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Groups of the manners in Scotland

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'Groups of the manners in Scotland': David Allan -- the Process and Politics of Printmaking

Writing to his patron Sir William Hamilton in November 1780 the artist David Allan (1744-1796) stated

> I did at Rome a set of Drawings in Bister representing the amusements of the Carnival at Rome in 8 drawings which Sandby bought from me in London & he has executed them Charmingly in Aquatinta prints at 4 guineas the set. They take well and he will make money of them. If I have health & time I intend to do groups of the manners in Scotland which would be new & intertaining & good for engraving. I have painted at Athole for myself a Highland Dance as a companion to the Neapolitan but the Highland is the most picturesque and curious. I have made a drawing of the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland with many portraits, would make a good print Whichever way incouragement may go Am resolved not to be idle.[1]

The interplay of aesthetic pleasure, ideology and commercial necessity in Allan's artistic output is here revealed in all its complexity. The quotation illuminates Allan's pragmatism in attempting to establish himself as an artist; he will produce that which is saleable. However, it is not simply a passive, market led, approach – Allan shows his business acumen in seeking to find something new and innovative to offer his patrons and potential clients – Scottish themed pictures and those temptingly sprinkled with portraits. A similar shrewdness was displayed later in his life when he illustrated Allan Ramsay Senior's 'The Gentle Shepherd' and some of Burns' songs. Financial pragmatics blended with innovation and a genuine interest in Scottish history and culture, or a particular version of it.

This article will focus on the production of David Allan's prints as artistic artefacts, considering the various technical stages of making aquatints from line drawing etchings, and considering the many aesthetic aspects of translating a scene into an intaglio print or engraving.[2] The prints that we

focus on have a direct analogy to the emergence of the Scottish vernacular. Allan's focus on Scottish customs, we will argue, was rooted in a mixture of genuine interest in Scottish customs, a component of his artistic manifesto and financial pragmatism.

Patronage, Commercial Necessity And Artistic Output

Patronage played a significant part in Allan's artistic life as it did for many artists of his time. It enabled him to study, first at the Foulis Academy in Glasgow (from 1755) and then in Italy (1764–77), where he was awarded a medal for his artistic achievements in the area of historical composition at the Academy of St Luke's in Rome.[3] Patronage brought commissions and valuable introductions. It also had implications for where Allan produced his work. On his return from Italy he settled in London but was unable to sustain life in the capital. As he himself said

> I tryed two years in London, but like many other artists I could hardly live, so I went to see my frds in Scotld & found imployment.[4]

His 'friends' were the circle of intermarried landowning families whose patronage had enabled him to study and had furnished introductions in Italy; Cathcarts, Erskines (neighbouring and related families), Hopes (related by marriage to the Erskines) and Atholls (the Duchess of Atholl was a Cathcart by birth and niece of Sir William Hamilton). For Allan, as for many artists before him, these circles of influence created and sustained patronage.[5] It also meant, however, that whatever his aspirations were for himself as an artist, he was forced to produce paintings that would sell; namely, portraits. He bemoaned this fate and his frustration with this state of affairs is tangible:

> The genius of our artists is unhappily forced to accommodate itself to the general taste for Portrait and still life; while the nobler departments of the arts must of course lie neglected.[6]

Commercial considerations thus played a considerable role in shaping Allan's artistic output. Beyond the commercial necessity of turning to portraiture, Allan's interest in Scottish themes might, in part, be patronage related. Amongst his patrons were also those who had a deep interest in Scottish

history and culture; most notably the Earl of Buchan, founder of Society of Antiquaries of Scotland whose 'main preoccupations were his curiosity concerning, and desire to celebrate, the ancient kingdom of Scotland' and the Duke of Athol, who joined the Highland Society of London the year it was established, becoming its president in 1783.[7] These connections may have encouraged him in his focus on Scottish themed pictures, which is 'to do groups of the manners in Scotland'.[8]

The Recording of Scottish Customs: 'groups of the manners of Scotland'

Whilst in Italy (1764–77), as his comments outlined at the beginning of this article suggest, Allan recorded the social customs, costumes and festivals he saw, filling his sketch-books with drawings that were both quick as well as detailed. On his return to Scotland he explicitly stated his intention to extend this work to Scottish themes. Certainly there are many 'Scottish' references sprinkled throughout the *Highland Dance* Allan referred to in his letter to Sir William (referenced earlier) and which went through several iterations as print, which will be discussed later. The Scottish references include Scotch bonnets and plaid, bagpipes and fiddles, a jig and famous Scottish musicians in the shape of the Gow brothers. It is an image full movement, energy and joy. Neil Gow plays his fiddle with obvious gusto; his bushy eyebrows are raised, his cheeks are flushed with effort. The young man at the centre of the picture has his legs wide apart with the weight on the back foot as he lifts and points his front foot. His arms are raised and outstretched as he clicks his fingers. His sporran is swinging wildly as he moves, the tassels going in different directions. Even though his dance partner is more restrained in her movements, her jacket and skirt still swing. The man behind this couple is dancing with such vigour that he has lost his cap, which has fallen on the floor, and his kilt has twisted around to give us a flash of thigh! This is obviously a glint of humour, as is the man knocking back the wine at the left of the picture. However, this is not primarily intended as a satirical picture, though its humour is deliberate.

It is an attempt to capture the essence of the customs and habits (or 'manners' in eighteenth-century parlance) of Highland Scotland. However, Allan's reference, quoted earlier, to his Highland picture as 'picturesque and curious' is telling; Allan, a lowlander, is an outsider observing people he views as 'other'. In this he was not alone. It was a commonplace to identify the Highlands and Lowlands as geographic neighbours but culturally distinct regions. As the *Gentleman's Magazine* put it:

> An inhabitant of the highlands of *Scotland* differs so much from an inhabitant of the Lowlands, in his language, customs, manners, and dress, that to say of either that he is a *Scotchman*, is as indefinite as to say to a native of *France* that he is an *European*[9]

This notion of difference was theorised by the Enlightenment literati such as John Miller. His *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks* was first published in 1771 and described human progress through four major stages determined by the 'mode of subsistence' of the given society: the hunter-gatherer phase; the 'pastoral' phase of nomadic herding; the agricultural phase with its settled farming; and the final and most advanced phase of the commercial society.[10] For Miller, where Lowland Scotland was an advanced and civilised society, Highland society was a living exemplar of an earlier stage of civilisation where economic poverty and martial preoccupation were signifiers of its backwardness. At the same time however there was a growing interest in Scotland's ancient past, evident in the excitement around the discovery of the Ossian poems in the 1760s and which found social form in the establishment of the Highland Society in London in 1778. The focus on ancient customs and culture was filtered through a lens which saw the Scotland of yore as a nobler, purer place; a myth of ideal simplicity developed. Allan's image iterates this visually.

David Allan's recording of Scottish customs chimed with his time and the growing nostalgic pride in Scotland's cultural heritage. Scots were embracing their Scottish history and traditions while simultaneously living their British present. T.C. Smout has conceptualised these 'dual allegiances' as 'concentric loyalties' elucidating the commitment to the ethnic/national

community of Scotland at the same time adherence to the wider British state within which Scotland existed.[11] Similarly, despite his conceptualisation of North Britishness as essentially politically anglocentric, Colin Kidd acknowledges that with regard to religious and cultural spheres a sense of Scottishness prevailed.[12] Despite the admiration for England's political ways, 'traditional Scottish national consciousness lurked below the surface' and can be seen, for example, in the promotion of vernacular poetry. In this way, a political allegiance, which was anglocentric, coexisted with a cultural identification which was Scottish. David Allan's 'Groups of the Manners in Scotland', many of which were made into prints, were the artistic quintessence. Art, and in many senses particularly a 'democratic' form of artwork like the widely available print, were both a product of, and a contributing factor in, the development of this Scottish consciousness. As David and Francina Irwin have argued the 'consistent exploitation of Scottish subject-matter' which led to the emergence of a 'Scottish school' began with David Allan who 'helped to lay the foundations for Wilkie and his generation of successors.'

'to get above singular forms, local customs': An Artistic Debate

But Allan is also engaged in artistic debate. In his dedication letter to Gavin Hamilton, his artistic manifesto, he stated

> In the humbler walk of Painting, which consists in the just representation of ordinary Life (by which it is believed, the best moral effects, may often be produced,) there can be no better models, than what Nature, in this country, daily presents to our view. Without descending to mean and low objects, it is possible, by a strict adherence to truth and nature, to produce compositions, which though not so striking as the sublime efforts of the pencil, are yet capable both of pleasing and instructing.[13]

He is making the argument that while images like the *Highland Dance* might not be as edifying as a history painting there is moral and didactic value in them. The depiction of joyous and harmonious people engaging in ancient

rural pass-times could have an improving impact on the observer. It is an assertion of the worth of genre pictures and an engagement with the belief in a hierarchy of pictorial genres which placed history painting at the zenith. A leading proponent was Royal Academy President Sir Joshua Reynolds who stated

> the whole beauty and grandeur of art consists in my opinion, in being able to get above singular forms, local customs, particularities and details of every kind[14]

Reynolds's answer to the problem of how to haul himself above the stain of 'mere imitation portraiture in the 'great style'.[15] This approach achieved its noble goal by 'leaving out particularities and retaining only general ideas'. It drew on classical models and aesthetics for inspiration, utilizing the gestures, clothing, accruements and rhetorical devices of esteemed artistic precedents. Allan certainly agreed with Reynolds about the hierarchy, as is made obvious from his previously referenced comments attest. Writing to his patron the Earl of Buchan in 1780, he is even more explicit in his support of the artistic hierarchy, stating

> It is deplorable to think that great Britain in Generale has not sooner begun to incourage her young ones in the study of History the noblest part of painting. Sir Joshua Reynolds aims with his pamphlets & academic discourses to correct their taste, this is praiseworthy but a difficult task. If we cannot pursue our natural turns for want of incouragement, must have patience & in these times lay by the antique modles & copy Gothick wigs or copy what object is ordered[16]

Nonetheless, his response differed to Reynolds's. He revelled in those 'singular forms, local customs', or an idealised version of them. Because, despite regular insistence that he drew 'from Nature', the characters and their gestures are mannered and hyperbolic. The profile view of the laird, the man standing behind him and the central dancing girl obviously lend from the language of neo-classical art. It is, as he said in his dedication letter to Gavin Hamilton, 'the Nature we have, with the assistance of ancient models, which may be easily procured by casts from the best of the Greek statues and

busts'.[17] This difference in approach was artistic, political and financially pragmatic.

Turning from the practical business of selecting what was represented in Allan's paintings and prints, it is pertinent to this discussion to focus on the technical aspects of his printmaking. As has been emphasised here already, Allan was making artistic artefacts as much as he was representing Scottish society. And in doing so, he was of importance in the history of Scottish printmaking, and in the development of the artist-printmaker model.

The Techniques of Intaglio

Examining his prints from the technical perspective it is opportune to consider the making of intaglio prints. Intaglio is a generic term that references all prints made from areas on a matrix plate that lie beneath the surface.

It applies to prints that are created by indented areas beneath the surface of the metal plate, in areas that hold ink. These may be in incised lines, like those created by drypoint (which is created by dragging a sharp tool over a surface) or engravings (carefully pushing a sharp tool in clean 'furrow' patterns to create very even lines), or etchings (areas that are effectively 'eaten away' by submersion of the plate in acid baths). Goldsmiths made some of the earliest intaglio effects in the medieval ages, and experimented with ornamentation on precious objects. In the 16th Century a few artists began experimenting with the creation of pictorial imagery as equivalent to line drawings made from metal plates; these were usually executed with the similar skills of incising metal plates with sharp tools in a technique that was similar to a woodcut print. But unlike woodcuts, which are images in which the surface makes the image and the cutaway areas are the negative space (known as relief printing), in engravings it is the depth of the lines below the surface that creates the image.

1. Figs 1a and 1b**:** Left: Woodcut, *Portrait of Simon Fraser*, *Lord Lovat* (1667-1747), *A Jacobite,* after William Hogarth (1697-1764), unknown printmaker (no date). Right: the same image, made as an Etching[18]. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

The two resultant characteristics are quite distinctive. In this pair of 18th century prints in the Scottish National Gallery collection, the portrait of the Jacobite, Simon Fraser, Lord Lovat is quite stark and angular in the woodcut on the left, and more curvilinear in the etching on the right by comparison. Typically in an etching, a hard ground—or acid- resistant layer of 'ground' over the plate's surface—is drawn through with a pointed tool. But unlike drypoint, no real pressure needs to be used; the artist is free to draw quite naturally, thereby preserving gestures, flourishes, or a variety of markmaking quite unavailable to the comparatively more belaboured efforts of an engraver.

Fig. 2: Hercules Seghers, *The Ruins of Castle Brederode*, etching (c. 1621-1632).[19]

By the 17th century, many artist/printmakers were refining techniques that moved beyond the controlled skills required by engravers, to investigate how areas of grounds or resistance to acids could allow for much freer markmaking.
Notably, the Dutch artist, Hercules Seghers' creative and sensitive experiments with etching techniques, show us how some of the earliest technical experiments can often demonstrate surprisingly contemporary-looking results[20]. Here in Figure 2, we can see how the techniques of variable lengths of exposure to acid, which result in lighter and darker lines, as well as 'spit biting', intentional 'foul biting' and plate tone (selectively unwiped ink on the surface) are all used in a painterly fashion to make this a rich image of variable marks and surfaces.

It was within this tradition, that printmaking in Scotland developed further, and in this case, the work of David Allan is associated some of the earliest achievements.

David Allan, Paul Sandby And Aquatinta

Paul Sandby, who was 13 years senior to Allan, was known as a travelling artist/cartographer and printmaker.[21] Sandby had been working in Scotland as early as 1746, while undertaking surveying and mapping, and also spent time producing watercolour landscapes of local scenery.[22] Sandby became an important collaborator with Allan, and it is in this capacity that we trace his association with an impressive technical development in printmaking.

Paul Sandby encountered the first basics of aquatint from the Hon Charles Greville[23]. However, it was through the techniques of aquatint developed by cartographer Peter Perez Burdett, who had been perfecting this process of 'acid painting', that Sandby gained mastery of the process. Burdett subsequently sold to Paul Sandby the knowledge of this technique—effectively, in the manner of a 'patent'. [24]

'The *Grand* Secret'[25] --or 'aquatinta' as the process came to be known by 1775[26] as Paul Sandby used in his collaborations with Allan, are made with rosin in tiny particles partially dissolved and suspended in a solution approximating methylated spirits ('rectified spirit of wines'), and poured onto the tipped plate. This proved to coat the plate with a series of tiny cracks and spots in the surface coating.[27] It is through the partially protected plate covering that the acid can bite into the minute exposures. The other similar method of aquatinting uses rosin in equally fine particles, 'drifted' onto a plate, either by flicking a handheld bag with these particles and allowing gravity to do the work, or by inserting the plate into a box where particles are stirred up and then gradually fall. The plate is carefully removed to a gas burner, and flamed until the rosin melts, thereby attaching themselves in a multitude of tiny clinging acid-proof spots.

In both methods, the plate is protected where no tones are desired, and then immersed in subsequent baths of acid, or even with acid in varying solutions of strength to be painted on directly to the surface. [28] Periodically, areas are stopped out with varnish, creating tones in steps from light to dark through progressive exposures. The tonal gradations allow for nuances of lights and darks, and achieves a much more voluminous and mimetic effect. It allowed

Sandby to achieve a wash-like effect similar to tonal gradations that are achieved in ink washes and watercolours, for example.

In seeing the world in discerning tones other than just black and white, aquatints greatly enhanced the ability of prints to evoke sensitive observations and emotive representations. David Allan wrote in the dedication letter to Gavin Hamilton –

> 'I have engraved these designs in the manner called AQUA-TINTA, a late invention, which has been brought to much perfection by Mr Paul Sandby, of London. A painter finds his advantage in this method, in which the pencil may be associated with the graver. It will be easily seen that I am not a master in the mechanical part of this art; but my chief intention was not to offer expensive and smooth engravings, but expressive and characteristic designs.'[29]

It can be seen in this excerpt that Allan was immediately taken with the expressive potential that aquatint allowed. It is recorded that David Allan *himself* executed prints: what is known is that he began his printmaking experiments as a teenager. When he was just seventeen he learned engraving techniques,[30] and made a few prints with this demanding level of skill.[31] He also learned about etchings, perhaps having been taught in the mid-1770's when he was in Italy, and as early as 1777 began to create aquatints, most notably culminating in the 1788 edition of *The Good Shepherd*.[32] In 1777 Allan worked with Paul Sandby creating aquatints after drawings by Pietro Fabris of the Vesuvius volcanic eruptions. Allan's taste for this 'expressive' print was enabled through these early experiments in aquatint.[33] To emphasise the point, it was in fact only six years earlier that the first ever aquatint print in the UK was made.[34] It is therefore important to note that Allan was making his own aquatints, and that he was indeed at the forefront of artistic experimental printmaking.[35]

Fig. 3: Aquatint detail for *Highland Laird*, David Allan. Printer unknown, but probably the artist himself (no date)

Linking Allan's work with the academic *milieu* of his time, it can be argued that the philosophers of his day, notably Lord Kames[36] as well as Hutcheson[37], were equating the beautiful with the moral and the good; in their eyes, the discernments between that which was perceived as just and ethical were exactly aligned with the natural and the positive. It is not too great a stretch then to begin to understand the power of tonal prints. Works that could present a range of tonalities, nuancing shades of people, places and things, began to hint at the tonal equivalents to the prevalent moral philosophy of the period, especially as they aligned to art.

Allan's painterly eye for movement is seen in his composition for *Highland Dance*, in the etched version of 1783 that we see here (Fig. 4). This print was created first as a line etching, and is detailed in every aspect of the grouped characters, rural setting, background buildings and landscape.

Fig. 4: David Allan, *Highland Dance*- etching on paper, 1783

It is very interesting to compare this linear treatment of the image—effectively, its first stage—with the published aquatint version, also published in the same year (Fig. 5).

In this latter aquatinted stage, greater visual weight and power, more spatial depth and atmospheric qualities appear. The clothing is emphatically more patterned and textural (more tartan!), the light more dappled, and the shadows much heavier.

FIG. 5: David Allan, *Highland Dance*, aquatint, 1783

This is not to deny the charms of the linear version; in the earlier version the building methods and actual stones or sods that constitute the walls are visible in the background buildings, the light of the paper shines up through the whole scene, and the male character in the middle ground is very light on his feet.

Fig. 6: David Allan, *A Highland Laird*, aquatint, (undated)

In one final example, the same male figure (Fig. 6) who is depicted in the *Highland Dance*, appears in the SNG collection as a separate (undated) aquatint. It is very close to the furthest left foreground figure of the *Highland Dance*, but here the man is framed by something like a doorframe, making a frame within a frame, edging the figure with light, as if he is sitting in a darkened area in front of an open door. In the background we can see a tree, spatially removed but also less distinct than the foregrounded laird. At his feet in the foreground he has laid down his stick and his bonnet, just as in the *Dance* print. Here the Laird feels somehow older, more reflective, and more private in his thoughts while we viewers are observing him. He is even more powerful in his reverie, and conveys a man of *gravitas*. The aquatint here was a penultimate stage in the making: it is possible to see the etched lines of his tartan costume, contours and chair etched in again after the aquatint, re-establishing him in textural and sharper detail. He is the very image of man in himself, the 18th century Scot who is solid in his depiction.

Conclusion

David Allan is an artist who deserves greater appreciation than he has received thus far. While some academic and curatorial attention has been paid to his genre pictures and more recently portraiture, his achievements as an innovative printmaker have been less discussed.[38] David Allan was an important artist-printmaker, experimenting and developing techniques that are employed by artist-printmakers to this day. Particularly his experiments in the effects of aquatint to achieve tonal gradations that are visually equivalent to washes in watercolour, are among the earliest and most interesting of artistic experiments in this medium.

Allan was more than an artistic innovator; he was an important visual historian, a keen observer and documenter of Scotland's cultural values and morals in his time. His recording of Scottish customs coincided with the period's growing nostalgic pride in Scotland's cultural heritage. David Allan's 'Groups of the Manners in Scotland', many of which were made into prints, were the artistic quintessence of this turn toward Scottish appreciation of its

traditions. Art, in many senses particularly a ‘democratic’ form of artwork like the widely available print, were both a product of, and a contributing factor in, the development of this Scottish consciousness. Allan’s prints are linked to the emergence of this Scottish vernacular, and thereby, through visual means, are identifiable as a significant part of a cultural shift towards the consciousness, and value, of the Scottish character. It is probable that for Allan this lay as much in the politics of financial survival as the politics of national identity. This focus on Scottish customs for Allan, we have argued, was rooted in a mixture of financial pragmatism, a genuine interest in Scottish customs and was also a component of his artistic manifesto.

List of Illustrations

Figures 1a and 1b:Left: Woodcut, *Portrait of Simon Fraser*, *Lord Lovat* (1667-1747), *A Jacobite.* after William Hogarth (1697-1764), unknown printmaker. Right**:** the same image, made as an Etching. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

Figure 2: Hercules Seghers, *The Ruins of Castle Brederode, etching.* (1621-1632) Courtesy of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, Netherlands

Figure 3: David Allan, *Highland Laird*, Aquatint, (no date). Detail, no information is given for the Printer, but is probably the artist himself. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

Figure 4: David Allan, *Highland Dance*- etching on paper, Published 1783. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

Figure 5: David Allan, *Highland Dance*, aquatint, 1783. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

Figure 6: Fig. 6: David Allan, *A Highland Laird*, aquatint, (undated). A detail. Courtesy of the Scottish National Galleries.

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Professor Mary Modeen holds the Chair of Interdisciplinary Art Practices, Duncan of Jordanstone College of Art and Design, University of Dundee. She founded and leads the MFA in Art and Humanities, is the Associate Dean

(International), supervises Nel and other PhD students, and is an artist-printmaker herself.

Helen 'Nel' Whiting is a doctoral student at the University of Dundee, where she is researching elite Scottish family life through family group portraits.

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[1] Hopetoun archive, bundle 3482, David Allan to Sir William Hamilton, 6 November 1780.
[2] For biographical information about Allan see Crouther-Gordon, T. *David Allan of Alloa 1744-1795: The Scottish Hogarth (*Alva: Robert Cunningham & Sons Ltd, 1951). Skinner, B. *The Indefatigable Mr Allan: The Perceptive and Varied Work of David Allan 1744-1796. Scotland's First Genre Painter (*Edinburgh: Scottish Arts Council, 1973). GR Gordon *Scottish scenes and Scottish stories: the later work of David Allan.* Doctoral thesis submitted to University of Glasgow 1990. D. Macmillan, *Painting in Scotland: The Golden Age* (Oxford, 1986)
[3] *The Scots Magazine*, lviii (August, 1796), pp. 577-8. There is no suggestion here that the piece awarded the prize is *The Origin of Painting* (1773), as has been asserted by some subsequent writers.
[4] Hopetoun archive, (no.1)
[5] See, for example, J. Holloway *Patrons and Painters: Art in Scotland, 1650–1760* (Edinburgh, 1989).
[6] David Allan to Gavin Hamilton, dedication letter published in A. Ramsay, *The Gentle Shepherd* (Edinburgh, 1880).
[7] Emma Vincent Macleod, 'Erskine, David Steuart, eleventh earl of Buchan (1742–1829)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8852, accessed 10 March 2017]
[8] Hopetoun archive, (no.1)
[9] *Gentleman's Magazine* 1754.
[10] John Millar, *The Origin of the Distinction of Ranks; or, An Inquiry into the Circumstances which give rise to Influence and Authority in the Different Members of Society,* edited and with an Introduction by Aaron Garrett (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2006). 10/03/2017. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/287>
[11] T.C. Smout, 'Problems of Nationalism: Identity and Improvement in Later Eighteenth-Century Scotland', *Improvement and Enlightenment,* (Ed) T.M.Devine, Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1989).
[12] C. Kidd, 'North Britishness and the nature of eighteenth-century British patriotisms'. *The Historical Journal, 39, pp361-382 (2006) doi10.1017/. For further discussions about Scottish identity in this period see* Berry, CJ *The Social Theory of the Scottish Enlightenment.* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1997). L. Colley, *Britons: Forging the Nation 1707-1837* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1992). D. Daiches, *The Paradox of Scottish Culture: The Eighteenth Century Experience.* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1964). R.J. Finlay, 'Caledonia or North Britain? Scottish Identity in the Eighteenth Century' in D. Brown, RJ Finlay and M. Lynch (Eds), *Image and Identity: The Making and Remaking of Scotland Through the Ages,* Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1998.
[13] David Allan (no.6).

[14] R.R.Wark (Ed), *Discourses on Art by Sir Joshua Reynolds* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1997). 'Discourse III', p44.
[15] R.R.Wark (no. 14).
[16] EUL La IV fols 1-4 David Allan to the Earl of Buchan 3/12/1780.
[17] David Allan (no. 6).
[18] Both prints are held in the collection of the National Galleries of Scotland
[19] *The Ruins of Castle Brederode* is held in the Rijksmuseum collection, Amsterdam. Seghers was a mentor to Rembrandt
[20] Hercules Pieterszoon Seghers (1589-1638)
[21] A.V. Gunn, *The Prints of Paul Sandby (1731-1809): A Catalogue Raisonné*, Turnhout, Belgium, 2015
[22] John Bonehill and Stephen Daniels (Eds). *Paul Sandby, Picturing Britain*. (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2009).
[23] The Hon Charles Francis Greville (1749-1809), was the second son of the First Earl of Warwick, and his wife, Elizabeth Hamilton, was a daughter of Lord Archibald Hamilton. Educated at the University of Edinburgh, and a Fellow of the Royal Society, he was fascinated with horticulture, classical and Renaissance art, and minerals.
[24]Peter Perez Burdett (b. Essex, ca. 1734--d. Karlsruhe, 1793) was a cartographer, surveyor, artist, and draughtsman originally from Eastwood in Essex, but who learned his craft as a mapmaker. According to McKenzie (1987), Burdett learnt his first aquatint techniques from J.B. Le Prince of Paris. He showed two plates at the Society of Arts Exhibition of 1772, *An Etching in imitation of a Wash Drawing* and *An Etching from a design of Mr. Mortimer*. In 1773 he exhibited a plate entitled: *The effect of a stained drawing attempted by printing from a plate wrought chemically, without the use of any instrument of sculpture*. There are extant three known images by Burdett, *Banditti Terrifying Fishermen* of 1771 and *Skeleton on a Rocky Shore*, both after the painter J.H. Mortimer, and *Two Boys Blowing a Bladder by Candle-light* after Wright of Derby, the earliest known aquatint in the UK, (1768-69). As the first British artist thought to be producing aquatints by painting acid directly on to resin covered plates for varying lengths of time to produce tonalities, Burdett's intention was to keep this a secret technique known only to him. However, he subsequently sold this knowledge to Paul Sandby, who then worked for a time in Scotland, notably with artist David Allan, who was keen to produce multiples in this method.
[25] Bonehill (no. 22) p 69.
[26] Bonehill (no. 22), p 70.
[27] Bonehill (no.22), p 70.
[28] This technique is often referred to as 'spit-biting.'
[29] Hopetoun archive, (no.1).
[30] Martin Hopkinson, *Scottish Intaglio Printmaking*, 1760-1940, p.9
[31] Hokinson (no.30), p. 11
[32] Hokinson (no.30), p.15
[33] Since Allan had been working with printers, whether Sandby himself as in the 1788 *Gentle Shepherd* prints, or possibly assisted with another printer, the technical choices Allan made were exceptional for their very early explorations of the painterly print. Thanks are due to Hannah Brocklehurst, Print Curator of the Scottish National Gallery, for consultation and assistance on this matter.

[34] In 1771 Peter Burdett of Liverpool made the first aquatint and exhibited this the following year. (See no. 24)
[35] Inscribed in the lower left of the *Highland Dance* print is the inscription on the plate, 'D. Allan, Inv^{t} et Fecit', meaning 'invented and created by David Allan'.
[36] Henry Home, Lord Kames, *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*
[37] F. Hutcheson (1694-1746), *An Inquiry Into the Original of Our Ideas of Beauty and Virtue* (London, 1745) in which there is an exact overlay of morality with beauty. He describes ' a moral sense of beauty' because the sense of a thing's beauty rises up unbidden in the perceiver. His aesthetics are based on the associations in the mind of the viewer, causing pleasurable sensations to be the product of a moral and positive apprehension. Similar sentiments were expressed by David Hume in his essay, *Of The Standard of Taste* (published 1757).
[38] In addition to the book previously identified in dealing with Allan's oeuvre, see also K. Retford, ''The small Domestic & conversational style': David Allan and Scottish Portraiture in the Late Eighteenth Century', *Visual Culture in Britain,* 2014*,* 15:1, pp1-27. and N. Whiting, 'Gender and national identity in David Allan's 'small, Domestic and conversation' paintings', *Journal of Scottish Historical Studies*, Volume 34, Issue 1(May 2014) for discussion of his conversation pieces.