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### ABBREVIATIONS

MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art  
MMAB *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin*  
MMJ *Metropolitan Museum Journal*

*Height precedes width and then depth in dimensions cited.*

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# John Kay's Watercolor Drawing *John Campbell (1782)*

**WENDY MCGLASHAN**

A watercolor drawing of Scotsman John Campbell in The Metropolitan Museum of Art represents a rare early work by John Kay, an Edinburgh barber turned graphic satirist, printmaker, and portrait miniaturist, with no formal art training (fig. 1). Kay published his first satirical etchings in 1784, at which time a wide range of European old master and contemporary British prints might be viewed or purchased in Edinburgh via auction rooms and printsellers like James Sibbald.<sup>1</sup> Interest continued in the graphic works of William Hogarth during this period and in 1783 the Edinburgh-based artist David Allan began engraving what he referred to (in a letter to a patron) as “groups of the manners in Scotland.”<sup>2</sup> Sibbald staged regular public print exhibitions, boasting that “a larger collection of capital modern prints is not to be found in

*fig. 1* John Kay (Scottish, 1742–1826). *John Campbell, Precentor, Conducting Three Braying Asses*, 1782. Watercolor, sheet 5<sup>11</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> in. (14.4 × 11.4 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (17.3.1452)

fig. 2 Daniel Lizars  
(Scottish, 1760–1812) after  
David Allan (Scottish, 1744–  
1796). *John Campbell*,  
undated. Engraving, 6<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> ×  
5<sup>1</sup>/<sub>4</sub> in. (17.3 × 13.3 cm).  
Scottish National Portrait  
Gallery, Edinburgh  
(inv. SP IV 262.1)



any shop in the kingdom, [for in London] printsellers and publishers interest themselves only in the sale of their own publications.”<sup>3</sup> Prints might also be borrowed through his Edinburgh Circulating Library, which offered “a considerable number of choice Prints, by the best masters.”<sup>4</sup> In late eighteenth-century Edinburgh, the study of prints was thus a widespread pursuit, open to elite connoisseurs and middle-rank consumers alike.<sup>5</sup>

Kay is now best known for his monochromatic printed works, as posthumously published by Hugh Paton in *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay* (1837–38).<sup>6</sup> Dated 1782, the watercolor drawing of John Campbell in The Met predates Kay’s first printed portraits by two years, and thus constitutes an important representation of his initial painted work in color.<sup>7</sup>

John Campbell (d. 1795) was born in rural Perthshire, the eldest son of a carpenter. John’s father, finding himself in reduced circumstances following the bankruptcy of the local laird, relocated the family to Edinburgh, where he died shortly thereafter.<sup>8</sup> This left Campbell to provide for his mother, three sisters, and younger brother Alexander (1764–1824), which he initially did by securing work as a sawyer.<sup>9</sup> The Campbell brothers later became pupils of the celebrated Italian castrato Giusto Ferdinando Tenducci. Tenducci was a highly fashionable music teacher who, recognizing John as “a talented boy of limited means,” provided their

lessons at half-price.<sup>10</sup> John was appointed precentor, or leader of Psalm singing, at the Canongate Church in 1775 and Alexander progressed to employment as organist for an Episcopalian chapel.<sup>11</sup> In 1781 a notice in the *Caledonian Mercury* brought the musical brothers to public attention, announcing: “In St. Mary’s Chapel, Niddry’s Wynd, on Tuesday the 20th of March will be performed, J. and A. Campbell’s Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music.”<sup>12</sup> Tickets were priced at three shillings, the price then commanded by Tenducci himself, and the concert was to be followed by a ball.<sup>13</sup>

Although never permanently resident in Edinburgh, Tenducci enjoyed a connection with the prestigious Edinburgh Musical Society from 1768, participating in their concerts and earning high acclaim as a performer of Scottish song.<sup>14</sup> William Tytler, an Edinburgh lawyer, historian, and active member of the Musical Society, noted that no one “could hear with insensibility, or without being moved in the greatest degree, Tenducci sing—*I’ll never leave thee*,—or *The Braes of Ballendine!*”<sup>15</sup> In July 1781, the Musical Society held a concert “for the benefit of Mr. Tenducci” in St. Celia’s Hall, and Tenducci appears to have left Edinburgh about this time.<sup>16</sup> Before doing so, he per-



fig. 3 James Bretherton (British, ca. 1730–1806) after Henry William Bunbury (British, 1750–1811). *Hyde Park*, 1781. Etching, 28¾ × 63¾ in. (72 × 161 cm). British Museum, London (inv. J, 6.78; inv. J, 6.78a; inv. J, 6.78b)

sueded John Campbell to “sit to [David] Allan for a portrait,” which he then “had engraved on a small scale” (fig. 2).<sup>17</sup> Campbell stands between a cello and an ornate chamber organ, and is depicted with a large belly, fleshy double chin, and sparse natural hair. He smiles at the viewer and holds the musical score for “The Braes o’ Ballendine” in his hand, one of the Scottish ballads for which Tenducci had previously received accolades.<sup>18</sup> Tenducci then circulated Campbell’s portrait among his elite clientele, recommending his services to members of the nobility and aristocracy, and helping to establish him as a music teacher in the city.<sup>19</sup>

Kay was then spending time at Archerfield, the country seat of William Nisbet of Dirleton, an aristocratic patron who employed Kay’s services as a barber and encouraged his artistic pursuits.<sup>20</sup> Nisbet was also a member of the Edinburgh Musical Society and it thus seems likely that he would have received Campbell’s portrait.<sup>21</sup> In 1781 Campbell also appeared in a half-length etched portrait, published in London by Hannah Humphrey, a successful printseller who worked closely with the British satirical printmaker James Gillray.<sup>22</sup> The likeness compares closely with the Allan portrait, but is turned in profile; Campbell smiles and holds a

musical score in his right hand. Beneath the image is an inscription further promoting Campbell’s status as a vocalist and performer of Scottish song: “Mr. C-m-l. The Jolly Presenter of the Canongate Kirk in Edinburgh, singing the Psalms of a Morning and over a Bowl of Punch Scotch Tunes at Night.”<sup>23</sup>

Alexander Fraser Tytler (William Tytler’s son), an advocate, historian, and professor at the University of Edinburgh, noted about this time that “One Kay [a barber] has now taken up the trade of Collector [of prints], and I have seen him bid more for a single print at an auction than he can make at his business in a week.”<sup>24</sup> Among the new prints advertised by Sibbald in 1781 was Henry William Bunbury’s *Hyde Park* (1781), described as “a very large print, *curious*” (fig. 3).<sup>25</sup>

In reference to Kay’s watercolor drawing of John Campbell, Caroline Karpinski suggests: “Kay began to draw in the manner of [Thomas] Rowlandson, rendering a rotund, three-dimensional figure in a naturalistic atmosphere. But he was unable, because of limited artistic means, or unwilling, to carry this style further.”<sup>26</sup> However, new research shows that the watercolor drawing in *The Met* relates not to Thomas Rowlandson but rather to Henry William Bunbury, with





Kay taking a corpulent male figure selected from the foreground of *Hyde Park* as a direct model, whose physical similarity to Campbell he shrewdly exploits.<sup>27</sup> Kay adapts this model to a local context, forgoing the bustling London park and instead locating Campbell in a rural Scottish landscape, with thistles, rolling hills, and a muted color palette of ochers, earth tones, and soft blues. The scheme echoes contemporary Scottish paintings like Allan's *Highland Dance* (ca. 1780).<sup>28</sup> Bunbury's biting dogs are replaced with braying asses that break comically into the picture plane, making a fool of Campbell, who stands grimacing with his mouth wide open in song, and his disharmonious students.

As a single image Kay's watercolor drawing would have had limited circulation, but in 1784 he began publishing his satirical portraits as etched multiples, permitting their dissemination to a wider audience.<sup>29</sup> The *Catalogue of the Works and Other Genuine Property of the Late Mr. John Kay of Edinburgh* offered for sale in 1836 following the death of Kay's widow, Margaret Scott Kay, lists a single impression of a print titled *Corpulent Man, and Asses Braying*, indicating that Kay subsequently published an etching after his watercolor drawing of Campbell.<sup>30</sup> However, the etching plate for this print had been "bought up" and presumably destroyed, thus preventing the further reproduction and circulation of the image.<sup>31</sup>

Margaret Scott Kay reported that "Alex. Campbell, organist, caricatured Kay for drawing his brother John, the precentor."<sup>32</sup> Though no impressions of Alexander Campbell's caricature of Kay are known to survive, it is described in the aforementioned *Original Portraits* as a "rudely executed" work in which "John Dow was represented as dragging him by the ear to the Town Guard, while *Bailie Duff* brought up the rear, in the attitude of administering a forcible admonition with his foot."<sup>33</sup> While Dow was employed as a guardsman in the city, "Bailie Duff" was a title mockingly applied to Jamie Duff, a deluded "person of weak intellects" (or "idiot") who aspired to the position of magistrate.<sup>34</sup> In 1784 both Dow and Duff featured in Kay's etched portrait *A Triumvirate*, appearing along with James Robertson of Kincairnie, or the "Daft Highland Laird," a member of the gentry associated with "insanity" and "lunacy," famed for carving wooden caricature heads of those he disliked and displaying them on top of a staff (fig. 4).<sup>35</sup> Robertson is shown at left holding such a staff; Dow is situated in the center, looking Duff in the eye. It thus seems that Alexander Campbell deliberately mobilized Kay's own visual language against him, creating an alternative "triumvirate" in which Kay assumed the



fig. 4 John Kay. *A Triumvirate*, 1784. Etching, sheet  $3\frac{3}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{16}$  in. (8 × 10.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.30[3])

fig. 5 John Kay. *A Medley of Musicians*, 1784. Etching and aquatint, sheet  $3\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$  in. (9.3 × 10.7 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.30[28])

fig. 6 John Kay. *John Campbell*, ca. 1784. Etching and aquatint, sheet  $2\frac{9}{16} \times 2\frac{1}{16}$  in. (7.4 × 5.3 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1933 (33.30[26])



fig. 7 William Hogarth (British, 1697–1764). *The Enraged Musician*, 1741. Etching and engraving, plate 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> × 14<sup>3</sup>/<sub>16</sub> in. (36 × 36 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1932 (32.35[19])



place of the deranged caricaturist—provoking him to publish *A Medley of Musicians* (1784), described by Margaret Scott Kay as “Another Retaliation” (fig. 5).<sup>36</sup>

*Original Portraits* implies that Alexander’s retaliatory caricature of John Kay was incited by a small half-length etched portrait of his brother John, for which the etching plate did exist (fig. 6).<sup>37</sup> John Campbell is depicted in profile earnestly singing with a song book in hand. The work provided a pendant to an identically sized portrait of Thomas Neil, precentor in the Old Church, whose vocal talents were praised highly by Kay, comically performing as “The Old Wife.”<sup>38</sup> Publisher Hugh Paton chose to separate these portraits in different volumes of *Original Portraits*, instead pairing the John Campbell portrait with *A Medley of Musicians*, neatly linking it with the dispute between Alexander Campbell and John Kay.<sup>39</sup>

Neither the etching *Corpulent Man, and Asses Braying* nor The Met’s watercolor drawing (fig. 1) is referenced in *Original Portraits*. However, Kay’s *A Medley of Musicians* (fig. 5) works in direct dialogue with the image, forming part of the Kay-Campbell exchange.<sup>40</sup> Kay retains the distinctive comedic asses, here inverted by the print process. John Campbell maintains his compositional centrality, his face again grimacing and open-mouthed in song, but Kay now expands the composition to include Alexander

Campbell in the discordant concert, seen turning the handle of the organ strapped to his back.

James Beattie’s *An Essay on Laughter and Ludicrous Composition* (1776) comments that William Hogarth’s *The Enraged Musician* (1741) (fig. 7) is made “more laughable” by the various persons and dissonant sounds “all united in the same place, and for the same purpose, of tormenting the poor fiddler.”<sup>41</sup> To further torment Alexander Campbell, Kay deliberately refers to Hogarth’s well-known work, bringing together a similar variety of cacophonous sounds, including braying asses, barking dogs, and a horn-blowing fish-seller. Hogarth’s knife-grinder, seen wearing spectacles and an upturned hat as he sharpens a meat cleaver, is transformed by Kay into a similarly attired sawyer, who stands in a saw-pit sharpening his saw—a witty reminder of John Campbell’s humble origins.<sup>42</sup> Hogarth’s oboe player is echoed in Kay’s bagpipe-playing Jamie Duff, and whereas Alexander Campbell previously depicted Duff kicking Kay in the rear (in the caricature mentioned above for which no image remains), he now plays opposite the organist in the disharmonious concert, and both are compositionally grouped with the asses.<sup>43</sup>

In 1785 Kay gave up barbering to set up as an independent artist-printmaker, and in that year he represented John Campbell in a second Hogarthian composition: *A Sleepy Congregation*.<sup>44</sup> Taking Hogarth’s

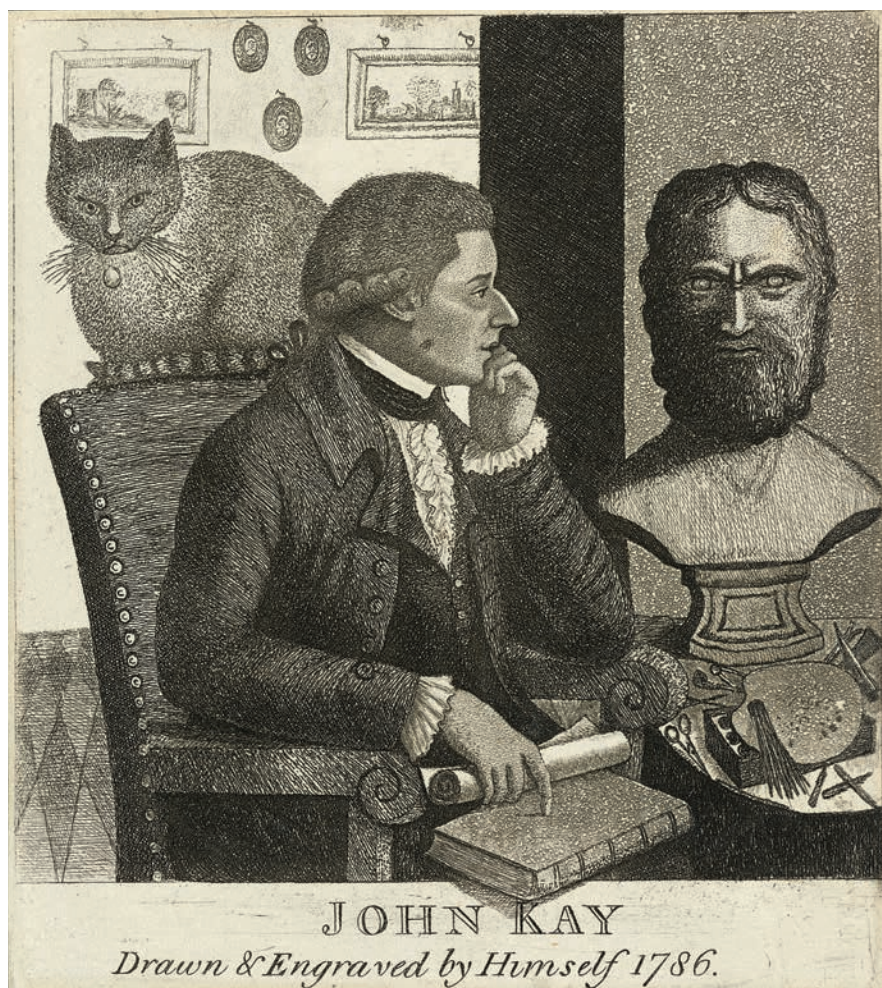


fig. 8 John Kay. *John Kay, Drawn & Engraved by Himself 1786, 1786*. Etching and aquatint, sheet 4 $\frac{5}{16}$  × 3 $\frac{3}{8}$  in. (10.9 × 9.9 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1917 (17.3.756-3219)

*The Sleeping Congregation* (1736) and his multiheaded *Characters and Caricaturas* (1743) as models, Kay depicts the non-attentive congregation of the Tolbooth Church and pictures Campbell asleep at his post in the double-decker pulpit, while the Reverend Alexander Webster delivers his sermon.<sup>45</sup>

The following year Kay confidently celebrated his new status as an artist-printmaker in a self-portrait in which he acknowledged his barbering origins and asserted his artistic affiliation with Hogarth (fig. 8).<sup>46</sup> The inscription boldly states: “John Kay / *Drawn & Engraved by Himself 1786.*” The wording is an English adaption of the Latin inscription *Gulielmus Hogarth / Se ipse Pinxit et Sculpsit 1749* engraved beneath Hogarth’s self-portrait with an oversize pug dog.<sup>47</sup> Although Kay replaces the pug with a gargantuan cat, the frontal placement of the artist’s palette, burins, etching tools, and barbering implements, all deliberately angled toward the viewer, strengthens the visual link to Hogarth’s work.

Though no copies of the caricature by Alexander Campbell, as described in *Original Portraits*, are believed to be extant,<sup>48</sup> the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, holds an etching titled

*The Triumph of Genius or Jamie Duff’s Gratitude to His Portrait-Painter* (fig. 9). This formerly unstudied, anonymous and undated caricature is revealed here to be a further anti-Kay satire that adds to the context of the quarrel between Campbell and Kay.

Whereas Alexander Campbell previously depicted John Dow and Jamie Duff forcibly escorting Kay to the town guard (in the caricature mentioned above for which no image remains), here they hold him aloft in a triumphal parade. They are joined by two further lowly characters from Kay’s early etchings: George Pratt, the town crier, who leads the parade with his bell, and George (or Geordie) Cranstoun, a well-known Edinburgh dwarf, who follows behind John Dow.<sup>49</sup> Kay sits in an elevated chair with his son William, also an artist-printmaker, and his enormous cat, a motif that mimics Kay’s printed self-portrait, suggesting a date of about 1786 for this work.<sup>50</sup> Just as Kay ridiculed the physicality of Alexander’s corpulent brother John, Kay’s son William is depicted with an oversize head, while his legs are compared to those of Cranstoun, whose own physical differences were highlighted by Kay in portraits such as *Burns, the Irish Giant and a Number of Characters of His Time* (1784).<sup>51</sup>

Echoing Kay’s portrait etching *Shon Dow* (1784), Dow carries a Lochaber axe in one hand.<sup>52</sup> With the other he holds up an object shaped like an artist’s palette and labeled “Mambrino’s helmet,” a literary reference that links Kay with the deluded character of Miguel de Cervantes’s Don Quixote, who aspired to a “heroic ideal well beyond his actual status and being.”<sup>53</sup> Impassioned by his reading of chivalric romances, Quixote embarked on a quest as a knight-errant, mistaking a barber’s basin for the golden helmet of the mythical knight Mambrino. In *The Triumph of Genius*, Kay’s quixotic delusions are reiterated by the barbering scissors in his hand. James Robertson, one of Kay’s subjects who is not included in this celebratory parade, had previously retaliated against him “by mounting a caricature likeness of the limner on his staff.”<sup>54</sup> In *The Triumph of Genius*, Jamie Duff, who appears in his full magistrate’s regalia, holds such a staff. In doing so, Kay is associated with Duff’s aspirational delusions and with Robertson’s “lunacy” and wooden caricatures. Atop Robertson’s staff sits a “hoolet” or owl, a symbol of “peevishness” and “stupidity.”<sup>55</sup>

A banner at the top of the composition brands Kay “KITE from *The Goose DUB.*” While “Goose Dub” was the name of an area near the Edinburgh Meadows, the term “goose” may also be applied to a “fool” or a “simpleton,” with “dub” referring to a small murky

pool.<sup>56</sup> The kite was then a despised bird of prey, and the word was used as “a term of abuse or detestation.”<sup>57</sup> Kay utilized the term in this manner in the written inscription beneath his *Cock-Fighting Match* (1785), a composition closely modeled on Hogarth’s *The Cockpit* (1759).<sup>58</sup> The inscription on *Cock-Fighting Match* reads: *Thus we poor Cocks, exert our Skill & Brav’ry / For idle Gulls and Kites, that trade in Knavr’y.* With regard to cockfighting, Kay further noted:

that noblemen and gentlemen, who upon any other occasion will hardly show the smallest degree of condescension to their inferiors, will, in the prosecution of this barbarous amusement, demean themselves so far as to associate with the very lowest characters in society.<sup>59</sup>

The banner not only presents Kay as a man of low character, but it also derides his efforts to affiliate himself with Hogarth, as evidenced above in *A Medley of Musicians* (fig. 5) and *A Sleepy Congregation*, both associated with the Campbell brothers—mockingly labeling Kay “Scoto-Hogarthian.” Although the authorship of

*The Triumph of Genius* cannot be definitively ascertained, it is beyond question that Alexander Campbell had the motivation to create such a work, and the available evidence convincingly locates it within the context of the Kay-Campbell exchange.

A precedent for the anti-Kay caricatures may be found in a series of vitriolic anti-Hogarth satires made in 1753–54 by Paul Sandby. Sandby was a British landscape painter, pioneer of the aquatint print technique in England, and founding member of the Royal Academy of Arts in London.<sup>60</sup> Prompted by Hogarth’s opposition to the establishment of a continental-style British art academy and the publication of his aesthetic treatise *The Analysis of Beauty* (1753), Sandby’s prints branded Hogarth a “Self Conceited Arrogant Dauber” and mocked him through the parody of his visual language.<sup>61</sup> Sandby’s *The Analyst Besh[itt]e[n]: In His Own Taste* (1753), for instance, repurposes imagery from Hogarth’s printed self-portrait with a pug, while *Puggs Graces Etched from His Original Daubing* (1753–54) echoes the composition of Hogarth’s *Analysis of Beauty*, Plate 1.<sup>62</sup> Both mimic Hogarth’s use of a numbered key.<sup>63</sup> The written inscription printed beneath *Puggs Graces* begins: “Behold a Wretch who Nature form’d in Spight, / Scorn’d by the Wise; he gave the Fools Delight” and further declares that “Dunce Connoisseurs extol the Author Pugg.”<sup>64</sup> This theme is echoed in *The Triumph of Genius* (fig. 9) and the textual inscription below similarly opens: “Behold the Triumph, which is Justly due / From Jemy Duff, & warlike Soldier Dow.”

While Alexander Campbell’s decision to satirize Kay was, it seems, in part prompted by a desire to defend his elder brother, who had stepped in to provide for the family following the death of their father, it may also have reflected his artistic ambitions. In 1797, Francis Jukes, an English aquatintist, who learned the technique from Sandby, published a series of four Scottish views after drawings by Alexander Campbell.<sup>65</sup> In 1802, Campbell published *A Journey from Edinburgh through Parts of North Britain: Containing Remarks on Scottish Landscape*. It was embellished with forty-four aquatints executed by Francis Jukes, William Pickett, Thomas Medland, Samuel Alken, and John Walker after drawings of Scottish scenery that Campbell had “sketched on the spot.”<sup>66</sup> Throughout this two-volume work Campbell positions himself as “a skilful painter” with a “practiced eye,” and when he surveys the notable artists and engravers active in Edinburgh, John Kay is conspicuously excluded.<sup>67</sup>

It was Kay’s ambition to publish a collected volume of his etchings, and in 1792 he prepared descriptive

fig. 9 Anonymous (possibly by Alexander Campbell). *The Triumph of Genius or Jamie Duff’s Gratitude to His Portrait-Painter*, ca. 1786. Etching, 5¼ × 6½ in. (13.3 × 16.5 cm). National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh (inv. SP IV 223.2)





notes relating to the subjects of his prints, with the assistance of James Thomson Callender, an author and political radical who fled to the United States after being indicted for sedition.<sup>68</sup> Callender has been described as a misanthrope with “contempt for the famous and [a] desire to cut them down to size,” and it was his belief that “The laurels which human praise confers are withered and blasted by the unworthiness of those who wear them.”<sup>69</sup> The notes composed by Kay and Callender were purchased by Paton in 1836 and “subsequently suppressed [containing] matters too personal for publication.”<sup>70</sup> Although Kay’s descriptive notes may be lost, the visual evidence suggests that when John Campbell was raised to fame by Tenducci, Kay displayed a similar desire to cut him down to size. He did so by initially mocking John Campbell’s appearance, students, and musical abilities, and later embedding a reminder of Campbell’s humble origins as sawyer within his etching *A Medley of Musicians* (fig. 5).<sup>71</sup> Should Kay’s missing notes be rediscovered, further details of the motivations underlying his satirical attack on John Campbell may then come to light.

The findings presented here identify a new source for the watercolor drawing of John Campbell by John Kay in *The Met*, and provide fresh context for this important early work. Placing the drawing in dialogue with previously unstudied anti-Kay caricatures has revealed a vibrant response in late eighteenth-century Edinburgh to extant British satirical prints. The *Met*’s watercolor drawing also shows that John Kay chose to pursue a confrontational and personalized form of satirical attack from the very outset of his artistic career.

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#### NOTES

- 1 The range of prints available is attested by newspaper advertisements. See, for example, *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9552 (1782): 1; no. 9718 (1783): 1; and no. 10,030 (1785): 3.
- 2 David Allan to Sir William Hamilton, November 6, 1780, as quoted in Modeen and Whiting 2017, 23. Between 1781 and 1782, James Sibbald added two new books pertaining to Hogarth to the circulating library in Edinburgh. See Sibbald 1786, 191, 211. Hogarth’s prints were regularly advertised by printsellers and auctioneers. See *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9653 (1783): 1; no. 9759 (1784): 1; and no. 10,030 (1785): 3. Allan’s Scottish prints are typified by *Highland Dance* (National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, inv. P2765). It was among the new prints advertised by Sibbald in 1783. See *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9609 (1783): 1.
- 3 *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9312 (1781): 1, and no. 9552 (1782): 1 (for quote).
- 4 *Ibid.*, no. 9710 (1783): 1.
- 5 See Nenadic 1994, 127, and Nenadic 1997.
- 6 Paton 1837–38. For the impact of Paton’s *A Series of Original Portraits and Caricature Etchings by the Late John Kay* (hereafter *Original Portraits*) on Kay’s posthumous reputation, see McGlashan 2020, 33–68.
- 7 The Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture, Edinburgh, holds an album of 134 drawings, watercolors, and prints by Kay (inv. 1994.189). Only four present full-length figures rendered in watercolor in a manner comparable to the work in *The Met*.
- 8 Paton 1837–38, 2:92.
- 9 *Ibid.*
- 10 *Ibid.*; Berry 2011, 151. Alexander Campbell notes (1798, 298) that he was a pupil of Tenducci in 1780.
- 11 Paton 1837–38, 2:93. For more on the Campbells, see Watt and Purser 2004 and McAulay 2013, 71–103.
- 12 *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9288 (1781): 1.
- 13 *Ibid.*
- 14 See Berry 2011, 149–50, and Edwards 2015, 191.
- 15 [Tytler] 1779, 120.
- 16 *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9340 (1781): 3. After this date, Tenducci only briefly reappears in the *Caledonian Mercury* in July and August 1785.
- 17 Paton 1837–38, 2:93. The engraving originally had the initials “C—p—ll, P—n—r, C—g—e C—h” inscribed beneath.
- 18 [Tytler] 1779, 120; Berry 2011, 150.
- 19 Paton 1837–38, 2:93. In *Williamson’s Directory for the City of Edinburgh* (Williamson 1784, 14), the Campbell brothers are listed as “music masters.” In November 1785, John opened a church-funded school for the teaching of vocal music to local children. See *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 10,027 (1785): 1.
- 20 Paton 1837–38, 1:2.
- 21 Macleod 2001, 52.
- 22 Donald 1996, 4.
- 23 British Museum, London, inv. J.2.72.
- 24 “Commonplace book of Alexander Fraser Tytler,” fol. 12v, ca. 1778–1802, Acc.11737/5, National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh. I thank Mark McLean for bringing this manuscript to my attention.

- 25 *Caledonian Mercury*, no. 9327 (1781): 1.
- 26 Karpinski 1966, 30–31.
- 27 Kay created two further studies after Bunbury's *Hyde Park*. Both are in the album of Kay's drawings, watercolors, and prints in the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture (see note 7 above).
- 28 National Galleries of Scotland, inv. D 5185.
- 29 Paton 1837–38, 1:3.
- 30 Kay sale 1836, 4, lot 71.
- 31 *Ibid.* It seems likely that Alexander Campbell "bought up" this missing plate.
- 32 [Kay] 1836, 6.
- 33 Paton 1837–38, 2:95.
- 34 *Ibid.*, 1:4, 7–8. In 1784, Dow was also depicted in an etched portrait by Isaac Cruikshank in which he holds a Lochaber axe in one hand and a glass of whisky in the other. See British Museum, inv. 1850,0810.215.
- 35 Paton 1837–38, 1:4–5. In 1784, Kay also depicted Robertson and his wood-carved heads in *Laird Robertson* (British Museum, inv. 1861,1012.2463) and *Dr. Glen and Laird Robertson* (British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.22).
- 36 [Kay] 1836, 6.
- 37 This was one of 356 copperplates that Paton purchased from Margaret Scott Kay's executors in 1836. See Kay sale 1836, 3.
- 38 Paton 1837–38, 1:230. Kay's portraits of John Campbell and Thomas Neil are listed consecutively in [Kay] 1836, 6. For the Neil portrait, see National Portrait Gallery, London, inv. D16886.
- 39 For John Campbell and *Medley of Musicians*, see Paton 1837–38, 2:92–99. For Thomas Neil, see *ibid.*, 1:230–35.
- 40 *Ibid.*, 2:95.
- 41 Beattie 1776, 354.
- 42 Paton 1837–38, 2:95.
- 43 For more on Hogarth's *The Enraged Musician*, see Riding 2006, 138.
- 44 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.39.
- 45 MMA 91.1.1 and 32.35(152).
- 46 For further analysis of Kay's printed and painted self-portraits, see McGlashan 2020, chap. 1.
- 47 Royal Collection Trust, United Kingdom, inv. RCIN 811832.
- 48 See note 33 above.
- 49 For images of Pratt and Cranstoun, see Kay, *John Pratt, Town-Crier* (1784), British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.4, and *Captain Mingay, with a Porter Carrying Geordie Cranstoun in His Creel* (1784), British Museum, inv. 1935,0522.13.26.
- 50 For an example of William Kay's printed works, see *The Social Pinch*, 1789, British Museum, inv. 1877,0210.406. Examples of his painted works on paper are held in the Royal Scottish Academy of Art and Architecture, Edinburgh; Central Library, Edinburgh; and Perth Museum and Art Gallery.
- 51 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.45.
- 52 National Portrait Gallery, inv. D16881.
- 53 Paulson 1998, 3.
- 54 Paton 1837–38, 1:5.
- 55 *Dictionary of the Scots Language*, 2004, <https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/hoolet>.
- 56 *Ibid.*, <https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/snd/guse>.
- 57 *Ibid.*, [https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kyte\\_n\\_2](https://dsl.ac.uk/entry/dost/kyte_n_2).
- 58 British Museum, inv. 1937,1108.8; MMA 32.35(129).
- 59 Paton 1837–38, 1:96. Here Paton directly quotes Kay's own manuscript notes, which he purchased in 1836 (see text and note 70 below).

- 60 For Sandby and aquatint, see Gunn 2015, 39–56, and Hoisington 2021, 86–107. For Sandby's anti-Hogarth satires, see Paulson 1993, 135; Quilley 2009; Gunn 2015, 169–78, 197–206; and Gunn 2017.
- 61 Paulson 1993, 135; Quilley 2009; Gunn 2015, 21–25; and Gunn 2017, 403–4. Hogarth was described as such in *The Vile Ephesian* (1753), British Museum, inv. 1868,0808.3979.
- 62 British Museum, inv. 1904,0819.703. See Hogarth 1753, pl. 1; Paulson 1993, 135; and Quilley 2009, 40.
- 63 Quilley 2009, 40.
- 64 British Museum, inv. Y,4.153.
- 65 British Museum, inv. 1917,1208.3047; inv. 1917,1208.3048; inv. 1917,1208.3049; inv. 1917,1208.2803; for Francis Jukes, see Gunn 2015, 46–47, and Hoisington 2021, 172–89.
- 66 Examples are in the Yale Center for British Art, New Haven. See, for example, B1998.14.763.
- 67 Campbell 1802, 1:11, 99, 268, and 2:277.
- 68 Durey 1990, 28, 47. For Kay's involvement with the radical Scottish parliamentary reform movement of the 1790s, see McGlashan 2020, 240–86.
- 69 Durey 1990, 8; Callender 1782, iv.
- 70 James Maidment, editor of *Original Portraits*, quoted in Stevenson 1883, 35. Although largely suppressed, Kay's notes are very sparingly and selectively quoted throughout *Original Portraits*. See, for example, note 59 above.
- 71 Stevenson 1883, 35. Two quarto volumes containing Kay's descriptive notes were purchased by Glasgow booksellers Mr. Kerr and Mr. Richardson on May 4, 1880, from the sale of the Maidment collection. It is currently unknown whether or not these survive.

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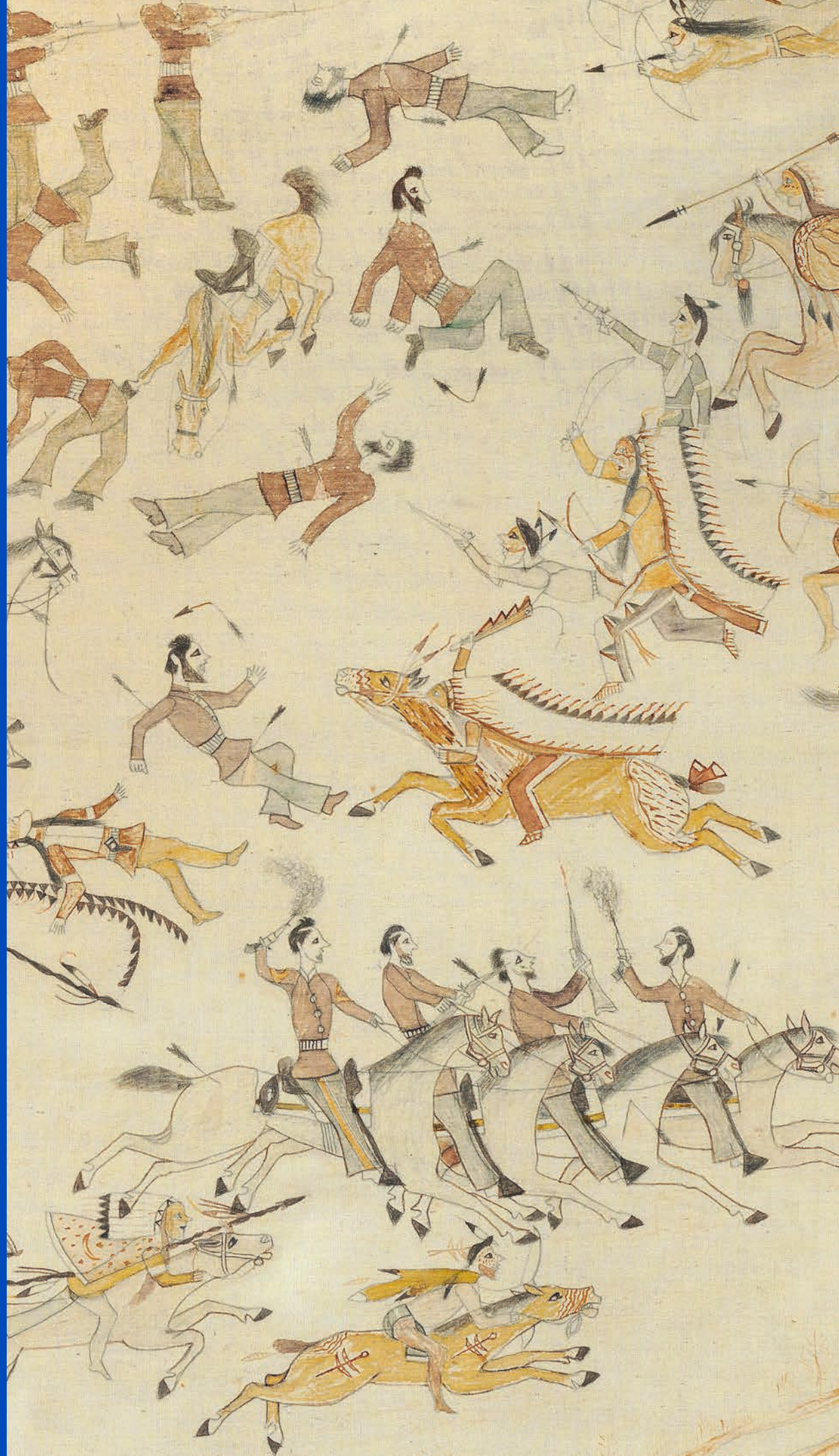
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