerusalem, in 1974. [Fig. 19] Baillie owned three of Rembrandt’s original plates: The Goldweigher, Cornelis Claesz Anslo, and The Hundred Guilder Print. Hinterding suggests that Baillie likely sold or gave all his plates to the print publisher John Boydell though, of these three, that depicting Uyttenbogaert is the only one to have been located.

According to the British Museum, Uyttenbogaert was an art collector who knew Rembrandt and may have helped him financially around 1639; it is suggested that Rembrandt made this portrait as an expression of gratitude. As is the case with the Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus), Baillie added a Latin inscription below the image. Citing Horace again, it comes from Odes, II, 24, 63, and reads, “Scilicet improbae/ Crefennt divitae,” meaning, “Money, the root of ill, Doubt it not, still grows apace.”82 These inscriptions can be seen as comparable to the English artist William Hogarth (1697-1764), who is known for his moralistic subject matter, as both of Baillie’s inscriptions seem to be comments on morality and serve as warnings of the value of righteousness throughout one’s life.83

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83 The choice of poetry Baillie included on the Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus) along with the recurring theme of images of old men in 1761 might suggest a personal association. Though I have not yet found direct evidence regarding the relationship between Baillie and his father, he may have been influenced by his father’s financial ruin, illness and death in the same year.
Slightly later in 1765 Baillie executed a copy of a Rembrandt etching dating from 1646 of another old man with a long beard.\footnote{The British Museum has an impression of this print and dates it to 1761. Notes explain that the image has been trimmed with the inscription probably cut away.} [Fig. 20] He wears a dark robe and a flat hat and twists his hands together. Like many of Baillie’s etchings he signed his name, “W. Baillie f.1765,” added an inscription that reads, “Agli Dilitanti che anno il Sapere senza preguidizio Questa e dedicata.” In English this translates as, “This is dedicated to the Dilettantesi who have unbiased Knowledge.”\footnote{Translation courtesy of Dr. Kathleen Arthur, James Madison University.} This is similarly written in Italian, as was his print from 1760 dedicated to Nathanial Hone and his Seascape dedicated to Admiral Anson also c.1760. This inscription would have been a compliment and Baillie is possibly saying that collectors of Dutch art were ‘unbiased’ as compared to those favoring Italian art, which was a common preference in Europe at this time. Considering Baillie’s other uses of the Italian language, it seems he chose this when he was communicating to someone who was of a higher rank or social status than him or as a means to elevate the status of his work that was copied from the Dutch school.

Similarly in 1767 Baillie etched in three states \textit{L’Histoire Touchant} (A Touching Story) after a drawing by Rembrandt. It depicts a peasant cottage where a young man is seated before the fire reading to an old man and woman, possibly his parents. He added his monogram, dated it and included another inscription, this time in French. It reads, “Gravé d’un Dessein de Rembrandt dans le Cabinet de Monsr Dan: Neyman a Amsterdam,” meaning, “Engraved from a drawing by Rembrandt in the collection of my lord Dan. Neyman in Amsterdam.” Because Rembrandt did not include any such captions on his images replicated by Baillie, it is interesting to consider Baillie’s reasoning behind these
choices. Through his education at Trinity and extensive travels, Baillie was familiar with several languages including Italian, Latin, French and Greek, as seen in these inscriptions and others. These quotes transformed Rembrandt’s original images by giving them meaning through Classical additions as with *Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus)*, for example. It is likely that while at Trinity he studied the works of Horace, which may indicate why he returned to this subject matter during his artistic career. Additionally, reading Latin was especially common to the educated eighteenth-century gentleman and he may have chosen to include such inscriptions in order to appeal to the upper classes he was affiliated with or as another way to enhance the status of his etchings, especially those after Rembrandt during a time when the artist’s prints and paintings were becoming increasingly popular. Furthermore, as with the case of the use of Italian and French, Baillie seemed to employ different languages to appeal to different audiences and the use of the modern languages as opposed to Latin (in the latter examples) may be his way of appealing to different collectors.
Chapter 4: Captain Baillie and The Hundred Guilder Print

Baillie produced some of his most interesting works in the 1770s. Reminiscent of his early etching with exotic subject matter, Landscape with Ruined Temple and Oriental Figures from 1762, Baillie etched a reverse print in three states after a drawing by Flemish artist Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) entitled A Siamese Priest dating from 1774. [Fig. 21] At the top he inscribed, “In the collection of John Barnard, Esq.” and lettered below reads, “Arrived at the Court of Charles the 1st. as an attendant to the Ambassador of his Nation just as Rubens was preparing to leave England, however that Eminent Artist found time to make ye above describ’d Drawing,” with the date, May 1st. 1774.86 Interestingly, slightly later in June of 1774, Baillie etched a strikingly similar Korean Man, now in the Getty. [Fig. 22] This time Baillie credited the drawing to the collection of Ralph Willet (1719-1795), of Merly House in Dorset England, who was an avid collector of books and prints. On the top of the print Baillie etched, “In the collection of R:Willet, Esq.” and the Getty explains that this print would have been meant to promote Willet’s collection. Below the image is another inscription that, quite similarly to the first, reads, “The Siamese Ambassador Who attended The Court of K Charles the 1st. Rubens made the above describ’d Drawing just before he left England anno 1636.” Baillie then signed and dated his piece ‘WBaillie f June 17 1774.’ Baillie was, in both cases, mistaken in dating Rubens’ departure from England as it is proven he left six years earlier in 1630 and most likely created the drawing c.1617.87

These etchings are very similar especially in the costume the man wears but with slight differences, notably in the manner Baillie produced them and in the face of the exotic

86 John Barnard (1709-1784) owned an impressive collection of Old Master prints and drawings including over 450 pieces by Rembrandt.
looking man. In the etching from May Baillie used some color and the man has a long beard and fuller robe with more shadow behind him. The etching from June shows the man without a beard and he faces the viewer from a slightly different angle. It is unclear if Baillie was copying directly from a drawing in Barnard’s collection or another print after Rubens’ drawing. The Getty retains Rubens’ drawing formerly in the collection of Willet and it is nearly identical to the print Baillie etched in June of 1774 suggesting that, unless the drawing changed hands from Barnard to Willet by June, Barnard was not in possession of the original drawing in May of 1774.

By 1775 Baillie executed the piece he would become best known for: his reworking of Rembrandt’s plate of The Hundred Guilder Print (Christ Healing the Sick) dating from 1640. [Fig. 23] The consensus of Baillie’s efforts here were largely positive in Europe, despite some criticism. This was one of the most popular Rembrandt prints in the eighteenth-century due to its theme, large size and quality. Baillie was able to procure the plate owned by Rembrandt himself by purchasing it from American collector and dealer, John Greenwood, who had obtained it in Holland.88 In 1775 Baillie restored the badly worn plate, reworked it, and eventually cut it into four parts, probably to ensure the “exclusiveness” of the print.89 He printed the pieces individually, effectively altering the composition, and then sold impressions of the image in full as well as impressions of the fragments.90

90 Boydell’s catalogue from 1803 lists numbers 45-47, “Part of the Hundred Guilder; Two smaller Ditto,” and number 48, “Middle Part of the Hundred Guilder,” and the print in full, number 49, “The Hundred Guilder, original Plate. Not to be sold separate.”
This etching is commonly known as *The Hundred Guilder Print* but there are various competing narratives as to the reason for this name. One argument is simply that, given its quality, size, and popularity, Rembrandt sold this print for the price of one hundred guilders, a form of Dutch currency. Alternatively, White explains that this etching was first given this title in the early nineteenth-century by Parisian print connoisseur Pierre-Jean Mariette who in his, *Abecedario*, indicated that Rembrandt bought one of his own prints back for the price of one hundred guilders.\(^\text{91}\) Another interpretation is suggested by Gersaint who wrote that Rembrandt traded one impression for prints done by Marcantonio Raimondi (c.1480-c.1534).\(^\text{92}\) The Roman dealer with whom Rembrandt was making the exchange was seeking 100 guilders for the Marcantonio prints.\(^\text{93}\)

Baillie was not the first artist to use this Rembrandt image. In 1758 Thomas Worlidge executed at least two states of his version of *The Hundred Guilder Print*. [Fig. 24] Worlidge exhibited at the Free Society of Artists of Great Britain in 1765 and 1766, with the latter being the year of the exhibition of the print in question.\(^\text{94}\) Baillie too exhibited at the Society in 1766 (among other occasions) and undoubtedly saw Worlidge’s print. Given that Worlidge was working slightly earlier than Baillie and considering the former’s penchant for working after Rembrandt and his powerful role in inspiring interest in Rembrandt’s work in the eighteenth-century, Baillie was likely keen to follow in his footsteps. Worlidge’s version of *The Hundred Guilder Print* in 1766 was early in the start of Baillie’s artistic career and he would certainly have been aware of the print’s popularity. This would have led him


\(^{92}\) White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, 55. Marcantonio was an early 16\(^{\text{th}}\) century Italian engraver.

\(^{93}\) White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, 55.

to jump at the opportunity to purchase the plate, rework it, and sell impressions of the image in 1775.

Worlidge printed his second state on cream paper and an impression is currently in the Davison Art Center of Wesleyan University. Worlidge could have been in possession of Rembrandt’s copper plate as was the case later with Baillie, but records of the plate do not surface until Greenwood purchased it in Holland in 1775. A catalogue of the sale of Worlidge’s copper plates in 1780 lists The Hundred Guilder plate among those sold, indicating that the plate was of his own hand because Baillie was in possession of the original by 1775. Both Baillie’s and Worlidge’s prints are nearly identical in size and Worlidge’s execution of his print is in the same direction as the original. Worlidge was probably working after an impression of the print and etched his plate in reverse in order for the resulting print to face the same direction as it was when initially printed by Rembrandt.

D’Oench has suggested that Worlidge cut up his plate of the print though from a, “reverse copy of the plate.”95 Because there is at least one impression of his print (that in the Davison Art Center) facing the same direction as Rembrandt’s impressions, this indicates that he may have executed two plates, with one being reversed. If he then cut up this plate, the images printed from the fragments would be opposite of any printed from Worlidge’s first plate, or those printed by Rembrandt and Baillie.96 Baillie may have been aware that Worlidge dissected his plate into fragments. The 1780 sale of the Worlidge plates does not list fragments of the plates.

95 D’Oench, Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England, 95.
96 I was not able to locate any further information or images from the plate etched in reverse and then cut into fragments.
Ellen D’Oench further explains that Worlidge was noted for his etchings that exhibit distinct contrasts between light and dark which is evident in his print now in the Davison Art Center. The shapes and figures are more sharply defined in his print as compared to that of Rembrandt and Baillie. An example of the contrast of light and shade employed by Worlidge can be distinctly seen on the shadow cast on Christ’s robe from the man praying by His feet, though given the source of light streaming from the bottom right of the image, this cast shadow seems unrealistically placed. [See Fig. 23] This shadow is present in images printed by Rembrandt and does not necessarily represent an error by Worlidge. The larger shadow cast behind Christ is also present in all three artist’s images but Baillie seems to have dramatized it, possibly for the sake of the arched effect he would later add to the central fragment.

While this print it is regularly known as The Hundred Guilder Print, it is also identified in various forms by the subject: Christ preaching and healing the sick. The original Rembrandt print exists in four states and today the National Gallery of Art (Washington, D.C.) considers Baillie’s versions to be “reworked fragment[s].” Described in a poem on the back of one edition of the print, now in Paris, by Rembrandt’s contemporary, H. F. Waterloos, the subject of this complex image is suggested to be that of chapter 19 from the Gospel of St. Matthew. Rembrandt’s original image overlaps several instances from the Gospel.

After restoring the worn plate and printing it in full, Baillie cut it into four pieces of varied sizes. The large central portion, which he framed with an arch depicts the second

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98 White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, 56.
verse where Christ has arrived in Judaea with many of his followers who he then healed.99

[Fig. 25] Christ is seen as a commanding figure in the center with Peter on the left at his side. Peter attempts to hold back a mother and baby from Christ, who brushes Peter aside to allow the woman to come closer, having said, “Suffer little children, and forbid them not, to come unto me: for such is the kingdom of heaven.”100 Beside the mother is a well-dressed figure that White says is representative of a wealthy young man who, in verses 16-24, debates the challenge of renouncing his riches to follow Christ.101 Illustrated to Christ’s left is a group of the sick and frail who seek to be healed. Several kneel in prayer and many are too weak to stand including a woman who has fainted at Christ’s feet.

After initially making a vertical cut approximately one-third from the left edge of the plate, this scene (to the far right of Christ) was divided into two further sections. In the top corner Rembrandt depicted the Pharisees debating and, according to White, this represents verses 3-12 where the Pharisees attempted to engage Christ in a discussion of divorce.102 [Fig. 26] Baillie cut the plate just below the Pharisees resulting in a horizontal print that emphasizes this debate. In cutting the plate in this manner Baillie had to accommodate for some of the figures. Seen in Rembrandt’s full image, the head of an onlooker is visible just behind the Pharisees. Because of where he chose to cut the plate Baillie needed to etch in nearly half his body to included him in the central fragment.

In the foreground below the Pharisees is a well-dressed man with a cane. [Fig. 27] Rembrandt included a dog near the feet of the man that represents one of the two lines where Baillie cut the plate vertically. The head of the dog is visible in the fragment of the

99 White, Rembrandt as an Etcher, 56.
101 White, Rembrandt as an Etcher 56.
102 White, Rembrandt as an Etcher, 56.
man with a cane though half its body and hind legs are not present in the central fragment. Considering the worn state of the plate once it fell into Baillie's possession, the dog may have no longer been fully visible or Baillie may have deliberately removed it from the center scene.

At Christ's far left Rembrandt depicted more followers seeking to be in His presence including a sickly man in a wheelbarrow and a camel in the arched passageway behind these figures. [Fig. 28] The camel, White explains, probably represents the words spoken by Christ after the young man initially seen to His right had departed.⁹³ Christ said, “It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.” This recalls the inventive storytelling mastered by Rembrandt as he seamlessly overlapped the instances of chapter 19: the young man is facing this internal conflict but his subsequent departure is symbolically represented simultaneously.

The controversy surrounding this print should be defined in terms of its reception during Baillie’s lifetime and subsequent modern opinions. During the eighteenth-century it was largely well received. Influential Austrian art historian and critic, Johann Adam Bernhard Ritter von Bartsch (1757-1821) who was a contemporary of Baillie’s, described the piece as having a, “perfect composition, and he classified it as the fifth state of Rembrandt’s print.”⁹⁴ Bartsch further argued that, “only a very experienced connoisseur,” would be able to determine the difference between Rembrandt’s impressions and Baillie’s later work.⁹⁵ Other contemporary critics such as Strutt and Rogers were complimentary of

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⁹³ White, *Rembrandt as an Etcher*, 56.
Baillie’s work on this piece as well as The Goldweigher. Though never missing an opportunity to criticize Baillie, the aforementioned JT Smith was predictably not impressed with the outcome. Today scholars such as Ellen D’Oench point out the, “overly dramati[c],” light and shading, particularly behind the figure of Christ and she labels Baillie’s efforts with The Hundred Guilder Print as, “indicative of his utter ignorance of Rembrandt’s spirit and intent.” She is equally critical of his career as a whole and labels him as nothing more than a, “blatant...copyist.”

Not able to anticipate later critiques, Baillie marketed 100 impressions of the reworked print prior to the dissection of the plate. He sold regular impressions for five guineas and those on china paper sold for five and a half. Baillie even offered “advance subscription” orders of the print before he completed its restoration. Always up for experimentation, Baillie additionally printed this image (in full) and that of The Goldweigher, on silk.

In addition to selling his prints, Baillie was a regular honorary exhibitor at the Free Society of Artists of Great Britain. His first exhibition was in 1762 and included etchings typical of his early work: military and landscape scenes. Listed in the same year is an etching of The Goldweigher, “from Rembran[d]t,” though at this time it is unclear if Baillie

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111 Nicholas Stogdon, “Captain Baillie and “The Hundred Guilder Print,” Print Quarterly 13 (1996): 53. This article discusses the discovery of a printed “prospectus” that was glued to a framed impression of one of Baillie’s printings of The Hundred Guilder Print in Stogdon’s collection.
112 One of the impressions printed on silk was sold in 2013 at Sothebys.
had obtained the plate or was working from a printed impression.\textsuperscript{114} Baillie exhibited prints over the course of thirteen years at the Society with Rembrandt, Ostade and Dou being largely represented.\textsuperscript{115} In 1776 Baillie participated in his last exhibition with impressions of \textit{The Hundred Guilder Print}. He exhibited together the print in it its state before the restoration and after his reworking.\textsuperscript{116} Considering how worn the plate was by the time it came into Baillie's possession, it is easy to see why many of his contemporaries believed this to be an improvement.

The National Gallery of Art in Washington D.C. owns three of the four fragments printed by Baillie with the exception being the scene to Christ's left with the camel. The British Museum retains an impression of this fragment. The dissected pieces of Rembrandt's plate have not been located. Hinterding suggests that these plates and that of \textit{Cornelis Anslo} and \textit{The Goldweigher}, both also owned by Baillie, were probably sold to John Boydell.\textsuperscript{117} Of the three, \textit{The Goldweigher} is the only plate with known whereabouts and is now in the Israel Museum of Jerusalem. Boydell was a print publisher and a member of the group of London printmakers and collectors that closely surrounded Baillie in the eighteenth-century. Boydell published Baillie's full works in 1792 and again in 1803. Baillie's collection was sold posthumously at Christie's of London in 1811 and included thirty-six Rembrandt prints though no copper plates.

Rembrandt's plates have passed through numerous hands starting most notably with Clement de Jonghe (1624/5-1677) who was a well-established publisher in

\textsuperscript{114} Graves, \textit{The Society of Artists of Great Britain}, 18.
\textsuperscript{115} Graves, \textit{The Society of Artists of Great Britain}, 18. Adriaen van Ostade (1610-1685) and Gerrard Dou (1613-1675) were Dutch Golden Age painters. Dou was a student in Rembrandt's studio.
\textsuperscript{116} Graves, \textit{The Society of Artists of Great Britain} 18.
\textsuperscript{117} Hinterding, "The History of Rembrandt's Copperplates," 272.
Amsterdam. De Jonghe’s inventories after his death indicated he owned 74 of Rembrandt’s copper plates.\textsuperscript{118} How he acquired the plates is unclear however Rembrandt etched De Jonghe’s portrait in 1651, though this plate was not among those listed in the sitter’s collection.\textsuperscript{119} The plates were subsequently seen in the collection of Pieter de Haan (1723-1766) of Amsterdam, and were sold on two more occasions and by the end of the eighteenth century, were in the possession of the Parisian collector Pierre-François Basan (1723-1797).\textsuperscript{120} Basan owned an impressive collection of copper plates and he published impressions from many of them. Among these is Rembrandt’s \textit{Faust} (\textit{Dr. Faustus}) dating from 1652. A reworked impression of the plate was recently on loan to James Madison University from private collection in Williamsburg, VA, and was probably done by Basan or his son, Henri-Louis Basan. After changing hands several more times in the nineteenth-century, the plates were purchased by the American Robert Lee Humber, sometime in the 1930s. The North Carolina Museum of Art currently retains eight of Rembrandt’s plates that were among seventy-five that were on deposit in the museum until the sale of the plates by the Humber family in the early 1990s. Most were purchased by several Dutch museums and organizations.\textsuperscript{121} With regards to the plates in Baillie’s collection, that of \textit{Cornelis Anslo} has not been recovered and the NCMA indicates that the fragments from \textit{The Hundred Guilder Print} were not among those once held in their collection; it is assumed the plates have been lost or destroyed.

\textsuperscript{118} Erik Hinterding, \textit{The Fortunes of Rembrandt’s copper plates} (Amsterdam: Museum het Rembrandthuis), 8.
\textsuperscript{119} Hinterding, \textit{The Fortunes of Rembrandt’s copper plates}, 8.
\textsuperscript{120} Hinterding, \textit{The Fortunes of Rembrandt’s copper plates}, 14.
\textsuperscript{121} Hinterding, \textit{The Fortunes of Rembrandt’s copper plates}, 15-16.
Chapter 5: Rembrandt’s Lasting Influence

As Captain Baillie was not alone in his admiration for Rembrandt’s work, he was associated with several other artists and collectors who strongly contributed to the growth of British printmaking and included Irish and English collectors who were all active in London during this period. Closest to Baillie was the aforementioned Nathaniel Hone. Hone received more formal art training than Baillie, which allowed him to educate his friend in printmaking as well as have a career as a miniaturist and portrait painter. In 1752 Hone etched a portrait of Baillie after a painting by Robert Edge Pine (1730-1788). Pine was an important portraitist in London during the 1760s who moved to Philadelphia later in life where he continued to paint important figures including George Washington. While Hone was able to teach Baillie the rudiments of printmaking, this image shows that he was an amateur printmaker. He inscribed Baillie’s name at the bottom of the print though it reads backwards as it was not etched it in reverse.

Rembrandt’s portraiture was an additional influence on English painters who were already working in this genre. This connection is seen in the work of Baillie’s contemporary, Sir Joshua Reynolds, and more specifically, in Hone’s 1783 portrait of Baillie that Butler describes as a, “joint tribute by artist and sitter to Rembrandt.” In the painting to are several nods to Rembrandt’s self-portraits such as the, “warm colours, that remind us of [his] palette...and in the predominant use of browns.” Other features Butler notes as “Rembrandtesque” include the aura of rumination and the casting of light on the upper face and body. Additionally, Baillie is dressed similarly in fur-lined clothing as

in Rembrandt’s depiction of Uytenbogaert. Significantly, the painting has undeniable similarities, especially in the characteristics previously mentioned, to Rembrandt’s famous self-portrait at the age of 34 done in 1640. From 1783-84 Baillie etched a self-portrait print of Hone’s painting. [Fig. 30] He added the tromp l’oeil curtain effect, a popular feature at the time and one employed by Rembrandt himself.125 Interestingly, in framing himself with an oval shape, Baillie's hands are no longer visible thus removing what Butler calls, “an important Rembrandtesque element.”126 Nevertheless, the inspiration taken from Rembrandt’s style is evident by both Hone and Baillie.

In addition to John Clerk, the Earl of Bute, Worlidge, Reynolds and Hone, there were many artists and collectors working and living in England and following Rembrandt. This includes Irishman James McArdell (1728-1765), a founder of English mezzotint and a Director of the Society of Artists.127 McArdell printed works after Rembrandt, van Dyck and Rubens though he is most noted for his mezzotints after his contemporary, Sir Joshua Reynolds.128 McArdell additionally etched The Tribute Money in an unknown year after the 1645 Rembrandt painting in the collection of John Blackwood (1698-1777).129 Blackwood was a silk merchant from Edinborough who lived in London and actively worked in dealing Old Master pieces including those by Rembrandt. By 1740 he was working in London and had purchased Rembrandt’s St. Bartholomew dating from 1661 for his own collection.130

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128 Alexander, Rembrandt in Eighteenth Century England, 49. Alexander notes that McArdell’s reputation for working after Reynolds was largely celebrated posthumously after 1765.
129 John Smith, Rembrandt van Rhyn (London: Smith and Sons, 1836), 47.
130 Nigel Glendinning (ed) and Hillary Macartney, Spanish Art in Britain and Ireland: 1750-1920 (Woodbridge: Tamesis, 2010), 50. Blackwood’s impression of St. Bartholomew is now in the Getty.
More closely linked to Baillie included the British collector, John Barnard who owned more than 450 etchings by Rembrandt. Butler suggests that Baillie was introduced to Barnard by Nathaniel Hone and explains that when Baillie's employment at the Stamp Office began in 1765, Barnard was already a Commissioner of Stamps; Baillie assumed Barnard’s position upon his retirement in 1773.\footnote{Butler, “William Baillie: a man of many parts,” 188.}

Baillie was closely connected with the auctioneer, John Greenwood, an American artist from Boston, who lived in Amsterdam from 1758 to 1763 and purchased many Dutch paintings for his English associates.\footnote{Walter A. Liedtke, Dutch Paintings in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 784. Greenwood’s diaries are in the New York Historical Society; I have not had the opportunity to access them.} He became Baillie’s colleague while both were living in London and sold him the plate of *The Hundred Guilder Print* after acquiring it in Holland and Greenwood had previously etched a print in 1764 after a painting in Baillie’s collection that was thought to be a portrait by Rembrandt of his father. Greenwood further worked on commissions from John Boydell and was also employed by the Earl of Bute, John Stuart. Baillie was an agent of Stuart’s and worked in advising his art dealings and contributed to the great collection he came to own.

Baillie was working with Stuart as early as 1764 as seen from his etching the *View of Ambiose* after an Lambert Doomer (1624-1700) painting.\footnote{Lambert Doomer was a Dutch artist and collector known for his drawings. He also purchased pieces from Rembrandt’s 1658 sale.} The print gives insight into Stuart’s collection as Baillie noted in the image, “Painted by Domer...Engraved by Captain W Baillie 1764,” and below is written, “In the Collection of the Earl of Bute.” Baillie additionally worked as agent in buying art for James Lowther, the First Earl of Lonsdale (1736-1802), who married the daughter of John Stuart in 1761.\footnote{Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston,” 28. Baillie etched a print after the Dutch master Gerard Dou in Lowther’s collection.}
John Boydell was a notable print publisher who distributed Baillie’s complete works in 1792 and again in 1803. Boydell began his career as an engraver and quickly became successful in exporting English prints, particularly to France. He worked in buying and selling Old Master plates as well as new plates after the Masters including John Greenwood’s plate of Rembrandt’s Father, done after the painting in Baillie’s collection. Boydell was deeply involved in the art market and Alexander suggests that his patronage of engravings after modern British paintings was the most significant aspect of his business and that his work was instrumental to the growth of the print trade in England. In the 1780s Boydell undertook a project to commission artists to paint and etch illustrations for Shakespeare’s plays in order to, “establish an English School of Historical Painting.” English artists, including Sir Joshua Reynolds, were paid for their contributing pieces and Boydell opened The Shakespeare Gallery in 1789. While this venture was initially successful, the gallery shut its doors due to the closure of the European market at the start of the French Revolution.

A print by artist Paul Sandby (1731-1809) done in 1798 entitled, Sketches taken at Print Sales, illustrates the relationship among these artists and publisher and their frequent presence at auctions. According to the British Museum, this print derives from small drawings sketched by Sandby in margins of print sale catalogues. In particular, the etching identifies Boydell and Hone among the regular attendees. A more humorous depiction of

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Baillie and his fellow connoisseurs is a colored etching by James Gillray (1756-1815) dating from 1807. [Fig. 31] Gillray often satirized the art world and this print depicts Baillie as the prominent figure attempting to look at the often-criticized work of English artist George Moreland while being unable to correctly use his glasses.\footnote{National Portrait Gallery. National Portrait Gallery, “Connoisseurs examining a collection of George Moreland’s.” Accessed December 1, 2012.} Gillray sketched an additional ink caricature of Baillie in 1807.

Other contemporary critics of Baillie attacked his character as well, despite some comments being considered as exaggerated. John Thomas (JT) Smith, Keeper of Prints in the British Museum during the early nineteenth-century, and one of the few to criticize Baillie’s efforts with The Hundred Guilder Print, attacked his mannerisms and labeled him as a conceited and amateur artist.\footnote{Rossiter, “Capt. William Baillie, 17th Dragoons and John Greenwood, of Boston,” 32.} Nonetheless, Smith places him as an active member of the art auction world in an effectively simple comment stating that Baillie was, in 1783, among, “the most singular of those who constantly attended auctions at Pattersons’ or Hutchins’.”\footnote{Butler, “Nathaniel Hone the Elder and William Baillie,” 3.}

By this time in the 1780s and 90s, as this particular phase was ending in England, Rembrandt’s work would soon have similar implications in nineteenth-century France. In, The Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt, Alison McQueen details this phenomenon. She explains that Rembrandt’s status as, “the master printmaker,” in France during this time was carefully established by critics, artists, and writers, as they had a strong desire to identify with the past.\footnote{Alison McQueen, Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt: Reinventing an Old Master in Nineteenth-Century France (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2003), 159.} French writers used his work to promote the Dutch art and society that they highly respected while critics attempted to justify Rembrandt’s faculties as either
exemplary of the traditional academy or as an embodiment of art outside the confines of that academy. For many members of French society at that time, and due to debate over Rembrandt’s talents as a draughtsman and artist, he became a political and artistic icon for, “non-conformist and anti-establishment aims.”¹⁴⁵ Yet, ultimately, he became self-serving to whoever was using his persona to promote their particular agenda. All this activity peaked in the second half of the nineteenth-century just as it did in later half of the eighteenth-century England and culminated into a powerful movement that had what McQueen calls, “cult-like” repercussions throughout France.

In eighteenth-century London and Paris Captain Baillie was well-known for his Rembrandtesque prints. As early as 1767 Baillie’s work was included in important catalogues including Basan’s Dictionnaire des graveurs anciens et modernes. In this first edition in 1767 Basan praised Baillie’s works in the manner of Rembrandt including his early copy of The Goldweigher from 1762.¹⁴⁶ He reiterated his approval in the later volume of his Dictionnaire published in 1789 and notes that Baillie, “rendu avec beaucoup d’intelligence.” This indicates Baillie’s status as an amateur artist was established early on in the 1760s and that he was still well-respected through the end of the century.

Various letters written by Baillie to Reverend James Granger provide further insight to his entrepreneurial spirit and reputation in the mid to late century. In December of 1773 Baillie wrote, “The three landscapes I etched after Rembrandt, and two or three heads, were thought tolerable; and more so, as no comparison could be made against any other

¹⁴⁵ McQueen, Rise of the Cult of Rembrandt, 16.
attempt of the same sort, for I was the first who ever copied a Landscape of Rembrandt's."\textsuperscript{147} In this instance, Baillie would have been referring to The Three Trees among the landscapes he mentions, and probably The Old Man (Dilator Spe Lentus) as one of the, "heads." He goes on to discuss the reaction to his early copy of The Goldweigher and notes, "the reception this met with was so flattering."\textsuperscript{148}

By exploring Baillie's biography, early pieces of art, his work in the 1760s, and The Hundred Guilder Print in 1775, this paper has established Baillie's place among other collectors and artists in England and highlighted the variety of roles he played in the eighteenth-century. His proclivity for Rembrandt has set him apart and he worked not just as an artist but also as a collector, connoisseur, dealer, and even acted as publisher for some of his own work. He served as the Commissioner of Stamps for over twenty-years as well as exhibiting thirteen times at the Society of Artists. While many other men were working with prints and exhibiting their art, very few can be considered as au courant as Captain Baillie.

Furthermore, Baillie's work in the 1750s through 1770s was especially important to the Rembrandt movement in England. Baillie eagerly promoted the Dutch school by working after the Old Masters and he developed his own style by adding various inscriptions to prints that transformed Rembrandt's images and catered to his modern audience. He had connections to wealthy collectors such as the Earl of Bute and to important publishers including John Boydell. His work with The Hundred Guilder Print secured Baillie's reputation as an artist and collector in eighteenth-century London, and as

\textsuperscript{147} J. P. Malcolm, ed., Letters between the Rev. James Granger, M.A. Rector of Shiplake, and many of the most eminent literary men of his time (London: Nichols and Son, 1805) 211. 
\textsuperscript{148} Malcom, Letters between the Rev. James Granger, 212.
an important figure to be studied today. Despite criticism from some modern scholars, Rossiter considers Baillie to have been, “an excellent craftsman if not a great artist,” and his early penchant for the Dutch school had lasting effects on print connoisseurship in England. This movement is among the factors that have secured a place in art and history for Captain Baillie, and elevated Rembrandt to the status that he holds today as one of the greatest European masters.

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Images

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Sir Joshua Reynolds
*Self-Portrait*
c.1775
(Tate)

Figure 2
Nathaniel Hone the Elder
*The Conjurer*
1775
(National Gallery of Ireland)
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William Baillie
*Ruin on St. Catherine’s Hill*
1750
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William Baillie
*Corporal Jones*
1753
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William Baillie
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Figure 6
Rembrandt van Rijn
Abraham and Isaac
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Rembrandt van Rijn
_The Three Trees_
1643
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William Baillie
_The Three Trees_ (after Rembrandt)
Second state of six
1758
(Metropolitan Museum of Art)
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William Baillie
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William Baillie
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William Baillie
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William Baillie
*Pharisees Debating* fragment from *The Hundred Guilder Print* (after Rembrandt)
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Figure 27
William Baillie
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William Baillie
_The Sick and a Camel_ fragment from _The Hundred Guilder Print_ (after Rembrandt)
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Figure 29
Nathaniel Hone the Elder
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William Baillie  
*Self-Portrait* (after Nathaniel Hone)  
1783-84  
(British Museum)

**Figure 31**  
James Gillray  
*Connoisseurs examining a collection of George Moreland’s*  
1803  
(National Portrait Gallery, London)
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