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Contextualising, Analysing and Cataloguing the Glass Negatives from Rock House
in the Dougan Collection of the Special Collections Department, University of
Glasgow Library

Volume 1

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Degree of MPhil

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Abstract

Among the items that came to the University of Glasgow Library in 1953 from Robert O. Dougan were twenty-three boxes of glass negatives. While much work has been done on other items that came from Dougan, which includes much outstanding material of early Scottish photography, little has been done with the glass negatives.

These glass negatives are the purpose of this thesis and to provide the basic context there is a description of the life and career of Robert O. Dougan and his collecting of historic photographic material and how the Dougan Collection came to the University of Glasgow Library. The twenty-three boxes of glass negatives were bought by Dougan from Rock House, Edinburgh, in the 1940s. This had been the studio of the pioneering Scottish Photographers, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson in the 1840s and had continued to be used by successive photographers until the 1940s. Much of what comprises the Dougan Collection came from Rock House.

To provide the historical context, the use of Rock House as a photographic studio, from Hill and Adamson's time to the last main photographer there, Francis Caird Inglis, will be described. The glass negatives also link Hill and Adamson and Inglis because it was the latter who made them and most of the negatives are copies of Hill and Adamson photographs.

There will be a full catalogue of the total of 328 glass negatives with positive images of each for the first time and the content analysed. The catalogue cross references the Hill and Adamson images to major collections of their work and in particular the University of Glasgow Library and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. The circumstances of why and when the negatives were made and for what purpose will be investigated and there will be an indication of the sources of the photographs copied in the glass negatives. In conclusion any images that may only be known to survive because they were copied in the glass negatives will be highlighted.

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Author's Declaration

I declare that in concept and execution this thesis is entirely my own original work. I have included quotations and information from other sources and these are appropriately attributed.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Dougan Collection in the Special Collections Department of the University of Glasgow Library is a historic photographic collection of international importance. Research has already been done on it especially the original calotype negatives and salt paper prints by David Octavius Hill (1802-70) and Robert Adamson (1821-48) that came from Rock House, amounting to almost one thousand images which are accessible on the Library's website. The Collection is now housed in a state-of-the-art, photographic store.

The Dougan Collection offers an important research resource and there is scope for it to be used in many areas of original research. Of particular fascination in the Collection are twenty-three boxes of glass negatives which Robert O. Dougan (1904-99) purchased from Rock House, the former studio of Hill and Adamson. The contents of the glass negatives are mainly copies of photographic prints and other material by Hill and Adamson. No research has been done on these glass negatives and they have not been fully catalogued and this will be the focus of this thesis by putting the negatives in context and compiling a detailed catalogue of each negative with a positive image.

To provide the context, two areas will be investigated. The first will look at Robert O. Dougan and his collecting of historic photographs and the circumstances in which his Collection came to the University of Glasgow Library, which will be Chapter 2. The second will be to outline the history of Rock House as a photographic studio, from Hill and Adamson, who were the first to use it, to Francis Caird Inglis (1876-1940), from whose widow Dougan purchased much of the material that had been at Rock House, including the boxes of glass negatives and this will be Chapter 3. The catalogue, which will comprise the Appendix to the thesis, will provide the foundation for the analysis of the negatives with several specific questions being addressed: confirming who made the negatives; assessing when they were made; looking at why they were made; and indicating the possible sources of the material copied. Part of the exercise of cataloguing the content of the glass negatives will include cross referencing and although this will be limited, it will be possible to indicate items that may only be known to survive as images in the glass negatives. The analysis will be Chapter 4.

The research will be based predominantly on primary sources.

Chapter 2

Robert O. Dougan Biographical Information and Background to the Dougan Collection at the University of Glasgow Library

The boxes of glass negatives and much else that now comprises the Dougan Collection in the University of Glasgow Library were originally acquired by Robert O. Dougan before coming to the Library. To provide the basic context it is necessary to know something about Dougan and why and how he acquired these items as well as how they came to be at the University of Glasgow Library. This is especially relevant as this has never been researched in detail and fully documented previously, despite the collection being purchased in 1953.

Robert Ormes Dougan was born at Ilford, Essex, on 21 April 1904 into a middle class family and appears to have been an only child¹. His father Hugh was a self-employed jeweller and goldsmith and his mother was Rebecca Ormes, from whom he got his middle name.

Dougan attended the Sir George Monoux Grammar School, Walthamstow, London, (now a sixth form college) for his secondary education and in 1921 went to the University of London and intended to be a librarian but writes:

I had a fascinating choice to make to be apprenticed to an antiquarian bookseller, where I learned the business from “the most erudite man in the trade” [Ernst Philip Goldschmidt (1887-1954)] in Bond St. London. I was with him for 14 years².

Goldschmidt was an authority on medieval texts and their first appearance in print and on Gothic and Renaissance book-bindings. Dougan’s statement is not completely clear but is taken to mean that he gave up his university studies to work for Goldschmidt and he later studied on a part-time basis to gain his Diploma in Librarianship in 1929. It is possible that Dougan’s family circumstances changed and he needed to earn a living but no evidence has been found for this and as he was being ‘apprenticed’ there may not have been much income initially. As well as training there may have been longer-term business prospects, possibly encouraged by Dougan’s father who had his own business as a jeweller. It was an exceptional opportunity to work for Goldschmidt who was described as ‘the most learned member of the international book trade’ and Dougan was ‘trained in the mysteries of this specialist class of book selling’³. He obviously learned well as his future collecting and sourcing of material confirm.

The details given to the Library Committee of Perth Town Council in 1945 when Dougan was appointed as Librarian of the Sandeman Public Library states he:

attended the Universities of London Matriculation (1921); London Intermediate BA (1923); University of London School of Librarianship (1924-26) at which he gained first class honours in Bibliography and Latin; and the University of London Diploma in Librarianship in 1929’.

It was also reported that Dougan had been ‘a Fellow of the Library Association since 1929 and a member of the Bibliographical Society since 1934’ and his:

last appointment was cataloguer and bibliographical research worker with Mr E. P. Goldschmidt, MA, the well known authority on old and rare books and manuscripts. During this period - from 1926-1941 - he had several opportunities for travel abroad, visiting France, Belgium, Switzerland, Austria and Italy for business and research purposes and improved his knowledge of French, German and Italian. Other experience of library work he gained as part-time librarian of the Royal Historical Society, which position he held for ten years⁴.

The Librarian of the Sandeman Public Library was also described as City Librarian and was head of the Library Service for Perth. It was an unusual post for Dougan to secure given his lack of public library experience and he was appointed on the casting vote of the chairman⁵. That Dougan was known locally in Perth from his war service was possibly an advantage. He had volunteered for the Royal Air Force in 1940 and was commissioned in January 1941 and ‘became adjutant and senior administrative officer at Perth Municipal Aerodrome [Scone]’⁶. Dougan was still in this post in 1945, with the rank of Flight Lieutenant, when he successfully applied to be Librarian at the Sandeman Public Library.

While working as the Librarian at Perth, Dougan involved himself in other activities. He was a founder member and later chairman of the Perth branch of the Saltire Society and in 1949 the Saltire Society published *The Scottish Tradition in Photography* by Dougan. It concentrated on the work of D. O. Hill, who was born in Perth, and his partner Robert Adamson. With the exception of two photographs by Thomas Keith, all the illustrations came from Dougan’s own collection of historic photographs. He was an active member of the Dundee and Central

Scotland Branch of the Scottish Library Association and served as president but his greatest undertaking while at Perth was organising two exhibitions of Scottish books for the Festival of Britain celebrations in 1951.

He was given a year's leave of absence to organise these with the exhibition of 20th Century Scottish Books at the Mitchell Library, Glasgow, from 1 June till 15 July 1951 and that of 18th Century Scottish Books being in the Signet Library, Edinburgh, from 3 August till 15 September 1951. Preparing and researching these exhibitions was a huge undertaking in sourcing and displaying thousands of books and compiling and publishing two extensive catalogues⁷. These research activities may have been closer to Dougan's background and interests than running a public library and perhaps inclined him to look for a change of career because within a year he was leaving Perth to take up a post in a major research library at Trinity College Dublin.

There is a sense that Dougan's over-riding pre-occupation was rare books and manuscripts and although justly proud of the photographic collections he created he also pursued books on the subject. Even when he bought the material from Rock House, which will be explained shortly, he wrote about the content, almost with a tinge of disappointment, 'but there was not much printed book or pamphlet material'⁸. The printed material about photography was important to Dougan and he wrote about the beginning of his collecting photographs:

I was also concerned with any documentation of the inventions, their developments and improvements. And so when any "how-to-do-it" manuals turned up along with, of course, descriptions of new techniques, like Scott Archer's account of the collodion process in 1852⁹, I bought them¹⁰.

The collection that Dougan sold to the University of Glasgow Library in 1953 included over one hundred publications and albums. This is the part of the present Dougan Collection that gets less recognition although it is of significance on its own. As well as the albums of photographs, there are photographically illustrated books and photographic journals but there are only possibly two that can be described as 'how-to-do-it' manuals¹¹. It does not include Scott Archer's account and raises an issue discussed later, that Dougan retained important items of his collection from the sale.

Dougan had a very active six years at Trinity College Dublin from 1952 till 1958 and arranged exhibitions and compiled catalogues and other publications. He did important work in conservation and was involved in the rebinding of some of Trinity College's most important manuscripts including the Book of Kells¹² and the Book of Durrow and in the setting up of the conservation laboratory. He became a noted scholar on the Book of Kells¹³ and lectured about it for Foras Eireann from 1955-58 and described the eighth century manuscript as 'perhaps the most magnificent illuminated and illustrated book in the world'¹⁴.

There were significant exhibitions and publications by Dougan while at Trinity College Dublin. In 1953 he arranged and compiled the catalogue for the exhibition of manuscripts, books and Berkeleiana in Trinity College Library to commemorate the bicentenary of the death of George Berkeley¹⁵. In 1954 there was an exhibition on Irish book-bindings which he wrote an article about¹⁶. It was followed in the same year with an exhibition on Oscar Wilde with an accompanying catalogue by Dougan¹⁷. The work involved with these exhibitions prevented Dougan getting to the exhibition organised by the University of Glasgow Library to celebrate the acquisition of Dougan's collection which was in the Hunterian Museum from 11 May till 5 June 1954. In 1955 there was an exhibition of a loan collection of western illuminated manuscripts from the library of Sir Chester Beatty and Dougan compiled the catalogue¹⁸. That year he published a descriptive guide to twenty Irish manuscripts in Trinity College Library, with an appendix of five early Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy¹⁹. In 1956 Dougan organised and prepared the catalogue for an exhibition of the manuscripts and printed books of W. B. Yeats²⁰. As well as writing associated with his work at Trinity, Dougan wrote a biographical appreciation of his former employer Ernst P. Goldschmidt following his death in 1954²¹.

Dougan received from Trinity College in 1954 an M.A. (*jure officii*) and this type of degree was awarded to those who took up academic posts.

In 1958 Dougan left Trinity College Dublin and crossed the Atlantic to take up the post of Librarian at the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The Huntington Library, Art Collections and Botanical Gardens had been founded in 1919 by Henry E. Huntington who was an exceptional businessman who built a financial empire and, during his lifetime, he amassed the core of one of the finest research libraries in the world, established a splendid art collection, and created an array of botanical gardens.

There was an earlier link between Dougan and Huntington because Huntington, who died in 1927, was one of the best customers of Dougan's former employer Goldschmidt.

Dougan was to remain at the Huntington until he retired in 1972 and in his fifteen years in charge 'increased its rare book collection from 215,000 titles to 295,000 and its reference collection from 147,000 books to 196,000'²². His earlier experience in the antiquarian book trade was essential for this. He made at least eight trips or 'expeditions' to Europe to buy books for the Huntington and these could be for two months duration. His personal contacts with booksellers and collectors were invaluable in securing rare and important books and manuscripts. It was reported that 'his greatest interest was in continental books of the Renaissance, and he undertook an intensive acquisition program which increased our [the Huntington] holdings in that field by more than 6,000 titles'²³. Using another area of his expertise Dougan 'helped build up the Library's important photographic collection'²⁴. Dougan would have been building up his own second collection of early photography at this time.

He considered the Huntington 'one of the greatest research libraries in the world for British and American history'²⁵.

He appears to have found an ideal place to pursue his interests and on his retirement said:

There is a bond of unity here which I have not experienced anywhere else. It's as if everyone regards themselves as part of the Huntington family and are working to perpetuate what he began.²⁶

While at the Huntington he wrote two books about the Huntington Library and Art Gallery²⁷ and was involved in arranging at least one exhibition there and was co-author of the catalogue²⁸. From his specialist knowledge he was the contributor of bibliographic information in the republication of several historic books²⁹.

Dougan retired from the Huntington on 31 August 1972 but remained involved. As well as making his knowledge and experience available he continued as Secretary of the Friends of the Huntington Library until 1976 and was on its board until 1985.

Dougan was involved in a variety of organisations during his time at the Huntington and afterwards in retirement. He played an active part in the Association of College and Research

Libraries and was Chair of the Rare Books and Manuscripts Section in 1964-5 and was a member of the California Advisory Council Education Librarianship 1962-65. He was President of the Friends of University of California Santa Barbara Library. He was a Presbyterian elder and a member of the Zamorano Club, Los Angeles and Roxburghe Club, San Francisco, as well as the Grolier Club, New York.

In 1974 he was awarded an honorary degree of Doctor of Literature by the University of Redlands, California ‘because he was a major contributor to the university’³⁰. Charitable donations were significant for Dougan especially to organisations in Santa Barbara where he lived in retirement and he was ‘very supportive of causes that focused on improving education for those less fortunate financially’³¹. He donated \$ 1 million each to three organisations; the Scholarship Foundation of Santa Barbara, the Santa Barbara Foundation and the Santa Barbara Museum of Natural History. The Scholarship Foundation of Santa Barbara provides financial support and advice for Santa Barbara students to attend college and his donation to the Santa Barbara Foundation set up the Robert O. Dougan Scholarship Fund to teach English to immigrants. He was described as ‘a wonderful philanthropic presence in the community’³². In 1995 he provided the initial funding for the Goldschmidt Fellowships, in memory of his former employer, to be awarded ‘to promising persons who are beginning careers in rare books, the antiquarian book trade, and related fields’³³.

Dougan’s first wife, Olive Constant McMicken, who he married in 1929, died in 1963. She was a prolific and celebrated author, most notably of juvenile fiction for girls but also short stories and poetry. In a touching tribute Dougan had privately published a collection of her poems, *Shadows and Other Poems*, which he distributed among friends and family. Using his librarian’s skills he organised his wife’s personal correspondence, manuscripts, newspaper clippings, magazine articles, photographs, drawings and ephemera which he donated to the Ella Strong Denison Library, Scripps College, Claremont, California, where it forms the Olive Constant Dougan Collection. In 1964 he married Margaret Traux Hunter, who was the Art Reference Librarian at the Huntington, and that year he became an America citizen. After the death of his second wife in 1992 he married Theresa or Terry Purcell who survived him. Dougan died at Santa Barbara on 8 May 1999 aged 94. Obituaries appeared in various publications including in USA the *Los Angeles Times* and in the UK *The Herald* and *The Independent*.

Not a great deal is known about why Dougan became interested in early photography but his collecting only started shortly before he moved to Scotland in 1941. In a letter he wrote:

I first became interested in the history of photography at the time of the centenary of the inventions announced by Daguerre and Talbot in 1839. I began to look for early photographic prints in bookshops and booksellers catalogues...The collection grew slowly, the War came and I was sent to Scotland in the R.A.F. At leave times I visited the Edinburgh and Glasgow booksellers – a new field for me – and I found more early photographs.³⁴

There was a great upsurge in interest in the history of photography in the build up to, and the celebration of, the centenary of the invention of photography in 1939 and this will be mentioned in more detail in Chapter 4. Dougan's collecting may have started slightly earlier because he mentions in another letter that 'I began collecting old photographs a year or two before the centenary of the invention of photography in 1939'³⁵. That Dougan's employer, E. P. Goldschmidt, was dealing in photographs around this time may have been a factor. At the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, E. P. Goldschmidt is the source of photographic prints and other material by William Henry Fox Talbot purchased in 1936, over two hundred Hill and Adamson prints purchased in 1937 and some Julia Margaret Cameron prints acquired in 1941³⁶. In addition, the collecting of early photographs may have been stimulated because Dougan was a photographer himself. This was certainly the case later because he wrote that he did 'not travel much these days – except in the armchair, sometimes with a selection of some of my 15,000 slides'³⁷.

It was fortuitous that Dougan began collecting early photographic material because he brought his skills, knowledge and experience of working in the antiquarian book business. The amount he amassed which is now in the University of Glasgow Library attests to that. He must also have had the means to collect even although prices would not have been great in a field that was not very fashionable³⁸. He certainly could not have continued to collect as he did on the pay of an R.A.F. officer. The most obvious source of finance was his wife Olive who was a popular author, although as an only child he may have inherited some wealth³⁹.

Most of the time Dougan was collecting, from 1941 until 1952, when negotiations began for the sale of his collection to the University of Glasgow Library, he was living in Scotland. This again may have been advantageous and he found a fertile source of new material and there is

evidence that a substantial proportion of his collecting came from Scotland. It is a great pity that Dougan's documents and diaries can no longer be traced as these are likely to have contained information of his purchases, with even details of what was bought from where and how much was paid. It can be argued that Dougan's collection was intrinsically and predominantly Scottish with the most prized items being the Hill and Adamson original calotype negatives and salt paper prints from Rock House, the purchase of which Dougan described as his 'great opportunity'.

A letter by Dougan addressed to "The Director, National Gallery of Scotland" dated 26 June 1946 confirms when he acquired the material from Rock House. The Director was the painter Stanley Cursiter who had shown appreciation of the photographs of Hill and Adamson saying that the series of prints they produced was 'unrivalled in photographic art'⁴⁰. In his letter Dougan states that he 'acquired the bulk of the [D. O. Hill] collection and all the negatives from Miss Inglis of Rock House, Calton Hill last year, it is, in fact, her late father's, Francis Caird Inglis' collection, with which I expect you must have been familiar'⁴¹. Dougan therefore bought the items from Rock House in 1945. There are references to other earlier dates and in a later letter Dougan says it was '1943' when he became aware of the collection at Rock House and 'had to buy it'⁴² with the inference that it was then he bought the items from Rock House. Because of the closer proximity in time of the earlier letter to the Director of the National Gallery of Scotland, 1945 as the year of purchase would seem the most certain date and it coincided with Inglis' widow and daughter, who lived together, preparing to move from Rock House.

The contents of Rock House were bequeathed by Inglis to his widow stating in his will that 'I leave and bequeath to as her own her absolute property all my personal belongings, objet d'art and other articles including pictures, prints and books of whatever nature and description'⁴³. The daughter, Christian, would have been doing the negotiations on her mother's behalf. In his letter to the Director of the National Gallery of Scotland, Dougan mentions that he had acquired 'a considerable quantity of glass negatives made by the late Mr Inglis from prints of which he apparently did not have the original negatives'. The purpose of this letter by Dougan is to advise the Director of what is now in his ownership and concludes by offering to provide a copy of the catalogue of his collection once it has been compiled.

In the chronology of acquiring the collection from Rock House there is evidence that 1943 was when Dougan first became aware of the collection and 1945 was when he finally concluded the bargain because he mentions 1943 in another letter. He wrote:

Always on the look-out for old photographs, I used to find a call on Ian Grant (George IV Bridge) quite fruitful. He found some nice MacPhersons⁴⁴ for me and one day he asked whether I would like to buy a collection of D. O. Hill's negatives and contemporary prints – but it would cost something. I was excited and said “how much?” I said “yes, I think I could find the money, but I would like to see the collection”. So, to my surprise he directed me to Rock House, Calton Hill, where, I knew, D. O. Hill lived many years and with Robert Adamson “invented” photography as we know it, not as Daguerre did it. It turned out that Rock House had been occupied by amateur and later photographers (professional) until Francis Caird Inglis died there. And the D. O. Hill collection had not attracted anybody through the years! It was Caird Inglis' daughter who contacted Ian Grant, so I owe the introduction to him; it must have been about 1943... so Miss Inglis and I concluded the deal. Needless to say I did not count them...it was a haul.⁴⁵

It is generally stated that what Dougan bought at Rock House had remained there from Hill and Adamson's time as it had subsequently been the studio of successive photographers. This may be an over-simplification. Although Hill was in failing health when he moved from Rock House to a new home bought by his wife, it is unlikely that he would have felt so little for the calotype negatives and salt prints, let alone some of his paintings bought by Dougan mentioned below, that he would have left them behind⁴⁶. There is evidence to the contrary. In the catalogue for the auction of Hill's art works etc. after his death in 1870 the title includes ‘calotypes’⁴⁷ indicating that negatives and/or prints were put up for sale. There is a later report which confirms that negatives were offered for sale and states:

Some time after the death of Mr Hill they [the calotype negatives], along with a large quantity of his effects were brought to the hammer, but no offer could be obtained for the negatives. Subsequently one of the members of the Edinburgh Photographic Society purchased the whole – nearly a thousand – for ten pounds, and, after selecting what he principally cared for, sold the remainder, mostly portraits, for half that sum. Of these a number were presented to the Edinburgh Photographic Society and the rest laid aside,

and valued more as specimens of the work of an early period than in the hope or expectation of their ever having a commercial value⁴⁸.

It is not known who those involved were but the photographer Archibald Burns was a prominent member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society and occupied Rock House. It is plausible that he was one of those involved and ‘the remainder, mostly portraits’ and ‘specimens of the work of an early period’ could be interpreted as describing the negatives Dougan bought from Rock House. So it is possible that a proportion of the negatives taken away by Hill returned to Rock House and a later photographer there, Francis Caird Inglis, saw ‘a commercial value’. But there is no way of being certain and others apart from Burns have to be considered. Andrew Elliot, who had a booksellers and stationers business on Princes Street, had a large collection of Hill and Adamson prints and negatives and had been a member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society since 1868. Elliot’s collection was bequeathed by his family to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1950 and will be referred to in Chapter 4. Another member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society that could have been involved was George A. Panton who, according to the Minutes of the Edinburgh Photographic Society of 25 April 1873 ‘presented to the Society a fine collection of calotype negatives and prints by the late Messrs D. O. Hill and R. Adamson’⁴⁹. It is unlikely that this will ever be completely resolved and the situation is further complicated because it is possible that Francis Caird Inglis as well as his father, Alexander Adam Inglis, acquired Hill and Adamson material while they resided at Rock House. As detailed below, there is evidence that Francis Caird Inglis bought D. O Hill’s painting *Edinburgh from Calton Hill*, which was once at Rock House, and took it back there. It is likely that there were other items that were brought back to Rock House by Francis and his father but the proof can no longer be found.

It is not known what Dougan paid for the items from Rock House but as he had to ‘find the money’ it is likely to be a significant sum. Because the amount he paid is unknown it cannot be determined if he made a profit through the sale to the University of Glasgow Library. The sale included other items that Dougan had acquired elsewhere and the general tenor of Dougan wanting the collection to stay in Scotland gives the impression that profit was not his motive. The Library Committee minutes of 30 January 1953 record an agreement to purchase the Dougan collection for £875 and ‘this decision was made after examining detailed lists of the content’⁵⁰. Dougan does acknowledge that he had ‘received the remittance’ in April 1953⁵¹. The amount is substantial for the time and nearly twice Dougan’s annual salary as City Librarian at Perth. If Dougan was only covering his previous outlay in the sale, and the most

significant part was the Hill and Adamson material from Rock House, then the payment to Christian Inglis would also have been substantial amounting to several hundreds of pounds. The price Christian Inglis was asking may have been the reason the 'collection had not attracted anybody through the years'. It was possibly the case that Christian had been told by her father the value of the collection and stuck out for the price she understood as appropriate and Dougan was one of the only people who appreciated this and was prepared to pay it.

The reason that Dougan's collection came to the University of Glasgow Library was a combination of his feelings for his Scottish ancestry and his close friendship with Wilson Steel⁵² who was Sub, or Deputy, Librarian.

In a letter in 1982 Dougan confirms his strong attachment to Scotland and that his collection should be in a public institution here and no other place than 'Glasgow University Library'. He states that 'being of Scottish descent' made him feel 'all the more keenly in the matter'⁵³. The strength of this attachment is typical of the Scottish Diaspora, especially as the Scottish descent appears to be somewhat removed. His parents, like Dougan, were born in the London area and census records further reveal that this was also the case with three of his four grandparents. The fourth, his paternal grandfather William Dougan, was born in Ireland. Despite this Robert O. Dougan publicly described himself 'as a Scot'⁵⁴.

Dougan shared his strong attachment to Scotland with his first wife Olive Constant McMicken (1904-1963) who was also of Scottish descent, although neither of her parents was born in Scotland. While living in the Perth area she incorporated local places into her fiction.⁵⁵ Dougan wrote 'my then wife and I (both of Scottish descent) decided to stay in Scotland' and I got the chance I wanted, even before the war was over'⁵⁶. This was the post of City Librarian at Perth in 1945.

However, the part played by Wilson Steel was significant and Dougan wrote:

I had become friendly with Wilson Steel (on...my RAF trips from Perth to Edinburgh and/or Glasgow I would try and contact him, Steel, because...he was interested in photography).

Dougan added:

When he [Steel] heard I had received the call to Trinity College Dublin, he said: “you are surely not going to take your Scottish photographs to Ireland, are you? We have so few examples here, while Edinburgh seems to have them all”. He knew where to hit my sensitive mind! And also knew that I liked antiquarian and archaeological treasures to be used for study and research and not only to be gawked at in show cases. So the die was cast...⁵⁷

Dougan also made this point in a letter to Peter C. Bunnell stating that ‘when I left Scotland to go to Ireland (Trinity College) in 1952, the librarian of Glasgow University Library importuned me to sell it to the library, so that the collection would remain in Scotland’⁵⁸.

Dougan was not reluctant about the sale because he wrote ‘I wanted them to stay in Scotland, where they belonged’⁵⁹. But he did not sell everything as he stated ‘other early Scottish photographs went with it but I kept a nucleus on which was built my second collection’⁶⁰.

This last statement indicates that Dougan retained some of the items that he acquired and there is evidence this included items purchased at Rock House as mentioned below. What he did retain is not known exactly but Dougan did have a list prepared by Francis Caird Inglis which his wife mistakenly gave to the University of Glasgow Library with the rest of the collection and was anxious to retrieve. She wrote:

This is just to ask you to please return the blue-paper list by Francis Caird Inglis of the D. O. Hill negatives. I am in ashes and sackcloth for I should not have given it to you...and forgot that R. O. D. wanted to keep that blue list, which is not accurate as far as the stuff you have bought is concerned.⁶¹

This list can no longer be traced but there appears to be a copy⁶².

The second collection was gradually built up when Dougan was in the USA and had significant content although it was not quite on the scale of his first collection. Dougan again sold this collection. It is possible that the second collection was initially intended by Dougan to go to the Huntington but this did not materialise⁶³. It was bought by Warner Communication Inc in 1976 for \$176,500 but it was to go to public institutions and to be accessible and available for research as well as teaching. The collection was divided between the Art Museum, Princeton University and the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Museum of Modern Art, New York. Again Dougan’s collection was not only photographs but there

were many books and these went to Princeton University and Peter C. Bunnell wrote to Dougan about receiving these:

I must mention one other area, however, because of its immense importance to our graduate teaching program in the history of photography. And this is the library section [of Dougan's collection]. All of us agreed at the start that, because of Princeton's unique teaching responsibility, I should have the first choice of the library section. I selected it and so it has come to Princeton intact. I cannot tell you how important this will be to our research functions'.⁶⁴

In acknowledgement of the items it received, the Princeton University Art Museum mounted a major exhibition in 1983 and published a catalogue of its Dougan Collection. In the preface Peter C. Bunnell paid tribute to 'the contribution of Robert O. Dougan in assuring the preservation of these works' and that 'his discernment and taste are evident throughout the collection'⁶⁵. Dougan was 'pleased and gratified'⁶⁶ about the exhibition and especially the catalogue because 'this large and important part of his collection was permanently recorded'⁶⁷.

So further institutions, as well as the University of Glasgow, benefitted from Dougan's commitment to collecting early photography. But there is another earlier example of an institution benefitting from Dougan's collecting expertise. In 1954, the year after Dougan sold his collection to the University of Glasgow Library, he sold two photographic albums to the National Museum of Wales which paid £45. These are much prized, being mostly the work of pioneering Welsh photographer John Dillwyn Llewelyn⁶⁸.

An indication of some of the items that Dougan retained from Rock House is shown in the following list of items he offered on loan for the exhibition in the Hunterian Museum in 1954:

- (1) Annan prints of D. O. Hill and his wife (2).
- (2) Five photographs of Rock House by Paul Shillabeer.
- (3) Glass negative photograph of bust of D. O. Hill in Perth Art Gallery. You might like to get a print made from this?
- (4) Framed photograph by Annan of D. O. Hill's "Disruption Picture".
- (5) Oil painting by D. O. Hill entitled: "Edinburgh from Calton Hill." (Framed).
- (6) Oil painting by D. O. Hill entitled: "Culloden Muir." (Framed).

(7) Sketch in monochrome by D. O. Hill entitled: “The Fair City” (= Perth) (Framed). The oil painting of which this was the precursor is in Perth Art Gallery.

(8) Framed “New Year card” for 1868 signed by D. O. H.⁶⁹

Items (2), (3), (5), (6), (7) and (8) were included in the exhibition⁷⁰. Dougan loaned items to an exhibition of early Victorian Scottish photography organised by the Saltire Society in Edinburgh in 1954 but the catalogue does not specify which⁷¹. He later loaned three items from the above list, (5), (6) and (7), to the centenary exhibition of the work of Hill and Adamson organised by the Scottish Arts Council in 1970. In the exhibition catalogue the provenance of the sepia watercolour *The Fair City*, and the oil paintings *Culloden Muir* and *Edinburgh from the Calton Hill* is stated as having been ‘purchased, Rock House, 1946’⁷². On the back of the canvas of *Edinburgh from the Calton Hill* the catalogue states:

Mrs D. O. Hill has written, ‘My first fireside, the wee house on the Calton stairs, A. R. Hill. To be given to William Sharp (Fiona McLeod) when I am done with it. Decr 22, 18-’⁷³.

As this painting was by her husband and of great sentimental value, it cannot be countenanced that it was simply left at Rock House and it was almost certainly the same with the other two works by Hill that Dougan loaned. It adds to the argument that items that left Rock House when the Hills moved out somehow later found their way back. If *Edinburgh from the Calton Hill* remained with Amelia Hill until her death in 1904⁷⁴, which is probable because of her attachment as stated on the back, it would be Francis Caird Inglis that would have brought it back and this is plausible given his admiration for Hill described in Chapter 3. This painting is now part of the art collection at the Huntington and was purchased from Dougan in 1976⁷⁵. If the typed label on the back of the frame had been quoted in full in the centenary catalogue it would have confirmed that it was bought by Francis Caird Inglis. The full label is as follows:

EDINBURGH FROM CALTON HILL – D. O. HILL R.S.A.

purchased from Hislop – Holyrood 1931 X/-

Written on the back of canvas by Mrs D. O. Hill is the following:-

MY FIRST FIRESIDE, THE WEE HOUSE ON THE CALTON STAIRS

SIGNED A.P. [sic] HILL

to be given to William Sharp when I am done with it Decr. 22nd 18

WILLIAM SHARP (FIONA MACLEOD) 1855 – 1905

Scottish Poet, novelist, and critic was a native of PAISLEY

Underneath the label is the signature 'Francis Caird Inglis' and the date '1931' confirming that he wrote the label and purchased the painting in 1931. The seller 'Hislop' is D. W. Hyslop, bookseller, music and art dealer, 101 Abbeyhill, Holyrood, listed in the Edinburgh Post Office Directory for 1931-2. The inclusion of 'X/-' is the price of the painting and is ten shillings, which is also written as 10/-. Unusually, William Sharp (1855-1905) wrote under the pseudonym Fiona Macleod. Dougan also sold the D. O. Hill painting *Culloden Muir* from the above list to the Huntington in 1976.⁷⁶

Despite the sale of his second collection to Warner Communication Inc, and the D. O. Hill paintings to the Huntington, it is likely that Dougan retained items, including some from Rock House, as they cannot be traced in the catalogues of the institutions that the second collection was divided between. Many of his books, papers etc. were lost in 1992, following the death of his second wife. He explained in a letter that due to his 'inability to take care of myself in our three room apartment' that he was moved from it to a single room. He added that 'in the break up of my home, I lost practically all of my pre USA (1958) archives and diaries' but 'I tried to rescue historical photographs and material relating to my collections'⁷⁷.

When Dougan died in 1999 his third wife Terry was still alive but it is not known what happened to Dougan's possessions⁷⁸. He did have historic photographs when he died because he left two Edward Muybridge mammoth plate prints of Yosemite to the Huntington⁷⁹. However, these had originally been presented to Dougan on his retirement by the Huntington. It is to be regretted that Dougan did not arrange for the deposit of his own papers in an institution with the same care he had taken over those of his first wife. It is possible that he intended to do this because he did deposit some of his own material, although these do not relate to collecting early photography. In the Department of Special Collections, University of California, Santa Barbara there is a Robert Ormes Dougan Collection but it is described as 'mainly printed ephemera from the Zamorano (Los Angeles) and Roxburghe (San Francisco) clubs, collected by Dougan'⁸⁰.

It is to be hoped that documents and other information relating to his collecting of early photography will emerge in the future to fill in some more of the details. But from the information available certain conclusions can be drawn. It was the celebration of the centenary of the invention of photography in 1939 that stimulated Dougan to start collecting early

photography. He started from a very advantageous position because he already worked in the antiquarian book business and would have sources and contacts, as well as being experienced in negotiating purchases and, in addition, he had adequate means to buy. Within about two years of beginning to collect Dougan moved to Scotland and found a fertile area to continue collecting. Again he was helped by his knowledge of the book trade but got local assistance from his friendship with Wilson Steel of the University of Glasgow Library. This resulted in Dougan's collection being substantially Scottish.

When Dougan left Scotland in 1952 for a post at Trinity College Dublin, his collection was of international significance for its quality and range but most crucially for the quantity of original Hill and Adamson calotype negatives and salt paper prints. A combination of Dougan's feelings for his Scottish ancestry and the persuasion of Wilson Steel, who had given advice and assistance, made Dougan resolve to sell his collection to the University of Glasgow Library.

Although Dougan had a distinguished career as a librarian, he stands out as an exceptional collector of early photography and the University of Glasgow Library is not the only institution to have benefitted. His collection at Glasgow continues to be used for teaching and research and has further secrets to reveal.

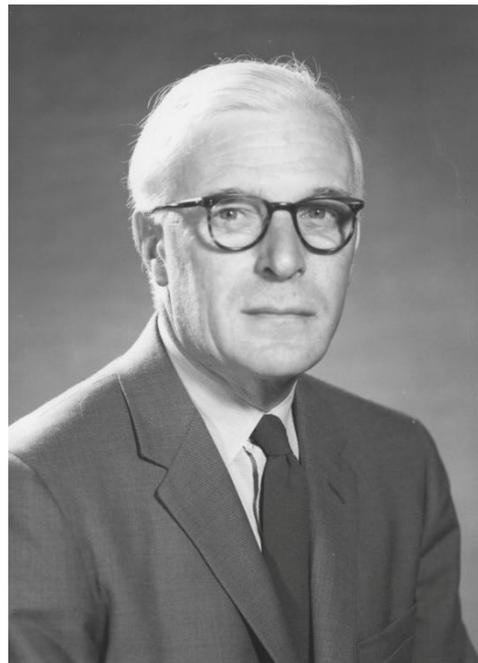


Figure 2.1, Unknown photographer, *Robert O. Dougan*, c 1960, courtesy Huntington Institutional Archives, The Huntington Library, San Marino, California.

Chapter 3

The Story of Rock House as a Photographic Studio from 1840s to 1940s

The collection of glass negatives which are the subject of this thesis came from Rock House which was a photographic studio for a century. To give the historical context this needs to be explained, especially as the negatives connect the first photographers, David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, and the last main photographer, Francis Caird Inglis, to have lived and worked at Rock House.

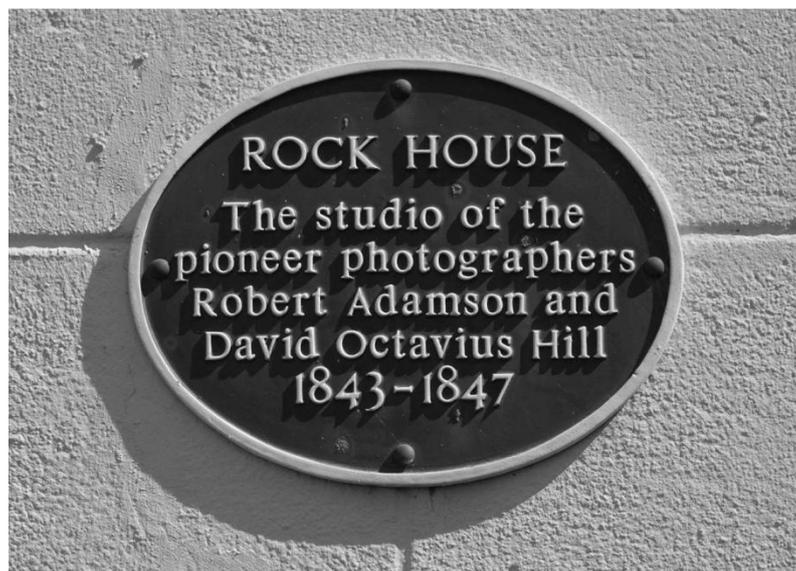


Figure 3.1, Plaque Rock House, author.

Rock House, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, has an unrivalled place in the history of Scottish photography and could be said to be the most famous address in photography, principally due to the pioneering work of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson who used it as their studio in the 1840s. But it also represents a continuum of photographic achievement from the very beginning of photography in Scotland and throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. For a hundred years it was the base and studio for a succession of notable photographers, from Hill and Adamson, to Thomas and John Annan, Archibald Burns, Alexander Inglis, his son Francis, to finally, and briefly, his son, another Alexander in the 1940s used it as business premises. A plaque on Rock House acknowledges Hill and Adamson (Figure 3.1).

Appropriately for a place so closely associated with the visual arts there are early images of Rock House and its outward appearance has changed very little in over two centuries. It

earliest known depiction was innovative as Rock House appears in the panorama *Edinburgh from Calton Hill* by Robert Barker (1739-1806) dated 1792. Barker was the inventor of the panorama and is said to have got his inspiration when walking on Calton Hill⁸¹. J. M. W. Turner's watercolour *Edinburgh from the Calton Hill* painted in 1819 includes Rock House and this was engraved for the *Provincial Antiquities and Picturesque Scenery of Scotland*, a publication in which Sir Walter Scott was involved (Figure 3.2). It was thought to be the next earliest depiction of Rock House, with its eastern gable in the sunlight in the lower right, but the current owners of Rock House have acquired a slightly earlier print from 1816 (Figure 3.3) and it now hangs in Rock House. The earlier print is from the south-west with the Calton Cemetery in the foreground, before work commenced on Waterloo Place and Regent Bridge and shows the southern boundary of Rock House being the cemetery.



Figure 3.2, J. M. W. Turner, *Edinburgh from the Calton Hill*, engraved by George Cooke, 1819, author.

Turner's painting shows work on the new road and the bridge largely complete with the stone masons' sheds to the east of Regent Bridge. The road was required as a route to the new city jail, on the left of the scene, and was not completed until 1822.

There can be some criticism of Turner in the accuracy of the depiction of Rock House as the roof is higher than the house it adjoins on the right whereas the earlier print shows the

neighbouring roof to be higher. The earlier print is more accurate, not only from how the buildings appear today but from nineteenth century photographs.

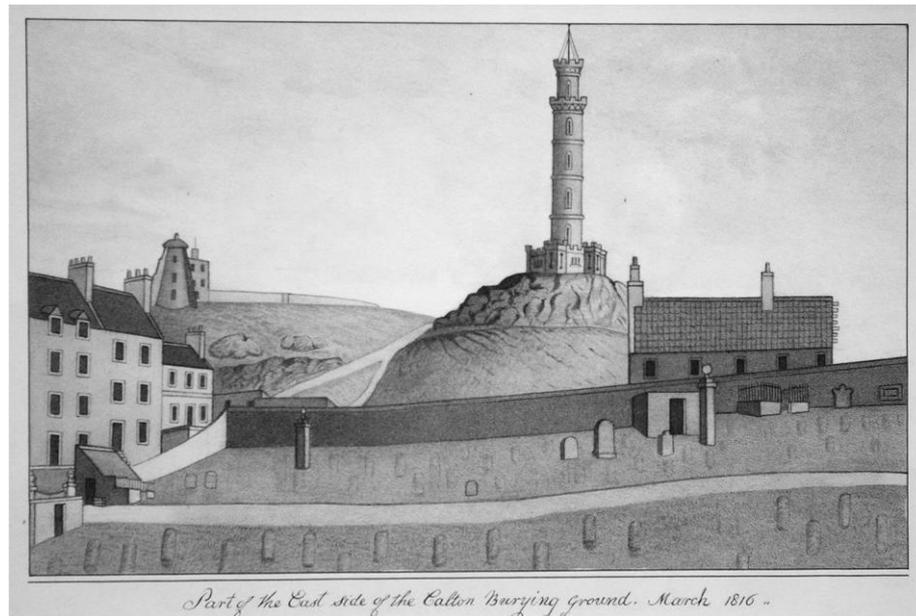


Figure 3.3, Unknown, *Part of the East side of the Calton Burying Ground, March 1816*, courtesy Anthony and Lisa Dickson.

The earliest documentary reference traced to Rock House is 30 June 1768, and is a sasine (a legal document relating to property). This is about William Menzies, a writer, or solicitor, in Edinburgh acquiring land on Calton Hill and contracting to have a dwelling-house built on it. The land is being acquired from William Pirnie, a mason, who was to build the house. There is a detailed description of the area of ground and that the house is to be built ‘in a line with and adjoining a house presently preparing to be built by the said William Pirnie’⁸². The document only has a brief description of the house being ‘a dwelling-house and cellars and certain outworks’⁸³. There appears to have been a problem between the builder and the client because there is another sasine dated 27 October 1769 which in the main relates to the contract to build the house. This gives further details of the size and accommodation of the dwelling-house. It is to ‘consist of a ground storey, a main or principal storey and a garret storey’. It also specified what the accommodation should be on each storey - ‘the ground storey containing a kitchen, parlour and cellars and other conveniences, the principal storey containing a dining room and three other fire rooms [i.e. with fire places] with closets and presses and the garret storey having a vent at each end so as to admit of being converted into two fire rooms and other conveniences’⁸⁴. A huge amount of further detail is gone into including the position of the door and all this accords with the Rock House which was built.

There is an interesting change in the description of the site because it is now bounded on the west by the ‘narrow or little house lately built by the said William Pirnie’. So he had completed the house that on the previous sasine stated he was preparing to build.

Given that this second sasine was October 1769 and that since the previous one in June 1768, Pirnie had completed the building of the ‘narrow’ house, it may be a fair assumption that Rock House dates from 1770. Francis Caird Inglis states that it was built in ‘1765’⁸⁵ but this is not substantiated by the legal documents.

The next documentary reference to Rock House is 1784 when William Menzies, now described as ‘Solicitor of Customs’, was requesting permission from the City Council to build a boundary wall and enclose with his property two small adjoining areas of land owned by the Council. This was agreed to by the Council subject to various conditions and the payment of an annual feu of ‘two shillings and sixpence’⁸⁶.

It remained within William Menzies’ family until 1818 and the building of Waterloo Place and Regent Road was the reason for the sale. John Menzies, son of the late William, and also a Solicitor of the Customs in Scotland, sold the dwelling-house and adjoining land to ‘Charles Cunningham, Writer to the Signet and Clerk and Treasurer to the Calton Road Commissioners’⁸⁷. Land was taken from the grounds to build the road and it is from this time that Rock House began to be rented out.

In 1858, forty years after it was acquired, the Council sold Rock House, with the sitting tenant of D. O. Hill, to an Edinburgh merchant, Peter Redford Scott. It is rather strange to think of Hill and Adamson as Council tenants. Rock House remained in the ownership of successive generations of the Scott family until bought in 1927⁸⁸ by the then tenant, Francis Caird Inglis.

There is a photograph of Rock House by Archibald Burns (Figure 3.4) when it was his studio and his signs can be clearly seen. The photograph is dated 1874 but the property had probably changed very little since Hill and Adamson’s time. A glasshouse is adjoining the house on the right. The glasshouse may have been there since the time Hill and Adamson worked there in the 1840s. The photograph was only five years after Hill moved out and Hill had continued to use Rock House as his home and studio as a painter after Adamson’s death in 1848. Rock House was also included in another photograph by Archibald Burns (Figure 3.6) which is

thought to be around 1870. Hill would have needed substantial studio space for his famous *Disruption* painting which had been the initial reason for his partnership with Adamson and is mentioned below. Could it have been in the glasshouse that Hill, and later his second wife Amelia, laboured for twenty-three years on the painting? There is certainly no other accommodation at Rock House with large windows suitable for a studio. Also space would have been at a premium in Rock House as Hill not only lived there with his daughter Charlotte but his sister Mary Watson and her children until he married Amelia in 1862.



Figure 3.4, Archibald Burns, *Rock House*, 1874, City of Edinburgh Council and www.capitalcollections.org.uk.

It was at Rock House where Robert Adamson, newly arrived from St Andrews, set up his studio in May 1843. He chose his location well because it was a sunny spot above the smoke of 'Auld Reekie'. This was important because photography at the time, just a few years after its invention, relied on sunlight to not only expose the negatives, but to make the prints. Dr Sara Stevenson, the world expert on Hill and Adamson, has shown that the photographs were not just taken at the front of the house but also in the elevated back garden. The use of the back garden is confirmed by a quote below from the Edinburgh commercial photographer, James Good Tunny. All the photographs were taken outside although some were made to look like they were inside.

Robert Adamson (1821-48) had learned the calotype process of photography in St Andrews which was the cradle of Scottish photography. The calotype was the name given to the first negative/positive photographic process invented by the Englishman William Henry Fox

Talbot (1800-77). It was an improvement of what Talbot first called photogenic drawing and announced in 1839. Through Talbot's friendship with Sir David Brewster (1781-1868), the Principal of St Andrews University, details of the process were given and experiments began at St Andrews. Those involved included Dr John Adamson (1810-70), the elder brother of Robert. The process of photography appealed to Robert's scientific interests. What can be said with some certainty is that when Robert Adamson moved to Edinburgh in May 1843, to set up his studio at Rock House, he was an expert technician in the calotype process. It is known when he moved in because on 9 May 1843 Brewster wrote to Talbot that Robert Adamson:

goes tomorrow to Edinburgh to prosecute, as a Profession, the Calotype. He has made brilliant progress, and done some of the very finest things both in portrait and landscape. His risk and outlay are considerable: and he is therefore anxious to make a good beginning⁸⁹.

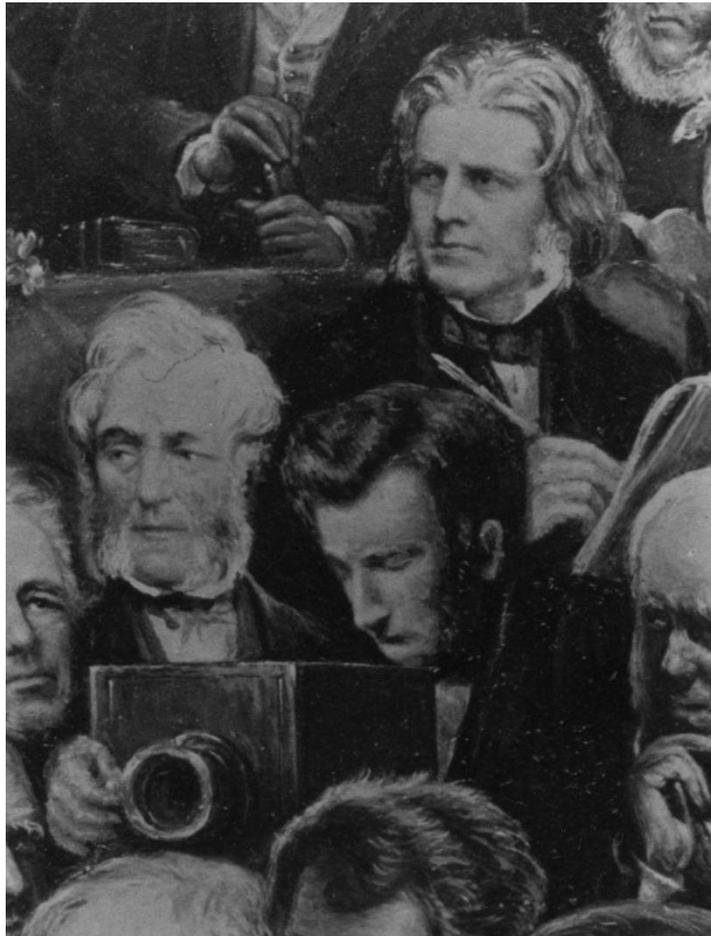


Figure 3.5, David Octavius and Amelia Robertson Hill, detail from the *Disruption* painting showing Robert Adamson with his camera and David Octavius Hill with his sketchpad, 1866, author.

Robert Adamson with his camera and David Octavius Hill with his sketchpad are shown in Hill's *Disruption* painting (Figure 3.5) or to give the full title *The First General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland, Signing the Act of Separation and Deed of Demission at Tanfield, Edinburgh, 23 May 1843* (Free Church of Scotland, Edinburgh). The painting not only has a large title but it measures about 12' x 4' 8" (360 x 140 cm) and hangs in the offices of the Free Church of Scotland at the Mound, Edinburgh. The painting was the reason for Hill and Adamson starting to work together. Hill started this painting in 1843 but did not complete it, with the help of his second wife Amelia Robertson Paton, until 1866 and it was painted at Rock House. Hence he would have needed a sizeable studio and probably the glasshouse in Archibald Burns' photographs (Figures 3.4 and 3.6).

David Octavius Hill (1802-70), usually D. O. Hill, was born in Perth on 20 May 1802. He was a well trained Scottish artist and an accomplished draughtsman and became Secretary of the Royal Scottish Academy in 1830, a post he held until about a year before his death in 1870.

The disruption of the Church of Scotland occurred when ministers walked out of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland to form the Free Church of Scotland. The main reason for this was democratic, so that congregations could appoint their own ministers. Hill was so moved by the event that he decided to paint a great commemorative painting. He was at the scene and he was directly involved, as his brother-in-law, Rev Robert Macdonald, was one of the dissenting ministers. What particularly captured Hill's imagination was the magnitude of the sacrifice the ministers were making by leaving the Church of Scotland. They were giving up their manses, churches and incomes.

At this stage Sir David Brewster got involved. Brewster took a prominent role in forming the Free Church and when he heard about the proposed painting, perhaps with an eye for a business opportunity for the newly arrived Robert Adamson, suggested to Hill that photography may be an efficient means of capturing likenesses for the painting. Hill went to see Adamson at Rock House for a demonstration of the process. Adamson seems to have spent his first few weeks in Edinburgh setting up his studio at Rock House. The only dated photograph from this period is of the nearby Royal High School, now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Hill was so impressed by the calotype process that on 3 July Brewster was able to write to Talbot that Hill:

was at first incredulous, but went to Mr Adamson, and arranged with him preliminaries for getting all the necessary portraits. They have succeeded beyond their most sanguine expectations. – They have taken on a small scale, Groups of 25 persons in the same picture all placed in attitudes which the Painter desired and very large Pictures besides have been taken of each individual to assist the Painter in the completion of the Picture. Mr D. O. Hill, the Painter, is on the eve of entering into partnership with Mr Adamson and proposes to apply the Calotype to many other general purposes of a very popular kind, & especially to the execution of large pictures representing different bodies & classes of individuals.⁹⁰

Hill and Adamson quickly established a compatible working arrangement but it was more than just working together, it was a friendship. There are frequent references in Hill's correspondence to Adamson as a friend rather than just a business partner. Hill, a widower, also moved into Rock House. Their friendship was obviously close and is reflected in Hill's expressions of grief at Adamson's death⁹¹ and later including Adamson's camera, draped with a black cloth, in his painting *In Memoriam: The Calton 1862* (City Art Centre, Edinburgh).

Hill's only surviving daughter, Charlotte, died in 1862, shortly after giving birth to her first child. She had spent most of her life at Rock House and although the painting, which is in the City Art Centre, Edinburgh, commemorates sad events there are perhaps also memories of the happy times at Rock House.

The two men had respect for each other's talents and these talents were complementary. Hill wrote that 'Robert Adamson is the most successful manipulator the art has yet seen, [with] his steady industry and knowledge of chemistry'⁹². Adding 'Adamson thinks he knows some things others do not'⁹³.

Hinting that Adamson had made his own improvements to the calotype process. What is clear is that Adamson succeeded in producing excellent prints with a quality and consistency not matched by his contemporaries.

Hill admits that 'I know not the process though it is done under my nose continually and believe I never will'⁹⁴. So Hill did not interfere in what was Adamson's area of expertise and responsibility.

It is Hill's aspiration for the process that is crucial. He wrote:

I think the art may be nobly applied – much money could be made of it as a means of cheap likeness making – but this my soul loathes, and if I do not succeed in doing something worthy of being mentioned by Artists with honour – I will very likely soon be done with it⁹⁵.

Hill took a great deal of care with the images and admitted that 'the arrangement of the picture is as much an effort of the artist as if he was in reality going to paint it'⁹⁶.

It is worth remembering that at this stage Hill and Adamson were starting with a blank piece of paper. They had no photographic examples to follow. This was the very beginning of photography and in a sense Hill in particular was not aware of, or did not recognise, the limitations. It may be that Hill's artistic aspirations, without an understanding of the technical problems, motivated Adamson to improve and innovate with the process. What they attempted was remarkable, and the level to which they succeeded, incredible.

It is summed up very well by the pioneering photo-historians Helmut and Alison Gernsheim:

D. O. Hill and Robert Adamson are universally accorded first place in the annals of photography. The artistic spirit with which their photographs are imbued has impressed all succeeding generations, and it is indeed astonishing that in its very first years the new art should have reached its highest peak in the magnificent achievements of these two Scottish photographers.⁹⁷

The Edinburgh commercial photographer James Good Tunny, later commented that 'Hill and Adamson's calotype portraits became the wonder of every gathering of scientific or artistic men'⁹⁸. Tunny also gives a very rare account of Adamson at work:

Time after time have I gone and stood on the projecting rock below Playfair's monument on Calton Hill, and drawn inspiration from viewing Mr Adamson placing a large square box upon a stand, covering his head with a focusing cloth, introducing the slide, counting the seconds by his watch, putting the cap on the lens, and retiring to

what we now know to be the dark room. Oh! If I could only have got an introduction to these men, it would have been the consummation of my happiness!⁹⁹

As mentioned earlier, this confirms the use of the back garden for photography as Tunny could only see it from this location.

The reason that Rock House is of such importance is because of the photographs produced by its occupants, especially by Hill and Adamson but also by succeeding photographers. The glass negatives contain many of Hill and Adamson's most striking photographs and show the high artistic and technical quality of their image making and references to some of these follows with the negative number given in brackets.

It is worth mentioning that an obvious influence on Hill and Adamson's portraits was the prominent Scottish portrait painter Sir Henry Raeburn (1756-1823), with whose work Hill, as a fellow painter, would have been familiar. The arrangement of the sitters in the Hill and Adamson portraits is often the same as Raeburn posed his sitters. Raeburn was also a master of the effect of light and shade, technically *chiaroscuro*, and this is pronounced in Hill and Adamson portraits. In Raeburn's portrait *Francis Horner MP*, 1812, (National Portrait Gallery, London), the light picks out the head and the hands but there is also the composition so common in many of Hill and Adamson's portraits: the subject sitting beside a table on which they rest their arm.

Professor Duncan Macmillan states that Hill and Adamson's photographs are 'amongst the first great works of art-photography, they are thoroughly modern, yet they also clearly look back to Raeburn and beyond him to Rembrandt...'¹⁰⁰.

Hill's fellow members of the Royal Scottish Academy were often photographed. A portrait with real impact and characterisation is that of the sculptor *Sir John Steell* (10/8), perhaps best known for his statue of Sir Walter Scott for the Scott Monument, Edinburgh. The light catches the side of his head and the hand it rests on while the other hand is tucked into his coat. Dr Sara Stevenson says 'this portrait is remarkable for its strength and simplification and could well serve as a model for Romantic practice in photography'¹⁰¹.

For the Steell portrait Hill did not use any props as he did in other images to add narrative. In the portrait of *Sheriff John Cay* (18/10), books are used to indicate intellectual qualities. As well as being Sheriff of Linlithgow, Cay contributed to literary and philosophical journals and was prominent in learned societies. He was also an early photographer and a member of the Edinburgh Calotype Club.

It was not only men that Hill and Adamson photographed and some of their most well-known portraits are of women. These portraits are impressive for their openness and for the fact that they show women as distinct individuals and with strong characterisation. Miss Elizabeth Rigby (1809-93), who later became Lady Eastlake, was an art critic and by far the woman Hill and Adamson photographed most. In one of the compositions (9/30) Hill's emotional involvement with the sitter can be detected. She seems to be lost in thought and does not engage the viewer. The books she leans on allude to her intellectual abilities but it is a very sensitive image and the little vase of flowers may hint at Hill's feelings for her. He later wrote 'my old sweetheart Elizabeth Rigby – the tallest, cleverest & best girl of these parts'¹⁰².

Hill and Adamson photographed Elizabeth's mother, Anne (Palgrave) Rigby (1777-1872). She is shown in profile (10/7) in a rather severe pose but it is to emphasise her strong character and has been carefully done so that the white lace contrasts with the dark dress and background. A similar full-length pose has often been compared¹⁰³ with the famous painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, 1871, by James Abbott McNeill Whistler, (Musée d'Orsay, Paris).

Hill and Adamson's most innovative use of the newly discovered medium of photography was that they turned their camera on ordinary working people and those of the fishermen and women, principally of the village of Newhaven, are amongst their most outstanding work for several reasons (1/14, 1/15, 9/8, 9/10, 11/9, 16/7, 16/9, 16/10, 16/11, 17/10, 17/11, 18/5 and 21/6).

There is no better place to start than the portrait of *Elizabeth Johnstone Hall, Newhaven Fishwife* (9/10 and 16/9), which is one of Hill and Adamson's most exceptional photographs. It shows a strong and attractive woman with powerful simplicity and epitomises Hill's sophisticated understanding of light, composition and ability in photographing women. Her face is half in shadow and is circled by the light bonnet against the dark background. The hands holding the basket are those of a woman used to hard work. The sun catches the horizontal wickerwork of

the basket, which is next to her skirt's vertical stripes. The glass negatives are titled *The Newhaven Madonna*,¹⁰⁴ which may be a little fanciful but it does indicate the 'Old Master' qualities of this image. *Willie Liston 'Redding' [preparing] the Line*, (9/8) is a similar powerful and absorbing composition, with subtle lighting, showing a strong and hardworking individual.

The group of fishwives with the local minister, the Reverent James Fairbairn, titled *The Pastor's Visit* (17/10), which Hill has carefully organised, introduces a religious element. It also illustrates Newhaven's taste for independence and self-determination because at the Disruption of the Church of Scotland in 1843, the whole congregation followed Reverend Fairbairn out of the Church of Scotland and formed the Newhaven Free Church. The glass negative image is reversed and is discussed further in Chapter 4.

Another group of workers that Hill and Adamson photographed were those building the Scott Monument (11/2, 11/3, 11/4, 11/8 and 18/2). There were also photographs of the soldiers at Edinburgh Castle (7/5, 7/6, 7/7, 7/7A, 7/8, 16/2, 16/2A, 16/5, 16/6, 18/3, 18/6 and 18.7) and as well as the formal poses there are off-duty moments of the soldiers with their families and showing the Castle was a home as well as a work place.

A location that attracted Hill and Adamson to make photographs was Greyfriars Churchyard (6/10, 11/11, 11/13 and 17/5), which became a popular location with subsequent generations of photographers. The compositions from there are often imbued with a feeling of melancholy and this was deliberate to add another layer of meaning for the viewer. In *The Dennistoun Monument with D. O. Hill, his Nieces and the Gravedigger* (17/5) there is the contrast of the living, and the young, with the dead. It was an image that appeared on the title page of bound presentation albums of prints prepared by Hill and Adamson. This was for the albums to open with the moralistic message of the transitory nature of human life, a *memento mori* (remember you will die).

The glass negatives are predominately portraits which are what Hill and Adamson are understandably most celebrated for and are an excellent representation of their artistic achievement. But they do not encompass their full range as they produced many landscapes and townscapes.

For Hill the loss of Adamson was irreplaceable in a collaboration to which he contributed so much, but Hill was not quite finished with photography.

Hill had a brief partnership with the Edinburgh photographer Alexander McGlashon in about 1861 and Rock House was the location for most of their photographs. Their output was small but again there was Hill's aspiration for photography and a group of fifteen images were titled *Contributions towards the further development of Fine Art in Photography* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). These photographs are usually criticised by modern critics 'as weak and conventional in comparison with the calotypes'¹⁰⁵. However, they were well received and praised in reviews when they first appeared and the photograph *Horae Subsecivae* [leisure hours], a double portrait of John Taylor Brown and Dr John Brown, won Hill a medal at the Photographic Society of Scotland Exhibition in December 1861. One of the glass negatives (17/14) is an addition to the work of Hill and McGlashon and is a portrait of the Edinburgh printer Alexander Keith Johnston (1804-71) and will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

Hill continued to live in Rock House until 1869, the year before his death, when he moved to Newington Lodge, a new home bought by his second wife, Amelia, to the south of the city.

When Hill moved out, the Glasgow based photographer Thomas Annan (1829-87) set up business at Rock House, assisted by his brother John. Thomas Annan was at Rock House for less than two years although one of his sons, William, was born there on 28 February 1870, and later became a civil engineer. Most likely due to Thomas Annan's commitments in Glasgow, where he still had business premises, he returned west by the time of the 1871 census. His brother John continued to work in Edinburgh from a variety of addresses.

Thomas Annan was a close friend of D. O. Hill for whom he had intense admiration and appreciation as a man and an artist. When Hill wanted photographic prints of his *Disruption* painting it was Annan who did them.

Thomas Annan was born into a farming family at Dairsie, Fife, in 1829. In 1845 he was apprenticed as a lithographic engraver at Cupar and in 1849 he moved to the large lithographic business of Joseph Swan in Glasgow. It was there that he turned his mind to photography with commercial success and had his own business in Sauchiehall Street by 1857 and opened a printing works in Hamilton in 1859. Although Annan worked in the areas of popular photography, he made a reputation as a photographer expert in copying works of art. It was said of Annan:

The excellence of his work, more especially in the reproduction of paintings, obtaining for him wide and most honourable distinction. Cultured and with great natural taste for art, he loved the society of artists, and was never so happy as when endeavouring to faithfully translate some masterpiece into monochrome through the medium of the camera.¹⁰⁶

What Thomas Annan is best known for now is a remarkable group of photographs of the centre of the City of Glasgow. These scenes of old closes and streets date from between 1868 and 1871. In 1866 the City finally got an Act passed through Parliament to demolish the dreadful slums of the Old Town. Before the work began, the Trustees of the improvements, commissioned Annan to make a historical record of the buildings. Annan's achievement far exceeded his remit, as noted by Dr Sara Stevenson:

Theoretically, the photographs were only supposed to show the old buildings which were to be destroyed. But Annan's photographs go beyond a simple record of past history. With them there is a broad sense of time and emotion – the desperate human past of the buildings is seen to enclose an optimistic future.¹⁰⁷

Thomas Annan took three years to complete his commission and this significant length of time would indicate his intention to achieve more than a mere surface representation or a soulless record of decaying buildings. He achieved the subtle light and detail that appeared in his landscape photographs and he must have explored the closes at length to know the best time of day when the light crept in. He also had a feeling of how he wanted to portray the subject. All of these elements have combined to provide a moving account of the closes; real and heartfelt. He does not dwell on the squalid but was concerned to focus on the historical past of the buildings as well as the distress of the present. Thus, it is not overwhelmingly bleak and there is the optimism that it can be improved.

When Thomas Annan moved into Rock House he was not the only photographer on Calton Hill. A near neighbour was Archibald Burns (1831-80) at number 22. Rock House is number 28, so Burns would only be a few doors away.

It is interesting that in the year that Annan began his commission to take photographs of the Glasgow Closes, Burns photographs illustrated the book *Picturesque "Bits" of Old Edinburgh* and

included grim depictions of some of the more deprived areas of the Old Town mentioned below. Annan would have known of these photographs and they could have had an influence on his subsequent and acclaimed work in Glasgow.

Thomas Annan photographs of Edinburgh are very scarce so it is unlikely that he was photographing the city while at Rock House. It is possible that Rock House had principally been a portrait studio, although there is no direct evidence and no portraits by Annan with the Rock House address have been found. There are Thomas Annan photographs of Edinburgh but none which can be dated to his time at Rock House, e.g. there are three of his photographs of Edinburgh in an edition of Sir Walter Scott's *Marmion* published in 1866.¹⁰⁸ A possible piece of work that Thomas Annan undertook while at Rock House used his acknowledged expertise in copying paintings. In *The Scotsman* on 22 March 1870 there was a review of a book titled *Harvey's Celebrated Paintings: A selections from the works of Sir George Harvey, PRSA*, 'Described by Rev A. L. Simpson and Photographed by Thomas Annan'¹⁰⁹. It was elaborately produced with original albumen prints by Annan and the reviewer says:

The sole fault that we can find with the volume is that its size and price must necessarily limit its circulation to the smaller number of Sir George Harvey's admirers that could be wished.¹¹⁰

The book was published by Andrew Elliot of Princes Street, Edinburgh which adds weight to the theory that it may have been produced during Thomas Annan's stay at Rock House. Annan and Elliot would also have shared an appreciation of the photographs of Hill and Adamson, as Elliot had a significant collection and published a book about them which will be described in Chapter 4.

There is a photograph *The Calton Hill, Edinburgh* by Archibald Burns showing Rock House (Figure 3.6) most likely from before he moved in, as it does not have his signs, and it could be from the time that Thomas Annan was there. The outhouse in front of the house on the right, has just been extended and the line of the new brickwork is clear. It is unlikely that an elderly D. O. Hill would have undertaken this. But the most significant piece of evidence, although it is not very clear, is that there appears to be a painting in a gilt frame in the sunshine in front of Rock House and what could be a tripod behind. In his view of Calton Hill, Burns may have captured evidence of Thomas Annan copying a painting.



Figure 3.6, Archibald Burns, Detail *The Calton Hill, Edinburgh*, c 1870, author.

It was almost certainly Thomas Annan's business commitments in Glasgow that caused him to return and not business rivalry from his near neighbour, Archibald Burns. It is more likely that the two men were acquaintances and possibly friends, as well as having a business association. It was Burns who moved into Rock House when Annan returned to Glasgow. By the 1871 census Annan is back in Glasgow and Burns is in Rock House. But the close business relationship of the two men is shown in the Valuation Roll for 1871/72, with Annan still having the lease of Rock House but Burns is the occupier¹¹¹.

Thomas Annan's occupation of Rock House was brief but it was to have a significant effect on his son James Craig Annan (1864-1946). He recalled as a young boy meeting D. O. Hill at Rock House saying 'he [Hill] gave me a sheet of paper and arranged a model for me to draw while he sat talking to father'.¹¹² The American photographer, Alvin Langdon Coburn (1882-1966), who knew James Craig Annan, wrote:

As a boy, living in Rock House, at the foot of Calton Hill in Edinburgh, [James Craig] Annan heard his father tell how his friend, the landscape painter David Octavius Hill, photographed against these same walls and doors the divines, great ladies, poets, explorers and sculptors – even huntsmen and small kilted boys of the middle 1840s.

Moved by the noble simplicity and dignity of the few prints he saw, [James Craig] Annan made prints from Calotype negatives in the original spirit. Praise from such artists as Whistler helped him launch the excited rediscovery of this forgotten pioneer.¹¹³

It was James Craig Annan who was responsible for the work of Hill and Adamson, and especially their magnificent portrait studies, becoming known ‘to a world that had forgotten them’.¹¹⁴ The American photographer Alfred Stieglitz (1864-1946) said that Annan would be remembered for this, if nothing else, and it was Stieglitz who ensured that the work of Hill and Adamson reached a wider and critically important audience. Between 1903 and 1917 Stieglitz edited the prestigious and influential photographic journal *Camera Work* and Hill and Adamson’s photographs appeared in several issues. This was hugely important in getting their work recognised and establishing their international reputation, especially in North America.

Archibald Burns was born in the parish of Dalsersf in Lanarkshire, just south of Hamilton on 12 January 1831. By the 1851 census he was living at Broughton Street, Edinburgh and described as a ‘journeyman bookseller’. It is likely to be in Edinburgh that he began to participate in photography. He was a member of the Photographic Society of Scotland in 1858 and gave his address as ‘Oliver and Boyd’s’, the publishers and printers who were his employers. He exhibited stereo-views at the annual exhibition of the Photographic Society of Scotland in 1858 and the negatives were produced by Fothergill’s Dry Process. This was a collodion-albumen process for producing dry glass plates. It had the advantage that the plates could be prepared in advance and did not need to be immediately developed which would have been much more convenient for the amateur with limited time for actually taking the photographs. If Burns had used the wet collodion process he would have needed to transport a dark-tent to prepare and process his negatives. The exposure times with the dry plate process would have been longer but this would not have been a problem as Burns concentrated on landscape and townscape views. Burns went on to become one of the founding members of Edinburgh Photographic Society in 1861. He exhibited in the first Edinburgh Photographic Society exhibition in 1861, and gave a number of lectures, including in April 1861 ‘on the Fothergill, or Washed Albumen Process of Photography in which he detailed with great minuteness his method of working’¹¹⁵.

On 12 March 1866 he wrote as follows to his employers:

Gentlemen

I am about to commence business as photographer, and shall be glad if you can arrange my leaving about the end of April.

Yours respectfully

Arch Burns¹¹⁶.

To operate his business he moved to the house at 22 Calton Hill, close to Rock House.

Burns background in publishing and printing was to be an important part of his career, especially early on. In 1867 his photograph of the statue of Allan Ramsay in Princes Street Gardens was the frontispiece for the fourth edition of *The Gentle Shepherd – A Pastoral Comedy*¹¹⁷. He was also working on the photographs for two quite different books *Photographs of Edinburgh* and *Picturesque “Bits” from Old Edinburgh*. *Photographs of Edinburgh* was an obvious tourist type publication with a history written by the Scottish author, R. M. Ballantyne, famous for his adventure books for boys and especially the Victorian classic, *Coral Island*.

Burns was predominantly a landscape photographer producing views to be sold to tourists. A notice in *The Scotsman* advertised ‘Burns Photographic Views of Edinburgh and its Neighbourhood’. His interpretation of ‘Neighbourhood’ was rather wide and included Glasgow and the Trossachs. He also sold ‘Stereoscopic, Cabinet, Card, Scrap and Magic Lantern Views’ as well as ‘Burns Series of Panoramas Mounted on Cloth in Elegant Gilt Case’ and these were ‘Sold by All Book and Print Sellers’.¹¹⁸ There are examples of Burns’ photographs which include the ink stamp or sticker of the retailer who sold them¹¹⁹. All these prints were made in daylight by contact printing with the negative in frames. This was weather dependent and to maintain an output in wet conditions the glasshouse at Rock House would have been useful.

There were fifteen photographs by Burns in *Picturesque “Bits”*, albumen prints pasted onto the pages, and the book takes the reader on a tour from the Castle down the Royal Mile to Holyrood and back through the Cowgate to the Grassmarket.

The photograph that is the frontispiece of the book gives an indication that this is different from simply being a tourist publication. It is not one of the monumental structures like the Castle, Holyrood Palace or the Scott Monument but *Old High School Wynd*, deep in the Cowgate.

The text gives the reason why it was chosen:

In this High School Wynd (shown in our frontispiece) are some of the old houses, which, when properly lighted up, form as picturesque combinations as any artist could desire. Already the hand of improvement is upon it, and since our view was taken, the stair at the foot on the left, has been removed, considerably marring its effect.¹²⁰

But Burns felt compelled to photograph this area and this may have been because of the impending loss which was also the case for the photographs Burns took for the Edinburgh Improvement Trust described below.

One of the most unusual photographs in *Picturesque "Bits"* is "*Bit*" in *Bull's Close, Cowgate* (Figure 3.7), especially when taken with the description:

Bull's Close, of which we give a fragment, as a sample of the stuff these old house were made of. Unfortunately this close could not be photographed as a whole, which we would have liked, both for its picturesqueness and to give an idea of one of the lowest haunts of misery in Edinburgh.¹²¹



Figure 3.7, Archibald Burns, "*Bit*" in *Bull's Close, Cowgate*, 1868, author.

Burns undertook a further important exercise in photographing this area and this was hastened by its imminent disappearance.

The Edinburgh Improvement Act was passed in 1867 and the Chambers Street District formed Area 1 of the Improvement Scheme. Properties were acquired and demolition work began at Martinmas, 11 November, 1870.

The area to be demolished was between what is now Chambers Street and the Cowgate and from South Bridge to Horse Wynd. Horse Wynd was immediately north of College Street which is now between the Old Quad of the University of Edinburgh and the National Museum of Scotland.

It is likely that the initiative for these photographs came from Burns himself and due to his feelings about the area, which he had already partly recorded in *Picturesque "Bits"*. The photographs were taken hurriedly and were only reported after the event for the approval of the Trustees and for Burns to be paid his fee of '£16. 7/-'¹²².

It is clear from Burns' photographs that the inhabitants had gone and the demolition, which began on 11 November 1870, had already started.

In the National Library of Scotland there is a photograph of the plan of the area dated 9 December 1870 with the note that 'the figures on the plan mark the points from which the photographs were taken'¹²³. This confirms that the photographs were taken before 9 December but after 11 November, a very short time-scale. However, it was not until a meeting of the Edinburgh Improvement Trust on 7 February 1871 that it is minuted that the photographs were displayed.

So for Burns it was not only a rush job but the photographs had to be produced in the short hours of daylight and no doubt the murkiness of a Scottish winter. The printing also had to be done in these conditions. It was a significant technical challenge but Burns more than overcame the difficulties to create a series of historic and evocative images.

Burns main output was of views for tourists and for these he sometimes just followed the conventional viewpoints but he could also be innovative with these. A photograph in

Photographs of Edinburgh demonstrates this and also shows Burns close working relationship with the author of the text, R. M. Ballantyne. In *National Gallery, Free Church College etc.* (Figure 3.8) Burns has chosen a low viewpoint which provides foreground interest but still balances the buildings in the middle distance and the Castle in the background and celebrates the architecture and scenery of Edinburgh. Ballantyne comments:

The point from which this view was obtained is the terrace walk beside the Scott Monument... and is indeed a commanding position for seeing the city.¹²⁴

It is very much a view for the tourist, to show an attractive Edinburgh and that is Burns purpose but he is not taking the viewer beneath the surface of what he presents, in contrast to what he did with his photographs for the Edinburgh Improvement Trust and some of those in *Picturesque "Bits"*.

Burns was a very talented and creative photographer and could use different approaches to his subject depending on the audience he was making images for. This was in part due to the commercial priorities of running his business and he was versatile and accomplished in what he produced. But there were subjects, like the fast disappearing Old Town of Edinburgh, in which Burns shows personal involvement, both emotionally and artistically, and the layers of meaning and evocation of place make this his most distinctive photography.



Figure 3.8, Archibald Burns, *National Gallery, Free Church College etc.*, c 1867, author.

Burns continued to live at Rock House until his death on 29 January 1880. He was only 49 and was known to suffer from poor health. Burns did well financially as a photographer and

was a relatively wealthy man at his death with a personal estate of over £4,200. Burns' business was advertised for sale in *The Scotsman* in May 1880 and the notice stated:

The Trade is in Carte, Stereo, Cabinet and Imperial Views, as well as in Portraits. The premises are in the best position in Edinburgh, the whole Apparatus and Stock-in-Trade are in excellent order, and the Business is a lucrative one, and is only parted with solely in consequence of the death of Mr Burns. A commodious self-contained dwelling-house is attached, and there is a five years lease ...¹²⁵

It was the Aberdeen photographer Alexander Adam Inglis (c1848-1903) who took over Rock House. It is likely that Inglis would have known Burns and would certainly have been aware of Burns' business. On 14 November 1872 Inglis married Christian Caird who was the daughter of a near neighbour of Burns at 18 Calton Hill.

Inglis was born in Aberdeen around 1848 and that was where he trained and worked as a photographer. In the 1861 census for Aberdeen the thirteen year old Alexander is described as a 'photographer'. By the 1871 census he is lodging in Broughton Street, Edinburgh and again is described as a 'photographer'. However, he must have moved back to Aberdeen because he was in Aberdeen as a photographer when he married in 1872. His first son Alexander was born in Aberdeen on 1 October 1873 and by that time Alexander senior was described as 'Commercial Traveller (Photographer)' and was still in the same occupation when his second son Francis was born on 16 February 1876.

It is possible that it was his wife Christian's family that encouraged and helped finance the move back to Edinburgh and the take-over of Burns' studio at Rock House. Although her father had business interests the family became prominent in medicine and her brother, Francis Mitchell Caird, was Professor of Surgery at the University of Edinburgh.

Alexander was firmly established in Rock House by the 1881 census and describes himself as 'Photographer Master, Employing One Man, also Commercial Traveller'.

In the 1891 census Alexander describes himself as a 'Landscape Photographer' and his son Alexander is a 'photographer's apprentice'. Inglis seems to have concentrated on the same type of images for tourists as Archibald Burns. In fact, in some instance they were actually the same images because Inglis was not averse to putting his own distinct monogram on Burns'

photographs. There are examples in the collection of Edinburgh Central Library that can be identified because they are too early for Inglis to be the photographer and are known subjects by Burns¹²⁶. It would have been a simple matter for Inglis to make prints as the negatives would still have been at Rock House when Inglis took over. An Inglis advertisement on the back of one of his stereo cards promotes among other items 'A Unique Series of Photographs of Old Edinburgh Closes, House and Doorways' (Figure 3.9) and these are almost certainly Burns photographs. Alexander Inglis son Francis was advertising photographs of 'Old Edinburgh Closes'¹²⁷ (Figure 3.10) in the 1920s and was still making use of Burns' negatives.

Alexander joined Edinburgh Photographic Society on 6 December 1882 and he exhibited at the annual exhibitions and won a silver medal in 1886. He was a successful photographer and the business prospered. He had a particular skill in photographing interior scenes which would present technical challenges with the equipment of the time. By the 1901 census he was describing himself as 'Photographer – Employer' and one of his employees was his son Francis. The elder son Alexander had given up photography and gone to sea but was staying at Rock House for the 1901 census with his wife Beatrice who was born in Halifax, Nova Scotia. Francis had also married a wife from outside Scotland and his marriage to Margaret Henderson took place at Boston, Lincolnshire on 12 November 1900. Francis and his wife were living at 28 Willowbrae Road, Edinburgh at the time of the 1901 Census.



Figure 3.9, Back of Alexander A. Inglis stereocard with advertisements, c 1880, sold by William Kay, Stationer, Bank Street, Edinburgh, author.

Alexander senior had commercial acumen and exploited topical subjects. The Forth Bridge, even when it was being built, was a hugely popular tourist attraction. In *The Scotsman* on 21

November 1888 there was a notice that Alexander Inglis had ‘issued a series of half-a-dozen large-sized photographs of the Forth Bridge...exquisitely mounted’¹²⁸. He also moved with the times in photography and when postcards began to replace view scraps in the late 1890s he was quick to enter the market. He established the ‘Ingle’ series of postcards with numerous views of Edinburgh and surrounding area.

Rock House appeared in postcards, particularly of views of Calton Hill, and not only by Inglis but other commercial producers including the major manufacturer in Scotland, Valentines of Dundee.

Alexander died on 20 May 1903 aged 55, his wife Christian surviving him for over thirty years until 1 April 1936. Photographers at this time are not known for their longevity, which is perhaps not too surprising considering some of the noxious chemicals they had to use. However, before he died there was another Alexander Adam Inglis, the first child to Francis and Margaret was born on 18 February 1903.

Telegrams—
"INGLIS
PHOTOGRAPHER
EDINBURGH"

Telephone No.—
CENTRAL 7777

By Appointment

FRANCIS CAIRD INGLIS
PHOTOGRAPHER

To His Majesty King George V., also to His Late Majesty King Edward

*Collections of Pictures and objects of Art
Photographed by a Special Orthochromatic
Process: Marine, Legal, Architectural, and
Commercial Photography: Portraiture and
Groups. Scottish Historical Portraits. Views of
Edinburgh and District. Old Edinburgh Closes*

ROCK HOUSE, CALTON HILL, EDINBURGH

Figure 3.10, Francis Caird Inglis advertisement, c 1920s, author.

Francis Caird Inglis (1876-1940) succeeded his father and continued the photographic business at Rock House. It appears that Francis traded under his father's name for several

years as the Royal Warrant awarded to him by King Edward VII on 6 May 1907 was under Alexander's name. It was received 'for the reproduction of pictures and photographic works at Holyrood Palace, as well as for supplying photographs for sale at Holyrood Palace and also undertaking official photographic work for the Office of Works, at Edinburgh¹²⁹. There is a portfolio of his views of Holyrood Palace in the Royal Photograph Collection¹³⁰. Francis was awarded the Royal Warrant in his own name by King George V between 1910-12¹³¹.

Like his father Francis was an active member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society, exhibiting and winning medals and giving lectures. He also had his father's skill with photographing interiors. In 1908 his photograph of Queen Mary's Bedroom, Holyrood was awarded a medal¹³² and he won another in 1911 for 'a series of outside and interior views of the Chapel of the Thistle'¹³³ at St Giles Cathedral.

Francis was fully aware of the photographic heritage of Rock House and in 1909 he gave a lecture to the Edinburgh Photographic Society titled *D. O. Hill RSA and his Work*. His admiration for the previous occupant of Rock House was such that he suggested to the Society the 'instituting of a permanent memorial to D. O. Hill...to take the form of a small silver medal...to be known as the D. O. Hill Memorial Medal, to be the Blue Ribbon of Photography, and awarded for work in connection with photography, whether communications, inventions, improvements, or actual work'¹³⁴. Unfortunately, nothing seems to have come of the suggestion. Inglis published an article with the same title in 1915 in the *Photographic Journal of America* and Inglis wrote:

One cannot speak too highly of these pictures. The composition, the breadth of light and shade, and power of them are only to be found in the works of the great masters.'¹³⁵

The article was accompanied by nine Hill and Adamson photographs, seven from calotype negatives and two from salt prints in his collection and now in the University of Glasgow Library (HA0259, HA0337, HA0458, HA0567, HA0599, HA0600, HA0726, HA0739 and HA0745).

In the article Inglis includes the following passage:

The late J. M. Gray, Curator of the National Portrait Gallery of Scotland, said about the finer of the calotypes "that they resembled nothing so much as powerful mezzotints

printed in warm-coloured ink.” “there is,” he says further, “the broad and effective distribution of light; the same care for composition and the suppression of irrelevant details, and that pleasant dead surface – delicate in the light portions and rich and bloomy in the shadows – which is obtained in such engravings”. Stanfield said of the calotypes, “I would rather have a set of them than the finest Rembrandts I ever saw.”¹³⁶

The quotations, including that by the marine painter Clarkson Stanfield, are from John Miller Gray’s introduction to Andrew Elliot’s book¹³⁷. Inglis must have had access to the text of the book before it was published in 1928 and is another indication of the close association between Elliot and Inglis which will be referred to further in Chapter 4.

Francis Caird Inglis was a talented photographer and obviously a student of the history of photography and his interests went beyond what was needed for his business although that was a significant enterprise.

An invoice from 1913, gave an outline of Francis Caird Inglis’ business activities and described him as ‘Photographer to His Majesty King George V, also to His Late Majesty, Edward’. The range of photographic expertise was stated as:

For Artistic Reproduction of Paintings - Collections of Pictures and Objects of Art
Photographed by Special Orthochromatic Process - Legal, Architectural and
Commercial Photography, Portraiture...¹³⁸

There was a break in Francis Caird Inglis photographic business activities for service during the First World War. He was thirty-nine years old in 1915 when he was commissioned as Second Lieutenant in the Army Service Corps, later the Royal Army Service Corps, and was immediately made a temporary Captain¹³⁹. He served for the duration of the war and this must have caused difficulties for his business and his family and may be why a classified advertisement appeared in *The Scotsman* in 1917 for Rock House to be let as a furnished property¹⁴⁰. He appears to have been wounded during his service because on his death he was due ‘Disability Retirement Pay (Military)’¹⁴¹.

The business must have revived when Francis returned from the First World War and was prospering enough for him to stop being the tenant of Rock House and being able to buy it in 1927¹⁴². He also expanded into additional premises with a developing and printing works at 15

Meuse Lane and another studio at 1 Whitehouse Loan. As well as the activities on the invoice mentioned above he continued the production of postcards and like another of his predecessors at Rock House, Archibald Burns, his photographs were used to illustrate books and other periodicals¹⁴³. Inglis wrote and provided the photographs for *The Illustrated Guide to Roslin Castle*¹⁴⁴ showing his antiquarian interests¹⁴⁵. It was not only his own photographs he used for publication. In Inglis' article *The Barony of Calton and District* he reproduced the photograph of D. O. Hill shown in negative 5/2¹⁴⁶. Importantly, as will be discussed in detail in Chapter 4, Inglis was supplying historical photographs, and importantly images from the glass negatives, more widely and not only to publishers.

Francis Caird Inglis died on 20 September 1940 and his obituary appeared in *The Scotsman* which mentioned his photographic hero, David Octavius Hill¹⁴⁷. His wife lived on until 16 May 1958 but made an important contribution to Scottish photographic history when, through her daughter Christian Inglis, she sold to Robert O. Dougan the Hill and Adamson and other material at Rock House which is the most significant part of the Dougan Collection at the University of Glasgow Library and included the glass negatives. The business was taken over by his son Alexander and run as Francis Caird Inglis and Son. Rock House continued to be used at least until 1943 when there was a notice in *The Scotsman* indicating that the 'premises will be closed all day on Saturdays'. This notice also mentioned the other premises at 15 Meuse Lane, Edinburgh,¹⁴⁸ which was the developing and printing works and it may be that business activities were concentrated there when Margaret Inglis sold Rock House in 1945¹⁴⁹. Although Dougan purchased items from Rock House other material was gifted to a public collection. This was 'over eight hundred' negatives by Archibald Burns and Alexander Adam (senior) and Francis Caird Inglis 'preserved in the Edinburgh Room [Edinburgh Central Library] through the generosity of the firm's principles after the move from Rock House'¹⁵⁰.

The new owner of Rock House in 1945 was William Robert Garrad who described himself in the *Edinburgh and Leith Post Office Directory* as 'artist, painter' who specialised on scenic views. The studio was obviously an attraction for Garrad but also adds a link to Hill the artist.

So effectively Rock House's hundred years of photographic activity came to end. However, it has long been revered as a place to be visited by those interested in the history of Scottish photography since James Good Tunny watched Robert Adamson at work in the 1840s. It was here that Robert O. Dougan was directed to his 'surprise' a hundred years later but he knew all

about the remarkable photographic achievements there when in was Hill and Adamson's studio.

The emotional attraction of photographers to Rock House is best summed up by the eminent American photographer, Alvin Langdon Coburn, who made his pilgrimage there thirty years before Dougan, when Francis Caird Inglis had it as his studio, and wrote movingly about his experience:

I have visited his [Hill's] old studio on the slopes of Calton Hill in Edinburgh and inspected various pieces of his cumbersome apparatus, and I have been struck with wonder how with the facilities at his command...he was able to achieve his results...And often in the twilight I have walked up to the crest back of his studio and imagined how Hill must have done so many times while he lived. I can picture him brushing his fine locks back from his forehead as he looked out over the Edinburgh that Stevenson celebrates in his *Picturesque Notes*...Thus Hill comes to be associated in my memory with Edinburgh and Stevenson, and I can think of no happier trio to muse over as the fire crackles on the hearth on a winter's evening.¹⁵¹

The plaque on the wall is the only outward sign of Rock House's illustrious past and this is not even visible to the public. It was the achievements of Hill and Adamson that give it pre-eminence in photographic history but this is enhanced by the quality and diversity of the work of the photographers who came after. Rock House is now a family home, as it was during its time as a photographic studio, but its place in photographic history is enshrined.

Chapter 4

Analysis of the Glass Negatives from Rock House

In analysing the glass negatives from Rock House fundamental questions arise: who made the negatives, when were they made, where did the material copied come from and why was it copied? In addition to these basic ‘who’, ‘when’, ‘where’ and ‘why’ questions, the cross referencing of the negatives to other collections will endeavour to show what may be unique to the glass negatives and the content that is only preserved because it was copied.

There is little doubt about the ‘who’ as there are references to the glass negatives having been made by Francis Caird Inglis. In Dougan’s own type-written inventory of the items in his collection purchased by the University of Glasgow Library it states:

Collection of 327 glass and 4 film negatives made from Hill’s calotypes by Francis Caird Inglis. Contained in 23 cardboard boxes.¹⁵²

There is a further reference by Dougan to Inglis being responsible for making the negatives in a letter he sent to the Director of the National Gallery of Scotland dated 26 June 1946, in which Dougan describes his collection and states that he has ‘a considerable quantity of modern glass negatives made by the late Mr Inglis of which he apparently did not have the original negatives’.¹⁵³

The ‘apparently’ is relevant because it is clear that Inglis made a small proportion of the negatives from prints in his possession. There are thirty-two of the salt prints in the Dougan Collection identified as having been copied in the glass negatives and there are possibly another five making a total of thirty-seven. The sources of images copied in the negatives will be discussed in detail below.

The figures given by Dougan in his own type-written inventory exactly corresponds to the number of negatives but needs a little amplification. There was a total 331 and this has been confirmed from: photographing all the negatives presently in the collection, which are catalogued and shown as positive images in the Appendix to this thesis; cross referencing to a hand-written list, compiled by Kate Deasington (c 1978-83)¹⁵⁴; and looking through other un-catalogued documents in the Special Collections Department. The total does not include one print from a negative. However, there are only 328¹⁵⁵ images catalogued in the Appendix as

three negatives are now missing but there is an explanation as a hand-written note, in an un-catalogued Library working file for lists of Hill and Adamson prints and negatives, states as follows:

Box 22/11 Lord Ruthven
 Box 3/5 Rev James Scott
 Box 3/7 Spencer Compton [second Marquis of Northampton]
 3 glass negs
 cracked and peeling, with
 Ian Maver

Ian Maver was a conservator at the Library and these negatives can no longer be traced and they may have been beyond saving as there is a reference to them being in poor condition. There must have been sufficient detail for Kate Deasington to identify the content when she prepared a list of the glass negatives because she was able to cross reference them but her list states that 3/7 and 22/11 were 'cracked and peeling' and 3/5 'badly peeling'. All three images survive elsewhere and Kate Deasington's identification was as follows: 3/5, *Rev James Scott*, is SNPG men a and UGL HA0229 and HA0230; 3/7, *Marquis of Northampton*, is SNPG men d; and 22/11, *Lord Ruthven*, is SNPG men a.

No documentation has been found confirming 'when' the negatives were made by Inglis. There is a date given by Katherine Michaelson, who writes:

Francis Caird Inglis, 1876-1904 [should be 1940] lived at Rock House, Edinburgh until his death. He made glass negatives from a large collection of D. O. Hill's paper negatives which had been bought with the house, and developed and printed carbon prints from these about 1905. The bulk of this collection is in Glasgow.¹⁵⁶

There is no source or supporting information for this statement and it is not known what it is based on. The boxes in which the negatives are contained indicate a later date than that stated by Michaelson. The negatives are in 23 cardboard boxes and 21 of these are for Ilford glass plate negatives. It is very likely that these are the original boxes for the negatives before they were exposed and processed. The exceptions are boxes 5 and 15 which were originally used for Kodak photographic paper. Boxes 1 to 20 are whole plate measuring , 8 ½ x 6 ½ inches (21.5 x 16.5 cm), and boxes 21 to 23 are half-plate, measuring 6 ½ x 4 ¾ inches (16.5 x 12

cm). There is a code on the labels of the Ilford glass plate negative boxes with the number being the year of manufacture and a letter which is thought to be for the month of that year and this would be a minimum date¹⁵⁷. The product information and details on each of the boxes is given in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1, Glass Negative Boxes Product Information and other Details.			
Box No	Product	Code	Inscriptions etc
1	Ilford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code M 30, December 1930.	'DOH 1' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6384B Backed Ex ^d 4'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 1'.
2	Ilford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'DOH 2' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6441A Backed Ex ^d 27'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 2'.
3	Ilford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code H 34, August 1934.	'DOH 3' and 'Print' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6441A Backed Ex ^d 33'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 3'.
4	Ilford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'Box 4 DOH' in crayon and 'To Print' in pencil. Stamped on bottom of box '6384B Backed Ex ^d 34'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 4'.
5	Kodak Bromide Paper, 8 ½ x 6 ½, 144 sheets. Made in Gt. Britain	Buff box, light green seal labels, BG-4. Mid 1930s style of label. BG-4 = Bromide, Glossy, (Contrast Grade) 4.	Looks to have been reused. 'Carbon DOH' in pencil and other writing in pencil that cannot be read. In ink '21 glass negs' with '21' scored through and '17' written beside and underneath '9 prints' scored through. On end side panels 'DOH Prints Carbon' in crayon and on one panel '5' in ink. One side panel stamped '82824-1 1-1'.
6	Ilford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code H 34, August 1934.	'Box 6 DOH' and 'PRINT' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6441A Backed Ex ^d 27'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 6'.
7	Ilford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'DOH 7' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6395C Backed Ex ^d 8'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 7' but partly obscured by brown paper tape where corners have

			split.
8	Iford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code M 30, December 1930.	'8' and 'Print' in crayon. Nothing stamped on bottom of box and does not match the top. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 8'.
9	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'DOH 9' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6413D Backed Ex ^d 33'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 9' but partly obscured by brown paper tape where corners have split.
10	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label, no code part of label missing	'10 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6441A Backed Ex ^d 33'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 10' but partly obscured by brown paper tape where corners have split.
11	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'11 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6410A Backed Ex ^d 27'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 11'.
12	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'12 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6453B Backed Ex ^d 34'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 12'.
13	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'13 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6463B Backed Ex ^d 30'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 13'.
14	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'14 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6410A Backed Ex ^d 27'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 14'.
15	Kodak Bromide Paper, 8 ½ x 6 ½, 72 sheets. Made in Gt. Britain	Buff box, white seal labels, BRTF-1 Z. Mid 1930s style of label. BRTF-1 Z = Bromide, Royal Tint, Fine, (Contrast Grade) 1, (Double Weight) Z.	'DOH 15 Invitations Letters Sketches' in crayon. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 15'. One side panel stamped 38569-70-8.
16	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code H 34, August 1934.	'DOH 16' in feint crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6474A Backed Ex ^d 33'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 16'.
17	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code L 30, November 1930.	'Box 17 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6453B Backed Ex ^d 31'. Stencilled on end side

			panels 'DOH 17'.
18	Iford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code L 34, November 1934.	'Box 18 DOH' in ink. Stamped on bottom of box '6434B Backed Ex ^d 1'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 18'.
19	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. Code E 35, May 1935.	'Box 19 DOH' in ink. Stamped on bottom of box '6435D Backed Ex ^d 27'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 19'.
20	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 700	Pink label. K 37, October 1937.	'20 DOH' in crayon. Stamped on bottom of box '6671D Backed Ex ^d 38'. Stencilled on top end side panel 'DOH 20'.
21	Iford Special Rapid Panchromatic Plates, [no speed]	Yellow label. H 30, August 1930.	'DOH' in crayon 'Y26' in pencil. Stamped on bottom '6355E Backed Ex ^d 2'. Top side panel 'Y26' stencilled but scored through and 'DOH' in crayon above. '1' stencilled at each end of panel with '2' in crayon in front of '1' on left. Bottom side panel 'Y26' stencilled but scored through and 'DOH' in crayon above and 'Box 1' in ink.
22	Iford Ordinary Plates, H&D 70	Yellow label. Code L 34, November 1934.	Something written in pencil but cannot be read. Stamped on bottom '6551E Backed Ex ^d 6'. Stencilled on end side panels 'DOH 2' but on bottom panel '2' in crayon has been inserted in front of the stencilled '2'.
23	Iford Soft Gradation Panchromatic Plates, H&D 1200, the 700 on the printed label has been stamped over with 1200 above.	Pink label. Code E 35, May 1935.	'Box 3 DOH' in pencil. Stamped on bottom '6643D Backed Ex ^d 26'. Stencilled on top side panels 'DOH 3' but '2' in crayon has been inserted in front of the stencilled '3'.

If the negatives correspond to the dates of the codes on the box labels, which it is reasonable to assume, and it would have been a common practice for photographers to reuse the boxes the negatives were taken from, the earliest dates they were produced was from later in 1930 until after 1937. The fact that the dates do not run in sequence with the numbers of the boxes may indicate that they are significantly later than the date on the box. For example Box 3 is dated 1934 and is followed by numerous boxes dated 1930. Box 20 is the last of the whole plate boxes and has the latest date of 1937 and is likely to be the last produced. Boxes 21-23 are the half-plate sized boxes and the labels date from 1930 to 1935 and were possibly being

produced concurrent with some of the earlier whole plate boxes. It may be that the half-plate size was how Inglis initially planned to make the copy negatives and there is evidence on the boxes. The inscriptions on Boxes 21-23 show that the numbers were changed with the '2' added and they were originally '1', '2' and '3'. It could be that Inglis decided to go for the better quality of the whole-plate size negative and there may have been a commercial advantage because he contact printed from the negative and a larger negative would mean a larger print to sell at a higher price.

The distinctive stencilled lettering and numbering on the boxes was also by Inglis because it was not a style used by the University of Glasgow Library¹⁵⁸. Some of the boxes have been repaired with brown paper tape which obscures part of the stencil and this could indicate the stencilling being very early. Box 21 looks to have been reused or re-classified by Inglis and an earlier stencil number is scored out in crayon. The number scored out 'Y26' probably related to Inglis normal indexing of negatives. The crayon is distinctive and it is used on the back of many of the later prints made by Inglis and now in the Dougan Collection.

From the dating information on the boxes, the making the negatives, and printing from then as described below, was an activity late in Inglis life as he died in 1940. That Dougan described the negatives as 'modern glass negatives' in his letter of 1946 quoted above, supports the argument that they were from as recent as the 1930s and Dougan may have had information to support this. The 1930s and particularly the late 1930s would have been an appropriate time for Inglis to take an increasing interest in historic photographs and especially those of Hill and Adamson. Events had happened that had raised the profile of Hill and Adamson's work and with Inglis having a substantial collection there could have been commercial considerations in selling copy prints of their work and having some of the photographs published. The increasing awareness of Hill and Adamson's work may have rekindled Inglis own appreciation of their work and encouraged him to make copies for personal as well as commercial interest and to make their work better known. Inglis had earlier shown his high regard for their work in 1909, as mentioned in Chapter 3, when he gave a lecture to the Edinburgh Photographic Society titled *D. O. Hill and his Work*¹⁵⁹ and proposed the establishment of the D. O. Hill Memorial Medal and published an article with same title as his lecture in the *Photographic Journal of America* in 1915.

The publication of Andrew Elliot's book of Hill and Adamson's calotypes in 1928, with a copy being presented to Inglis, may have been part of rekindling his interest, although he must

have had earlier access to the content as it is quoted in his 1915 article, as mentioned in Chapter 3. The book *Calotypes by D. O. Hill and R. Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography, Selected from his Collection by Andrew Elliot*, was printed for private circulation and there were only 38 copies published and Inglis' copy was number 25 and was bought by Dougan and is now in the University of Glasgow Library¹⁶⁰. The introduction paid tribute to Hill and Adamson but also gave an early history of photography and especially the activities in Edinburgh and provides valuable information for this period. It was written by John Miller Gray (1850-94), art critic and first curator of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Gray wrote it in the mid 1880's as Elliot had planned to publish the book earlier but it was only published after his death by his son, Dr Andrew Elliot. Gray may have been reproducing the work of another author in his introduction and one whose authenticity can be relied on. Gray wrote the obituary of Dr John Brown (1810-82) who was a contemporary of Hill and Adamson and photographed by them and, as well as being a medical doctor, he was a writer but, most importantly, an art critic and reviewer of photographic exhibitions. In the obituary Gray states that Brown was 'writing a Preface to a series of calotype portraits to be shortly published – a task for which he was specially qualified by his interest in the art and his comprehensive knowledge of the Scottish Society of the last generation'¹⁶¹.

Also in 1928 a major collection of original Hill and Adamson prints were bequeathed to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery by James Brownlee Hunter and there was accompanying publicity and an exhibition¹⁶². In 1930 Inglis' friend and noted Scottish sculptor, Sir James Pittendrigh Macgillivray,¹⁶³ had his paper paying tribute to the work of Hill and Adamson read to the Royal Photographic Society and published in *The Photographic Journal*¹⁶⁴. It is almost certain that Inglis collaborated with this paper, although there is no direct evidence. Macgillivray titled his talk *D. O. Hill and his Work*¹⁶⁵, the same as used twice by Inglis but it was published under the titled *The Art of Photography*. As well as reproducing information from Inglis' 1915 article, there are other hints at collaboration. Macgillivray says:

I have looked through hundreds of his [Hill's] negatives and prints...[and] I have had some two hundred prints taken from the original negatives recently...¹⁶⁶

It is very likely that this was Inglis collection and that he made the prints from the calotype negatives, although, as mentioned below, Macgillivray had his own collection of Hill and Adamson material. That Inglis had friendships with members of the artistic community is

understandable as he 'had special commissions for photographic reproductions of ...works of art'¹⁶⁷ and provided photographs of their subjects for the leading portrait painters¹⁶⁸.

The profile of the work of Hill and Adamson was increased when the first widely circulated book to celebrate their work, *David Octavius Hill: Des Meister Des Photographie*, by the Viennese art historian Heinrich Schwarz was published in Germany in 1930 with the English edition, *David Octavius Hill: Master of Photography*, appearing in 1932. In December 1930 the popular *Illustrated London News* published a double page spread about the German publication titled *The Raeburn of the Camera: Hill's Photographs of the 'Forties', by David Octavius Hill – The 'Old' Master of Photographers*¹⁶⁹. This included eight of the eighty Hill and Adamson photographs that were reproduced in the book. There was further publicity that followed particularly in the reviews of the Schwarz book and this must have stimulated considerable interest in the work of Hill and Adamson and for Inglis to appreciate the commercial potential of his collection and the reproduction of Hill and Adamson prints. Schwarz on the title page states that the eighty photographs reproduced in his book were 'made from original photographs' and among the glass negatives are many of the same subjects and Inglis had calotype negatives for some others. He could have supplied some of the photographs reproduced as he is included among those acknowledged 'for valuable information and for help in gathering photographic material'¹⁷⁰ but individual sources are not given¹⁷¹.

In 1935 the leading journal of the Scottish cultural renaissance and nationalism, *The Modern Scot*, published an article titled *D. O. Hill: Master Photographer*¹⁷² confirming the importance of the work of Hill and Adamson in Scotland's artistic heritage. The editor in his introduction referred to the tribute written by 'Mr Ansel Adams of San Francisco' about the work of Hill and Adamson¹⁷³ and there were also reference to J. Craig Annan, Alfred Stieglitz and Henrich Schwarz. There were three Hill and Adamson photographs published with the article but the source is not indicated. There are glass negatives for two of the photographs, 5/2 and 16/8, but not for the third which is not in the Dougan Collection which makes it unlikely that Inglis supplied them. All three of the photographs illustrating the article were included in the Schwarz book.

Throughout the 1930s the appreciation of the history of photography in general grew and involved a historically important photographer. It was known that from around 1930 the pioneer of 'Naturalistic' photography, Peter Henry Emerson, was working on a history of photography which was mentioned in his obituary when he died in 1936 and a correspondent

commented that ‘six years ago he wrote telling me of the monumental work he was embarked upon’¹⁷⁴. The interest in the history of photography increased later in the decade with the approach of the centenary of the invention of photography in 1939 and the activities to mark it. In 1937 the Royal Photographic Society published *Masterpieces of Photography* which reproduced fifty-six prints from its collection which went ‘back to 1843, to a calotype of D O Hill’¹⁷⁵. Also that year there was the English translation of *The History of the Discovery of Photography* by Georges Potoniée which was first published in France. The general interest aroused was reported in 1937 in *The British Journal of Photography*:

Dealers in antiquities, even those who have stalls in the Caledonian and other famous open-air markets, seem to be fully alive to the fact that the centenary of the invention of the daguerreotype portrait is fast approaching.¹⁷⁶

In Paris on 7 January 1939 there was a ceremony at the Sorbonne to celebrate the announcement of the invention by Daguerre. In London on 25 January the centenary of the announcement of Talbot’s invention was commemorated with the opening of an exhibition at the Victoria and Albert Museum. This exhibition included twenty-five images by Hill and Adamson but these were not original prints and had ‘been re-photographed for the exhibition’¹⁷⁷ and were almost certainly by Inglis and will be discussed further below. During February 1939 the Edinburgh Central Library had an exhibition of Hill and Adamson’s original prints from the Library’s collection of ‘particular interest to the student of photographic history’¹⁷⁸. There were also books and a Penguin Special, *A Hundred Years of Photography* by Lucia Moholy, which cost only sixpence but was well reviewed¹⁷⁹ and the more academic *The History of Photography: In Relation to Civilisation and Practice* by Dr Erich Stenger was first published in German with an English translation quickly following. There was plenty to stimulate Inglis interest and also provide commercial opportunity.

Inglis already had an extensive collection of original calotype negatives at Rock House and Dougan’s type-written inventory gives the total as ‘490’. This would have provided wide scope for producing prints and it is surprising that Inglis felt the need to expand this with the glass negatives and it was obviously easier to use an existing suitable negative rather than make a new one. But he did expand the number of negatives he could print from, as will be discussed below, and did make prints from both the calotype and glass negatives.

Among the items which Dougan bought at Rock House and subsequently sold to the University of Glasgow Library were what he stated in his type-written inventory as ‘393 modern prints from D. O. Hill’s negatives’¹⁸⁰. In this thesis these have been described as ‘later prints’ as it could be confusing to say they were ‘modern’ now. Close investigation of these has proved fruitful and it is clear that Inglis printed from the original Hill and Adamson calotype negatives in his possession as well as the glass negatives which extended the range of images he could reproduce. The size of the later prints varies but they match that of the calotype negatives showing that Inglis preferred to contact print from the original calotype negatives. The same applies to the glass negatives and the later prints were contact printed.

Inglis’ preference was to print from the original calotype negatives and only two examples have been found where he had the original calotype negative at Rock House among those purchased by Dougan, where he made glass negatives. Inglis had the original calotype negative for glass negative 7/[none], *Reading Club, Merchiston School*, which is HA0614 and for 7/Film 1 and 2, *Scott Monument under construction*, and that is HA0750. Certainly with one of these, HA0614, Inglis obviously felt the image needed to be improved. Later print 248 has been contact printed from calotype negative HA0614 and the print made has been retouched. This is particularly obvious with pencil marks making more defined the boy bent over writing in the centre foreground. This area is light and indistinct in HA0614. It is the retouched print that has been re-photographed for glass negative 7/[none]. Inglis would have printed from this ‘improved’ negative but this example shows the considerable effort he was prepared to make to overcome what he considered an inadequate original negative.

There are examples among the later prints that confirm that Inglis printed from the glass negatives because on some of the prints that have not been cropped the scratched information from the negative is reproduced. The information that is scratched on the emulsion side of the glass negatives is likely to have been done by Inglis both for filing and identification of the content. The prints where the information appears would have been proof prints and it is fortunate that these survive and are listed in Table 4.2.

Glass Negative	Later Print
4/8	156(1)
5/3	199(1)
5/7	137(1)
5/11	104(2)
6/3	3
6/8	99

7/2	153(1)
7/8	261
9/8	211(6)
11/3	254 (2) and 254(3)
12/6	196(1)
12/13	36
13/11	31(1)
14/1	135(4)
14/6A	115(1)
14/8	32(1)
14/9	168(1)
14/10	95(2)
14/11	60(2)
16/3	122(1)
16/7	225(2)
17/10	219(2)

By checking the later prints with the calotype and glass negatives now in the Dougan Collection it can be revealed that negatives are missing from the time Inglis made the prints because there are later prints for which there are no negatives. For example salt print HA0259 is an original salt print of *Professor John Wilson* and there are later prints (159) and it would be expected that as there is no calotype negative, there should be a glass negative. The glass negative missing may have been another example of Inglis copying from a print in his possession. That there are missing glass negatives is evident from gaps in the numerical sequence as shown in the negatives catalogued in the Appendix. Examples of missing glass negatives are: 8/11, 10/3, 12/10, 12/11, 12/12 and 17/7. There is a further complication because the total run of numbers differs between the boxes with the sequence in Box 12 going up to 17 whereas other boxes are less and there is no way of knowing what was originally in the boxes.

The existence of later prints, for which no negative has been found, helps to identify the subjects of missing negatives. In some cases the missing negatives may have been copied from prints in Inglis possession and these are: salt print HA0013, *Rev Thomas Main*, later print 47; salt print HA0016, *Dr Layman Beecher*, later print 54; salt print HA0328, *Miss Bell*, later print 180; salt prints HA0301 and HA0302, *Miss Jane Binney*, later prints 185 and 186; salt print HA0305, *Elizabeth Rigby*, later print 190; salt print HA0956, *Fishergate, North Street, St Andrews*, later print 208. Inglis was acknowledged as being the source of a portrait of *Lady Brewster* reproduced in *Victorian Panorama, A Survey of Life & Fashion from Contemporary Photographs*, which will be discussed in more detail below, but can only now be traced in the Dougan Collection as later print 188 with no negative. It is not known in this case if it is a calotype or a glass negative that is missing.

It is only possible to identify one calotype negative that is not in the Dougan Collection. Later print 83(2), *John Francis Campbell*, has Inglis number '49' on the back with the stamp. The style of the number, from other examples among the later prints, indicates that it was printed from a calotype negative¹⁸¹. Inglis used a single number for the calotype negatives and double numbers for the glass negatives to indicate the box and the number in the box.

The vast majority of the later prints are sepia carbon prints but there are also some silver gelatine and a few salt prints. The salt prints may be earlier than Francis Caird Inglis and could be by his father, Alexander, who was known to be interested in the subject. There is a letter to him from George Chrystal of the University of Edinburgh¹⁸² discussing the calotype process and the making of salt prints and there are salt prints attributed to Alexander Inglis in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery¹⁸³. Alexander is known to have printed from the negatives of one of his predecessor at Rock House, Archibald Burns, as mentioned in Chapter 3, and he could have done the same with Hill and Adamson's negatives.

The salt prints among the later prints would benefit from further research as some have been re-categorised since the Collection was bought from Dougan by the University Library. The salt prints bought from Dougan were in albums and Dougan considered them to be 'contemporary calotype prints'. The Library removed the prints from the albums and stamped them with the letter 'A' or 'B' to indicate the albums they came from¹⁸⁴. Several of the later prints which are salt prints have a letter stamped on the back, indicating that they came from one of the albums.

The choice of the sepia tone by Inglis for the carbon prints may have been for several reasons. The tone would give something of the appearance of the original prints and an antique look. Sepia was one of the most common pigment colours for carbon prints but as well as being able to choose a colour, carbon prints had another significant benefit. This was the stability and permanence of the image. As carbon prints were pigment based, and not silver, the image was not subject to fading. However, by the 1930s it was not a process that was as widespread as it had been earlier and was not straightforward to use. There was the perception 'that good carbon printers are born and not made...and beyond the scope and ability of the ordinary mortal'¹⁸⁵. Inglis with his length of professional experience would have had the specialised skills needed, and his obituaries mention his technical expertise¹⁸⁶. All the materials Inglis would have needed for the carbon prints were readily available from 'the Autotype Co. Ltd.,

of 59 New Oxford Street, London¹⁸⁷. The hundreds of later carbon prints by Inglis now in the Dougan Collection show a considerable investment not only in time but money for materials.

The sepia tone may have given the later prints the appearance of the originals but there was no intention to mislead. On the back of finished later prints there was an ink stamp (Figure 4.1) showing the origin and with a hand-written number, indicating the negative, and the title of the image. The information on the stamp was not, in every instance completely true as Inglis was not always making the prints from the original calotype negative but using the glass negatives.

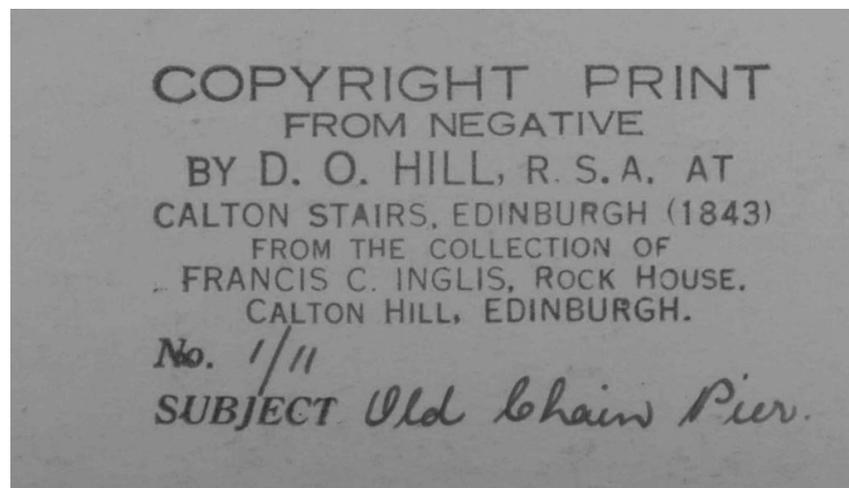


Figure 4.1, Ink stamp on back of later print 265, Department of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library.

As indicated earlier, Inglis only copied a very small proportion of the salt prints in his possession to make the glass negatives, so ‘where’ did the items come from that he was copying or re-photographing? The obvious assumption is that he was borrowing these but it has proved very difficult to identify the sources and this is further complicated by the date the negatives were made. There are numerous possible sources but there is an indication that Inglis collection, at one time, may have been larger than that purchased by Dougan. Heinrich Schwarz states:

recently the [Hill and Adamson] collection of the Royal Photographic Society was considerably increased through the purchase of part of the collection of Pittendrigh Macgillivray of Edinburgh and through the gift of Francis Caird Inglis, also of Edinburgh.¹⁸⁸

Could Inglis have copied his prints before he gifted them and would he also be likely to have access to the collection of his friend Pittendrigh Macgillivray?¹⁸⁹

There are further possible sources and one could have been Andrew Elliot who was a stationer and print-seller at 17 Princes Street, Edinburgh. He was known to have an extensive collection of Hill and Adamson prints and calotype negatives and, as mentioned, privately published a selection¹⁹⁰. Elliot also had prints made from his negatives by Jessie Bertram in 1916 for sale, showing that there was already a demand for Hill and Adamson photographs¹⁹¹. Inglis would have known Elliot, not only because they were long-standing members of the Edinburgh Photographic Society but their friendship was likely to have been closer as Inglis was one of the very few recipients of Elliot's privately published book of Hill and Adamson calotypes. Although Elliot died in December 1921 his collection was not bequeathed to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery until 1950 by his son and comprised some 2,342 works. If Andrew Elliot's original material had remained in his business premises at the east end of Princes Street after his death, it is possible that Inglis could have had access. Elliot's business was still being carried on at the address when Inglis died in 1940 and it is very close to Inglis developing and printing works at Meuse Lane and not far from Rock House. But it appears that Elliot's collection was not readily available because it was in the possession of his son, Dr Andrew Elliot, Fleet, Hampshire, when Inglis was making the glass negatives¹⁹².

Another major collector of Hill and Adamson's work in Edinburgh was James Brownlee Hunter but he died in 1928 and bequeathed his collection to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. In 1937 a further extensive collection of Hill and Adamson material went to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery which theoretically Inglis could have had access to copy and corresponds to the time the negatives were being made. This was the Charles Finlay Trust Bequest that followed the death of Sophia Finlay in 1937. She was aged 101 when she died and a tangible link to Hill and Adamson as she was photographed by them and appears, as a young girl, in two of the glass negatives (6/4 and 19/4). There are other members of the Finlay family in the glass negatives 2/12 and 6/8.

It is possible that there are still collections of Hill and Adamson material to be discovered and there was at least one private collection when Inglis was making the glass negatives and he may have had access to it because it belonged to a former member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society, Dr Drinkwater. It was sold at auction in 1940 and described as 'an

oblong book titled simply “Calotypes” containing a considerable number of well-known Hill positives’ and ‘was sold for £13, 10s’¹⁹³.

In an attempt to try and get an indication of the sources Inglis could have been using to copy prints, a sample of items in the collection of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery were looked at. The Scottish National Portrait Gallery has the largest collection of Hill and Adamson prints in the world. The first part of the Scottish National Portrait Gallery Hill and Adamson Collection to be looked at was that gifted by the Edinburgh Photographic Society.

Inglis was a leading member of the Edinburgh Photographic Society which had a considerable collection of historic Scottish photographs including Hill and Adamson prints and calotype negatives which were gifted to the Scottish National Portrait Gallery in 1987. This appeared a possible source for Inglis to copy but when these were compared in detail none could conclusively be identified as having been copied by Inglis for the glass negatives. Two negatives in particular of distinctive subjects were closely investigated as there were corresponding items in the Edinburgh Photographic Society Collection. These were both from Box 15, which is of documents and sketches and they were a New Year Greeting Card for 1869 (15/3), and a Birthday Invitation for 19 February 1856 (15/14). However, comparing the negatives to the documents makes clear that they are different. The New Year Greeting Card is in the form of a lithographed poem with illustrations. There is a mistake in the second line of the poem where the lithograph has ‘moonlight’ but it should read ‘moonlit’. The ‘gh’ has been stroked through later and the way this has been done is different in the negative to the original document, PGP EPS 252. The centre fold of the document photographed for the glass negative is also in a different place from PGP EPS 252. There are two differences between the printed Birthday Invitation in the glass negative and the document in Scottish National Portrait Gallery, PGP EPS 655.1. The glass negative invitation is to ‘Miss Mary Charlotte Gardiner’s’ but PGP EPS 655.1 is blank. The time on the invitation ‘from six to half past 9 o’clock’ has been added later and the lettering in the glass negative is different from PGP EPS 655.1.

For one of these items there is evidence that Inglis may have been copying from an item that was in his possession and this was the New Year Greeting Card. This could have been bought by Dougan with the other Hill and Adamson material at Rock House, because he had an item of this description, but not included in the sale to University of Glasgow Library. In the exhibition to celebrate the purchase of the collection by the University in the Hunterian

Museum in 1954 the New Year Greeting Card is included but the catalogue states it was 'lent by R. O. Dougan Esq'¹⁹⁴.

The research was extended to other Hill and Adamson material held by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery but there were limitations on the scope for practical reasons.¹⁹⁵ The sample represented about 14%¹⁹⁶ of all the glass negatives but did not provide particularly useful information as shown in Table 4.3 and discussed below.

The exercise of comparing the content of the glass negatives with original prints presents several problems in identifying those copied. The most obvious is the extent to which the print has changed in the eighty years since the negative was made. Photographic prints using silver salts are not permanent. Edge fading with many of the images in the negatives was distinctive but this could have changed over time in the prints copied. In practice it turned out that edge fading had been surprisingly stable in the time since the prints had been copied and may be a more prevalent form of deterioration earlier in the life of salt prints. It would not have been appropriate to rely only on edge fading and in any case Inglis sometimes tried to disguise this by cropping in on the print copied to omit it or processing the negative to make it less obvious. The reason that there are duplicate glass negatives of the same prints may have been because Inglis was using different exposures and processing to produce a better negative for printing. The most obvious difference in the duplicate negatives is contrast and a softer negative with less contrast, makes fading less obvious.

Other visual references that were compared were blemishes from processing or treatment and the trimming of the prints. Blemishes or marks on the prints copied were not straightforward because the blemishes may not be individual to the print but from the calotype negative and on all prints made from it. The making of the glass negatives could also cause blemishes which were not on the original print. The trimming of the print was a useful reference but not conclusive because it is possible that prints were further trimmed, or tidied, after the glass negative was made. In comparing a negative image to a print where the edges of the print are clearly shown in the negative, and the print compared is marginally larger, it could not have been copied. In the instances where the prints copied to make the negative have been identified, it will have been based on more than one identifying reference. The approach has been cautious but with all the variables it is not possible to guarantee 100% certainty. Table 4.3 shows all glass negatives where the print copied has been identified.

Table 4.3 List of Glass Negatives and Identified Prints Copied.		
Glass Negative	Print Copied	Provenance
1/1	PGP HA 2086	Unknown
1/7	PGP HA 3593	Unknown
1/9 and 1/9A	HA0155	Francis Caird Inglis
4/4 and 4/4A	PGP HA 1361	Bequeathed by James Brownlee Hunter, 1928
5/4 and 5/4	PGP HA 227	Bequeathed by James Brownlee Hunter, 1928
6/8	HA0329	Francis Caird Inglis
7/3, 7/Film 3 and 7/Film 4	HA0361	Francis Caird Inglis
8/3	HA0079	Francis Caird Inglis
9/2	HA0305	Francis Caird Inglis
10/1A	HA0193	Francis Caird Inglis
10/7	HA0321	Francis Caird Inglis
10/8	HA0242	Francis Caird Inglis
12/1	HA0189	Francis Caird Inglis
12/3	HA0358	Francis Caird Inglis
12/4 (possible)	HA0355	Francis Caird Inglis
12/7	HA0354	Francis Caird Inglis
13/3 and 13/3A	HA0152	Francis Caird Inglis
13/12	HA0311	Francis Caird Inglis
14/2 (possible)	HA0184	Francis Caird Inglis
14/6 and 14/6A	HA0137	Francis Caird Inglis
17/1	HA0370	Francis Caird Inglis
17/4	HA0390	Francis Caird Inglis
17/8	HA0014	Francis Caird Inglis
17/9	HA0304	Francis Caird Inglis
17/12	HA0069	Francis Caird Inglis
17/13	HA0213	Francis Caird Inglis
18/3	PGP HA 4555	Unknown
18/4A	PGP HA 653	Unknown
18/7	PGP HA 347	Unknown
18/10	PGP HA 511	Unknown
18/11	PGP HA 177	Unknown
18/13	PGP HA 5038	Unknown
19/4	PGP HA 4851	Unknown
20/2	HA0087	Francis Caird Inglis
20/3 and 20/3A	HA0093	Francis Caird Inglis
20/4 and 20/4A (possible)	HA0115	Francis Caird Inglis
20/5 and 20/5A	HA0065	Francis Caird Inglis
20/6	HA0250	Francis Caird Inglis
20/7 and 20/7A	HA0263	Francis Caird Inglis
20/8 and 20/8A	HA0394	Francis Caird Inglis
20/9 and 20/9A	HA0175	Francis Caird Inglis
22/4	PGP HA 525	Unknown
22/8	PGP HA 2919	Unknown
23/1 (possible)	HA0350	Francis Caird Inglis
23/3	HA0389	Francis Caird Inglis
23/5	HA0374	Francis Caird Inglis
23/6 (possible)	HA0291	Francis Caird Inglis
23/7	HA0392	Francis Caird Inglis
23/11	HA0225	Francis Caird Inglis

The unknown provenance of most the prints in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery identified as copied made the exercise of comparison to find sources of limited value.

However, the two prints from the James Brownlee Hunter bequest that were copied raise an important question. This bequest went to the Gallery in 1928 which either shows that Inglis made the prints earlier, which is at variance with the dates of the negative boxes, or that he had access to material in the Gallery. The latter is possible because, as stated in Chapter 3, one of Inglis areas of photographic expertise was the ‘Artistic Reproduction of Paintings - Collections of Pictures and Objects of Art’, an advertisement also states that ‘Mr Inglis undertakes the reproduction of all classes of paintings’¹⁹⁷ and, as mentioned above, he ‘had special commissions for photographic reproductions of ...works of art’. Inglis could have had a business relationship with the National Galleries of Scotland to reproduce works of art including photographs. Unfortunately there are no known business records for Inglis. Further research on the sources of the material copied by Inglis would be beneficial but there are practical problems, although these will be alleviated to some extent once more collections of Hill and Adamson prints are digitised and accessible.

‘Why’ Inglis made the negatives is the reason that any professional photographer would have made negatives and that was to print from them and market the prints. It was part of the commercial activity of running a business, although it is possible that it began from Inglis personal interest in the work of Hill and Adamson and there may be other undertones. Inglis was a collector of Hill and Adamson material and making the negatives from prints not in his collection expanded it. There also may have been an element of preservation, and this applies in particular to a group of negatives, and duplication would, in any case, help in ensuring that material survived. But predominantly it appears that Inglis, by making the negatives and prints from them, was continuing what Andrew Elliot had done before in 1916 by having prints made from his calotype negatives by Jessie Bertram, and was catering for a demand that already existed.

Historical photographs were an advertised part of Francis Caird Inglis business and included ‘Scottish Historical Portraits’ and ‘Old Edinburgh Closes’ (Figure 3.10). His father, Alexander, had also offered these and the continuity from his father’s time shows that there must have been a demand. The Hill and Adamson prints would have been to extend the scope of prints offered and the range of historic prints available could have been significantly increased. This was not just to sell prints to individuals but also to have them reproduced in publications.

The range of prints of a historic nature available from Inglis was extensive but examples have proved difficult to confirm apart from those that appeared in the publications mentioned

below. Mounted prints with the mounts bearing Francis Caird Inglis' name and address have been seen at an antiques fair¹⁹⁸. Later print 248 is on a similar mount. The content of the prints at the antiques fair were almost all scenes of Edinburgh, some from the early twentieth century but others went back into the nineteenth century and there were also copies of other items, including sketches and plans of historic locations. The only item that related directly to Hill and Adamson was a copy of the engraving of D. O. Hill's painting *Edinburgh Old and New from the Castle*.

As none of Inglis business records have been traced and may no longer exist it is fortunate that one of the later prints can provide evidence of an order for Hill and Adamson prints. Later print 263 was printed from glass negative 16/5 and is possibly a unique image of the *Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle*. It is a proof print and on the back is written an order for copies of the print which reads '3 prints sepia, P. D. Clendenin, Clifford House, Kensington Cour [sic], London W'. The later print appears to have been subsequently trimmed and part of the address is lost. Paul Dana Clendenin of Clifford House, Kensington Court, was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1938¹⁹⁹. Inglis was a long-standing Fellow and this is possibly how Clendenin became aware of the photographs. Clendenin's order for prints was almost certainly in connection with the preparation of an unpublished book on the uniforms of the 75th and 92nd Highlanders, which are the Gordon Highlanders, and the Gordon Highlanders Museum has the 'rough typed text by Clendenin which would have formed the basis for a book'. The Museum has photographs 'of the 92nd at Edinburgh Castle around the same time²⁰⁰ as the print Clendenin ordered but these are not Inglis prints and were supplied by the National Museums of Scotland²⁰¹. In 1939 Clendenin became 'Honorary Secretary, Uniforms Committee, Royal United Services Institution' which was to research historic uniforms²⁰².

It is not clear how Inglis marketed these prints. An advertisement for Francis Caird Inglis in *The New Illustrated Guide to Edinburgh* published by Andrew Elliot in the 1920s refers to 'Scottish Historical Portraits'²⁰³ (Figure 3.10) and it could be speculated that this included the Hill and Adamson images. This is not the case and not just because of the dating information about the glass negatives. There is another Inglis advert dated 1927 which describes the 'Scottish Historical Portraits' as 'Mary Queen of Scots, Prince Charles, Flora Macdonald, Burns, Scott etc.'²⁰⁴ Inglis sold photographs of paintings of these historic figures as his father had done. A photograph of the interior of Rock House from Alexander Inglis time in the

collection of the Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland has a large portrait of Mary, Queen of Scots hanging on the wall²⁰⁵.

There must have been a means of making it known that Inglis was a source of copy prints of Hill and Adamson photographs and wider than local Edinburgh knowledge from possible displays at his premises. The order for Hill and Adamson prints by Clendenin mentioned above came from London, although there was a possible Scottish connection, but Inglis supplied Hill and Adamson prints to at least one London publisher and probably a London museum. It may be that the knowledge was mainly word of mouth that Francis Caird Inglis was a source of historic photographs. This could have originated in his father Alexander's time when he printed from old negatives he acquired with the business at Rock House and especially those of Archibald Burns. Alexander was not only supplying prints from Burns' negatives but at least in one instance having a print made into a steel engraving for including in a publication. This was a photograph by Burns of the Cowgate for the Edinburgh Improvement Trust and is credited 'After a Photograph by Alexander A. Inglis'²⁰⁶. There are examples of Frances continuing to supply historic photographs of Edinburgh. 'F. C. Inglis' is credited with providing two photographs of the 'Old Royal Infirmary, Edinburgh' for a book about Joseph Lister published by Oliver and Boyd, Edinburgh in 1927²⁰⁷.

It is understandable that Francis Caird Inglis was supplying the historic photographs for publication by an Edinburgh publisher but he also did it for a London publisher and supplied Hill and Adamson images. In *Victorian Panorama, A Survey of Life & Fashion from Contemporary Photographs* by Peter Quennell published in 1937 by Batsford, London, there are eighteen Hill and Adamson photographs reproduced with the acknowledgement 'for the Octavius Hill subjects on figs 4, 7, 8, 12, 13, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 61, 62, 89, 90, 130, 131, 132, and 152 we are indebted to Mr. F. C. Inglis of Edinburgh'²⁰⁸. The dust-jacket states 'this book is the first pictorial survey of the Victorian Age to be compiled solely through the medium of photography' so Inglis was involved with an innovative publication.

The photographs by Inglis in *Victorian Panorama* are listed in Table 4.4 and cross referenced to the Dougan Collection in the University of Glasgow Library (UGL).

Fig	Book Caption	Title	UGL
4	An Old Lady	Lady Juliet (McPherson) Brewster	Later print 188

7	The Greyfriars Cemetery, Edinburgh. The figure on the left is reputed to be Ruskin	Greyfriars Churchyard, the Dennistoun monument with D O Hill, his nieces the Misses Watson and an unknown man	Glass negative 17/5 HA0408, HA0409, salt prints
8	Miss Rigby	Mrs Matilda (Rigby) Smith	Glass negatives 6/5 and 6/5A Later print 200
12	Dr Mackenzie	Rev Hugh Mackay Mackenzie	HA0178 and HA0179 (reversed), salt prints
13	Master Hope Finlay	Master Grierson	Glass negatives 6/6 and 6/6A Later print 103
48	A Household of the Early 'Forties	Group at Bonaly Tower, including John Henning and D O Hill	HA0747, calotype negative Later print 11
50	Children of the 'Forties	Minnow Pool	Glass negative 6/4 Later print 15
51	Lessons in the Open Air, ca 1845	Merchiston School Group: The Reading Club	Glass negative 7/[None] HA0614, calotype negative Later print 248
52	Sleeping Child, Early 'Forties	Miss Bell	HA0328, salt print Later print 180
53	A Carriage Party of the 'Forties	Merchiston School Group with carriage	HA0618, calotype negative
61	Sailors, ca 1842, Fox-Talbot	NOT HILL AND ADAMSON	
62	Scottish Fishwives, ca 1845	Rev James Fairbairn and Newhaven Fishwives	Glass negative 17/10 (reversed as Elliot book illustration) HA0442, salt print Later print 219
89	Soldiers of the 'Forties	Sergeant and Private of the 92 nd Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle	Glass negatives 7/7 and 7/7A and 16/6
90	Sailors of the 'Forties	Alexander Rutherford, William Ramsay and John Liston	Glass negative 17/11
130	Conversation Piece, ca 1845	Three men seated at table; James Balfour; Douglas; Capt Martin	HA0525, calotype negative Later print 2
131	The Three Sisters, ca 1845	Misses Binney & Miss Munro	HA0338, salt print and HA0745, calotype negative Later print 10
132	Ringlets and Tartan ca 1845	Misses Grierson	Glass negatives 6/12 and 6/12A Later print 18
152	The Sculptor, ca 1845	John Stevens RSA	Glass negatives 2/4A HA0243, salt print Later print 152

Inglis was using both calotype and glass negatives to produce the prints for *Victorian Panorama*. For figure 62, captioned *Scottish Fishwives* but better known as *The Pastor's Visit*, glass negative 17/10 was used which is reversed and copied from the print reproduced in Andrew Elliot's book²⁰⁹ as the glass negative includes the printed title *James Fairbairn DD*. It is interesting to speculate why Inglis did not copy original salt print HA0442 which is the right way round. There are only prints in the Dougan Collection for figures 4, 12, and 52 which is likely to indicate that there are missing glass negatives.

The making of new prints to supply to publishers was obviously less risky than sending original salt prints and, in any case, Inglis did not have all the original prints. The images in *Victorian Panorama* are useful for comparison with the Hill and Adamson photographs displayed in an exhibition to mark the centenary of photography in 1939 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, looked at below, as there is some overlap.

There is evidence that Robert O. Dougan also used the later prints for publication. Written in pencil on the back of later prints 83(2), *John Campbell of Islay*; 188(2), *Lady Brewster*; and 208(3), *Fisbergate, North Street, St Andrews*, are the exact dimensions of these images published in *The Scottish Tradition in Photography* by R. O. Dougan. These are plates 3, 9, 13 respectively and acknowledged as being 'from originals in the writer's collection'²¹⁰.

In an exhibition to mark the centenary of photography in 1939 at the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, there were 25 're-photographed' prints by Hill and Adamson, almost certainly supplied by Inglis. These photographs, with the titles given in the exhibition catalogue, are listed in Table 4.5 and cross referenced to the Dougan Collection in the University of Glasgow Library (UGL).

Cat No	Catalogue Title	UGL Negative	UGL Print
43	Prof A Campbell Fraser.		HA0094
44	James Drummond RSA.	6/9 and 6/11	HA0074. Later print 92
45	Sir John Steell.	10/8	HA0242
46	Unknown gentleman.	Various options	Various options
47	Unknown gentleman.	Various options	Various options
48	Dr Inglis of Halifax.		HA0139 and HA0140
49	Miss Murray.		HA0320
50	Master Hope Finlay.	6/8 [6/1, 6/6 and 6/6A]	HA0329 Later Print 99.
51	The House of Death. [William Leighton Leitch,		HA0161

	1804-83, dressed as a monk]		
52	Fishermen and boys at Newhaven (Midlothian).		Possibly HA0426 and HA0427
53	Master Miller.	13/9	HA0332, and HA0333
54	Elizabeth Johnstone, "The Beauty of Newhaven". [Elizabeth Johnstone Hall]	9/10 and 16/9	Later Print 214
55	Men of the Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle 1845-6. (Enlarged)	Various options	Various options
56	Miss Binnie.		HA0301 or HA0302. Later Print 185 is HA0301 and Later Print 186 is HA0302.
57	The Misses Binnie.		HA0339 and HA0340
58	Miss Matilda Rigby.	6/2 and 6/2A. or 6/5 and 6/5A	HA0322 Later Print 200 is 6/5 and 6.5A.
59	Unknown lady.	Various options	Various options
60	Mrs Anna Brownell-Jameson.	13/12	HA0310 and HA0311
61	Mrs Anne Rigby.	10/7	HA0321
62	Group.	Various options	Various options
63	The Pastor's Visit, Newhaven.	17/10 but not from HA0442.	HA0442
64	William Etty RA.		HA0089
65	Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh, Tomb of John Nasmyth. [Possibly Greyfriars Churchyard at Naismith monument with Thomas Duncan and D O Hill].	11/11	HA0410
66	Group at "Bonaly", Lord Cockburn's residence at Edinburgh.	HA0746 and HA0747, calotype negatives.	Later print 11 is from HA0747 and Later print 12 is from HA0746.
67	Greyfriars' Churchyard, Edinburgh. Group at tomb of Sir Robert Dennistoun. (Octavius Hill is seen on the left.)	17/5	HA0408 and HA0409

Inglis had prints or glass or calotype negatives for all the identified photographs as well as options for the others exhibited at the Victoria and Albert Museum but the catalogue does not acknowledge who had made the prints and no other documentation has been traced.

Supplying historic photographs, including those by Hill and Adamson, as prints and for publication was a part of Inglis business and the glass negatives were to increase the number of Hill and Adamson images he could offer. An exception to this may be the sketches and

documents in Box 15. The reason Inglis copied these is not clear because unlike many of the other negatives there are no later prints made from any of the negatives in Box 15. It could be he copied the items in Box 15 for archival reasons and so they would be preserved. Inglis had an historic awareness and was a long-standing Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland²¹¹. If this was Inglis reason he showed sound judgment because, apart from the two documents mentioned above, which correspond to items in the Edinburgh Photographic Society Collection at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery²¹², none of the others photographed can be traced.

What else has only survived because Inglis photographed it is difficult to be precise about because it is possible that prints and/or negatives do exist in collections that have not been looked at as part of this research. It was originally only planned to cross reference the glass negatives with the collections at the University of Glasgow Library and the Scottish National Portrait Gallery which are the most significant collections anywhere. The University of Edinburgh Library was added as its Hill and Adamson photographs had just been digitised and access was given to these. There are other important collections in Scotland and elsewhere that could have been looked at but it would have been an enormous undertaking²¹³. One day there may be a *catalogue raisonné* of Hill and Adamson's work which would assist in such research. The Special Collections Department of the University of Glasgow Library has made an admirable start with digitising all its Hill and Adamson original salt prints and calotype negatives and making them accessible on the internet²¹⁴.

Prints of the images not cross referenced must have existed in the 1930s for Inglis to photograph them so it is possible that copies will be discovered. The impression given by going through the images of the glass negatives, although it is subjective, is that there could still be a collection of Hill and Adamson material to be revealed or that has been lost since the 1930s.

This particularly applies to the subjects of the glass negatives in Box 15. These have a very close personal association to Hill, even an intimacy, and would have been in his possession at one time. There is the cosy domesticity of the sketch by him (15/1) titled *The Calton Cottar's Saturday Night*, an obvious reference to the poem by Robert Burns but also to a painting by the Scottish artist Sir David Wilkie. It is of the interior of Rock House in 1854 and it shows that hanging on the walls of the home of Hill the painter are photographs. There is Hill's letter to his daughter Charlotte (15/7 and 15/8) who is staying with the family of his close friend and

patron, the railway engineer John Miller, at his home at Millfield, Polmont. It is full of humour and affection showing the closeness of father and daughter. Other sketches, 15/2, 15/4, 15/5 and 15/6, show Hill's skill at drawing and his ability to capture a fleeting moment, so characteristic of his photography with Adamson. Another sketch, 15/9 is dense in meaning and challenging to interpret although Dr Sara Stevenson says that Hill drew it 'for his daughter's amusement'²¹⁵. It is still possible that the originals that Inglis photographed will be discovered.

Among the glass negatives there are several photographs that are not by Hill and Adamson. These include two by the Edinburgh Calotype Club. Glass negative 9/9 is *Newhaven Fisherfolk* and does not have the same quality as a Hill and Adamson photograph of this subject but negative 11/1, *Old Chain Pier* is much more fascinating. It is a well composed photograph of a well known landmark on the Firth of Forth at Newhaven but Inglis has scratched the date 1840 on the negative. This is very early and likely to be inaccurate although Inglis is again showing his interest in photographic history. The Edinburgh Calotype Club is credited with being the first photographic club in the world and active from the early 1840s²¹⁶ but not thought to be producing successful images before 1842. In the later print that Inglis made (265) he has put his stamp (Figure 4.1) on the back claiming it was from a D. O. Hill negative in his collection. It is surprising that he thought Hill was responsible for a photograph dated 1840 but the stamp may have been commercial expediency. Inglis would have known Hill's dates of photographic activity and the stamp itself includes the date 1843. He would also have been aware of the Edinburgh Calotype Club as the Club was described in the introduction to the privately published book by Andrew Elliot of Hill and Adamson calotypes and, as stated above, Inglis was given a copy and had earlier access to the text. The later print of *Old Chain Pier* (265) was made from the glass negative because it has the number '1/11' entered with the stamp meaning negative 1 in box 11.

Photographs by other photographers that look later than Hill and Adamson are: 8/12, *Lord Cockburn*; 13/4, *Hugh Miller*; 16/4, *Sir Joseph Noël Paton*; and 17/14, unknown man. There was some uncertainty about 20/1 and 20/1A, *John Grant Esq of Kilgraston*, because in some areas, especially the head, the print copied appears very sharp for a calotype but, mainly due to the composition, it has been attributed to Hill and Adamson. The first three, 8/12, 13/4 and 16/4, have the appearance of commercial studio photographs and the photographs of *Lord Cockburn* and *Hugh Miller* are by the Edinburgh commercial photographer James Good Tunny (d 1887)²¹⁷ and the cover on the table is the same in each. The studio set-up is somewhat basic

and this is understandable as the photographs are early as Cockburn died in 1854 and Miller in 1856. The photograph of *Sir Joseph Noël Paton* is later and a conventional, commercial image although well done by a skilful professional, possibly from c 1870. There may be a reason why all of these subjects were included by Inglis with the Hill and Adamson glass negatives, although it is unlikely that Inglis, with his photographic knowledge and background, thought the prints were made by Hill and Adamson. Hill was a close, personal friend of all three men in the photographs; Lord Cockburn, Hugh Miller and Noël Paton. With Adamson he had photographed Cockburn and Miller and he had sketched Paton at Rock House and is shown in glass negatives 15/2 and 15/4 and Hill married his sister, Amelia Robertson Paton, in 1862.

The glass negative of the unknown man, 17/14, was initially more problematic but there were clues about the subject because of the props used and that it was similar in arrangement to other compositions directed by Hill. A possibility was that it was by Hill and Alexander McGlashon during their brief partnership around 1860-1. McGlashon used the wet collodion process which would make the image sharper, as in this case, and the covering on the table looks the same as in other Hill and McGlashon photographs and particularly that titled *The Sculptor of Sir Galahad* which is of Amelia Robertson Paton who was Hill's second wife. Hill is providing a narrative about the sitter with the items on the table beside him, with compasses in the sitter's hand resting on a map beside a globe of the world. One suggestion²¹⁸ was that the subject was Thomas Brumby Johnston (1814-1897) who was an amateur photographer and for a time secretary of the Photographic Society of Scotland. He was a partner in the Edinburgh printing firm W. & A. K. Johnston Ltd which 'was one of the most important map-publishing firms of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries'²¹⁹. On his death he was described as 'Geographer to the Queen'²²⁰. The papers of W. & A. K. Johnston Ltd were found to be in the National Library of Scotland and included an album of family photographs. It includes a circular detail of the head from 17/14 and is identified as the older brother of Thomas, Alexander Keith Johnston (1804-71). He was also a partner in the printing firm which he founded with his brother William but was responsible for initiating map-making. His obituary said 'he has done more than any living author to popularise geographical study and diffuse a knowledge, not only of natural and political divisions, but of the physical conditions of the earth's surface'²²¹. Unfortunately the photograph in the album is not dated but there is another of him on the same page dated 'Nov 1862'²²² when he is aged 58 and in appearance and dress it is virtually identical and means that 17/14 dates from the time that Hill and McGlashon were working together around 1860-1. The same image as 17/14 appears as the frontispiece in *One hundred years of map making: the story of W. & A. K. Johnston*, and is credited

'Photo by D O Hill RSA'²²³. It is not a photograph that is known to have been catalogued before and is an addition to the works of Hill and McGlashon. Johnston was included in the *Disruption* painting, index number 306, and it is similar to this photograph. D. O and Amelia Hill copied many Hill and Adamson prints to depict the subjects in the *Disruption* painting, and many are copied in the glass negatives and recorded in the Appendix, but there is no known example of a Hill and McGlashon print being used for the painting.

The photographs in the glass negatives where a cross reference has not been found, excluding the contents of Box 15, are shown in Table 4.6

Negative No	Title
1/4	Unknown man
1/8	Laing, Tennis Player
1/10	Miss Clementina Stirling Graham of Duntrune (1782-1877)
1/13	Unknown man
2/12	Mrs Finlay
3/10	John Cay Esq (1790-1865), Sheriff of Linlithgow
3/12	Albert Cay (d 1869)
4/7	Captain Robert Barclay-Allardyce (1779-1854), of Urie, celebrated pedestrian
7/6	Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle with woman and children, April 1846
12/5	Unknown man
12/8	John Maclaren Barclay (1811-86) RSA, portrait painter
13/1	Dr Robert Knox (1791-1862), lithograph by David Octavius Hill
14/10	Rev William Wallace Duncan (d 1864), son of Rev Dr Henry Duncan
16/2, 16/2A	Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle, April 1846
16/3	Rev Peter McBride (1797-1846), Free Church minister Rothesay
16/4	Sir Joseph Noël Paton (1821-1901), by Unknown photographer, c 1870s
16/5	Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle, April 1846
16/7	Newhaven group
20/1, 20/1A	John Grant III (1798-1873), of Kilgraston
21/5	Unknown street scene
21/7	Dr Benjamin Bell

Some of these are variations of known photographs, for example John Cay (3/10), Albert Cay (3/12) and Captain Robert Barclay-Allardyce (4/7) and they may add to the range of Hill and Adamson's work. It is difficult to determine the significance of these photographs but those that do stand out are three possible additional images of the Gordon Highlanders at Edinburgh Castle. This underlines what a major undertaking it must have been for Hill and Adamson when they photographed at Edinburgh Castle in April 1846²²⁴. Not only did they use a very large camera for the impressive panorama, which would have been a huge logistical challenge on its own, but they extensively recorded the soldiers stationed there and their families.

In summary it was Francis Caird Inglis who made the glass negatives in the 1930s and what may have started as personal interest became a commercial activity. He went to considerable efforts to source Hill and Adamson images to copy and produced prints for sale and for publication. As it is not known where Inglis sourced all the items he copied in the glass negatives, and it may never be known, there is the tantalising possibility that there could be a stash of Hill and Adamson material still to be discovered. An important aspect of the glass negatives is that the contents of some of the negatives may only have survived because it was copied by Inglis. That the negatives themselves have survived is due to the collecting acumen of Robert O. Dougan.

In Inglis' obituary in *The Scotsman* reference is made to him being a successor in photography at Rock House to D. O. Hill 'whose work had a world-wide reputation and whose contemporary portraits, including many notable personalities, are still much sought after'²²⁵. Inglis in providing prints of Hill and Adamson's photographs was doing more than satisfying a commercial demand, he was contributing to the appreciation of their outstanding achievement as well as preserving a part of it.



Figure 4.2, Unknown photographer, Francis Caird Inglis, c 1936, from *The Barony of Calton and District*, author.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The boxes of glass negatives that came from Rock House were a very minor part of an exceptional collection of historic photographic material purchased by the University of Glasgow Library from Robert O. Dougan in 1953. But they have proved a fascinating and rewarding area of research and it is fitting that this particular research should be completed on the diamond jubilee of their arrival at the Library. The research has done what it set out to do, although certain parts are more conclusive than others, but there remains scope for further research, including what could be an important use for the negatives not envisaged at the start.

To fully appreciate the glass negatives there is the description of how they came to be at the University of Glasgow Library and how they were acquired by Robert O. Dougan from Rock House. The significance of Rock House as a photographic studio and the work produced there by successive photographers is described. These are absorbing in their own right but provide the background and the context for an analysis of the circumstances in which the negatives were made. There are now positive images of all the negatives, which was necessary for the cross referencing exercise and confirming the negatives that had been printed and reproduced. The positive images will also make further research more straightforward. Along with the positive images of each negative there is a description of the content which could be expanded in the future.

Further work on cross referencing the images in the negatives to other collections would be useful but there are numerous collections of Hill and Adamson material and these are widely spread. If it was undertaken it would no doubt erode the list of negatives where it is suggested the image may only have been preserved because it was copied. However, it would be useful in identifying further prints that were copied to make the negatives. It was only possible to compare a sample selection of prints at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery and more could be looked at with greater time and access. There is a reason why trying to identify more of the prints that were copied would be worthwhile and potentially important research, and not just to show the sources Francis Caird Inglis used.

It is known that the negatives were made in the 1930s and there is potential to investigate their use as a control to see how the fading of salt prints, particularly distinctive edge fading, has

increased since the negatives were made. This would require identifying the prints copied. Some prints that have been copied in the negatives have been identified, mainly at the University of Glasgow Library but also at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery. Some of the prints identified show remarkably little, if any, difference in the eighty years since the glass negatives were made. There are two examples in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery where the prints have very distinctive edge fading. These are: PGP HA 2086 which is *D. O. Hill*, Men t, and glass negative 1/1; and PGP HA 2919 which is *Mrs Harcourt*, Women (1) a, and glass negative 22/8. In neither case is there any discernable increase in edge fading from the image in the glass negative. There are also examples in the University of Glasgow Library and Figures 5.1 and 5.2 show only a very marginal increase in edge fading between the negative from the 1930s and the salt print at present. A more scientific approach would be required but the glass negatives could have a valuable contribution to make to the understanding of the fading of salt prints.

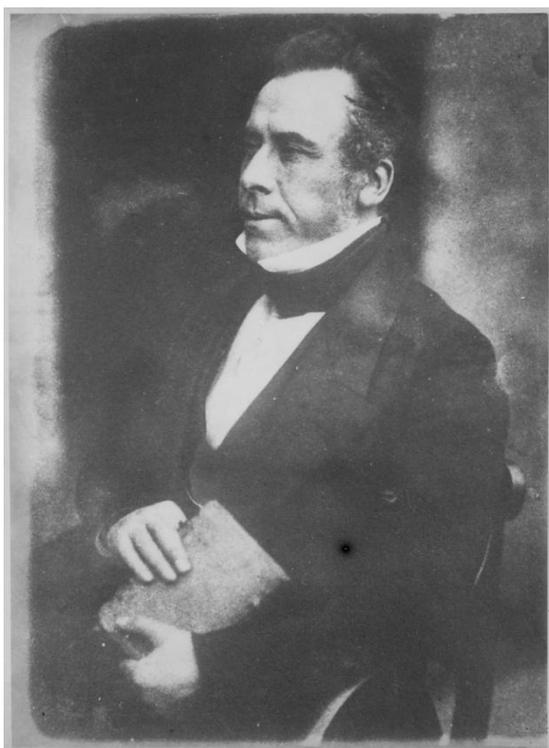


Figure 5.1, Glass Negative 12/1, with edge fading (*Rev Ebenezer Miller*), Department of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library.



Figure 5.2, Salt Print HA0189, with edge fading. (*Rev Ebenezer Miller*), Department of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library.

The glass negatives have already proved a valuable area of research but should continue to be a fruitful resource in the future

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A number of the documents listed are not catalogued, including those in private collections and in particular the letters from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell and Dr Nigel Thorp. Copies of these were very kindly provided by Professor Peter C. Bunnell and Professor Nigel Thorp.

¹ Census for 1911, states that he was the only child born. His father was aged 53 and his mother 42 and they had been married in 1894.

² Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 27 February 1996.

³ R. O. Dougan (1954), *E. Ph. Goldschmidt, 1887-1954*, London, The Bibliographical Society, page 77.

⁴ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 20 October 1945, p 7. The details are taken from a full report in the newspaper of the Committee meeting when Dougan was appointed. In the Sandeman Library files in the Perth and Kinross Council Archives there are the applications and testimonials of Dougan's predecessor and as well as his successor as Librarian but his are not there. It may have been that with the situation immediately after the end of the War these may have been presented to the Committee orally.

⁵ General Committee of the Sandeman Public Library, 16 October 1945, Minute Books 1931-52, p 333, Perth Archives PE6/6.

⁶ *Perthshire Advertiser*, 20 October 1945, p 7.

⁷ *Catalogue of An Exhibition of 20th - Century Scottish Books at the Mitchell Library Glasgow*, compiled and Introduction by Robert O Dougan and Preface by Edwin Muir, Scottish Committee of the Festival of Britain 1951 and *Catalogue of An Exhibition of 18th - Century Scottish Books at the Signet Library Edinburgh*, compiled by Robert O. Dougan and Introduction by Alexander Gray, Scottish Committee of the Festival of Britain 1951 and the National Book League, Cambridge University Press, 1951.

⁸ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum Princeton University dated 5 November 1982.

⁹ Frederick Scott Archer, *A manual of the Collodion Photographic Process*, London, 1852.

'Exceedingly rare', Helmut Gernsheim (1984), *Incunabula of British Photographic Literature*, London, Scolar Press, page 95.

¹⁰ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum Princeton University dated 5 November 1982.

¹¹ UGL Dougan 1, Charles Robert Gibson, *The romance of modern photography, its discovery and achievements*, London, 1910; and UGL Dougan 2, Philip H. Delamotte, *The practice of photography, a manual for students and amateurs*, London, 1855.

¹² Robert O. Dougan's friend and attorney, F. Brian Rapp remembers Dougan telling 'with the drama of a spy story' of carrying the Book of Kells to London for rebinding (email from F. Brian Rapp, 16 November 2012). This appears to be apocryphal, or possibly another manuscript, as Dougan stated, in relation to the rebinding, 'since it was deemed inadvisable to allow the Book [of Kells] to leave Trinity College, a workshop was equipped in the library itself (Robert O. Dougan, 'Some Thoughts of a Rare Book Librarian', *College and Research Libraries*, Volume 19, Number 5, September 1958, page 393).

¹³ Robert O. Dougan, 'Some Notes on the History of the Book of Kells', *Irish Historical Studies*, Volume IX, Number 34, September 1954, pages 131 – 161.

¹⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, 18 May 1999.

¹⁵ R.O. Dougan (1953), *Catalogue of manuscripts, books and Berkeleiana exhibited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin on the occasion of the commemoration of the bicentenary of the death of George Berkeley, held on 7-12 July, 1953*, Dublin, Dublin University Press.

¹⁶ Published in *Bulletin of Department of External Affairs* and referred to in letter from Robert O. Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 24 May 1954, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.

¹⁷ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 31 May 1954, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.

¹⁸ R.O. Dougan (1955), *A loan collection of western illuminated manuscripts: from the library of Sir Chester Beatty, exhibited in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, 1955: Catalogue*, Dublin, Friends of the Library of Trinity College.

- ¹⁹ R.O. Dougan (1955), *A descriptive guide to twenty Irish manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin : with an appendix of five early Irish manuscripts in the Royal Irish Academy*, Dublin, Dublin University Press.
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- ²² *Los Angeles Times*, 18 May 1999.
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- ²⁸ Robert O. Dougan and William A. Parish (1964), *William Shakespeare, 1564-1616 : an exhibition commemorating the four hundredth anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, April 23, 1564*, San Marino, CA, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery.
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- ³⁰ Email from Danielle Wetmore, Archives Assistant, University of Redlands, CA, 26 March 2012.
- ³¹ Email from Brian Rapp, Robert O. Dougan's lawyer and executor of his estate, 19 October 2012.
- ³² Email from Dr Jessica Tade of the Santa Barbara Foundation, 16 October 2012.
- ³³ <http://www.rarebookschool.org/2011/fellowships/goldschmidt/index.php>, last accessed 16 October 2012.
- ³⁴ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum Princeton University, 5 November 1982.
- ³⁵ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 14 November 1952, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.
- ³⁶ <http://www.metmuseum.org/collections/search-the-collections?ft=%22e.+p.+goldschmidt%22&rpp=60&pg=1>. Last accessed 16 July 2013.
- ³⁷ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 14 November 1987.
- ³⁸ Helmut Gernsheim talks about his collecting of early photographic material in the mid 1940s in England and Scotland and the prices he paid in Paul Hill and Thomas Cooper (1994), *Dialogue with Photography*, Manchester, Cornerhouse Publications, pages 130-166. Dougan's experience must have been very similar.
- ³⁹ The death of Hugh Dougan could not be found so it was not possible to look for his will.
- ⁴⁰ *The Scotsman*, 28 November 1928, p 10.
- ⁴¹ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to The Director, National Gallery of Scotland, 26 June 1946, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.
- ⁴² Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum Princeton University, 5 November 1982.
- ⁴³ National Records of Scotland SC70/4/768, page 474.
- ⁴⁴ Robert Macpherson (1811-72) was a Scottish photographer who lived and worked in Rome. Dougan album 106 contains twenty-one Macpherson prints.
- ⁴⁵ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 27 February 1996.
- ⁴⁶ Thomas Annan, who moved into Rock House when Hill left, acquired Hill and Adamson items there, including calotype negatives and salt prints, but this is more likely to have been an arrangement between Hill and his friend Annan rather than them just being forgotten as stated by Helmut Gernsheim in Paul Hill and Thomas Cooper (1994), *Dialogue with Photography*, Manchester, Cornerhouse Publications, page 148.
- ⁴⁷ 'Catalogue of the valuable collection of pictures, engravings, sketches, drawings, calotypes, and other art property of the late D. O. Hill Esq., R.S.A., Secretary of the Royal Scottish

Academy...[some items in the sale are listed]...Which will be sold by auction by Mr. T. Chapman (successor to the Late Mr. T. Nisbet) in his great room, No 11 Hanover Street, Edinburgh, on Friday, Saturday, and Monday, November 18, 19, and 20, 1870. Colson and Son, Printer, 80 Rose Street.' There was a copy in the National Galleries of Scotland but it cannot now be traced and a copy could not be found in the National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh Central Library or the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

⁴⁸ John Nicol, 'Notes from the North', *The British Journal of Photography*, 17 December 1875, p. 607. I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for drawing this to my attention.

⁴⁹ G. W. Wight, 'Early Photographic History in Edinburgh', *Edinburgh Journal of the Edinburgh Photographic Society*, Vol 15, 1940, page 42.

⁵⁰ Email from Sarah Hepworth, Assistant Librarian, Special Collections Department, University of Glasgow Library, 18 May 2012.

⁵¹ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 14 April 1953, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.

⁵² Wilson Steel (1889-1961) was Sub Librarian, as the Deputy Librarian was then titled, of the University of Glasgow Library from 1925-56.

⁵³ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 23 September 1982.

⁵⁴ Robert O. Dougan, 'Some Thoughts of a Rare Book Librarian', *College and Research Libraries*, Volume 19, Number 5, September 1958, page 430.

⁵⁵ Email from Jillian McKay, Library Assistant, Local Studies, A. K. Bell Library, Perth, 16 March 2012.

⁵⁶ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 27 February 1996.

⁵⁷ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 27 February 1996.

⁵⁸ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 5 November 1982.

⁵⁹ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 16 January 1983.

⁶⁰ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 5 November 1982.

⁶¹ Letter from Olive Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 1 April 1953, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.

⁶² In the Joyce F. Menschel Photography Library, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY, Call Number NH32.H55 A5L 1938, is listed D.O. Hill original paper negatives in the collection of Francis C. Inglis of Rock House, Calton Hill, Edinburgh, 1938, which is a carbon copy of typed manuscript, with typed corrections and additions, and annotations in pencil. I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson and Kate Simpson in assisting in finding this source.

⁶³ Email from Alan Jutzi, Curator Rare Books, Huntington Library, 18 October 2012.

⁶⁴ Letter from Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, the Art Museum, Princeton University, to Robert O Dougan, 25 March 1976.

⁶⁵ Peter C. Bunnell (1983), *The Robert O. Dougan Collection of Historical Photographs and Photographic Literature at Princeton*, Princeton, NJ, The Art Museum, Princeton University, page 4. Items from the Metropolitan Museum of Art Robert O. Dougan Collection were included in the *Counterparts* exhibition and reproduced and acknowledged in Weston J. Naef (1982), *Counterparts: Form and Emotion in Photography*, New York, NY, Metropolitan Museum of Art and E. P. Dutton.

⁶⁶ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 5 November 1982.

⁶⁷ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Peter C. Bunnell, Curator of Photography, The Art Museum, Princeton University, 5 January 1983.

⁶⁸ National Library of Wales website, http://www.llgc.org.uk/fga/fga_s01.htm, last accessed April 2012.

⁶⁹ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Wilson Steel, University of Glasgow Library, 5 January 1954, University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.

⁷⁰ *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Works of David Octavius Hill RSA*, in the Hunterian Museum from 11 May till 5 June 1954, University of Glasgow, 1954.

⁷¹ *Catalogue of Photographs by David Octavius Hill and Thomas Keith*, Edinburgh, Saltire Society, 1954.

⁷² Katherine Michaelson (1970), *A Centenary Exhibition of the Work of David Octavius Hill 1802-1870 and Robert Adamson 1821-1848*, Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council, pages 26, 29 and 32.

⁷³ Katherine Michaelson (1970), *A Centenary Exhibition of the Work of David Octavius Hill 1802-1870 and Robert Adamson 1821-1848*, Edinburgh, Scottish Arts Council, page 32.

⁷⁴ The will and inventory of Amelia Hill (NRS SC70/4/360 pages 303-314 and SC70/1/439 pages 131-139, respectively) do not itemise all her possessions at death so it cannot be confirmed that she had this painting.

⁷⁵ Email from Melina McCurdy, Associate Curator, British Art, the Huntington, dated 4 January 2013 states: 'I have looked into our object records for the two D.O. Hill oils and can confirm for you that both came from R.O. Dougan in 1976. We also purchased from Dougan, in the same year, an album of 30 lithographs "Hill's Views in Perthshire" (1821).'

⁷⁶ I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for tracing the two D. O. Hill paintings on a visit to the Huntington in the autumn of 2012 and for providing the full text on the back of the painting *Edinburgh from Calton Hill*.

⁷⁷ Letter from Robert O. Dougan to Dr Nigel Thorp, University of Glasgow, 27 February 1996.

⁷⁸ Robert O. Dougan's will could not be found on online court records in Santa Barbara, where he died.

⁷⁹ Robert O. Dougan wrote the book review of *Eadweard Muybridge, The Man Who Invented the Moving Picture* by Kevin MacDonnell for *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 1973.

⁸⁰ Website - <http://cdn.calisphere.org/data/13030/nm/kt0h4nc4nm/files/kt0h4nc4nm.pdf> last accessed 8 March 2012.

⁸¹ Duncan Macmillan (1990), *Scottish Art 1460-1990*, Edinburgh, Mainstream Publishing, page 145. A detail of the panorama showing Rock House was reproduced in Francis Caird Inglis (1936), *The Barony of Calton and District*, reprinted from *The Scottish Year Book*, no publisher, page 10.

⁸² National Records of Scotland RS27/180, Fol 302.

⁸³ National Records of Scotland RS27/180, Fol 302.

⁸⁴ National Records of Scotland RS27/186, Fol 40.

⁸⁵ Francis Caird Inglis (1936), *The Barony of Calton and District*, reprinted from *The Scottish Year Book*, no publisher, page 6.

⁸⁶ Edinburgh City Archives SL/1/1/105, Council Minutes, 11 August 1784, page 214.

⁸⁷ National Records of Scotland PR 843 page 30.

⁸⁸ National Records of Scotland, Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, 1927, 9636.

⁸⁹ A D Morrison-Low, 'Dr John and Robert Adamson: An Early Photographic Partnership in Scottish Photography', *The Photographic Collector*, Vol 4, No 2, Autumn 1983, p 211.

⁹⁰ Brewster to Talbot 3 July 1843, NMPFT 1937- 4926. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, pp. 14-15.

⁹¹ Hill wrote 'I have today assisted in consigning to the cold earth all that was earthy of my amiable true & affectionate Robert Adamson'. Hill to Noel Paton, 18 January 1848, NLS Acc 11315. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, 2002, p. 18.

⁹² Hill to David Roberts, 12 March 1845, NLS TD 1742. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 17.

⁹³ Hill to David Roberts, 12 March 1845, NLS TD 1742. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 17.

⁹⁴ Hill to David Roberts, 12 March 1845, NLS TD 1742. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 17.

⁹⁵ Hill to David Roberts, 12 March 1845, NLS TD 1742. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 47.

⁹⁶ Sara Stevenson, 'Cold Buckets of ignorant criticism: Qualified success in the partnership of David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson', *Photographic Collector*, Volume 4, Number 3, Winter 1983, p. 337.

⁹⁷ Helmut and Alison Gernsheim (1969), *The History of Photography: From the Camera Obscura to the Beginning of the Modern Era*, London, Thames and Hudson, p. 168.

⁹⁸ J. G. Tunny, 'Early Reminiscences of Photography', *The British Journal of Photography*, 12 November 1869, p. 545.

⁹⁹ J. G. Tunny, 'Early Reminiscences of Photography', *The British Journal of Photography*, 12 November 1869, p. 545.

¹⁰⁰ Duncan Macmillan (1990), *Scottish Art 1460-1990*. Edinburgh, Mainstream p. 164.

¹⁰¹ Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 42.

- ¹⁰² Hill to Jane Macdonald, July 1853, NLS Acc 11782. Quoted by Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, p. 59.
- ¹⁰³ Margaret F. MacDonald (Editor), (2003), *Whistler's Mother: An American Icon*, Aldershot, Lund Humphries, 2003, page 45.
- ¹⁰⁴ It is not known where Francis Caird Inglis derived this unusual title but it is written clearly on both negatives and in capital letters on negative 16/9.
- ¹⁰⁵ Sara Stevenson (1981), *David Octavius Hill and Robert Adamson, Catalogue of their Calotypes taken between 1843 and 1847 in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery*, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, page 30.
- ¹⁰⁶ Sara Stevenson (1990), *Thomas Annan 1829-1887*, Scottish Masters 12, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, p. 5.
- ¹⁰⁷ Sara Stevenson (et al.) (1995), *Light from the Dark Room*, Edinburgh, National Galleries of Scotland, p. 53.
- ¹⁰⁸ Sir Walter Scott (1866), *Marmion; A Tale of Flodden Field*, London, A. W. Bennett.
- ¹⁰⁹ There is no location for Thomas Annan given in the published volume, only the publisher Andrew Elliot, 17 Princes Street Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, X.208.a.
- ¹¹⁰ *The Scotsman*, 22 March 1870, page 6.
- ¹¹¹ National Records of Scotland, VR/100/82, Parish of South Leith, p 7.
- ¹¹² Letter to Helmut Gernsheim, 21 July 1945, Harry Ransom Centre, University of Texas. Quoted by William Buchanan (1994), Editor, *J Craig Annan, Selected Texts and Bibliography*, Oxford, Clio Press, p. 19.
- ¹¹³ Nancy Newhall (1998), *Alvin Langdon Coburn, Photographs 1900-1924*, Edited by Karl Steinorth, Zurich and New York, Edition Stemmler, page 32.
- ¹¹⁴ William Buchanan (1994), Editor, *J Craig Annan, Selected Texts and Bibliography*, Oxford, Clio Press, page 27.
- ¹¹⁵ *The Scotsman*, 5 April 1861.
- ¹¹⁶ National Library of Scotland, Acc. 5000/212.
- ¹¹⁷ Allan Ramsay (1867), *The Gentle Shepherd – A Pastoral Comedy*, Edinburgh, Adam & Charles Black.
- ¹¹⁸ *The Scotsman*, 31 August 1870, p. 5.
- ¹¹⁹ In the author's possession are Archibald Burns cartes-de-visite of views of Edinburgh with the ink stamp 'T. Alexander Hill, Publisher to the Queen, 12 St Andrews Sq., Edinburgh', a stereocard of Holyrood Palace with the ink stamp 'Alex S. Henry, Stationer & Artists Colourman, 31 Greenside Street, Edinburgh' and a stereocard of John Knox House with sticker 'From Westren's Gallery, 103 Princes Street Edinburgh'.
- ¹²⁰ Thomas Henderson (1868), *Picturesque "Bits" from Old Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, page 49.
- ¹²¹ Thomas Henderson (1868), *Picturesque "Bits" from Old Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, page 47.
- ¹²² Edinburgh Central Library, qYDA 1829.9 (866), extract of minutes of meeting of the Edinburgh Improvement Trust, 7 February 1871.
- ¹²³ Improvement Act Photographs 1871, Archibald Burns, National Library of Scotland, Photo. La.2.
- ¹²⁴ Improvement Act Photographs 1871, Archibald Burns, National Library of Scotland, Photo. La.2, p 75.
- ¹²⁵ *The Scotsman*, 8 and 10 May 1880, pages 9 and 2 respectively.
- ¹²⁶ Alexander A. Inglis photograph '374 High School Wynd (Edinburgh)' is taken from the same viewpoint as photographs by Archibald Burns and the area had been demolished before Inglis set up business in Rock House.
- ¹²⁷ John Reid, *The New Illustrated Guide to Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, Andrew Elliot, no date but after 1920, no page number.
- ¹²⁸ *The Scotsman*, 21 November 1888, page 6.
- ¹²⁹ Email from Laura Hobbs, Assistant Archivist, The Royal Archives, 1 July 2008.
- ¹³⁰ Email from Sophie Gordon, Curator, Royal Photograph Collection, 6 June 2008.
- ¹³¹ Letter from the Royal Warrant Holders Association, 2 July 2008.
- ¹³² *The Scotsman*, 28 February 1908, page 12.
- ¹³³ *The Scotsman*, 25 November 1911, page 7.

- ¹³⁴ Francis Caird Inglis (1909), 'D. O. Hill RSA and His Work', *Transactions of the Edinburgh Photographic Society*, June 1909, page 78.
- ¹³⁵ Francis Caird Inglis Caird (1915), 'D. O. Hill RSA and His Work', *Photographic Journal of America*, 52, Number 1, January 1915, page 6.
- ¹³⁶ Francis Caird Inglis Caird (1915), 'D. O. Hill RSA and His Work', *Photographic Journal of America*, 52, Number 1, January 1915, page 6.
- ¹³⁷ John Miller Gray (1928), *Calotypes by D. O. Hill and R. Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography, Selected from his Collection by Andrew Elliot*, Edinburgh, privately published, page 6.
- ¹³⁸ www.edinphoto.org, last accessed May 2012.
- ¹³⁹ *The Scotsman*, 30 December 1915, page 8.
- ¹⁴⁰ *The Scotsman*, 3 February 1917, page 3.
- ¹⁴¹ National Records of Scotland, SC70/1/1050, pages 586-8.
- ¹⁴² National Records of Scotland, Register of Sasines, Edinburgh.
- ¹⁴³ Examples include: And. S Cunningham (1925), *Mining in Mid and East Lothian: History of the Industry from the Earliest Times to the Present Day*, Edinburgh, James Thin and John Orr; Francis Caird Inglis (1925), *Dear Auld Reekie, Camera Pictures of Edinburgh*, Edinburgh, The Homeland Association of Scotland, and various other tourist guides; Henry T. Hutton (1931), *The True Story of Greyfriars Bobby*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd; Sir Ian Hamilton (1932), *The Scottish National War Memorial*, Edinburgh, Grant and Murray Ltd; and Alan Reiach and Robert Hurd (1941), *Building Scotland: a cautionary guide*, Glasgow, Saltire Society.
- ¹⁴⁴ Francis Card Inglis (1927), *The Illustrated Guide to Roslin Castle*, Leith, William Nimmo and Co. The Copy in Edinburgh Central Library (XDA 2716) is dated 1927 but the introduction is dated 'July 1909'.
- ¹⁴⁵ Francis Caird Inglis was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1904 and had a paper published in the Society's 'Proceedings' in 1905-6.
- ¹⁴⁶ Francis Caird Inglis (1936), *The Barony of Calton and District*, reprinted from *The Scots Year Book*, no publisher, page 17. Inglis appears to have privately published an offprint of his article which he distributed. The copy I have is inscribed 'Inglis came in tonight & wished this to be sent to the "Bonnie Lassie in London"'.
¹⁴⁷ *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1940, page 4. Francis Caird Inglis funeral service was at the Crematorium, Warriston, *The Scotsman*, 28 September 1940, page 12.
- ¹⁴⁸ *The Scotsman*, 3 April 1943, page 1.
- ¹⁴⁹ National Records of Scotland, Register of Sasines, Edinburgh, 1945, 3968.
- ¹⁵⁰ C. S. Minto (1974), *Edinburgh As It Was: Volume 1, Photographs 1844-1924 by the Rock House Studio*, Nelson, Lancashire, Hendon Publishing Company, no page numbers.
- ¹⁵¹ Alvin Langdon Coburn, 'The Old Masters of Photography', *Century Magazine*, October 1915, pages 909-910, National Library of Scotland, P.217.
- ¹⁵² Uncatalogued photocopy in Special Collections Department.
- ¹⁵³ University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.
- ¹⁵⁴ Dates supplied by David Weston, former Keeper of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library. See also Nigel Thorp, 'Early Photographic Collections in Glasgow University Library', *Bulletin of the Scottish Society for the History of Photography*, Spring 1986, note 33, page 11.
- ¹⁵⁵ There are only 327 forms in the Appendix as 15/7 and 15/8 are combined on one form as the two negatives are the contents of a single letter.
- ¹⁵⁶ Katherine Michaelson (1970), *A Centenary Exhibition of the Work of David Octavius Hill 1802-1870 and Robert Adamson 1821-1848*, Scottish Arts Council, Edinburgh, page 20.
- ¹⁵⁷ Confirmed in email dated 22 May 2012 from Dr Michael Pritchard, Director General of the Royal Photographic Society and Research Fellow at De Montfort University in which he states: 'I would agree with your hypothesis regarding the date code on the labels – although I would suggest that the year is reasonable based on the labels. The letter I would be more cautious about as it might simply be an identifier for the specific product label. As I am sure you have worked out the label would set a minimum date rather than a specific year for the actual box contents as it's likely that labels were only changed when needed.'
- ¹⁵⁸ Information from Jack Baldwin, Keeper of Special Collections, University of Glasgow Library, until 1983.
- ¹⁵⁹ *Transactions of the Edinburgh Photographic Society*, June 1909, page 78.
- ¹⁶⁰ University of Glasgow Library, Department of Special Collections, Dougan 45. The title page states 'Printed for Private Circulation, Edinburgh, 1928' but the accompanying slip from Dr Andrew Elliot to Frances Caird Inglis is dated 'May 1929'.

- ¹⁶¹ John Miller Gray (1895), *Memoir and Remains*, Edinburgh, 1895, Vol. 1, p.149.
- ¹⁶² *The Scotsman*, 28 November 1928, pages 10 and 14.
- ¹⁶³ There are copies of letters from Sir James Pittendrigh Macgillivray to Francis Caird Inglis and reference to him in correspondence in University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1607 and MS Gen 1608.
- ¹⁶⁴ Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 'The Art of Photography', *The Photographic Journal*, Vol LXX, January 1930, pages 2-15.
- ¹⁶⁵ Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 'The Art of Photography', *The Photographic Journal*, Vol LXX, January 1930, page 14.
- ¹⁶⁶ Pittendrigh Macgillivray, 'The Art of Photography', *The Photographic Journal*, Vol LXX, January 1930, pages 8 and 10.
- ¹⁶⁷ *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1940, page 4.
- ¹⁶⁸ *The Scotsman*, 1 May 1933, page 13.
- ¹⁶⁹ *The Illustrated London News*, 13 December 1930, pages 1084-85.
- ¹⁷⁰ Heinrich Schwarz (1932), *David Octavius Hill: Master of Photography*, London, Harrap, page 67.
- ¹⁷¹ Francis Caird Inglis did supply Heinrich Schwarz with Hill and Adamson prints which are credited in a later article. In Heinrich Schwarz 'Hill Adamson Calotypes', *The Scottish Art Review*, Vol XII, No 4, 1970, pages 1-5, two of the photographs as attributed as being 'printed by Francis C. Inglis (1876-1904) [sic]. These are Lady Brewster, later print 188, and John Stevens, glass negative 2/4A. However, neither of these images appear in *David Octavius Hill: Master of Photography*.
- ¹⁷² P. Morton Shand (1935), 'D. O. Hill: Master Photographer', *The Modern Scot*, Volume VI (1935-36), Number 3, Autumn, October 1935, pages 220-226.
- ¹⁷³ Ansel Adams (1935), *Making a Photograph*, London and New York, Studio Publications.
- ¹⁷⁴ Letter from L. T. Wood to *British Journal of Photography*, 17 July 1936, page 459.
- ¹⁷⁵ *British Journal of Photography*, 8 January 1937, page 29.
- ¹⁷⁶ *British Journal of Photography*, 17 December 1937, page 813.
- ¹⁷⁷ *The Scotsman*, 25 January 1939, page 14.
- ¹⁷⁸ *The Scotsman*, 31 January 1939, page 10.
- ¹⁷⁹ *British Journal of Photography*, 3 November 1939, page 660.
- ¹⁸⁰ The later prints do not have a catalogue number and are stored in solander boxes in the photographic store. The prints are in numbered envelopes up to 271 but there are envelopes missing. The number of prints in the envelopes varies and can contain more than one copy of the same photograph. Each print has the same number as the envelope and another number in brackets where there are multiple copies e.g. 254(2).
- ¹⁸¹ In Dougan's typed list of calotype negatives he sold to the University of Glasgow Library, there is no number '49', indicating that it was either not among the items Dougan bought from Inglis or he kept it. There are other numbers omitted from the list but it shows that Dougan, in making his typed list, copied from Inglis. University of Glasgow Library MS Gen 1585.
- ¹⁸² Letter from George Chrystal to Alexander Inglis dated 26 February 1892, later forwarded by Inglis to James Craig Annan. I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for giving me a copy of this letter from a private collection.
- ¹⁸³ There are several in the Andrew Elliot Bequest: PGP HA 766, 767, 768 and 774.
- ¹⁸⁴ Uncatalogued copy of Dougan's typed list annotated next to albums 'prints marked A' and 'prints marked B'.
- ¹⁸⁵ *British Journal of Photography*, 17 December 1937, page 818.
- ¹⁸⁶ *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1940, page 4, *British Journal of Photography*, 11 October 1940, page 499.
- ¹⁸⁷ *British Journal of Photography*, 17 December 1937, page 818.
- ¹⁸⁸ Heinrich Schwarz (1932), *David Octavius Hill: Master of Photography*, London, Harrap, page 30.
- ¹⁸⁹ Neither the Royal Photographic Society nor the National Media Museum, Bradford, could provide any information on the Hill and Adamson material bought from Pittendrigh Macgillivray or gifted by Francis Caird Inglis. Email from Dr Michael Pritchard, Royal Photographic Society, 1 February 2013 and email from Brian Liddy, National Media Museum, 25 February 2013.
- ¹⁹⁰ John Miller Gray (1928), *Calotypes by D. O. Hill and R. Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography, Selected from his Collection by Andrew Elliot*, Edinburgh, privately published.

- ¹⁹¹ University of Glasgow Library Dougan Add 40 contains fifty prints titled 'Photographs, Carbon prints from the original paper negatives by David Octavius Hill RSA, Printed by Jessie Betram, 148 Rose Street, Edinburgh, 1916, Published by Andrew Elliot, 17 Princes Street, Edinburgh.
- ¹⁹² Heinrich Schwarz (1932), *David Octavius Hill: Master of Photography*, London, Harrap, page 30.
- ¹⁹³ G. W. Wight, 'Early Photographic History in Edinburgh', *Edinburgh Journal of the Edinburgh Photographic Society*, Vol 15, 1940, page 41.
- ¹⁹⁴ *Catalogue of an Exhibition of the Works of David Octavius Hill RSA in the Hunterian Museum*, University of Glasgow, 1954, item 131, no page number.
- ¹⁹⁵ The vast majority of the images in the glass negatives could be cross referenced to prints held by the Scottish National Portrait Gallery but often it held multiple copies. This would have meant checking thousands of prints and this would have been too time consuming and was further complicated by a shortage of staff at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery which limited access to the Hill and Adamson prints. The comparison was limited to the examples in the glass negatives where there was a single print in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery collection with distinctive identifying features and not even all of these because of the limited availability of Gallery staff.
- ¹⁹⁶ There were 37 prints examined at the Scottish National Portrait Gallery for which there were 43 glass negatives.
- ¹⁹⁷ Francis Caird Inglis (1927), *The Illustrated Guide to Roslin Castle*, Leith, William Nimmo & Co, back cover (Edinburgh Central Library XDA 2716).
- ¹⁹⁸ At Ingliston Antiques Fair on 17-18 November 2012 there were approximately twenty prints. The dealer was not prepared to split them and wanted £1,100 for them all.
- ¹⁹⁹ *The Scotsman*, 15 March 1938, page 15.
- ²⁰⁰ Email from Bert Innes, Research Volunteer, Gordon Highlanders Museum, dated 3 August 2012.
- ²⁰¹ Email from Bert Innes, Research Volunteer, Gordon Highlanders Museum, dated 14 August 2012.
- ²⁰² *The Times*, 5 August 1939, page 13.
- ²⁰³ John Reid, *The New Illustrated Guide to Edinburgh*, Andrew Elliot, Edinburgh, no date but after 1920, no page number.
- ²⁰⁴ Francis Caird Inglis (1927), *The Illustrated Guide to Roslin Castle*, Leith, William Nimmo & Co, back cover (Edinburgh Central Library XDA 2716).
- ²⁰⁵ Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historic Monuments of Scotland, ED 9346.
- ²⁰⁶ Engraving from unknown publication title 'Symson the Printer's House, 1873' in private collection.
- ²⁰⁷ A. Logan Turner (1927), *Joseph, Baron Lister, Centenary Volume 1827-1927*, Edinburgh, Oliver and Boyd.
- ²⁰⁸ Peter Quennell (1937), *Victorian Panorama*, London, Batsford, p. vii. I am grateful to Dr Sara Stevenson for bring this to my attention.
- ²⁰⁹ John Miller Gray (1928), *Calotypes by D. O. Hill and R. Adamson, Illustrating an Early Stage in the Development of Photography, Selected from his Collection by Andrew Elliot*, Edinburgh, privately published, Number XVIII, 'James Fairbairn DD', no page number.
- ²¹⁰ R. O. Dougan (1949), *The Scottish Tradition in Photography*, Edinburgh, Saltire Society and Thomas Nelson and Sons, page 8.
- ²¹¹ Francis Caird Inglis was elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in 1904 and had a paper published in the Society's 'Proceedings' in 1905-6.
- ²¹² There is also a copy of the New Year Greeting Card in the National Library of Scotland in the J. S. Blackie Papers MS 2629, f1, but it is not the one copied for the glass negative 15/3.
- ²¹³ Institutions in Scotland with Hill and Adamson photographs include: University of St Andrews Library; National Library of Scotland; National Museums of Scotland; Glasgow School of Art; Edinburgh Central Library; City Art Centre, Edinburgh; and the Royal Scottish Academy. Collections in England include: the National Portrait Gallery; the British Library; the London Library; the Royal Photographic Society; and the Victoria and Albert Museum. In North America the collections include: George Eastman House; The J. Paul Getty Museum; Harry Ransom Humanities Research Centre, University of Texas at Austin, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York; Museum of Modern Art, New York; the Art Museum, Princeton University; and the Canadian Centre for Architecture. There are Hill and Adamson prints in institutions in continental Europe as well as in private collections.

²¹⁴ <http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/collectionsa-z/hilladamson/#d.en.133609>. The research was prepared by Professor Larry J. Schaaf in 1999 with grant support from the British Academy.

²¹⁵ Sara Stevenson (2002), *The Personal Art of David Octavius Hill*, New Haven, CT, Yale University Press, page 53.

²¹⁶ John Hannavy, Ed (2008), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth Century Photography*, Vol 1, New York, NY, Routledge, pages 470-1.

²¹⁷ The identity of the photographer was provided by Dr Sara Stevenson who confirmed that there were prints in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

²¹⁸ Suggested by Dr Sara Stevenson who also commented 'the carpet does look familiar - could be M[cGlashon] without H[ill] or both - not sure!' in email dated 22 June 2012.

²¹⁹ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

²²⁰ National Records of Scotland, Confirmations and Inventories 1897.

²²¹ *The Scotsman*, 11 July 1871, page 2.

²²² National Library of Scotland, Acc 5811/3, f13.

²²³ *One hundred years of map making: the story of W. & A. K. Johnston*, printed by W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited, Edinburgh, 1925.

²²⁴ See: Sara Stevenson, 'David Octavius Hill and the Use of Photography as an Aid to Painting' *History of Photography*, Vol 15 No 1 Spring 1991, pages 47-59; Gavin Stamp, 'Edinburgh's Earliest Panorama', *Country Life*, August 21, 2003, pages 42-47.

²²⁵ *The Scotsman*, 27 September 1940, page 4.