Colour-Music

Musical Modelling in

James McNeill Whistler's Art

by

Melissa Cameron

Arabella Teniswood-Harvey

MMus, GradDipArts (Art History), GradDipEd, BMus (Honours)

Submitted in fulfilment of the

requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Tasmania, December 2006.

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Abstract

This study investigates the influence of Western music on Whistler's artistic theory and practice. Drawing upon primary sources, it traces Whistler's lifelong exposure to, and engagement with, music making, and considers the ways in which he translated his musical experiences into pictorial subject matter. Whistler's use of musical nomenclature and analogy are then examined, within the context of both his personal musical experience and knowledge, and the wider nineteenth-century interest in the interrelations between the visual arts and music. The notions of musical autonomy, art-for-art's sake and artistic correspondence; the influence of music on colour theory; and the discourse of enthusiasm surrounding Beethovenism and Wagnerism are deemed influential.

The dissertation argues that music informed Whistler's theory and practice in a highly significant manner. The study proposes that the model of pure or absolute music – its autonomy and operations – provided Whistler with a framework to explore, justify and communicate his interest in freestanding pictorial technique. In addition to providing a paradigm for the primacy of formal interest over subject matter, the actual language and experience of music informed Whistler's pictorial practice. Whistler's approach to subject matter, colour and composition were all influenced by his musical interest.

Building upon the ideas of the American scholar Kermit S. Champa, the study employs and develops an interpretive framework to analyse and discuss Whistler's use of 'musical modelling'. This method of enquiry isolates the musical operations evident in Whistler's art – pulse, rhythm, movement, pace, sequential structure, voicing, counterpoint, attack and decay, harmony, and tonality. Two detailed case studies demonstrate the validity of the musical model in interpreting Whistler's work. The first proposes a strong link between Franz Schubert's *Moments musicaux*, Op. 94, and Whistler's Six Projects; while the second considers the correspondences between Whistler's Nocturnes and their musical counterpart. Such analyses offer fresh readings of familiar yet enigmatic images.

This dissertation discusses artworks from all the two-dimensional, pictorial media in which Whistler worked. The visual analysis focuses upon images with musical titles and/or subject matter. However, the study provides the groundwork for investigating the ways in which Whistler explored musical modelling in other works. Therefore, the interpretive model demonstrated in this dissertation has widespread application within the field of Whistler scholarship. Additionally, as an interdisciplinary study this project also contributes to the fields of art history, musicology, and Victorian studies, by documenting Whistler's eclectic patronage of musical events and his friendships with significant figures.

Acknowledgements

This dissertation is dedicated to my grandfather - the late Dr Wilfred Victor Teniswood – who first kindled my interest in academia.

To my supervisors at the University of Tasmania - Professor Jonathan Holmes and Dr Llewellyn Negrin - I express my sincere gratitude. Their warmth, ongoing advice, patience, encouragement, and interest in my topic, has been a constant source of strength.

In 2004 and 2005 the University provided me with financial assistance towards international travel, which enabled me to undertake research in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and France. During my travels I was warmly welcomed, and my investigations were aided, by staff at the Metropolitan Museum of Art; the Frick Collection; the Freer Gallery of Art; the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; the British Museum; the Tate; the National Art Library, London; the Theatre Museum, London; and the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge.

Particular gratitude is felt for all at the University of Glasgow, where I enrolled as a postgraduate student for a brief, yet intense, period in 2005. Professor Nigel Thorp and Dr Patricia de Montfort helped guide my investigation of the primary source material held at the Centre for Whistler Studies and in the University Library. Professor Pamela Robertson allowed me generous access to the Hunterian Art Gallery's extensive Whistler collection. I am grateful for the time that all three devoted to discussing my topic; for their challenging questions and insightful comments; and for their personal warmth and encouragement.

I feel privileged to have worked under the supervision of Professor Margaret MacDonald. Her expert guidance impacted considerably upon the nature of my research and the development of my ideas, and her immense knowledge and understanding of Whistler's art were a constant source of inspiration.

Finally, I would like to thank my family. My parents have, as ever, encouraged me to follow my interests. For this I am grateful. Whenever I have felt overwhelmed by the task at hand, my younger sister Clara has expressed faith in my

ability, and cheered me with her youthful enthusiasm for the very concept of postgraduate study. My husband Michael has shown remarkable patience during what has often seemed a never-ending saga. I am extremely grateful for the ongoing understanding, support and encouragement he has given me during the past three years, and for the many hours he has spent proofreading and discussing my work. Michael's love and humour have kept the stresses of candidature in perspective. I feel lucky to have been able to share my discoveries and moments of truth with one who understands the joys of academic and artistic immersion.

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All works are by James McNeill Whistler unless otherwise stated.

Musical Examples

Introduction

The aim of this study is to thoroughly investigate the influence of music on Whistler's artistic theory and practice. The research has been driven by the following question: to what extent was Whistler's pictorial practice shaped by the musical model? The dissertation discusses Whistler's musical nomenclature, musical subject matter, and musical modelling, within the context of his actual exposure to, and engagement with, music making. Its goal is to demonstrate that in addition to providing nomenclature and subject matter, the musical paradigm informed and shaped Whistler's pictorial technique far more significantly than has previously been acknowledged. This dissertation will isolate, define and explore the musical processes that operate in Whistler's art.

The ideas of the American scholar Kermit S. Champa have shaped the interpretive strategy employed throughout this investigation. Champa believed that the operations of many anti-academic nineteenth-century French painters were 'musically modelled'. In his books *The Rise of Landscape Painting in France: Corot to Monet* (1991) and *"Masterpiece" Studies; Manet, Zola, Van Gogh, & Monet* (1994); and in his articles 'Concert Music: The Master Model for Radical Painting in France, 1830-1890' (1999) and 'Painted Responses to Music: The Landscapes of Corot and Monet' (2000), Champa argued that the challenge presented to visual art by Austro-Germanic concert music, both aesthetically and practically, significantly influenced the course of contemporary painting. Champa believed that a musical paradigm for painting operated from 1830 to 1890, fuelled for the first thirty years by Beethovenism and then amplified by Wagnerism. Given that nineteenth-century critics acknowledged the presence of 'musicality' in the visual art of their day, Champa maintained that the musical model is a justifiable interpretative strategy today.

Champa explained that visual artists developed methods to emulate the effects of concert music on the listener, and to parallel the means by which listeners engaged with concert music. For many artists, this meant retreating from normal, imitative experiences of nature (as in realistic landscape painting and portraiture), and instead exploring the expressive potential of self-sufficient

pictorial technique. In this way they responded to the perceived ability of modern symphonic music to create and occupy a separate, adjacent world – an alternative nature - in which the sophisticated treatment of the abstract elements of musical language transported listeners to other-worldly experiences.[1] Therefore, visual expression was no longer located solely in subject matter, but instead in technique: the oneness of form and content emulated the condition of pure music. Furthermore, such artists incorporated musical operations and references within their pictorial languages.

Of these, the following are particularly relevant to Whistler's practice and will form the basis of the interpretative strategy employed throughout this thesis. Firstly, for many artists the expressive manipulation of pictorial elements was their primary concern: rhythm, harmony, accent, graphic and colouristic counterpoint, and cadence, were employed for expressive purpose. Colour, in particular, became the painter's most musical tool: an interest in colour for its own sake runs parallel to the chromaticism of much nineteenth-century concert music. In order to emphasize their interest in pictorial technique, artists drew attention to the physicality of the pictorial surface by approaching composition in an anti-illusionistic manner. The operations of pictorial technique upon the surface became more important than the illusion of represented space. Therefore, depth and perspective were employed less frequently. Simultaneously, narrative ceased to be a dominant concern.

Secondly, visual motifs were manipulated for expressive effect in a manner akin to the 'voicing' of musical texture. As Champa explained, often 'the eye is made to follow parallel but different sensuous paths in the color and the paint construction and to proceed at different speeds in comprehending the pictured space of the motif at various points'.[2] Thirdly, visual information was presented in steps, or by degree – therefore, the viewer is required to spend time processing the image. By these techniques, artists encouraged viewers to extend their spectating time, in a manner similar to the extended listening time required by concert music.[3] Fourthly, music was visually encoded within pictorial composition. By organizing the picture plane into a grid-like format - with particular

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1 Champa, 1991, pp.32-33.
2 Champa, 1991, p.206.
3 See Champa, 1991, pp.52-53.

emphasis on the horizontal bands - and by placing motifs against this grid, artists referenced the visual layout of musical scores and notation. Finally, Champa attributed the growing interest in 'series' painting – as explored by Monet, for instance - to the influence of the musical model.[4] In this dissertation, Whistler's reworking of selected motifs in successive Nocturnes will be likened to the use of the Nocturnal template by musical composers.

Whistler's formative years were spent in France – as a young adult he studied in Paris from 1855 until 1859. Although based primarily in London from 1859 onwards, Whistler continued to visit and exhibit in Paris, and maintained a close correspondence with many French artists. His artistic approach was strongly aligned with the French. Whistler's first major biographers - Elizabeth and Joseph Pennell - stressed the importance of Whistler's student years in Paris: the 'convictions, the preferences, the prejudices he kept to the end were formed during those early years'.[5] Likewise, the artist Walter Sickert, who was Whistler's pupil and studio assistant, declared:

> [Whistler] had the good fortune to learn painting in Paris, while the traditions of David, and Ingres, and Delacroix were still vivid, and his talent had the extraordinary instinct of self-preservation through years of residence in England, never to let go again of what he had learnt from Gleyre, Lecoq de Boisbaudran, Courbet, and Fantin.[6]

Whistler's French interests, his use of musical nomenclature and subject matter, and the foregrounding of music in his statements (and in the writings of his contemporaries) justifies an investigation shaped by Champa's concept of the musical model.

Throughout this study, primary sources form the bulk of the research material: the artworks themselves; Whistler's correspondence and writings; contemporary press criticism; and early studies of Whistler's life and work, such as those by the Pennells (1908 and 1921), Way (1903 and 1912), Duret (1917) and Eddy (1903). Eddy's text is of particular relevance, for he devoted a large

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4 See 'Monet and the Embrace of the Series: Decentralized "Masterpiece" or the Aesthetic Multiple Orgasm?', in Champa, 1991, pp.119-43.

5 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.66.

6 Sickert, W., 1908, p.1023.

component of his study to what he termed 'colour-music'. It is from Eddy's text, that the title for this thesis emerged.

Previous studies on Whistler's musical interest have tended to focus on his oil paintings to the detriment of other media, and have neglected to ground the study of Whistler's practice within the context of his actual musical engagement. Furthermore, they concentrate almost solely on his use of musical nomenclature to indicate his art-for-art's sake position, and disregard the influence of the musical model on his pictorial technique. Nonetheless, the small body of existing work on the topic has provided a useful starting point for the present study. Dennis Farr's article 'James McNeill Whistler: His Links with Poetry, Music and Symbolism' (1974), and Ron Johnson's articles 'Whistler's Musical Modes: Symbolist Symphonies' and 'Whistler's Musical Modes: Numinous Nocturnes' (1981), situate Whistler's musical interest within the climate of French and English aestheticism. Catherine Carter Goebel's article 'The Brush and the Baton: Influences on Whistler's Choice of Musical Terms for his Titles' (1999) traces the role of the press in shaping Whistler's nomenclature. Nelson Kauffman's thesis 'The Aesthetic of the Veil: Conceptual Correspondences in the "Nocturnes" of Whistler and Debussy' (1975) discusses the parallels between Whistler's and Debussy's compositional approaches. However, although Kauffman presents a considerable amount of perceptive formal analysis, he does not attempt to address the issue of the impact of music on Whistler's approach. Finally, the topic of Whistler's musical interest is also treated within broader studies by Merrill (1985), Moffa (1991) and Welchman (1997).

Jo Sager's thesis 'Whistler's Application of Musical Terminology to his Paintings: The Search for a Synaesthetic Response' (2004) is the only major study dedicated to Whistler's musical interest. As the title indicates, Sager is concerned with determining Whistler's reasons for using each of his musical titles. She argues that by referencing music, Whistler hoped to create a synaesthetic response in the viewer - an argument that will be disputed in this dissertation. As Sager does not clarify which works were given musical titles by Whistler, and which were named by others - nor fully address Whistler's exposure to music-making and his treatment of musical subject matter - a broader investigation of the topic is justified.

The present dissertation – 'Colour-Music: Musical Modelling in James McNeill Whistler's Art' - contributes to art-historical research by investigating and documenting Whistler's friendships with significant musicians, and exploring the avenues through which he experienced music-making. It is understood that this thesis is the first major study to combine a detailed investigation of Whistler's personal engagement with Western music, with visual analysis shaped by the musical model as an interpretive strategy. The study discusses artworks from all the two-dimensional, pictorial media in which Whistler worked. At the same time, the dissertation contributes to - and places Whistler within - the English-language discourse on the interrelationship between visual art and music. Recent American publications such as *The Arts Entwined* (2000)[7] and Champa's studies have established a growing body of comparative literature, but Whistler has previously been largely neglected within this context. Therefore, this dissertation aims to position Whistler firmly within the field of interdisciplinary study.

The study focuses upon Whistler's images of music-making, his musically-entitled images, and two significant bodies of work – the Six Projects and the Nocturnes. Given the vastness of Whistler's output, it was necessary to be selective in terms of the artworks discussed. Similarly, not all aspects of Whistler's practice could be treated in sufficient depth. Therefore, the study does not consider the impact of the musical model on Whistler's approach to interior decoration and exhibition design, nor does it address the notions of Whistler as a performer or his life as a performance. The latter have been considered in recent studies by Curry (2004) and Spencer (2003). In terms of investigating Whistler's friendships with musicians and his patronage of music making, the main concern was to establish his familiarity with musical operations during his youth, and during the years that he formulated and introduced his musical nomenclature and developed his own methods of musical modelling (1867-1884). Therefore, Whistler's oft-mentioned friendship with the renowned composer Claude Debussy – whom he met in the early 1890s - has not been investigated beyond the established facts. Furthermore, as the study is concerned with the influence of *Western* music on Whistler's theory and practice, it does not explore the possible

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7 *The Arts Entwined: Music and Painting in the Nineteenth Century*, eds. Marsha L. Morton and Peter L. Schmunk, New York and London: Garland Publishing Inc., 2000.

influence of Eastern music. However, it is noted that Whistler owned at least one Japanese musical instrument – probably the *shamisen* that appears in his painting *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*.[8] Finally, the research has been informed primarily by English-language sources and by those foreign-language sources available in English translations.

Chapter One provides an overview of the theoretical context in which Whistler's ideas on the interrelationship of visual art and music were formed. It addresses the concepts of art-for-art's sake, synaesthesia and artistic correspondence; the impact of music on colour theory; the desire to reunite the arts towards a combined artistic experience; and the overwhelming influence of Wagnerism on nineteenth-century artistic practice. It charts the rise of music as a practical as well as theoretical concern to artists, and discusses the ways in which artists modelled their practice on musical operations. This first chapter firmly establishes music as the paradigm that encouraged mid to late nineteenth-century artists to explore self-sufficient pictorial technique.

Chapter Two discusses Whistler's lifelong engagement with musical performance. Drawing heavily upon primary sources it demonstrates that Whistler actively sought musical entertainment and cultivated friendships with performers and composers. Therefore, it can be deduced that he was conversant with musical operations.

Chapter Three examines the ways that Whistler translated these experiences into pictorial subject matter. By addressing his imaging of music across a variety of media, it asserts that Whistler was interested in the physicality and theatricality of performance, the peculiarities of the musician's state of mind, the intimacy of shared music-making, and the temporal nature of music. Furthermore, it argues that Whistler used musical subject matter to create art about art: to this end, Whistler's portrait of the virtuoso violinist Pablo de Sarasate is treated in particular detail.[9]

Chapter Four discusses the ways in which the musical model shaped

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8 *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 1865, YMSM 56. According to Ayako Ono (2003, pp.59, 66) the *shamisen* also appears in *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, YMSM 60. A Japanese musical instrument is listed as item 64 in: Sotheby's, 'Catalogue of the Decorative Porcelain, Cabinet, Paintings, and Other Works of Art of J.McN. Whistler', 12 February 1880, GUL.

9 *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884, YMSM 315.

Whistler's theoretical approach to nature, colour and design. It begins by surveying Whistler's use of musical nomenclature and analogy. By examining his written statements, the writings of his contemporaries, and press criticism, it is argued that Whistler adopted the musical model as a framework to explore - and then communicate – his interest in freestanding pictorial technique.

In Chapter Five, Whistler's practical application of musical nomenclature is examined in detail. The musical and more general meanings of each title are defined, and selected artworks analysed. It is argued that while there *are* differences between his nine musical types - in terms of subject matter, medium and the artistic treatment of formal material – Whistler's use of musical nomenclature is best understood as a means of guiding the viewer's engagement with musically-modelled images.

Chapter Six proposes that Whistler's Six Projects relate directly to Franz Schubert's *Moments musicaux*, Op. 94, for solo piano. Using *The Three Girls* as a starting point – the frame for which Whistler inscribed with an excerpt from the third *Moment* – each of the paintings is linked with one of the six pieces. Thereby, a new viewing order is proposed. This interpretation is supported by an overview of the favourable reception that Schubert's music enjoyed during the late 1860s and early 1870s. Throughout the analysis, it is argued that the pictorial language used by Whistler in the Six Projects is clearly modelled on musical operations, and corresponds with the formal and expressive characteristics of Schubert's music.

Chapter Seven is devoted to Whistler's Nocturnes. It argues that as a body of work, the Nocturnes exhibit Whistler's most consistent and thorough use of the musical model. The chapter analyses the musical operations that imbue Whistler's Nocturnal practice, from the initial selection and distillation of subject matter, through to pictorial construction, and viewing processes. It demonstrates that Whistler's Nocturnes share formal and aesthetic qualities with the musical Nocturne as exemplified by Frédéric Chopin. In this final chapter, the Nocturnes are declared Whistler's most exquisite colour-music.

Three appendices provide supporting material. The first appendix lists people known to Whistler who were particularly interested in music: performers, composers, conductors, teachers, writers, stage designers, impresarios, and private hosts. The purpose of this appendix is twofold: it strengthens, and extends, the

claims made in Chapter Two; and provides a biographical source for future studies in the field. The second appendix lists the artworks in which Whistler employed musical subject matter: oil paintings, drawings, watercolours, pastels, etchings, and lithographs. This appendix supplements Chapter Three. The purpose of the third appendix is to provide ready access to a complete list of Whistler's musically-entitled artworks. Within each type, the works are grouped according to the history of their naming. This final appendix supplements Chapters Four and Five, and provides the groundwork for future studies.

Chapter One

Ut Pictura Musica

During the nineteenth century, painting looked to music as a paradigm for the beauty and expressive value of self-sufficient artistic technique. In 1859 – the same year that Whistler completed his oil painting *At the Piano*[10] - the critic Louis Viardot wrote an article entitled 'Ut Pictura Musica', which was published in the inaugural issue of the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*. Viardot 'proclaimed the dawning of a new era in which the actual means of creating visual art would henceforth receive primary emphasis, and the symbolic, allusive, evocative content of art would be relegated to a position of secondary concern'.[11]

The purpose of this chapter is to establish the prevalence of music and the interrelationship of the arts, as topics of discussion within Whistler's world. Many scholars agree that Whistler embraced the concept of art-for-art's sake[12] – indeed, Whistler's art-for-art's-sake position underpins this thesis. Therefore, the chapter begins by charting the rise of, and support for, the notion of musical autonomy, and acknowledging its influence on the doctrine of art-for-art's sake. The notions of synaesthesia and artistic correspondence, and the theories and practice relating musical pitch and harmony to colour – all of which ran parallel to the notion of art-for-art's sake – are then overviewed. These ideas stimulated and extended the overriding interest in 'the condition of music', and in the relationship between music and visual art, and are therefore relevant to this study. Thereafter, Beethovenism and Wagnerism are discussed, and Whistler's awareness of the music of both composers is established. Finally, the artistic practices of Whistler's contemporaries Albert Moore; Frederic, Lord Leighton; and Henri Fantin-Latour; provide suitable case studies to demonstrate the use of the musical model within Whistler's immediate circle.

The Rise of Music

From the Renaissance through to the Age of Enlightenment, painting had

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10 *At the Piano,* 1858-59, YMSM 24 [fig. 36].

11 Kagan, 1986, p.86.

12 For instance, see Galassi, 2003a, pp.96-97; and Curry, 2004, p.305.

aspired to the goals of epic poetry, as per the doctrine *ut pictura poesis*. Accordingly, the goal of painting was story-telling, and the primary objectives of a painter were to convey human passions through facial expression and gesture, and to depict figures in action.[13] By the early-nineteenth century, music occupied the leading position in the artistic hierarchy - thereafter, the doctrine of *ut pictura musica* became prominent.

The universal success of eighteenth-century Austro-Germanic music was instrumental in altering the relationship between music and painting. The invention of purely instrumental forms such as the sonata, symphony and concerto (which were intended specifically for concert performance) illustrated that music could successfully exist in its own state, without supporting text or dance, or performing ceremonial functions.[14] Subsequently, all German Romantic writers gave music a special status. They believed that music was the superior form of expression and communication, and that its abstract and ephemeral nature gave it the greatest access to a higher spiritual plane.[15] Of particular note are the writings of Wackenroder, Hegel, Hoffmann, Schopenhauer and Goethe: the essence of late-eighteenth century German thought was disseminated in France by Madame de Staël's 1810 essay 'On Germany'.[16] Simultaneously, many Englishmen (including Joshua Reynolds) praised music for being non-imitative, and compared the arts of music and painting.[17]

In the mid-nineteenth century, the Austrian theorist and music critic Eduard Hanslick espoused music's autonomy. In his text *On the Beautiful in Music* (1854) Hanslick defended formalism in music, which, at that time, was threatened by Richard Wagner's unification of music and drama. *On the Beautiful in Music* was highly influential and provocative, for it attacked widespread Romantic notions about the purpose and nature of music.[18] Hanslick refuted the assumption that the aim of music is to excite emotion, and that emotions provide music with subject matter.[19] While acknowledging that music

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13 Moffa, 1991, pp.227-29.
14 This is discussed by Kagan, 1986, p.87; Paddison, 2001; and Hauser, 1999, pp.74-76.
15 Shaw-Miller, 2002, p.9; Samson, 2001, p.598.
16 See Kagan (1986) and Fubini (1991) for an overview of these ideas.
17 See Kagan (1986) for an overview of the writings of Joseph Addison, Charles Avison, Joshua Reynolds, and Adam Smith.
18 By 1891, Hanslick's text was in its eighth edition.
19 Hanslick, 1854, p.480.

often provoked pleasurable emotion, he argued against that being its purpose. Rather, the value and beauty of music is 'specifically musical', and 'consists wholly of sounds artistically combined'.[20] Hanslick viewed music as an autonomous language, whose beauty is founded on an intellectual moulding of acoustic material.[21] His defence of musical autonomy was crucial to the adoption of the musical model by visual artists. For instance, in 1855 Eugène Delacroix wrote in his journal: what 'places music higher than the other arts (with many reservations in favour of painting precisely because it resembles music in so many ways), is that although completely in a convention of its own, it is also a complete language'.[22]

Music's independence from descriptive concerns was central to the development of the art-for-art's sake doctrine, and to the writings of those who espoused the concept. In France, the phrase *l'art pour l'art* first appeared in print in 1833, although the concept had been popularized earlier by writers such as Madame de Staël.[23] Théophile Gautier's novel *Mademoiselle de Maupin* (1835) is considered the first major text to articulate the concept of art-for-art's sake. In the preface Gautier argued that art has autonomous value and need not serve any moral, social or practical purpose.[24] However, rather than advocating form for its own sake, Gautier stressed the value of beauty and the pleasure to be derived from it. Therefore, form was a means to beauty. Within the novel Gautier demonstrated his philosophy by eschewing character development in favour of reverie and beautiful description.[25]

Gautier was a leading art critic of Whistler's period, a poet, theorist and advocate of beauty. Whistler certainly knew his published art criticism.[26] Furthermore, as Ron Johnson suggests in his article 'Whistler's Musical Modes: Symbolist Symphonies', Whistler might have been influenced by Gautier's description of women in white in *Mademoiselle de Maupin*; and by the association of colour, music and beauty in Gautier's poem 'Symphonie en blanc

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20 Hanslick, 1854, p.481.

21 For further explanation of Hanslick's ideas see Paddison, 2001, pp.333-37. Hanslick is also discussed by Morton, 2000, pp.10-11; and Fubini, 1991, pp.341-51.

22 Delacroix, 1980, 'Paris, 20 January', pp.267-68.

23 Hilary Morgan, 'Art for Art's Sake', GAO (13 May 2006).

24 Gautier, 1835.

25 Johnson, 1981a, pp.166-67. See also Morgan, 1996, p.530; and Drabble, 1995, pp.44, 389.

26 Whistler mentions Gautier's criticism in a letter to Fantin-Latour, [6/10 July 1863], LC PWC 1/33/23; GUW 08043 (11 May 2006).

majeur' (a set of variations on the word 'white'), when he painted his three 'Symphonies in White'.[27] Katherine Ellis writes that Gautier's 'writings in all genres are suffused with musical references...[and that] he had a gift for interdisciplinary simile'.[28] In *L'Art moderne* (1856) Gautier drew a formal comparison between the elements of music and art: 'Drawing is melody, colour is harmony'.[29]

Edgar Allan Poe preached a form of 'art-for-art's sake' in his essay 'The Poetic Principle' (1850), which Whistler read during his years at West Point Military Academy (1851-54).[30] Whistler was also familiar with Poe's essay 'The Philosophy of Composition' (1846) – he later referred to it as 'one of the most fascinating things in literature'.[31] In these writings Poe emphasized the self-sufficiency of formal beauty. Poe defined poetry as a work of art (in any medium) that produced 'a noble or elevated feeling in the viewer'.[32] As Lenora Moffa explains in her thesis on Whistler's paintings, Poe believed that 'the essence of poetry is musical and that formal or rhythmical qualities constitute "Beauty."'[33] Poe considered music to be 'suggestive and indefinite',[34] and thus free from the trammels of subject matter. In his verse, Poe attained rhythmical beauty through the repetition of sounds, as Whistler would later seek harmony through colour repetition.

Poe's poem 'Annabel Lee' (1849) inspired Whistler to make several studies, including an oil painting of the same name.[35] Dating from the late 1860s to the late 1880s, these works indicate Whistler's ongoing interest in Poe's work, which was no doubt fuelled by the high regard in which Poe was held by others in Whistler's circle. Gautier, Charles Baudelaire, Dante Gabriel Rossetti and Algernon Swinburne all championed Poe. In 1886, Whistler's friend Lady Campbell used 'The Philosophy of Composition' as the starting point for her discussion of colour in *Rainbow Music; or, The Philosophy of Harmony in*

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27 Johnson, 1981a, pp.166-67.
28 Katherine Ellis, 'Gautier, Théophile', GMO (13 May 2006).
29 Théophile Gautier, *L'Art Moderne*, Paris: M. Levy, 1856, p.143, quoted in Moffa, 1991, p.244.
30 Moffa, 1991, p.234.
31 Salaman, 1914, p.39, quoted in Anderson and Koval, 1994, p.173.
32 Moffa, 1991, p.235.
33 Moffa, 1991, p.235.
34 Paul Griffiths and Jack Sullivan, 'Poe, Edgar Allan', GMO (11 May 2006).
35 *Annabel Lee*, 1866/1870, YMSM 79; *Sketch for 'Annabel Lee'*, 1866/1870, YMSM 80; *Annabel Lee*, 1885/1887, M.1077.

Colour-Grouping. Both Campbell and Whistler practised Poe's principle of determining a work's overall composition at the outset.[36] In 1889, Stéphane Mallarmé presented Whistler with a copy of his new translation of Poe's poems.[37]

The English phrase 'Art for Art's Sake' first appeared in 1868 – it was used by Swinburne in *William Blake* and by Walter Pater in his review of William Morris' poetry.[38] Whistler met Swinburne in 1862 and they became close friends, travelling together to Paris together the following year.[39] Swinburne was an admirer of Gautier, Poe and of Charles Baudelaire, whose *Les Fleurs du Mal* he reviewed in English in 1862. Through these avenues, Swinburne, along with Whistler and Frederic Leighton, was instrumental in introducing the French concept of aestheticism to Britain. In England, Swinburne, Pater and Oscar Wilde became champions of the Aesthetic Movement, which in painting, at least, was strongly associated with the concept of art-for-art's sake.[40]

In 1877, Walter Pater boldly stated that 'All art constantly aspires towards the condition of music'.[41] This statement was published in an essay entitled 'The School of Giorgione', which was originally printed in *The Fortnightly Review*, and later included in the third edition of Pater's highly influential *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1888). The essay claimed that the representation of sound and other indicators of synaesthesia were central to early 16th-century Venetian painting. Elaborating on the concept of 'art-for-art's sake' Pater explained that the ideal of all art was to obliterate the distinction between form and matter. He wrote that it 'is the art of music which most completely realises this artistic ideal, this perfect identification of matter and form'.[42] In ideal examples there is no distinction between end and means, or subject and

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36 See Campbell, 1886, p.1; and Salaman, 1914, p.39, quoted in Anderson and Koval, 1994, p.484, note 23.

37 *Les Poèmes d'Edgar Poe*, Brussels, 1888. See 'Stéphane Mallarmé, 1842-1898', biography, GUW (11 May 2006).

38 Pater's review was published in the *Westminster Review*, October 1868. It was later reworked and incorporated into his first major publication - *Studies in the History of the Renaissance* (1873). See Hilary Morgan, 'Art for Art's Sake', GAO (13 May 2006).

39 According to Farr (1974, p.272) Whistler introduced Swinburne to Manet while they were in Paris. Whistler's friendship with Swinburne ended around 1888.

40 See Hilary Morgan, 'Art for Art's Sake', GAO (13 May 2006); Aesthetic Movement, 1996, p.170; and Johnson, 1981b, p.172.

41 Pater, 1893, p.106.

42 Pater, 1893, pp.106, 109.

expression.[43]

For Pater, one of the main functions of aesthetic criticism was to evaluate how closely a work of art came to achieving the condition of music. Pater believed that the 'true pictorial quality' of a painting, or its 'charm', lay in the 'inventive or creative handling of pure line and colour' - that is, in its formal beauty.[44] Art historians have noted Whistler's influence on Pater.[45] However, it must be added that during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, many English and American writers known to Whistler espoused similar ideas about the 'condition of music'. Therefore, Whistler was working within an environment that was both stimulating and sympathetic. For instance, as early as 1871, the Reverend Hugh Haweis (a musician, preacher, and writer and lecturer on music and theology) called for artists to develop a 'Colour-art exactly analogous to the Sound-art of music'.[46]

Haweis was included in a guest list compiled by Whistler in the mid 1870s,[47] and in 1877 he publicly praised Whistler's decoration of *The Peacock Room*.[48] In gratitude, Whistler wrote:

> I cannot tell you how deeply I feel the wonderful sympathy you have shown for my work! Nothing has given me such surprised delight as your marvelously [sic] beautiful description of my decoration - That it should have so much moved you, is to me a proof greater than hitherto has been accorded of its worth - and I may frankly say that no writing has given me such a flush of pleasure as the poem of praise I have just read in your sermon...[49]

Whistler's letter indicates his respect for Haweis. The following year, Whistler considered asking Haweis to testify on his behalf during the trial of his libel suit against John Ruskin.[50]

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43 Pater, 1893, p.109.
44 Pater, 1893, pp.102-103.
45 See 'Walter Horatio Pater, 1839-1894', biography, GUW (11 May 2006).
46 Haweis, 1871, pp.32-33.
47 Whistler, ledger, [1874/1876], GUL Whistler NB 4/front section; GUW 12714 (4 April 2005).
48 This was in a published sermon entitled 'Money and Morals'.
49 Whistler to Rev. Hugh Reginald Haweis, [19/26 February 1877], Brandeis Uni Libraries, Waltham, MA, Robert D. Farber Uni Archives and Special Collections Department; GUW 09163 (4 April 2005).
50 See Whistler to James Anderson Rose, [20] November 1878, GUL R128; GUW 05230 (4

In *Music and Morals* (1871) Haweis praised music's indivisibility of form and content, and called for painters to emulate its self-suffiency:

> The art of painting has hitherto always been dependent upon definite ideas, faces, cliffs, clouds, incidents...But to present a symphony without sound, or without the notes or symbols which, through the eye, convey to the ear sound, is impossible, because sound, heard or conceived, is not the accessory, but the essential, of the composer's work. The composer's art makes sound into a language of pure emotion. The painter's art uses colour only as an accessory of emotion. No method has yet been discovered of arranging colour by itself for the eye, as the musician's art arranges sound for the ear. We have no colour pictures depending solely upon colour as we have symphonies depending solely upon sound.[51]

Later in the same text, Haweis acknowledged the supremacy of symphonic music: 'the man who applauds a symphony, applauds no words or individuals, - he is come into the region of abstract emotion'.[52]

The doctrine of art-for-art's sake was further advocated by Oscar Wilde (with whom Whistler was friendly during the early 1880s). In *The Decay of Lying* (1889) Wilde acknowledged the following tenets of his aesthetic position: the 'vital connection between form and substance'; the ideal of music's abstraction; and the belief that art 'never expresses anything but itself'.[53] In *The Picture of Dorian Gray* (1891) Wilde extended Gautier's statement from *Mademoiselle de Maupin* that 'the useless alone is truly beautiful'.[54] The preface to *Dorian Gray* opens with 'The artist is the creator of beautiful things' and concludes with 'All art is quite useless'.[55] In the same text Wilde praised music: 'From the point of view of form, the type of all the arts is the art of the musician'.[56]

At the end of the century, the Scottish art critic R.A.M. Stevenson

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April 2005).

51 Haweis, 1871, pp.31-32.

52 Haweis, 1871, p.500.

53 Wilde, 1889, p.860.

54 Gautier, 1835, p.99.

55 Wilde, 1891, pp.861-62.

56 Wilde, 1891, p.862.

declared that there 'is only one quite pure art – namely symphonic music'.[57] Stevenson was a steadfast supporter of Whistler's art, and the two men corresponded.[58] Whistler owned a copy of the 1899 edition of Stevenson's important book *Velasquez* (1895), within which the author argued that, as with music, 'painting's true content resides in technique'.[59] Stevenson explained:

> Every shade of the complicated emotion in a symphony by Beethoven depends entirely upon technique – that is to say, upon the relations established amongst notes which are by themselves empty of all significance...
>
> ...
>
> Our faith in any art reposes, however, upon the belief that its material, even if unavoidably adulterated with foreign significations, is nevertheless as capable as the sounds of music of expressing character in virtue of artistic arrangement. Otherwise, no medium of expression but the symphony should deserve the name of art.[60]

As Kermit Champa notes, Stevenson's book contributed significantly to the development of 'a strictly visual approach' to art.[61]

Finally, in *Recollections and Impressions of James A. McNeill Whistler* (1903) Arthur Eddy praised music for its abstraction, and its freedom from imitation and representation.[62] He argued that artists should treat colour in the same way that composers treat sound:

> Is it not as legitimate to please the eye with compositions of color, otherwise meaningless, as it is to please the ear with compositions of sound?
>
> Profoundly speaking, color has no other object than to please the eye...The use of colour imitatively, or to accentuate the characterization, is as base as the use of sound imitatively.

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57 Stevenson, 1899, p.37.
58 See 'Robert Alan Mowbray Stevenson, 1847-1900', biography, GUW (13 May 2006).
59 Champa, 1991, p.62, note 6.
60 Stevenson, 1899, pp.37-38.
61 Champa, 1991, p.62, note 6.
62 Eddy, 1903, p.205.

> Color is to the eye precisely what sound is to the ear, and the highest use to which either can be put is the production of pure, not to say abstract, harmonies for the satisfaction of its respective sense.[63]

Eddy had known Whistler for a decade before he wrote his book: in 1894, Whistler painted Eddy's portrait in Paris.[64] Obviously, he believed that the concept of 'the condition of music' was central to Whistler's theory and practice, for he devoted a considerable portion of his text to discussing the issue of 'colour and music'.

Artistic Synthesis

An interest in unifying and cross-referencing the arts ran parallel to the notion of the condition of music. Although the exponents of art-for-art's sake were often interested in synaesthesia and artistic correspondence, and therefore their writings sometimes incorporate these ideas, the three concepts are distinct. The basic tenet of art-for-art's sake is that art has autonomous value and need not serve any moral, social or practical purpose - rather, its formal beauty is sufficient. Synaesthesia is 'the idea that a sense impression of one kind could be produced by the stimulation of another'.[65] The idea of artistic correspondence embraces many avenues - synaesthesia; the response to one artistic experience through creativity in another; the recognition of similarities between the elements of the different artforms; and the desire to reunite sound, colour, and scent in order to achieve an experience of the spiritual. Often these various concepts are embraced within the writings of a single figure, as is the case with Charles Baudelaire. Elizabeth and Joseph Pennell acknowledged the influence of Baudelaire on the development of Whistler's artistic approach. They attributed (at least in part) Whistler's 'translation of painting into musical terms' to his knowledge of Baudelaire's writings.[66] Therefore, Baudelaire provides a suitable starting point for the discussion of artistic synthesis.

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63 Eddy, 1903, p.177.

64 See 'Arthur Jerome Eddy, 1859-1920', biography, GUW (1 June 2006). The portrait is *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Brown: Portrait of Arthur J. Eddy* (1894, YMSM 425).

65 Spencer, 2003, p.17.

66 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.66.

Whistler met Baudelaire in mid 1863, through their mutual friend Henri Fantin-Latour (whom Whistler had known since 1858). In May or June 1863, Whistler wrote to Fantin-Latour:

> And Baudelaire give him my regards and tell him that his appreciation of my picture has given me great pleasure - and that I have promised myself on my next visit to have the pleasure of meeting him at last, when I hope he will accept some of the best proofs of those etchings of which he once spoke so well...[67]

Baudelaire had recently admired Whistler's oil painting *The White Girl*, which was then being exhibited at the Salon des Refusés.[68] Whistler visited Paris again in mid June, and probably met with Baudelaire then. In October 1863, Baudelaire wrote to Whistler of his friend Felix Nadar's imminent visit to London. Baudelaire reminded Whistler: 'You know that we spoke a little about the lectures and the opportunities that I might have had to be heard in London. I beg you to allow Nadar to benefit from the [sic] all the advice and indications that you would have offered to me'.[69] The following year Baudelaire, Whistler, Alphonse Legros and Edouard Manet all sat for Fantin-Latour's group portrait *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix* [fig. 4].[70]

In 1862, Baudelaire publicly praised Whistler's etchings of modern urban life on the Thames.[71] In his choice of subject matter, Whistler had responded to Baudelaire's call for artists to draw upon scenes of contemporary life.[72] Baudelaire had articulated these ideas in his essay 'On the Heroism of Modern

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67 Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, [25 May/10 June 1863], LC PWC 1/33/24; GUW 08044 (4 May 2006).

68 *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*, 1862, YMSM 38 [fig. 40]. See 'Charles Baudelaire, 1821-1867', biography, GUW (5 May 2006).

69 Charles Baudelaire to Whistler, 10 October 1863, published; GUW 13547 (5 May 2006).

70 Henri Fantin-Latour, *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 160 x 250 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay.

71 The etchings were exhibited in January 1862 at Martinet's gallery. Baudelaire's review was first printed in the *Revue Anecdotique*, 2 April 1862, and reprinted in *Le Boulevard: Journal Litteraire*, 14 September 1862. He also praised the etchings in 'Peintres et Aquafortistes' and 'L'Eau-forte est à la mode' in *L'Art Romantique*, 1862, pp.115 and 466. See footnote 11 in Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, [1/5 October 1862], LC PWC 1/33/3; GUW 07951 (5 May 2006); footnote 16 in Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, [25 May/10 June 1863], LC PWC 1/33/24; GUW 08044 (4 May 2006); and footnote 8 in Charles Baudelaire to Whistler, 10 October 1863, published; GUW 13547 (5 May 2006).

72 It is believed that Whistler was directly influenced by Baudelaire's ideas on modern life. See 'Charles Baudelaire, 1821-1867', biography, GUW (5 May 2006); and Moffa, 1991, p.85.

Life' (1846), and would explore them more fervently in 'The Painter of Modern Life' (1859-63).[73] Moffa writes:

> In large measure Whistler's theory was defined by the force of Baudelaire's ideas of originality, imagination, correspondences, and the superiority of art over nature...He adopted Baudelaire's concept of art as an imaginative and personal interpretation of nature.[74]

Baudelaire's essay 'On Colour' (which forms the third section of his *Salon of 1846*) is doubly relevant within the context of Whistler's interest in the musical model. Not only does it contain Baudelaire's first reference to his interest in synaesthesia, but it also demonstrates the ways in which he associated music and colour. In the essay Baudelaire stated that harmony, melody and counterpoint are found within colour.[75] He wrote:

> Harmony is the basis of the theory of colour.
>
> Melody is unity within colour, or overall colour.
>
> Melody calls for a cadence; it is a whole, in which every effect contributes to the general effect.
>
> Thus melody leaves a deep and lasting impression on the mind.
>
> Most of our young colourists lack melody.
>
> The right way to know if a picture is melodious is to look at it from far enough away to make it impossible to understand its subject or to distinguish its lines.[76]

Baudelaire used harmony to refer to a concordant combination of colours, and melody to describe the expressive effect of colour.

Earlier in the essay, Baudelaire used musical terms (which have been italicised below) to describe changes of colour in nature:

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73 'The Painter of Modern Life' was published in *Le Figaro* on 26 and 28 November and 3 December 1863. The text was first written in 1859.

74 Moffa, 1991, p.84.

75 Baudelaire, 1846, p.260.

76 Baudelaire, 1846, p.261.

> When the great brazier of the sun dips beneath the waters, *fanfares* of red surge forth on all sides; a *harmony* of blood flares up at the horizon, and green turns richly crimson. Soon vast blue shadows are *rhythmically* sweeping before them the host of orange and rose-pink tones which are like a faint and distant *echo* of the light. This great *symphony* of today, which is an eternal *variation* of the *symphony* of yesterday, this succession of *melodies* whose variety ever issues from the infinite, this complex *hymn* is called *colour* [original italicisation].[77]

In this passage Baudelaire allowed colour to assume the musical quality of movement through time. The use of symphony and hymn interchangeably (in the final sentence) indicates that Baudelaire was not concerned with the formal meaning of these musical terms, but with their expressive potential. In *Visible Deeds of Music*, Simon Shaw-Miller notes that elsewhere Baudelaire used the term 'musicality' to refer to an artist's 'expressive use of line and colour'.[78] In this, Baudelaire was aligned with Delacroix (whom he greatly admired): in about 1840, Delacroix defined the phrase 'the music of the picture' as the initial impression caused by a painting's arrangement of colour, light and shadow, quite aside from the impact of its content.[79]

Synaesthesia was central to Baudelaire's poetic aesthetic and to the formulation of his theory of correspondences.[80] In 'On Colour' he quoted E.T.A. Hoffmann's vision of a dreamlike state induced by music - one in which sound, colour and scent coalesce. Hoffmann's text (drawn from *Kreisleriana*) argued for the unification of these elements towards a greater sensory experience - 'a wonderful concert of harmony'.[81] Hoffmann described his own synaesthetic proclivity:

> The smell of red and brown marigolds above all produces a magical effect on my being. It makes me fall into a deep reverie, in which I seem to hear the solemn, deep tones of the oboe in the distance.[82]

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77 Baudelaire, 1846, p.260.
78 Shaw-Miller, 2002, p.55.
79 This is discussed in Kagan, 1986, p.90.
80 Shaw-Miller, 2002, p.52; Farr, 1974, p.269.
81 Quoted in Baudelaire, 1846, p.261.
82 Quoted in Baudelaire, 1846, p.261.

Baudelaire claimed that Hoffmann's text expressed his own ideas perfectly.

In 1857 Baudelaire further explored the concept of synaesthetic correspondence in a poem entitled 'Correspondences', published within his collection *Les Fleurs du Mal*:

> ...
> the sounds, the scents, the colours correspond.
>
> There are odours succulent as young flesh,
> sweet as flutes, and green as any grass,
> while others – rich, corrupt and masterful –
>
> possess the power of such infinite things
> as incense, amber, benjamin and musk,
> to praise the senses' raptures and the mind's. [83]

Moffa explains that on 'the simplest level "correspondences" meant synaesthesia, or a sympathetic response by one of the five senses to the stimulation of another...At a deeper level, however, "correspondences" referred to the interconnetions between the terrestrial world and the supernatural or spiritual realm'.[84]

Baudelaire quoted 'Correspondences' in his essay 'Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser' (1861). By comparing his own experience of the *Lohengrin* overture with Wagner's programmatic description and with Franz Liszt's highly evocative and synaesthetic description of the music, Baudelaire argued that 'true music suggests similar ideas in different minds'.[85] He wrote:

> the only really surprising thing would be that sound could not suggest colour, that colours could not give the idea of melody, and that both sound and colour together were unsuitable as media for ideas; since all things always have been expressed by reciprocal analogies, ever since the day when God created the world as a complex indivisible totality.[86]

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83 Baudelaire, 1857, pp.484-85.
84 Moffa, 1991, p.67.
85 Baudelaire, 1861, p.330.
86 Baudelaire, 1861, pp.330-31.

Baudelaire insisted that the essence of a composer's ideas could be conveyed to the listener when synaesthetic correspondence was aided by the imagination.

Whistler would certainly have been familiar with 'Correspondences', for *Les Fleurs du Mal* provoked great controversy due to the 'sensual nature' and 'provocative religious imagery' of the poems.[87] In 1862, Whistler's friend Swinburne favourably reviewed *Les Fleurs du Mal* in England, and Baudelaire later passed on his gratitude via Whistler.[88] The collection also included a poem entitled 'La Musique', which was dedicated to Beethoven. Baudelaire believed that music was the exemplary art form, and he emulated its power of expression and suggestion in his poetry.[89] For Baudelaire, music had the greatest power of all the arts to evoke the other senses.[90]

Swinburne's engagement with the notion of artistic correspondence is also relevant within the context of this study, for he often created poems in direct response to paintings and music, and he employed synaesthetic comparisons in his art criticism.[91] For instance, in 1865 he wrote a poem entitled 'Before the Mirror: Verses under a Picture' in response to Whistler's oil painting *The Little White Girl*.[92] When the painting was exhibited at the Royal Academy that year, a copy of the poem was attached to the frame and an excerpt printed in the exhibition catalogue. Whistler and Swinburne were not alone in this practice – at the Paris Salon that same year, Manet exhibited his painting *Olympia* with five lines of verse by Zacherie Astruc printed in the catalogue entry.[93]

The interest in synaesthesia increased from the 1870s to the 1890s, and peaked in a high period of research - from the pyschology and artistic communities alike - around 1890 to 1930. The most familiar form of the experience was 'colour-hearing', often via music.[94] Listeners might experience a mental impression of a specific colour in response to hearing the music of a specific composer, or a specific key. Increasingly, colours came to be associated

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87 'Charles Baudelaire, 1821-1867', biography, GUW (11 May 2006).
88 See Charles Baudelaire to Whistler, 10 October 1863, published; GUW 13547 (5 May 2006).
89 See Moffa, 1991, p.246; and Farr, 1974, p.269.
90 Shaw-Miller, 2002, p.52.
91 Burnett, 1996, p.122.
92 *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864, YMSM 52.
93 Edouard Manet, *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on canvas, 130 x 190 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. See Clark, 1985, p.83.
94 Gage, 1999, pp.55, 263.

with instrumental timbre ('tone-colour'), with some associations proving constant. For instance, Gage notes that from the 1870s onwards, the technical literature on synaesthesia often associates the flute with light blue, and the trumpet with scarlet.[95] In addition, colour-hearing could be stimulated by language: Rimbaud's sonnet *Voyelles* (in which he links vowel sounds with colours) is a response to the prevailing interest in synaesthesia.

In general, the Symbolists were greatly interested in synaesthesia and admired Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. Symbolist writers were inspired to choose words according to their colouristic potential and to emphasize the musical nature of poetry, by evoking (rather than describing), seeking fluidity, and dealing with moods, impressions and fleeting sensations.[96] In her article 'Scenes and Portraits: The Lithographs and Whistler's Literary Life' Avis Berman writes:

> [Whistler] was hailed as a pioneer by French symbolist writers like Paul Verlaine and Mallarmé. His understated style left much to the viewer's imagination, a quality that was a central tenet of the symbolist movement in music, painting, and literature.[97]

Whistler's friendship with Mallarmé is of particular relevance, given Mallarmé's interest in the ideal of music.

Whistler was introduced to Mallarmé by Claude Monet in June 1888.[98] Shortly afterwards, Mallarmé translated Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture into French.[99] In 1890, Whistler sent Mallarmé his lithograph *The Dancing Girl*:[100] Mallarmé responded with a sonnet entitled *Billet à Whistler* ('Note to Whistler'), in which he evoked the movements of the dancer.[101] Whistler and Mallarmé corresponded regularly, and their close friendship was nurtured by frequent meetings

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95 Gage, 1999, pp.193, 252.

96 Harding, 1991, p.103; see also Kaplan, 1996, p.169.

97 Berman, 2003, p.59.

98 However, Whistler's first meeting with Mallarmé might have been around 1886-87, through an introduction by Théodore Duret.

99 It had already been published in London and New York; see 'Stéphane Mallarmé, 1842-1898', biography, GUW (1 June 2006).

100 *The Dancing Girl*, 1889, C. 29.

101 The sonnet was published alongside Whistler's lithograph *The Tyresmith* (1890, C. 36) in the journal *Whirlwind*, 15 November 1890. See Berman, 2003, p.59.

when Whistler moved to Paris in 1892.[102] That year, Whistler made a lithographic portrait of Mallarmé, which was used as the frontispiece for Mallarmé's *Vers et Prose* (1893).[103] In 1897, Whistler painted a portrait of Mallarmé's daughter Geneviève.[104] During the course of their friendship, Whistler attended Mallarmé's 'Mardis' – the Symbolist salon at 89 Rue de Rome – where he socialised with the composer Claude Debussy and heard Mallarmé speak on diverse topics, including Wagner.[105] While Mallarmé reluctantly admired Wagner, he had hesitations about Wagner's hierarchial categorisation of the arts, and his use of music to provoke an instantaneous visceral response in his audience.[106]

Whistler's library included a number of works by Mallarmé, including *La Musique et les Lettres* (1895) – a text founded on Mallarmé's belief that literature should rise to the challenge presented by modern music.[107] In her book *Mallarmé and Debussy: Unheard Music, Unseen Text*, Elizabeth McCombie explains that in his musical modelling Mallarmé sought to emulate the operations of concert music:

> Mallarmé explicitly states the need to embrace the stuff of real music rather than indulge in the imposition of hasty metaphor appropriated from musical discourse, which results in a blurring rather than a cross-fertilization of the two arts. Mallarmé's symphony is based on what he hears at concerts...[108]

In response to music's challenge, Mallarmé manipulated the auditory, semantic and visual properties of language, and explored the musical operations of rhythmic structure and motific development in his verse. In 1897, he used typographical possibilities to suggest the visual layout of a musical score in his poem 'Un coup de dés jamais n'abolira le hasard'.[109] Mallarmé also appreciated the means by which music creates and preserves mystery: the qualities of suggestion and obscurity were central to Symbolism. In 'Le mystère dans les lettres' (1896) Mallarmé argued that poets should look to modern music for

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102 'Stéphane Mallarmé, 1842-1898', biography, GUW (28 November 2005).
103 *Stéphane Mallarmé*, 1892, C. 60.
104 *Rose et gris: Geneviève Mallarmé*, 1897, YMSM 485.
105 'Stéphane Mallarmé, 1842-1898', biography, GUW (1 June 2006); Lloyd, 2001, p.262.
106 See Lloyd, 2001, pp.261-62 for further explanation.
107 See McCombie, 2003, p.16.
108 McCombie, 2003, p.18.
109 This is discussed in Drabble, 1995, p.619.

techniques – such as the veiling and obscuring of themes - to inject literature with greater mystery.[110]

Scientific investigations into the relationship between music and colour ran parallel to the artistic theories of correspondence and synaesthesia: the published results of these investigations were frequently studied by artists. For instance, in his 1853 *Manual of Colour*, Richard Redgrave (the Art Superintendent of London's School of Design at Somerset House) recommended that students read the theories of George Field and David Hay. Field's *Chromatography* (1835) continued to be used as a practical and theoretical manual for painters until the end of the century: he recommended that painters look to music to gain an understanding of harmony. In the second edition of *Chromatics* (1845) Field presented a diagram that specifically linked the scale of colour with the diatonic musical scale.[111] Hay was a prolific and influential theorist who hypothesized mathematical analogies between music, colour and line. In her book *Albert Moore* Robyn Asleson explains:

> Likening the vibrations of the optical nerve (productive of sight) to the vibrations of a musical string (productive of sound), Hay developed a theory of proportions that enabled him to refer harmony of colour to the numerical ratio of various notes in the diatonic scale, and beauty of line to the angles corresponding to the harmonic ratios of musical chords.[112]

Hay's texts were known to Whistler's friend Moore,[113] and were therefore probably known to Whistler himself. Furthermore, Eddy discussed the scientific basis for comparing colour and musical pitch in his book on Whistler. He referred specifically to the system proposed by Hermann Helmholtz in *Physiological Optics*.[114]

Simultaneously, efforts continued in the quest to develop a 'colour-organ' - a keyboard instrument that could project coloured lights, either in isolation or to accompany the music it played. Whistler's circle was certainly familiar with the

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110 Shaw, 1993, p.31.
111 Gage, 1999, pp.263-64; Harrison, Wood, and Gaiger, 1998, p.235.
112 Asleson, 2000, p.94.
113 Asleson, 2000, p.94.
114 See Eddy, 1903, pp.186-90, 195.

concept. In 1886, Lady Campbell referred to D.D. Jameson's treatise on the subject.[115] She continued:

> Then an American instrument is said to have been invented a few years ago called a *colour-organ*. In form described as similar to the ordinary musical instrument, but supplied with a set of coloured glasses, having shutters behind them which open and shut in response to the pressure of the keys. By touching different keys different harmonies of colour are produced.[116]

In 1895, Londoners witnessed the first demonstration of Alexander Wallace Rimington's colour-organ. Rimington, who was Professor of Fine Arts at Queen's College, London, produced a theory of colour and music based on the traditional analogy between the spectrum and the musical scale. In general, his colour-organ projected a play of colour to accompany a performance given by a pianist or orchestra, but he sometimes translated musical scores directly into colour, by playing them on the instrument itself.[117] As Peter Vergo explains in his article for *The Dictionary of Art*, such performances 'enjoyed an extraordinary vogue during the 1890s and early 1900s, competing in popularity with the early cinema...[and they] were also taken very seriously by writers on art'.[118]

In summary, by the mid-nineteenth century it was quite common for art to be described in musical terms, and for artists to look to music for an understanding of colour harmony. The interest in synaesthesia, in responding to one art form through activity in another, and in uniting colour and sound towards a greater expressive outcome, further stimulated and extended the notion of correspondences between music and art.

Beethovenism and Wagnerism

In his article 'Concert Music: The Master Model for Radical Painting in France, 1830-1890' Kermit Champa argued that the discourse of enthusiasm surrounding the performance of concert music, was just as crucial (if not more) to the advent of musical modelling by visual artists, as was the theoretical

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115 Campbell, 1886, p.22.
116 Campbell, 1886, p.23.
117 See Scholes, 1970, p.207; and Jewanski, 2001, p.158.
118 Vergo, 1996, p.380.

preeminence of music. This section will overview Beethovenism and Wagnerism – the major movements that fuelled musical modelling. While Wagnerism will be treated in greater length, due to its immense impact on European culture during the second half of the nineteenth century, it is important to acknowledge the ongoing (that is, simultaneous) influence of Beethovenism.

Beethoven's music was introduced to France in 1828, and soon became institutionalized by its frequent programming in Habeneck's concerts at the Paris Conservatoire. It was upheld as 'the paradigm of modern aesthetic power'[119] until at least the 1860s, when Wagner's music made its mark. By the 1870s, the concept of a 'canon' of concert repertoire was well established in both Paris and London. Beethoven's music was central to this canon, and was therefore heard frequently in orchestral and chamber music concerts, and in solo piano recitals.[120] At the same time, Beethoven was upheld as the paradigm of the 'artist'. For instance, in 1870 Wagner wrote an influential monograph on Beethoven for the centenary of the composer's birth, in which he glorified the composer's deafness as a trait of his 'enhanced interiority'.[121] The heroic image of Beethoven and the popularity of his music, fuelled creative endeavours and tributes from artists and writers throughout the nineteenth century, and into the twentieth. In 1902, the Vienna Secession exhibition was dedicated to Beethoven: Max Klinger's bust of the composer and Gustav Klimt's *Beethoven Frieze* were exhibited, and Beethoven's Ninth Symphony was performed in an adaptation by Gustav Mahler.[122] Both Klinger and Klimt were honorary members of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, of which Whistler was President.[123]

Wagner argued for the reunification of the arts. In his 1849 essay entitled 'The Art-Work of the Future' Wagner proposed that all the arts be combined to achieve the highest possible expressiveness. His ideal –the *Gesamtkunstwerk* – would take the form of a new and distinct genre to be known as 'music drama'. In *A History of Music Aesthetics* Enrico Fubini writes that Wagner believed that

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119 Champa, 1999, p.207.

120 See Ellis, 2001, pp.347-48; and Weber, 2001, pp.913-14.

121 Scott G. Burnham, 'Beethoven, Ludwig van, §19: Posthumous influence and reception: i) History of the Myth', GMO (13 May 2006).

122 See 'Secession: 3. Vienna', GAO (17 May 2006); and Art: A World History, p.528. Max Klinger, *Beethoven*, 1901. Leipzig, Museum der Bildenden Kunst. Gustav Klimt, *Beethoven Frieze*, 1902. Vienna Secession.

123 See George Sauter to Whistler, 15 February 1901, GUL I95; GUW 02355 (17 May 2006) for a list of the other members.

his 'music drama' would be 'the only possible true and complete work of art, the art form that was going to restore artistic expression in its single, unified and one truly communicable form'.[124] Although each of the arts would contribute to this new artistic enterprise, they would not surrender their independent standards or their autonomy.[125] As Wagner explained: 'The highest conjoint work of art is the *Drama*: it can only be at hand in all its *possible* fulness, when in it each *separate branch of art* is at hand in *its own utmost fulness*'.[126] Initially, Wagner divided the arts into two broad categories. In the first category he placed music, poetry and dance, which together created drama. In the second, architecture, sculpture and painting were assigned a supporting role to drama. However, in his essay *Beethoven* (1870) this categorisation changed: under the influence of Schopenhauer, Wagner elevated symphonic music to a dominant position.[127]

Baudelaire's 1861 essay - 'Richard Wagner and Tannhäuser' - was prompted by the debacle caused by Wagner's concerts of choral and orchestral excerpts at the Théâtre Italien in 1860, and the Opéra's more recent production of *Tannhäuser*. In the essay, Baudelaire supported Wagner's view that 'the union of the arts is greater than the sum of their isolated expressions'.[128] He also explored the effect of Wagner's music - stressing the heightened emotional and sensual response he experienced when listening to it. As he declared: 'I had undergone...a spiritual operation, a revelation. My rapture had been so strong, so awe-inspiring, that I could not resist the desire to return to it again and again'.[129] These two aspects of Wagner's art – artistic synthesis and expressive power – would become central concepts of the Wagnerian movement. The reworking of Wagnerian subject matter and dramatic scenes, be it through allusion or direct transcription, was another. By appraising (and quoting) Wagner's writings, Baudelaire drew attention to the significance of Wagner's ideas for the arts in general.

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124 Fubini, 1991, p.321.
125 Harrison, Wood, and Gaiger, 1998, p.471.
126 Wagner, 1849, p.472.
127 Banks, 1996, p.763.
128 Johnson, 1981b, p.172.
129 Baudelaire, 1861, p.332.

As a result, young French artists such as Manet, Renoir, Bazille, Fantin-Latour and Cézanne eagerly sought access to Wagner's music and theories.[130] During these same years - the 1860s - Whistler was a close friend of Fantin-Latour and of Manet (whom he met through Fantin-Latour in 1861).[131] Manet, Cézanne and Whistler all exhibited at the Salon des Réfuses in 1863, and Renoir had studied with Whistler's teacher Charles Gleyre.[132] Champa explains that with the exception of Manet (who died in 1883) and Bazille (who died in 1870), 'this same group would publicly re-emerge as the pre-eminent painter-Wagnerists of the 1880s, after moving art-politically underground through the decade of French anti-German sentiment following the disastrous war of 1870'.[133]

In London, Wagner's music received its first public performance in 1854, when arrangements from *Tannhäuser* were presented in concert. Similar concert performances followed throughout the 1850s and 1860s. During the 1870s and 1880s Wagner's dramatic works were presented in complete stage productions, and his reputation consolidated by supportive music critics and increasing performances. By the late 1880s and 1890s Wagner's music was part of the standard repertoire and was therefore familiar to a wide audience. In May 1899, *Lohengrin* was performed for the hundredth time at Covent Garden.[134]

British Wagnerism infiltrated literature and art in the 1860s, emerging as a self-conscious movement in the 1870s.[135] In 1873, the virtuoso pianist Edward Dannreuther and the music critic Francis Hueffer founded the London branch of the Wagner Society.[136] Dannreuther was married to Chariclea Ionides, the sister of Whistler's friends Aleco and Luke Ionides. Whistler often visited the Ionides family home and probably witnessed Chariclea playing the family's piano, which was designed by Edward Burne-Jones.[137] In brief, it can be assumed that Whistler

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130 Champa, 1999, p.211.

131 In 1863 Manet married Suzanne Leenhoff, a piano teacher. For details of Whistler's relationship with Manet see 'Edouard Manet, 1832-1883', biography, GUW (9 May 2006). Also, 'Suzanne Manet, 1839-1906', biography, GUW (9 May 2006).

132 See 'Pierre Auguste Renoir, 1841-1919', biography, GUW (9 May 2006); and 'Paul Cézanne, 1839-1906', biography, GUW (9 May 2006).

133 Champa, 1999, p.211.

134 See Sutton, 2002, pp.8-9.

135 Sutton, 2002, p.8, note 24.

136 From 1888 until 1895, the Society published a journal entitled *The Meister*, which dispersed Wagner's writings. Sutton, 2002, p.11.

137 Chariclea continued to attend her father's 'At Homes' after she married Dannreuther. See Leoussi, 1982, p.52; and Ionides, 1995, p.173.

knew Dannreuther, given the musician's association with the Ionides family, with Whistler's brother William (who married Chariclea's cousin Helen in 1877), and with Fantin-Latour (who met Dannreuther in London around 1861).[138]

Hueffer published articles on Wagner in journals such as the *Academy* and *Fortnightly Review*, wrote the seminal book *Richard Wagner and the Music of the Future* in 1874, and translated the Wagner-Liszt correspondence in 1888.[139] Hueffer had moved to London in 1869, where he became a neighbour of Whistler and his friend Dante Gabriel Rossetti in Chelsea.[140] Hueffer, Rossetti, Swinburne and Whistler were all guests at Ford Madox Brown's fortnightly soirées, which were held in Fitzroy Gardens from 1868 to 1874.[141] Of these evenings Whistler remarked that 'there were always the most wonderful people - the Blinds, Swinburne, anarchists, poets and musicians, all kinds and all sorts...'.[142]

In 1877 Wagner visited London, where he gave eight concerts at the Albert Hall. Whistler's friend Louise Jopling met Wagner at Millais' home,[143] and Wagner's wife Cosima sat for Burne-Jones. Whistler was friendly with both Millais and Burne-Jones at this time. Furthermore, Whistler would have been informed of Wagner's movements through other Wagnerian friends, such as his patron Frederick Leyland;[144] Swinburne;[145] the Reverend Haweis, who attended

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138 Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.7.

139 See John Warrack and Rosemary Williamson, 'Hueffer, Francis', GMO (6 June 2006); and J.A.F. Maitland, rev. John Warrack, 'Hueffer, Francis (1845-1889), article 14044, Oxford DNB (6 June 2006).

140 Whistler met Rossetti in July 1862. Rossetti rented Tudor House in Cheyne Walk, Chelsea. In 1863 Whistler moved to 7 Lindsey Row, Chelsea, where he lived until 1867. He then lived at 2 Lindsey Row (96 Cheyne Walk) until 1878. Whistler met other other members of the Pre-Raphaelite circle at Rossetti's home. Rossetti suppported Whistler during his expulsion from the Burlington Club 1867, and during his trial with Ruskin in 1878. In 1872, Hueffer married Catherine, daughter of the painter Ford Madow Brown. See MacLeod, 1982, p.93; 'Dante Gabriel Rossetti, 1828-1882', biography, GUW (4 November 2005); and M., pp.xxxiii-xxxv.

141 Hendrickson, 1988, p.16.

142 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.115. By 'the Blinds', Whistler probably meant Mathilde Blind (née Cohen, 1841-96) a poet and biographer, who was friendly with William Michael Rossetti, Ford Madox Brown and Swinburne. She probably attended Madox Brown's evenings with her mother, and her step-father Karl Blind (1826-1907) - a political writer and activist. During the same period, G.F. Watts (1817-1904) held musical sessions in which Wagner's music was performed. These were attended by Rossetti, Burne-Jones, Millais and Swinburne, and might also have been attended by Whistler, who maintained a respectful relationship with Watts in later years. See Patricia Srebrnik, 'Blind, Mathilde (1841-1896)', article 2652, Oxford DNB (23 March 2005); and Hendrickson, 1988, p.16.

143 Jopling, 1925, p.221.

144 Leyland's musical interest and his relationship with Whistler are discussed in Chapters Two and Six.

the *Ring* (1876) and *Parsifal* (1883) at Bayreuth;[146] and Frederick Corder, the brother of Whistler's student and model Rosa Corder, who, with his wife Henrietta, translated the libretti of Wagner's *Parsifal* in 1879, and the *Ring* in 1882.[147] In *Aubrey Beardsley and British Wagnerism in the 1890s*, Emma Sutton explains that by the 1890s:

> British Wagnerism took many forms, from attendance at the operas and music dramas, to political, mystical, and charitable movements inspired by Wagner's work, to literary allusions to and reworkings of Wagner's subjects; it had become a self-propelling cultural movement, at times only loosely related to the expressed theories and intentions of Wagner himself...[148]

Paris-based Wagnerism peaked between 1885 and 1888 with the publication of a monthly literary and musical journal entitled *La Revue Wagnérienne*. The journal was devoted to propagating the composer's music, as well as his poetic and artistic innovations.[149] It was established by Edouard Dujardin and Téodor de Wyzewa, and its contributors included Whistler's friends Stephane Mallarmé and Algernon Swinburne. Alongside translations of Wagner's essays and libretti, studies of his music and ideas, and a list of performances of his works throughout Europe; the journal contained articles, poems and lithographs inspired by Wagner (including those by Fantin-Latour).[150]

In 1886, Wyzewa contributed an article on 'the artistic theory of Wagnerian painting',[151] in which he praised the move away from realistic description in favour of the expressive use of self-sufficient pictorial technique. He

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145 Hendrickson (1988, p.17) discusses Swinburne in some detail. Whistler and Swinburne were friendly from 1862 until the mid 1880s. [See 'Algernon Charles Swinburne, 1837-1909', biography, GUW (4 December 2005) for details of their friendship.] Hendrickson also considers the Wagnerian interest of Oscar Wilde (with whom Whistler was friendly during the early 1880s) and Aubrey Beardsley (whom Whistler met in 1893). Both Wilde and Beardsley 'devotedly attended performances of Wagner's operas' and incorporated aspects of the Wagnerian aesthetic into their work. See Hendrickson, 1988, pp.36-46, and M., pp.xxxvi, xxxviii.

146 Rosemary Williamson, 'Haweis, Hugh Reginald', GMO (4 April 2005)

147 Corder's translation of the *Ring* was long considered the preferred English version. In 1888, Corder was appointed Professor of Composition at the Royal Academy of Music. See John Warrack and Rosemary Williamson, 'Corder, Frederick', GMO (24 March 2005).

148 Sutton, 2002, p.3.

149 Harding, 1991, p.103.

150 Chan, 1983, p.90; Briggs, 2004.

151 Wyzewa, 1895, p.1005.

wrote:

> They have begun to employ their lines and colours in a purely symphonic form of organization, without regard for the direct depiction of a visual object. And today these lines and colours...can serve the ends of two very different kinds of art: the one purely sensory and descriptive...the other emotional and musical in character, neglecting all concern with the objects represented by their lines and colours and treating the latter simply as signs for our emotions, combining them together in such a way as to produce in us...a total impression comparable to that of a symphony.[152]

Clearly, Wagnerism in art embraced musical modelling as well as the depiction of Wagnerian subject matter.

In 1884, Whistler was invited to participate in the inaugural exhibition of the Belgian group 'Les XX', which was held at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels.[153] Les XX was established by Octave Maus, a barrister, writer and patron of the arts, who was also an amateur musician and supporter of Wagner. Emerging from a previous association named 'L'Essor', Les XX was to become the most important group of its kind in Belgium, and one of international significance and influence. Not confined to any particular style or school, its members were united by their anti-establishement persuasion. Jane Block explains in *Les XX and Belgian Avant-Gardism: 1868-1894*:

> One element of its achievement was the bringing together of the arts through lectures, readings of new poetry, and musical performances - all held in the exhibition rooms. The unity of the arts was part of Les XX's program of avant-gardism. By playing the music of contemporary composers, especially French and Belgian, by hosting lectures given by the elite of the French literary world, and by displaying the works of predominantly Belgian, French, and English artists, Les XX sought to create a showcase for artistic excellence and novelty. In its unification of the avant-garde in the literary, visual, and musical spheres, Les XX hoped not only to identify the avant-garde elements at home but to

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152 Wyzewa, 1895, p.1009.
153 Newton, 2001, p.480.

nurture and sustain them as well.[154]

Maus personally supervised the exhibitions, concerts and lectures: as a Wagnerian he believed in the interrelation of the arts, and wanted music, literature and painting to be considered on an equal footing. 'L'Union Instrumentale' gave the first concert on 14 February 1884.[155] During the inaugural exhibition, further concerts were held on 25 February and 1 March.[156] It is believed that Whistler visited Brussels at the time of this first exhibition,[157] although it is unclear whether he attended the subsequent Les XX shows that he exhibited with in 1886 and 1888. According to Maus, Whistler visited Belgium again in 1887.[158] From 1888 onwards, the music of Maus' friend Vincent d'Indy and his French colleagues César Frank, Gabriel Fauré and Ernest Chausson dominated the concerts.[159]

It was through events such as the Les XX exhibitions and Mallarmé's 'Mardis' that Whistler participated in Wagnerian discourse at its peak. Indeed, there was no escaping the immense impact of Wagnerism on the circles in which Whistler moved in Paris and London. Furthermore, the following statement by Otto Bacher confirms that Whistler was familiar with Wagner's music and aware of the composer's significant reputation. In 1880 Whistler and Bacher listened to a Venetian military band perform excerpts from Wagner's *Lohengrin* in the presence of the composer. Afterwards, Bacher recalled:

> Ritter, who was one of the group at our table, commenced to tell Whistler that his place in art in England was analogous to Wagner's place in music in Germany, both being forerunners in their separate fields. The comparison pleased him - although Whistler was not an admirer of Wagner, preferring Beethoven to that composer.[160]

Paradoxically, Whistler's dislike of Wagner *supports* the notion that he did engage with the controversial and topical issues of Wagner and Wagnerism - for

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154 Block, 1984, p.xiii.
155 This group had previously played at concerts held by L'Essor.
156 The exhibition closed on 2 March.
157 M., p.374.
158 Maus, 1904, p.9.
159 Block, 1984, pp.13-14, 88.
160 Bacher, 1908, p.281.

these were issues that one must have an opinion on. Furthermore, Bacher's statement establishes that Whistler appreciated Beethoven's music: thereby, it situates Whistler as a participant in the discourse surrounding both Beethovenism and Wagnerism.

Musical Modelling: Moore, Leighton and Fantin-Latour

Whistler met Albert Moore in 1864 or 1865.[161] They soon developed a strong friendship and corresponded until at least 1892 (Moore died in 1893). Like Whistler, Moore was a long-serving member of the Arts Club, and the two men sometimes rowed together on the Thames. Between 1867 and 1870, their work became very closely connected: they shared an interest in classical subjects and in Japanese artefacts and compositional techniques, and Whistler emulated Moore's pared-back design and thorough draughtsmanship. The strength of their artistic alliance is indicated by Whistler's suggestion to Fantin-Latour in 1865 that Moore replace Legros in their Société des Trois, and by Moore's defence of Whistler at the Ruskin trial in 1878.[162] Asleson explains:

> The two men never lost their sense of partnership in a joint crusade, and it was evidently with his friend's blessing that Whistler publicly appropriated much of Moore's artistic theory as his own. Privately, he conceded the debt. 'Whistler, of course, owed much to Albert Moore and always acknowleged it,' Graham Robertson recalled: 'Moore was the only painter in England whom he considered "great".' This bold statement is corroborated by numerous witnesses.[163]

Their joint crusade was 'a systematic investigation of the formal logic of beauty'.[164]

Whistler and Moore shared an interest in non-narrative painting, in decorative colour harmonies, and musical modelling. Like Whistler, Moore developed an individual approach to entitling his paintings. Ultimately, he would have happily exhibited works without titles, but instead employed nomenclature

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161 See Asleson, 2000, p.89.

162 See 'Albert Joseph Moore, 1841-1893', biography, GUW (16 May 2006) for details of their friendship and their artistic affinities.

163 Asleson, 2000, p.98.

164 Asleson, 2000, p.96.

that indicated that his works should be evaluated in purely visual terms. In the mid 1860s Moore began to use titles that referred to natural objects within the composition: *Pomegranates* (1865-66) and *Apricots* (1866) were the first works to be thus entitled.[165] As Asleson explains, the "titles disassociate Moore's works from any nuance of sentimental or historical meaning, indicating that his paintings are no more 'about' the women on whom we instinctively focus than the flowers and fruit we might otherwise have overlooked".[166] In 1879, Moore exhibited works entitled *Harmony of Orange and Pale Yellow* and *Variation of Blue and Gold* at the Glasgow Institute - the Pennells argue that these titles demonstrate Whistler's influence on Moore.[167]

Asleson writes that 'music played a vital role in Moore's family and among his friends, who devoted evenings to singing and playing Handel and Bach, and to attending musical soirées and concerts'.[168] Moore clearly demonstrated his interest in musical modelling in the oil paintings *A Musician* [fig. 1] and *A Quartet, A Painter's Tribute to the Art of Music, AD 1868* [fig. 2].

Figure 1: Albert Moore, *A Musician*, 1865-66.

165 Albert Moore, *Pomegranates*, 1865-66. Oil on canvas, 25.4 x 35.5 cm. London, Guildhall Art Gallery. Albert Moore, *Apricots*, 1866. Oil on canvas, 42.5 x 28.5 cm. London Borough of Hammersmith, Fulham Public Library. Asleson (2000, pp.94, 100) believes that Moore achieved a pictorial equivalent to music by his use of line and colour in these paintings.

166 Asleson, 2000, p.87.

167 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.145; see also Sydney, 1975, p.22.

168 Asleson, 2000, p.94.

A Musician was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1867 - the same exhibition that Whistler showed *Symphony in White, No. 3* [fig. 41] (his first work to be exhibited with a musical title).[169] Scholars have noted that an early sketch of Whistler's *Symphony* is closely related to Moore's *Musician*.[170] Around 1867, Moore began working on *A Quartet*, which was then exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1869. Both works have a frieze-like composition and are imbued the musical operations of rhythm, pulse, melody and textural voicing.[171] Furthermore, their compositions allude to the visual layout of a musical score. The extended title of *A Quartet* and its depiction of a contemporary ensemble – the string quartet - clearly demonstrate Moore's engagement with the notion of art aspiring to the condition of music. By opening a space between the three female listeners, Moore invites the viewer to participate in this admiration of music.[172]

Figure 2: Albert Moore, *A Quartet, A Painter's Tribute to the Art of Music, AD 1868*, 1868.

In 1868, Swinburne commended Moore's painting *Azaleas* as the exemplification of art-for-art's sake:

> His painting is to artists what the verse of Théophile Gautier is to poets; the fautless and secure expression of an exclusive worship of things formally beautiful...The melody of colour, the symphony of form is complete: one more beautiful thing is achieved, one more delight is born into the world; and its meaning is beauty, and its reason for being is to be.[173]

Like Baudelaire, Swinburne used melody to describe the expressive use of colour.

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169 *Symphony in White, No.3*, 1865-67, YMSM 61.

170 'Albert Joseph Moore, 1841-1893', biography, GUW (16 May 2006).

171 Treuherz (1993, p.136) writes that by placing his figures in frieze-like arrangements, Moore indicates his interest in finding 'a visual equivalent to musical rhythm and interval'.

172 See Asleson, 2000, p.100.

173 Rossetti and Swinburne, *Notes on the Royal Academy Exhibition, 1868*, London: John Camen Hotten, 1868, pp.31-32, quoted in Asleson, 2000, p.100.

By linking symphony with form, he likened the operations of the painting's compositional elements, and their expressive effect when combined, to the operations of symphonic music.

Frederic, Lord Leighton explored the notion of synaesthesia in his painting *Lieder ohne Worte* [fig. 3]. The painting's title refers to Mendelssohn's piano pieces of the same name, which were very popular at the time. Translated as 'Songs without Words' the title evokes music's independence from literature and narrative – through this device, Leighton asked that painting be appreciated in the same way as music. *Lieder ohne Worte* does not depict music-making – instead, a young woman dressed in classical drapery sits by a water spout, absorbed in her own thoughts. Leighton explained that his aim was to transmit - through colour and flowing line - the pleasure the woman is receiving aurally. That is, Leighton was exploring the possibility of suggesting sound through visual devices.[174] In his notebooks, Leighton acknowledged his art-for-art's sake position, writing that there is a type of artist 'whose delight is in the pure expression of the imagination & whose mode of procedure is akin to music'.[175] Whistler would have had ample opportunity to hear Leighton espouse his interest in music: both men were members of the Arts Club from 1863 until 1896, and they attended soirées held by mutual friends.[176]

Figure 3: Frederic, Lord Leighton, *Lieder ohne Worte*, 1861.

In 1859, Whistler and Fantin-Latour formalized their artistic alliance by founding a 'Société des Trois' with Alphonse Legros. Although the Société gradually dissolved during the 1860s, Whistler and Fantin-Latour maintained regular correspondence until the end of the decade. When Fantin-Latour visited London in 1859, 1861 and 1864, Whistler introduced him to a number of his own

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174 See Ormond, 1975, p.60.

175 Leighton, 'Royal Academy Notebooks', quoted in Ormond, 1975, p.83.

176 For instance, Louise Jopling, Arthur Lewis and the Ionides family: such events will be discussed in the following chapter. The reader is referred to Appendix One for details of Leighton's musical interest.

friends and patrons. These included Whistler's brother-in-law Seymour Haden; and the lawyer and artist Edwin Edwards who, along with his wife Ruth, was a keen amateur musician and an admirer of Schumann. Fantin-Latour enjoyed hearing performances of Schumann's music at the Edwards' home and, in return, introduced them to the works of Wagner.[177]

Fantin-Latour became a lifelong Wagnerian after his friend - the violinist and painter Otto Scholderer - introduced him to Wagner's music around 1857-58. In Paris, Fantin-Latour attended stage productions and concert performances of Wagner's works,[178] and made many artworks in response to Wagner's music. In 1864 he completed his oil painting *Tannhäuser on the Venusberg* (which will be discussed in Chapter Six)[179] and over the decades he produced many lithographs of scenes from Wagner's operas.[180] Fantin-Latour also made artworks in response to the music of Brahms, Schumann, Berlioz and Rossini. In their exhibition catalogue *The Society of Three*, Jane Munro and Paul Stirton note that Fantin-Latour's musical heroes inspired forty-nine of his most successful lithographs.[181]

In 1876 Fantin-Latour attended the full production of Wagner's *Ring des Nibelungen* in Bayreuth. Writing home, he praised the production for its unified orchestral sound and scenic representation.[182] Soon after, he was invited to attend the gatherings of a newly established Parisian group named 'Petit Bayreuth'. Begun by the judge Antoine Lascoux (who became a financial supporter of *La Revue Wagnérienne*) 'Petit Bayreuth' facilitated the private performance and audition of Wagner's music. Its members included the composers Chabrier and Vincent d'Indy. In 1885, Fantin-Latour depicted eight prominent members of the Parisian Wagner movement in a group portrait entitled *Around the Piano*.[183]

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177 See M., p.xxxiii; and Munro and Stirton, 1998, pp.6-7.

178 For instance, he attended the productions of *Tannhäuser*, *Die Walkure* and *Meistersinger* at the Paris Opéra, and heard the overture to the *Flying Dutchman* at a concert conducted by Pasdeloup in 1864.

179 Ignace-Henri-Théodore Fantin-Latour, *Scène du Tannhäuser*, 1864. Oil on canvas, 97.5 x 130.2 cm. Los Angeles, County Museum of Art. [fig. 59].

180 In his Wagnerian images Fantin repeatedly reworked the same scenes: he produced four versions of Wotan's evocation of Erda in the third Act of *Siegfried*, and three versions of Klingsor's evocation of Kundry in *Parsifal*. In addition to the *Tannhäuser* Venusberg scene, Fantin illustrated the love duet from *Lohengrin*, the meeting between Eva and Walther in the first act of *Meistersinger*, and the duet between Siegmund and Sieglinde in *Die Walkure*. See Lucie-Smith, 1977, p.34.

181 Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.11.

182 Lucie-Smith, 1977, p.34.

183 Ignace-Henri-Théodore Fantin-Latour, *Around the Piano*, 1885. Oil on canvas, 160 x 222

Alongside Lascoux, Chabrier and d'Indy, Fantin-Latour painted the pianist Edmond Maître (his closest friend); the writer Amedée Pigeon; the music critic Adolphe Jullien who, in 1886, would publish a biography of Wagner illustrated with Fantin's lithographs; the violinist and 'Petit Bayreuth' member Arthur Boisseau; and the musician and translator of Wagner's writings, Camille Benoît.[184] The painting was clearly Fantin-Latour's homage to Wagner.

However, Fantin-Latour's musical interest went beyond direct tribute - Champa argues that musical modelling is present in both Fantin-Latour's group portraits and still-life paintings. In works such as *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix* [fig. 4] he visually encoded music, by stressing the horizontal alignment of the figures and thereby suggesting the visual layout of musical notes on a score.[185] Whistler admired the composition of *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix*. In early 1864, he wrote to Fantin-Latour:

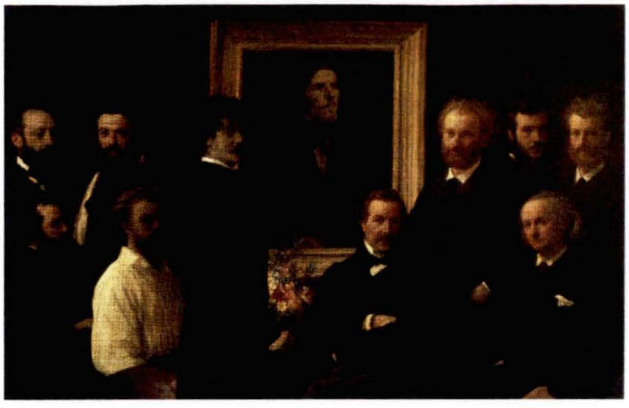

Figure 4: Henri Fantin-Latour, *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix*, 1864.

> Your picture will be superb! The composition [is] very fine, and I can see the heads painted by you in magnificent colour...
>
> ...the great mass of light is excellent! – It will do you a lot of good, as it's a picture which is bound to bring you a lot of attention...[186]

In the finished painting, Whistler occupied a central position – immediately to the left of Delacroix's portrait. He holds a bunch of beautifully-coloured flowers, which direct the viewer's attention towards the portrait and bring warmth to the predominantly black, white and gold palette. Not only is Whistler pictured alongside Delacroix – who was passionately interested in music and its relationship to painting – but he holds a symbol of Fantin-Latour's musicality: in

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cm. Paris, Musée du Jeu de Paume.

184 Norris, 2000, pp.151-53.

185 See Champa, 1999, pp.217-20.

186 Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, 4 January–3 February 1864, LC PWC 1/33/15; GUW 08036 (5 May 2006).

his images of flowers and fruit, Fantin-Latour unleashed 'torrents of color' for purely expressive purposes.[187] In this painting, Fantin-Latour argues strongly for Whistler's allegiance to the musical model.

Conclusion

This chapter has established Whistler's awareness of – and, indeed, close association with - theories that elevated music to the dominant position within the artistic hierarchy, praised its indivisibility of form and content, and argued for painters to model their own practice on musical operations. Furthermore, Whistler's engagement with Beethovenism and Wagnerism has been established. Finally, the ways that Whistler's fellow painters engaged with these ideas have been illustrated by examples of musical modelling in the art of Moore, Leighton, and Fantin-Latour. While all of these various conceptions of the relationship between music and visual art fuelled the interest in musical modelling and therefore impacted upon Whistler's theory and practice, the notions of art-for-art's sake and Beethovenism, and certain aspects of artistic correspondence, proved most influential.

The following chapter will establish Whistler's exposure to music-making, and thus his awareness of the actual 'condition of music'.

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[187] Champa, 1999, pp.216-17.

Chapter Two
Whistler's Musical Experiences

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the ways in which Whistler sought and experienced musical performance, and to establish his extensive, lifelong involvement with Western music. It will be seen that Whistler was familiar with many styles of music, and that his friendships with prominent performers and composers clearly made him conversant with musical processes and techniques. The chapter will begin by summarising the considerable musical interests and activities of Whistler's extended family and, thereby, the nature of Whistler's early musical experiences. It will then explore the many avenues through which Whistler engaged with various styles of music in adulthood - as patron, host, and sometimes participant. It will consider his acquaintance with various musicians; the settings in which he socialised with musicians and heard music performed; and the various styles of music that he was exposed to. Rather than note every musician known to Whistler and every concert attended, select performers and performances will be considered as indicative of the types of music and musical ideas he was familiar with. Giving equal attention to popular and art music, the discussion will also make reference to theatre, as music was an important component of theatre of the period – particularly of the burlesque that Whistler enjoyed at the Gaiety Theatre. Similarly, private soirées will be treated in the same regard as professional performances, for they encouraged visual artists, performing artists, and arts enthusiasts to interact, and thus stimulated the discussion and exchange of artistic ideas.

A Musical Family

The writings by Whistler's mother Anna from the years the family spent in St. Petersburg (1843-1849), reveal that amateur musical and dramatic performances within the home were treasured aspects of domestic life.[188] James' father George,[189] played the piano and flute - for his ability on the latter instru-

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188 Whistler's mother was Anna McNeill Whistler (1804-1881).

189 Whistler's father, George Washington Whistler (1800-1849) attended West Point Military

ment he was given the nickname 'Pipes' during his years at West Point.[190] His own father - John Whistler - was also remembered as a 'good musician'.[191] Anna's account of the loss felt when her husband's flute was stolen from their Music Room after Christmas 1843, and the subsequent joy associated with the arrival of a replacement six months later, suggests that making music was an important recreational pursuit for George. Anna writes: 'the flute was dear to us from many tender associations, Whistler never can play upon another with as much pleasure, for it had been his solace after weariness, during 15 yrs [sic], and had twice crossed the Atlantic with him!'[192] Then, on the 12th of July 1844:

> My dear husband brought from Alexandropki, the new flute which Mr Harrison purchased for him from London - he liked it at once, and we listened to some delightful duetts [sic] between himself and D-[eborah] on the piano; it was amusing at bed time, to see with what care, Whistler wiped his flute, and put it carefully in its case, giving it into my keeping...[193]

Anna notes that James' half-sister Deborah provided the piano accompaniment for George's flute playing.[194] The grand piano depicted in Whistler's painting *At the Piano* [fig. 36] is believed to be the same instrument that the family owned in Russia,[195] and that Anna shipped to England following George's death.[196] Prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the cost of pianos was considerable: even upright pianos were considered a luxury item for the home, while grand pianos were generally reserved for the concert platform.[197] Of course, for George, as for others of his time, the possession of a grand piano might have functioned partly as a visual indication of his worldly success. However, in adulthood Deborah was a very capable musician: in 1876, she performed Beethoven's

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Academy from 1814-1819.

190 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.6.

191 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.5.

192 GUL W345, pp.25-26.

193 GUL W345, p.54.

194 Deborah Delano Haden, née Whistler (1825-1908).

195 *At the Piano*, 1858-59, YMSM 24.

196 Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.73.

197 While George's salary had risen considerably from the $1 000 per annum he received as an army officer in 1831, to the $12 000 per annum he was awarded as chief foreign consultant for the St Petersburg to Moscow Railway from 1842; his income, especially given he was supporting a family, was not considered excessive. See Anderson and Koval, 1994, p.6; and Scott, 2001a, p.46.

'Kreutzer' sonata with the professional violinist Wieniawski.[198] Therefore, it seems likely that as a young woman Deborah was encouraged to apply herself seriously to her music studies. As Whistler's younger brother William – and probably Whistler himself - also received music lessons in Russia, it seems that music was widely valued in their home.[199]

In London in 1876, Anna referred to Beethoven's 'Kreutzer' sonata as the 'Kruger' sonata - thereby revealing a lack of familiarity with the classical canon.[200] However, during the Russian years she certainly enjoyed offering her friends an evening of musical entertainment. Of one such evening she wrote with pride - 'then we had some music and I felt, we need never go from our own roof for recreation'.[201] Anna's writings from this period also include many descriptions of the celebrations and festivals to which she treated her sons - from those of country folk, to imperial and military events. The country entertainment included 'peasants...singing their own peculiar glees, or dancing', jugglers on the lawn, and a Punch and Judy show.[202] At a fair William bargained for a harmonica. [203] Occasionally Anna noted the pleasure given by bands, whether it be the 'band of music stationed near' each long table of food at the fête given by Count Covshiloff to his 'peasantry', or those playing when 'crossing in the ferry steamers' in England.[204] On one occasion, William and James listened to 'Hermans (a famous German band) play alternately with a fine military one:

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198 Today, Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880) is 'ranked very near the top' of the generation of violinists after Paganini. Given his enduring and illustrious partnership with the pianist Anton Rubenstein - together they gave an astonishing 215 concerts in the first year alone of their 1872-74 North American tour – Wieniawski's willingness to perform with Deborah in 1876 before the King of Hanover, suggests that Deborah was a very capable musician. Their performance of Beethoven's Sonata for Piano and Violin no.9 in A major, op.47 - the 'Kreutzer' - was given at a soirée held by Lord and Lady Denbigh, for King George of Hanover. See Anna Matilda Whistler to Whistler, 12 June [1876], GUL W549; GUW 06556 (17 March 2005); and Schwarz, 1980b, pp.405-406.

199 In October 2005, Professor Dan Sutherland informed the author that a primary source indicating that Whistler had received music lessons as a child, was in existence. Unfortunately the source (believed to be held at the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.) has not been identified. However, in 1849 Whistler wrote to his mother asking whether William McNeill Whistler (1836-1900) was still receiving music lessons from a German lady. See Thorp, 1994, p.5.

200 Anna Matilda Whistler to Whistler, 12 June [1876], GUL W549; GUW 06556 (17 March 2005).

201 GUL W345, p.29.

202 GUL W345, pp.66-67; GUL W346, p.37.

203 GUL W345, p.36.

204 GUL W346, p.36; GUL W348, p.13.

Jamie [or Jemie] liked the latter best, but Willie unconsciously marched or danced, as either measure was played'.[205]

Anna also enjoyed sacred music and she personally supervised James and William's hymn singing, alongside their early-morning scripture lessons.[206] She described the music at Easter Sunday mass in 1844, as 'beautifully sung...a kin of Martial music of triumph opened it, then the fine toned organ accompanied the voices of the Chanters...'.[207] Perhaps James was encouraged by Anna to appreciate music within the respectability of a religious setting, for in 1847, he informed his father of the 'most beautiful singing' at a church service in York.[208]

Anna certainly maintained an awareness of the programmes offered by the opera houses in St. Petersburg, although it is unclear whether she patronised them. For example, before Lent 1845 she wrote: 'the whole community are rife for amusement before the fast, the theatres, concerts, and Opera's offering three times, instead of once in a day'.[209] In the *catalogue raisonné* of Whistler's drawings, pastels and watercolours, Margaret MacDonald notes that a page from his *St. Petersburg Sketchbook* includes a quotation from Weber's opera *Oberon*.[210] However, she believes that both the quotation (from the mermaid's song "Oh! 'tis pleasant to float on the sea") and the accompanying drawing might have been done by C.S. Lidderdale.[211] Nonetheless, Whistler was no doubt aware of *Oberon*, if only by association. Later references to opera within Anna's correspondence suggest that she considered it a fairly respectable genre. Therefore, she might have encouraged her children's attendance. For instance, in 1855 she wrote to James of his half-brother George's visit to see Grisi perform in Baltimore.[212] While this might refer to the ballet dancer Carlotta Grisi, it is more likely to have

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205 GUL W345, p.66.
206 GUL W346, p.1.
207 GUL W345, p.37.
208 Anderson and Koval, 1994, p.14.
209 GUL W346, p.19.
210 See *Portrait of a young woman; studies of a mermaid; head of a bearded man*, p.27 of *St. Petersburg Sketchbook*, 1844/48, M. 7. [The quotation is from the mermaid's song,'Come è grato sull'onde', from Scene VI of *Oberon*, in the English translation by Gustave Planché (1808-57).]
211 Charles Sillem Lidderdale (1831-1895).
212 George William Whistler (1822-1869). See Anna Matilda Whistler to Whistler, 8 January 1855, GUL W443; GUW 06449 (4 June 2006).

been her cousin, the soprano Giulia Grisi who toured America with the tenor Mario from 1854-55.[213]

However, Anna might have restricted her children's access to theatre. Although James and William were encouraged to recite French literature[214] - no doubt to improve their grasp of the language rather than for any expressive purpose - the following comment made by William after they attended the *Theatre des Enfants* in 1845 is revealing. After singing, dancing and acting out the puppets' parts at home, he said 'Oh Mother, it all looked so grand, I was afraid real people would come out, and then we knew we would have to come out, as you don't approve of any but puppets'.[215] Nearly thirty years later Anna was still wary of the theatre. In 1872 she wrote that neither James 'nor Willie frequent either Theatre or Opera, tho [sic] both occasionally go with friends, I dare say amusement may be enlivening after hard work, but I am glad my boys do not seek it for themselves'.[216] Yet, by the mid 1870s Whistler was an avid theatre-goer.[217] Furthermore, his increasing independence allowed him to attend the theatre during the 1850s:[218] a sketch inscribed *Mrs Tiffany* and a companion piece known as *Lady with a Parasol* are believed to depict characters from Anna Cora Mowatt's five-act comedy of manners, *Fashion; or, Life in New York.*[219]

In 1847, Deborah moved to England and married Francis Seymour Haden - a physician from a musical family. Haden's mother Emma, who is said to have been an excellent musician, was the daughter of the singers Samuel Harrison and Miss Cantelo,[220] both of whom had sung at notable events such as the 1784 Handel Commemoration Festival in Westminster Abbey.[221] Miss Cantelo had a particularly prestigious musical pedigree, having been articled to J.C. Bach and his

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213 Carlotta Grisi retired from the stage in 1853.

214 For examples of French recitation see GUL W345, pp.23, 68.

215 See GUL W346, p.19.

216 Anna Matilda Whistler to Catherine Jane Palmer, 21 May - 3 June [1872], PUL; GUW 09938 (12 April 2005).

217 See Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.152.

218 From 1851 Whistler was a cadet at West Point Military Academy, and from late 1854 until early 1855 he worked in the drawing division of the US Coast and Geodetic Survey in Washington, D.C.

219 See M., p.46. *Mrs Tiffany*, 1853/54, M. 152; and *Lady with a Parasol*, 1853/54, M. 153.

220 Samuel Harrison (1760-1812) and Miss Cantelo (*c.*1760-1831).

221 A.M. Hind, 'Sir Francis Seymour Haden (1818-1910)', rev. E. Chambers, 2004, article 33627, Oxford DNB (13 January 2005).

wife, the soprano Cecilia Grassi.[222] After her marriage to Harrison in 1790, Miss Cantelo continued to sing professionally under the name Mrs Harrison.[223] Of Haden's father Charles, a surgeon, Anna wrote that he 'was conspicuous as a member of a musical coterie...The great talent for music among all this family of Haden, might lead to the presumption of connection at least with the celebrated composer, but that the name is spelt differently'.[224] James, who was groomsman at Deborah and Seymour's wedding, developed a twenty-year friendship with Haden based on their mutual interest in art.[225] In 1848 and 1849 James spent time with the Hadens in order to escape the risk of illness in Russia.[226] Although he was sent to Eldon Villa School near Bristol for the Autumn term in 1848, the following year he and William both received private tuition from a clergyman at the Hadens' home.[227]

No doubt, music was a regular pastime in the Haden house, and one that Whistler would have experienced during his visits. While a guest of the family in 1855, James received a letter from his mother, in which she imagined the delights he must have been enjoying: 'the darling children! music, drawing books & social intercourse'.[228] Nine years later, Anna wrote with approval of the Hadens' Sunday evening activities of bible study and 'sacred music' (probably in the form of hymn singing).[229] The Hadens' first child, Annie, modelled for Whistler a number of times, and he was very fond of her.[230] As early as 1849, Whistler foresaw

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222 Johann Christian Bach (1735-1782) was the son of Johann Sebastian Bach (1685-1750).

223 L.M. Middleton, 'Harrison, Samuel (1760-1812)', rev. Anne Pimlott Baker, 2004, article 12444, Oxford DNB (17 January 2005); Sands, 1980, p.720.

224 Presumably Anna was referring to the composer Franz Joseph Haydn (1732-1809). See GUL W348, p.20.

225 Haden was an etcher and art collector. Their friendship ended in 1867 when Whistler knocked Haden through a plate-glass window in Paris after accusing him of disrespect towards his late medical partner Dr Traer. They never spoke again. See 'Francis Seymour Haden, 1818-1910', biography, GUW (17 January 2006).

226 Lochnan, 1987, p.31.

227 William M. Whistler to Mr. Harrison, 16 June 1849, Letters of Anna Mathilda [sic] McNeill Whistler, Folder 2, Box T, LC PWC.

228 Anna Matilda Whistler to Whistler, 2-5 November 1855, GUL W464; GUW 06469 (21 March 2005). Deborah and Seymour had four children: Annie Harriet (1848-1937), Francis Seymour (1850-1918), Arthur Charles (1852-1910), and Harry Lee (1855-1877). Anderson and Koval (1994, pp.27-28) write that it was Harry rather than Arthur who was born in 1852. However, I have trusted the information provided in the GUW footnotes and biographies.

229 Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10-11 February 1864, GUL W516; GUW 06522 (21 March 2005).

230 Whistler's images of Annie include: *At the Piano*, 1858-59, YMSM 24; *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*, 1860/61, YMSM 34; *Ma Nièce*, 1848, M. 21; *Deborah Haden with her Baby Annie*, 1848, M. 22; *Annie Haden*, 1857/58, M. 219; *Annie*, 1858/59, M. 292;

her musical ability when he wrote to his mother that his young niece's speech was 'very poetical - musical at least'.[231] In 1859, Whistler wrote to Deborah from Paris that he would send 'the songs for mes enfants' by a M. Frank who was visiting England.[232] While Anna's letters of the 1870s indicate that Annie was an enthusiastic singer,[233] it is likely that either Annie, or her brothers Francis or Arthur, also studied the violin. In Whistler's oil painting *At the Piano* [fig. 36] - which depicts Deborah and Annie - violin and cello cases are situated under the piano. The cello case belonged to Deborah's husband, but the ownership of the violin is unclear.[234]

Given Deborah's ability, her pianistic repertoire probably included both drawing-room favourites and more challenging works from the concert canon. In their article for *The Cambridge Companion to the Piano*, Dorothy de Val and Cyril Ehrlich explore the nineteenth-century pianist's repertoire. Their findings indicate that by the late 1850s (when Whistler painted *At the Piano*) Deborah might have played concert music by Bach, Scarlatti, Mozart, Beethoven, Schubert, Chopin, Liszt, Mendelssohn, Moscheles or Thalberg; pieces of popular dance music; or arrangements of operatic overtures.[235] Furthermore, it is known that Deborah performed an arrangement of the barcarolle from Weber's opera *Oberon*, for Whistler's friend Henri Fantin-Latour in 1859.[236] Therefore, it is quite possible that she played this very piece when she and Annie posed for Whistler.

Whistler's brother William pursued a medical career while maintaining an interest in the performing arts. According to one obituary, William was 'a man of singularly lovable character, of wide intellectual interests and of highly cultivated taste in art' who, in addition to his professional work, had combined his interests in the role of 'honorary physician to the National Training School for music'.[237]

Annie Haden, with books, 1857/58, K. 8; *Annie Haden*, 1860, K. 62.

231 Thorp, 1994, p.5.

232 Thorp, 1994, p.9.

233 Anna Matilda Whistler to Mrs Katherine Palmer, 21 May - 3 June [1872], PUL 65; GUW 09938 (21 March 2005); Anna Matilda Whistler to Whistler, 12 June [1876], GUL W549; GUW 06556 (17 March 2005); Anna Matilda Whistler to Mr James H. Gamble, 8-12 June 1877, GUL W558; GUW 06565 (21 March 2005).

234 While one of the children might have learnt the violin, it is also feasible that Seymour Haden played it in addition to the cello.

235 Val and Ehrlich, 1998, pp.118-21.

236 Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.14.

237 Obituary notice for Dr William Whistler, Whistler Presscuttings 1901-1910, CWS. N.B. The

As an adult, William seems to have socialised with many musicians, both those known to James - such as the violinist Pablo de Sarasate - and those he became acquainted with independently. For instance, in August 1876 he wrote of visiting a singer named Mlle Rosaville, who had performed in the previous week's Promenade concert.[238] James and William maintained a close relationship throughout their life: in the 1880s both were members of the Gallery Club;[239] they attended performances together; and, at times, James stayed in his brother and sister-in-law's home.[240] In July 1879, Whistler's studio in The White House, Chelsea, provided the stage for a morning concert organized by William Whistler in aid of the Westminster Medical Mission.[241]

Whistler's female partners all had some degree of musical ability. In his 'Reminiscences of Whistler', Thomas Armstrong recalled that Héloise – a Parisian milliner with whom Whistler was intimate for two years in the 1850s - 'at times regaled us with songs, rather spoken than sung, for she had not much power of musical expression.'[242] Yet Whistler's friend Luke Ionides recalled that Héloise had a 'good voice', and wondered whether she was the inspiration behind Du Maurier's character Trilby.[243] In her article 'White Muslin: Joanna Hiffernan and the 1860s', Patricia de Montfort states that Hiffernan (Whistler's model and mistress from 1862 to 1866, and friend throughout the 1870s and 1880s) was 'a spirited personality of musical and artistic talent'.[244] However, the only known reference to Joanna's musical ability is Gustave Courbet's recollection of the time that he, Whistler, and Joanna spent in Trouville in 1865. Courbet recalled that

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National Training School was succeeded by the Royal College of Music in 1882.

238 William McNeill Whistler to Stephen Tucker, 7 August 1876, GUL W987; GUW 06998 (21 March 2005).

239 The Gallery Club was a private Gentlemen's Club for those interested in theatre and the other arts. Gallery Club to Whistler, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (21 March 2005).

240 For example, Whistler stayed with his brother for short periods in 1880 and 1881 when he was in between rented lodgings. See M., p.xxxvi.

241 See [William McNeill Whistler] to [unknown], 8 July 1879, GUL W764; GUW 06770 (13 June 2006).

242 Armstrong, 1912, p.192; 'Eloise or Héloise [unknown], ??-??', biography, GUW (21 December 2005).

243 See Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.56. In George du Maurier's *Trilby* (1894), the 'charming Trilby, an artist's model, slowly falls under the mesmeric spell of Svengali, a German-Polish musician, who trains her voice and establishes her as a famous singer'. Drabble, 1995, p.1008.

244 Montfort, 2003, pp.79, 85; 'Joanna Hiffernan, ca 1843-??', biography, GUW (21 December 2005).

Joanna would entertain the men by playing 'the clown' and singing them Irish songs.[245]

Maud Franklin - Whistler's model and mistress during the 1870s and 80s - probably had some pianistic ability. Certainly, during the period of their liaison Whistler's homes contained pianos.[246] While details of Maud's education are not known, she seems to have been proficient in written French,[247] and her grasp of written English is certainly greater than Hiffernan's. Therefore, she probably received an education that equipped her for a 'respectable' lifestyle – no doubt this education would have included some degree of musical training.

In 1888 Whistler married Beatrix Godwin, daughter of the sculptor John Birnie Philip and widow of Whistler's friend Edward Godwin.[248] Beatrix, an artist herself, was 'well educated and cultured'.[249] She was a keen amateur pianist and occasional amateur actress.[250] From her 1890s letters to the American artist Edmund Wuerpel,[251] we know that Beatrix's pianistic repertoire included works by Grieg, Mozart and Bach, which she played to Wuerpel on the grand piano in

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245 Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.74; Montfort, 2003, p.76.

246 From June 1875 until May 1877, Whistler hired a piano from 'Frederick Oetzmann and Sons', and he later hired another from 'Chappell and Co.'. The poster for items to be auctioned at the White House by Messrs. Newton in May 1879 lists a 'Brilliant Toned Cottage Pianoforte' in a walnut case by Tomkinson. The catalogue for the Baker & Sons White House auction in September 1879, lists a six-and-a-half octave square pianoforte in a mahogany case by Tomkinson, located in the dining room. This might have been the grand piano that the Pennells believed Whistler received there in 1878. Given that a 'cottage' piano is an upright instrument, it is therefore likely that Whistler owned two pianos at this time. In 1883, Whistler asked his sister-in-law Helen to choose him an upright piano of 'first rate tone' to send to his studio in Tite St. See Dod and Longstaffe to Whistler, 1 November 1878, LC PWC 6/421-2; GUW 12025 (21 March 2005); Dod and Longstaffe to Theodore Frederick, 21 November 1878, LC PWC 6/410-12; GUW 13290 (21 March 2005); Whistler to Helen Whistler, [7 May 1883], GUL W695; GUW 06701 (21 March 2005); Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.251; Bendix, 1995, p.159; and Ono, 2003, p.145. See Margaret Cranmer, 'Tomkinson, Thomas', GMO (5 January 2006) for information about this respected London-based piano maker.

247 For example, see Maud Franklin to Octavie Josephine de Macedo-Carvalho, [June 1885/1887?], GUL X94; GUW 07524 (25 November 2005).

248 Beatrix Godwin (née Beatrice [sic] Philip, 1857-1896) was the widow of the architect and designer Edward William Godwin (1833-1886). She had married Godwin in 1876.

249 Anderson and Koval, 1994, p.294.

250 Sometime around 1876 Beatrix played a small part in a production of *Henry V* staged at the Queen's Theatre, for which Godwin was responsible for the decor and costumes. In 1885 Beatrix played a Shepherdess for at least one performance of Godwin's open-air adaption of *The Faithfull Sheperdhess*, produced by 'The Pastoral Players' at Coombe House. See the handwritten cast list inside *The Faithfull Shepherdhess* (by John Fletcher, adapted and arranged in three acts for the open air by E.W. Godwin, published by G. Hill, London, 1885) GUL 75. Also, Harbron, 1949, p.121.

251 Edmund Henry Wuerpel (1866-1958).

the Whistlers' home in Rue du Bac.[252] Hymn books once belonging to the Philips family are held in the Whistler collection at Glasgow University, suggesting that Beatrix and James shared a background in liturgical music, and that Beatrix continued to enjoy hymns during their married years.[253] Correspondence between Beatrix and James, and between Beatrix and her sister-in-law Helen Whistler, indicates that particularly during the 1890s, music was a shared interest within the family. For instance, in a letter from Paris in 1892, Whistler wrote to Beatrix (who was in London) of his recent visits to the Vaudeville and the Moulin Rouge.[254] Similarly, in 1894 Beatrix informed Helen of the gossip in Parisian musical circles.[255]

Music and Social Interaction

Whistler was a long-standing member of social clubs such as the Arts Club, Gallery Club and Smoking Club, which specifically encouraged interaction between male members of the visual and performing-arts community.[256] These clubs provided a venue for Whistler to meet with musicians, men of the theatre, writers, and performing-arts enthusiasts; and were obviously influential in shaping Whistler's social circle, for a number of their members are known to have fraternised with Whistler outside the club houses. Whistler's long membership of the Arts Club (1863-96) is of particular interest, for it coincided exactly with the period that the Arts Club was situated next door to the Royal Academy of Music.

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252 According to the Pennells (1908, vol.2, p.138) a grand piano was situated in the drawing room. Whistler moved to Rue du Bac in 1892. See Beatrix Whistler to Edmund Henry Wuerpel, [January/June 1894?], Dr Edmund A. Bowles; GUW 12833 (21 March 2005); Beatrix Whistler to Edmund Henry Wuerpel, [2 February 1894], Private Collection; GUW 12842 (21 March 2005); Edmund Henry Wuerpel to Whistler, 16 April 1897, GUL W1135; GUW 07147 (21 March 2005).

253 For example *Book of Common Order: Selections*, London: Hall, 1848; *Hymns for Public Worship, Selected by the Committee of the General Assembly on Psalmody...32nd thousand*, Edinburgh: Paton and Ritchie, 1863; *Psalms and Hymns for Public Worship*, London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, *c*.1861.

254 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [24 January 1892?], GUL W599; GUW 06606 (21 March 2005).

255 Beatrix Whistler to Helen Whistler, [15/22 April 1894?], GUL W619; GUW 06625 (21 March 2005).

256 According to the Pennells (1908, vol.1, pp.195-96) Whistler disliked dining alone, and therefore went to clubs and restaurants. He is known to have attended the Arts, Hogarth, Savile, Reform, Beefsteak and Savage Clubs; the Arundel, the Beaufort Grill Club in Dover St, The Fielding in King St Covent Garden, Pagani's in Great Portland St, and the Café Royal. In 'A Day with Whistler' (published in the Detroit Free Press on 30 March 1890) Charles Lang Freer recalled Whistler's visits to the 'Smoking Club, an organisation of London journalists, musicians, actors and artists.' (See Merrill, 1995, p.197.)

Not surprisingly, therefore, a large number of musicians were also members.[257] According to Mortimer Menpes, on a typical evening Whistler would dine at the Arts Club or at a friend's home, then go to the theatre or a musical event, and finish up at the Hogarth Club 'where Whistler gathered all the men about him by the fascination of his talk'.[258] Additionally, Whistler sometimes dined at Pagani's restaurant in Great Portland Street - Albert Ludovici recalled that as this restaurant was close to the Queen's Hall concert venue, it was a centre for musicians.[259]

In Whistler's day, social interaction – of both a private and public nature – was typically accompanied by musical and theatrical entertainment. In 1871, Haweis mused that most 'young ladies play the piano as an accomplishment',[260] many for no other reason than 'to provide that indispensable stimulant to conversation called "a little music."'[261] But, he rejoiced, 'light dawns as we think of the noble amateur singers and fine professional performers, which it is more and more our privilege to hear in private society'.[262] From 1873, Whistler hosted his own dinner parties and initiated his midday 'Sunday breakfasts', to which he invited many musical guests.[263] Furthermore, Whistler often attended musical soirées, and participated in amateur theatricals, in the homes of his friends and patrons. These events involved both amateur and professional performers, and combined light and more serious genres.

Soon after moving from Paris to London in 1859, Whistler began visiting the Ionides' home - a meeting place for artists, musicians, actors, and writers of such renown as Joseph Joachim, Franz Liszt, Arthur Sullivan, George Sand, and Ellen Terry.[264] Whistler had become friendly with Aleco and Luke Ionides in Paris, and both brothers remained in lifelong contact - Luke especially proved a

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257 Some of the musicians who were members of the Arts Club are noted in this chapter, while others are mentioned in Appendix One.

258 Menpes, 1904, pp.9-10, 53.

259 Ludovici, 1926, p.99.

260 Haweis, 1871, p.525.

261 Haweis, 1871, p.529.

262 Haweis, 1871, p.537.

263 Whistler's entertaining became more lavish from 1875, when his mother moved to Hastings. See M., p. xxxv.

264 Joseph Joachim (1831-1907), violinist; Franz Liszt (1811-1886), composer and pianist; Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900), composer; George Sand (1804-1876), novelist; and Ellen Terry (1847-1928), actress. See Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.78-79; and Leoussi, 1982, p.40.

loyal friend.[265] Their father Alexander was a shipping owner and art collector, and - from 1854 until 1866 - London's Greek Consul General.[266] In 1855 he was appointed one of the directors of the Crystal Palace - as such, he was involved in the organization of concerts and other forms of entertainment.[267] All three men became collectors of Whistler's works, and Alexander commissioned works including *Portrait of Luke A. Ionides*.[268]

Many artists benefited from the Ionides' hospitality and patronage, and from the acquaintances they formed via the family. As Athena Leoussi explains in her dissertation on 'The Ionides Circle', their social events 'were not only delightfully entertaining with decorous charades, impromptu dramatic set-ups, and sing-songs of every kind, but also useful to those still incubating, ambitious artists, who, vitally and professionally depended on commissions'.[269] However, it was Whistler whom his friend, the artist and writer George Du Maurier declared 'pet of the set'.[270]

The 1877 marriage between Whistler's brother William, and Alexander's niece Helen, strengthened Whistler's friendship with the Ionides family. Therefore, it can be presumed that Whistler became acquainted with the musicians who frequented the Ionides' home, and that he heard many musical performances amongst the frivolous masquerades, fancy dress balls, and amateur theatricals he is known to have enjoyed there.[271] A programme designed by Du Maurier for a performance of *The Thumping Legacy* at Tulse Hill on 14 January 1861, includes Whistler in the role of 'Jerry Ominous'.[272]

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265 Aleco Ionides (1840-98) and Luke Ionides (1837-1924).

266 Alexander Constantine Ionides (1810-1890).

267 Leoussi, 1982, p.37.

268 *Portrait of Luke A. Ionides*, 1860, YMSM 32.

269 The Ionides set included Alma Tadema, Holman Hunt, Herbert Herkomer, Ford Madox Brown, Frank Dicksee, Sir John Millais, Frederick Leighton, Landseer, Rossetti, William Morris, and Poynter. See Leoussi, 1982, pp.40, 105.

270 Leoussi, 1982, p.40. For further information on Du Maurier see Appendix One.

271 Luke Ionides informed the Pennells that Whistler took part in the productions held in his family home. The Pennells (1908, vol.1, p.79) extrapolated: Whistler delighted in the Ionides' 'masquerades and fancy dress balls, once mystifying everybody by appearing in two different costumes in the course of the evening, and winding up as a sweep'. According to Ormond (1969, p.102) these performances often provided the entertainment for the family's fancy-dress balls, which attracted as many as two-hundred guests. See also Leoussi, 1982, p.51.

272 The other characters were played by Luke and Aleco Ionides, Mrs Coronio (their sister), Du Maurier, and John Cavafy. Each character is sketched on the programme – Whistler appears in the top right corner. The programme design is printed in Pennell, 1908, vol.1, facing p.84. Whistler probably acted in other homes as well. For instance, in July 1862 Du Maurier

During the 1860s Whistler also attended the bachelor parties hosted by Arthur Lewis.[273] Lewis was a partner in a drapery firm, an enthusiastic music lover, and founder of the Arts Club. In her book on George du Maurier, Leonée Ormond writes of Lewis' parties:

> Lewis had organised his own choir, the background of all the musical entertainment, which was later renamed the Moray Minstrels, when he moved to Moray Lodge on Campden Hill in 1863, and which became in time a group of highly professional singers. Individual singers, pianists, and other musicians, were enthusiastically received, provided they were good.[274]

The high standard is confirmed by Du Maurier: 'It won't do to trot out the same old things every time at a place like Lewis's, and it won't do to fluke accompaniments either.'[275] Lewis' evenings would start with music at 8.30 pm, followed by oysters at 11 pm.[276] The musical content was quite varied. In 1862, Du Maurier (who was an 'honorary member' of the Moray Minstrels, and an enthusiastic solo singer) wrote that there was 'lots of professional glee singing' as well as comic ditties. When the Moray Minstrels took breaks from their performance, the guests could volunteer to perform. In January 1862 Du Maurier wrote to his mother, 'need I say that my Schuberts and Gordigianis meet with due appreciation?'[277] Later, Whistler might have witnessed Du Maurier perform roles by Jacques Offenbach and Arthur Sullivan.[278] In contrast, Arthur Severn recalled that Whistler would sing - accompanied by expressive hand movements - 'in *argot* French, imitations of what he had heard in low *cabarets* on the Seine when he was at work there.'[279]

In *Twenty Years of My Life: 1867 to 1887*, Louise Jopling recalled a

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(1951, p.158) informed his mother: 'Last Saturday week Pem and I went to some Private Theatricals at the Roches' in which Jimmy and Moscheles acted to perfection, in French. Next Saturday week I am going to act there I believe, shall be put on my mettle'.

273 The Pennells (1908, vol.1, pp.79-80) write that Arthur Severn recalled Whistler attending these parties at Campden Hill. However he probably also attended them at Lewis's previous abode. In January 1862, when Whistler was in Paris, Du Maurier (1951, p.99) informed his mother that the 'want of Jimmy is much felt'.

274 Ormond, 1969, p.105.

275 George Du Maurier to his mother, January 1861, Du Maurier, 1951, p.28.

276 Ormond, 1969, p.106.

277 George Du Maurier to his mother, January 1862, Du Maurier, 1951, p.99.

278 See Appendix One for further information about Du Maurier's performances.

279 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.79-80.

colourful social life.[280] Jopling was an artist, and a devotee of music and theatre, who first met Whistler *c.*1874. She and her husband Joe, a watercolourist, hosted musical occasions: their guests included Francesco Tosti, the renowned composer of popular drawing-room ballads and singing teacher to Queen Victoria's family, 'who was setting all London wild with his seductive songs';[281] Nita Gaëtano, whom Jopling believed gave the premiere of Tosti's song 'Good-bye' at her home;[282] Du Maurier; and Lady Lindsay of the Grosvenor Gallery, who was a keen musician.[283] One such event was caricatured by Du Maurier in a cartoon entitled 'Music at Home', which was published in *Punch* in March 1878.[284] It depicts Jopling's guests, including Gaëtano, the artist Frederic Leighton and Whistler (pictured third from the right in the top row of onlookers), in a 'faithful picture' of her studio.[285]

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280 Jopling and Whistler moved in much the same social circle. Therefore her book is a valuable source.

281 Jopling, 1925, p.205. Italian-born Francesco Paulo Tosti (1846-1916) first visited London in 1875. Thereafter he visited London annually until 1880, when he settled permanently and received his royal appointment. See Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Tosti, Sir (Francesco) Paulo (1846-1916)', article 12444, Oxford DNB (21 March 2005).

282 Jopling, 1925, p.205. N.B. Antoinette [Nita] Gaëtano (*c.*1849-??) married Lynedoch Moncrieff in 1878.

283 Caroline Blanche Fitzroy married Sir Coutts Lindsay in 1864. In 1877, the Lindsays founded the Grosvenor Gallery. George Frederick Watts' portrait *Lady Lindsay* (1877, London, Tate) was shown at the inaugural exhibition. It depicts Lady Lindsay playing the violin.

284 George du Maurier, 'Music at Home', cartoon, *Punch*, 30 March 1878, GUL LB 12/1; GUW 02832 (22 March 2005).

285 Jopling, 1925, p.90.

Whistler was certainly friendly with Tosti and Gaëtano, and heard them perform on other occasions.[286] In 1877, they both sang in a concert given at the Leyland's home in Princes Gate, which Whistler encouraged his friends to attend so that they could view the newly painted *Peacock Room*.[287] In the early 1880s, Whistler wrote to his friend Mrs Cockerell, 'Do come tomorrow afternoon and let me offer you a cup of tea in the studio - merely a hurried little party got up at the last moment but - if it be not holding out a false hope - Tosti has half promised to come and sing us a song'.[288] Similarly, Whistler's friend Alan Cole noted hearing Gaëtano perform at one of Whistler's Sunday breakfasts in July 1883.[289] Gaëtano had a broad repertoire. For instance, Jopling writes of her singing 'American nigger songs in a most seductive manner';[290] and Gaëtano was friendly with the composer Charles Gounod, whose works in progress she would sing to him and then perform in concert. Furthermore, Gaëtano stated that she had once sung at Court in Holland, accompanied by the virtuoso pianist Franz Liszt.[291] In 1880 or 1881, Whistler made two pen and ink sketches for the frontispiece of a song by Gaëtano entitled

Figure 5: *'Thoughts at Sunrise' by Nita Moncrieff*, 1880/81, M. 833 (left); and *'Thoughts at Sunrise' by Nita Moncrieff*, 1880/81, M. 834 (right).

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286 In an article published in the *Evening Standard* (Barker, 1937) Gaëtano recalled being present at Whistler's marriage, and accompanying him to the opening night of Oscar Wilde's *The Importance of Being Earnest* (1895). Jopling (1925, p.220) wrote that Whistler and Tosti helped arrange an Italian dinner for herself and Gaëtano, at Pagani's restaurant in Great Portland Street.

287 The concert was to take place on Friday 6 July at 4 or 5pm. See Whistler to Stephen Tucker, 30 June 1877, GUL T209; GUW 05864 (21 March 2005); and Merrill, 1998, p.220.

288 Whistler to Mrs Howard Cockerell, [May 1881/1884], LC PWC 8/422; GUW 11211 (21 March 2005).

289 Alan Summerley Cole, diary, [27 March 1872 - 18 March 1885), LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (22 March 2005).

290 Jopling, 1925, p.119.

291 Barker, 1937.

'Thoughts at Sunrise' [fig. 5].[292]

Frederick and Frances Leyland – Whistler's major patrons from 1867 to 1877 – probably hosted many events such as the concert in 1877.[293] Frederick Leyland was a keen pianist who practised every morning - he had two pianos and a harpsichord in his London home. However, he seems to have had limited pianistic ability: while Leyland could play a version of the 'Hallelujah Chorus', he would persuade more able pianists to play him Beethoven's music according to his own interpretation. One such pianist was probably the composer Luigi Albanesi, whom Jopling recalled meeting at the Leylands'.[294] It is also known that Leyland admired Wagner's music.[295] Whistler developed a close relationship with the family, and enjoyed their lavish hospitality.[296] In 1872, Whistler's mother wrote that Whistler rarely went out, unless escorting the Leylands.[297] Given that the Leylands' financial security allowed Whistler to enjoy visits to the opera and theatre that he might otherwise have been unable to afford, the Leylands were important influences on the nature of Whistler's patronage.[298]

Of the Leylands' social circle, Jopling declared that 'Mr. Leyland, being very musical, favoured musicians and artists...Strangely enough, he tabooed actors, and I never remember meeting one at his house.'[299] Whistler's studio assistant Walter Greaves recalled that at Whistler's first dinner party, Frederick Leyland was disgusted when 'Grisi's daughter, whom he took in to dinner, would talk to him not of music, but of Ouida's novels.'[300] For a music lover his disappointment is understandable, for the woman in question - Cecilia Pearse - was the

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292 The article in the *Evening Standard* (Barker, 1937) states that Whistler 'painted a portrait of her; they both thought how dreadfully bad it was, so Whistler smashed it up. He did some little sketches for the frontispiece of one of her songs, and she treasures them still, carefully framed'.

293 Frederick Leyand commissioned Whistler to produce portraits of himself, his wife Frances, and their four children, as well as to execute decorative paintings for their residences. See Galassi, 2003a, p.96.

294 Jopling, 1925, p.215.

295 Merrill, 1998, p.116.

296 Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.155.

297 Anna Matilda Whistler to Katherine Palmer, 21 May - 3 June [1872], PUL 65; GUW 09938 (29 March 2005).

298 For an example of Whistler writing to Mrs Leyland about visiting the theatre, see Whistler to Frances Dawson Leyland, [July 1877/September 1879?], LC PWC 2/16/12; GUW 08062 (19 April 2005).

299 Jopling, 1925, p.215.

300 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.188.

child of the renowned opera singers Mario and Grisi.[301] Pearse recalled that Whistler enjoyed her performance of 'Maggie's Secret' by Virginia Gabriel.[302]

Jopling also recalls occasions hosted by others Whistler knew.[303] For instance, she writes of musical evenings given by the 'Moscheles', which presumably included the painter Felix Moscheles, with whom Whistler and Du Maurier were friendly during the 1860s. Moscheles' father was the composer and pianist Ignaz Moscheles, while his godfather was the composer Felix Mendelssohn.[304] Whistler's links with Moscheles were furthered in the mid- to late-1870s when Whistler painted Rosa Corder,[305] who, as well as studying etching with Whistler, had undergone two years of artistic instruction from Moscheles.[306] Jopling also describes the musical entertainment and amateur theatricals staged in the homes of Sir Coutts and Lady Lindsay.[307] Aside from being an amateur artist and poet, Lady Lindsay composed, played the violin - in 1877 she played at Mrs Leyland's aforementioned concert[308] - and was apparently 'a good enough pianist to accompany the violinists Joachim and Madame Neruda'.[309]

The artist Charles Hallé was amongst the Lindsays' circle. Hallé became co-director of the Grosvenor Gallery, and was a member of the Arts Club from 1875 until 1893.[310] Hallé was the son of the prominent pianist and conductor Sir Charles Hallé (who was married to Neruda). Although Hallé declared he 'had no knowledge of music, only a great love of it'[311] he was probably instrumental in organizing concerts at the Grosvenor, for his father performed in the gallery

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301 Cecilia de Candia was married to Godfrey Pearse. Her parents were Giulia Grisi (1811-1869) - a soprano, and Giovanni Mario, Cavaliere de Candia (1810-1883) - a tenor.

302 See 'Cecilia M. Pearse, 1853/1854-??', biography, GUW (9 January 2006).

303 For instance, Jopling (1925, p.205) writes of entertainment provided by the barrister Thomas Douglas Murray and his wife: 'There one met everybody who was somebody - artists, actors and actresses, and all those of the beau-monde who affected artistic and Bohemian society'. Murray was known to Whistler - see Whistler to T. Douglas Murray, [1877/1878?], GUL Whistler M506; GUW 04236 (13 April 2005).

304 His mother, Charlotte Embden (1805-1889) was an amateur pianist. See John Warrack, 'Moscheles, Ignaz (1794-1870)', article 51114, Oxford DNB (24 March 2005).

305 *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*, 1876-78, YMSM 203.

306 See YMSM, pp.117-18; and Galassi, 2003b, p.119.

307 Jopling (1925, p.102) writes of the Lindsays staging private theatricals during the 1870s - these involved Lady Lindsay herself, and her guests Jopling, Charles Hallé jnr, and Nita Moncreiff (née Gaëtano).

308 Merrill, 1998, p.272.

309 Gillett, 1990, p.230.

310 Sir Charles Hallé was an Arts Club member from 1887 to 1893. See Gillett, 1990, p.232; and Rogers, 1920, p.81.

311 Hallé, 1896, p.169.

during Hallé's directorship.[312] In 1886, Walter Bache organized a concert to be given at the Grosvenor by Franz Liszt.[313] Jopling recalls such concerts, so it likely that Whistler – who exhibited at the Grosvenor from 1877 until 1884 – was aware of them.[314] The high regard with which music was held within the Grosvenor circle was wittily illustrated by Oscar Wilde, who 'ordered for himself an astounding suit of clothes made to resemble the shape and colour of a cello, in which to attend the opening parties at the gallery'.[315]

In 1876 the dealer Murray Marks asked Whistler to illustrate an exhibition catalogue for Sir Henry Thompson's collection of Nankin porcelain. Whistler obliged by contributing drawings of thirty-eight pieces, while Thompson himself illustrated thirteen.[316] The private viewing card for the exhibition shows Whistler standing by the piano.[317] Whistler had known Thompson since 1867, when both men were members of the Burlington Fine Arts Club,[318] and they remained acquainted until at least 1889.[319] From 1872, the Thompsons hosted dinner parties known as 'Octaves' - as the name implies, the parties began at 8 pm, and eight guests were served eight dishes.[320] Lady Thompson (née Kate Loder) was a successful pianist and composer who had previously been Professor at the Royal Academy of Music.[321] Although she made her last public appearance as a pianist in 1854 (the Thompsons were married in 1851) she remained a strong influence on English musicians. In 1870 Clara Schumann sent her an autographed manuscript of a song from Robert Schumann's *Album of Songs for the Young*. The following year, the first English performance of Brahms' *German Requiem* was given at the Thompsons' home, with Lady Thompson and Cipriani Potter playing the accompaniment as a piano duet.[322]

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312 Hallé, 1896, p.166.
313 Temperley, 2001a, p.433.
314 Newall, 1995, p.22.
315 Newall, 1995, p.16.
316 'Henry Thompson, 1820-1894', biography, GUW (25 November 2005).
317 See Merrill, 1998, p.177.
318 Burlington Fine Arts Club to [none], list, NAL, PC 12/6 MSL/1952/1353/2/5/14; GUW 12959 (7 June 2006).
319 In 1889 they were both invited to – and included on the seating plan for - a farewell banquet for the Hon. E.J. Phelps, a United States Minister. See James Whitehead to Whistler, 24 January 1889, GUL W1029; GUW 07040 (24 March 2005).
320 Merrill, 1998, p.172.
321 Lady Thompson, née Kate Loder (1825-1904).
322 Nicholas Temperley, 'Kate (Fanny) Loder', GMO (29 March 2005); and Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.22.

In 1889, Whistler was invited to a farewell banquet for the Hon. E.J. Phelps (a United States Minister) which was hosted by the Lord Mayor. The seating plan and programmme of music are held in Glasgow University Library.[323] The guests, who were all male, included representatives from the theatre, the major musical institutions, the press, and the visual arts.[324] During dinner, a selection of popular pieces was played by the Band of the Coldstream Guards, including arrangements of dramatic music by Mozart, Gounod, and Arthur Sullivan (who was present); and light music such as airs, a march, waltz, and serenade. Afterwards, five male singers performed a selection of popular solos and part songs.

Whistler also enjoyed musical entertainment in his own home and studio.[325] In the case of one house-guest - Horace Jee - his piano-playing seems to have been his saving grace.[326] Jee is referred to in Whistler's correspondence from 1872 to 1895. He stayed with Whistler at 2 Lindsay Row during the 1870s, acting as Whistler's occasional secretary and rather unreliable entertainer.[327] It is presumably Jee the Pennells refer to, when they describe a man who 'came to dine one evening, and, asking to stay over night, remained three years'![328] Whistler explained to them:

> he was a genius, a musician, the first of the 'AEsthetes,' [sic] before the silly name was invented. He hadn't anything to do - he didn't do anything for me - but decorate the dinner-table, arrange the flowers, and then play the piano, and talk, and make himself amiable...At moments my mother objected to such a

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323 See James Whitehead to Whistler, 24 January 1889, GUL W1029; GUW 07040 (24 March 2005).

324 The all-male membership of social clubs, and the exclusion of females at events such as this dinner, restricted the opportunities for Whistler to meet female musicians. Introductions to female musicians probably occured through mutual acquaintaince.

325 For instance, on one occasion Whistler was too ill to paint and asked Mrs Marzetti (whose sister Maud Waller was modelling for *Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl*, 1882, YMSM 226) to sing for him instead. See M., pp.353-54.

326 Whistler met Jee through the Leylands. See Merrill, 1998, p.143.

327 'Horace Jee, 1840/1850-??', biography, GUW (25 November 2005). In the late 1880s to the 1890s, William Bell fulfilled a similar role to Jee. Bell is described as Whistler's 'secretary and general studio hanger-on' - it is believed he was also a pianist. See 'William Bell, ??-??', biography, GUW (25 November 2005).

328 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.182. Alan Cole described Jee as Whistler's 'weak hanger on'. He noted that he had both men to dine at his home in July 1874, and then dined with them both at Whistler's house in January 1876. See Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, [27 March 1872 - 18 March 1885], LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (21 March 2005).

> loafer about the house. And I would say to her - 'well - but - my dear mummy, who else is there to whom we could say, play, and he would play; and, stop playing, and he would stop playing right away!'[329]

In a letter to Mrs Leyland in September 1875, Whistler wrote of her friend Ellen Caird's modelling: 'I fear she must have found that day in the Studio rather a dull one - for Horace who might have relieved the monotony of work with his piano did not turn up until the next day!'[330]

When inviting the Greaves family to dinner in the late 1870s, Whistler remarked that 'Horace is still a truant, but Walter and Harry will play for us.'[331] Walter and Harry Greaves first met Whistler in 1863, beginning a friendship that lasted about twenty years.[332] They became his studio assistants - preparing colours and canvasses - and during the 1870s they rowed Whistler along the Thames while he worked, just as their father had once rowed J.M.W. Turner. Their sisters Eliza and Alice ('Tinnie') modelled for Whistler, and the family became friends with both Whistler and his mother.[333] The Pennells write that the Greaves' sister 'was an accomplished musician, and Whistler delighted in music, though he was not too critical, for he was known to call the passing hurdy-gurdy into his front garden, and have it ground under his windows. Occasionally, the brothers played, so that Whistler might dance'.[334] It is likely that Walter Greaves also played the piano: William Nicholson's 1917 portrait of Walter shows him standing in front of a white grand piano, with his hand resting on the lid. The scene would seem to be Walter's studio – brushes and artworks surround the piano.[335]

The distinguished pianist, baritone, and conductor George Henschel also visited Whistler's studio on a number of occasions during the mid 1880s.

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329 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.182.

330 Whistler to Frances Leyland, [18/25 September 1875], LC PWC 2/16/1; GUW 08053 (21 March 2005).

331 Whistler to Mrs Greaves, [1876/1879?], LC PWC 9/635; GUW 11467 (21 March 2005).

332 Walter Greaves (1846-1930) and Harry (Henry) Greaves (1843-1904).

333 Eliza was probably Emily Greaves. See 'Elizabeth Greaves, 1810-1900', biography, GUW (25 November 2005); 'Walter Greaves, 1846-1930', biography, GUW (25 November 2005); 'Henry Greaves, 1843-1904', biography, GUW (25 November 2005); 'Emily Greaves, ca 1842-??', biography, GUW, (25 November 2005); and 'Alice Fay Greaves, 1852-??', biography, GUW (25 November 2005).

334 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.109.

335 Sir William Newsam Prior Nicholson, *Portrait of Walter Greaves*, 1917. Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 143 cm. Manchester City Art Gallery.

Whistler invited Henschel to view his portrait of Pablo de Sarasate,[336] and included Henschel's name amongst cards possibly intended for the private view invitations to his 'Ten O'Clock' lecture.[337] Additionally, Whistler probably socialised with Henschel at the Gallery and Arts Clubs, and at soirées hosted by mutual friends such as Leighton and Jopling.[338] Having first performed in England in 1877, Henschel and his wife - the American singer Lillian Bailey - settled permanently in London in 1884. Jopling wrote:

> The first time I met George Henschel was at the Frederick Lehmanns' in Berkeley Square. It was at one of their delightful musical evenings. We were rather late in arriving, and we found the rooms crowded...
>
> A male voice was singing a German song. I was not so much struck with the voice as with the perfect way in which it was being accompanied...it was Henschel singing, playing his own accompaniment...one has seldom heard a more intellectual singer.
>
> Mrs. Henschel was a charming singer. To hear husband and wife singing duets was a treat indeed.[339]

Henschel was such a prominent figure in British musical life, that he became the only living musician to earn an entry in the first edition of Grove's *Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1879). Given that he was the first conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, from 1881 to 1884, Whistler might have appreciated the American connection.[340]

Incidental Music and Burlesque

In 1876 Whistler attended Tennyson's historical drama *Queen Mary Tudor* at the Lyceum Theatre[341] - his painting *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir*

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336 *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884, YMSM 315 [fig. 39].

337 Whistler to George Henschel, [December 1884/1885?], Published Letter; GUW 11128 (4 April 2005). Whistler to Florence Boughton, [1/15 February 1885?], GUL B138; GUW 00361 (4 April 2005).

338 See Rogers, 1920, p.83; and Gallery Club to Whistler, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (23 March 2005).

339 Jopling, 1925, p.166.

340 Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Henschel, Sir George (1850-1934)', article 33824, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).

341 *Queen Mary Tudor* ran from 13 April - 13 May 1876. For further information see the Bateman entry in Appendix One.

Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain [fig. 6] portrays Irving as he appeared in the play.[342] During the course of the play's five acts, Whistler heard incidental music by Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, orchestral music by the musical director Robert Stoepel, and selections by Wagner (a prelude from *Lohengrin*), Gounod (Sérénade) and Queen Mary Stuart (a song entitled 'Adieu donc, belle France').[343] Despite the play's historical setting, most of the music was by living composers: Whistler was exposed to a variety of modern music through his theatrical patronage.

Figure 6: *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain*, 1876-85. YMSM 187.

Earlier that year Whistler had acted in a charity production of Augustus Dubourg's *Twenty Minutes under the Umbrella*. The play was staged at the Royal Albert Hall theatre, and ran for at least two performances.[344] According to Alan Cole, Whistler was 'elated with his performance'.[345] Whistler's son Charles Hanson believed that this was the only occasion that Whistler acted in an actual theatre.[346] However, the Greaves family believed that Whistler, Oscar Wilde and Frank Miles had a song and dance act in the three-act comic drama *The Grasshopper*, which was performed at the Gaiety Theatre in 1877 and 1878.[347] *The Grasshopper* was an adaptation of Henri Meilhac and Ludovic Halévy's *La Cigale*, by

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342 The portrait is discussed in Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.199-200.

343 See programme in the 'Queen Mary Tudor' file, TM.

344 Whistler's friend Alan Cole, and Cole's sister Isabella Fowke, were also involved. The *Daily News* wrote of Whistler's performance:

> He at times, perhaps, indulges somewhat too freely in subtleties and refinements, which would make his success in public and before a mixed audience doubtful, but the same fault is found with his paintings and etchings which, nevertheless, are held in high esteem by the cognoscenti. In his acting, as in his painting, he aims at harmonising the details of his work in such a way that the whole first strikes the spectator, who is then led insensibly to study how the effect is produced.

See 'Royal Albert Hall Theatre', *Daily News*, 28 February 1876, p.6, quoted in Merrill, 1998, p.207.

345 Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, 27 March 1872 - 18 April 1885, LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (13 April 2005).

346 Charles James Whistler Hanson, Memoirs, [1903?], GUL Whistler H342; GUW 02246 (17 January 2006).

347 See 'John Hollingshead, 1827-1904', biography, GUW 2003 (17 January 2006). George Francis (Frank) Miles was a painter - he had a studio across the road from Whistler's in Tite St. Paul Marks (letter to the author, 27 March 2005) supports the Greaves' statement. He states that Whistler's pastel *Souvenir of the Gaiety*, M. 664 [fig. 28] (which is thought to represent figures from *The Grasshopper*) shows 'Whistler and others on a stage'.

John Hollingshead (the manager of the Gaiety). Edward Terry played the principal character - 'Pygmalion Flippit (An Artist of the Future)' - while Nellie Farren played the part of the 'grasshopper' - a girl who escaped from a circus troupe.[348] The musical director was Meyer Lutz.[349] Hollingshead recalled that in autumn 1877 Whistler attended the last rehearsals of *The Grasshopper.* On 27 October Whistler wrote to Hollingshead:

> I will see Pellegrini & let you know.
> (Of course I should be delighted to do anything - that might conduce to the general completeness of your piece - & am sure that in your hands - I run no risk of making any mistake[350]

This could indicate that Whistler performed in the show. Alternatively, it could refer to Whistler's approval that a caricature of him by Carlo Pellegrini be featured in the production. Entitled *The Creator of Black and White*, this was one of a number of artworks exhibited in the studio of 'Pygmalion Flippit'. Another picture, by Gordon Thompson, was entitled *The Apotheosis of Henry Irving, after Whistler.*[351] Thus, even if Whistler didn't actually perform in the production, his presence was well represented. Unfortunately, his friend Alan Cole's references to the show do not clarify the extent of Whistler's involvement. On 7 January 1878, Cole dined with Whistler and then attended the Gaiety: 'The Grasshopper not very good though a tremendous puff for Whistler'.[352] On the 21st, Cole attended the show again and noted that Terry had 'stupidly said my master "Turner"' (instead of Whistler).[353]

A burlesque entitled *Little Doctor Faust* (by Henry J. Byron) was programmed alongside *The Grasshopper.* Hollingshead was very proud of his theatre's cultivation of a sophisticated form of burlesque. In 1898, he wrote:

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348 The part of the grasshopper was originally created by Céline Chaumont. See Hollingshead, 1898; and Programme, 'The Grasshopper' file, TM.

349 For further information on Lutz see Appendix One.

350 Whistler to John Hollingshead, 27 October [1877], Huntington Library, San Marino, CA; GUW 09156 (15 April 2005).

351 Programme, 'The Grasshopper' file, TM.

352 Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, 27 March 1872 - 18 April 1885, LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (15 April 2005).

353 Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, 27 March 1872 - 18 April 1885, LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (15 April 2005).

> For the first time burlesque was treated with proper artistic respect. It had good music, good singers, a trained chorus, a body of trained dancers, a full and capable orchestra, practised pantomimists, and, for the first time, dresses of harmonious colours and artistic form designed by an unequalled stage-costumier like the late Alfred Thompson. It was presented in the most elegant and comfortable theatre of its time - the pioneer of the theatrical improvement of London.[354]

Little Doctor Faust had musical direction by Lutz and choreography by Mr J. D'auban. Nellie Farren starred in the comic singing role of Faust:[355] her performance included a new song entitled 'Too Jolly Clever By Half', and the merriment of pretending to be fired out of a canon.[356] Farren was a versatile and popular actress.[357] Mortimer Menpes declared that Whistler thought she was a splendid performer – '"Amazing! marvellous!" he would cry every time the curtain fell'.[358]

An account for theatre tickets purchased by Whistler in 1878, through the agents 'Lacon & Ollier', indicates that Whistler attended the Gaiety Theatre a number of times that year. His bookings included seats for *The Grasshopper* and *Little Doctor Faust*; for *Jeames* - a four-act comedy by Francis Cowley Burnand after Thackeray's *Jeames's Diary*; and for *The Lady of Lyons Married and Settled* by Herman C. Merivale, which also starred Terry and Farren.[359] In addition, Whistler reserved tickets to see the Jarrett and Palmer revival of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* at the Princess's Theatre in September 1878.[360] According to the *Times*, the production included 'plaintive' songs 'sung by hosts of coloured freed slaves from the United States (their first appearance in Europe), including selected

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354 Hollingshead, 1898.

355 Programme, 'The Grasshopper' file, TM; *Times*, Thursday 31 January 1878, p.8, col.E and F.

356 Programme, 'The Grasshopper' file, TM; 'Miss Nellie Farren at Home', *Golden Penny*, 19 March 1898, p.275, 'Nellie Farren' biographical file, TM.

357 See Appendix One for further details.

358 Menpes, 1904, p.10.

359 Lacon and Ollier, bill, [19 October 1878/1879], LC PWC; GUW 08935 (18 April 2005).

360 Lacon and Ollier, bill, [19 October 1878/1879], LC PWC; GUW 08935 (18 April 2005).

Jubilee Singers, with the Louisiana Troubadours, the Four Jolly Coons, and the greatest Banjo player in the world, Horace Weaton'.[361]

In 1886, Whistler attended the two-act burlesque *Adonis: A Perversion of Common Sense* at the Gaiety Theatre, which starred and was co-written (with William Gill) by the American comedian Henry Dixey.[362] It included original music by Edward Rice; as well as selections by well-known earlier composers such as Beethoven, Offenbach, and Mozart; and music by contemporary composers such as Dave Braham (a popular American theatre composer) and the show's musical director Henry Sator.[363] In terms of narrative content: 'a statue comes to life, but finds humans so unpleasant he willingly turns back into marble, having impersonated famous people along the way...Dixey would add topical references as the run progressed and the audience kept coming back to see his latest inventions'.[364] Whistler attended the show a number of times. In one letter, presumably in response to Dixey's offer of complimentary tickets, Whistler wrote: 'I am only too pleased to accept it - for you know the great delight I take in your work - Certainly I can never see your most artistic and dainty performance too often'.[365] In another, he wrote: 'You were delightful last night'.[366]

In addition to attending the Gaiety, Whistler cultivated friendships with Hollingshead and Farren, and included them at his Sunday breakfasts.[367] Hollingshead attended Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' in 1885; and both Hollingshead and the playwright Francis Burnand were invited to a dinner held at the Criterion in 1889, to celebrate Whistler's Honorary Membership of the Royal Academy of

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361 *Times*, Tuesday 24 September 1878, p.6, col.E.

362 Henry Edward Dixey (1859-1943). Whistler painted him as the Directoire or Chevalier from *Adonis*. See *Portrait of Henry E. Dixey*, 1884/88. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 356.

363 'Adonis' file, TM; Deane L. Root, 'Braham, David', GMO (19 April 2005).

364 See footnote 4 in Whistler to Henry Edward Dixey, [June/September 1885?], GUL Whistler D216; GUW 01010 (17 January 2006).

365 Whistler to Henry Edward Dixey, [June/September 1885?], GUL Whistler D216; GUW 01010 (17 January 2006).

366 Whistler to Henry Edward Dixey, [June/September 1885?], GUL Whistler D215; GUW 01009 (19 April 2005).

367 N.B. Farren married the comedian Robert Soutar in 1867 - therefore she was also known as Mrs Soutar. Whistler also invited the actresses Lillie Langtry and Sara Bernhardt to his breakfasts. See Whistler to Mr and Mrs Soutar, [1/8 March 1879], Tate Gallery Archives, Marchant Collection, TGA 8314/3/1/2; GUW 09425 (18 April 2005); Whistler to Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton, [12 January 1878], British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ashley Collection, Ashley 4601, leaves 1, 2; GUW 09575 (15 April 2005); Whistler to Mrs Francis Jeune, [1887?], Garrick Club, London, Jeune no.152; GUW 10586 (6 January 2006); and Lillie Langtry to Whistler, [April 1881/1883], GUL L15; GUW 02478 (6 January 2006).

Fine Arts in Munich.[368] While Whistler's interest in Burnand might have been partly due to the latter's influence as writer and editor of *Punch*,[369] it seems that he genuinely enjoyed Burnand's works. Mortimer Menpes recalled:

> Whistler had one song which he always sang, and sometimes he whistled it. It was called, "And his Heart was True to Poll." There was never any more of it, so far as I could make out; and whenever a picture was going well, or he was especially pleased about anything, I used to hear him singing in a high, falsetto voice, "And his heart was true to Poll."[370]

Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations* states that Burnand wrote these lyrics.[371]

Whistler's close friend, the architect and designer Edward Godwin probably fuelled Whistler's interest in the theatre. The two men had met by 1863, and their friendship endured until Godwin's death in 1886: both were founding members of the Arts Club, and during the 1870s they collaborated on various artistic projects.[372] In 1877 Whistler commissioned Godwin to design his home - the White House in Tite Street. Godwin was a keen organist: he and his partner – the actress Ellen Terry - particularly enjoyed playing Bach's music at their home in Harpenden during the late 1860s and early 1870s.[373] Whistler was a frequent visitor there, so no doubt heard Godwin perform.[374]

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368 *World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS; Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL Whistler S281; GUW 05635 (17 January 2006). For other theatrical personnel known to Whistler at this time, see the entries on Bancroft, Forbes-Robertson and Kendal in Appendix One.

369 See 'Francis Cowley Burnand, 1836-1917', biography, GUW (17 January 2006).

370 Menpes, 1904, p.56.

371 Bartlett (1919, 5 January 2006) attributed the following to Sir Francis Cowley Burnand: 'It's no matter what you do/ If your heart be only true,/ And his heart *was* true to Poll..' In a letter of 1884, Whistler wrote: '...and as little Milly sings, "No matter what you do, if your 'art is only true – and his 'art is true!"----!' See Whistler to Thomas Waldo Story, [20/25 May 1884?], LC PWC 2/61/8; GUW09451 (8 June 2006). See Appendix One for further information on Whistler's association with Burnand.

372 Godwin was an Arts Club member from 1863 to 1873. They collaborated on an exhibition installation at 48 Pall Mall in 1874, and on *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Butterfly Cabinet* (YMSM 195) in 1878. See 'Edward William Godwin, 1833-1886', biography, GUW (9 January 2006); and Rogers, 1920, p.78.

373 Harbron, 1949, pp.17, 35; Lambourne, 1999, pp.25, and 41, note 55. Godwin and Terry's six-year relationship began in 1868. Terry later became Henry Irving's leading lady. Irving gave her *Harmony in Blue and Pearl: The Sands, Dieppe* (1885, YMSM 327).

374 Ribeiro, 2003, p.50.

Godwin's theatrical work included commentary and criticism (of both plays and opera),[375] direction, and the design of costumes and properties. He was especially concerned with historical accuracy and visual truth. Therefore, the incidental music for his productions would have been stylistically appropriate – that is, original music from the period, or new music composed in an earlier style. Godwin's designs for *The Merchant of Venice*, *c.*1880, include drawings of lutes alongside female costumes, indicating that he was familiar with the visual form of historical instruments.[376] Godwin's influence might explain Whistler's depiction of a female lute player in his mid-1880s pastel *Note in Blue and Opal*, which will be discussed in the following chapter.[377]

In 1883 Godwin offered Whistler a seat in his box for the opening night of *Claudian* at the Princess Theatre: Godwin had designed the costumes.[378] The following year Godwin became the designer-manager for the pastoral plays presented by Lady Archibald Campbell at Coombe Hill, Surrey. (Whistler, who had enjoyed the Campbells' patronage since the early 1880s, introduced Godwin to Campbell.)[379] In 1884 and 1885 Whistler attended their production of the forest scenes from *As You Like It*. He painted Lady Campbell in character as Orlando, wearing a costume designed by Godwin [fig. 7].[380] In 1885 Godwin adapted John Fletcher's *The Faithfull Shepherdesse* for Coombe. This production had music composed by the Reverend A.W. Batson.[381] Lady Campbell wrote of the artistic unity to which these productions aspired:

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375 Fanny Baldwin (1999, p.320) notes that Godwin reviewed the 1880 production of Wagner's *Rienzi* by the Carl Rosa Opera Company at Her Majesty's Theatre, for the *British Architect*.

376 Baldwin, 1999, p.316, Fig.12-3: Designs for costume and musical instruments for *the Merchant of Venice*, ca.1880. Ink and watercolour on paper, 16.3 x 22.2 cm. Trustees of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, Archive of the Theatre Museum (Blythe House), S.84-1998.

377 *Note in Blue and Opal*, 1885/86, M. 1080 [fig. 29].

378 Edward William Godwin to Whistler, [1/4 December 1883], Published; GUW 11116 (9 January 2006).

379 Whistler painted three portraits of Lady Campbell, but only one was completed. (See *Arrangement in Black: La Dame au brodequin jaune – Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell*, 1882, YMSM 242.) In 1881 Whistler designed a trellis for Coombe Hill. Lady Campbell was amongst Whistler's Sunday breakfast guests. See 'Janey Sevilla Campbell, ca 1846-d.1923', biography, GUW (10 January 2006); and Charles James Whistler Hanson to Whistler, [June 1887?], William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California, Wilde W576L U58 [18?]; GUW 09134 (10 January 2006).

380 See Whistler to Florence Boughton, [April/July 1884], GUL B137; GUW 00360 (9 January 2006).

381 *The Faithfull Shepherdesse*, adapted by Edward Godwin, GUL 75.

> The more sensitive onlookers confessed to finding themselves the only notes out of key with Nature. Why? Because Nature, jealous of line and hue, and even sound, demanded that wherever our Art confronted her it should partake of her own essence, so only those artificial lines and dyes and sounds in accord with a certain given condition of Nature were here admissible. And only according as they enhanced her own beauty by contrast and harmony could a union of Art with Nature have been possible.[382]

Figure 7: *Note in Green and Brown: Orlando at Coombe*, 1884, YMSM 317.

No doubt the musical component was valued and well considered.

In 1887, Whistler took his son Charles Hanson, Beatrix's son Teddy, and Beatrix's younger brother Ronald, to see *Buffalo Bill's Wild West*.[383] Formed by William Frederick 'Buffalo Bill' Cody in 1883, this was 'a spectacular panorama of cowboys, Indians, trick shooters and specialty acts', described by Cody as 'an educational exposition on a grand and entertaining scale'.[384] Within a dramatic narrative structure, Cody combined realism, spectacle, acts of skill, and music, with star performers and massed casts. While an orator conveyed the script from an elevated platform within the arena, the 27-piece Cowboy Band, directed by William Sweeney, provided mood-setting music. The band accompanied specific acts, provided intermission music, and was instrumental in heightening the audience's emotional response. The musicians dressed as cowboys, yet their repertoire comprised folk and American Indian music; ragtime-influenced pieces;

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382 Campbell, 1886, p.8.

383 See M., p.423; and 'William Frederick Cody, 1846-1917', biography, GUW (8 June 2006). Whistler recalled the outing in Whistler to Rosalind Birnie Philip, [20 February 1900], GUL Whistler P413; GUW 04773 (23 March 2005). The show inspired the only American-themed etchings that Whistler ever produced: *Black Eagle*, 1887, K. 312; *Wild West, Buffalo Bill*, 1887, K. 313; *Wild West*, 1887, K. 314; and *The Bucking Horse*, 1887, K. 315. The following pen and ink sketches probably also relate to the show: *Eagle*, 1887, M. 1147; and *Man on a Horse*, 1887, M. 1148. In 1892, Buffalo Bill and Whistler were both guests at a garden party noted in the *World*'s 'Christmas Number'. (See 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS).

384 See 'Buffalo Bill Museum', and Paul Fees, 'Wild West Shows', BBHC (1 March 2005).

marches and popular songs; and arrangements of music by composers such as Handel and Offenbach. Each performance was opened by a performance of the 'Star-Spangled Banner', which was yet to become America's national anthem.[385]

Popular Music

Around 1845, Whistler's half-sister Deborah played a version of the blackface minstrel song 'Lucy Long':[386] the family might have been exposed to minstrelsy while living in America, or when visiting England prior to moving to St. Petersburg in September 1843. Given that the genre only emerged around 1836, and that the minstrel show itself did not emerge until 1843,[387] it seems that Whistler's family immediately engaged with this new form of popular music. For Whistler himself, it held ongoing appeal. Thomas Armstrong recounted how during his student years in Paris, Whistler would entertain his friends with blackface minstrel songs, even though he never joined in any of the 'serious singing' that took place in Armstrong's studio. Armstrong recalled:

> He used to take a stick or an umbrella and, holding it in his left hand like a banjo, twiddled on it with the finger and thumb of the right hand while he pattered grotesque rhymes founded on the supposed adventures of Scripture characters. These were said to be camp-meeting hymns, and perhaps they were originally to some extent, but they must have been amplified and made more grotesque by white folks. I remember hearing afterwards in England something of the same kind...[388]

Whistler's familiarity with specific songs, such as the version of 'The Other Side of Jordan' recalled by Armstrong,[389] might have come from further exposure to minstrel performances during his visits to England in the late 1840s, and his residency in America from 1849 until 1855.

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385 See 'William Sweeney'; 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Cowboy Band'; and 'Buffalo Bill's Wild West Cowboy Band – Show Music', BBHC (1 March 2005).

386 GUL W347, p.4.

387 Derek Scott (2001a, pp.82-83) writes that in both America and England blackface minstrelsy progressed from solo performer to minstrel troupe during the period 1836-50. In 1843 the Virginia Minstrels (a quartet of violin, banjo, tambourine and bones) was formed in New York. The genre's heyday was from 1850 to 1870: in both America and England it gained respectability and broad cross-class appeal.

388 Armstrong, 1912, pp.183-84.

389 Armstrong, 1912, p.184.

Whistler attended the United States Military Academy at West Point from 1851 until 1854.[390] While music was not part of the formal curriculum, it had an important function in the ceremonial and social components of West Point life. As George Pappas explains in *To the Point*: 'The Academy Band...provided an orchestra for cadet dances, a concert orchestra for recitals, and smaller groups for parties. The leader of the band, who was also the music teacher, taught interested cadets and families of post personnel'.[391] In addition, dancing classes were held to teach cadets the appropriate social graces. For these, the orchestra would perform popular pieces of the day as well as works composed by, or with words written by, cadets. Furthermore, the Academy's musicians were held in high-enough esteem to have marches, polkas, schottisches and waltzes dedicated to them by composers from outside West Point.[392] A letter written in 1895 by Whistler's former West Point classmate George Ruggles, suggests that the cadets enjoyed the social interaction provided by their musical activities. In regard to an upcoming reunion, Ruggles wrote: 'We want to sing the old songs and to tell the old stories, and have some one to blow Bentz's bugle'.[393]

Another popular genre of the period was the Smoking Concert. As a foreward to his collection of *Popular Songs for Smoking Concerts and Club Dinners*, Keith MacTavish wrote that 'experience of nearly fifty years attendance at smoking concerts and club dinners has taught me that as a rule the audience prefer to hear themselves sing rather than listen to the best professional'.[394] He proudly declared that the songs in his little booklet - which included simplistic titles such as 'Drink, Puppy, Drink' and 'Little Brown Jug' - had always proved 'winners'.[395] The Pennells write that soon after becoming a member of the Society of British Artists in 1884, Whistler joined its committee for organizing smoking concerts.[396] In 1887 the print dealer Algernon Graves wrote to Whistler asking that he remember him when the Smoking Concert next came around.[397]

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390 M, p.xxxii.
391 Pappas, 1993, p.243.
392 Pappas, 1993, p.243.
393 George David Ruggles to Whistler, 26 April 1895, GUL R231; GUW 05336 (29 March 2005).
394 MacTavish, *c.*1923, p.2.
395 MacTavish, *c.*1923, p.2.
396 Pennell, 1908, vol.2, p.56.
397 Algernon Graves to Whistler, 14 May 1887, GUL G186; GUW 01821 (24 March 2005).

No doubt Whistler also attended smoking concerts held by other organizations.[398]

Whistler enjoyed the company of popular entertainers: Menpes declared that 'Comic songs at the music halls and pantomimes amused him just as if he were a child.'[399] Arthur Severn informed the Pennells that Whistler had attended the 'low *cabarets* on the Seine' during his student years.[400] In October 1863, Whistler lent money for his colleague Alphonse Legros to attend the Alhambra music hall in London.[401] At that time the Alhambra was offering an evening of entertainment ranging from 'Favorite Opera Selections' to spots by 'Raphael de Salla, the Infant Tenor' and 'Langlois, the great Indian Juggler'.[402] It seems likely that Whistler himself frequented the Alhambra and other music halls in London.[403] During the 1880s and 1890s Whistler was friendly with the fashionable entertainers George Grossmith and Dick 'Corney' Grain, who wrote and performed comic social sketches.[404] In 1892, Whistler wrote to Beatrix that he been with his publisher William Heinemann to hear Yvette Guilbert perform at the Moulin Rouge, which he found 'big noisy and rowdy'.[405]

Whistler frequented Cremorne garden from at least the 1860s: in 1864 he suggested it as a meeting place to Charles Howell, and, a few months later, his account to Legros involved associated costs.[406] Cremorne included theatres and an 'open air gazebo from which the sound of the orchestra playing the polka, the gallop, and the waltz could be heard from mid afternoon onwards.'[407] In 1867, Whistler moved to Lindsey Row, where he lived until 1878. From here he could see the lights of Cremorne, and hear the 'strains of the "Derby Gallop" and the

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398 For example, the Pennells (1908, vol.2, p.64) refer to a Smoking Concert at the Hogarth Club that was attended by members of the Society of British Artists.

399 Menpes, 1904, p.10.

400 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.80.

401 Whistler to Alphonse Legros, [13 August 1864], GUL L41; GUW 02505 (25 November 2005).

402 See *Times*, 'Royal Alhambra Palace', Saturday 17 October 1863, p.1, col.C; *Times*, Saturday 24 October 1863, p.1, col.C; and *Times*, Monday 26 October 1863, p.1, col.C.

403 In December 1867 Whistler wrote to Louis Huth that he was being gossiped about in a London music hall. In order to be aware of such gossip, it would seem that Whistler and his friends frequented the halls. See Whistler to Louis Huth, [*c*.24 December 1867], GUL H336; GUW 02240 (17 January 2006).

404 See Appendix One for further information.

405 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [24 January 1892], GUL W599; GUW 06606 (28 November 2005).

406 Whistler to Charles Augustus Howell, [17/24 May 1864?], GUL LB 11/9/1; GUW 02788 (25 November 2005); and Whistler to Alphonse Legros, [13 August 1864], GUL L41; GUW 02505 (25 November 2005).

407 Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.132.

noted waltzes of the day'.[408] According to the Reverend Haweis, Whistler would have heard a broad range of music played by brass bands. In *Music and Morals* he explained:

> As we sit with our windows open in the summer evenings, we can hear them playing at the corner of the street...
>
> Although forced to play chiefly Italian and French overtures, opera selections, fireworks quadrilles, cataract waltzes, &c, to catch the public...Homeopathic doses of Haydn, Mozart, or Beethoven are administered...inserted sandwich-like, between a "Slap Bang" polka and "Fra Diavolo"...[409]

Opera and Operetta

Whistler probably attended the Opera quite frequently during the late 1860s and early 1870s, encouraged by the generosity of his friends and patrons. For instance, in 1869 William Whistler's father-in-law Ralph King, who was a house guest at 2 Lindsey Row for three weeks, invited Anna, James and William to the Opera. Anna declined, but her 'Sons accepted & they all were charmed by Neilson [sic]'.[410] The footnote for the University of Glasgow's online edition of this letter, states that Christine Nilsson - a Swedish soprano - had given a concert on 7 June 1869 at St James' Hall.[411] Anna might have mistakenly used 'Opera' to refer to a concert performance. However, further research ascertains that Nilsson made her London début in 1867, and, more specifically, she 'made her Covent Garden début in 1869 in the title role of [Donizetti's] *Lucia di Lammermoor*, and during this season she also sang in the first London performance of *Hamlet*.'[412] Advertisements for her appearance in *Lucia di Lammermoor* appear in the *Times* during late May 1869 – Whistler probably attended this production with the Kings.[413] Furthermore, Jopling recalled socialising with Nilsson at the Lindsays'

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408 See Pennell, 1908, vol. 1, pp.106-107; and Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.133.

409 Haweis, 1871, pp.558-59.

410 Anna Matilda Whistler to Harriet Gamble, 9 June 1869, GUL Whistler W537; GUW 06543 (8 April 2005).

411 Footnote 8 in GUW 06543 (cited above) directs the reader to *The London Times*, 5 June 1869, no.25,456, p.1.

412 Elizabeth Forbes, 'Nilsson, Christine', GMO (8 April 2005).

413 *Times*, Saturday 29 May 1869, p.8, col.B.

in 1874.[414] It is likely that Whistler became personally acquainted with Nilsson through this circle.

Whistler's most frequent Opera excursions were probably courtesy of the Leylands. In September 1870, Anna wrote:

> Mr Leyland who is not only a prosperous man in Liverpool but a very cultivated man of taste, has been especially friendly, & while the family were in their elegant mansion at Queen's gate Hyde Park, our intercourse was frequent, But Jemie was most there, dining or going with them to Operas, which was healthful recreation, after his long days [sic] work.[415]

And then, in 1872, writing of her sons' patronage of theatre and opera, Anna stated: 'Jemie seldom goes anywhere but as the escort of the Leylands'.[416] While it is not known what they saw together in these early years, two years later Anna wrote to her sister of James and William accompanying the Leylands to Verdi's *La Traviata*. Anna reported, presumably second hand, that 'the house was brilliantly crowded & the music perfect'.[417]

Whistler also enjoyed operetta - particularly works by Offenbach, and Gilbert and Sullivan. In his letters Whistler sometimes used the terms *opéra bouffe* and *opéra comique* in a descriptive manner, indicating that he and his correspondents were familiar with these genres. For instance, writing to his half-sister Deborah in 1880, he referred to Venice as 'a sort of Opera [sic] Comique country'.[418] Similarly, in 1902 Whistler wrote to Charles Lang Freer of Freer's interrupted travel plans: 'It is like some wild Opera [sic] Bouffe! One that Offenbach had forgotten to write'.[419] His jocular reference in 1892 to 'Gilbert &

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414 See Jopling, 1925, pp.73-74, 91, 93.

415 Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 7-10 September 1870, GUL W539; GUW 06545 (8 April 2005).

416 Anna Matilda Whistler to Catherine Jane Palmer, 21 May-3 June [1872], PUL; GUW 09938 (12 April 2005).

417 Anna Matilda Whistler to Catherine Jane Palmer, 21 May-3 June [1872], PUL; GUW 09938 (8 April 2005). Footnote 22 states that Verdi's *La Traviata* was performed at Her Majesty's Opera House on 31 May 1872. The reader is referred to *The Athenaeum*, London, 1 June 1872, pp.695-96.

418 Whistler to Deborah Delano Haden, [1 January 1880], FGA Whistler 18; GUW 11563 (11 April 2005).

419 Whistler to Charles Lang Freer, 1 August 1902, FGA Whistler 60; GUW 03199 (11 April 2005).

Sullivan's Opera Bouffés [sic]'[420] indicates that he understood the stylistic connections between Offenbach's *opéra bouffes* and Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas.[421]

In July/September 1859, Whistler wrote from London to his friend, the artist Matthew White Ridley in Paris, asking him to purchase the sheet music for the 'Quadrille' from Offenbach's *Orphée aux Enfers*, which he rightly noted was then playing at Offenbach's Théâtre des Bouffes-Parisiens.[422] *Orphée* was the first *opéra bouffe*: a style of operetta 'in which a witty spoken dialogue and sparkling, light music combine in a genre designed to entertain'.[423] Whistler attended Offenbach's *Le Voyage dans la lune* at the Alhambra with Alan Cole in 1876, and he was also familiar with *Vie Parisienne*.[424]

Whistler was acquainted with the popular dancer 'Finette', whose portrait he etched in 1859.[425] Finette achieved some fame as a dancer of the cancan - a dance-form that first came into vogue in the Parisian music halls of the 1830s, using lively music derived from the quadrille. Of her early career it is known that she danced at the *Bal Bullier*, a popular dancehall at 33 avenue de

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420 Whistler to Marcus Bourne Huish, [23/30 January 1892], GULWhistler F172; GUW 01240 (11 April 2005).

421 It is widely recognised that Sullivan was influenced by Offenbach, particularly in his earlier works. Later, in developing a more individual style, Sullivan also drew upon English traditions, and incorporated and synthesised 'elements of Victorian church music, drawing-room ballad and opera'. Gilbert satirized both human nature and contemporary topics. The operettas were immensely popular - their amalgamation of wit, satire and tuneful musical writing explains Whistler's interest in them. See David Russell Hulme, 'Sullivan, Sir Arthur (Seymour)', GMO (11 April 2005); and Jane W. Stedman, 'Gilbert, W.S.', GMO (11 April 2005).

422 Whistler to Matthew White Ridley, [July/September 1859], GUL Whistler R90; GUW 05190 (17 January 2006).

423 *Opéra bouffe* 'differs from *opéra comique* of the same period in its more frankly humorous tone, often bordering on farce, and its use of parody and satire (literary, musical, social and sometimes political)'. See M. Elizabeth C. Bartlet, 'Opéra bouffe', GMO (11 April 2005).

424 This version of *Le Voyage dans la lune* was adapted by H.S. Leigh. Whistler's attendance is noted in: Alan Summerley Cole, diary, LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (11 April 2005). In a letter to Frances Leyland {[20/31 August 1876], LC PWC 2/16/6; GUW 08054 (11 April 2005)} Whistler expressed disappointment that he could not see the production with her family, due to their absence from London. Offenbach's *Vie Parisienne* was premiered in October 1866 and revived in 1873. In a letter to Rosalind Birnie Philip {[27 September 1896], GUL P316; GUW 04676 (17 January 2006)} Whistler wrote of a 'very Vie Parisienne kind of a lady'.

425 *Finette*, 1859, K. 58 [fig. 24]. 'Finette' is the only name known for this dancer - it might have been her stage name. The name had been associated with the theatre in the past. For instance, a one-act ballet of 1821 was entitled *Finette et l'Eveill*; and a play performed at London's Theatre Royal in 1829 – *Sage et Coquette* - had a Finette as its leading character. See *Times*, Wednesday 30 May 1821, p.3, col.B; and *Times*, Monday 8 June 1829, p.4, col.B.

l'Observatoire.[426] In *An Artist's Life in London and Paris 1870-1925*, Ludovici recalled that the cancan was danced at the *Bal Bullier* to arrangements from *opéra bouffes* by Offenbach and Hervé.[427] It is possible that Finette performed in the original production of *Orphée aux Enfers*: the cancan appears in the operetta in the incongruous context of classical mythology.[428]

During the 1870s and 1880s, Whistler patronised the Savoy Operas, socialised with Arthur Sullivan, and developed a fruitful relationship with the theatre impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte and his assistant Helen Lenoir. Like Whistler, Sullivan visited the Ionides' home in the 1860s, and was friendly with the Lindsays and Jopling during the 1870s.[429] During the 1880s, Sullivan, W.S. Gilbert and D'Oyly Carte were all members of the Gallery Club.[430] In 1881 Whistler noted Sullivan's address, probably with the intention of inviting him to his Sunday breakfasts and exhibition openings.[431] Sullivan attended Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' in 1885, which D'Oyly Carte and Lenoir helped organize,[432] and both Sullivan and D'Oyly Carte were invited to the Criterion dinner in 1889.[433]

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426 MacDonald, 2003a, p.55.

427 Ludovici, 1926, p.27.

428 It was not until the 1860s that Finette's dancing troupe introduced the cancan to the English and American stages. MacDonald (2003a, p.58) notes that Finette's troupe first performed in London in 1866 – apparently her cancan caused a sensation at the Lyceum Theatre. Advertisements in *The Times* indicate that she performed at the Royal Alhambra Palace in 1868: she was billed for the 'Parisian Quadrille' every evening at 10.30, and then to introduce a new dance from a 'anglo-french ballet' called *Mathilde in London*. Whistler owned a *carte-de-visite* of Finette dating from 1863/68 – it seems that he followed her progress, and perhaps attended her performances, during these years. See *Times*, Wednesday 4 March 1868, p.1, col.F; *Times*, Saturday 14 March 1868, p.1, col. F; *Times*, Tuesday 28 April 1868, p.1, col.F; *Times*, Wednesday 6 May 1868, p.1, col. F; *Times*, Tuesday 12 May 1868, p.1, col.F; and *Times*, Thursday 21 May 1868, p.1, col.E.

429 According to Jopling (1925, pp.48, 73-74) both Sullivan and W.S. Gilbert socialised with the Lindsays during the 1870s. Jopling writes of her friendship with Sullivan, whom she first met in 1871, and recalls performances of his music.

430 Gallery Club, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL Whistler G4; GUW 01638 (23 March 2005). Sullivan was also a committee member.

431 Marcus Bourne Huish to Whistler, 9 June 1881, GUL F66; GUW 01134 (11 April 2005).

432 There was speculation that Whistler would undertake a lecture-tour of America in 1886 under their management - this did not eventuate.

433 See Alan Summerley Cole, 21 February 1885, GUL Whistler C143; GUW 00642 (11 April 2005); William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL Whistler S281; GUW 05635 (11 April 2005); and *World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS. In 1889, Sullivan, Gilbert and Whistler all attended the farewell banquet for Phelps. See James Whitehead to Whistler, 24 January 1889, GUL W1029; GUW 07040 (24 March 2005). In 1892 Sullivan, D'Oyly Carte and Whistler were all present at a garden party reported in the *World*. See 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.

In January 1873, Whistler attended an amateur production of *Golden Fleece* that had music by Sullivan and Frederic Clay.[434] Thereafter, Whistler attended a number of Gilbert and Sullivan's operettas, beginning with *Trial by Jury* at the Royalty Theatre in December 1875.[435] Whistler's watercolour *Theatrical Sketch* [fig. 8] - a staged scene of a male figure on a ship - might depict a moment from *HMS Pinafore*.[436] It does seem likely that Whistler attended *Pinafore* (which premiered in May 1878), as he quoted from it in letters to the editor of *Punch* and to John Singer Sargent.[437]

In *Patience* - a satire on the aesthetic movement that premiered in 1881 - Whistler and Oscar Wilde were impersonated in the character Bunthorne, who was played by Whistler's friend George Grossmith. In his *Memories of James McNeill Whistler*, Thomas Way recalled that Whistler was not offended by the caricature: 'I heard him say that when he went to see it he was approached in the box by Sir A. Sullivan with an apology and a request that he, Whistler, would make an "arrangement" of him by painting his portrait. But it did not come off, I fear.'[438] In a letter dated 1885/1886, Whistler congratulated Grossmith in French and then explained: 'Which means my dear Bunthorne that I knew you [were] amazing! – but I did not know you were [crossed out] more amazing than I!'[439] The flippant tone of this letter, which is signed simply with a butterfly,

Figure 8: *Theatrical Sketch*, c.1878, M. 672.

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434 See Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, [27 March 1872-18 March 1885], LC, PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (11 April 2005).

435 Whistler attended *Trial by Jury* with Alan Cole. See Alan Summerley Cole, [27 March 1872 - 18 March 1885], LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (11 April 2005).

436 See 'Theatrical Sketch', Hunterian (14 June 2006).

437 *HMS Pinafore* premiered on 25 May 1878 and ran for 571 performances. See Whistler to *Punch*, [1878/1890], GUL Whistler P698; GUW 05058 (11 April 2005); and Whistler to John Singer Sargent, 20 January 1894, GUL Whistler LB 1/141; GUW 02669 (11 April 2005). Furthermore, a letter from Edward Guthrie Kennedy to Whistler [26 April 1895, GUL W1238; GUW 07250 (13 June 2006)] mentions the character 'Dick Deadeye' from *HMS Pinafore*. In a letter to Whistler two years earlier [10 January 1893, GUL W1199; GUW 07211(13 June 2006)] Kennedy quoted from *The Mikado* (1885).

438 Way, 1912, p.22.

439 Whistler to George Grossmith, [1885/1886?], GUL Whistler G231; GUW 01866 (11 April 2005).

suggests a friendly intimacy between the two men. The letter might have been written after a repeat performance of *Patience*, or Whistler might have continued to call Grossmith 'Bunthorne' as a pet name. In the latter case, Whistler might have been congratulating Grossmith on any of the Gilbert and Sullivan roles he played until his retirement from operetta in 1888. A letter from the actress Lillie Langtry to Whistler dated 1881/1883, likens Wilde's attire to that worn by Bunthorne, suggesting that Whistler was familiar with *Patience* at this earlier date.[440]

After presenting the 'Ten O'Clock' in Oxford in April 1885, Whistler asked Charles Manners to visit the hotel room where he, his brother William, and the painter Sidney Starr were staying. Manners had created the role of Private Willis in *Iolanthe*, which premiered in November 1882. According to Starr, Manners sang Whistler 'The Contemplative Sentry' from *Iolanthe*, changing the words in the second verse to comment on corruption within the Royal Academy.[441] Finally, in January 1887 Whistler attended the opening night of *Ruddigore* at the invitation of Helen Lenoir.[442]

Conclusion

It is clear that Whistler was exposed to and engaged with a wide variety of music throughout his life. Equipped with an overview of Whistler's musical experiences, one must question Mortimer Menpes' often-quoted declaration that 'Whistler had no sense of music, absolutely none'. Menpes was friendly with Whistler for a relatively short period - between 1880 and 1888 – and therefore his recollections should be treated with some caution.[443] For instance, in a separate passage he stated: 'A piano I never saw in a house of Whistler's. The shape of it would have upset him. The walnut wood, the spiral legs, and the ornamental fretwork would have been an abomination of detail.'[444] Yet we know that Whistler's homes contained pianos in the 1870s and 1890s, and that in 1883 he

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440 Lillie Langtry to Whistler, [April 1881/1883], GUL Whistler L15; GUW 02478 (11 April 2005).

441 Starr, 1908, p.535; and Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe, 'Manners, Charles', GMO (11 April 2005).

442 On 19 January 1887, Helen Lenoir wrote to Whistler - 'Are you coming to our first night?' [GUL Whistler D141; GUW 00935 (11 April 2005)]. *Ruddigore* opened on 21 January 1887 and ran for 188 performances. Hibbert (1976, p.201) notes that Whistler was amongst the prestigious audience.

443 'Mortimer Luddington Menpes, 1860-1938', biography, GUW (6 January 2006).

444 Menpes, 1904, p.128.

asked his sister-in-law to choose him a piano for his Tite Street studio.[445] Perhaps Menpes' opinion of Whistler's musicality was biased by his own lack of musical interest, as revealed by the full quotation: 'Whistler had no sense of music, absolutely none, and neither had I: two more unmusical people it would be difficult to find'.[446]

Whistler was certainly exposed to a substantial quantity and variety of pure instrumental music. He maintained friendships with a number of significant musicians, and facilitated musical activity in his home and studio. Whistler would have been familiar with the classical canon, at least acquainted with a good deal of contemporary music, and conversant with musical processes and techniques. Finally, given his wit and sense of caricature, it is not surprising that he enjoyed the social comment and playfulness of the popular music, burlesque and operetta enjoyed by many within respectable Society.[447]

The following chapter will address Whistler's imaging of music and dance, and discuss his friendship and artistic alliance with the violinist Pablo de Sarasate.

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445 Whistler to Helen Whistler, [7 May 1883], GUL W695; GUW 06701 (21 March 2005).

446 Menpes, 1904, p.53.

447 Michael Booth (1991, p.22) explains that prior to the mid 1860s, suspicion towards the theatre was common amongst the middle classes. However, due to "the determined efforts of mid and late Victorian theatre managers in the West End, the theatre became more 'respectable'. Not only were its audiences much quieter, better behaved and - in the stalls and dress circle - better dressed, but its leading actors as well as its managers made themselves as middle class and as utterly respectable as possible, projecting an image that deliberately counteracted the (at morally best) raffish figure of the actor and manager in the popular consciousness".

Chapter Three
Imaging Music

Whistler depicted musicians and the act of music making in many works across a variety of media. The purpose of this chapter is to examine the ways that he translated his musical experiences into musical subject matter. Whistler's images of music range from casual sketches to finished oil paintings. Not only do they document his relationships with amateur and professional musicians and record his presence at specific performances, but they also indicate the ways in which Whistler engaged with music as a listener and viewer. It will be demonstrated that by imaging music, the artist explored his interest in the physicality and theatricality of performance, in the musician's absorption in their activity, and in the intimacy of music as a shared experience. Additionally, musical subject matter allowed Whistler to explore elements such as rhythm and movement in a visual, rather than time-based, medium. Whistler's interest in dance will also be discussed within this context, for dance is a physical, and thereby visual, response to music. Finally, it will be argued that in depicting music, Whistler was creating art about art.

Intimate Studies

Throughout his life, Whistler made visual records of the intimate musical performances he witnessed in his home, at soirées and within the wider community. These records range from casual, spontaneous sketches made on scraps of paper, to painted and printed images that required a greater deal of preparation.

Dating from Whistler's time at Christ Church Hall in Pomfret, Connecticut (1849 to 1851), the sketch known as *Musicians* depicts a flautist and a mandolin player [fig. 9]. The two figures are drawn with loose, broad lines, and roughly shaded. However, a certain elegance of posture and costume is conveyed. The flautist, depicted mid-performance, stands facing the viewer with his flute raised at a jaunty angle. The mandolin player is seated in profile, and appears to hold his instrument at rest. His head is lowered as he listens intently to

the flautist's music – a gesture that invites the viewer to do the same. The suggestion of intimacy between the two figures, coupled with the artist's attention to light and shade and to the performers' attitude, lends an air of seriousness to this tiny drawing. Margaret MacDonald has noted that the flautist shows some similarity to Whistler's recently deceased father, George Washington Whistler (d.1849).[448] While the resemblance might indicate that Whistler recalled and cherished memories of his father playing the flute, the sketch could represent a performance Whistler observed at Christ Church Hall, or elsewhere within the community.

Figure 9: *Musicians*, 1849/51, M. 46.

From 1851 to 1854 Whistler attended West Point Military Academy. Two drawings from this period reflect his interest in the visual display inherent in the performance of military music. The first is inscribed *Jem Bugs* [fig. 10]. It is drawn on smooth paper that has a small typed letter at the top frame, suggesting a fragment of a printed programme. Therefore, Whistler might have sketched the image as he watched a parade or some other musical event. The instrument being played is a little ambiguous. MacDonald has described it as a bugle - indeed it might be a type of parade trumpet. However, the fine mouthpiece that seems to be held within the lips; the vigorous finger-work of both hands; and the long, narrow shape of the instrument culminating in a small bell; suggest that it is an oboe. Either way, Whistler's approach to the musician is humorous: his hands are clumsy, his posture slumped with his hips thrust forward, and his face made ridiculous by its slanting eyes and blown-out cheeks. In contrast, the two drummers and fife player depicted in the second drawing - *A West Point drummer, and sketches* [fig. 11] – have an air of

Figure 10: *Jem Bugs*, 1852/53, M. 111.

448 M., p.16.

professionalism and respect. Their posture is upright and their faces fixed with concentration.

Figure 11: *A West Point drummer, and sketches*, 1852/53, M. 122.

Between being discharged from West Point in June 1854 and leaving America in September the following year, Whistler spent many months with the Winans family in Baltimore, staying in their home and working as an apprentice in Ross Winans' locomotive works.[449] Sketches by Whistler suggest that the Winans were keen amateur musicians. *Ross Winans Playing the Violin* [fig. 12] depicts Ross in an informal fashion, relaxed yet absorbed in his music making. On the one hand, the smoke curling from the cigar in his mouth; his casual, yet somewhat awkward, physical grasp of the instrument; and his foot stamping, all indicate a rather lackadaisical approach. Yet his closed eyes, the energy conveyed through the angularity of the body, the vigorous cross-hatching and the flurry of line to the left, suggest a more passionate involvement and a lively performance style. By capturing Winans' raised foot and right elbow, the depressed finger of his left hand, and his head leant to one side, Whistler conveys the physicality of performance.

Figure 12: *Ross Winans Playing the Violin*, 1854/55, M. 194.

While MacDonald notes that exaggeration and caricature function in this work,[450] it can be argued that the foot-stamping and instrumental hold are indicative of the popular style of the time, particularly when coupled with the presence of the tambourine (or perhaps tambour or cymbal) placed on the ground in the lower right. Furthermore, it is intriguing to wonder who was to play this silenced instrument - was it the artist himself? Given the similar instrumental hold in Whistler's earlier drawing *A fiddler playing, men*

Figure 13: *A fiddler playing, men dancing*, 1850/51, M. 75.

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449 Ross Winans' (1796-1877) daughter Julia was married to Whistler's half-brother, George William Whistler. See Anderson and Koval, 1994, pp.32, 37; and M., p.xxxii.

450 M., p.59.

dancing [fig. 13] (which probably depicts a barn dance) it seems likely that Winans was a fiddler rather than a violinist. Therefore, he would have played popular forms such as the jig, clog, reel and square dance, rather than pieces of art-music.

From the same period as *Ross Winans Playing the Violin* dates *Man Playing a Mandolin* [fig. 14] - a pen and ink sketch given to Thomas de Kay Winans (Ross Winans' son). While, as MacDonald notes, Whistler's technique in the latter image is 'unusually stylized',[451] his depiction of the stringed instrument is clear enough to argue that, in fact, the man is playing a banjo rather than a mandolin. Whistler's instrument has the banjo's 'long guitar-like neck and a circular head of tautly stretched parchment or skin',[452] rather than the mandolin's small size, 'deeply vaulted, pear-shaped body, [and] fairly short neck'.[453] Although this drawing lacks the detail and finish of *Ross Winans Playing the Violin*, it is, like the latter, a useful source for determining the types of entertainment Whistler enjoyed.

Figure 14: *Man Playing a Mandolin*, 1853/54, M. 158.

The modern banjo developed from an instrument used by West African slaves in the New World. It was assimilated into white urban culture through the influential popularity of minstrel-show banjoists. By the 1840s and 1850s banjos were being commercially produced by American instrument makers such as William Boucher of Baltimore.[454] The man depicted in Whistler's drawing - perhaps a member of the Winans' circle - could therefore be playing an instrument recently produced by Boucher, and performing the latest styles of popular music. Whistler has depicted the man's head and torso. A hat casts a strong shadow on his forehead while the body of the banjo is well lit, and thus the movement of his fingers highlighted. By line alone, Whistler has suggested the differing actions required by each hand. The pipe dangling from the musician's mouth indicates the informality of the occasion, while his distant gaze is typical of a musician absorbed in his activity. In the early 1860s Whistler etched Ross Winans junior playing the accordion, with a violin resting on a table to one

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451 M., p.47.
452 Odell, 1980, p.118.
453 Campbell, 1980, p.606.
454 See Odell, 1980, pp.118, 120.

side.[455] Given that the banjo, tambourine, violin, bone castanets, and sometimes the accordion were the standard instruments used in blackface minstrelsy at this time, it is tempting to suggest that the Winans circle enjoyed performing blackface minstrel songs. This would further explain Whistler's familiarity with blackface minstrel songs, as discussed in the previous chapter.

Whistler's drawing of *Seymour Haden Playing the Cello* [fig. 15] is thought to date from 1855 when the artist spent a month with the Hadens in London, en route to Paris.[456] At first glance, Whistler's depiction of the cello seems to indicate some ignorance about the physical attributes of the instrument – Haden's cello lacks a spike, and the distinction between its tuning pegs and the moulding on the scroll is unclear.[457] However, given that the player seems to be seated mid-air (there are certainly no chair legs evident) it seems that such sketchiness is consistent throughout the image, and therefore not a reliable indication of Whistler's familiarity with the cello's physical characteristics. In fact, the body of the instrument is very well conveyed. MacDonald writes that the 'broad ink washes [in this drawing] lend drama and solidity to the figure'.[458] Certainly, Haden's posture is upright and earnest – this suggests that he was a poised and conscientious musician, and provides an inkling of the command he exerted over his younger brother-in-law. The confidence with which Whistler explores the dramatic contrast between the use of wash and the areas of blank paper within the cellist's form, is also evident in the energetic scribble of the background that animates the otherwise rather stolid image. Additionally, there is evidence that Whistler toyed with the placement of the bowing arm: pencil marks indicate that this arm was originally placed closer to the upper body. While the altered version is a little

Figure 15: *Seymour Haden Playing the Cello*, *c.*1855, M. 209.

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455 The portrait of *Ross Winans* (K. 88) was probably etched in 1861. MacDonald (M., p.59) writes that it represents Ross Winans 'the younger' – that is, the son of Ross Winans and Julia De Kay.

456 M., p.xxxii.

457 If it was not for the accurate depiction of the cello's body shape, these attributes might suggest that Haden was actually playing a viol. However, this would be unlikely during the 1850s.

458 M., p.64.

clumsy, the arm's distance from the body, and from the cello, implies movement and thus the act of creating sound.

In 1859, Whistler etched a poignant portrait of his friend Just Becquet – a sculptor and professional cellist [fig. 16].[459] Becquet is seated, but holds his cello at rest. His face is the most finely worked area of the composition – his body, the cello and the background are only roughly sketched. In this image, the cello plays a supporting role. The primary interest of the portrait is the penetrating expression in Becquet's eyes as he looks up to the artist (and viewer). His expression is marked by humility and sadness, and reveals the depth of emotional experience that typified the Romantic musician. The Pennells described Becquet as a humble, yet gifted musician:

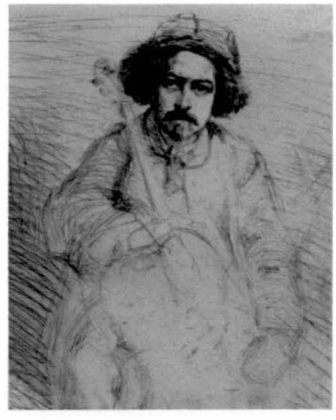

Figure 16: *Becquet*, 1859, K. 52, I/IV.

> He lived in his studio where there was nothing but disorder and his 'cello, for he was a great musician...He lived by playing in an orchestra at some theatre. Sarah Bernhardt saw him once as he played...And there was the story of a composer who asked Becquet to play his music; at first Becquet said no, then he consented, and the composer wept as he listened...[460]

According to the Hunterian Art Gallery, Whistler focused on the faces of his sitters, to the exclusion of peripheral detail, in many other works he made at this time.[461] Therefore, it is perhaps remarkable that he depicted the cello at all. From the Pennells' description, it would seem that Becquet and his cello were inseparable. Whistler has suggested Becquet's emotional attachment to his instrument, by depicting both the cello and Becquet's lower body with the same lightness of touch. In this way, the instrument melds with the musician's body.

In the early to mid 1870s, Whistler made two crayon drawings of Alice 'Tinnie' Greaves playing the piano, in preparation for his drypoint *The Piano* [fig. 19].[462] Both drawings are entitled *At the Piano* and focus almost exclusively on

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459 Just Becquet (1829-1907).
460 Pennell, 1921, pp.90-91.
461 'Becquet', Hunterian (7 April 2006).
462 M., p.202.

the pianist's body.[463] Of the piano itself, only the near edge of the keyboard is indicated. In the first drawing (M. 538) Alice is shown in profile [fig. 17]. She sits stiffly, with her hands raised awkwardly above the keys, as if she is holding a pose for Whistler's convenience. In the second drawing (M. 539) she is shown absorbed in her playing, and seemingly unaware of the viewer [fig. 18]. Alice leans in towards the instrument, her fingers pressing the keys. Her head is lowered as she watches her hands. Having approached her from behind, the artist has spontaneously captured her image on a sheet of writing paper.[464] In the final drypoint the pianist is viewed slightly from the front (although still in profile), and her hands are raised above the keyboard as if she is mid-performance. Her face is delineated and shaded in some detail, and she wears an expression of self-absorption. Again, the piano is suggested rather than described. However, in this version, as well as sketching the edge of the keyboard, Whistler has depicted a rather shapely piano leg that could actually be mistaken for the pianist's. In this way he seems to be suggesting the physical and emotional union between pianist and instrument. The dark, velvety quality of the pianist's dress, and the intimate scale of the image heighten the sensual atmosphere. The pianist's leg seems to advance forward as it presses against the fabric, inviting the viewer to admire the picture's sensual offerings - both aural and tactile.

Figure 17: *At the Piano*, 1873/75, M. 538.

Figure 18: *At the Piano*, 1873/75, M. 539.

In 1875 Whistler etched his friend, the artist Matthew Ridley as *The Guitar Player* [fig. 20]. In this portrait Ridley stands facing the viewer, but with his body tilted slightly to one side.

Figure 19: *The Piano*, *c*.1875, K.141.

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463 Judging by MacDonald's descriptions, these drawings seem to be illustrated in the wrong order in the catalogue raisonné – that is, M. 538 is actually the image at the lower right of p.202, while M. 539 is the image at the top of p.202.

464 MacDonald (M., p.203) writes that the paper 'appears to be half a sheet of writing paper'.

Whistler has captured the movement of his hand as he strums or plucks the strings. Ridley's expression is one of dreamy contemplation: gazing into the distance, he appears absorbed in his playing and seemingly unaware of the viewer. The strong light coming from the left of the image suggests that he might be standing near a window. Whistler has used strong contrasts of light and shade to highlight Ridley's face, and to explore the textural qualities of his costume (an effect heightened by the velvety quality of the ink used to print the image). Additionally, he has exploited the linear nature of etching to create movement and drama in the image. The flurry of vigorous lines used to create the figure and his guitar, as well as the shadow behind him, is imbued with rhythmic energy. Given the lack of attention to delineating Ridley's other hand, and the fingerboard, frets, and tuning pegs of the guitar; it seems that Whistler's primary concern in this image is the artistic treatment of line for its own sake. Note the many directions, widths and lengths of line the artist has employed, and the various patterns and tones created. It is as if he is imitating the guitarist's rhythmic strumming and plucking, dynamic variation and textural changes through line alone.

Figure 20: *The Guitar Player*, 1875. K. 140, III/V.

A decade later Whistler painted *Gold and Brown: The Guitar Player* [fig. 21]. The guitarist depicted in this image was once thought to be the Spanish artist and musician Darío de Regoyas,[465] who was a core member of Les XX in 1884. The two men probably met at the Les XX exhibition in 1884, for Regoyas visited Whistler's London studio the following year.[466] However, in 1990 Juan San Nicholas rejected this notion, on the grounds that Regoyas was a smaller and thinner man, with a more narrow face.[467] In fact it is difficult to describe the guitarist's facial features in any detail, for Whistler has allowed the various tones of watercolour to blend quite freely. The painting is as much a study in colour and tonal

Figure 21: *Gold and Brown: The Guitar Player*, c.1885, M. 997.

465 Darío de Regoyas (1857-1913).
466 Newton, 2001, pp.481-83.
467 'Gold and Brown: The Guitar Player', Hunterian (14 March 2005).

variation, as it is a portrait of the guitarist. Whistler's vibrant palette ranges from autumnal shades of gold and brown, to the pale tones of the guitar, and the off-white of the musician's shirt. Similarly, the painting is rich in textural variety. The bare texture of the paper provides the off-white of the shirt, and certain areas of the guitar, while layered washes of paint create more opaque colour in other areas of the composition.

By using a pale tone for the guitar, Whistler has emulated the effect of a theatrical spotlight – both draw the viewer's attention to the musician's performance. The guitarist appears to be performing on a stage: the tonal variation in the background suggests a curtained backdrop and theatrical smoke. Whistler has depicted him looking towards the audience, and his smiling expression suggests he might even be singing as he plays. The sense of movement in the figure's pose, and the joviality that emanates from his body and face, indicates that he is a confident and extroverted performer – possibly one Whistler observed in a music-hall or theatre. By colouring the entire picture plane within the one harmony of gold and brown, Whistler has melded the figure with his environment.

During the late 1880s Whistler made two small and intimate studies of musicians in performance. The first is a tiny sketch of a musical conductor as observed from the darkness of the auditorium [fig. 22]. As MacDonald has noted, the man's body is evoked through layers of shading but hardly any outlines.[468] Therefore, his form has a rather ghostly quality – his body is as ephemeral as the music he is conducting. Yet, the conductor's mission is clear - his arm and baton extend to the far edge of the picture plane, and his posture is alert and authoritative. The second study is a small watercolour painting of an elegantly dressed woman seated at a (just visible) grand piano [fig. 23]. MacDonald writes that the painting 'may be [on] a sheet from a small sketch-pad, where Whistler made unselfconscious notes of subjects that interested him'.[469] The subject of women at

Figure 22: *Man Conducting Music*, *c.*1887, M. 1156.

Figure 23: *Lady Playing the Piano*, *c.*1888, M. 1190.

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468 M., p.425.
469 M., p.434.

the piano was one that Whistler returned to over many decades. Later in this chapter, the oil painting *At the Piano*, the watercolour *Bravura in Brown* and the lithograph *The Duet* will be discussed in some detail. In these works Whistler employed a familiar subject as the basis for more complex compositions.

Music and Movement

In the 'Ten O' Clock' lecture, Whistler spoke of 'the measured rhyme of lovely limb and draperies flowing in unison'.[470] An interest in rhythm and sequence can be found in much of Whistler's work, but his fascination with the beauty of physical movement is most apparent in his images of dancing women. Like music, dance is a temporal art: in both art forms, the content of a work unfolds through time. By depicting dancers and theatrical scenes, Whistler was able to imbue the fixed format of visual art with temporal qualities – that is, he could suggest movement and change. Furthermore, dance implies the presence of music. Therefore, by depicting dance Whistler was also making reference to music. Thus, it can be argued that Whistler's interest in theatrical performance is entwined with his interest in musical operations.

As MacDonald notes, a 'significant proportion of Whistler's portraits show actresses, dancers, and singers'.[471] In 1859, the same year that he etched the cellist Becquet, Whistler made a portrait of the French cancan dancer Finette [fig. 24]. In this etching (which is simply entitled *Finette*) Whistler portrayed the dancer in a fixed pose, rather than mid-performance. However, he provided the viewer with a number of clues as to her profession. Finette stands by a window in her Parisian apartment. She is dressed in a domino (a gown worn at carnival balls and masquerades), and a fan and a mask are placed on the table beside her.[472] Whistler has loosely delineated the decoration at the window and on the floor,

Figure 24: *Finette*, 1859, K. 58, IX/X.

470 Whistler, 1885, p.846.
471 MacDonald, 2003a, p.58.
472 See MacDonald, 2003a, pp.55-58, for further information about *Finette*.

using curvilinear designs to add movement to the scene. Through the window, the river and city can be seen. It would seem that Finette is smoking one final cigarette before leaving to perform at the *Bal Bullier*.

In the late 1870s Whistler made two portraits of the English child dancer Connie Gilchrist:[473] *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist* [fig. 25] and *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Connie Gilchrist* [fig. 26]. Whistler probably knew Gilchrist as both an artist's model and an actress. In 1876, Frederic Leighton's painting *The Daphnephoria* was shown at the Royal Academy.[474] It depicts a series of dancing girls all developed from Gilchrist's poses, and might have provided the impetus for Whistler to begin the *Gold Girl*. From 1877 Gilchrist was engaged as a skipping-rope dancer at the Gaiety Theatre, where Whistler saw her perform in the burlesque *Little Doctor Faust*.[475] Gilchrist maintained a successful career as a dancer and actress in comedy and vaudeville until her marriage in 1892.[476] In 1951, the *Star* declared that she had been 'the darling of the dandies'. Her appeal was based on her demure stage persona, her lithe and graceful body, and her 'shy violet eyes peeping from under a thick corn-coloured fringe'.[477]

Figure 25: ***Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist***, 1876-77, YMSM 190.

In *The Gold Girl* Whistler depicted Gilchrist in performance, skipping gracefully in front of a stage curtain. She is dressed in her normal performance outfit. London's Theatre Museum holds a newspaper clipping from 1878 in which she is photographed in a similar costume, and the *Star* described her outfit as a 'short gold tunic and high fawn boots'.[478] Whistler has attempted to capture Gilchrist's dancing by depicting her legs crossed, with one foot raised in front of the other. He describes in detail the position of her hands on the skipping-rope

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473 Connie Gilchrist (1865-1946).

474 Lord Leighton, *The Daphnephoria*, 1874-76. Oil on canvas, 231 x 525 cm. Liverpool, Lady Lever Art Gallery. [Gilchrist had modelled for Leighton from the age of six.]

475 Advertisements in the *Times* list a Miss Gilchrist in the Gaiety Theatre's production of *Little Doctor Faust*. For example, see *Times*, Friday 11 October 1878, p.6, col.E.

476 Gilchrist married Edmond Walter Fitz-Maurice, the seventh Earl of Orkney.

477 *Star*, 22 August 1951, Connie Gilchrist Biographical File, TM.

478 'Miss Connie Gilchrist of the Gaiety Theatre', [?], Saturday 7 September 1878, Connie Gilchrist Biographical File, TM; *Star*, 22 August 1951, Connie Gilchrist Biographical File, TM.

handles. The movement of the rope itself is suggested by fluctuations in its linear delineation. Whistler's realistic portrayal of Gilchrist is similar to his portrait of the actor Henry Irving – *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain* - which dates from the same period.[479] While his interest in painting theatrical portraits was certainly informed by a genuine admiration for his sitters, it might also have been market driven. During the years that Whistler exhibited at the Grosvenor Gallery many artists submitted portraits of well-known musicians, actors and actresses. Whistler participated in this practice by exhibiting his portrait of Irving in 1877, and *The Gold Girl* in 1879. No doubt the fame of his sitters reflected well upon the artist.

However, when Whistler painted Gilchrist as *The Blue Girl* he created a far more enigmatic image. In this painting, atmospheric lighting suggests that Gilchrist is standing on a stage. The effect of theatrical 'smoke' is achieved by the use of paler grey-browns in the lower part of the canvas. Here, Whistler applied thin layers of paint in energetic, broad sweeps that evoke the movement of smoke. The paler tones snake into the dark blues of the background, suggesting some degree of pictorial depth. While Gilchrist's face is finely painted, the details of her costumes are suggested rather than described, and her legs are barely visible. This fragility and suggestiveness lends an ethereal quality to the image, which is reinforced by Gilchrist's enigmatic gaze. Yet, at the same time, for a child of thirteen Gilchrist has all the physical assurance of a stage performer. Although she is stationary, there is the sense that she might begin dancing at any time. Her right foot is pointed, and her body alert with anticipation.

Figure 26: *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Connie Gilchrist*, 1879, YMSM 207.

Whistler made a number of sketches of the Gaiety Theatre's production of *The Grasshopper* and *Little Doctor Faust*.[480] He seems to have been particularly inspired by Nellie Farren's performance as Faust - in January 1878, he declared

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479 *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain*, 1876-85, YMSM 187.

480 See *Masked girl wearing a head-dress skipping* (r) and *Dancer* (v), 1878, M. 663; *Nellie Farren* (r) and *Demon* (v), 1878, M. 665; *Demon* (r) and *Two sketches of Nellie Farren* (v), 1878, M. 666; *Two sketches of Nellie Farren* (r) and *Studies of two actors or actresses, one playing a banjo* (v), 1878, M. 667; *Demon* (r) and *Young woman* (v), 1878, M. 668.

that he was 'quite determined to paint the belle Farina!'[481] A week later, Alan Cole noted that Whistler was 'painting scenes from little Dr. Faust at Gaiety which may turn out well'.[482] Robert Getscher and the authors of the catalogue raisonné of Whistler's oil paintings believe that *Harmony in Blue: The Duet* [fig. 27] might represent a scene from the burlesque – however, MacDonald remains doubtful about *The Duet's* provenance.[483] Nonetheless, as Getscher noted in his study of Whistler's pastels, *The Duet* shares a similar three-figure composition with Whistler's pastel *Souvenir of the Gaiety* [fig. 28]. Each picture has a male character on the left (Faust), and two female characters on the right (one of which was probably played by Gilchrist). In *The Duet* the females are upstage, while the male is downstage and occupies half the canvas space by himself. Alternatively, in the *Souvenir* the three figures are given equal space. In both works, the male wears high boots over tights, a fitted vest over a loose-sleeved shirt and a triangular hat. One female wears a white dress that hangs just below the knees, while the other wears a blue dress with a longer skirt. The order of the two female figures differs from one picture to the next.

Figure 27: *Harmony in Blue: The Duet*, c.1878, YMSM 196.

Figure 28: *Souvenir of the Gaiety*, 1878, M. 664.

The Duet is the more developed in terms of its representation of three-dimensional space. A horizontal line separates the stage floor from the backdrop, and a curtain is suggested at the right frame. The figures cast distinct shadows on

481 Whistler to Walter Theodore Watts-Dunton, [12 January 1878], British Library, Department of Manuscripts, Ashley Collection, Ashley 4601, leaves 1,2; GUW 09575 (15 April 2005).

482 Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, [27 March 1872 - 18 March 1885], LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (20 April 2006).

483 See Getscher, 1991, p.68; YMSM, p.114. Margaret MacDonald expressed her doubts about this painting when the author visited the University of Glasgow in October and November 2005.

the floor - thereby indicating the presence of stage lighting. In the *Souvenir* Whistler has made little attempt to indicate the figures' environment. Yet, this sketchy work is imbued with energy and character. Here the figures are depicted mid-movement as if singing and dancing, rather than in the static poses of *The Duet*. The figures in the *Souvenir* are delineated with minimal, yet confident, sweeping lines. Colour has been added for its decorative appeal, but Whistler's main concern is in depicting the curvaceous forms of the performers. Note how the left and central figures sway their bodies in unison, while the right figure differs in her movements. The latter has bent knees and her raised arms are drawn together as if skipping. Given her short dress and hairstyle, this could indeed be Connie Gilchrist.

From the mid 1880s on, Whistler became increasingly interested in dance as a subject. Inspired by his theatregoing, and perhaps stimulated by his recently formed friendship with Mallarmé (who believed that the dancer was the source of poetic inspiration),[484] Whistler made numerous small and delicate studies of models improvising in his studio. Many of these images convey young women engaged in graceful dancing while, as Pamela Robertson explains in *Beauty and the Butterfly*, a small number depict extroverted and energetic performers 'striking a tambourine, high kicking, or perhaps responding to the gramophone music' that Whistler played in his studio.[485] In the pastels *Note in Blue and Opal* [fig. 29] and *The Tambourine* [fig. 30] Whistler depicted dancers engaging with musical instruments. By portraying the source of music as well as the dancer's physical response to sound, Whistler doubly insisted on his interest in the relationship between music, movement and visual art.

Figure 29: *Note in Blue and Opal*, 1885-86, M. 1080.

In the *Note* a young woman stands in front of a curtained backdrop, holding a lute to one side of her body. The backdrop suggests that the woman is performing on a stage, but the complex draping of the fabric and the nakedness of the figure indicate that Whistler has

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484 See C., vol.1, p.108.

485 Robertson, 2003, p.51. In a letter to his publisher William Heinemann, Whistler expressed his desire to obtain a recording device for his gramophone, so that he could record his teaching sessions at the Académie Carmen. See Whistler to William Heinemann, [January/April 1899], LC PWC LC4/3387-8; GUW 08801 (20 April 2006).

reconstructed a theatrical environment in his studio. Instead of playing the lute, she holds it out to admire – a gesture that could suggest that the lute is the primary subject of the image. However, given that the figure is scantily clad in sheer fabric - in a manner that highlights rather than veils her nudity – it is the harmony between her body and the shape of the lute that is the true subject. By holding the lute away from her body, the woman reveals the beauty of her own form.

The sway of the dancer's body and the sense of motion in her drapery, indicate that Whistler has selected this pose from a longer sequence of movement. Her pelvis is forward and her torso back, and she rests more upon one foot than the other. The sketchiness of the lute and the dancer's outstretched arm supports the notion that this is a transitory pose. The complexity of the drapery in the background adds to the sense of motion in the image. Note the many lines that Whistler has used to delineate its folds – these imbue the composition with rhythm and energy. The lightness of touch with which he has applied both line and colour, suits the delicacy of the dancer's form and costume. Furthermore, this lightness evokes the timbre of the musical instrument itself and, therefore, the nature of the physical movement by which the dancer would respond to such music.

In contrast, *The Tambourine* depicts Eva Carrington performing acrobatic feats. Eva was one of Whistler's favourite models. She was a tall and energetic dancer who sometimes performed in public.[486] In *The Tambourine* Eva is seen in profile – she balances on her left leg, with her knee bent and foot arched. Her right arm is outstretched and her right leg is raised to shoulder height. A diagonal shadow echoes these lines, forming an unusual linear design. Eva is mentally and physically focused on kicking the tambourine and thereby creating music. In his efforts to capture such a difficult attitude, Whistler has conveyed the movement of her body through repeated line. Despite the sketchiness of much of her form, pastel has been used to provide contour and definition to her body, and a grass-

Figure 30: *The Tambourine*, *c.*1900-1902, M. 1628.

[486] 'Eva Carrington', biography, GUW (15 April 2006).

green headscarf highlights her face. Through these devices Whistler stresses the vigour of Eva's movement. A related drawing known as *A girl kicking a tambourine* [fig. 31] shows Eva performing the same action, but in the other direction. Facing the artist, she is little more than a ghostly flurry of movement, due to the speed of her execution and the looseness of Whistler's drawing. In both works Whistler conveys the joy that characterizes Eva's performance - one can almost hear the jingling of the tambourine in the studio.

Figure 31: *A girl kicking a tambourine*, 1900/1902, M. 1629.

In the watercolour entitled *A dancing woman in a pink robe, seen from the back* [fig. 32] Whistler successfully captures the movement and elegance of a lithe dancer in performance. The young woman, who might again be Eva Carrington,[487] wears a pink cap and a short-sleeved dress made from sheer fabric. As she moves, she holds her skirt away from her body, thereby creating fluid folds that Whistler has highlighted with gouache. Seen from behind, with one leg raised and her torso leaning to the right, the dancer might turn and face the viewer at any moment. Her environment and the audience's viewpoint are somewhat ambiguous. Immediately above her, a purple curtain is swagged. While this could be domestic drapery, it is similar to the curtains that adorn a theatre box. Either side of the dancer's legs, Whistler has sketched a chequered wall decoration that resembles a musical stave. Its regular pulse contrasts with, and thereby highlights, the fluidity of the dancer's movements. By positioning his butterfly signature between two of these stave-like bands - immediately to the right of the dancer - Whistler emphasizes the meeting of dance, music and visual art.

Figure 32: *A dancing woman in a pink robe, seen from the back*, *c.*1888-1890, M. 1214.

In the early 1890s Whistler sketched the American dancer Loie Fuller [fig. 33]. Fuller made her Paris debut in November 1892, when she performed four of her dances at the Folies-Bergères: *La Serpentine, La Violette, Le Papillon* and *La*

487 'A dancing woman in a pink robe, seen from the back', Hunterian (15 April 2006).

Danse Blanche.[488] She immediately gained critical acclaim and public adulation, and is today considered an important figure in the development of modern dance.[489] Fuller's innovation lay in her manipulation of wooden-framed skirts made of many yards of fabric, in order to create fluid and evocative abstract shapes. Her performances were characterized by an imaginative use of coloured light and mirrors, a bold and expressive approach to costume, and a sensitive use of modern music.[490] As Sally Sommer explains in 'Loie Fuller's Art of Music and Light':

> She was less interested in choreographing a dance in which the steps were exactly bound to the rhythm than in creating a unity where dancing bodies, lights, and silks captured musical phrases, giving a visual analog to the rush and flow of musical tones...
>
> Fuller liked to say that she could see music; certainly that was the intent of her choreography. She was able to translate sound into color and movement...Everything was phrased to make a seamless unity of sound and sight...[491]

Many artists and poets were inspired by the elusiveness of Fuller's dancing and depicted her in a variety of media - she was 'heralded as the personification of Symbolist ideals'.[492] In early 1893, Mallarmé saw Fuller perform at the Folies-Bergères and subsequently praised her dancing in a published review. Sommer explains that what 'Mallarmé saw in her dance was that perfect reciprocity between sound and sight, the perpetual correspondences of the senses...music made visible'.[493] No doubt, Whistler shared Mallarmé's

Figure 33: *Loie Fuller Dancing*, *c.*1892, M. 1346.

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488 Toulouse-Lautrec, 1992, p.304. Fuller's repertoire also included *Pansy* and *Cloud* dances.
489 C., vol.1, p.108; Sommer, 1981, p.391.
490 See Sommer, 1981, for further information about Fuller's musical choices.
491 Sommer, 1981, p.390.
492 Sommer, 1981, p.394.
493 Sommer, 1981, p.394.

enthusiasm. In his sketch, Whistler depicted nine different moments from Fuller's *Butterfly* dance on the one sheet of paper, thereby capturing the actual experience of watching her choreography unfold. In each drawing, Whistler uses fluid and energetic line to convey the essence of Fuller's changing forms. In some of the drawings Whistler's touch is light, suggesting that Fuller's movement – and therefore the music that she was responding to - was more lyrical in certain passages. In other drawings, Whistler uses bold line and areas of shading, thus suggesting a greater degree of drama and intensity in movement and music alike.

In their sense of movement and abstraction of form, Whistler's sketches are similar to Henri Toulouse-Lautrec's oil study and lithograph of Fuller, which date from the same period.[494] Indeed, the drawing framed by Whistler in the upper left, displays a significant compositional resemblance to Toulouse-Lautrec's oil study [fig. 34]. Whistler's selection of this drawing suggests that he considered enlarging it and thereby developing an independent image. Perhaps his awareness of Toulouse-Lautrec's work caused him to reconsider. (Whistler certainly knew Toulouse-Lautrec during the early 1890s: in 1893 or 1894 Whistler's wife Beatrix drew a pen and ink sketch of Toulouse-Lautrec entering Whistler's studio.[495]) However, regardless of the general enthusiasm for Fuller's dancing, Whistler's personal interest in the dancer is clear. Whistler and Fuller both felt an affinity for, and interest in, the beauty and movement of the butterfly. Since 1869, Whistler had used a butterfly monogram developed from the initials JW - Fuller brought that butterfly to life. Furthermore, her *Le Papillon* dance was the visual translation of her response to music. Thus, in Whistler's drawings of Fuller, as in his many other images of dance, music, movement and visual art are inextricably

Figure 34: Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Study for *Loïe Fuller*, 1893.

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494 Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, Study for *Loïe Fuller*, 1893. Oil on cardboard, 63.2 x 45.3 cm. Albi, Musée Toulouse-Lautrec. Henri Toulouse-Lautrec, *Loïe Fuller*, 1893. Lithograph using brush and splatter, in at least five colours, 36.8 x 26.8 cm. See Toulouse-Lautrec, 1992, pp.306-309.

495 Beatrix Whistler, *Toulouse-Lautrec entering the studio*, 1893/94. 8.7 x 4.0 cm. GUL. z0274.
In 1898 Toulouse-Lautrec exhibited with the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, of which Whistler was the newly elected President. See M., p.xl; and Albert Ludovici to Whistler, 11 May 1898, GUL I49; GUW 02309 (16 June 2006).

entwined.

Art about Art

Whistler's images of dance are as much about music and visual art, as they are about movement. His depictions of music are similarly multivalent. In his recent book *Uneasy Pieces*, David Park Curry states (in relation to the oil painting *At the Piano*) that in creating 'art about art, Whistler spotlighted music – the prime metaphor for spontaneous visual improvisation'.[496] Referring to the ideas of Meyer Schapiro, Curry explains that modernist artists are curiously selective in their choice of subject matter, and will rework their chosen themes repeatedly. Art, in the wider sense, is a favoured modernist theme: in order to create art about art, painters depict symbols of the artist's activity. In the context of art-for-art's sake, music is an ideal symbol for it represents the goal of artistic self-sufficiency. Musicians and musical instruments are among the subjects noted by Schapiro.[497] In the remainder of this chapter it will be argued that in works such as *At the Piano* Whistler depicted music to comment upon his own activity as an artist. That is, he used music as a metaphor for his artistic goals. Through direct reference, subtle symbolism and physical likeness, Whistler suggested his own presence and participation in scenes of music making, and thus insisted on the oneness between the art and music.

In 1852, prior to leaving America to study art in Paris, Whistler depicted himself on the sheet-music cover *Song of the Graduates* [fig. 35]. Thereby, his early interest in amalgamating music and art was preserved for posterity. As the title indicates, the song is a ceremonial piece written in a popular style.[498] The music is by 'Apelles' (probably the bandmaster of the West Point Academy Band), and the lyrics are by an unnamed cadet.[499] It is likely that the Academy

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496 Curry, 2004, p.22.

497 See Curry, 2004, p.21.

498 The sheet music (published in New York by Firth, Pond and Co.) is held in GUL. A verse and chorus are repeated seven times (with altered text). The repetition of the melodic line would ensure that it was learned quickly and easily. The harmonic progressions comprise mainly primary chords. The vocal line is sometimes doubled or supported a third apart by the pianist's right hand. The verse is in C major and in common time: it has a single vocal line. In contrast, the chorus is in F major and in triple time (marked 'Waltz Time'): it is scored for two-part vocal harmony. These changes of metre, key and vocal arrangement, provide interest and a small degree of musical challenge.

499 The *Heritage Encyclopedia of Band Music* states that William Apelles (1858-1919) 'was born at West Point, New York, where his father was bandmaster of the U.S. Military

Band performed the music for the graduation ceremonies; in which case, the piano arrangement that Whistler's design fronts, would have served as a souvenir. Whistler's subject matter - a 'newly commissioned second lieutenant shaking hands with a friend who is still a cadet' is appropriate given the song's narrative content.[500] However, it is somewhat ironic that Whistler depicted himself as one of the men, for he would never actually graduate from the Academy.[501] One reason for Whistler's dismissal in 1854 was his accumulation of demerit points. Unfortunately, his love of popular music contributed to his demise: in January 1854 Whistler received three demerit points for singing and talking in drawing class, and in February he received four more for whistling during study hours.[502] No doubt, Whistler's fellow students enjoyed being reminded of the irrepressibly musical artist who graced the cover of their sheet music.

Figure 35: *Song of the Graduates*, 1852, M. 108.

Eight years later, Whistler made his debut at London's Royal Academy with a double portrait of his half-sister Deborah and her daughter Annie Haden [fig. 36]. Entitled *At the Piano*, the painting depicts Deborah performing to her daughter in the music room of their elegant London home. According to Curry, both figures wear mourning dress.[503] He writes:

> The atmosphere in the room strikes a chord of refined solemnity, amplified by the apparel of grief. Even viewers unfamiliar with Whistler's private life can detect restrained tension in this uneasy piece, one that established Whistler's position on the cutting edge of modern portraiture.[504]

Curry's reading is somewhat weakened by his belief that Deborah indicates grief and familial tension by avoiding Annie's gaze.[505] Instead, Deborah's lowered

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Academy Band.' [This information was given to the author by Rick Baker, Vice President of Marshall's Civic Band, in an email dated 21 January 2005.]

500 M., p.33.

501 According to MacDonald (M., p.33), the figure on the left is Whistler.

502 Register of Delinquencies 1849-50-52-54, January 30 and February 20 1854, U. S. War Department, Records of United States Military Academy, National Archives, Record Group 404. [I am grateful to Professor Dan Sutherland for this information.]

503 Suzanne Fagence Cooper (2005, p.34) also believes that Deborah and Annie wear mourning dress.

504 Curry, 2004, p.18.

505 Curry, 2004, p.18.

eyes might be better interpreted as the typical expression of a pianist absorbed in her playing.

It can be argued that the scene has an air of seriousness and professionalism rather than uneasy tension, and that the mood is one of reverence for the arts. Deborah sits at a grand piano (rather than an upright) and plays from memory with the music stand lowered. The instrument cases placed underneath the piano indicate that music is an important activity in this home. The room is decorated in a restrained manner: the large gilt-framed artworks and the musical instruments are given pride of place. The simple, yet bold blocks of black and white that colour the figures' costumes have a compositional function beyond their cultural associations. The costumes are purposely plain: such simplicity ensures that nothing distracts from the true subject of the painting, which is the shared experience of music making. Echoing the black and white of the keyboard, the costumes unify Deborah and Annie with the piano.

Figure 36: *At the Piano*, 1858-59, YMSM 24.

Richard Leppert has written extensively about the cultural associations of music and the feminine in the Victorian period and, in particular, about images of women at the piano. In *The Sight of Sound: Music, Representation, and the History of the Body* he writes that 'the piano functioned in sound and sight alike as an analogical referent to social harmony and domestic order.'[506] Certainly, *At the Piano* could be read in this manner. To some degree, Whistler was conforming to expected stereotypes by posing mother and daughter around such a potent symbol. The scene could be interpreted as Deborah encouraging her daughter to develop the expected social skill of music making. The intimacy created by the figures leaning in towards one another, by their physical proximity and the placement of their heads on one level, implies a close mother-daughter relationship and one in which music had an important role. This intimacy is

[506] Leppert, 1993, p.139.

heightened by the impression that the scene is essentially private - that Annie is the sole listener rather than one member of an audience.

However, equipped with the knowledge that Deborah was a pianist of considerable ability, and that her husband was also a keen musician, the viewer can appreciate *At the Piano* beyond the cultural associations of music as a feminine domestic pursuit. Deborah and Annie are deeply absorbed in their shared activity. Both figures have lowered eyes, and the downward tilt of their heads directs the viewer's attention to the keyboard. Annie's relaxed yet focused posture indicates that she is interested in the music played, and quite accustomed to focused listening. Her obscured gaze suggests that her thoughts are inward. By directing the viewer's attention to the act of music making and the effect that music has on one's emotional state, Whistler seems to be asking that his painting be received in a similar manner to music. The artist's presence is symbolized by the paintings on the wall. The series of reflections in their glass, and the distortion of the horizontal and vertical planes of the wall, suggest that Whistler viewed the scene through its reflection in a mirror. By his use of the mirror, Whistler comments on the relationship between art and music: Deborah is engaged in an activity that mirrors Whistler's own artistic goals.

Whistler painted the watercolour *Bravura in Brown* in the early 1880s [fig. 37]. It depicts a young woman – perhaps his mistress Maud Franklin - seated elegantly at an upright piano, playing from sheet music.[507] The pianist sits to the left of centre, and is viewed from behind (as if unaware of her onlookers). Bright light illuminates the sheet music, the keyboard, and the pianist's head, shoulder and right arm. Floor-length curtains frame the scene. These devices focus the viewer's attention on the act of music making. At first glance, the tilt of the woman's body in relation to the piano seems awkward, and suggests a very casual approach to piano playing. However, when one considers the spotlighted empty chair beside her, the meaning becomes

Figure 37: *Bravura in Brown*, 1883/84, M. 928.

[507] See M., p.353.

clearer. The pianist is waiting for someone - perhaps a duet partner or listener, perhaps even the artist himself.

Whistler has indicated his participation in this scene in a number of ways. Firstly, the picture that hangs directly above the piano symbolizes the artist's profession. Secondly, the similarities between Whistler's butterfly signature and the design of the candelabra on the piano – which is placed immediately above the seat reserved for the artist – seem deliberate. MacDonald explains that although the candelabra might be mistaken for Whistler's butterfly signature, the painting is not actually signed.[508] A couple of years later, when Whistler was developing a decorative scheme for Pablo de Sarasate's music-room, he experimented with designs for violin- and butterfly-shaped light sconces.[509] Within the wider decorative programme, the violin-shaped sconce would symbolize the professional practice of the room's owner, while the butterfly-shaped sconce would record the presence of the room's decorator. This mode of self-referencing seems to have been anticipated in *Bravura in Brown.*

In the lithograph entitled *The Duet* [fig. 38] Whistler's wife Beatrix and her sister Ethel are seated side by side at the grand piano in the Whistlers' Parisian home.[510] Pamela Robertson and Katharine Lochnan both interpret *The Duet* as one of a number of studies of familial harmony that dates from Whistler's years of marriage.[511] As Robertson explains:

> Whistler captured the personal happiness of these years in a series of studies of contented middle-class life...
>
> Lithographs record Mrs Whistler and her sisters in the enclosed world of the home. The women are variously seen in the drawing room, playing music, sewing and taking tea, or strolling and chatting in the garden. Such images conformed to the long-established model for middle-class Victorian women of the 'Angel in the House' who devoted her life to family and home.[512]

Certainly, the atmosphere conveyed in *The Duet* is quite different to that which infuses Whistler's earlier painting, *At the Piano.* In *The Duet* the sisters

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508 M., p.353.
509 See *Sketchbook*, 1885/87, pp.90, 92, 95, M. 1001.
510 Ethel Whibley (1861-1920).
511 See C., vol.1, pp.291-92; and Robertson, 2003, pp.62-65.
512 Robertson, 2003, pp.62-64.

play from sheet music illuminated by lamplight. The light casts a warm glow on their faces and illuminates Beatrix's forearms, thereby drawing attention to the act of music making. As Lochnan notes in her catalogue raisonné essay, the forms of the women 'melt into one another and become almost indistinguishable in the half-light'.[513] In a similar way, the figures meld with their surroundings. While *At the Piano* showed Deborah absorbed in the process of performance, *The Duet* is concerned with the simple pleasures of musical entertainment and companionship. The image suggests the stopping and starting, and perhaps even quiet chattering, that is part of exploring music together.

Figure 38: *The Duet*, 1894, C.104.

Beatrix and Ethel's duet performances were no doubt cherished aspects of Whistler's Parisian life. In a lithograph entitled *The Duet, No. 2* Whistler depicted the sisters performing in the late afternoon.[514] Earlier that year, Beatrix had written to Wuerpel - 'Do come to dinner to-night, and we will play you some Bach'.[515] Obviously the sisters played together often, at various times of the day and night. In both lithographs, Whistler suggests his presence through subtle visual symbolism. An empty sofa is depicted beside the piano, indicating where the artist would normally sit. In *The Duet*, a curious and ghostly head in profile can be found in the cut-out area at the back of the sofa, while a butterfly signature hovers at the upper left of the image. In *The Duet, No. 2* (which is actually the earlier of the two works) the butterfly is placed in the centre of the sofa's back.

While *The Duet* might seem to epitomise familial harmony, it actually harbours an unsettling truth. Shortly afterwards, Beatrix was diagnosed with cancer. Lochnan writes that as her illness advanced Whistler depicted Beatrix 'not as a tangible presence, but as something ephemeral, defined more by shadow

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513 C., vol.1, p.292.

514 *The Duet, No.2*, 1894, C. 96.

515 Beatrix Whistler to Edmund Henry Wuerpel, [January/June 1894?], Dr Edmund A. Bowles; GUW 12833 (21 March 2005).

than substance, as if seen in a dream or a faded memory'.[516] Whistler found lithography to be a medium well suited to capturing the transient and ephemeral, and *The Duet* is infused with these qualities.[517] In this context, music symbolizes the ephemeral nature of beauty and the passing of time – thus, *The Duet* can be read as a variation on the *vanitas* subject. Although Beatrix's body is still relatively sound, the flickering of lamplight and the associated diffusion of form suggests the fragile state of her health.

Writing of *At the Piano* and the 'Symphonies in White' in her article 'Music, Memory and Loss in Victorian Painting', Suzanne Fagence Cooper argues that Whistler was aware of, and subtly evoked, the Orpheus legend: 'in his paintings, music represents an attempt to regain something that has been lost'.[518] In the legend it is the male (Orpheus) who performs to regain his deceased lover (Eurydice). Alternatively, in *The Duet* Whistler depicts his terminally ill wife engaged in her own music making. However, the combination of musical symbolism, Beatrix's failing health, and Whistler's ghostly indicators of his own role as listener and appreciator, indicates that he was very much concerned with the themes of life and loss.

Art about Art: The Portrait of Sarasate

In 1884, Whistler painted a full-length portrait of the Spanish virtuoso violinist and composer Sarasate - *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate* [fig. 39].[519] Sarasate was considered one of the finest violinists of his time: he had a broad concert repertoire, was a superb technician and an effortless performer.[520] Furthermore, his musical approach was progressive and exciting. In 1892, the poet and critic Arthur Symons wrote that Sarasate's compositions and playing are 'curiously modern, for Sarasate is essentially the representative of all that is novel and troubled in the modern world'.[521] Whistler's portrait depicts the musician in evening dress with his violin at hand, ready to perform. He is posed in the traditional manner: standing with one foot forward and the other

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516 C., vol.1, p.291.
517 See Tedeschi, 2003, p.vi.
518 Cooper, 2005, p.34.
519 Pablo de Sarasate lived from 1844 until 1908.
520 Schwarz, 1980a, pp.496-97.
521 Symons, 1928b, p.86.

turned at right angles; his body is slightly tilted; his back is straight; and he gazes directly at the viewer.[522] Sidney Starr recalled Whistler explaining that Sarasate 'looked just as he does in my picture when I saw him play in St. James's Hall.'[523] Set well back within the frame, the violinist is portrayed from the audience's viewpoint.

Théodore Duret informed the Pennells that 'Sarasate cared neither for painting nor for his portrait...It was [Otto] Goldschmidt, his manager, the owner of a Nocturne, who cared.'[524] This statement has led subsequent writers to presume that Goldschmidt was instrumental in instigating the portrait.[525] Yet, although it was completed in 1884 Goldschmidt did not begin collecting Whistler's works until at least the following year.[526] Furthermore, despite Whistler's extensive written correspondence, there is no evidence that Goldschmidt 'prevailed upon the artist to execute the portrait'.[527] Alternatively, it can be argued that it was Whistler who initiated the portrait, for the painting remained in his possession until 1895, when he eventually put it on the market. During the intervening decade Whistler exhibited the portrait at major exhibitions in London, Brussels, Paris, Hamburg and Antwerp. In 1896 it was exhibited in Pittsburgh and subsequently sold to the Carnegie Institute.[528]

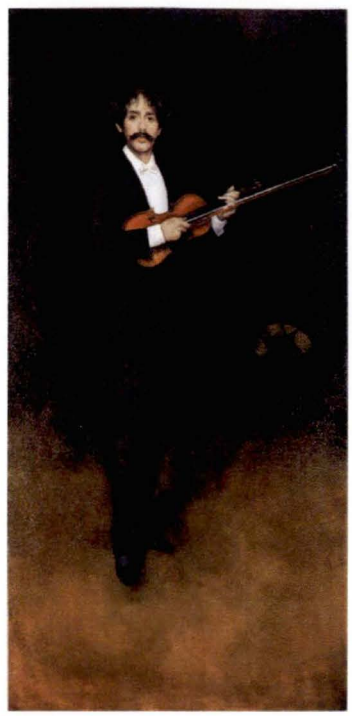

Figure 39: *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884, YMSM 315.

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522 See Curry, 2004, p.47, for further information about the use of this pose in male portraiture.

523 Starr, 1908, p.534.

524 Pennell, 1908, vol.2, p.3; YMSM, p.155.

525 For instance, Diana Strazdes, 1995, p.20. Aside from being Sarasate's manager, Otto Goldschmidt (1829-1907) was also a pianist, conductor and composer who was well respected in his day.

526 Goldschmidt bought the oil paintings *Grey and Silver: Mist - Life Boat* (1884, YMSM 287), *Grey and Green: A River* (1883/84, YMSM 295) and *Nocturne* (1872/78, YMSM 153) between the years 1885 and 1891. At some time after 1889, he bought the watercolour *Note in Pink and Purple* (1883/84, M. 935). See 'Otto Goldschmidt, 1829-1907', GUW (20 April 2006); YMSM, pp.91, 148, 149; MacDonald, 1995, p.357.

527 Strazdes, 1995, p.20.

528 See YMSM pp.154-55 for details of these exhibitions.

Correspondence between Whistler and Sarasate indicates that the two men were on friendly terms from 1884 until at least 1895. Unfortunately, the details of their first meeting are uncertain, but it is possible that they were acquainted in Paris during the late 1850s. Sarasate attended the Paris Conservatoire from 1856 to 1859, while Whistler enrolled at the Ecole Imperiale et Spéciale de Dessin in 1855, and then sporadically attended Gleyre's studio from 1856 (before moving to London in 1859). During these years, Whistler befriended at least one musician – the sculptor and cellist Just Becquet, whose portrait was discussed above.

Sarasate performed frequently in London during the late 1870s and early 1880s.[529] As already noted, Whistler attended one of his concerts at St James's Hall. In early to mid 1884, he wrote to the violinist:

> Dear Maestro
> We have been to hear you and see you - I thought you were simply splendid!-
> If my portrait gives an impression of your appearance as a great Artist I shall be proud of my work -[530]

During this period Sarasate gave at least two concerts at St James's Hall, appearing with the Philharmonic Society orchestra conducted by Mr. W.G. Cusins. On Wednesday evening, May 21, he performed Beethoven's Violin Concerto, solos by Tchaikovsky, Auer, and Wieniawski, and his own work *Playera.*[531] On Monday afternoon, June 9, he performed Bruch's *Schottische Fantasie*, and possibly Saint-Saëns's *Introduction et rondo capriccioso*, both for solo violin and orchestra.[532]

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529 See Schwarz, 1980a, pp.496-97; and Pastor, 1890, p.9.

530 Whistler to Pablo de Sarasate y Navascues, [March/July 1884], LC PWC 2/52/5; GUW 08133 (22 March 2005).

531 *Times*, 15 May 1884, p.1, col.C; Ludwig van Beethoven, Violin Concerto in D major, Op. 61 (1806); Pyotr Il'yich Tchaikovsky, *Sérénade mélancolique*, Op. 26, arranged for violin and piano (originally violin and orchestra, 1875); Leopold Auer, *Rhapsodie Hongroise*; Wieniawski, *Airs Russe;* Pablo de Sarasate, *Playera.*

532 *Times*, 11 June 1884, p.12, col.D. Max Bruch, *Fantasie unter freier Benutzung schottischer Volksmelodien (Schottische Fantasie)*, Op. 46 (1880); Saint-Saëns, *Introduction et rondo capriccioso*, Op. 28 (1863). The *Times* states that Sarasate played a 'Barcarolle' and 'Rondo capriccio' by Saint-Saëns. However, the current GMO article on Saint-Saëns (accessed 15 June 2006) does not list works with these titles - therefore it is presumed the *Times* meant the *Introduction et rondo capriccioso.*

Prior to painting Sarasate, Whistler had completed oil portraits of the well-known performers Connie Gilchrist and Sir Henry Irving, and had begun a portrait of the actress Lily Langtry.[533] In the mid 1880s, he began to paint the American actor Henry Dixey – the portrait supposedly conveyed Dixey with a foil in his hand, dressed in the Chevalier costume he wore in *Adonis*.[534] It is also believed that Whistler began a portrait of the French actress Sarah Bernhardt in the early 1890s.[535] Therefore, by painting Sarasate Whistler was contributing to a growing body of stage portraits. However, despite his enthusiasm for the stage and despite the many musicians in his social circle, the *Sarasate* is his only life-size oil portrait of a professional musician.

Whistler's decision to paint Sarasate might have been motivated by historical precedents such as Ingres and Delacroix's portraits of the virtuoso violinist Paganini,[536] and by portraits of contemporary musicians made by his fellow artists. For instance, in the mid 1860s George Frederic Watts had painted the violinist Joseph Joachim.[537] Furthermore, a number of significant portraits were shown at the Grosvenor Gallery during the years that Whistler exhibited there. In 1878 Hubert Herkomer exhibited a portrait of Richard Wagner; in 1879 Alma-Tadema exhibited his portrait of George Henschel, and Lady Lindsay exhibited a painting of the cellist Alfredo Piatti; and in 1881 Fairfax Murray exhibited his depiction of Michael Darazs, a Hungarian violinist.[538] Therefore, by painting Sarasate, Whistler was participating in a well-established branch of music iconography. In his choice of musician, Whistler was particularly shrewd: not only was Sarasate greatly admired in his day, but his reputation would also survive the passage of time.

There is no doubt that Whistler was also motivated by genuine admiration for Sarasate's performance style and musical approach. Menpes recalled Whistler's praise for the violinist's playing:

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533 *Arrangement in Yellow: Portrait of Lily Langtry*, c.1881, YMSM 227.

534 *Portrait of Henry E. Dixey*, 1884-88, YMSM 356, p.165; 'Henry Edward Dixey, 1859-1943', biography, GUW (20 April 2006).

535 *Portrait of Sarah Bernhardt*, c.1893. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 399.

536 J. A. D. Ingres, *Niccolò Paganini*, 1819. Graphite on paper, 29.8 x 21.8 cm. Paris, Louvre. E. Delacroix, *Niccolò Paganini*, 1831. Oil on millboard, 44.2 x 29.2 cm. Washington, Phillips Collection.

537 George Frederic Watts, *J. Joachim*, 1865-66. Oil, 91.4 cm x 68.6 cm (36 x 27 inches). Surrey, Watts Gallery. Arthur Symons (1928a) compares this portrait with Whistler's portrait of Sarasate.

538 See Grosvenor, 1878, p.4; 1879, pp.8, 31; 1881, p.36.

> Sarasate, when Whistler was painting him, often used to play for the Master. His playing he really enjoyed, "for," as Whistler once said to me afterwards, "it was marvellous, you know, to see Sarasate handle his violin, especially during those violent parts - his bow seemed to travel up and down the strings so rapidly, I cannot imagine how he does it." It was the dexterity that he admired: the music he did not understand.[539]

After the portrait was completed, Whistler followed Sarasate's career with interest. For instance, in 1884 he wrote to the print dealer Mr Graves: 'Did you see in the papers the other day an account of the enthusiasm in Paris when he played at a concert? - They shouted out 'Bravo Espagnol', and the whole audience simply went mad over him! -'.[540] In early 1893, the Whistlers attended at least one of Sarasate's Parisian concerts,[541] and in 1894 they were invited to another by Goldschmidt but were unable to attend. In reply, Whistler wrote: 'Very nice of Sarasate & you to wish to keep place for us - and as you know we should be only too glad to see you both & be present at all his amazing playing - but alas! tomorrow & also on the 27th we have some people here -'.[542]

In 1885, the critic for *Land and Water* declared – 'Signor de Sarasate and Mr. Whistler are, I am told, great personal friends'.[543] Certainly they enjoyed socialising together. Both Sarasate and Goldschmidt received invitations to dine at Whistler's home - including invitations to the stimulating Sunday breakfasts - and Whistler visited Sarasate in Paris.[544] In 1887, Whistler decorated Sarasate's music room in 'an arrangement of white and delicate pink and yellow'.[545] In

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539 Menpes, 1904, p.56; the Pennells (1908, vol.2, p.3) confirm that Sarasate played to Whistler while posing.

540 Whistler to Henry Graves, [June/November 1884?], Houghton Library, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, fMS A 1412; GUW 10929 (22 March 2005). See also Whistler to Helen Whistler, [September 1892], GUL Whistler W714; GUW 06720 (22 March 2005).

541 See Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [March/April 1893], GUL W713; GUW 06719 (13 June 2006).

542 Whistler to Otto Goldschmidt, [20 February 1894?), LC PWC 1/38/1; GUW 07968 (22 March 2005).

543 *Land and Water*, 25 April 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

544 For instance see: Whistler to Otto Goldschmidt, [20 February 1894?), LC PWC 1/38/1; GUW 07968 (22 March 2005); Whistler to Charles James Whistler Hanson, [21/22 May 1888?], LC PWC; GUW 08805 (22 March 2005); Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [3 March 1895], GUL Whistler W620; GUW 06626 (22 March 2005).

545 Dowdeswell, 1887, p.98, quoted in MacDonald, 1995, p.376. For related drawings see: *Sketchbook*, 1885/87, M. 1001.

return, Sarasate called himself Whistler's 'devoted friend and ardent admirer.'[546] In 1886 he attended the private view of Whistler's second single-artist exhibition – *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'* – and in 1889 he was involved in organizing the dinner at the Criterion to celebrate Whistler's membership of the Royal Academy of Munich.[547]

Given the extent of their friendship, it can be presumed that Whistler and Sarasate discussed art and music. Furthermore, it is likely that these discussions influenced Whistler's approach to the portrait, and shaped the ongoing development of his theories and practice. For instance, in May 1884 Whistler wrote a short explanation of his ideas on 'finish'. Entitled 'Propositions – No. 2', the statement was published in the catalogue for his first single-artist exhibition at Dowdeswells'.[548] The ideal that Whistler expounded was in fact exemplified by Sarasate's superb technique and effortless performance manner:

> A picture is finished when all traces of the means used to bring about the end has disappeared.
>
> To say of a picture, as is often said in its praise, that it shows great and earnest labour, is to say that it is incomplete and unfit for view.
>
> Industry in Art is a necessity – not a virtue – and any evidence of the same, in the production, is a blemish, not a quality; a proof, not of achievement, but of absolutely insufficient work, for work alone will efface the footsteps of work.
>
> The work of the master reeks not of the sweat of the brow – suggests no effort – and is finished from the beginning...[549]

The stylistic affinity between artist and sitter further explains Whistler's interest in painting Sarasate and, simultaneously, his disinterest in painting other

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546 'Pablo de Sarasate y Navascues, 1844-1908', GUW (20 April 2006).

547 This dinner was held at the Criterion, Piccadilly, on Wednesday 1 May, at 8pm. See: William Christian Symons, circular letter, [April 1889?], GUL Whistler S282; GUW 05636 (22 March 2005); Whistler to Pablo de Sarasate y Navascues, [22/30 April 1889], LC PWC 2/52/4; GUW 08135 (22 March 2005); Pablo de Sarasate y Navascues, 21 April 1889, GUL Whistler S19; GUW 05375 (22 March 2005); *World*, 5 May 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

548 The Propositions were published under the heading 'L'Envoie' [sic], as a prologue to the catalogue for the exhibition *'Notes' - 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'*, Messrs Dowdeswell, London, 1884, which opened on 17 May.

549 Whistler, 1890, p.115.

musicians. For example, although Whistler also socialised with Joachim, there is nothing to suggest that he ever considered painting his, or any other violinist's, portrait.[550] In his book *Violin Virtuosos from Paganini to the 21st Century*, Henry Roth summarises the artistic divide between the two violinists as 'lofty academicism' (Joachim) versus 'cool, glittering virtuosity' (Sarasate).[551] Whistler's preference for effortlessness over industry explains his choice of sitter.

A photographic portrait of Sarasate (by Ch. Reutlinger of Paris) is held in the University of Glasgow Library. It is inscribed to Whistler and signed 'son ami et modèle Pablo de Sarasate, London 84'.[552] The photograph depicts Sarasate in a three-piece suit, with his head in profile to the left, and his gaze directed upwards as if looking into the distance. It is a portrait of Sarasate the man rather the musician, for he does not carry his violin. Obviously Whistler did not model his painting on this image - instead he studied Sarasate's performance manner in both public and private concerts. As he declared, he was specifically interested in depicting Sarasate's 'appearance as a great Artist'.[553]

In the finished portrait, Whistler captured the essence of Sarasate's style: focused energy, precision, assurance, and elegance are words that come to mind. The composition is dynamic - as Whistler explained to Sidney Starr, the picture is 'balanced by the bow'.[554] Whistler used crisp white to delineate the bow hair - therefore the viewer's attention is immediately drawn to the strong diagonal impetus. Although the scheme of black on black was a familiar one – Whistler had previously painted his patron Frederick Leyland and the artist Rosa Corder as *Arrangements in Black*, and would later do the same with Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac – Whistler rendered Sarasate's figure with an unusually

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550 Whistler and Joachim might have met, or furthered their acquaintance, through Sarasate. However, Whistler might also have had contact with Joachim through other avenues: Joachim performed annually at Frederic, Lord Leighton's music parties, from the first in 1867 to the final event in 1895; he was a favourite of the Ionides family (who were friends and patrons of Whistler); and like Whistler, he was a member of the Arts Club. Joachim's invitation to the Criterion dinner in 1889 was personally approved by Whistler [see Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, 25 April 1889, GUL H80; GUW 01979 (13 June 2006)]. A letter from Whistler's son Charles Hanson to Whistler of *c.* June 1887 {William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, University of California Wilde W576L U58 [18?]; GUW 09134 (13 June 2006)}, implies that Joachim might have been invited to a Sunday breakfast along with Sarasate, Goldschmidt and Lady Archibald Campbell.

551 Roth, 1997, p.34.

552 GUL, PH 1/41.

553 Whistler to Pablo de Sarasate y Navascues, [March/July 1884], LC PWC 2/52/5; GUW 08133 (22 March 2005).

554 Starr, 1908, p.534.

high degree of finish.[555] The press commented on the figure's 'mental alertness' and the firmness and precision of his stance; and noted that Sarasate assumed the exact same pose on the concert stage.[556] Indeed, Whistler has delineated Sarasate's form with such incisiveness, and rendered his expression so intense, that the sense of realism is quite startling.

The composition differs from Whistler's other *Arrangements in Black* in that the figure does not physically dominate the picture plane. Whistler set Sarasate well back within the frame, so that he would appear to the viewer as he did to his concert audience. In addition, Whistler surrounded the figure with paler tones to give the impression of stage lighting. Although he depicted the violinist ready to perform, rather than mid-passage, the image is imbued with movement and references to sound. The lively shading of the flooring contributes, as Bernhard Sickert noted in 1908, to the 'impression of lightness and swiftness'.[557] This, in turn, evokes the deftness of Sarasate's playing. Furthermore, in 1885 the critic for the *Saturday Review* wrote of the painting's 'vibrating' texture, perhaps referring to the sense of movement in the shaded areas.[558] One wonders whether Whistler intended to evoke Sarasate's vibrato technique. Certainly, the violinist is anxious to begin his performance – note how his fingers toy with the strings.

The *Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate* depicts not only a significant musician, but also one who resembled the artist in both his physical and emotional makeup. In 1908, Bernhard Sickert wrote:

> In *Sarasate*, Whistler found a model after his own heart. Seeing the two together in the studio, one might almost have taken them for brothers. The black curly hair, the small figure, elegant yet nervous and well knit, the southern colouring and still more southern excitability and frankness, were common to both. In the portrait *Sarasate* stands almost like a boxer or dancer, alert and dainty, one foot

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555 *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F. R. Leyland*, 1870/73, YMSM 97; *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*, 1876-78, YMSM 203; *Arrangement in Black and Gold· Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac*, 1891-92, YMSM 398.

556 See *St James's Gazette*, 7 December 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS; *Observer*, 19 April 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS; and Photocopy of a Presscutting *c.*1885, GUL Presscuttings Vol. VIII, in Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

557 Sickert, 1908, p.36.

558 *Saturday Review*, 5 December 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

> forward, so lightly poised that he seems to have just dropped down like Whistler's own butterfly.[559]

Thomas Way's impression of Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' Lecture was similar:

> One's memory at once recalls his portrait of Sarasate – the most perfect of all his men's portraits – standing with the plainest background and surroundings, knowing, as the great violinist did, that he had a message to give which would interest and arouse his audience.[560]

The likeness between artist and sitter further explains Whistler's attachment to the painting, and his interest in exhibiting it at major exhibitions. As art about art, Whistler used the portrait to extend and promote the concept that his own artistic activity was akin to that of the musician.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the ways that Whistler translated his varied experiences of music into subject matter. It has been demonstrated that the artist was often inspired to render intimate scenes of domestic music making, and that such images are layered with meaning. By depicting fellow artists such as Becquet and Ridley as musicians, and by suggesting his own duality as artist and music appreciator, Whistler commented on the oneness between art and music. In order to create art about art he depicted musicians and dancers. In this context, the portrait of Sarasate assumes considerable importance.

The following chapter will address Whistler's use of musical nomenclature and analogy, and his interest in a musical framework for visual art.

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559 Sickert, 1908, pp.35-36.
560 Way, 1912, p.80.

Chapter Four
Towards a Theory of Colour-Music

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the ways that Whistler's exposure to music making and his awareness of the musical model as a paradigm for visual art, shaped his artistic theory and practice beyond the depiction of musical subject matter. By drawing upon Whistler's own explanations of his titular practice and by investigating his use of each title across media, it will be argued that Whistler used musical nomenclature to indicate his allegiance to the musical model and, in particular, his interest in colour-music. That is, Whistler's use of musical titles should be understood as one aspect of an overriding interest in freestanding pictorial technique, rather than as a means of stimulating a synaesthetic response (as Jo Sager and Robin Spencer have recently argued).[561] In Whistler's writings there is nothing to suggest that by using titles such as Symphony he intended to provoke an auditory experience in the viewer. Rather, he wished that the viewer might read and respond to his artworks in a manner akin to how a listener receives and appreciates pure music. His writings, and those of his contemporaries, indicate that in the language and processes of music Whistler found a framework for exploring and justifying his belief that the sophisticated and sensitive treatment of line, form and colour, was the highest aim of visual art.

An Overview of Whistler's Titular Activity

In the introductory material to the catalogue raisonné of Whistler's oil paintings, the authors note the difficulties associated with providing definitive titles for the works. Not only did Whistler sometimes give the same title to a number of different works, but he 'frequently changed the titles of his paintings, and some subsequent owners compounded the confusion caused by this practice'.[562] However, at his major retrospective exhibition at the Goupil Gallery in 1892, Whistler adopted 'a consistent method' of titling:

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561 Sager, 2004, pp.1, 64; Spencer, 2003, p.17.
562 YMSM, p.xvi.

> On that occasion the generic name for the type of painting, such as 'Nocturne', was followed by an indication of its colour content...then by a more individually descriptive note...He consistently used the term 'Arrangement' to describe portraits. 'Symphony' usually described a figure subject, but 'Harmony' could be applied both to portraits and to other subjects.[563]

The authors note that sometimes Whistler's changes to a title might have been necessitated by an actual change of colour in the painting over time. Therefore, the colour content indicated in the title would need to be altered.

Similar issues were confronted in the compilation of the catalogue raisonné of Whistler's drawings, pastels and watercolours. Margaret MacDonald writes:

> Titles are always a problem with Whistler. In the 1880s he exhibited the same works three or four times, sometimes with different titles, in London, Dublin, Munich, Paris, and New York...Sometimes the change in title may have reflected a change in appearance, either through the mellowing of paint or paper...On the other hand, the changes may merely reflect Whistler's impression of the dominant and relative importance of particular colours...[564]

However, this does not explain why he sometimes altered the 'type' named in the title. For instance, a painting begun in 1864 - *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* - was first exhibited in 1870 simply as 'The Balcony'.[565] In 1878, it was exhibited with its current title, but then in 1881 Whistler referred to it as 'Harmony in Flesh-Colour & Green No. 2 - The Balcony'. He also exhibited it as a Harmony at the 1892 Goupil exhibition.

A number of writers have attempted to classify Whistler's musical titles, but most have failed to consider his nomenclature beyond its application to oil painting, or to acknowledge the inherent ambiguity of a system that allowed artworks to masquerade as different types according to the titles they carried at any particular moment. For instance, within *Invisible Colors: A Visual History of*

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563 YMSM, p.xvi.
564 M, p.xiii.
565 *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 1865, YMSM 56 [fig. 45].

Titles John Welchman writes:

> Whistler's theory and practice...were constantly supplied, indeed were never without, the sustaining presence of an elaborate understanding of the titular activity...Whistler's titular inventions were not always the first of their kind...nor were they necessarily the most extravagant. But they were developed in an extraordinarily *total system of naming* that reached out to embrace the gallery, private and occasionally public space - and even the body of the artist himself.[566]

Unfortunately, when presenting this argument Welchman did not address Whistler's title changes, nor his use of musical and non-musical titles simultaneously – practices that might make any 'total system' of naming seem questionable.

Alternatively, Bernhard Sickert, a contemporary of Whistler's, did question the thoroughness of Whistler's system. He declared that 'such alterations made by the artist himself stultify the whole idea, and prove that the analogy with music does not hold consistently. Any musician would tell us that we could not change the title of Symphony in C minor to Sonata in G minor without making it an absurdity'.[567] Nonetheless, Sickert's comments do not undermine the validity of Whistler's nomenclature. In Whistler's day the symphony and sonata shared a similar multi-movement formal structure. Both forms were generally employed for instrumental, rather than vocal, forces. Furthermore, in the past the terms had often been used interchangeably, and indeed had similar origins: 'symphony' came from the Greek for 'sounding together', while 'sonata' came from the Italian - 'to sound'.[568] Therefore, a change of title from Symphony to Sonata is not unfeasible. The weaknesses in both Welchman and Sickert's arguments (and, simultaneously, their extreme positions) justify the current investigation of Whistler's titular practice.

Whistler's use of each musical title, in terms of the media he applied it to, and the extent to which he used it, will be defined below. To maintain a consistent approach, the emergence of each title has been dated according to its first use in an exhibition setting. However, it is more difficult to establish the

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566 Welchman, 1997, p.122.
567 Sickert, 1908, p.141, quoted in Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.166.
568 See Scholes, 1970, pp.962, 999.

extent to which he used each title, given his own and other people's changes to titles. This survey has therefore been informed by Whistler's own written references to individual artworks, and their appearance in exhibitions known for honouring his proposed titles.[569] The reader is referred to Appendix Three for details of which works were exhibited with each title during Whistler's lifetime, which were not, and which have dubious histories. A summary of Whistler's exhibition practice will follow the survey, providing a context within which to consider his changing titular practice.

It is widely accepted that 1867 - the year that *Symphony in White, No. 3* was shown at the Royal Academy - marks Whistler's first use of a non-descriptive musical title in an exhibition setting.[570] In total, Whistler painted up to fifteen Symphonies, all in oil, but only six were exhibited with the title during his lifetime. Symphony was not used for works in any other medium. Whistler did not create Symphonies beyond the early 1870s, but exhibited his existing Symphonies until at least 1892.[571]

Harmony appeared in 1871, when what is now known as *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea* was exhibited as 'Harmony in Blue-Green - Moonlight'.[572] Twenty-six oil paintings are now catalogued as Harmonies, of which seventeen were definitely given the title during Whistler's lifetime. In addition, up to a further nine oil paintings, now known by other titles, were occasionally exhibited as Harmonies during Whistler's lifetime. Whistler's oil Harmonies were

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569 Situations where the title might have been applied by someone else (such as certain international exhibitions and auctions) have been treated with caution. Similarly, when the catalogue entry states that a work was 'probably' or 'possibly' exhibited with its musical title, I have placed the work in the uncertain category. The overview of the titles has been based on information provided in the standard catalogue raisonnés of Whistler's oil paintings; drawings, pastels and watercolours; etchings; and lithographs. Additionally I have consulted the GUW database to check the current dating of oil paintings.

570 *Symphony in White, No. 3*, 1865-67, YMSM 61, p.35.

571 A painting known as *Symphony in Grey and Gold* (YMSM 143) might date from the early 1880s, but its history is very dubious and its whereabouts unknown. It is more likely that it was actually a Nocturne. In 1900, *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864, YMSM 52) was exhibited at the Universal Exhibition in Paris under the shorter title 'Symphony in White'. While Whistler was certainly involved in the arrangements for sending his works to this exhibition, he referred to the painting as 'The Little White Girl' in the relevant correspondence, so it is unclear who was responsible for the painting's exhibition title. See Whistler to Arthur Haythorne Studd, [17 April 1900], GUL LB 4/211/2-212; GUW 03161 (22 February 2006).

572 *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, 1871, YMSM 103.

exhibited throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and in the 1892 Goupil exhibition.[573] *Harmony in White and Ivory: Portrait of Lady Colin Campbell* of 1886 may be the last Harmony Whistler painted, although there are a number of paintings dating from the 1890s that are now known as Harmonies.[574] Just as Whistler retitled his 1864 painting 'The Little White Girl' as *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* in 1892,[575] earlier paintings were sometimes referred to as Harmonies in later years.[576] Of his original works on paper, Whistler may have produced and exhibited (during the 1880s) three watercolour and five pastel Harmonies, but he did not apply the title to prints.[577] Finally, in 1877 he applied the title to his decoration of Leyland's dining room at 49 Princes Gate - in a printed pamphlet he christened his work *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room.*[578] The following year, his decoration of a mahogany cabinet designed by E.W. Godwin - which is now known as *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Butterfly Cabinet* - was exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition.[579]

Variations appeared for the first time in 1871, when the oil painting *Variations in Violet and Green* was exhibited at the Dudley Gallery in London.[580] Whistler exhibited three further oils as Variations during the 1870s, while a fifth was exhibited in 1884. During the mid 1880s Whistler produced one pastel and one watercolour, which he exhibited as Variations in 1886. He did not exhibit Variations beyond this date.

Nocturne appeared in 1872, and was applied to works in oil, watercolour, etching, lithography, pen and ink, and pastel - in short, all the media Whistler

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573 In 1893, *Blue and Silver: Trouville* (1865, YMSM 66) was exhibited in Chicago as 'Harmony in Blue and Silver'. However, this would seem to be an instance in which a foreign exhibitor affixed their own title to the work.

574 *Harmony in White and Ivory: Portrait of Lady Colin Campbell* (1886, YMSM 354) was exhibited as a Harmony in 1886-87.

575 *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864, YMSM 52.

576 See *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge*, c.1865, YMSM 33; *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*, 1860/61, YMSM 34; *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, 1863-64, YMSM 50; *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 1865, YMSM 56; *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*, 1865, YMSM 64; *Sea and Rain*, 1865, YMSM 65; *Blue and Silver – Trouville*, 1865, YMSM 66; *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*, 1866, YMSM 72; *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso*, 1866, YMSM 73; and *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red*, c.1869, YMSM 91.

577 In addition, there a number of sketches of, or for, the oil Harmonies.

578 *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876-77, YMSM 178. The pamphlet was entitled 'Harmony in Blue and Gold. The Peacock Room', but the title for the room itself usually has a colon rather than a full stop.

579 *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Butterfly Cabinet*, 1877-78, YMSM 195.

580 *Variations in Violet and Green*, 1871, YMSM 104.

worked in, apart from interior decoration. The first works to be exhibited with the title were the oils *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* and probably *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Southampton Water*, which were shown at London's Dudley Gallery.[581] Forty-seven oil paintings are now known as Nocturnes (although two of these may double up with others).[582] Whistler's application of the title is assured in twenty-seven cases. Additionally, the oil paintings now known as *Cremorne, No. 1* and *Blue and Gold: Channel* were at times exhibited as Nocturnes.[583] While the majority of the oil Nocturnes were painted during the 1870s, Whistler created a few during the 1880s: *Nocturne in Grey and Gold: Chelsea Fish Shop*, begun in 1885, was perhaps the last.[584] The Nocturnes were exhibited consistently throughout the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach* and *Nocturne: Black and Gold - Rag Shop, Chelsea* were exhibited in London as late as 1899.[585] During the 1880s, Whistler created and exhibited four watercolours entitled Nocturnes, while a fifth now known simply as *Amsterdam in Winter* may also have been exhibited as a Nocturne in 1884. Additionally, in 1881 he exhibited two pastel Nocturnes, and in 1886 the pen, ink and wash *Nocturne - Chelsea Shop* may have been shown. Whistler also used the title Nocturne to describe a small number of prints, including one lithotint probably executed in 1878 and published in 1887, and seven etchings produced between 1879 and 1889.[586]

Arrangement appeared in 1872, when the oil *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* was shown at the Royal Academy.[587]

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581 *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*, 1872, YMSM 118; *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Southampton Water*, 1871/72, YMSM 117.

582 See *Nocturne: Battersea Reach* (*c.*1874, YMSM 160) and *Nocturne in Grey and Gold* (1871/72, YMSM 116). The whereabouts of sixteen Nocturnes is unknown – see Appendix Three for details.

583 *Cremorne, No. 1*, 1872/75, YMSM 163; *Blue and Gold: Channel*, *c.*1874, YMSM 159.

584 *Nocturne in Grey and Gold: Chelsea Fish Shop*, 1885, YMSM 336. *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay* (YMSM 76) might have been started while Whistler was in Valparaiso in 1866. However, as it was not exhibited until 1875, it seems that Whistler completed this painting during the 1870s. See Siewert, 1994, p.8.

585 *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach* (1870/75, YMSM 119) was exhibited at the Goupil Gallery in 1899. *Nocturne: Black and Gold - Rag Shop, Chelsea* (*c.*1876, YMSM 204) was exhibited at the 1899 exhibition of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers.

586 See *Nocturne*, 1878, C. 8; *Nocturne*, 1879/80, K. 184; *Nocturne: Palaces*, 1879/80, K. 202; *Nocturne: Furnace*, 1879/80, K. 213; *Nocturne: Shipping*, 1879/80, K. 223; *Nocturne: Salute*, 1879/80, K. 226; *Nocturne: Dance-House*, 1889, K. 408; *The Little Nocturne, Amsterdam*, 1889, K. 414.

587 *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, 1871, YMSM 101.

Whistler created and exhibited oil Arrangements throughout the 1870s and 1880s, and into the 1890s. Twenty-eight oils are known as Arrangements, but in four cases it is uncertain whether Whistler named them. In addition, a further seven oils now known with other titles, were at some stage exhibited or referred to as Arrangements. During the 1880s Whistler created and exhibited three watercolour Arrangements (two of which retain that title today),[588] and the term was also used to describe his decorative schemes. For instance, he referred to his 1883 exhibition at the Fine Art Society as an 'Arrangement in White and Yellow';[589] he named the decoration for his 1884 exhibition at the Dowdeswell Gallery an *Arrangement in flesh colour and grey*, and his scheme for his 1886 Dowdeswell exhibition an *Arrangement in Brown and Gold*.[590] His final Arrangement was probably the commissioned oil portrait of Arthur J. Eddy, which the artist inscribed on the back of the canvas with the title, and dated 1894.[591] However, he exhibited his *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* in London as late as 1898.[592]

The 1872 exhibition of the watercolour *Grey Note* marks Whistler's first use of the title Note, as well as his first public showing of a watercolour.[593] Thereafter, he also used the title for oils and pastels. There are sixteen oil paintings now known as Notes, but in four cases it is unclear whether Whistler named them. Additionally, a further four oils were probably exhibited as Notes in 1887. The majority of the oil Notes were painted and exhibited during the 1880s, however *Crimson note: Carmen* appeared in 1895.[594] In MacDonald's catalogue of drawings, watercolours and pastels, the title Note appears more frequently than

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Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter (1872, YMSM 122) was also shown in 1872, at the fifth exhibition of the Society of French Artists, at Deschamps Gallery, London.

588 Additionally, a pen and ink sketch of the oil painting *A Portrait· Maud* (YMSM 186), which is known as *Arrangement in White and Black* (1878, M. 691) was reproduced in *Grosvenor Notes* (May 1878). There is also a pencil, pen and ink, study for the oil portrait *Arrangement in Black: Lady Meux* (YMSM 228) which is known as *Arrangement in Black - No. 3* (1881, M. 851). However, there are no independent drawings known as Arrangements. The pastel known as *Design for a Mosaic* (1889/91, M. 1226) was sold at auction in 1892 as 'An Arrangement in Lemon and Turquoise', but it is not clear whether Whistler himself referred to it as an Arrangement.

589 See Bendix, 1995, pp.224-25; and Whistler to Waldo Story, [5 February 1883], The Pierpoint Morgan Library, New York, MAH 244, GUW 09430 (21 November 2005).

590 M., p.366; Bendix, 1995, p.236.

591 *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Brown: Portrait of Arthur J. Eddy*, 1894, YMSM 425.

592 *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*, 1876-78, YMSM 203.

593 *Grey Note*, *c.*1872, M. 472.

594 *Crimson Note: Carmen*, *c.*1895, YMSM 441.

any of the other 'musical' titles - fifty-four works are now named Notes.[595] Thirty-six were certainly given the title by Whistler - twenty watercolours and sixteen pastels. A further six works now known by other titles were probably exhibited as Notes during Whistler's lifetime. The majority of the Notes in watercolour and pastel were made and exhibited during the 1880s, although *Note en violet - La Lettre* was exhibited in Paris in 1901.[596]

The titles Scherzo, Bravura, and Caprice, entered Whistler's terminology during the 1880s, but were only used sparingly. Scherzo was officially applied once - to the oil painting *Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl*, exhibited in 1882 and 1884.[597] However, Whistler might have used the term in passing when speaking of other works, for the artist J.-E. Blanche later stated that in 1885 he had purchased from Whistler a 'Scherzo, arrangement in pink, red & purple'.[598] Scherzo was not used for works in any medium other than oil. Bravura is presently used to entitle two watercolours, both known as *Bravura in Brown*.[599] While the whereabouts of one is unknown, it is believed that the other (M. 928), which depicts a young woman playing the piano, was possibly exhibited with this title in 1884. The lost *Bravura* is thought to have been a portrait of Whistler's friend the artist and guitarist Matthew White Ridley. Therefore, it is likely that both works depicted the act of musical performance.[600] In 1884, Whistler also used the title Caprice for the first time - for his oil *Caprice in Red*, the whereabouts of which is unknown.[601] Over the next two years he applied the term to two watercolours - *Caprice in blue and silver - Dieppe* and *Caprice in Red* - and then in 1892 he affixed it to his 1864 oil *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, which was originally exhibited simply as 'The golden screen' and then in 1873 as a Harmony.[602] Caprice was not used to entitle pastels, drawings or prints.

In addition to entitling individual works and decorative schemes,

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595 The whereabouts of twenty-nine of these is unknown.

596 *Note en violet - La Lettre*, *c.*1901, M. 1702.

597 *Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl*, *c.*1882, YMSM 226.

598 This is the oil painting now known as *Arrangement in Pink, Red and Purple*, 1885, YMSM 324, p.158.

599 *Bravura in brown*, 1883/84, M. 928; and *Bravura in Brown*, *c.*1884, M. 929.

600 As *Bravura in Brown* (M. 929) has long been missing, it is possible it could actually be *Gold and Brown: The Guitar Player* (*c.*1885, M. 997).

601 *Caprice in Red*, *c.*1884, YMSM 257.

602 *Caprice in blue and silver – Dieppe*, *c.*1885, M. 1034; *Caprice in Red*, *c.*1885, M. 1067; *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, YMSM 60.

Whistler's musical nomenclature also appeared in the names of his carefully mounted one-man exhibitions and in his published print portfolios. His exhibitions at the Dowdeswell Gallery in London in 1884 and 1886 were both entitled *'Notes' - 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'*, as was the 1889 exhibition at the Wunderlich Gallery in New York, while his 1892 Goupil Gallery exhibition in London was entitled *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces*.[603] In 1878 the *Piccadilly* published, with Whistler's consent, a series of lithographs under the title *Mr. Whistler's Notes in Black and White*.[604] That same year, Whistler and his printer Thomas Way planned to release a limited edition series of lithotints under the title *Art Notes*. While lack of public interest prevented the completion of the project, in 1887 they revived the idea and published a portfolio entitled *Notes*, which included an impression of *Nocturne*.[605] Additionally, during the early 1890s Whistler's lithographic contributions to the journals *The Whirlwind* and *The Albemarle* were advertised as 'Songs on Stone'.[606] Then, in 1891 Whistler proposed to the publisher William Heinemann a series of colour lithographs to be entitled 'Songs on Stone', which occupied him until 1895 although it never reached completion.[607] These publications seem to be the sole examples of Whistler's use of the term Song.

Whistler's exhibition practices varied considerably over the decades. In 1872 the portrait of his mother was nearly rejected by the Royal Academy, and Whistler decided not to exhibit there again.[608] Instead, during the 1870s and 1880s, he aligned himself with smaller, more innovative galleries and dealers such as Durand-Ruel, the Dudley Gallery, the Flemish Gallery, the Grosvenor Gallery and the Dowdeswell Gallery. During this period Whistler presented a number of single-artist exhibitions. These are of particular relevance to this study, as they allowed him the opportunity to carefully consider and harmonise all aspects of the exhibition's construction, the gallery environment and the viewing experience. Of course, the titles of the exhibited works were an important

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603 MacDonald, 1995, p.869.
604 See C., 1998, vol.1, p.46; and vol.2, p.234.
605 *Nocturne*, 1878, C.8; see C., 1998, vol.1, p.60; and vol.2, p.234.
606 See C., 1998, vol.1, p.130; and vol.2, pp.224-25.
607 See C., 1998, vol.1, pp.113-17.
608 MacDonald, 1995, p.867.

component of the total viewing experience and were plainly stated in Whistler's exhibition catalogues.

At his first one-man exhibition, presented at the Flemish Gallery in 1874, Whistler exhibited thirteen oil paintings, fifty etchings and thirty-six drawings.[609] While all but one of the paintings were given a musical title, none of the etchings were, and the only drawings to be granted musical titles were those that were designs for paintings.[610] The titles Arrangement, Symphony and Harmony were applied to oil portraits, while a Nocturne in oil was also exhibited. By omitting the identity of four of the six portrait sitters, Whistler indicated that he wished these paintings to be appreciated primarily for their pictorial technique, rather than as likenesses. Similarly, although the oil painting 'Blue Waves' was not given a musical title, Whistler used its title to emphasize the dominant colour of the image rather than any specific indication of its location.[611] Duret stressed the importance of this first solo exhibition:

> In a private exhibition, where he was master and could do as he liked, he was about to make a rule of what hitherto he could only make an exception. Almost all his paintings had as title or sub-title a description intended to denote the sought-out combination of colours, and these descriptions were taken from musical terms, the use of which he systematically extended to the domain of painting.[612]

A commission from the Fine Art Society in 1879 resulted in three single-media exhibitions: twelve Venice etchings were presented in 1880, fifty-three Venice pastels in 1881, and fifty-one etchings in 1883. As noted above, Nocturne was the only musical title that Whistler applied to prints. In 1881, a very small handful of the pastels (eight of the fifty-three) were exhibited as Notes, Harmonies or Nocturnes. Some of their titles included an indication of place, as

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609 MacDonald, 1995, p.868. Kenneth Myers (2003, p.5) believes that Whistler's first one-man exhibition took place in 1873 at Durand-Ruel's in Paris. He writes that seven paintings and several drawings were exhibited with the musical titles Arrangement, Variations, Harmony, and Nocturne. However, as no catalogue exists for this exhibition, I have trusted in MacDonald's chronology of Whistler's exhibitions.

610 For instance, cat. No. 16 - Design for 'Variations in Violet and Blue'; and cat. No. 23 - Design for Picture, 'Variations in Yellow and Brown'.

611 Cat. No. 9 'Blue Waves' was probably *Blue and Gold: Channel, c.*1874, YMSM 159.

612 Duret, 1917, pp.35-36.

in *The Zattere; Harmony in Blue and Brown*, while others such as *Note in Pink and Brown* were more abstract.[613] A further seventeen titles included an indication of the key colours used in the works - for instance, 'The Little Riva; in opal', or 'Courtyard on Canal; grey and red'.[614]

At the Dowdeswell Gallery in London in 1884 and 1886, and at the Wunderlich Gallery in New York City in 1889, Whistler exhibited small-scale oils, watercolours, pastels, and drawings in one-man exhibitions entitled *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'*.[615] In 1892, forty-three oil paintings were exhibited at London's Goupil Gallery in a solo retrospective exhibition entitled *Nocturnes, Marines, and Chevalet Pieces*.[616] Thirty of the paintings carried musical titles – there were three Symphonies, seventeen Nocturnes, five Arrangements, four Harmonies, and a Caprice. When this breakdown is considered alongside an examination of the 1884 and 1886 exhibition catalogues, it is seen that musical nomenclature was only one of the means by which Whistler indicated the importance he placed on colour. Surprisingly, the *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'* exhibitions included works without musical titles. In fact, Whistler placed works with musical titles (including, but not only, those indicated in the exhibition title) alongside works that had titles indicating both colour content and place or subject, those whose titles indicated only the key colours of the work, and the occasional work whose title had neither a colour indication nor a musical reference. In both exhibitions, the musical titles were applied to all media apart from pencil drawings. In 1884, thirty-two of the sixty-seven works listed in the exhibition catalogue had a musical title, and all of the musical titles were represented apart from Symphony. Sixteen works were Notes, seven were Nocturnes, and four were Harmonies, while the other titles were each represented once. In 1886, thirty-two out of seventy-five works were given musical titles: twenty-one were Notes, while Harmony, Variations, Arrangements, Caprice and Nocturne were also represented.

During the 1870s and 1880s Whistler also participated in prestigious group shows in London and Paris, and in international exhibitions. This activity

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613 *The Zattere; Harmony in Blue and Brown*, 1879/80, M. 774; *Note in Pink and Brown*, 1880, M. 787.

614 *The Little Riva; in opal*, 1879/80, M. 749; *Courtyard on Canal; grey and red*, 1880, M. 790.

615 MacDonald, 1995, p.869.

616 James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturnes, Marines, & Chevalet Pieces*, GUL EC 1892.1.

continued through the 1890s, and into the new century. In order to ensure his success alongside artists of high renown, Whistler tended to submit 'his most tried and tested works',[617] often borrowing them from their owners. For instance, his portrait of Sarasate visited Brussels and Paris in 1886; Hamburg and Antwerp in 1894; and Pittsburgh in 1896, where it was sold to the Carnegie Institute.[618] The opening of the Grosvenor Gallery in 1877 provided Whistler with an alternative to the Royal Academy, and from 1877 to 1879, and then from 1881 to 1884, Whistler submitted musically-entitled works to its annual exhibitions. The vast number of exhibited works listed in Henry Blackburn's *Grosvenor Notes* indicates that even by 1877 (ten years after he first used the title Symphony) Whistler's use of musical nomenclature was quite unique in the context of large group exhibitions. The dominant impression gained from perusing *Grosvenor Notes* is that many artists were still employing titles that indicated a narrative, or were otherwise emotive. Although a number of artists exhibited images of music-making with descriptive titles, it seems that no artist aside from Whistler employed abstract titles such as Symphony or Arrangement for works shown at the Grosvenor during the years that he exhibited there. While the title 'A Study' – used by Leighton, James Tissot, Albert Moore, and Sargent – is similarly non-descriptive, it suggests that an image is a preparatory study rather than a finished work.[619] Perhaps the closest that another artist came to Whistler's nomenclature was Lady Lindsay's 1881 submission of an image of pink and white cyclamens entitled 'A Study of Harmonies'.[620]

The single-artist exhibitions were an ideal venue for Whistler to experiment with musical titles on a large scale. The solo exhibitions of the 1870s and 1880s showcased many new works in a variety of media, and provided an opportunity to exhibit small-scale and experimental images that might otherwise have gone unnoticed in larger group exhibitions such as those at the Grosvenor. This helps explain why most of the Notes, for instance, were created and exhibited during the 1880s; and why Scherzo, Caprice, and Bravura entered his nomenclature in the early- to mid-1880s. The following review illustrates that through his nomenclature and his display of small-scale works, Whistler was

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617 MacDonald, 1995, p.869.
618 YMSM p.154.
619 See Grosvenor, 1877, pp.7, 16, 42; and Grosvenor, 1882, p.42.
620 See Grosvenor, 1881, p.45.

deviating from the practices normally expected in 1884. Therefore, the critic for the *Globe* felt obliged to comment:

> With the exception of one portrait, these studies and sketches are of very small size; the subjects are varied but the painter's chief motive in all of them is colour. To make this obvious...he indicates in the catalogue the prevailing tints of each. There are "Harmonies," "Variations," and "Nocturnes" of several colours; there is a "Note in Blue," a "Caprice in Red," and a "Bravura in Brown."...The ecentricity lies, however, not in making these slight and rapid memoranda, but in publicly exhibiting them...Some even of the slightest sketches have, in an eminent degree, the charm of colour and suggestiveness....[621]

As Whistler did not hold any mixed-media solo exhibitions during the 1890s, there were not the same sorts of opportunities for him to exhibit watercolours, pastels and untried oil paintings towards the end of his life. Therefore, it is difficult to know, for instance, whether or not he intended the Harmonies he made during the 1890s to be labelled as such.

Whistler's final solo exhibition took place in 1895 when seventy-five lithographs were exhibited at the Fine Art Society. Lithography was the only medium previously unrepresented in his exhibitions. Both Thomas Way and Arthur Eddy observed that Whistler often approached the naming of his prints in a manner quite different to the naming of his paintings. Way wrote that the 1894 lithographs *Confidences in the Garden*, *La Belle Jardinière* and *The Duet* 'are quite curious in subject in that they...have a sort of "popular" suggestion about them, and he laughed at the way he was declining, in his titles, at least, into the ordinary catalogue style'.[622] Eddy, on the other hand, wished that Whistler would allow the viewer to experience his prints in the same way that he insisted his paintings be appreciated – that is, as formal arrangements. He wrote:

> Whistler's etchings and photographs were simply compositions in line, delightful harmonies in black and white. It is too bad to preserve their names or identify them with any locality, for their exquisite art is better appreciated when no distracting consideration is aroused, but, oddly enough, he occasionally made

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621 *Globe*, 2 May 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

622 Way, 1912, pp.109-10.

> concessions in the naming of these that he did not in the naming of his paintings.[623]

To illustrate his meaning, Eddy also used the example of the lithograph *Confidences in the Garden*:

> [Its] title at once suggests a host of other considerations which conflict with the abstract enjoyment of the composition.
>
> This sort of title is precisely what he condemns for his paintings. It is, however, one of the very few instances where his titles suggest anything more than the obvious subject. For the most part he was consistent in choosing names that do not distract.[624]

The Musical Framework

The combination of type and colour within Whistler's first musical title – *Symphony in White, No. 3* - became a fairly consistent feature of his musical nomenclature. This suggests that in 1867 his ideas were already well-formed and that he had been considering a method of naming for some time. No doubt, the misunderstanding over *The White Girl* in 1862 made Whistler realise the power of the title in guiding the viewer's response to an artwork.[625] Incorrectly exhibited as 'The Woman in White', the painting was understood by the press to illustrate Wilkie Collins' novel of the same name.[626] Whistler clarified: 'I had no intention whatsoever of illustrating Mr. Wilkie Collins's novel; it so happens, indeed, that I have never read it. My painting simply represents a girl dressed in white standing in front of a white curtain'.[627] Given the dominant tradition of linking painting with literature, Whistler needed to develop a method of entitling his works that would clearly indicate his anti-literary stance and simultaneously indicate his interest in self-sufficient pictorial technique.

In her article 'The Brush and the Baton: Influences on Whistler's Choice of Musical Terms for his Titles', Catherine Carter Goebel proposes that the press

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623 Eddy, 1903, p.182.
624 Eddy, 1903, p.183.
625 *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*, 1862, YMSM 38.
626 YMSM, 1980, p.18.
627 *Athenaeum*, 5 July 1862, p.2, quoted in Goebel, 1999, p.28.

may have played a formative role in the development of Whistler's nomenclature, through their use of musical terminology to critique his work. Goebel notes that "by 1864, the term 'harmony' was abundant in both French and British criticism of Whistler's work, and in addition 'symphony' had already been suggested in France and 'arrangement' in England."[628] Furthermore, by 1865 the term 'caprice' had been used by both French and English critics.[629] 'Nocturne' was obviously suggested to Whistler by his patron Frederick Leyland, for in November 1872 Whistler wrote to him:

> I want much to borrow Mrs. Leylands [sic] little "Nocturne."...I say I can't thank you too much for the name "Nocturne" as a title for my moonlights! You have no idea what an irritation it proves to the critics and consequent pleasure to me - besides it is really so charming and does so poetically say all that I want to say and no more than I wish![630]

When the Pennells interviewed Mrs Leyland at the end of the century, she recalled that her husband had also suggested the titles Symphony and Harmony to Whistler.[631] Given that Whistler and Leyland had met by 1867 it is quite likely that Leyland, a keen amateur pianist, participated in the formation of Whistler's use of a number of titles, even if only through general discussion.[632] Certainly it is interesting that Whistler's use of Symphony is limited to the late 1860s and early 1870s - the same period that he was on intimate terms with the Leyland family.

Over the years, Whistler's musical nomenclature was received with mixed response. In 1867, the critic for the *Athenaeum* welcomed Whistler's first use of a musical term to explain his pictorial intentions:

> By way, as we suppose, of...giving us a glimpse of his purpose...this artist calls his beautiful study in grades of white, pale rose tints, and grey, *Symphony in*

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628 Goebel, 1999, p.29.

629 Goebel notes that caprice was used again in an English journal in 1871. See Goebel, 1999, pp.29-30, 32.

630 Whistler to Frederick Richards Leyland, [2/9 November 1872], LC PWC 6B/21/3; GUW 08794 (30 November 2005).

631 Pennell, 1921, p.103.

632 Galassi, 2003, p.96, and p.225 note 14; Merrill, 1998, p.88.

> *White, No. 3*, (233) and, by borrowing a musical phrase, doubtless casts reflected light upon former studies or "symphonies" of the same kind...there can be nothing but thanks due to a painter who endeavours by any means to show what he really aims at, and to get observers to understand that he produces pictures for the sake of ineffable Art itself, not as mere illustrations of "subjects,"...[633]

A similarly insightful review was published in the *Illustrated London News*: 'The artist's primary aim is colour; to this (as, indeed, indicated by the title of [*Symphony in White*]) everything is subordinated...the painter proposes to attain abstract art, as exclusively addressed to the eye as a symphony independent of words is addressed to the ear'.[634] In 1871, the *Times* published an exhibition review that so clearly articulated Whistler's ideas that it has been suggested he participated in its writing.[635] The review declared that the processes of musical composition should be transferred as a framework for painting:

> [The paintings] are illustrative of the theory, not confined to this painter, but most conspicuously and ably worked out by him, that painting is so closely akin to music that the colours of the one may and should be used, like the ordered sounds of the other, as means and influences of vague emotion; that painting should not aim at expressing dramatic emotions, depicting incidents of history, or recording facts of nature, but should be content with moulding our moods and stirring our imaginations, by subtle combinations of colour through which all that painting has to say can be said, and beyond which painting has no valuable or true speech whatever.[636]

However, not all members of the press remained so understanding. For instance, in 1877 the *Spectator* published the following response to Whistler's submissions to the Grosvenor Gallery:

> We confess that we do not quite understand what Mr. Whistler's aim is in the pictures which he has produced of late...It seems, no less from the names of the

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633 *Athenaeum*, no.2064, 18 May 1867, p.667, Whistler Presscuttings 1849-1882, CWS.

634 'Fine Arts: Exhibition of the Royal Academy', *Illustrated London News*, 25 May 1867, p.519, quoted in Goebel, 1999, p.31.

635 YMSM, p.64.

636 *Times*, 14 November 1871, quoted in YMSM, p.64.

> pictures than from the pictures themselves, that Mr. Whistler wishes to establish some connection, of what kind we do not quite understand, between painting and music...It would add greatly to the interest of these pictures, we think, if the artist were to enunciate his theory clearly. If he has done this already, we have not had the good fortune to come across his exposition.[637]

In response to such queries, Whistler repeatedly explained that he used musical titles as a means of communicating his interest in the formal properties of his pictures and, simultaneously, his disinterest in narrative or emotional associations. In an article for *The World* in 1878, which he later published in *The Gentle Art* as 'The Red Rag', Whistler explained that his use of certain titles indicated an artistic interest in the arrangement and harmony of colour, in a similar manner to the way in which sound is manipulated by composers of pure instrumental music.

> WHY should I not call my works "symphonies," "arrangements," "harmonies," and "nocturnes"? I know that many good people think my nomenclature funny and myself "eccentric."...
>
> The vast majority of English folk cannot and will not consider a picture as a picture, apart from any story which it may be supposed to tell...
>
> As music is the poetry of sound, so is painting the poetry of sight, and the subject-matter has nothing to do with harmony of sound or of colour.
>
> The great musicians knew this. Beethoven and the rest wrote music - simply music; symphony in this key, concerto or sonata in that.
>
> On F or G they constructed celestial harmonies - as harmonies - as combinations, evolved from the chords of F or G and their minor correlatives.
>
> This is pure music...
>
> Art should be independent of all clap-trap - should stand alone, and appeal to the artistic sense of eye or ear, without confounding this with emotions entirely foreign to it, as devotion, pity, love, patriotism, and the like. All these I have no kind of concern with it and that is why I insist on calling my works "arrangements" and "harmonies"...[638]

Later that same year (1878), Whistler reaffirmed his position during the Ruskin

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637 *Spectator*, 2 June 1877, Whistler Presscuttings 1849-1882, CWS.

638 Whistler, 1890, pp.126-28.

trial: 'I have, perhaps, meant rather to indicate an artistic interest alone in the work, divesting the picture from any outside sort of interest which might have been otherwise attached to it. It is an arrangement of line, form and color first...'.[639]

To fully understand Whistler's intentions, distinctions must be drawn between narrative and subject matter, and between literary associations and the 'poetry' of artistic expression. Whistler was passionate about the beauty of his chosen subject matter, even though he insisted that 'the picture should have its own merit, and not depend upon dramatic, or legendary, or local interest'.[640] Indeed, in 1886 the *Sunday Times* noted that every subject Whistler selected was 'artistic'.[641] However, it was by interpreting rather than imitating the natural world that artistic expression occurred. In 'The Red Rag' Whistler stated that it was the artist's role to go beyond imitation – 'in arrangement of colours to treat a flower as a key, not as a model'.[642]

In his 1885 'Ten O'Clock' lecture, Whistler used musical analogy to explain his process of selecting and refining visual source material. To the artist, nature was a sourcebook providing material that could be selected and arranged to form a pleasing artistic arrangement.

> Nature contains the elements, in colour and form, of all pictures, as the keyboard contains the notes of all music.
>
> But the artist is born to pick, and choose, and group with science, these elements, that the results may be beautiful - as the musician gathers his notes, and forms his chords, until he brings forth from chaos glorious harmony.[643]

By using musical processes as a framework to explain his approach to nature, Whistler participated in an ongoing discourse. In 1871, Haweis wrote that the relationship and approach to nature was one of the major differences between painting and music. While nature supplied the artist with ready made images 'to

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639 Daily News, 1878, p.835.
640 Whistler, 1890, pp.126-28.
641 *Sunday Times*, 'Whistler at Dowdeswell's', 2 May 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.
642 Whistler, 1890, p.128.
643 Whistler, 1885, p.841.

reproduce and recombine at will',[644] it only provided the musician with the 'raw element of sound'.[645]

> Nature not only provides the painter with fair forms and rich colours, but she also teaches him the magical art of selection and arrangement. But what has she done for the musician? She has given him sound, not music. Nowehere does there fall upon his ear...such an arrangement of consecutive sounds as can be called a musical subject, or theme, or melody. Far less does he find anything which can be described as musical harmony.[646]

Thirty years later, Eddy used the example set by music to argue, as Whistler did, for pure colour compositions:

> One art is like another...It is immaterial whether the sense of hearing, sight, or touch is appealed to; it does not matter whether it is a composition of sound, of color, of line, or of form that is under consideration, the fundamental principles of the art are the same; and one of the fundamental propositions is: imitation is fatal to pure art.
>
> It is the business of art to improve on nature, to take the raw materials nature furnishes - her forces, her forms, her lines, her colors, her lights and shadows, her sounds, her odors, her flavors - and produce from them harmonious and agreeable effects unknown to nature.[647]

In 'The Red Rag' Whistler declared that 'music is the poetry of sound' and 'painting the poetry of sight'. In the 'Ten O'Clock' lecture, he again linked poetry with music - this time as a means of describing the nocturnal transformation of the riverside that was the subject of so many of his works:

> And when the evening mist clothes the riverside with poetry, as with a veil, and the poor buildings lose themselves in the dim sky, and the tall chimneys become campanili, and the warehouses are palaces in the night, and the whole city hangs in the heavens, and fairy-land is before us...Nature, who, for once, has sung in

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644 Haweis, 1871, p.5.
645 Haweis, 1871, p.7.
646 Haweis, 1871, p.5.
647 Eddy, 1903, pp.203-204.

tune, sings her exquisite song to the artist alone...[648]

Whistler then defined what he termed 'the painter's poetry' - 'the amazing invention that shall have put form and colour into such perfect harmony, that exquisiteness is the result...the nobility of thought, that shall have given the artist's dignity to the whole'.[649] As Lenora Moffa explains, Whistler's use of the term poetry is aligned with that of Baudelaire, Poe and even Ruskin. In the nineteenth century, poetry typically meant any work of art, regardless of medium, that 'expressed noble intentions on the part of the creator and, in turn, evoked noble or elevated feelings in the viewer'.[650] In order to achieve such poetry, Whistler systematically investigated the logic of colour and form.

The Science of Colour and 'Picture Pattern'

The idea of art as a science consumed Whistler more and more the older he became.[651] The Pennells noted that he spent most of his professional life refining and reiterating his ideas on the subject: 'Pattern, harmony, repetition are words ever recurring in his letters...Whistler had a way of using the same idea over and over again, in his talk, in his letters, in his pamphlets, perfecting it with use, so that often it is impossible to say where a certain expression, phrase or doctrine originated'.[652] While Whistler's approach to colour and composition was admittedly shaped by many influences, it was music that provided the framework for his concept of art as a science.

In 1872 (by which stage he was using the titles Symphony, Harmony, Variations, Arrangement and Note) Whistler wrote to Fantin-Latour: 'If I have made any progress it is in the science of colour which I believe I have analysed almost completely and reduced to a system'.[653] The following year, he wrote to the Parisian collector George A. Lucas:

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648 Whistler, 1885, p.841.
649 Whistler, 1885, pp.842-43.
650 Moffa, 1991, p.227.
651 For instance, see Pennell, 1921, pp.30-31.
652 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.147.
653 Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, [August 1872], LC PWC 1/33/22; GUW 08041 (5 March 2006).

> They are not merely canvasses having interest in themselves alone, but are intended to indicate ...something of my theory in Art - The *Science* of color and "*picture* pattern" as I have worked it out for myself during these years...You will notice...that my frames I have designed as carefully as my pictures – and that they form as important a part as any of the rest of the work – carrying on the particular harmony throughout...By the names of the pictures also I point out something of what I mean in my theory of painting...'.[654]

Obviously Whistler wished that the paintings he was then exhibiting in Paris be collectively understood as a manifesto of his artistic theories. In 1868 he had explained his concept of 'picture pattern' to Fantin-Latour:

> it seems to me first of all that, with the canvas as given, the colours should be so to speak *embroidered* on it – in other words the same colour reappearing continually here and there like the same thread in an embroidery – and so on with the others – more or less according to their importance – the whole forming in this way an harmonious *pattern*...[655]

A decade later, Whistler explained the same concept through the analogy of music: 'In every costume you see attention is paid to the key-note of colour which runs through the composition, as the chant of the Anabaptists through the Prophète, or the Huguenot's hymn in the opera of that name'.[656] For Whistler, colour repetition was a means of emphasizing the key colours of a work and, thereby, creating a unified composition.

To begin exploring Whistler's concept of the 'science of colour', we might turn to his friend Lady Archibald Campbell, whom he met circa 1881. In 1886, Campbell published *Rainbow-Music; or, The Philosophy of Harmony in Colour-Grouping*, in which she argued for 'a demonstrative system of principles on which to found a *science of colour* [my italics] analogous to that on which has

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654 Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, [18 January 1873], Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; GUW 09182, quoted in YMSM, p.84.

655 Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, 30 September – 22 November 1868, LC PWC 1/33/28; GUW 11983 (30 November 2005).

656 Whistler, 1890, p.128. *Les Huguenots* is an opera by Meyerbeer. It was frequently performed in London during the mid- to late-1870s, so Whistler might have seen it.

been founded the science of music'.[657] Campbell extrapolated on her belief in the parallels between music and art: 'if we study, separate, and compare the fine Art sisterhood individually, we see that the exactitude of treatment demanded from the one fits as directly the requirements of the other, the *science of harmony* [my italics] being pre-eminent over all'.[658] She then upheld Whistler's decoration of the 'Peacock Room' to illustrate the application of this science:

> The artist has here translated his subject in scientific method by counterchange of these two colours, that of the device and that of the field - *gold on blue, blue on gold.* The devices are as manifold as the changes in the peacocks' plumage. Whether trailed on the battle-ground or swirling in the air, each shattered feather has its scientific value in the general scheme, as in a fugue. It is, in other words, contrapuntal painting, for under infinite changes, the air, or theme, pervades the whole composition. In the grand result we see enforced under the crown of Unity the laws of permutation, combination, variation. The artist himself describes it as a Harmony in Blue and Gold.[659]

Whistler provided his own succinct summary of the decorative programme of the 'Peacock Room', in a pamphlet entitled *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room.*[660] In this pamphlet he explains that his decoration can be reduced to the repetition of three patterns (those derived from the eye, the breast-feathers and the throat-feathers of the Peacock), sometimes in isolation (as a fugal subject is first sounded alone) and then in varying combinations.

It is reasonable to use Lady Campbell's explanations of the science of colour as an adjunct to Whistler's own writings, as it is understood that her ideas were influenced by Whistler's theories.[661] Within their writings, two main ideas recur - the overriding interest in colour harmony, and the aspiration towards formal unity. For both writers, musical processes provide a framework. In 'The Red Rag' Whistler wrote of the harmonic palette explored in pure tonal music. His statement – 'On F or G they constructed celestial harmonies - as harmonies -

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657 Campbell, 1886, p.16.
658 Campbell, 1886, pp.10-11.
659 Campbell, 1886, pp.14-15.
660 Whistler, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, GUL 246.
661 See Aileen Reid, 'Campbell [*née* Callander], Janey Sevilla [Lady Archibald Campbell] (1846-1923), article 55558, Oxford DNB (5 March 2006).

as combinations, evolved from the chords of F or G and their minor correlatives' - indicates that he had a basic understanding of musical tonality. Within this system, chords are designated as primary or secondary, according to their relationship to the tonic key (such as 'F or G'). In his art, Whistler translated the concept of a tonic key, by basing a picture on 'a limited number of colours'. He explored the 'infinite tones and variations' of his selected colours, just as a composer explores the harmonies relating to their tonic key.[662] The colours that formed the basis of his chosen harmony, were then acknowledged in the title. Whistler explained this framework in his response to P.G. Hamerton's criticism of 1867 that *Symphony in White, No. 3* was 'not precisely a symphony in white' due to the inclusion of other colours. Whistler wrote, probably at the later date of 1878, 'does he then...believe that a symphony in F contains no other note, but shall be a continued repetition of F, F, F?'[663] In 1893, John Van Dyke clarified the meaning of tonality in his book *Art for Art's Sake*:

> The similarity of tone in color to tone in music [that is, tonality] offers one way of illustrating a meaning rather difficult of explanation...The color scheme of a picture, to be in tone, must be keyed to a certain pitch of color, and all the notes must harmonize with that pitch...So if one paint such an Oriental scene as a Rose Festival...the whole piece should be keyed to the color of rose...The one tint or hue must prevail, yet this does not argue that all other hues are to be rigidly excluded.[664]

Not surprisingly then, as Joyce Townsend explains in her article on Whistler's oil painting methods for the *Burlington Magazine*, 'Whistler laid great emphasis on the importance of the palette, its arrangement, and its place in working out the colour harmonies in a composition before the brush even approached the canvas'.[665] Inez Bate, a student of Whistler's, recalled him telling his pupils that as the palette is 'the instrument on which the painter plays his

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662 Whistler, quoted in Farr, 1974, p.272.

663 In *The Gentle Art* (Whistler, 1890, pp.44-45) Whistler dates his response June 1867. However, the authors of the catalogue raisonné believe that it 'was almost certainly written later than 1867 and probably in 1878 when it appears...in the margin of a press cutting book, written in Whistler's hand and dated 'Nov. 1878'.' See YMSM, p.35.

664 Van Dyke, 1893, pp.80-81.

665 Townsend, 1994, p.690.

harmony, it must be beautiful always, as the tenderly cared-for violin of the great musician is kept in condition worthy of his music'.[666] In her article, Townsend notes that by the end of his life, the layout of Whistler's own palette generally conformed, more or less, to the same basic format. At the top, from left to right, were the pure tube colours: Prussian blue, cobalt blue, raw umber, burnt sienna, raw sienna, yellow ochre, lead white, vermilion, Venetian red, Indian red, and black. Then, selected colours were mixed 'in a continuous gradation below for the predominant tones of the composition in hand, shading through to the darkest point at the outer edges'.[667] Finally, flesh paint was mixed on the right. After viewing Whistler's methods first hand in 1886, the art critic Malcolm Salaman reported:

> The colours were systematically arranged, almost with the appearance of a picture...with unfailing science he mixes his colours on his palette instead of experimenting upon his picture...His picture, therefore, is, to all intents and purposes, finished from its commencement; that is, he begins immediately with the finish that others attempt to arrive at through many preliminary preparations, and puts on canvas at once the absolute form and colour that is before him, considering always, and dealing with, the whole picture in its entirety...[668]

Whistler's systematic approach to colour and composition was, above all, a means to forming aesthetically-pleasing visual arrangements. As he stated towards the end of his life - 'Art is the Science of the Beautiful, *the* Science as I have always insisted'.[669]

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that music provided Whistler with a framework for developing and refining his approach to nature (he selected, interpreted and rearranged its raw visual material in order to form a pleasing artistic arrangment), colour (he believed in a 'science of colour' similar to musical tonality) and design ('picture-pattern'). Whistler recognised similarities

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666 Quoted in Pennell, 1908, vol.2, p.231.
667 Townsend, 1994, p.690.
668 Salaman, 1886, p.589.
669 Pennell, 1921, p.36.

between the elements of music and painting, and between the processes by which these elements are manipulated. He was particularly interested in the correspondence between musical harmony and colour harmony. Musical analogy provided him with a means of explaining his artistic theory. He used musical terms to draw attention to these elements and processes, and to indicate his overriding interest in the formal properties of his works.

The following chapter will address Whistler's musically-entitled works, and illustrate the ways in which Whistler translated his theories into practice.

Chapter Five
Musical Nomenclature

This chapter will address the significance of Whistler's musical nomenclature. The titles of interest to this discussion – Symphony, Harmony, Variations, Nocturne, Arrangement, Note, Scherzo, Bravura, and Caprice - are layered with musical associations. However, they were mostly used by Whistler to entitle images that do not depict music-making. Therefore, they function differently from the descriptive titles that Whistler had used previously (such as *At the Piano*),[670] and that he continued to use simultaneously (for instance, in 1895-96 he exhibited and sold impressions of his lithograph *The Duet*).[671] Below, each title will be considered individually in terms of Whistler's approach to subject matter, colour and design. The analysis of selected artworks will illustrate the ways in which Whistler's understanding of musical processes shaped his artistic practice.

The Pennells believed that although Whistler 'altered his titles himself, nothing offended him more than when others tampered with them or imitated them'.[672] Whistler's somewhat contradictory approach towards his nomenclature raises a number of questions. Firstly, did Whistler develop over time a system of titling that was as consistent in its characterization and use of types, as it was in the ordering of the titles' components? Alternatively, were the types interchangeable in Whistler's system? That is, were the various musically-suggestive terms all used similarly, as a means of indicating his interest in freestanding pictorial technique and, simultaneously, his lack of interest in extra-pictorial associations? And, as Robert Getscher suggests, was the artist experimenting with the way the title guided the viewer's interaction with an image?[673]

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670 *At the Piano* (1858-59, YMSM 24) was first exhibited with this title at the Royal Academy in 1860.

671 *The Duet*, 1894, C.104, vol.1, pp.323-24.

672 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.166.

673 Getscher, 1991, p.31.

Symphony

Today, 'symphony' is a term rarely used in anything but a musical context, and therefore it could be interpreted as the most overtly musical of Whistler's titles.[674] However, from at least the late-sixteenth century through to at least the mid-nineteenth century, it also functioned as a synonym of harmony, agreement, and concord, and as such, the term was used outside the musical domain. Whistler was certainly aware of this meaning. In the catalogue for his 1892 exhibition at the Goupil Gallery, he republished a critique from the *Echo* in the form of a parable, in which a donkey declared that his braying was a "'Symphony,' which means a concord of sweet sounds, as you may see by referring to any dictionary."[675] Prior to Whistler's first use of the term in 1867, 'symphony' had already been used as a descriptive term in the context of the visual arts by writers such as Baudelaire, and in 1852 it was used by the painter Moritz von Schwind to entitle a work depicting a musical performance.[676] It is widely acknowledged that Whistler would have been aware of the use of the term by French writers. For instance, the Pennells wrote:

> Baudelaire had already given him the hint, and Gautier had already written symphonies in verse. One of Murger's Bohemians had already composed a *Symphonie sur l'influence du bleu dans les arts*. In 1863 Paul Mantz had described *The White Girl* as a "Symphony in White." There can be no doubt that from these things Whistler got the name.[677]

It is possible that Whistler might also have known Longfellow's phrase 'The grand, majestic symphonies of ocean', found in the Dedication to the 1850 collection *The Seaside and The Fireside*.[678] Whistler was certainly familiar with Longfellow's works for he owned a copy of *Voices of the Night* (1840),[679] and in

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674 In the 1996 Oxford dictionary, the words symphonic, symphonist and symphony are only defined in musical terms. See Oxford, 1996, p.1461.

675 Quoted in Welchman, 1997, p.137. See James McNeill Whistler, *Nocturnes, Marines, & Chevalet Pieces*, GUL EC 1892.1.

676 Moritz von Schwind, *A Symphony*, 1852. Oil on canvas, one panel of a larger (166 x 99cm) painting. Munich, Neue Pinakothek. [This painting depicts a performance of Beethoven's *Fantasy for Piano, Chorus, and Orchestra*, op.80, by well-known musicians of the nineteenth century, including Franz Schubert.] See Buettner and Pauly, 1992, pp.74-75.

677 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.144.

678 See Longfellow, 1970, p.334; and Oxford, 1989, vol.XVII, 'Symphony', definition 4.b.

679 Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Voices of the Night*, second ed., Cambridge, Massachusetts:

an address to the Académie Carmen in 1901 he quoted from Longfellow's poem 'Excelsior'.[680] In *The Seaside and The Fireside*, Longfellow uses the term 'symphony' to describe the grandeur of the sounds of the ocean. It is interesting that while Whistler's Symphonies are more often female figure studies, he occasionally used the title for daylight marines. However, of the three Symphonies known to be marines, it is only certain that Whistler approved the title for one - *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*, which was painted in 1866.[681] This work was exhibited in 1872 and 1892 with its current title, although it may have been exhibited in 1874 as 'Harmony in Grey', and was listed by Whistler in 1878 as 'Harmony in Grey Valparaiso'.[682] In addition, four of the eight figure studies entitled Symphony are sketches from the series known as the Six Projects, and depict young women in a marine setting. The women are conveyed either at the water's edge (as in *Symphony in White and Red* and *Symphony in Blue and Pink*),[683] or on a balcony with water views (*Symphony in Green and Violet* and *The White Symphony: Three Girls*).[684] Of these works, only *Symphony in Blue and Pink* was exhibited during Whistler's lifetime with its current title, although *The White Symphony: Three Girls* was exhibited twice as 'Symphony in White and Red'. These paintings will be discussed in detail in the following chapter. The whereabouts of four later Symphonies is unknown (and therefore their subject matter unclear).[685]

In 'The Red Rag' Whistler declared: 'Beethoven and the rest wrote music - simply music; symphony in this key, concerto or sonata in that'.[686] In the 'Ten

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John Owen, 1840, GUL.

680 Whistler to Inez Eleanor Addams and Académie Carmen, March 1901, GUL A5; GUW 00005 (30 June 2005).

681 *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*, 1866-72, YMSM 72. It is unclear how *Symphonie en argent et émeraude* (1865/68, YMSM 68) and *Symphony in Grey: Early Morning, Thames* (1871, YMSM 98) acquired their titles. Additionally, *Dark Blue and Silver* (1893, YMSM 412), which was exhibited in 1894 with its present title, was subsequently exhibited in America during 1897 and 1898 as 'Symphony in Violet and Blue'. However, these exhibitions took place after the sale of the painting to Alfred Atmore Pope of Cleveland, Ohio. Therefore, Pope might have retitled the painting.

682 YMSM, p.42.

683 *Symphony in White and Red*, c.1868, YMSM 85; *Symphony in Blue and Pink*, c.1868, YMSM 86.

684 *Symphony in Green and Violet*, c.1868, YMSM 83; *The White Symphony: Three Girls*, c.1867, YMSM 87.

685 *Symphony in Grey and Gold*, early 1880s, YMSM 143; *Symphony in Silver and Grey*, 1871/79?, YMSM 146; *Symphony in Blue and White*, 1871/79?, YMSM 146a; *A Symphony in Sand*, date unknown, YMSM 202.

686 Whistler, 1890, p.127.

O'Clock' lecture six years later, he referred to Beethoven's C minor Symphony as an example of 'art-music', comparable to Rembrandt's etchings.[687] These statements indicate that Whistler was well aware of the symphonic tradition, and that in borrowing the term 'symphony', he was alluding to the pure form of the multi-movement, instrumental symphony, rather than the newer, single-movement, programmatic symphonic poem.[688] However, his use of the term to entitle single paintings rather than to collectively entitle a series, indicates that he was not attempting to directly imitate the formal structure of the musical symphony. Rather, as Eddy implied, Whistler wanted to pursue a similar aesthetic of expression through abstraction:

> Art begins with "truths," in the Ruskin sense, and flowers in "harmonies," in the Whistler sense. It begins with the concrete, with imitation, with fidelity to natural effects, and it develops by a process of abstraction until it attains the chaste perfection of a Greek temple or a Beethoven symphony.[689]

From Beethoven onwards, the symphony was regarded as orchestral music's 'highest and most exalted form', and the adjective 'symphonic' implied that a musical work was 'extended and thoroughly developed'.[690] In his article for *Grove Music Online*, Mark Bonds explains:

> A true symphony was perceived as a work whose very essence emerged from the polyphonic web of all instrumental parts and their distinctive colours. Because of the symphony's aesthetic prestige, and because of the sheer technical demands of writing one, this genre was almost universally acknowledged as a touchstone of compositional prowess as early as the first quarter of the 19th century.[691]

This explanation highlights two aspects of symphonic writing and reception that

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687 Whistler, 1885, p.844.

688 The symphonic poem was generally a single-movement, programmatic orchestral form, which 'attempted to reconcile classical formal principles with external literary concepts' by depicting imprecise, poetic ideas, or conveying a narrative. It flourished during the second half of the nineteenth century. See Hugh MacDonald, 'Symphonic Poem', GMO (29 June 2005).

689 Eddy, 1903, p.205.

690 'Symphony', GMO (29 June 2005).

691 Mark Evan Bonds, 'Symphony, §II: 19th century', GMO (30 November 2005).

Whistler aspired to in his colour-music. Firstly, through the repetition and interweaving of his selected colours he emulated the 'polyphonic web' of symphonic orchestration. Otto Bacher recalled:

> His most ambitious desire was to paint a grand concerto-like picture with the title "Full Palette" - "just as in music," he explained, "when they employ all the instruments they make it 'Full Band.' If I can find the right kind of thing I will produce a harmony in color corresponding to Beethoven's harmonies in sound.[692]

Admittedly, Whistler's use of the term 'concerto' in this context seems ill chosen, due to the discrepancy between the soloistic emphasis of the modern concerto format, and the equality of instrumentalists that is implied by 'Full Band'.[693] However, the statement might not have been documented accurately, in which case the inconsistency may be Bacher's. (There is no other known record of Whistler using, or considering, the title Concerto.) Nonetheless, Whistler's interest in the tutti passages of orchestral music is evident. Furthermore, the statement illustrates that Whistler considered a correspondence between colour harmony and instrumentation, in addition to the correspondence with musical harmony that he had outlined in previous statements.

Whistler's statement also implies that he sought the technical challenges associated with symphonic writing (as noted above by Bonds). In his three 'Symphonies in White' Whistler addressed the technical challenge of painting white-on-white, a challenge 'long recognized by the most powerful circles of academic painting'.[694] In *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* [fig. 40], Whistler outlined the figure with a darker shade to provide the form with contour and depth. By exploiting the surface texture of the canvas, and by applying varied shades of white with varied brushstroke, he further distinguished between figure and background. The

Figure 40: *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*. 1862. YMSM 38.

692 Bacher, 1908, pp.58-59.

693 Many of Whistler's contemporaries wrote concerti for solo instrumentalists. However, the term 'concerto' had not always implied soloistic virtuosity. Rather, it originally referred to contrasting instrumental forces, and to playing 'in concert'. See Scholes, 1970, p.237.

694 Curry, 2004, p.80.

self-patterned fabric that constitutes the curtain has a luxurious sheen that contrasts with the coarser texture of the white dress. Similarly, in *Symphony in White, No. 3* [fig. 41], Whistler juxtaposed figures in white dresses against a white background. However, here the dresses are painted more opaquely than the background, and include a greater variety of shades and hues visible to the naked eye. As Whistler implied in his response to P.G. Hamerton's criticism ('does he then...believe that a symphony in F contains no other note, but shall be a continued repetition of F, F, F?')[695] the overall key of white in fact incorporates a number of colours, just as a musical symphony involves notes other than its tonic. Thus, the dresses include coffee and peach. Stronger shades of these colours appear in the fan and flowers. Joyce Townsend has observed that in the white dress of *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*,[696] Whistler incorporated tiny amounts of all the pigments he used elsewhere in the painting.[697] Not only does this provide an example of Whistler's theory of 'picture pattern' in practice, but it also illustrates his interest in emulating symphonic orchestration.

Figure 41: *Symphony in White, No. 3*, 1865-67, YMSM 61.

The fact that Whistler reserved Symphony for works in oil - the medium traditionally placed highest in the artistic hierarchy - immediately suggests that he saw parallels between the symphony's high position within the musical hierarchy, the high regard for the medium of oil, and the artistic goals he was aspiring to in his paintings. However, Whistler stopped exhibiting new Symphonies beyond the early 1870s, and instead used its synonym Harmony to entitle marines, figure studies and portraits that were similarly concerned with colour. Therefore, Symphony might be seen as Whistler's starting point for developing a method of naming that conveyed his intentions. As his theories developed, and as he monitored the public's reaction to the title Symphony, he probably realised that the term was too closely aligned with a specific musical form, and was therefore

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695 See Whistler, 1890, pp.44-45; and YMSM, p.35.

696 *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864, YMSM 52.

697 Townsend, 1994, p.691.

slightly misleading. For Whistler used the title to allude to musical processes and the abstract beauty of pure music, rather than to prompt a synaesthetic experience in the viewer. As terms that did not refer to structural forms but instead to processes, titles such as Harmony and Arrangement suited his purposes better.

Harmony

In *Art for Art's Sake* (1893) John Van Dyke discussed the concept of colour harmony in some detail. The Pennells recalled that Whistler was always keen to dine with them when Van Dyke was present, and that the two men enjoyed debating artistic matters together.[698] In Whistler's copy of *Art for Art's Sake*, Van Dyke's references to him are highlighted (perhaps by the artist himself). While the Pennells only mention Van Dyke's 1896 visit to London, it is possible that he and Whistler were acquainted earlier. Either way, it seems that Whistler respected Van Dyke's ideas. Therefore, *Art for Art's Sake* is a useful source for investigating Whistler's use of the term 'harmony'.

Van Dyke begins by acknowledging the enigmatic nature of the term:

> [Science] does not tell us precisely what is harmony, nor analyze the motive of the colorist in his placing of the hues...should the same question be asked of the painters their answers would be even more indefinite than those of the color-theorists. For they, too are in ignorance of any positive law of formula for its production...'[699]

Nonetheless, Van Dyke writes, 'color-harmony is now the loftiest pitch to which the painter may attain'.[700] Van Dyke defines colour-harmony as the accord of similar or closely related colours, as opposed to contrast of colour.[701] He notes that in painting it is not necessary 'that the whole register of color from red to violet should be travelled through in the attempt to gain an harmonious result'.[702] Rather, harmony can be achieved by exploring the different values of a single colour, by blending similar colours through gradation, or by 'the maintenance of

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698 Pennell, 1908, vol. 2, p.177.
699 Van Dyke, 1893, p.48.
700 Van Dyke, 1893, p.41.
701 Van Dyke, 1893, p.53.
702 Van Dyke, 1893, p.55.

values in closely related tones' of colour.[703]

Harmony in Red: Lamplight [fig. 42] – Whistler's oil portrait of his future wife Beatrix – illustrates Whistler's interest in creating harmony by combining different values of a single colour. As the title suggests, Whistler was also experimenting with the effects of artificial illumination in this painting. Therefore, a yellow light bathes the figure's face and hands, and causes certain areas, such as the right side of the red cloak and most of the background, to become a tawny rust red.[704] Whistler's butterfly signature, the left side of the cloak, the ribbon tied at the neck, and the plume in Beatrix's hair are in varying shades of a richer red. The many gradations of red found in the ribbon bow are particularly attractive. The black dress underneath the cloak was rendered in thin layers of paint over a paler ground, creating a dappled quality. The strong shadow caused by the artificial light source helps distinguish Beatrix's form from the background, while providing further tonal variation.

Figure 42: *Harmony in Red: Lamplight*, 1884, YMSM 253.

In the pastel *Harmony in Blue and Violet* [fig. 43] the colour-harmony stated in the title encompasses aquas, sea greens, slate blue, violet and purple. Small notes of lime green (below the figure's feet), orange (under her cap) and pink (on her chest) provide relief, while white is used to highlight the contours of the body. Bernhard Sickert admired the way Whistler made 'delicate gradations of tone' in his pastel compositions by adjusting the degree by which he pressed the colour on to the paper. Sickert explained that Whistler might 'drag a pale colour lightly for the sky, and obtain more brilliant touches near the horizon by working these portions over again or pressing harder'.[705] In the context of Whistler's interest in the musical model, this technique can be likened to a composer's use of dynamics: a light covering of colour

Figure 43: *Harmony in Blue and Violet*, 1885/88, M.1076.

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703 Van Dyke, 1893, pp.55-56, 173.
704 MacDonald, 2003c, p.187.
705 Sickert, 1908, pp.133-34.

being equivalent to soft sounds, and opaque colour equivalent to loud, with the potential for many gradations in between. The method is illustrated in *Harmony in Blue and Violet*. For instance, to colour the background in the upper right Whistler applied the purple stick of pastel very lightly, whereas on the railing itself and below it, he created dark tones of purple by pressing harder and using the colour more opaquely. The sticks of blues and sea green have been used in the same way to colour the girl's robe. Whistler has also created harmony by gradually blending blue and green in certain areas of the drapery – for instance, where it falls in folds from the neck to the left shoulder.

In *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* [fig. 44] the pictorial surface is decorated with various shades of white, black, green, gold and grey. Whistler arranged the elements of the composition with care: Cicely's dress was made especially for the portrait sittings according to Whistler's design (which included the direction that the material be pure white, without a hint of blue), and the colour scheme and compositional arrangement were explored in a pastel study.[706] In this study the feather on Cicely's hat is marked with a distinctive green that stands apart from the golden greens that pattern the surface. However, in the final painting the feather, bows on Cicely's shoes and sash around her waist were rendered with a pale, delicate tone of green that harmonizes with both the greys and golds. The drapery piled to her left and the stems of the daisies to her right are rendered in a darker shade of green. A green tint also infuses the grey of the flooring, Whistler's butterfly signature, and the near-black vertical division on the wall to Cicely's left. The grey of the title ranges from white through to black. In 1892, the critic for the *Speaker* used musical terminology to describe Whistler's 'orchestration' of grey: 'The grey note pervades the picture – treble in the high light, contralto in the half-tints, baritone in the shadows'.[707] Accents of gold enrich the predominantly grey tonality: in Cicely's hair, the bows on her shoes, and the rosette on her sash; and in the

Figure 44: *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, 1872/73, YMSM 129.

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706 *Study for the portrait of Miss Cicely Alexander*, c.1873, M. 505. See MacDonald, 2003a, pp.71-72.

707 Mr. Whistler's Portraits', *Speaker*, 2 April 1892, pp.406-407.

daisies to her right, the drapery to her left, and the butterflies that hover above her. Indeed, Whistler's use of gold is more readily apparent than his use of green.

In this *Harmony in Grey and Green* Whistler has blended the colours of the title so thoroughly that the initial impression is of a sombre grey tonality. Yet, as the Pennells explained:

> He calls the portrait *Harmony in Grey and Green*, but the colours which bind all this arrangement together, which play through it, are green and gold. So wonderfully are these colours used like gold threads in tapestry, that one does not see them: one simply feels the result...The whole is bound together by this grey, green, black and gold scheme running through the composition. It is a perfect harmony. And so subtle is it, that only the result is evident, never the means by which it was obtained.[708]

In this way, Whistler was practising his theory of 'picture pattern' as explained to Fantin-Latour. Modern analysis reveals that Whistler repeated a narrow range of pigments across the surface in order to satisfy his desire to achieve pictorial unity through colour harmony. Townsend writes:

> [Even] the harmonious, neutrally-coloured background consists of light washes of paint mixed from lead white, cadmium yellow, cobalt blue and rose madder. These colours are easily recognizable by surface examination only in the sash and hair ribbon, but have been found in lower concentration in all the samples taken of the background, at the edges.[709]

MacDonald notes that Cicely's pose was typically associated more with men than women.[710] She believes that the 'pose, the dress, and the hat with its Old Master connotations suggest a gentle archaizing on Whistler's part'. However, the pose might also be explained by Cicely's interest in dance. As an adult she recalled:

> I believe I used to get very tired and cross and often finished the day in tears.

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708 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.172-73.
709 Townsend, 1994, p.691.
710 MacDonald, 2003a, p.71.

> This was especially when he had promised to release me at a given time to go to a dancing class, but when the time came I was still standing, and the minutes slipped away, and he was quite absorbed and had forgotten all about his promise, and never noticed the tears...[711]

Given the position of Cicely's feet and her upright posture, her pose can be interpreted as that of a dancer. Indeed, the display caption at Tate Britain states that Whistler posed Cicely in the attitude of Manet's *Lola de Valence, danseuse espagnole* (1862).[712]

The suggestion of dance extends the musical reference inherent in the painting's title - the presence of music is implied in images of dance even when it is unseen. It is interesting that the *Speaker* acknowledged not only 'the music of colour' in the painting, but also 'the music of composition'.[713] In both the pastel study and the finished oil painting, Whistler decorated the flooring with a chequered pattern. In the pastel this takes the form of a boldly coloured and gently undulating single line that echoes the implied movement in Cicely's feet. In the painting, a number of chequered voices are seen in counterpoint, each a variation on the other in terms of pattern, colour and brushstroke. The decoration of Cicely's dress includes a similar pattern. These voices imbue the painting with a sense of pulse and rhythmic interest. In the upper area of the picture plane a further voice is formed by Whistler's butterfly signature, the gold butterflies, the note of gold on the bow in Cicely's hair, and the grey butterfly at the right edge. A sweeping melodic line evolves as the eye links these decorative notes. Finally, Cicely is depicted in a static pose rather than caught mid-movement, and is herself a component of 'the music of the composition'. Whistler unifies the figure with the environment by treating the entire surface within the one colour harmony, and thus Cicely becomes one of a number of decorative forms placed upon the picture plane.

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711 Quoted in Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.173.

712 Edouard Manet, *Lola de Valence, danseuse espagnole*, 1862. Oil on canvas, 123 x 92 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. See 'Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander', Tate Collection, Tate Online <www.tate.org.uk> (10 March 2006).

713 'Mr. Whistler's Portraits', *Speaker*, 2 April 1892, pp.406-407.

Variations

'Variation' is a term that implies difference, change or alteration. Musically, the variations form comprises an initial statement of a theme followed by a series of modified versions of this theme, each slightly different from the last. It is certainly possible that the *shamisen* player in *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* [fig. 45] performed a set of variations in the presence of the artist. However Whistler's other Variations do not depict musical performance. If Whistler had intended to emulate the musical form, a series of prints in altered states would seem the most obvious and appropriate material. Yet, although he enjoyed experimenting with different printing processes and results, Whistler never applied the title Variations to his lithographs or etchings. It should also be noted that Whistler did not refer to Variations in 'The Red Rag', even though it was already present in his nomenclature. Therefore, it seems that Whistler was not referring exclusively to the musical process of variation, but was evoking the term's wider meanings.

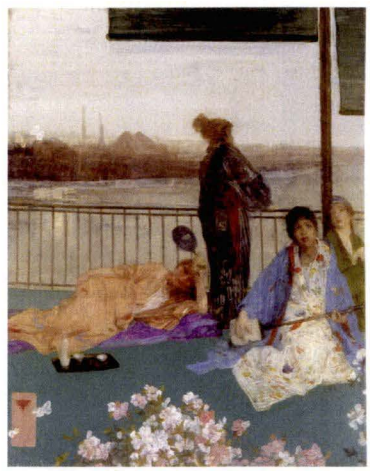

Figure 45: *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 1865, YMSM 56.

In 1872, Whistler described his musically-entitled works as 'the complete results of harmonies obtained by employing the infinite tones and variations of a limited number of colours'.[714] This suggests that he used the title Variations for works concerned with colour variation. Indeed, *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* incorporates variations of flesh colour which range from white through to peach, auburn, brown and red; and variations of green from the blue-green of the balcony's floor to the olive green of the leaves and the kimono on the far right, and the darker tones used for the blinds and the kimono on the central figure. Initially, the variety of colour and pattern in this painting is quite startling, and the composition intricate. The title provides a means for the viewer to navigate the work by drawing attention to the repetition and variation of colour throughout the composition, thus inducing a sense of unity.

In his watercolour *Variations in violet and grey – Market Place, Dieppe*

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[714] Quoted in Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.157; Farr 1974, p.272; and Townsend, 1994, p.691.

[fig. 46] Whistler uses variation and repetition of colour as a means of unifying a crowd of bustling figures. As MacDonald notes: 'The butterfly strikes the dominant note of colour, the misty grey and greenish-blues of the women's skirts, but there are tiny touches of other colours, cherry red, lime yellow, and a green'.[715] While the figures in the foreground are individually characterized, the overall effect is one of abstract pattern. Through variation of colour and brushstroke, Whistler encourages a number of independent voices to emerge from the overall texture. For instance, the viewer's attention is drawn to the upper left by the geometric blue and yellow decoration on the side of a small building. Consider the opaque, silver-grey headscarves worn by the tiny figures that crowd around this building - the careful placement of these notes of silver creates a brief but interesting melodic motif. Similarly, small notes of red help the viewer navigate their way through the centre of the crowd. The simplistic depiction of the buildings at the top, their forms highlighted by variations of the colours found elsewhere in the image, provides relief from the density of pattern in the centre of the composition.

Figure 46: *Variations in violet and grey – Market Place, Dieppe*, 1885, M. 1024.

However, works that carry other titles - such as *Symphony in White, No.3*; *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*; and *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*; to name but a few - also illustrate the artist's interest in exploring variations of a limited colour palette.[716] Therefore, colour variation is not limited to works entitled Variations. Both in its general and musical uses, 'variation' implies that the object it refers to has a fundamental relationship to another, in order for it to deviate from that other. In Whistler's day, a musical variation was commonly a 'modification with regard to the tune, time, and harmony of a theme, by which on repetition it appears in a new but still recognizable form'.[717] As David Park Curry notes, in both *Variations in Flesh*

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715 M., p.385.

716 *Symphony in White, No. 3*, 1865-67, YMSM 61; *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*, 1871-74, YMSM 106; and *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, 1871, YMSM 103.

717 Oxford, 1989, vol.XIX, 'Variation', definition III.14a.

Colour and Green: The Balcony and *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* [fig. 47], Whistler transforms the subject matter of modern life into independent pictorial 'fantasies', through the lens of *japonisme*. In *The Balcony* Whistler contrasts the bleakness of the riverside factories with the vivacity of the foreground in which 'luxuriating figures in exotic costumes enjoy tea, music, and flowers'.[718] In *Chelsea* Whistler transforms the wooden hoardings that surround excavations for the Chelsea Embankment into a pleasing form that resembles a Japanese folding screen. Employing a limited palette of blues, browns, pinks and greys – 'a color harmony common to eighteenth-century Japanese prints'[719] – Whistler creates a reposed variation of the normally bustling, and no doubt highly colourful, thoroughfare. By rendering every aspect of the scene within the one harmony and by flattening the composition, Whistler insists on the artifice of painting and, thereby, the importance of the pictorial surface.

Painted in 1871-72, and exhibited the following year, *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* demonstrates the components that Whistler employed to communicate his theory of art, as explained to George Lucas in 1873.[720] The wide gold frame is incised with a basket-weave pattern and signed with a painted butterfly, indicating that is in an integral part of the overall composition. The regular, linear marks of the basket-weave pattern suggest musical pulse, while the variations of the main pattern that are found in the flat areas either side, provide rhythmic interest. The vertical lines of the fence at the lower edge of the painting provide a visual link between the canvas and frame. In this painting Whistler demonstrates his 'science of colour' by using a restricted and closely controlled palette. His concept of 'picture pattern' is illustrated by the repetition of key colours across the surface. Note how the costumes of the promenading figures, the almond blossom and the sails of the boats are all rendered within the one colour harmony. While the elements of the

Figure 47: *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*, 1871/72, YMSM 105.

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718 Curry, 2004, p.177.

719 Curry, 2004, p.200.

720 Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, [18 January 1873], Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; GUW 09182, quoted in YMSM, p.84.

composition are selected from reality, they have been rearranged and varied by the artist to form a pleasing artistic arrangement.

Nocturne

Despite his tendency to change the titles of his works, Whistler certainly had a definite conception of how the Nocturne differed from his other types. His first Nocturne, the oil *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea*, was initially exhibited with the title 'Harmony in Blue-Green – Moonlight', before being shown as a Nocturne at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1879.[721] Both the Harmonies and Nocturnes are concerned with exploring the intricacies of a limited colour palette: Whistler explained in the Ruskin trial that he sought 'a certain harmony of colour' in his Nocturnes.[722] However, the Nocturnes are distinguishable by their treatment of particular subject matter - usually buildings, water, boats, and lights - in a particular temporal framework (night or evening). Indeed, during the Ruskin trial Whistler defined a Nocturne simply as a 'night piece'.[723] Therefore, it is a form well suited to print, as gradations of light and shade are of greater importance than variety of colour.

When, in 1892, D.C. Thompson referred to *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* (a painting in which the relative distinction of forms suggests a daylight setting) as a Nocturne, Whistler emphatically replied that it 'is not a Nocturne!! but a little picture of Chelsea'.[724] Although many of the Nocturnes can be considered variations on the overriding themes of night, light and water, and therefore in fact incorporate aspects of artistic variation, this statement clarifies that the two titles are distinct. The Nocturnes also differ from the Arrangements, even though (as Whistler stated during the Ruskin trial) they involve the arrangement of line, form, and colour. In addition to the distinguishing characterstics of subject matter and temporal setting, the Nocturnes display Whistler's interest in atmospheric effect. The Pennells believed that 'every Nocturne represents a different effect rendered in a different fashion'.[725] Indeed, when Whistler was asked to explain the subject of *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old*

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721 *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, 1871, YMSM 103.
722 Daily News, 1878, p.836.
723 Whistler, 1890, p.3.
724 Quoted in YMSM, p.65.
725 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.166.

Battersea Bridge, he answered 'A moonlight effect on the river near old Battersea Bridge'.[726]

Of the various types within Whistler's musical nomenclature, the Nocturne is the most consistently treated, and the one which corresponds most directly to its musical counterpart. Eddy described the Nocturnes as Whistler's most exquisite realizations of 'music in color'.[727] As such, they will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Arrangement

Lady Campbell believed that musical terms could be used to distinguish between 'different types of colour-arrangement...and also convey...the character of the arrangements we are describing'.[728] Most of Whistler's Arrangements are single-figure portraits, and the colours black, grey and brown frequently appear in their titles. In general, these works differ from the Symphonies and Harmonies by their more sombre colour-harmonies and pared-back designs. In *Whistler: Landscapes and Seascapes*, Donald Holden writes that the 'essence of a successful arrangement was a dynamic, yet balanced relationship between the silhouette of the figure and its background, between positive and negative shapes, as the twentieth century artist calls them'.[729] Whistler's bold use of blocks of dark colour relieved by very little ornamentation, lends these works an assertive character that is quite different from the subtle, refined and decorative aesthetic that characterizes many of his Symphonies, Harmonies, Variations and Nocturnes.

Figure 48: *Arrangement en couleur chair et noir: Portrait de Théodore Duret*, 1883/84, YMSM 252.

By entitling paintings as Arrangements, Whistler was referring to both the process of arranging forms and colours upon the picture plane, and the arrangement of the finished composition. Duret's recollections of the developmental stages of *Arrangement en couleur chair et noir: Portrait de Théodore Duret* [fig. 48] indicate that

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726 *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872/75, YMSM 140; Whistler, 1890, p.7.
727 Eddy, 1903, pp.210-11.
728 Campbell, 1886, pp.10-11.
729 Holden, 1998, p.16.

despite the pared-back environments the sitters inhabited, Whistler gave careful thought to the arrangement of the figures in terms of dress, accessories and pose. Duret wrote:

> It was understood then that he should paint my portrait in evening dress. It was successively decided that it should be full length, life size, with a light background...After that it was necessary to find *an arrangement* [my italics], an accessory, something which would render less gruff the man in black from head to foot...
>
> ...It had, as first motive, a man standing, seen full face, in evening dress, and then the domino permitted him to realise that combination of colour of a decorative order that he introduced into every work he painted. The black of the suit, the pink of the domino and the grey of the background formed an *Arrangement in Flesh-colour and Black.* Finally, the domino, falling over the left leg and covering part of it, had allowed him to destroy the ugly parallelism of the two sides of the body and to diversify the contours. This idea of the domino, then, had come to him as a true painter's invention: from a very simple object he had gathered the unexpected arrangement of a picture.[730]

The arrangement of artistic material had long been a familiar topic in visual arts discourse – since classical times writers had referred to the process through the term composition.[731] In 1878, when discussing his Nocturnes in the Ruskin trial, Whistler stated that the 'subject of the arrangement of colours has been a life study to my mind'.[732] This indicates that the arrangement of colour was not exclusive to works entitled Arrangement. Nor was exploring the tonal gradations of a restricted colour-scheme exclusive to his Harmonies. Take, for instance, the oil painting *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* [fig. 49]. Whistler employs tonal gradation to convey the differing fabric textures and folds of Rosa's outfit, to distinguish between figure and background, and to enliven the background. Rosa holds a feathered 'picture' hat very similar to that carried by Cicely in *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, but this time in shades of a rich brown. In her essay on the portrait, Susan Galassi

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730 Duret, 1917, pp.69-70.

731 See Harold Osborne, 'Composition', *The Oxford Companion to Western Art*, ed. Hugh Brigstocke, Oxford University Press, 2001, GAO (12 March 2006).

732 Daily News, 1878, p.836.

writes that Rosa's hat 'provides another focal point in the composition, second to the figure's head. The warm brown of the hat echoes the color of her hair, while it repeats in a tighter curvilinear form the swirl of fabric around her feet'.[733] The brown hat also relives the mass of black, just as Duret's domino relieves the black of his evening suit, and helps the viewer navigate the area where the edge of Rosa's costume dissolves into the darkness of the background.

Figure 49: *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*, 1876, YMSM 203.

In both works the backgrounds are devoid of ornamentation (except for the butterfly signature to the right of Duret) and indications of place. Instead, the emphasis is on the character and form of the figure. The figures have been arranged, in terms of pose, clothing and simple accessories, to create a pleasing visual effect. Rosa stands in profile, holding her head with pride. Whistler has emphasized the curvilinear form of her body by arranging her drapery and accessories to suit. Wearing black against a black background, Rosa becomes part of the overall decoration of the picture plane. Duret is arranged in a frontal pose, with his right side tilted slightly forward. Despite the overall flatness of his form there is a sense of solidity and confidence in his pose. Yet, at the same time, Whistler has treated his body as a two-dimensional shape silhouetted against the paler background. His hat and domino add interest to the angular outline of his body. Duret noted that Whistler was greatly concerned with unifying the composition through tonal harmony: 'as soon as the slightest deviation of tone appeared, whether in the black of the suit or the grey of the background, he put a new layer of colour over the whole picture, so as to bring the least parts of it into the exact relationship which constituted the desired arrangement'.[734]

According to Holden, 'arrangement' was the closest that Whistler came to using a 'non-musical word' to express his interest in pictorial technique.[735] However, it can be argued that Whistler was aware of the musical associations of the term and that he considered this title to be part of his musical nomenclature.

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733 Galassi, 2003b, p.127.
734 Duret, 1917, p.71.
735 Holden, 1998, p.15.

Musically, an arrangement is a piece of music that involves the re-composition of pre-existing material. Most often the material has been transferred from one medium to another, or it has been elaborated or simplified, with or without a change of medium.[736] In the nineteenth-century, arrangements of historical orchestral and choral music for modern forces were common, and piano arrangements of orchestral and operatic repertoire were widely cultivated and proved very popular for touring virtuosi and amateur performers alike. Additionally, composers such as Beethoven and Brahms sometimes arranged their own works for different instrumental combinations.[737] Thus, within musical terminology, 'arrangement' refers to a compositional process rather than a formal structure.

In 'The Red Rag' Whistler used musical analogy to explain his use of Symphony, Arrangement, Harmony and Nocturne. He then used his oil painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* to illustrate his musically-modelled theory that the value of a picture lay solely in the artist's treatment of artistic material, and not in extra-pictorial associations such as narrative.[738] He wrote of the *Portrait*– 'Now that is what it is [an arrangement]. To me it is interesting as a picture of my mother; but what can or ought the public care about the identity of the portrait?'[739] In his Arrangements Whistler was arranging the pictorial elements at his disposal – colour and form – to suit the medium of painting (usually in oil). Therefore, he was employing a compositional process similar to that used by musical composers.

Note

The fact that Whistler first used the title Note for a watercolour, and that thereafter he applied it far more frequently to works on paper than he did to oils, suggests that a hierarchy functioned within his nomenclature. While Symphony was reserved for oil paintings, watercolours were considered mere Notes. Overall, Note was used mainly for small-scale, spontaneous renderings of landscapes, marines and streetscapes, and for intimate figure studies. However, in 1886 it was used to entitle a small, pastel portrait commissioned by Isabella

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736 Malcolm Boyd, 'Arrangement: 1. Definition and Scope', GMO (12 March 2006).
737 Malcolm Boyd, 'Arrangement: 4. 19th and 20th centuries', GMO (12 March 2006).
738 *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, 1871, YMSM 101.
739 Whistler, 1890, p.128.

Stewart Gardner – *Note in Yellow and Gold: Mrs Gardner.*[740] Note was certainly not a static title – rather, it seems Whistler played with its multivalency. Although he had first used the title in 1872, it was not until the 1880s that he used the title repeatedly. This might explain why Whistler did not include it amongst the musical titles he listed in 'The Red Rag' in 1878. In January 1884, during an important period of artistic development in which he produced numerous small scale works including seven Notes, Whistler described his activities as 'curious little games'.[741]

Whistler's exhibition title *'Notes' - 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'* suggests that he was using the term in a musical manner. The succession of terms could signify a musical progression from 'notes', the basic 'building blocks', to 'harmonies', which are simply combinations of notes, culminating in 'nocturnes' - formal entities made up of individual notes and harmonies. However, in addition to its musical meanings, in which context it refers to both 'a single tone of definite pitch' and the written symbol of individual sounds, 'note' can imply brevity in terms of an informal written record or, conversely, something worth observing (in the sense of 'take note').[742] Additionally, 'note' was used by Whistler's contemporaries as a term to describe individual gradations of colour tone. For instance, in 1886 Lady Campbell wrote:

> M. Chevreuil [sic], in 1851, formed the chromatic circle of seventy-two gradations. As the proportion of white constitutes impoverishing of tone, so does it entail elevation of note; while the proportion of black constitutes the enriching of tone, while it entails lowering of note.[743]

In 1893, Van Dyke explained:

> Three broad bands of red, green, and blue placed side by side, though not disagreeable, would hardly be called a rhythm of color. The relationship

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740 *Note in Yellow and Gold: Mrs Gardner*, 1886, M. 1116.

741 See footnote 19 in Whistler to Charles William Deschamps, [8 January 1884], LC PWC 1/23/5; GUW 07908 (1 August 2005): 'Numerous small scale works in oil and watercolour reveal this as an important period in JW's artistic development (see YMSM 263-88; M. 915-21).'

742 Oxford, 1989. See 'Note', vol.X, pp.543-44, definitions I.1.a., I.2.a., III.13.a., III.13.d., III.16.a., IV.19.a., and IV.19.b; and pp.545-46, definitions I.1.b., I.2., and I.3.a.

743 Campbell, 1886, p.21.

> between them is not delicate. But take these colors and place them on the three points of a triangle, one on each point, and then blend in towards the centre of the triangle through the intermediate notes until we are unable to say where one color leaves off and another colour begins, and immediately we shall have a harmony.
>
> It is in this delicate blending - this subtile [sic] running of one note into another, yet ever maintaining values and relationships - that gives to Mr. Whistler's pictures their beauty of color...[744]

However, from the *Sunday Times*' use of the term, it seems that 'note' could also be used to denote the mark of colour itself. In 1887, the *Sunday Times* wrote of the 'little yellow note on the left' of Whistler's oil painting *Chelsea in Ice*.[745] This usage is similar to the use of the term for the visual symbol of individual musical sounds.

Whistler ordered the titles of his Notes in a number of different ways. Sometimes the colour was listed first, as in *Grey Note*, while at other times the Note was said to be in a certain key of colour, as in *Note in Pink and Brown*.[746] In either type, the title could be expanded to include an indication of the picture's subject – for instance, *An Orange Note – Booths, Paris* [fig. 50], or *The Staircase; note in red* [fig. 51]. Through these different types of title, Whistler was indicating differing pictorial concerns. In the 'Ten O'Clock' lecture (1885) he drew an analogy between musical notes (as the building blocks of musical composition) and the artistic elements of colour and form that the artist acquires from nature.[747] In works with titles such as *An Orange Note – Booths, Paris*, Whistler was experimenting with the musical and colouristic meanings of the term 'note'. As Robert Getscher has stated, often the colours stressed in the title of a Note are not the main colours used in the image itself, instead 'they are literally "notes" of color in much more complex compositions'.[748] This is particularly evident in *An Orange Note – Booths, Paris* - Whistler used the orange very sparingly, yet with great care and precision. It is most prominent in the large orange circle in the shop window at the left, and in his butterfly

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744 Van Dyke, 1893, pp.172-73.
745 *Chelsea in Ice*, c.1864, YMSM 53; *Sunday Times*, 17 April 1887, p.73.
746 *Grey Note*, c.1872, M. 472; *Note in Pink and Brown*, 1880, M. 787.
747 See Whistler, 1885, p.841.
748 Getscher, 1991, p.32.

signature at the lower right. Yet it is also present in very small doses amongst the goods displayed in the central window.

By highlighting only one colour within the title of a very colourful image, Whistler asks the viewer to spend time decoding *An Orange Note*. Through this process the viewer becomes aware of the many musical processes that operate within the work. For instance, the vertical delineation of the three booths – in terms of their exterior framework, awnings and window frames – gives a sense of musical pulse to the image that encourages the viewer to read across the picture plane. The distinction between the exterior and interior markings of the booths can be likened to strong and weak beats in a musical bar. Against this structural background, the figures in the street form a melodic voice. Their irregular placement creates a contrasting rhythm, which is enhanced by the figures who 'pause' to look into the shop windows. The subtle differences in the figures' relative height on the picture plane ensure that the eye enjoys a meandering melodic line when reading across the image, as if reading notes upon a musical stave.

Figure 50: *An Orange Note – Booths, Paris*, 1885/86, M. 1014.

Obviously, the circular forms of the orange notes also resemble musical notation, and their differing sizes might indicate relative durations. The orange notes in the shop windows form the core of a second voice, in which the key notes are embellished by notes of red and yellow-green. Strong red notes appear in the left and central windows, while the yellow-green notes in the right window provide a sense of colour modulation. The red, orange and yellow-green notes combine to form a second voice in counterpoint to the main melody. The inflections of colour within this voice explain the admiration an anonymous Frenchman felt for Whistler's understanding of the seven main colours 'and the way to play these with the sharps and flats of the prism', as recalled by Eddy.[749]

[749] Eddy, 1903, p.193.

Finally, the orange butterfly not only enlivens the foreground, but functions as a musical cadence – it brings the image to a close while reinstating the key colour.

On the other hand, in titles such as *Note in Green and Brown: Orlando at Coombe* [fig. 7], Whistler used the term 'note' to denote a brief visual record.[750] In this sense, Note implies firstly that the chosen scene is worth 'making note of', and secondly that the finished image is often small-scale and sketchy. Furthermore, Whistler's approach to colour is different in these works. Rather than using the title to name notes of colour within a more complex arrangement of colour, he uses it to stress the dominant colours of the image. For instance, *Orlando at Coombe* is sketched solely in the key of green and brown. Similarly, *The Staircase; note in red* is dominated by the bold expanse of brick red that colours the staircase, and is repeated on the wall of the building to the right. However, in this image, unlike in *Orlando at Coombe*, the red of the title is balanced by blues used in the sky, on the steps, the courtyard floor and wall. In *Note in Pink and Brown* [fig. 52] Whistler uses colour more sparingly, as a means of highlighting details of the everyday scene he is jotting down. Figures and architecture are suggested rather than described. Rhythmic patterns are introduced through architectural detail, and then recede. The pink of the title is found in the laundry hanging from a top balcony, and in the woman's skirt. Browns are used to highlight architectural detail, to embellish the woman's costume, and to colour the butterfly signature beside her. Additionally, the scene has been noted on brown paper. However, Whistler also employs significant amounts of white pastel to brighten the image, and small notes of blues and yellows provide further variety.

Figure 51: *The Staircase; note in red*, 1880, M. 782.

Figure 52: *Note in Pink and Brown*, 1880, M. 787.

750 *Note in Green and Brown: Orlando at Coombe*, 1884, YMSM 317.

Many critics took advantage of the implication of sketchiness in the title Note, to criticise Whistler for exhibiting what they considered to be 'unfinished' works. For instance, when reviewing the 1884 *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'* exhibition, the *Liverpool Mercury* declared that 'many of the notes and harmonies are memoranda and studies of colour and atmospheric effects of very unequal value'.[751] The critic for the *Echo* extrapolated:

> It is not possible, from the sketches which he chooses to exhibit, to tell what Mr. Whistler is capable of as an artist. He has certainly a great capacity for colour and effect, and some of his sketches, though they seldom go beyond the merest suggestion, are very rich and brilliant. For the most part, however, they are mere "shorthand notes" of rapid effects, such as made by almost every artist, but which no artist but Mr. Whistler would have the courage to exhibit.[752]

In contrast, twenty years later Bernhard Sickert admired the freshness of these works, writing that each of Whistler's pastels 'appears as a brilliant note of pure colour, gay, spontaneous, blooming'.[753]

Scherzo, Bravura, and Caprice

The whereabouts of Whistler's *Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl* [fig. 53] is unknown. However, it is known that the painting depicted a young girl standing assertively in front of a curtain, wearing a costume of Whistler's design made by a theatrical costumier. Similarities have been noted between this painting and Whistler's second portrait of the theatrical performer Connie Gilchrist.[754] Given the theatrical associations of the costume and curtained background, and the fact that the figure's feet are portrayed raised from the ground, as if mid-movement, it seems likely that Whistler used the title Scherzo to infer something of the character of

Figure 53: *Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl*, *c.*1882, YMSM 226.

751 *Liverpool Mercury*, 3 July 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.
752 *Echo*, 19 May 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.
753 Sickert, 1908, p.134.
754 *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Connie Gilchrist*, 1879, YMSM 207; see YMSM, p.127.

the situation portrayed. It is possible that either the girl's actual personality, or the persona Whistler helped create through costume and placement, warranted the title. In the mid 1880s, one critic commented that as the painting 'represents a young woman in a blue dress, Scherzo is not such a bad name after all.[755] Perhaps, the title was thought to reflect the girl's playful nature. Alternatively, as the figure's stance suggests movement, she may have been responding to music of a scherzando character. The musical scherzo is a piece of a lively and sometimes jocular nature. The title can be applied to a second or third movement within a sonata or symphony, or to an independent work. In the nineteenth-century many independent scherzi were written for piano solo (Chopin, for instance, wrote four) and sometimes arranged for four hands. They are often a combination of virtuoso display piece and character piece.[756] Additionally, the scherzo could be used as incidental music – Mendelssohn included one in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1843).[757] Given that Whistler probably heard scherzi (or at least music of a scherzando character) when he attended the theatre, it seems likely that he used the title to further the theatrical associations of the image.

'Bravura' was used as a descriptive term in art criticism during the nineteenth century, in much the same way as it was used to critique a musical performance - that is, to imply a certain brilliancy of execution or conception.[758] As Whistler's *Bravura in Brown* [fig. 37] depicts a pianist, the title could refer to either the artist's watercolour technique or the pianist's performance, or both.[759] In her description of the painting, MacDonald notes 'a jerky, ribbon-like stroke'; that the 'washes on the walls and curtains are uneven'; and that 'sometimes the paint was so thick that, as it dried, the powder separated and the water within it ran down in little rivulets...'.[760] It is possible that Whistler was experimenting with the random effects of speedy execution, and that he used the title to indicate his intention. Alternatively, Whistler might have intended to refer to the performer's ability. If so, it would seem he used the term facetiously, as he did

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755 Unidentified article from GUW P/C Vol.VII, p.15, in Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.
756 Tilden A. Russell, 'Scherzo', GMO (1 March 2006).
757 R. Larry Todd, 'Mendelssohn, Felix', GMO (1 March 2006).
758 Oxford, 1989. See 'Bravura', vol.II.
759 *Bravura in Brown,* 1883/84, M. 928.
760 M., p.353.

not apply it to his portrait of the renowned violin virtuoso Sarasate, which was painted around the same time. Furthermore, the serene atmosphere invoked in *Bravura in Brown* suggests a refined rather than flamboyant pianism.

During the nineteenth century, the term 'caprice' (or 'capriccio') was used to entitle musical works that were humorous or fanciful in character.[761] Whistler was obviously familiar with the term's general meaning of 'fancy' or 'whim'. In a letter to Marcus Huish in 1882, he used the term for that purpose - 'to take up their plates at any moment their caprice might dictate'.[762] While Whistler's Caprices vary in subject matter they are united by a sense of playfulness. Furthermore, as MacDonald has noted, it was a term that the press had great fun with.[763] Therefore, one suspects that Whistler's occasional use of titles such as Caprice and Bravura, was partly a means of teasing his critics.

According to the press, the watercolour *Caprice in Red* depicted a single female figure draped in transparent material.[764] From the following description it seems that the red noted in the title was quite prominent: 'there is nothing capricious, unless it be the price. It is a perfectly well-ordered study of flesh-colour and red – an energetic model, springing, as it were – or, as it is - from the unfolded and widely extended drapery'.[765] The *Echo* remarked, 'the caprice of the lady being to go without any clothes on.'[766] In contrast, the watercolour *Caprice in blue and silver – Dieppe* is an innocent seaside scene [fig. 54]. Three small figures play at the water's edge, while two seated figures look on, holding their sun umbrellas. The blue and silver noted in the title are found in the large expanse of sea and sky, while accents of red colour an umbrella and Whistler's butterfly signature. Here, the term 'caprice' befits not only the carefree pleasures of a day at the seaside, but Whistler's fresh and minimal

Figure 54: *Caprice in blue and silver – Dieppe*, *c.*1885, M.1034.

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761 Erich Schwandt, 'Capriccio', GMO (1 March 2006).

762 Whistler to Marcus Bourne Huish, 1 September 1882, GUL F81, GUW 01149 (21 November 2005).

763 M., p.396.

764 *Caprice in Red*, *c.*1885, M. 1067.

765 *Academy*, 19 December 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

766 *Echo*, 2 December 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

approach.

Curry writes that the oil painting *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* [fig. 55] is an image of 'romanticized escapism', that recalls a tradition of models donning exotic costumes to 'project an alternate persona'.[767] Painted in 1864, the work is highly colourful and is housed in an ornately decorated golden frame. While the gold highlighted in the title obviously refers to the golden screen depicted within the painting, and the golden frame surrounding it, the purple is more elusive, appearing most overtly in the flowers at the lower left. Whistler did not entitle this painting a Caprice until it was exhibited at the Goupil Gallery in 1892. It is possible that in seeing its vivacious colouring and complex composition alongside the more restricted palette and sparser composition of later works, Whistler felt that Caprice befitted both the subject matter and technique of *The Golden Screen*.

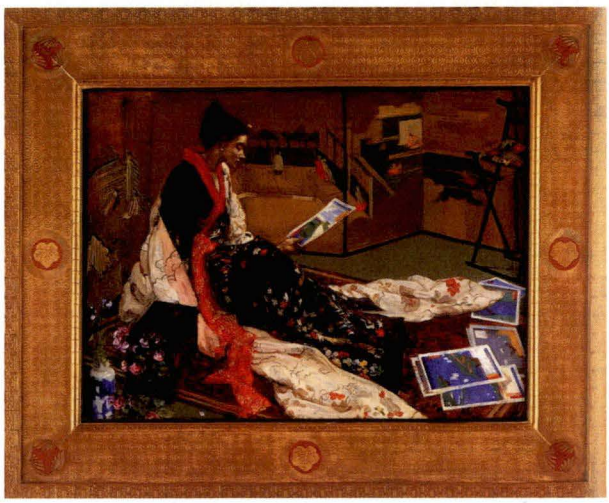

Figure 55: *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, YMSM 60.

Conclusion

In 1873 Whistler stated in the press: 'The titles I have hither to [sic] given to my pictures have been intended by me as a key to my work...'.[768] Obviously, Whistler believed that the title played an important role in guiding the viewer's interaction with an image. Through his use of musical terms, Whistler indicated that in place of the prevailing narrative-based model, he sought a different manner of visual engagement from his audience. In 1903, the *Liverpool Mercury* noted:

> His famous habit of copying musical nomenclature in his titles...is the readiest index to his artistic intention. His "symphonies," "nocturnes," "improvisations," [sic] invited the same quality of appreciation that music demands - the sensuous

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767 Curry, 2004, p.177; *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, 1864, YMSM 60.

768 'Fine-Art Gossip', *Athenaeum*, 22 November 1873, Whistler Presscuttings 1849-1882, CWS.

> appreciation of tender and restrained colour harmonies, and melodic arrangements of form.[769]

Holden has stated that what 'Whistler was really suggesting was that the audience play a more active and perceptive role in the creative process'.[770] By using the title to highlight key colours and processes that were not always immediately apparent, Whistler encouraged the viewer to extend their viewing time and to approach the work as they would approach a piece of pure music. Furthermore, his images were open to personal interpretation. During the Ruskin trial Whistler stated: 'As to what the picture represents that depends upon who looks at it'.[771]

Of the nine titles that have been considered under the umbrella of musical nomenclature, Symphony and Nocturne have the most overt musical associations as they refer to particular and distinct musical forms. Scherzo, Caprice, and Variations can also be used to entitle musical works, but such pieces vary in their formal structures. Just as Bravura describes virtuosic perfomance style and ability, Scherzo and Caprice are often used to indicate musical character. Arrangement refers to a process of re-composition, as does Variations, while Note and Harmony refer to the elements of music rather than formal structures. Whistler transferred these terms to pictorial works that show varying degrees of engagement with their titles' musical associations.

Whistler's title changes can be explained in a number of ways. Firstly, they allowed him to experiment with the way that each title guided the viewer's interaction with an art work. Secondly, title changes probably helped Whistler refresh his own understanding of, and sense of enquiry towards, works he repeatedly exhibited, just as a performer periodically refreshes their interpretation of works they repeatedly perform. Thirdly, title changes may have been both market driven and influenced by exhibition practices. Finally, Whistler's comment to Leyland about the irritation the title Nocturne caused his critics, and the consequent pleasure it gave the artist, suggests that while there was a considerable degree of seriousness behind his nomenclature, there was also a sense of playfulness and provocation. Within the safety of his single-artist

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769 *Liverpool Mercury*, 20 July 1903, Box 37: 1895-1903, LC PWC.
770 Holden, 1998, pp.15-16.
771 Whistler, 1890, p.8.

exhibitions, Whistler teased the critics with increasingly playful titles – Scherzo, Bravura, Caprice. After Whistler's death the *Daily Telegraph* declared: 'That there was an element of sly mystification, of *fantaronnade*, of deliberate defiance of the citizen, in some of these pictorial and polemical manifestations will not be denied...'.[772]

In this chapter it has been demonstrated that Whistler modelled his approach to colour on musical tonality, and frequently emphasized the musical elements in his musically-entitled works: colour harmony, rhythm, pulse, counterpoint, and melodic voicing. While there is some degree of difference between his use of each musical title - in terms of subject matter, medium, and the treatment of formal material - his nomenclature is best understood as a set of titles united by a common purpose. That is, the titles provided Whistler with a means of indicating his interest in freestanding pictorial technique.

The following chapter will discuss Whistler's Six Projects in relation to Schubert's *Moments musicaux*, Op. 94, for solo piano. By linking each painting with one of the six pieces - and thereby proposing a new viewing order – the chapter will clearly demonstrate the value of the musical model as an interpretive key to Whistler's artworks.

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[772] 'Death of Mr. Whistler: A Great Artist', *Daily Telegraph*, 18 July 1903, Box 37: 1895-1903, LC PWC.

Chapter Six

Moments musicaux: The Six Projects

In the catalogue for the 1994 Whistler exhibition at the Tate Gallery, Richard Dorment proposed that Whistler's Six Projects were intended for his patron Frederick Leyland's music room, and were therefore related to Leyland's interests as an amateur pianist.[773] Dorment wrote that the changes in mood, colour and tone across the series 'may conceivably reflect Whistler's musical sources or inspiration, which would have been clear in the musical notations on the frames, and which the owner could have played as his audience looked up at the series.'[774] The purpose of this chapter is to address and extend Dorment's proposal – it will be argued that the Six Projects correspond to Franz Schubert's *Moments musicaux*, Op. 94, for solo piano.

The chapter begins by outlining the premise for this interpretation. It then establishes the importance of these six sketches as experimental works concerned with musical modelling. After considering alternative musical sources, the discussion turns to overviewing the favourable reception that Schubert's music enjoyed at the time. Thereafter, a new viewing order is proposed - with each of the six paintings linked directly with one of Schubert's pieces. The analysis of three of the sketches through the lens of the musical model – *Variations in Blue and Green*, *Symphony in White and Red* and *The White Symphony: Three Girls* – demonstrates that the pictorial language of the Six Projects was clearly informed by musical operations. Finally, a detailed analysis of the relationship between the latter work and Schubert's third *Moment musical* concludes the chapter.

The Premise

Around 1872 to 1873, Whistler inscribed the frame intended for his painting *The Three Girls* with a four-bar excerpt from Franz Schubert's *Moment*

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773 Although Leyland inhabited two houses during this period - 23 Queen's Gate, Knightsbridge, and Speke Hall, Liverpool – it is more likely that the paintings were intended for the former, as Speke Hall was rented.

774 Dorment and MacDonald, 1994, p.94.

musical No. 3 in F minor, Op. 94.[775] *The Three Girls* was Whistler's first commission from Frederick Leyland, the patron for whom he would paint the Peacock Room.[776] In *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography* (1998), Linda Merrill establishes *The Three Girls*' significance as a work that was 'inestimably important to Whistler as the visual expression of his mature aestheticist philosophy'.[777] She writes: 'From the beginning, Whistler envisioned *The Three Girls* as his masterpiece, the ultimate expression of his highest ideals of art'.[778] Yet, although Whistler worked on the painting from its commission in 1867 until 1879, it was never completed and no longer survives intact only related sketches (such as the oils *The White Symphony: Three Girls* and *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* [fig. 56]) and a small portion of the original (known as *Girl with Cherry Blossom* [fig. 57]) remain.[779] However, the frame does survive – in 1879 Whistler transferred it to his cruel caricature of Leyland, *The Gold Scab* [fig. 58]. Given that this frame provides the only known instance of Whistler directly referencing a specific musical passage in relation to an artwork, it is especially intriguing.

Figure 56: *Pink and Grey: Three Figures*, 1879, YMSM 89.

Figure 57: *Girl with Cherry Blossom*, 1868/78, YMSM 90.

It has been suggested, by way of explanation, that either Leyland or their mutual friend Horace Jee played Schubert's third *Moment musical* in Whistler's studio as the artist worked

775 *The Three Girls*, *c.*1867-1879. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 88.

776 *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room*, 1876-77, YMSM 178.

777 Merrill, 1998, p.20.

778 Merrill, 1998, p.77.

779 *The White Symphony: Three Girls*, *c.*1868, YMSM 87 [fig. 66]. There are also a number of related drawings - see M. 359-73, pp.122-29.

on *The Three Girls*.[780] Given that Whistler transferred the frame to *The Gold Scab*, it seems most likely that it was Leyland whom Whistler associated with Schubert's music. Perhaps Leyland performed the piece when Whistler visited his home, or as entertainment for Whistler's 'Sunday breakfast' guests. Or perhaps, more intriguingly, he commissioned Whistler to produce a painting that responded directly to Schubert's music. Given Leyland's influence on the development of Whistler's musical nomenclature (as discussed in Chapter Four) it is quite likely that he challenged the artist to extend his musical modelling to such a degree.

Figure 58: *The Gold Scab*, 1879, YMSM 208.

Traditionally, *The White Symphony: Three Girls* [fig. 66] has been grouped with five unfinished sketches of figures in a seaside setting – *Venus* [fig. 60], *Symphony in Green and Violet* [fig. 61], *Variations in Blue and Green* [fig. 63], *Symphony in White and Red* [fig. 64], and *Symphony in Blue and Pink* [fig. 62] - to form a set of paintings known as the Six Projects.[781] Merrill disagrees with this grouping. She explains:

> The misconception that Whistler himself regarded the six as a series arose only after the artist's death, when Freer acquired the group of five he knew from the walls of Whistler's dining room and lent them, together with *The White Symphony*...to the Whistler Memorial Exhibition in Boston in 1904. There, the assembled group was called the "Six Schemes," a collective title apparently of Freer's own invention. The Pennells sustained the association in the first edition of their biography, referring to the paintings as "Six Schemes or Projects," and extrapolating from the facts of one commission to advance the possibility that the set, as a whole, was intended for Frederick Leyland. Gradually their speculation calcified into accepted fact, even though the evidence confirms that Leyland commissioned only one of the works, or at most two. The Pennells further presumed the Projects to constitute Whistler's earliest decorative scheme, basing

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780 Merrill, 1998, p.143.

781 *Venus*, *c.*1868, YMSM 82; *Symphony in Green and Violet*, *c.*1868, YMSM 83; *Variations in Blue and Green*, *c.*1868, YMSM 84; *Symphony in White and Red*, *c.*1868, YMSM 85; *Symphony in Blue and Pink*, *c.*1868, YMSM 86.

> their supposition on the observation that all six pictures were approximately the same size...[782]

Merrill proposes that *The Three Girls* is unrelated to the other five sketches, which (according to Merrill) form a distinct series by themselves.[783] Instead, she supports the grouping proposed by Way and Dennis in 1903 – that *The Three Girls* was intended as the culminating painting in Whistler's series of 'Symphonies in White'. That is, *The Three Girls* would become 'Symphony in White, No. 4'.[784]

Merrill's clarification of the roles played by others in naming the Six Projects (and thereby grouping *The Three Girls* within the series) is illuminating. However, it does not disprove that Whistler himself associated *The Three Girls* with the other sketches. Indeed, in his 2003 Tate publication Robin Spencer maintained that *The Three Girls* is one of the Six Projects.[785] For the purpose of the following investigation, the traditional grouping of the Six Projects will be maintained. However, two possible obstacles to reading the six sketches as a series must be addressed. Firstly, the predominance of white in *The White Symphony: Three Girls* differs from the colouring of the other five sketches. Nonetheless, the warmer, more muted colouring in the versions *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* and *Girl with Cherry Blossom* suggests that had the series been completed, the overall colouring might have become more unified. Secondly, the setting of *The Three Girls* is slightly enigmatic. Merrill writes that 'Swinburne interpreted [it] as a "garden balcony" but others regarded [it] consistently as a hothouse',[786] the latter interpretation being the one she pursues. However, given the suggestion of water above the balustrade in *The White Symphony: Three Girls*, and given the railings implied in *Symphony in Green and Violet* and *Variations in Blue and Green* (both of which are clearly set beside the sea), it would seem that the settings are related across the series.[787]

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782 Merrill, 1998, pp.95-96.

783 See Merrill, 1998, p.96.

784 Merrill, 1998, p.88; Way and Dennis, 1903, pp.26, 30.

785 Spencer, 2003, p.17.

786 Merrill, 1998, p.86.

787 However, it could be argued that it is, in fact, *Venus* that is at odds with the remainder of the series, given that its single-figure composition differs from the group compositions of the other images, and that its title has mythological rather than musical associations.

Experimentation

The Pennells regarded the Six Projects as transition works – paintings in which Whistler explored his new attitude towards Nature (selection rather than imitation) and developed the oil painting technique he would bring to perfection in the Nocturnes.[788] Noting that this period of transition had begun with the second and third 'Symphonies in White', the Pennells explained that the Six Projects 'mark the new development in his technique and are painted with the thinnest, most liquid colour, the canvas [millboard] often showing through'.[789] Similarly, Arthur Eddy wrote of the Six Projects as experimental works that were related to the 'Symphonies in White' and the Nocturnes. However, he considered the Six Projects to be especially significant within the context of Whistler's aspiration towards colour-music. He wrote:

> As music in color the "Nocturnes" and certain of the "harmonies" and "Symphonies," wherein detail is as nothing and the color everything, are Whistler's most exquisite...achievements...
>
> As a still further step towards pure color composition he had in mind for years a series of pictures, pure creations of fancy...just color-music. Happily, the sketches are in existence, and afford some indication of the color-dreams that floated through the great painter's imagination. They show how musical color is when freed from entangling associations and used broadly and decoratively.[790]

Certainly, Whistler was deeply occupied with formulating his musical nomenclature and his 'science of colour' when he commenced the Six Projects. In 1867, just prior to Leyland's commissioning of *The Three Girls* (and an unidentified second painting), Whistler exhibited *Symphony in White, No. 3* at the Royal Academy.[791] This was Whistler's first showing of a work with a non-descriptive musical title in a public exhibition. Furthermore, in 1865 Whistler had indicated his interest in artistic correspondence by attaching a poem by Swinburne to the frame of *The Little White Girl* for its exhibition at the Royal

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788 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.147, 165.
789 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.149.
790 Eddy, 1903, pp.210-11.
791 *Symphony in White, No. 3*, 1867, YMSM 61.

Academy.[792] In retrospect Whistler described the poem as 'a rare and graceful tribute from the poet to the painter – a noble recognition of work by the production of a nobler one'.[793] Therefore, it is quite likely that during 1867 and the years that followed (when he continued to explore his interest in colour harmony, and augmented his musical nomenclature to suit), Whistler's interest in the musical model extended as far as producing artworks in response to specific pieces of music.

It can be argued that Leyland's commission for *The Three Girls* required Whistler to consider the ways in which he could respond to Schubert's music through painterly technique, and that the project stimulated Whistler's interest in musical modelling to the extent that the Six Projects came to embody his most earnest efforts to formulate an art of colour-music. Whistler's ongoing interest in the series supports the notion that the brief posed significant challenges. In 1874, Whistler exhibited three of the sketches at the Flemish Gallery under the heading 'Sketches for Large Paintings' – *Symphony in Blue and Pink*, *Variations in Blue and Green* and *The White Symphony: Three Girls* (which was then entitled 'Symphony in White and Red'). Given that this was his first single-artist exhibition (and that he exhibited only ten finished oil paintings), he obviously considered the sketches to be significant - both in their unfinished state and as indications of the future direction of his work.

The Three Girls (the only sketch to be enlarged) is generally considered to be a painting of critical importance – 'the summation of the redirection of his art and the expression of his aesthetic ideals over the past several years'.[794] Way recalled seeing *The Three Girls* in Whistler's studio around 1878. He wrote:

> He had been at work upon this subject for years, and I saw three distinct variations in oil sketches, and an immense number of drawings of the various figures in black and white and pastel on brown paper, some in the nude, some with drapery added.[795]

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792 *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, 1864, YMSM 52.
793 Quoted in YMSM, p.29.
794 Galassi, 2003a, p.97.
795 Way, 1912, p.27.

However, the other five oil sketches were not simply preparatory sketches for *The Three Girls* – rather, they had warranted preparatory drawings in their own right.[796] Furthermore, the five unfinished sketches continued to occupy Whistler's interest for many years. As late as 1886, nearly twenty years after Whistler began the series, Malcolm Salaman wrote in the *Court and Society Review*:

> [Whistler] showed me the other day the sketches of three pictures he is going to paint, consisting of various groups of several girls on the sea-shore. The sketches are remarkable in themselves, and show the complete arrangement of the colour and form of the pictures, which will be very beautiful...In addition to these sketches, I was also privileged to see a sketch of a Venus, very lovely in colour and design...[797]

Although these sketches were never enlarged, Whistler greatly valued them.

When Whistler moved to Cheyne Walk in 1890, the sketches were hung in his dining room. In 1892 he had the remaining five cleaned and varnished (*The White Symphony: Three Girls* had been sold in 1879), and requested that they be sent to him in Paris.[798] The following year, as Joseph Pennell noted, *Venus* hung alongside the grand piano in the Whistlers' Rue du Bac apartment.[799] Knowing that Beatrix was an enthusiastic pianist, it is tempting to speculate, as Dorment suggests, that she performed the painting's intended musical accompaniment. Certainly, Whistler's renewed interest in the themes and poses of the Six Projects led to a number of further drawings and watercolours during the 1890s.[800]

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796 See M. 341-58, pp.114-22.
797 Salaman, 1886, p.589.
798 See YMSM, pp.lxvi, 47-48; Whistler to David Croal Thomson, [6 June 1892], LC PWC 3; GUW 08337 (3 February 2006); and Whistler to Stephen Richards, 12 June 1892, LC PWC 2/44/2; GUW 08114 (3 February 2006).
799 Pennell, 1908, vol.2, p.138.
800 See M. 1389-96, pp.114, 502-507.

Alternative Sources

It is reasonable to propose that the musical source for the Six Projects was the complete *Moments musicaux* Op. 94 (which contains six pieces). However, Whistler's invitation to Alan Cole in 1873, to view 'the "Three Girls" - "Symphony in White and Red - full palette"!' led the authors of the catalogue raisonné of Whistler's oil paintings (and more recently Merrill and Spencer) to suggest that it was *The Three Girls* Whistler had in mind, when he spoke to Bacher of his 'concerto-like picture' based on a colour harmony corresponding to Beethoven's sound-world.[801] Yet, it seems unlikely that Whistler would inscribe a Schubertian quote on the frame of a painting he associated with Beethoven. Given that Whistler did not meet Bacher until 1880, and that he may have made the comment after 1880, it is quite possible that at that later date Whistler was developing, or hoping to develop, a new work that related specifically to Beethoven. (Perhaps his comment was inspired by Sarasate's performance of the Beethoven Violin Concerto in May 1884.)[802] Therefore, in 1873 Whistler probably used the phrase 'full palette' to suggest the vibrancy or complexity of the painting's colour harmony, quite aside from any analogy with a particular composer's sound-world. In any case, the Pennells assumed that in his invitation to Cole, Whistler was actually referring to *Symphony in White and Red* as 'full palette', rather than *The Three Girls*.[803]

Merrill implies that Whistler's depiction of Venus imagery should be considered within the context of Wagnerism. She writes:

> [The] controlling image of Whistler's series [of five sketches] is the single standing nude that the artist himself identified as Venus. Indeed, the series was known as the "Venus Set" before Freer retitled them, obscuring their family name...The classicizing subject of the goddess surrounded by attendants on the mythical shores of her native sea was a common theme in aestheticist art.[804]

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801 YMSM, p.52; Merrill, 1998, p.142; Spencer, 2003, p.17.

802 *Times*, 15 May 1884, p.1, col.C.

803 Pennell, vol.1, p.150. Obviously the individual identities of these two paintings have been confused by Whistler's exhibition of *The White Symphony: Three Girls* in 1874 as 'Symphony in White and Red'.

804 Merrill, 1998, p.96.

By way of example, Merrill refers to Fantin-Latour's painting *Scène du Tannhäuser* [fig. 59] and Swinburne's poem 'Laus Veneris' (1866). Both works were aesthetic responses to Wagner's opera *Tannhäuser* (1845), which had been produced in Paris in 1861. In her thesis on the impact of Wagnerism on the Aesthetic Movement, Laura Hendrickson explains that 'Laus Veneris' (begun in 1862) was partially stimulated by the synaesthetic response Swinburne experienced, upon viewing Fantin-Latour's painting with Whistler in 1863.[805] Furthermore, 'Laus Veneris' was published with 'Before the Mirror' - the poem inspired by Whistler's *Little White Girl* - in the 1866 edition of Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads*.[806]

Figure 59: Henri Fantin-Latour, *Scène du Tannhäuser*, 1864.

Merrill tentatively suggests that the source for Whistler's Six Projects may also have been Wagnerian:

> Whistler greatly admired Fantin-Latour's paintings of this type, called *féeries* (fantasies), imaginative interpretations of musical themes that differed dramatically from the artist's other works...It is revealing that Whistler borrowed the first of those works, *Parade de la féerie* (Display of enchantment), after its exhibition at the Salon des Refusés and kept it with him for another twenty years. He may have looked to Fantin-Latour's work for inspiration while designing dreamlike compositions of his own, similarly aspiring to the condition of music. "He is a sort of Wagner in painting," one critic wrote of Whistler, "a Wagner who is always composing beautiful themes, exquisite conceptions of harmony, and leaving them unfinished."[807]

Of course it is possible that Whistler's interest in the Venus theme did somehow relate to Wagner's interpretation of the Tannhäuser legend. As outlined in Chapter One, Whistler associated with many Wagner enthusiasts in London and

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805 Hendrickson, 1988, pp.17-19.
806 Hendrickson, 1988, p.21.
807 Merrill, 1998, p.97.

Paris (including his patron Leyland) and must have been well aware of Wagner's music and ideas, and of the art-works produced by his contemporaries in response to the Wagner phenomena. Although Bacher believed that Whistler 'was not an admirer of Wagner',[808] Whistler did enjoy, and therefore may have encouraged, being publicly associated with someone so radical. The critic from the *Baltimore Bulletin* (whom Merrill quoted above) was one of a number of writers who likened Whistler to Wagner. However, rather than suggesting a shared aesthetic, the comparison was more a means of indicating and praising Whistler's high status and artistic innovation. The *Baltimore Bulletin* statement actually began: 'Mr. Whistler is like any one else of conspicuous genius who makes a "new departure" in art. Wagner has done something analogous in music...'.[809]

Hendrickson argues that 'English Wagnerism came to be expressed by an aesthetic interest in the erotic or Dionysian experience provided by Wagner's music-dramas.'[810] She writes that it was on this aspect of Wagnerism that Fantin-Latour and Swinburne focused, each exploiting colour and subject matter to achieve a parallel sensuality in their respective art forms.[811] However, in Whistler's case the complex, refined eroticism pursued in the Six Projects is at odds with Wagner's overt sensuality. Rather than the warm, bold colour, and overt sense of abandon and erotic display in which Fantin-Latour indulges (in his attempts to match the 'heated atmosphere' of Wagner's music);[812] Whistler employs a predominantly cool, yet balanced palette, and creates a more subtle, refined atmosphere. With the exception of *Venus* herself, Whistler's figures do not overtly assert their physicality. Instead, they are inwardly focused - their attention is absorbed in their activity rather than directed towards the viewer. Furthermore, Whistler situates his female figures on the seashore rather than in Wagner's Venusberg, whereas Fantin-Latour vividly depicts the setting of Wagner's opera. The combination of Grecian and Japanese influences evident in the costumes and accessories, further individualizes Whistler's imagery.

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808 Bacher, 1908, p.281.

809 *Baltimore Bulletin*, 27 November 1875, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

810 Hendrickson, 1988, p.1.

811 Hendrickson, 1988, pp.25-27.

812 Hendrickson, 1988, p.25.

Given that Whistler depicted Venus imagery in several other drawings and paintings over the years,[813] his interest in the subject might be better explained by the aesthetic challenges it posed as a classical subject (and by his ongoing interest in the scantily-clad female form), than by the more modern association between the Venus myth and Wagnerism. Whistler's friend Albert Moore shared his interest in classical Venus imagery, as did their mutual patron Frederick Leyland. In 1869, Moore painted *A Venus* – the painting was commissioned by Leyland and exhibited at the Royal Academy.[814] Whistler greatly admired Moore's painting, and his own sketch of *A Standing Nude* (1869) displays a clear resemblance.[815] Furthermore, many writers have noted similarities between the Six Projects and contemporary paintings by Moore, in terms of composition and subject matter.[816] In 1870 Whistler himself expressed concern about the similarities between *Symphony in Blue and Pink* and Moore's sketch for *Seagulls*.[817] As Whistler was ultimately pursuing expression through freestanding pictorial technique, it can be argued that the Venus imagery provided a convenient starting point for exploring varied arrangements of colour, line and form.

Spencer proposes that Leyland's commissioning of both *The Three Girls* and the Peacock Room, allowed Whistler the opportunity to engage with Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*. By 1876 Leyland was preparing to occupy his new London home - 49 Prince's Gate – where, as Merrill notes, 'a prominent place had been reserved for *The Three Girls* in the dining room, on the wall opposite *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*'.[818] Whistler's decoration of this dining room -*Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room* - involved the treatment of nearly every surface. Spencer believes that had *The Three Girls* hung there, 'the Wagnerian dimension to Whistler's scheme would have been

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813 For instance, see *Venus*, 1859, K. 59; *Venus*, 1869, M. 357; *Venus Rising from the Sea*, 1870/73, YMSM 93; *Vénus Astarté*, 1888/90, M. 1232; and *Venus*, *c.*1898, M. 1523.

814 Albert Moore, *A Venus*, 1869. Oil on canvas, 63.0 x 30.0 cm. England, York City Art Gallery.

815 *Standing Nude*, 1869, M. 357. See Merrill, 1998, p.100.

816 Merrill (1998, pp.98-103) discusses the influence of Moore on Whistler's working methods, and the similarities between their work during the late 1860s and early 1870s. See also Way (1912, p.27), and MacDonald (1995, p.867).

817 Albert Moore, *Seagulls*, 1871. Oil on canvas, 155.0 x 69.0 cm. Birkenhead, England, Williamson Art Gallery and Museum. See Whistler to Albert Moore, [12/19 September 1870], GUL M436; GUW 04166 (28 June 2006), quoted in Merrill, 1998, p.102.

818 *La Princesse de pays de la porcelaine*, 1863-64, YMSM 50; Merrill, 1998, p.145.

complete with the inclusion of an explicit reference to music'.[819] However, although Spencer's link between the frame's musical reference and the Wagnerian dimension of the room's decoration is attractive, Leyland originally intended the painting to be hung in his first London house - 23 Queen's Gate.[820] It was only due to Whistler's ongoing delay in completing the painting, that the new hanging space was proposed.

Schubert's Reception

Schubert's favourable reception in late-1860s England supports the proposition that the Six Projects relate directly to the *Moments musicaux*. As Whistler developed the Six Projects, the prominent pianist and conductor Charles Hallé systematically introduced London audiences to Schubert's piano music. In 1861 Hallé had played the entire Beethoven piano sonatas in a series of eight recitals (a feat he repeated in 1862 and 1866). Then in 1867, as John Reed explains in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*:

> [He] turned his attention to the Schubert piano sonatas, having already introduced five of them at the "Monday Pops," and played nine of them. An even more ambitious program followed in 1868, when Hallé played all eleven Schubert sonatas then available in print, together with all the shorter keyboard works of Beethoven...In thus juxtaposing the work of Schubert and Beethoven, Hallé was consciously challenging the orthodox nineteenth-century view that Schubert did not belong among the great composers, because his music lacked the unity of form, continuity of theme and architectonic power of Beethoven. The point was not lost on critics...To complete this comprehensive demonstration of Schubert's keyboard works, in 1867-68 Hallé edited for Chappell and Co. the first English edition of the eleven "grand sonatas" of Schubert, followed by the Impromptus, Op. 90 (D899), the *Moments musicaux*, the "Wanderer" fantasy, Op. 15 (D760), and other minor works. Between May 1859 and June 1868 Hallé was responsible for the premières in England for all these works except one.[821]

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819 Spencer, 2003, p.18.

820 Merrill, 1998, p.154.

821 Reed, 1997, pp.257-58.

Hallé's advocacy of the piano music coincided with the revaluation and increased programming of Schubert's orchestral music. For instance, in April 1867 August Manns conducted the first English performance of the 'Unfinished' Symphony, prompting repeat performances by the London Philharmonic in May and by Hallé's Manchester orchestra in December.[822] Joseph Bennett, who was then music critic for the *Daily Telegraph*, later recalled the considerable enthusiasm for Schubert's music amongst London's concert-going crowds in 1867-68.[823] This period of Schubert mania - which Reed describes as 'a sort of *Wunderjahrzehnt* for Schubert lovers' - fuelled the 1869 publication of an English translation of the first Schubert biography.[824] According to Haweis, by 1871 Schubert was 'widely admired and beloved' in England.[825]

Given Whistler's many associations with musicians and music-lovers, he was no doubt aware of the increased interest in Schubert's music, and familiar with the music itself. He may have been personally acquainted with Hallé, and perhaps witnessed him performing pieces by Schubert at the spring music parties that Frederic Leighton hosted from 1867 on.[826] As noted in Chapter Two, Whistler's friend Du Maurier sang Schubert's songs at Arthur Lewis's musical evenings in the early 1860s,[827] and Lady Lindsay played Schubert's piano music during the early 1870s.[828] In fact, it is likely that a number of Whistler's friends, patrons (including Leyland) and family members (such as his half-sister Deborah) included Schubert's shorter piano works in their repertoire. The *Moment musical* quoted on the frame for *The Three Girls* might also have been known to Whistler in its orchestral version: it was orchestrated by Narcisse Girard and played in Paris from the 1850s onwards, in concerts organized by Jules Pasdeloup.[829] It is interesting that this piece was originally published in 1823 as an independent

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822 Reed, 1997, p.260.

823 See Reed, 1997, pp.260-61.

824 Arthur Duke Coleridge translated the biography written by Heinrich Kreissle von Hellborn, which had been published in German in 1865. See Reed, 1997, p.260.

825 Haweis, 1871, p.270.

826 See Appendix One for further information about Leighton's music parties.

827 George Du Maurier to his mother, January 1862, Du Maurier, 1951, p.99.

828 See Jopling, 1925, p.74.

829 Hascher (1997, p.267) mentions this orchestration by Narcisse Girard (1797-1860) under the subheading '1850 to 1870s-80s: Schubert's chamber music becomes standard repertory'. Jules Pasdelouop (1819-87) directed the Société des Jeunes Artistes from 1853, and then the Concerts Populaire de Musique Classique from 1861 onwards. See Elisabeth Bernard, 'Pasdeloup, Jules Etienne', GMO (7 Sept 2005).

work entitled 'Air russe', and was included as such in a Christmas annual published in London in 1830.[830] Given that in the Ruskin Trial Whistler reportedly gave his birthplace as St Petersburg (rather than Massachusetts), it seems he held his Russian connection in high regard.[831] Therefore, Whistler might have appreciated the nostalgic associations of the title 'Air russe'.

A Schubertian Interpretation

Having situated Whistler's reference to Schubert within the context of the prevalent enthusiasm for Schubert's music, we can now explore the possibility that Whistler linked each of the Six Projects to an individual movement from Schubert's *Moments musicaux*. While the *Moments* were published as a set during Schubert's lifetime, each piece is also self-contained - in fact, prior to the set's publication in 1828, two of the pieces were published independently.[832] In a similar way, Whistler's pictures are self-contained - thus it was possible for *The Three Girls* to be hung independently. However, the thematic and colouristic connections between the paintings, supports the notion that the source for the series' musical programme was a set of six pieces, rather than six unrelated pieces. Each of the Six Projects depicts different moments from a series of events. Various groups of young women (from the single figure of *Venus* to as many as seven figures in *Symphony in White and Red*) are depicted enjoying different aspects of outdoor activity - namely, cultivating plants and exploring the water's edge. The differing configuration of each picture, the sense of movement conveyed, and the incidental nature of the activities in which the figures engage, liken the sketches to a series of snapshots capturing incidental moments from a longer sequence of events.

Even though Whistler had indicated his disinterest in narrative prior to beginning the Six Projects, the very nature of the series format encourages a sequential reading of the images. As the viewer moves from one painting to the next, drawing connections between them, a narrative of sorts (however abstract)

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830 *Air Russe* appeared in a Christmas and New Year annual called the *Cadeau*, which was published by the London firm of Johanning and Whatmore in December 1830. See Reed, 1997, pp. 254, 255; and Kinderman, 1997, p.166.

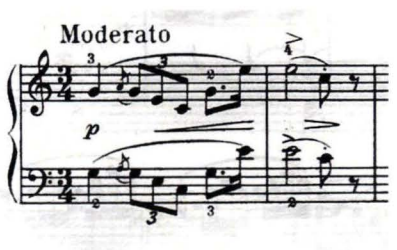
831 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.233; Daily News, 1878, p.835.

832 No. 6 (Allegretto in A flat) was published as 'Plaintes d'un Troubadour' in 1824, and no. 3 (Allegro moderato in F minor) was published as 'Air russe' in 1823. See Kinderman, 1997, p.166.

develops. This can be likened to the sense of unfolding, and the accumulation of musical information, that the listener experiences during the performance of a multi-movement work such as a symphony or, indeed, a set of pieces like Schubert's *Moments musicaux*. Therefore, by inscribing a musical quotation on the frame of a painting within a series, Whistler seems to be doubly insisting that his audience extend their viewing time.

The Pennells numbered the Six Projects in the following order: *The White Symphony: The Three Girls*; *Venus*; *Symphony in Green and Violet*; *Symphony in White and Red*; *Variations in Blue and Green*; and *Symphony in Blue and Pink*.[833] However, they did not consider the possibility of a musical programme. Taking Schubert's complete *Moments musicaux* as the musical source for the series, it is possible to propose an alternative viewing order by associating each of the sketches with an individual musical piece. Given that Whistler indicated that *The Three Girls* (the enlarged version of *The White Symphony: Three Girls*) be linked with Schubert's third piece, five pieces and paintings remain to be considered. The following order is proposed: *Venus*; *Symphony in Green and Violet*; *The White Symphony: Three Girls*; *Symphony in Blue and Pink*; *Variations in Blue and Green*; and *Symphony in White and Red.*

Schubert's first piece, a Moderato in C major, 'begins with a summons: a unison triadic fanfare motif which later returns in imitation, in several voices' [ex. 1].[834] Surely, it is *Venus* [fig. 60], the goddess of love and fertility and the only figure within the series to confront the viewer with her nakedness, who warrants such fanfare. Furthermore, if Venus is indeed the 'controlling image' of the set (as Merrill believes),[835] it is appropriate that she be viewed at the beginning. The Moderato is the simplest of the six



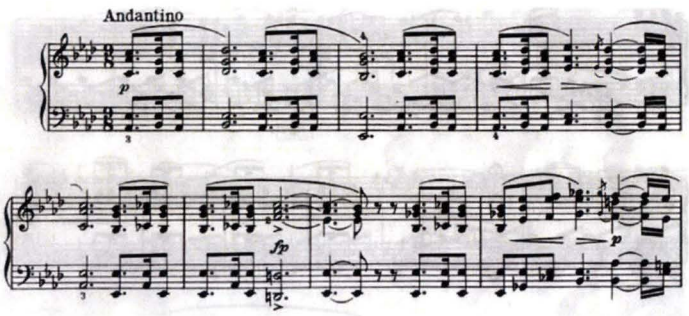
Example 1: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 1 in C major, Op. 94, opening.

Figure 60: *Venus*, *c.*1868, YMSM 82.

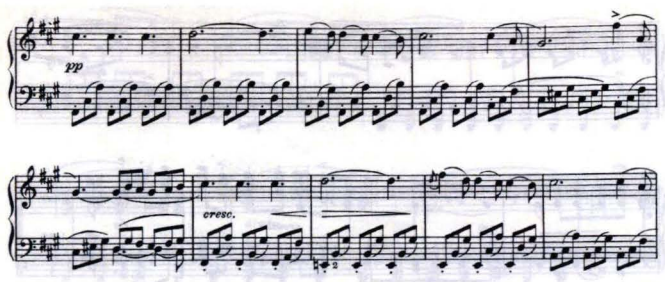
833 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, pp.149-50.
834 Kinderman, 1998, p.167.
835 Merrill, 1998, p.96.

Moments, in terms of its form and harmonic language. Likewise, within the Six Projects, *Venus* has the most straightforward composition (being a frontal view of a single figure), and the simplest colour scheme (predominantly flesh-colour and blue, with red and white accents).

Schubert's second piece, an Andantino in A flat major, alternates between a serene, lilting, main theme [ex. 2] and two haunting episodes in F sharp minor which are the epitome of abstract, unfulfilled yearning [ex. 3]. The distant relationship between the two main keys, and the associated sense of surprise that occurs at the transition points, heightens the emotional intensity of the music. The contrast between the simplicity of Schubert's first piece and the relative complexity of this second piece could likewise be achieved by placing Whistler's *Symphony in Green and Violet* [fig. 61] after *Venus*. The unusual colour harmony of the *Symphony* and the intensity of the figures' absorption in an unknown (and therefore mysterious) object or incident (so much so that the left figure is completely turned away from the viewer), creates an enigmatic moodiness akin to that which characterizes Schubert's Andantino. Next in the series comes *The Three Girls* and Schubert's third piece, the Allegro Moderato in F minor (which will be analyzed in greater depth later in this chapter).



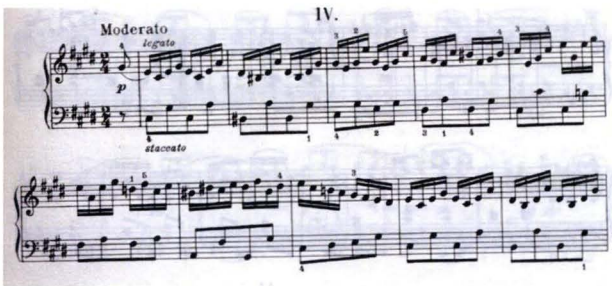
Example 2: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 2 in A flat major, Op. 94, opening.



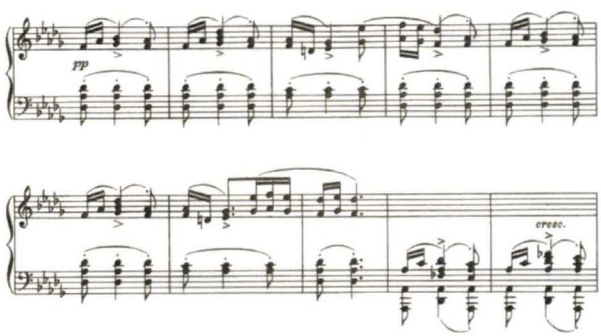
Example 3: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 2 in A flat major, Op. 94, bars 18-27.

Figure 61: *Symphony in Green and Violet*, *c.*1868, YMSM 83.

Of the following piece, a Moderato, William Kinderman writes in *The Cambridge Companion to Schubert*: the 'expressive contrast of the principal sections is striking: a moto perpetuo in C sharp minor in a stratified Baroque texture is interrupted by a soft, ethereal theme in the major reminiscent of a dance, which recurs fleetingly before the conclusion'.[836] The outer sections of this piece contain the fastest moving, and most flowing sound-scape within the entire *Moments musicaux* [ex. 4]. Atmospheric changes provide an obvious analogy: the swirling semiquaver pattern and minor tonality of the *moto perpetuo* suggests the movement and effect of wind, while the repeated rhythmic motif and major tonality of the central section evoke a calmer and sunnier atmosphere [ex. 5]. Of the three remaining images, *Symphony in Blue and Pink* [fig. 62] depicts a similar climate. Whistler indicates the buffeting of the wind by the backward tilt of the figures, and employs loose brushwork to convey movement in the girls' drapery. By emphasizing the curvilinear, he captures the restlessness of Schubert's swirling semiquaver pattern. For instance, the wrap-around style of the girls' costumes is made more apparent in this image than in others – here, every figure wears a long scarf, either loosely draped or tightly wrapped. The circular movement inherent in the



Example 4: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 4 in C sharp minor, Op. 94, opening.

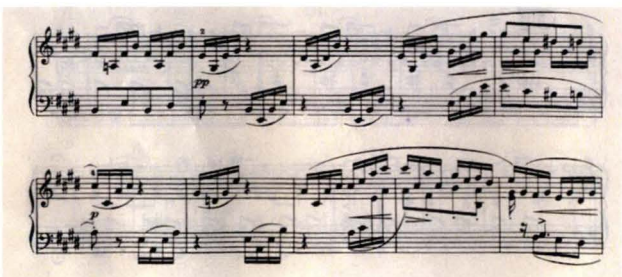


Example 5: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No, 4 in C sharp minor, Op. 94, bars 62-71.

836 Kinderman, 1998, pp.166-167.

physical gesture of wrapping and encircling the body is similar to both the melodic shape that Schubert establishes in the first two bars, and the physical movement required by the pianist's hand. Through the circular form of the parasol, the sweeping lines of the figures, and by the figures' momentary gathering around a central point of interest, Whistler reinforces this sense of swirling motion. Indeed, the quick change of direction made by the figure with the parasol as she turns to notice something on the sand, suggests the capricious changes of texture and melodic shape that briefly intercept the continuous forward movement in Schubert's Moderato. (As in, for example, the bridge passage from bars 22 to 30 – [ex. 6]). Simultaneously, however, the attractive colouring, and the sense of companionship and joy that imbues Whistler's image, is akin to the quietly contented atmosphere of the central section of Schubert's piece.

Figure 62: *Symphony in Blue and Pink*, *c.*1868, YMSM 86.

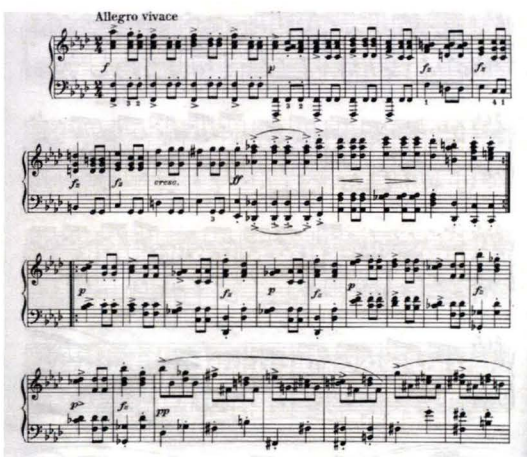


Example 6: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 4 in C sharp minor, Op. 94, bars 21-30.

Schubert's fifth piece - Allegro vivace in F minor - retains the fast pace and perpetual movement of the previous piece but is tightly unified by the repetition of an accented, one-bar rhythmic motif. Therefore, it is more emphatic in character. Similarly, *Variations in Blue and Green* [fig. 63] can be considered a more focused version of *Symphony in Blue and Pink*. While both are four-figure compositions in which the activity of a central figure draws the attention of the others, the *Variations* has a greater sense of group cohesion due to the inward posture of the outer figures.

A notable feature of Schubert's piece is the broad range of dynamic and articulation, and the precision with which these directions have been notated. Within what is one of the shortest movements, Schubert achieves a particular brilliance and excitement by exploring the piano's full dynamic range (from pianissimo to fortissimo), and employing the expressive devices of accent, staccato and legato markings [ex. 7]. Whereas the fourth piece comprises long sections of consistent dynamic and articulation, in the fifth piece these aspects change every few bars. Whistler achieves a similar vibrancy in the *Variations* by decorating the surface with varied brushstroke - long, loose strokes delineate the drapery, the petals are dabbed in a staccato-like fashion, and the purple butterflies in the lower left are formed by short, linear marks. Through his brushwork Whistler also varies the texture of the painted surface. For instance, the drapery of the two figures on the right is painted thinly and therefore has a smooth appearance, while the paint that delineates their headscarves is applied more thickly.

Figure 63: *Variations in Blue and Green, c.*1868, YMSM 84.



Example 7: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 5 in F minor, Op. 94, opening.

In the title of the painting, Whistler indicates that the composition is in the key of blue and green, and that the true subject of the work is in fact the variations of these colours. Indeed, most of the surface is painted in blues ranging from pale, silvery tones to those bordering on purple; and in greens ranging from bold, grass greens to subtle sea greens. The various shades are applied in thin layers over a dark ground, resulting in infinite variations of tone in any one area, as exemplified by the mottled appearance of the sea. Warm accents provide relief from the predominantly cool harmony - soft peach-coloured petals drift across the surface; orange-red, pink and coral headscarves and a pink fan enliven the large

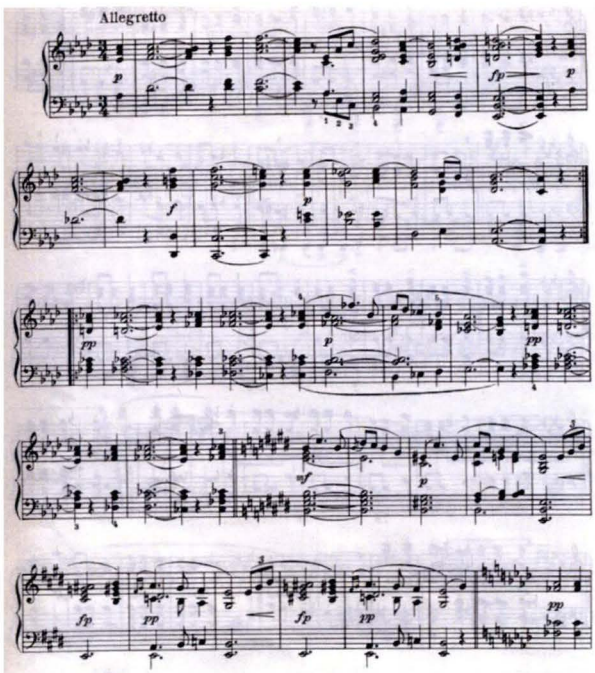
expanse of sea; and peach and flesh-tone are melded with blues and greens to create a beautifully-coloured sky. By unifying the foreground and background through colour repetition, and by treating the sea and the horizon as bands of colour rather than as means of indicating pictorial depth, Whistler insists on the materiality of the painted surface.

The spatial organization of this painting resembles the textural organization of music. The bands of colour that form the background emphasize the key colours of the painting – green at the bottom and blues in the centre, with warmer colours embellishing the top of the picture plane. The background's role is similar to that of a musical accompaniment – it reinforces the key of the work while supporting melodic voices. The long, slightly diagonal lines of the railing and the horizon direct the eye across the image, encouraging the viewer to allow the painting to unfold through time, as music does. The seated figure seems to point to a barely visible fifth railing, indicating an uncanny resemblance between the railing and a musical stave. Upon this framework, a number of melodic voices operate. Therefore, the picture can be read as a musical score - various voices occupy different parts of the horizontal structure of the picture plane. For instance, the peach petals at the left appear in two voices, which could be likened to soprano and alto parts due to their relative positioning. Although rhythmically complex, the petals are pitched close together, suggesting stepwise melodic movement. In contrast, the purple butterflies entering from the lower left form an undulating line that suggests significant changes in pitch, albeit in a slower-moving rhythmic pattern. Above these butterflies, the linear motion of the purple scarf provides counterpoint. At the lower right, three white petals are placed with no other purpose than to relieve the expanse of green and to continue the melodic line begun by the purple butterflies, thus leading the eye across the image.

Of course, the main melody appears in the arrangement of the four figures themselves. Their warm-coloured scarves and fan draw attention to the placement of their heads against the framework, in a manner akin to the placement of note-heads upon a musical stave. When the eye moves from left to right, an undulating line is formed through tracing the shoulders and heads of the outer figures and the heads of the inner figures. The shape of this line is a variation upon the purple butterfly line. In his efforts to perfect the linear arrangement of the composition, Whistler used preparatory sketches to

experiment with different groupings and poses.[837] These sketches indicate his interest in the linear beauty of the female form, and in the linear and rhythmic patterns created by varying combinations of figures.

The final piece in Schubert's set, an Allegretto in A flat major, is the most complex - harmonically, formally, and thus, emotionally [ex. 8]. Its overall character is reflective, slightly mournful, and certainly enigmatic. *Symphony in White and Red* [fig. 64] might also be read in this way. While *Venus* announces the goddess' arrival from the sea, *Symphony in White and Red* depicts her return. In both paintings, the predominant colouring of blues and sandy flesh-tones is injected with enlivening accents of red that take the form of butterflies hovering in the wind. The most intriguing aspect of *Symphony in White and Red* is the ghostly chorus of three figures at the left, highlighted by a single note of red. Their indistinct forms dissolve into one another in a manner akin to the partially sustained harmonies of Schubert's opening motif, while their vertical, pillar-like posture can be likened to the chordal writing employed throughout the



Example 8: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 6 in A flat major, Op. 94, opening.

Figure 64: *Symphony in White and Red, c.*1868, YMSM 85.

[837] See M. 342-49.

piece. A further analogy to sustained sound is found in Whistler's use of long horizontal brushstrokes to depict the steps and railing of the pier, and the sky.

By filling the entire picture plane with action (so much so that the figure in the boat is truncated), and by avoiding any indications of depth (such as boats on the horizon), Whistler insists that the viewer consider the pictorial surface and, thereby, his treatment of colour and line. By highlighting red and white in the title of an image that, to the naked eye, contains more blues than either colour, Whistler asks the viewer to spend time unravelling the painting. Indeed, the notes of red play an important role in guiding the viewer's interaction with the image. Firstly, they indicate the vertical divisions within the basic three-part structure of the composition: a single note of red is placed close to the left frame, three small notes appear near the lower frame (suggesting a highly abstracted version of the artist's butterfly signature) and a bold note of red takes the form of a lady's fan towards the centre of the composition. Secondly, the red accents encourage the viewer to read the work from left to right, to pause and reflect upon the highlighted events, and to enjoy the melodic shape that evolves as the eye traces a linear path by joining the red accents and the circular forms of the figures' bodies and heads. At the same time the red notes form an independent voice within the broader melodic line, characterized by short yet intense bursts of colour that can be likened to accented, staccato sounds.

The painting has an intricate linear framework provided by the steps, railings and supports of the pier. Upon this grid, the figures are placed in a manner akin to notes upon a musical stave. By using the entire picture plane, Whistler suggests changes of musical pitch through the relative highs and lows of his positioning of the seven figures. Indeed, an undulating melodic line is formed when the eye traces the heads of the figures from left to right, and pleasing rhythmic interest is found in the carefully calculated spaces between the figures. Within this melodic voice, three notes are highlighted - the heads of the central figure and the two women to her right are painted in a soft, blended manner that contrasts with the energetic linear brushwork of their drapery, and the crispness of the framework.

Had the sketch been enlarged, the white noted in the title might have featured predominantly in the drapery worn by the central figure, and perhaps in that worn by the figure seated in the boat. Obviously, the central figure is making

her way down the steps to the boat. The opaque colouring of the bright red fan to her left, and the greater clarity of form with which Whistler depicts her and her fan-bearing friend, attracts the viewer's attention to this area of the image. However, rather than drawing attention to the figures' actions, Whistler wished to focus the viewer's attention on the combination of red and white that is most plainly stated in the centre of the composition. As noted in the previous chapter, Whistler frequently repeated colours across the entire surface of a painting, as a means of unifying the composition. Obviously in this *Symphony* the red and white can be found in the various pinks and purples, but it is likely that even the red would have been employed in areas where one might least expect it.

Although the title of the work states that the painting is in the key of white and red, Whistler had privately referred to the colour scheme as 'full palette'. Certainly, this image has the richest colouring of the Six Projects, due to the underlying dark brown ground that has been left exposed in many areas, and the golden-browns used for the pier and the boat. The variety of colours that appear across the surface suggest that Whistler might indeed have used each of the pure tube colours he typically placed on his palette, by mixing them to form tones that harmonized with, or otherwise accentuated, the predominant scheme of red and white. Blues were used for the water and sky, and for the central figure's drapery; reds were used boldly at times, and then softened with white to form pinks for drapery, for indicating the reflection of that drapery on the water, and for colouring the sky; yellow ochre and raw umber might have been used for the pier and the drapery to the left; burnt sienna for the boat; and lead white and black blended with any number of the other colours, to be employed across the surface.

The Three Girls: A Schubertian Reading

A consideration of the ways in which *The Three Girls* and its accompanying musical quote relate, is crucial to an understanding of Whistler's musical referencing. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter is devoted to exploring the correspondences between the imagery and musical source of this painting. Merrill describes the subject matter of this picture as follows:

> Three young women are disposed around a flowering tree, one crouching to attend it, another bending forward to observe it, the third standing off to one side,

> monumental and aloof, a parasol encircling her head like a halo. The object of their attention is a natural form abstracted from its setting, with no particular purpose apart from being beautiful. In a later reinterpretation of the central figure, Whistler makes the plant a lily, an emblem of aestheticism.[838]

The floral theme of the image is continued on the frame designed by Whistler - the flat area is, according to Merrill, adorned with 'small blue flowers, possibly meant as "hawthorn" petals in allusion to Chinese blue and white, arranged with studied informality'.[839] The musical quotation is also located within the flat, in the centre of the lower edge, where it briefly *intercepts* the floral pattern [fig. 65].

Figure 65: Detail of Frame designed by Whistler, *c.*1872-73. Originally intended for *The Three Girls*, *c.*1867-1879, YMSM 88.

This juxtaposition of the melody and the undulating floral pattern, suggests that they should be read as one and the same. That is, the floral pattern continues the melody begun in the musical quotation - the floral motif is substituted for musical notation. As Merrill notes, the framemakers who produced this frame - Foord & Dickinson – 'applied the gilding in the old manner, directly on the wood so the grain showed through.'[840] The parallel lines of the grain provide a stave-like structure upon which the petals are placed, thus extending the idea of the actual musical stave. The flowing line Whistler achieves by placing the petals higher or lower within the flat, suggests an undulating melody comprising higher and lower pitches. A complex rhythm is created by the irregular grouping of the petals, and by their variable sizes. For instance, areas such as the lower section of the right frame are quite evenly paced, while others, such as to the right of the musical quotation, are irregular, moving from relative sparseness to relative intensity.

Above and below the flat of the frame, the linear decoration (generally known as a bamboo pattern) provides a stabilizing regular pulse to the relative

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838 Merrill, 1998, p.86.

839 Merrill, 1998, p.142.

840 Merrill, 1998, p.142.

freedom of the floral pattern. Each outer band contains a regularly repeated pattern of long and short lines. However, when the three areas are read together, a subtle complexity is achieved by the rhythmic independence of the outer linear bands. While the bamboo pattern is found on other frames designed by Whistler,[841] it assumes a special significance when considered in relation to the Schubert quotation. The four-bar quotation that Whistler inscribed on the frame is from the opening bars of the melody played in the pianist's right hand [ex. 9]. Throughout the piece, the melody, which is consistently ornamented, remains in the right hand and is supported by a repetitive, broken-chord accompaniment in the left hand. Initially, this accompaniment figure provides a two-bar introduction before the melody enters, and then remains rhythmically constant throughout. If the floral pattern on the flat of the frame is read as continuing the melodic idea suggested in the musical quotation, then surely the regularity of the bamboo pattern functions as the stabilising accompaniment, over which the ornamented melody can ebb and flow.

Example 9: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 3 in F minor, Op. 94, opening.

As the entire frame is decorated in this manner, Schubert's music is, in effect, enveloping *The Three Girls*. To return now to the painting's potted plant imagery, it can be suggested that this also symbolizes music due to its association with the frame's floral motif. Merrill writes of this painting: 'Whistler's hothouse imagery decrees that if art is to flourish it must be sheltered from the natural world, an environment inhospitable to aesthetic beauty'.[842] To extend this interpretation, it can be argued that the imagery also decrees that art must aspire to 'the condition of music' (to borrow the phrase Walter Pater would coin in 1877).

Certainly, the sketchiness of *The White Symphony: Three Girls* [fig. 66] is of great value to this study, for the image's exposed framework suggests a number of compositional processes akin to those employed in music. Firstly, the complex division of the picture plane, which embellishes a basically triadic structure, is similar to Schubert's treatment of ternary form in the *Moment*

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841 For instance, on the frames of *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge* (1872/75, YMSM 140) and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (1872, YMSM 122).

842 Merrill, 1998, p.87.

musical. In both cases, the basic formal structure provides a framework upon which 'events' are positioned. In Whistler's painting, the central interest of the figure tending the plant is framed by a division of the picture plane, both vertically and horizontally, into unequal thirds. Vertically, reading from left to right, the beginning of the central third is articulated by the short blue vertical beam above the balustrade railing (which would run between the two figures if continued), while the final third is marked by the standing figure with parasol. Horizontally, a wide, white, central band provides a unifying backdrop for the figures, plants, pots, and plant-stands. This is bordered by the glimpses of water above the railing, and the band of flooring in the lower third. The horizontal structure of the painting is similar to that employed in the frame - in both, the flower/music motif is placed in the central band. However, in the painting itself, the constant, regular rhythm of Schubert's accompaniment is also referenced within the central band - in the regular pulse created by the vertical bars of the balustrade. Additionally, these bars divide the pictorial space into smaller, even portions, just as the musical bar-line sectionalizes musical form. Therefore, in addition to providing a structured backdrop that 'accompanies' the prioritized activity (as Schubert's left-hand motif accompanies the melody), the balustrade's pulse suggests the temporal dimension of music.

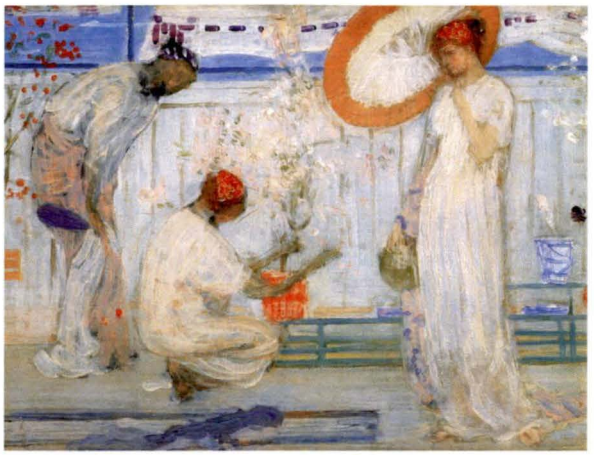


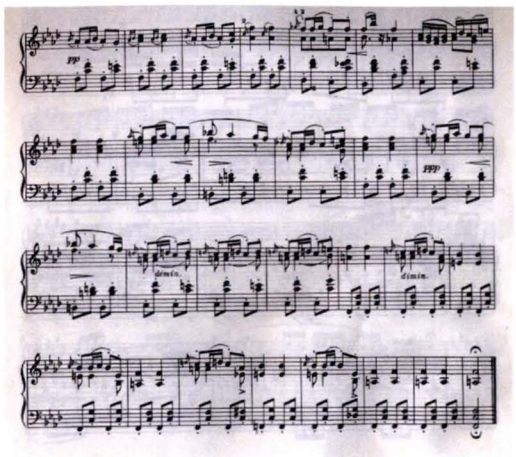
Figure 66: *The White Symphony: Three Girls*, *c.*1868, YMSM 87.

A further delineation of structure (both visual and temporal) occurs through the tiered placement of horizontals in the lower third of the picture. In the immediate foreground a blue-grey strip enters from the left frame and continues for two-thirds of the picture's width. It provides a form for drapery to be rested upon. Then, articulating the middle distance comes the tiered blue-green plant-stand. The first level begins to the right of the central figure (thereby overlapping the blue-grey strip), while an upper level is added to the right of the standing figure with parasol. Short verticals subdivide each of these horizontal

forms. Just as the overall triadic structure of the picture is similar to Schubert's overall ternary framework, the horizontal strips function in a similar way to the delineation of internal divisions within Schubert's piece. Schubert employs a pedal note to articulate the first four bars of each smaller section and to anchor the changing harmonies that colour the melody, and places repeat signs at points of structural significance. In Whistler's picture, a pedal note effect is achieved by the use of the horizontal strips to underpin and unify the many objects and decorative elements within the image. The additive process experienced when reading the image from left to right, in that the horizontals 'enter' one after another, contributes to the temporal dimension suggested by the balustrade. The 'beginning' of each horizontal (i.e. the left edge) and their vertical supports, suggest the marking of internal sections. Of particular interest is the multifunctional vertical directly to the right of the central potted plant. Not only does it accentuate the presence of the plant, but being placed roughly at the half-way point it accentuates the subtle division within the group of three figures. On the left, the similarly curved backs of the two figures lends an air of intimacy, while the diagonal line formed by their heads leads to the central focus of the image - the tending of the potted plant. While a complementary diagonal is formed by the tilt of the standing figure's parasol, this gently majestic figure could provide a satisfying subject for a self-sufficient image, were the picture to be completely divided at the half-way point. Indeed, the scale and colouring of her parasol immediately beckons the viewer's attention, and, at least in this version of Whistler's composition, almost overshadows the importance of the central object.

The regularity of the bars on the balustrade, combined with the truncated objects on the right and left frames, suggests that the scene (and its implied unfolding through time) continues beyond the frame. Whistler unifies the central activity by grouping the figures inwardly. To the left he allows a glimpse of the truncated flowering shrub, while on the right a wider area contains a number of small items. In a similar way, Schubert precedes the main material of his piece with a short (two-bar) introduction, and follows it with an extended coda [ex. 10]. In both Schubert and Whistler's works, the transitions between the principal and supporting areas are seamless, due to the constant presence of unifying devices. For Schubert, the accompaniment motif remains constant throughout the piece,

and fragments of the principal melodic material are reiterated during the coda. Similarly, Whistler continues the vertical bars of the balustrade across the picture plane, and repeats linear, thematic and colouristic motifs throughout. For instance, the parallel horizontals of the plant-stand are pre-empted by the three orange lines placed mid-way up the left frame, while the curved forms of the left figures are echoed in the tilt of the parasol. The floral theme emphasized by the central potted plant and the motif on the decorative frame, is repeated across the picture plane: truncated flowered shrubs are placed at either side, at least one potted flower rests on the bench at the right, and dabs of colour (such as the red on the left figure's skirt) suggest random petals.

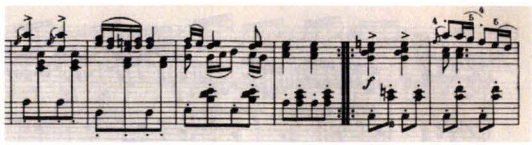


Example 10: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 3 in F minor, Op. 94, bars 27-54.

It is widely believed that *The White Symphony: Three Girls* better conveys the ideal of perfect beauty Whistler was aspiring to in *The Three Girls*, than does the more finished copy of the final image, *Pink and Grey: Three Figures*.[843] The titles of the two extant works indicate that Whistler explored the effects of setting the same composition in different keys of colour. While the scheme of *The White Symphony* is obviously dominated by the colour white, Whistler actually used the title 'Symphony in White and Red' to exhibit the work. Although both titles highlight the treatment of white on white – white drapery upon a white background – his exhibition title implies that he considered the red highlights to be a vital component of the work's colour harmony. Indeed, when the viewer seeks the red notes indicated in the title (which take the form of blossom, headscarves, pots, and the rather ambiguous splattering of colour on the left figure's drapery) their eye travels across the pictorial surface, allowing an undulating melodic line to unfold. Near the top frame, a purple broken line forms a second voice – one that is made highly expressive by a variety of brushstrokes. Not only do the lines vary in length, but Whistler uses both horizontal and vertical

843 Merrill (1998, pp.286-87) notes that both T.R. Way and Thomas Armstrong supported this view.

marks. When considered in relation to Schubert's melodic writing, the strong verticals at the 'beginning' of the line (when reading from left to right) have the emphatic quality of Schubert's accented crotchets, particularly those that begin the melody at bar 11, or more specifically those at bar 19 where the visual effect of the right-hand chords is akin to the length of Whistler's verticals [ex. 11].



Example 11: Franz Schubert, *Moment musical* No. 3 in F minor, Op. 94, bars 15-20.

According to the Pennells, Alan Cole recalled Whistler explaining the composition of *The White Symphony: Three Girls* as 'an arrangement of beautiful lines he wanted to carry out, and then drawing in, with one sweep of the brush, the back of the stooping figure to show what he meant'.[844] Perhaps Whistler's use of white upon white was partially a means of ensuring that the counterpoint between the curved lines of the figures and the geometric framework of the background could be appreciated without the distractions of unsubtle differences of colour, or other indications of pictorial depth. Yet, while the girls' costumes are mostly painted in various shades of white and pale pink, their headscarves are painted in strong shades of red and purple. By drawing attention to the circular forms of the girls' heads, Whistler suggests (yet again) the visual layout of a musical score: the figures can be read as musical notes on a stave (the geometric framework of the balustrade and benches). In this score, pitch is referenced by the placement of the figures' heads at different heights within the picture plane. The expressive devices of musical articulation and dynamic are suggested through the textural variety in Whistler's paint application. For instance, the red petals on the left frame are painted very thinly, perhaps even with the artist's fingertips, while the blossom on the central plant is depicted with thicker, raised dabs of paint, thus drawing attention to the central focus of the painting.

In *The White Symphony: Three Girls* Whistler illustrated his theory that the repetition of colours across the surface promotes compositional unity. Not only do white and red appear throughout the image, but peach, purples, greens and blues are repeated in both foreground and background detail. In this way, Whistler established his colour harmony in the same way a composer establishes

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[844] Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.149.

the tonic key of a piece of music - by constantly returning to it after passages in related keys. As Swinburne noted: 'The main strings touched are certain varying chords of blue and white, not without *interludes* [my italics] of the bright and tender tones of floral purple or red.'[845]

Conclusion

Whistler's ongoing interest in the Six Projects supports the notion that their brief posed challenges as significant as imaging musical compositions, and pursuing and developing a language of colour-music. The analysis of *Variations in Blue and Green, Symphony in White and Red* and *The White Symphony: Three Girls* has clearly demonstrated that the pictorial language used by Whistler throughout the Six Projects was musically modelled. Firstly, in every sketch apart from *Venus* the title indicates the key of the painting's colour harmony. The key colours are repeated across the surface as a means of unifying the composition, just as the tonic key of a musical composition is repeatedly emphasized. Secondly, by using the title to highlight certain compositional processes and colours, and by avoiding indicators of pictorial depth, Whistler insisted that the operations of colour, line and form upon the pictorial surface are themselves the principal subject of the image. Simultaneously, the viewer is required to extend their viewing time and to read the pictorial surface as a musical score. Musical time is frequently evoked by linear patterns that guide the viewer's eye across the image. The pictorial surface is embellished by rhythm and varied brushstroke, in a manner akin to the expressive use of musical rhythm, dynamic and articulation. The spatial composition of the sketches can be likened to the textural organization of musical composition, in that a number of voices, individually characterized by colour and pattern, occupy different areas of the picture plane and are read independently or in counterpoint. In this way, both the visual layout of a musical score, and the temporal aspect of musical voices entering one after another, or in combination, are referenced.

Arthur Eddy isolated the Six Projects and the Nocturnes as Whistler's key forays into colour-music. In this chapter, Whistler's reference to Schubert's music has been explored in depth. It has been argued that there are formal and

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[845] Quoted in Merrill, 1998, p.92.

expressive correspondences between *The Three Girls* and the third *Moment*, and that the complete *Moments musicaux* would seem to be the source informing the Six Projects as a series. The following chapter is devoted to Whistler's Nocturnes – it will argue that Whistler's Nocturnal practice was thoroughly modelled on musical operations, and will explore the correspondences between Whistler's Nocturnes and the musical nocturne.

Chapter Seven
Nocturnes

The purpose of this chapter is to demonstrate that as a body of work Whistler's Nocturnes exhibit the artist's most consistent and thorough use of the musical model. The chapter begins by overviewing the defining characteristics of the Nocturnes, and extending Arthur Eddy's claim that these works are Whistler's most exquisite achievements in colour-music. Following an overview of the musical nocturne it is then argued that Whistler's Nocturnes demonstrate aesthetic and formal similarities with the musical form - particularly with the Nocturnes of Chopin. Finally, Whistler's interest in the fireworks motif is considered in the context of Reverend Haweis' use of fireworks to illustrate his vision of a 'Colour-art exactly analogous to the Sound-art of music'.[846] Fireworks provided Whistler with an ideal vehicle to explore the musical elements of attack and decay, rhythm, pace and sequential structure. Therefore, his fireworks Nocturnes are best understood as attempts to incorporate velocity and change in his presentation of colour, in a manner akin to music's presentation of sound.

Whistler's Nocturnes: An Overview

During the Ruskin Trial, Whistler was asked to explain his definition of a Nocturne. As noted in Chapter Four, he stated:

> I have, perhaps, meant rather to indicate an artistic interest alone in the work, divesting the picture from any outside sort of interest which might have been otherwise attached to it. It is an arrangement of line, form, and colour first; and I make use of any incident of it which shall bring about a symmetrical [that is, balanced or harmonious] result. Among my works are some night pieces; and I have chosen the word Nocturne because it generalizes and simplifies the whole set of them.[847]

His explanation raises three key features of the Nocturnes. Firstly, they are

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[846] Haweis, 1871, pp.32-33.
[847] Daily News, 1878, p.835.

almost solely concerned with pictorial technique. Secondly, their subject matter provided the artist with a vehicle to arrange line, form and colour as he desired. As Holden has explained: 'It was not the blurred ships of the faint shoreline which were Whistler's "subject"; these were merely the artist's means of organizing space, just as the composer organizes time'.[848] Thirdly, the Nocturnes form a unified set. Whistler stated that a Nocturne is a 'night piece' – however, not all night pieces are Nocturnes. For instance, his portrait of Beatrix illuminated by gaslight was entitled *Harmony in Red: Lamplight* [fig. 42].[849] The title Nocturne was never applied to portraits or figure studies. Nonetheless, the human presence is referenced in every Nocturne: small figures occasionally inhabit the scene, but even in their absence lights, boats and buildings represent the human habitation of the landscape. Finally, it can be added, most of the Nocturnes are small. In his article "Colour and Tone in Whistler's 'Nocturnes' and 'Harmonies' 1871-72", Stephen Hackney writes that 'Whistler thought it important that the image should be the size that he actually saw the subject, that is, if placed in front of the real scene and viewed from the painting distance the painting would match it in size'.[850]

Figure 67: *Grey and Silver: The Thames*, *c.*1880, YMSM 121.

As a set, the Nocturnes include water scenes, streetscapes, and pictures of outdoor pleasure parks. Water, boats, buildings and artificial illumination are recurring motifs. Indeed, the representation of light is a defining feature of the genre – not only are the Nocturnes concerned with the transformative quality of nocturnal light and darkness, but they also explore the decorative potential of artificial light. As Holden has noted, the generally cool tonality of the Nocturnes is constantly enlivened by small warm notes.[851] Artificial lights (including fireworks) provide a vehicle. For instance, consider the oil painting *Grey and Silver: The Thames* [fig. 67] and the lithograph entitled *The Thames* [fig. 68]. Both

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848 Holden, 1998, p.34.
849 *Harmony in Red: Lamplight*, 1884, YMSM 253.
850 Hackney, 1994, p.695.
851 Holden, 1998, p.54.

images depict subject matter usually associated with the Nocturnes – water, boats and buildings – in cool, monochromic palettes. In terms of subject matter and arrangement, *Grey and Silver* is similar to the oil paintings *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach* and *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice*, but its lack of artificial light (and the associated absence of human presence) makes it bleak and cold in comparison.[852] Similarly, although the lithograph *The Thames* has recently been described as 'one of Whistler's most complex and evocative nocturnes',[853] it does not include the artificial illumination that Whistler had effectively depicted in the earlier lithograph, *Nocturne* [fig. 69]. This lack of illumination helps explain Whistler's choice of titles – without sparkle or glow, *Grey and Silver* and *The Thames* lithograph did not fit the specifications of a Nocturne. Later in this chapter it will be demonstrated that in the Nocturnes Whistler treats artificial light in a manner akin to musical notation. For now, it is sufficient to stress that the careful delineation of any number of individual lights (or sparks of fireworks) is an important feature of Whistler's compositional approach.

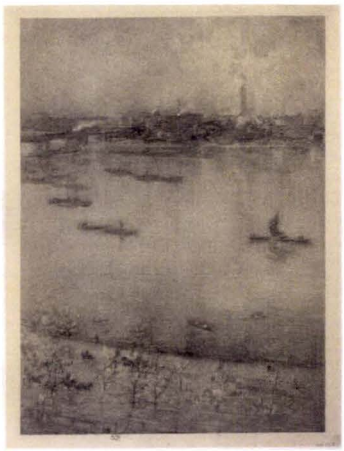

Figure 68: *The Thames*, 1896, C. 161, I/III.

Another reason that *The Thames* lithograph is not a true Nocturne, is its relative excess of descriptive detail. Drawn from Whistler's rooms near the top of the Savoy Hotel, the image depicts many small figures and vehicles travelling along the Embankment, as seen through a tracery of trees. In true Nocturnes such detail is lost in the darkness of night, or at least diffused by a veil of mist. In his doctoral dissertation, Nelson Kauffman analysed Whistler's use of 'the aesthetic of the veil' as a 'dominant principle of organization'. He defined the

Figure 69: *Nocturne*, 1878, C.8.

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852 *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach*, 1870/75, YMSM 119; *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice*, 1879/80, YMSM 212.

853 C., p.454.

aesthetic of the veil as 'the disguising, obscuring, or dissolution of formal clarity' achieved by the placement of some form of 'veil' between the subject and the receiver.[854] Whistler employed the veil as a means of deflecting attention away from a picture's subject in order to emphasize the formal qualities of the work. However, he also appreciated it in its own right. In the 'Ten O'Clock' lecture Whistler described how 'the evening mist clothes the riverside with poetry, as with a veil', and transforms the city into a 'fairy-land'.[855] Whistler clearly admired the magical effect of mist, and in his Nocturnes he explored its ephemeral qualities. The *Magazine of Art* described one of his images of Cremorne Gardens as a study 'of the play of artificial lights on moving vapours, full of mystery and fascination'.[856] In 1879, Whistler wrote to his sister-in-law from Venice: 'now that it has taken to snowing I begin rather to wish myself back in my own lovely London fogs! They are lovely those fogs – and I am their painter!'[857]

The veil not only guided the viewer's understanding of an image, it also encouraged Whistler to further develop his 'musical' approach to pictorial composition. The mist allowed Whistler to interpret nature as an arrangement of colour, line and form, rather than be constrained by an expectation of faithful representation. As Holden writes, night gave Whistler 'the opportunity to experiment with patches of light and dark and color as disembodied shapes, functioning as abstract elements in a pictorial design'.[858] By supressing detail, night 'divests forms of their literary meaning'.[859] Furthermore, indicators of depth are minimized by darkness, allowing motifs to be used as flat forms to decorate the pictorial surface.[860] In many of his Nocturnes, Whistler used the veil to facilitate a transformation of commonplace scenes of modern London into musically-modelled, self-sufficient images concerned with the expressive power of pictorial technique. As the *Athenaeum* wrote of his first Nocturne, 'even the "British" mind, accustomed to seek nothing in a picture but its subject, - must feel

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854 Kauffman, 1975, pp.7, 32.
855 Whistler, 1885, p.841.
856 'Art in April', *Magazine of Art*, 1887, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.
857 Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [October/November 1879], GUL W680; GUW 06686 (31 March 2006).
858 Holden, 1998, p.46.
859 Holden, 1998, p.46.
860 Holden, 1998, p.30.

the influence of its exquisite harmony in chromatics, although the subject be but the Thames at Putney and the factory-encumbered shore'.[861] Champa has written extensively about the influence of symphonic music on the operations of landscape painters in nineteenth-century France. He argues that by the 1870s landscape painting had become the 'liveliest aesthetic activity' in the country, due to the elevation of the genre through musical modelling.[862] Across the Channel, Whistler allowed musical processes and references to shape his entire approach to the construction of his Nocturnes. In doing so, he elevated scenes of industrial London from grim realism to poetic beauty.

Colour-Music

The method that Whistler used to create his Nocturnes was imbued with the musical processes of interpretation, memorisation, repetition and performance. The Pennells explained:

> His method was to go out at night, and all his pupils or followers agree on this, stand before his subject and look at it, then turn his back on it and repeat to whoever was with him the arrangement, the scheme of colour, and as much of the detail as he wanted. The listener corrected errors when they occurred, and, after Whistler had looked long enough, he went to bed with nothing in his head but his subject. The next morning, if he could see upon the untouched canvas the completed picture, he painted it; if not, he passed another night looking at the subject.[863]

Menpes provided a similar account from first-hand experience:

> He would talk aloud as he *created* [my italics] the idea for one of his marvellous pictures. He would say: "Look at that golden interior with the two spots of light, and that old woman with the chequered shawl. See the warm purple tone outside going away up to the green of the sky, and the shadows from the windows thrown on the ground. What an exquisite lacework they form!"[864]

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861 *Athenaeum*, 28 October 1871, Whistler Presscuttings 1849-1882, CWS.
862 Champa, 1991, p.51.
863 Pennell, 1911, p.113, quoted in Hackney, 1994, p.695.
864 Menpes, 1904, p.11.

Bernhard Sickert recalled that at first Whistler noted the desired nocturnal effects in white chalk on brown paper, but later discarded this process and relied solely on his memory.[865]

As discussed in Chapter Four, Whistler viewed nature as a sourcebook of material that he could draw upon to form an artistic arrangement. In the 'Ten O'Clock' lecture he stated: 'Nature is rarely right, to such an extent even, that it might almost be said that Nature is usually wrong; that is to say, the condition of things that shall bring about the perfection of harmony worthy a picture is rare, and not common at all.[866] Therefore, Whistler selected, discarded and rearranged elements through the process of interpretation. For instance, in 'The Red Rag' he wrote that the black figure in *Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Chelsea Snow* (then entitled 'Harmony in Grey and Gold) was 'placed there because black was wanted at that spot'.[867] Whistler's interpretation of nature has similarities to both a composer's selection of musical motifs and a performer's interpretation of a musical score - the score (nature) is a blueprint to be realized through the process of interpretation and performance (painting). The act of memorising aided Whistler's interpretation by deepening his understanding of the individual elements and their role in the overall composition. As John Siewert notes in the *Turner Whistler Monet* exhibition catalogue, the image would have become 'further edited' due to the period of time between memorising the scene and actually painting it.[868] Then, in his efforts to render the image exactly as he wished, Whistler sometimes needed to repaint an image over and over, as a performer practises in order to perfect their interpretation and performance of a musical work. In order to preserve the freshness and harmony of the finished image, Whistler would start again from the beginning rather than alter one element of the composition.

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865 Sickert, 1908, p.108.
866 Whistler, 1885, p.841.
867 *Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Chelsea Snow*, 1876, YMSM 174; Whistler, 1890, p.126.
868 Siewert in Lochnan, 2004, p.156.

The Nocturnes began as a subset of the Harmonies. Whistler's first Nocturne, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* [fig. 70] was exhibited at the Dudley Gallery in 1871 as 'Harmony in Blue-Green Moonlight'. The critic for the *Saturday Review* played with the title's musical allusion: 'At best such pictorial melodies are as the pipes of Pan; thus they remain at a wide distance from orchestral compositions by Beethoven'.[869] While the reference to Beethoven is not surprising within the context of Beethovenism (as outlined in Chapter One), one wonders whether the critic actually meant to compare Whistler's Nocturne with Beethoven's Piano Sonata Op. 27, No. 2 – the 'Moonlight' sonata. Originally entitled *Sonata quasi una Fantasia*, this work became nicknamed the 'Moonlight' after a critic wrote that its opening movement reminded him of the effect of moonlight on the lake of Lucerne.[870] Written in 1801, the sonata is remarkable for its experimental departures from the traditional sonata form. The entry on *Grove Music Online* explains:

Figure 70: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, 1871, YMSM 103.

> The opening reverie of the 'Moonlight' is such a startling conception, even today...Unprecedented for a sonata opening is the half-improvisatory texture, the unity of mood, and especially the mood itself - that romantic *mestizia* [sadness] which will have overwhelmed all but the stoniest of listeners by the end of the melody's first phrase.[871]

Similarly, Whistler's first Nocturne was a startling departure from the traditional forms of landscape, marine and cityscape painting. Its high degree of

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869 'Winter Exhibitions', *Saturday Review*, 28 October 1871, p.559; quoted in Lochnan, 2004, p.148.

870 Scholes, 1970. p.678.

871 Joseph Kerman and Alan Tyson (with Scott G. Burnham), 'Beethoven, Ludwig Van: 13. Music of the Early Vienna Period', GMO (30 March 2006).

abstraction, insistent horizontality and restricted palette were a far cry from the attention to descriptive detail that characterized the work of many contemporary Victorian painters. Siewert writes that by "using the term 'nocturne' in favour of 'moonlight', Whistler meant to direct the reception of his paintings away from literal associations towards a more poetic potential".[872] Yet, it can be argued that Whistler's use of 'moonlight' was itself poetic. Like many of Whistler's Nocturnes, *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* does not actually depict the moon, but rather conveys the effect of moonlight on the Thames and its surrounding buildings. Whistler may well have used the work's original title to doubly insist that the work be appreciated strictly for its pictorial technique, in a similar way to music's self-sufficiency. The opening movement of the 'Moonlight' sonata displays the same characteristics as the musical Nocturne – the dreamy nocturnal style was clearly one that appealed to Whistler.[873] Given that soon afterwards Whistler inscribed a Schubertian quote on the frame intended for *The Three Girls*, and that in later years he upheld Beethoven's music as the epitome of self-sufficient symphonic music, it is reasonable to propose that he was fully aware of, and perhaps consciously evoked, the term's musical associations. Indeed, this may explain the title change from Moonlight to Nocturne - Nocturne referenced a musical form in general, rather than any specific representative of that form. As Whistler wrote to Leyland – 'it is really so charming and does so poetically say all that I want to say and <u>no more</u> than I wish!'[874] By using Nocturne, Whistler minimised the 'outside interests' that could be suggested through the title.

As a subset of the Harmonies, the Nocturnes are similarly concerned with colour harmony, and demonstrate Whistler's theories of the science of colour and picture pattern. When *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* was first exhibited in 1871, the *Times* stated that despite the work's small scale, 'the management of colour all through is governed by the subtlest calculation, and the gradation and juxtaposition of delicate tones appeal to the finest susceptibilities'.[875] Joyce Townsend has analysed Whistler's use of colour in the Nocturnes. She writes:

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872 Siewert in Lochnan, 2004, p.150.

873 The characteristics of the musical nocturne will be discussed later in the chapter.

874 Whistler to Frederick Richards Leyland, [2/9 November 1872], LC PWC 6B/21/3; GUW 08794 (30 November 2005).

875 *Times*, 14 November 1871, quoted in YMSM, p.64.

> In the case of the nocturnes, the palette for a given painting is quite restricted and carefully chosen. Paint which had been successfully mixed was kept under water, so that Whistler could continue with it another day. Most nocturnes include Prussian blue and some synthetic (French) or natural ultramarine, and a few have cobalt blue or cerulean blue in addition. All have vermilion, and most have a single yellow, either chrome or more commonly cadmium yellow or orange. Whistler carefully selected the yellows and blues. It is only in the brighter areas - for example, lights, their reflections, and rockets - that such pigments can be seen unmixed. In fact they are to be found as well in blue water, shadowed shore, sky, and in shadowy figures - in short, throughout the composition, making a crucial contribution to the harmony of the whole surface.[876]

In addition, Whistler used ivory black as a 'universal harmoniser', as he had been taught by Charles Gleyre. It was mixed with lead white for priming, and used in areas of the finished surface.[877] By restricting his palette and carrying the dominant colours through to the frame, Whistler clearly established the tonality of a painting, just as a composer establishes the key of a Nocturne from the outset.[878] Furthermore, the combination of blues and yellows allowed Whistler to use subtle contrast when required. In this way, he was able to simulate the distinction between melody and accompaniment in musical texture. (This feature of Whistler's Nocturnes will be discussed in more detail below.)

By using nocturnal darkness and the veil to obscure his subject matter, Whistler gave increased prominence to the treatment of colour. In his Nocturnes the arrangement of form and line are subordinate to colour effect. Eddy suggested that Whistler almost entirely excluded line and form in favour of colour harmony as an end in itself.[879] He wrote of a progression from the 'Symphonies in White', in which 'figures and accessories, though still prominent, were made subordinate to the brilliant color schemes'; to the Nocturnes, in which 'detail and composition were refined away, and little remained but color-effects so exquisite

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876 Townsend, 1994, pp.690-91.
877 Townsend, 1994, p.692.
878 See *Times*, 14 November 1871, quoted in YMSM, p.64, for information about the framing of Whistler's early Nocturnes.
879 Eddy, 1903, p.206.

that they seemed, and still seem, beyond the power of [the] brush'.[880] It was for their lack of detail and elevation of colour, that Eddy declared the Nocturnes Whistler's most 'exquisite' colour-music. Siewert notes that by the end of the nineteenth century, many writers placed the Nocturnes "at the 'limits' of perception and painting, at a point where vision and representation are almost – but not quite – rendered obsolete".[881] Like Eddy, Duret acknowledged the primacy of colour in the Nocturnes. Discussing the extremely abstract *Nocturne: Grey and Silver* [fig. 71] he wrote:

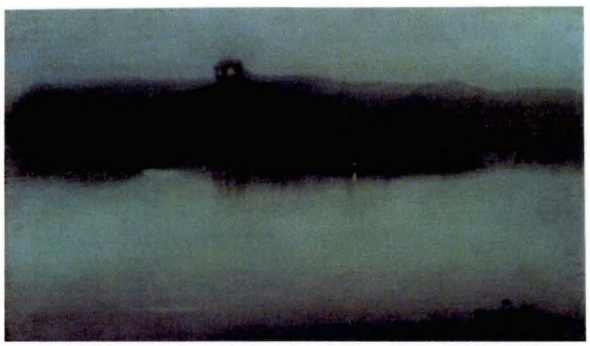

Figure 71: *Nocturne: Grey and Silver*, 1873/75, YMSM 156.

> Particularities of scene and landscape no longer exist except as accessories...He has chosen as subject a river with its banks, because he needs, above all, a motive to carry the colour, but the motive does not exist in its own sake, since the banks of the river can hardly be distinguished, wrapt as they are in the night effect which is the picture. And the things summoned to convey the desired sensation are neither lines nor contours, but a silvery blue colour scheme, covering all the canvas with its modifications of light and shade. Indeed, in this nocturne there are only two things without fixed shapes and yet clearly perceptible: air and a scale of transparent tones.[882]

Duret concluded that with the Nocturnes 'painting was carried to its last degree of abstraction. It was separated from any exact motive and any literary reminiscence'.[883] Having turned to music to free painting from the shackles of representation, Whistler in turn showed composers 'that the subtle and indeterminate mood' that epitomised his Nocturnes was a desirable aesthetic.[884]

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880 Eddy, 1903, p.210.
881 Siewert, 2004, p.147.
882 Duret, 1917, p.44.
883 Duret, 1917, p.46.
884 Duret, 1917, p.119.

The Musical Nocturne

During the eighteenth century, the Italian term *notturno* was frequently used to entitle multi-movement compositions that were written specifically for night-time performance. The Irish pianist-composer John Field (1782-1837) was the first to adopt the French variant of this term, and, in doing so, initiated an entirely separate form. His eighteen Nocturnes - lyrical piano pieces written between 1812 and 1836 - were greatly admired by a number of prominent nineteenth-century composers. Under his influence Liszt, Schumann, Chopin and later Fauré, contributed to the development of the nocturne and consolidated its form. It is widely accepted that Chopin's twenty-one Nocturnes, composed between *c.*1829 and 1847, are the most significant works in this form. (However, the thirteen Nocturnes of Fauré, begun *c.*1875, should also be acknowledged in the context of the present study, given that Fauré was Whistler's contemporary, and that he and Whistler were both friendly with the painter John Singer Sargent.) Today, the nocturne is most readily described as a single-movement piece for solo piano that suggests the sounds, moods or images of night. It is frequently meditative and somewhat melancholy in character. In 1859, Franz Liszt wrote of Field's Nocturnes: 'The title *Nocturne* aptly applies...for it bears our thoughts at the outset toward those hours wherein the soul, released from all the cares of the day, is lost in self-contemplation, and soars toward the regions of a starlit heaven.'[885]

From the outset, the nocturne assumed a characteristic texture - that is, a 'chromatically decorated coloratura melody accompanied by [a] sonorously laid out left hand and pedal'.[886] In general, the pianist's left hand provides rhythmically stable harmonic support, frequently in the form of undulating arpeggios sustained by the pedal. In this way, a wash of sound is created. Over the top of this wash, the right hand presents long, drawn-out and highly expressive melodic phrases. It is interesting that the first movement of Beethoven's 'Moonlight' sonata has a similar texture. A slow-moving, chromatically inflected melody sounds above the accompanying arpeggios of the middle voice. At the top of the score, Beethoven specifically directed the performer to perform the movement *senza sordini* – 'without dampers' – or, in

[885] Liszt, 1859, p.iv.
[886] Robin Langley, 'Field, John: 1. Life', GMO (15 March 2006).

other words, 'with pedal'. The sustained wash of sound, the minor tonality, the repetition of the arpeggios and the sorrowful melody create an atmosphere that is once languorous and mysterious.

Chopin's nocturnal melodies are often (but not always) highly ornamented in a manner akin to improvisation. When chromatic notes are caught in the pedal, the dissonance lends a tension and shimmer to the sound that increases the emotional content of the music. Chopin's Nocturnes are often in ternary form, allowing the composer to contrast calmer outer sections with a more impassioned central section. Liszt noted that in Chopin's hands the tender and subtle emotion that characterized Field's Nocturnes was dramatically transformed. He wrote:

> Filling the entire scope of elegiac sentiment, and coloring his reveries with the profound sadness...Chopin...sang not only the harmonies which are the source of our most ineffable delights, but likewise the restless, agitating bewilderment to which they oft give rise...Their closer kinship to sorrow than those of Field renders them the more strongly marked; their poetry is more sombre and fascinating; they ravish us more, but are less reposeful...[887]

Nonetheless, Liszt acknowledged the significance of Field's initiative. By departing from the strict formal structures of the past, such as the sonata and rondo, in favour of a shorter form focused on mood, atmosphere, and the expressive capabilities of the modern piano, Field opened the way for the nineteenth-century character piece.[888]

Given the circles the Whistler family moved in, and given their own musical interest, it can be assumed that Whistler himself had long been aware of the renowned pianism of Field and Chopin, and was probably familar with their Nocturnes. Firstly, although Field died six years before Whistler joined his father in St Petersburg, his posthumous reputation as a pianist and composer would have been revered in that city. Field had been based in Russia from 1802 until 1831, and returned there shortly before his death. He divided his time between St Petersburg and Moscow, enjoyed the patronage of the Russian aristocracy and pursued a lucrative teaching and performance schedule within Russia and Europe. Field was a notable influence on the development of Russia's distinct style of

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887 Liszt, 1859, p.iv.
888 Liszt, 1859, p.iv.

pianism, and his music remained popular until the end of the nineteenth century.[889] His estranged French wife Adelaide Percheron (m.1810) maintained her own performing and teaching activities after the couple's separation in 1821. Outliving her husband by many years (Adelaide died in 1869) she appeared with some success as a concert pianist in St Petersburg, Kiev and Smolensk. Therefore, Whistler's family would certainly have been aware of Field's significant reputation.

In July 1848, Whistler, his mother and brother arrived in London. Chopin had been giving concerts in London and socialising with its nobility since April that year. No doubt, Deborah and Seymour Haden followed his itinerary with interest. After visiting Scotland from August to September, Chopin returned to London in October. Although desperately ill, he gave a final concert there for the Friends of Poland.[890] By this stage Whistler was being schooled at Eldon Villa near Bristol, but would have kept in touch with the Hadens to whom he returned in December.[891] When Whistler returned to London as an adult he probably became acquainted with George Sand (1804-1876), the French novelist with whom Chopin had been romantically involved. Sand was among the guests who, along with Whistler, visited the Ionides' home.[892] Certainly, Whistler was friendly with Virginia Vaughan, an American writer who published English translations of Sand's works in 1870 and 1871.[893] In 1876, Whistler introduced Vaughan to his solicitor James Anderson Rose.[894] Later that year, Vaughan informed Rose that she had written a sonnet about Beethoven.[895] Therefore, it can be assumed she would have been interested in Sand's recollections of Chopin, and probably passed on such information to friends like Whistler.

As noted in Chapter Four, it was Whistler's patron Leyland who suggested

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889 Robin Langley, 'Field, John: 4. Legacy', GMO (15 March 2006).

890 Kornel Michalowski and Jim Samson, 'Chopin, Fryderyk Franciszek: 5. Twilight: 1845-9', GMO (9 February 2006).

891 Anderson and Koval, 1994, pp.18-21.

892 Leoussi, 1982, p.40.

893 Her translations of *Mauprat* and *Antonia* were published in 1870, while *L'homme de Neige (The Snowman)* was published in 1871. See 'Virginia Vaughan, ??- 1913', biography, GUW (9 February 2006).

894 Virginia Vaughan to James Anderson Rose, 7 July 1876, LC Rare Books and Manuscripts Division; GUW 08724 (9 February 2006); see also Virginia Vaughan to James Anderson Rose, 5 September 1876, LC PWC 6B/9a; GUW 08725 (9 February 2006).

895 Virginia Vaughan to James Anderson Rose, 29 August [1876], LC PWC; GUW 07607 (9 February 2006).

that the term nocturne be used to entitle Whistler's moonlight images. Like most of Whistler's musical acquaintances, Leyland (a keen amateur pianist) would have been familiar with the musical nocturne. Chopin's Nocturnes were widely available (in England they were even published in collections entitled 'drawing-room trifles') and Field's Nocturnes were rereleased with Liszt's revisions in 1859. As demonstrated in Chapters One and Two, Whistler and his friends were socially connected with many prominent musicians. Therefore, it is not surprising to find a close connection between the family of Whistler's friend, the painter Felix Moscheles, and John Field. In 1831, Field had performed in London and Manchester during his final concert tour. While in England, he met Moscheles' father, the pianist and composer Ignaz Moscheles, and his godfather, the esteemed musician Felix Mendelssohn.[896] (Although Mendelssohn did not write any nocturnes for solo piano, his incidental music for *A Midsummer Night's Dream* includes a nocturne). Furthermore, it is well known that the artist Eugène Delacroix had enjoyed discussing the principles of musical composition with his friend Chopin. In *Music and Morals* (published the year before Whistler first used the title Nocturne), Haweis conjured an image of Delacroix leaning against Chopin's piano 'absorbed in meditation, - developing, it may be, in his own mind, some form of beauty, or splendid tint, suggested by the strange analogies which exist between sound and colour'.[897] Whistler's central placement in Fantin-Latour's group portrait *Hommage à Eugène Delacroix* [fig. 4] indicates the significance of his admiration for the older artist. Therefore, Whistler was probably aware of Delacroix's friendship with Chopin.

Many of the professional musicians that Whistler knew were particularly interested in the nocturnal format, and in the compositional and pianistic aesthetics of Field and Chopin. Otto Goldschmidt had attended Chopin's last concert (but arrived in Paris too late to realize his hopes of studying with him); Wieniawski, MacKenzie, Sarasate and Stanford all composed nocturnes; Dannreuther contributed articles on Chopin and Field for the first edition of the *Grove Dictionary of Music*; and Benedict's pianism has been described as exemplifying 'the light-textured virtuosity of Field'.[898] During the 1890s, Claude

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896 Robin Langley, 'Field, John: 1. Life', GMO (26 June 2006).

897 Haweis, 1871, p.304.

898 Henryk Wieniawski, *Nocturne* for violin, *c.*1848; Sir Alexander Campbell MacKenzie,

Debussy composed three orchestral Nocturnes, subtitled 'Nuages', 'Fêtes' and 'Sirènes'.[899] Debussy and Whistler probably met at Stéphane Mallarmé's Tuesday salons in the early 1890s: in May 1893 the three men attended the first Paris production of Maurice Maeterlinck's *Pelléas et Mélisande*.[900] Duret wrote that Debussy was 'a particular admirer' of Whistler's art, and believed his Nocturnes were influenced by Whistler's paintings of the same name.[901] Certainly it is understood that Debussy's choice of title was informed more by Whistler's Nocturnes, than by those of his musical predecessors.[902]

Parallels

In Whistler's day, Chopin's 'preference for intimate performance contexts, for an art of nuance, sophistication and refinement was viewed as a model to be followed, a bulwark against [the] encroaching German influence' in France.[903] Given that this Germanic encroachment was largely due to Wagnerism, and that Whistler apparently disliked Wagner's music, it would not be surprising if he deliberately cultivated an aesthetic association with Chopin. Whistler's art is also sophisticated and refined – it is concerned with nuance of colour, and with intimate scale and exhibition settings. Furthermore, there are a number of similarities between Whistler's Nocturnes and the musical Nocturne as exemplified by Chopin. Firstly, Whistler's Nocturnes are consistently small to medium in size – they occupy a middle ground between his large portraits and figure studies, and his miniature Notes. Similarly, Chopin's Nocturnes are small to medium in length – they are shorter than his sonatas, ballades and scherzi, yet longer than his waltzes, mazurkas and preludes. Secondly, as contemporary critics noted, Whistler and Chopin's Nocturnes are characterized by a similar aesthetic - from at least the 1880s onwards, many writers linked Whistler's art

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Nocturne for piano, 1861; Pablo de Sarasate, *Nocturne-sérénade* for violin and orchestra, op. 45, 1901; Sir Charles Villiers Stanford, *Three Nocturnes*, op. 184, 1921. See Jeremy Dibble, 'Dannreuther, Edward (George)', GMO (29 March 2006); Gaynor G. Jones and Christopher Fifield, 'Goldschmidt, Otto (Moritz David), GMO (16 March 2006); Temperley, 2001b, p.241.

899 Claude Debussy, *Trois Nocturnes: Nuages, Fêtes, Sirènes* for orchestra, 1897-99.

900 C., vol.1, p.289.

901 Duret, 1917, pp.118-19.

902 Kauffman (1975) discusses the correspondences between Debussy and Whistler's Nocturnes in some depth.

903 Kornel Michalowski and Jim Samson, 'Chopin, Fryderyk Franciszek: 11. Reception', GMO (21 November 2005).

with Chopin's music. For instance, a letter to the editor of the *Court and Society Review* proposed that:

> there is much in Mr. Whistler's treatment of Nature which suggests the soft melancholy and dreaminess of the modern mind; that he has more right to borrow Chopin's favourite names of 'Nocturne' and 'Impromptu' [sic] than may appear to matter-of-fact and literal-thinking persons.[904]

In 1897, the *Pall Mall Gazette* contrasted the 'austere resignation' found in the art of Alphonse Legros - that 'braces one like a symphony by Beethoven' - to 'the lay-minded and modern Whistler'. Likening Whistler to Chopin, the *Gazette* clarified that 'these are resemblances between spirits, not odious comparisons between greatnesses'.[905] David Park Curry notes that Harold Frederic associated Whistler with Chopin in his *Damnation of Theron Ware* (1896): the character Celia Madden 'plays passages from Chopin while informing her hapless suitor that her red hair completed the color scheme of the room'.[906] She declares 'We make up what Whistler would call a symphony'.[907]

In 1903 Way and Dennis stated 'it is perfectly true that to look at one of Mr. Whistler's nocturnes rouses the same feelings as are excited by listening to a Nocturne or Ballade of Chopin – the same mystery and poetry, the same pure sense of beauty being common to both'.[908] Similarly, Eddy likened Whistler's Nocturnes to those of Chopin, albeit 'of a Chopin serene and who dreams instead of a Chopin ill and who weeps'.[909] Certainly, Whistler's Nocturnes share with Chopin's a dreamy, contemplative form of expression, which compels the respondent to become absorbed in their own reverie. However, unlike Chopin's, Whistler's Nocturnes are meditative and mysterious, rather than overtly melancholy. In his river scenes Whistler simulates the gentle pace of the musical Nocturne, by exploring slow and lingering movement in the form of water, boats, mist and flickering lights. Sometimes one or two enigmatic figures populate the

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904 [Malcolm C. Salaman?] to Editor, the Court and Society Review, 15 July 1886, LC PWC 14/1330-5; GUW 11361 (29 March 2006).
905 'Professor Legros', *Pall Mall Gazette*, 6 April 1897, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-97, CWS.
906 Curry, 2004, p.177.
907 Quoted in Curry, 2004, p.177.
908 Way and Dennis, 1903, p.54.
909 Eddy, 1903, p.193.

foreground or participate in the scene, such as the solitary boatmen in the oil *Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge* [fig. 72] and the lithograph *Nocturne* [fig. 69]. Although depicted in movement, these figures do not disturb the calm that envelops the scene - indeed their boats hardly crease the surface of the water they glide upon. Noting the 'slightly painted figure standing in the mud of the riverbank' in *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea* [fig. 70], Siewert writes:

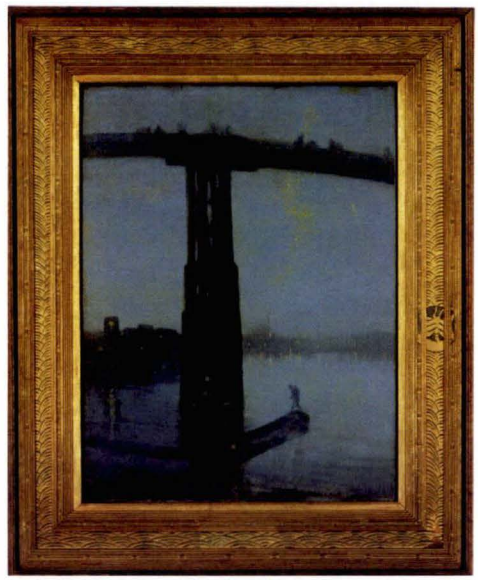

Figure 72: *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872/75, YMSM 140.

> In subsequent Nocturnes, however, the represented observer disappears - as if Whistler meant that the viewer of the picture, together with the artist, present here in the butterfly signature at the painting's lower edge, should now be understood as the privileged and discerning witnesses to the subdued nature of the light.[910]

By veiling and diffusing his subject with mist, Whistler requires the viewer to spend time deciphering the image. As Holden explains: 'If the picture recedes from us, we must allow ourselves to be drawn in, we must move into the blue-gray haze and allow ourselves to be enveloped by it'.[911]

In 1882, *Society* published a cartoon [fig. 73] of *Nocturne in Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights* [fig. 74] that transformed the painting into a musical score.[912] Although intended, at least partially, in jest, the analogy acknowledges a number of actual similarities between Whistler's Nocturnes and their musical counterpart. Firstly, the spatial organization of Whistler's river and marine Nocturnes is very similar to the textural organization of the musical nocturne. As noted above, the musical Nocturne has an ornamental melody in the upper register supported by a sustained harmonic accompaniment. The visual representation of this texture sees the melody placed on the upper staff of the

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910 Siewert in Lochnan, 2004, p.148.
911 Holden, 1998, p.50.
912 *Society*, 13 May 1882, reprinted in Lochnan, 2004, p.152.

grand stave, with the accompaniment below. In his Venetian and Thames-side Nocturnes Whistler frequently employed a horizontal format, and divided the picture plane into three horizontal bands. Typically, it is the horizon, placed near the intersection of the upper two thirds, which Whistler ornaments. Here buildings, lights, and sometimes boats, can be discerned through the atmospheric veil. These forms meld to form a single undulating voice that has its own rhythmic structure, melodic shape and ornamentation. Given its decorative interest and high position on the picture plane, this voice operates in the same manner as a nocturnal melody. The lower part of the picture plane is often largely vacant, except for one or two points of interest that delineate the foreground.

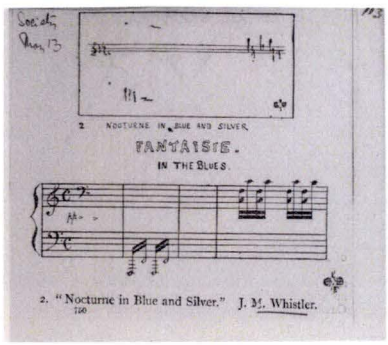


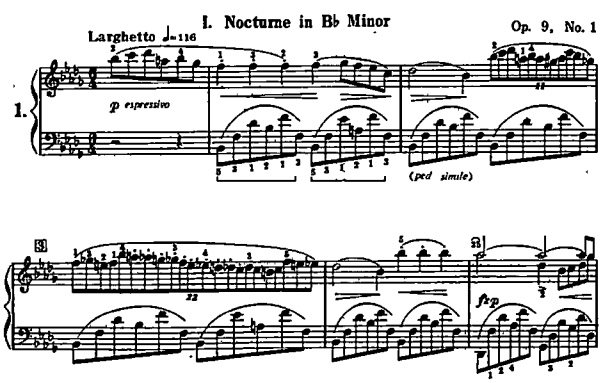
Figure 73: Caricature of Whistler's *Nocturne in Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights*, from *Society*, 13 May 1882.

In *Nocturne in Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights* the grey skyline – an undulating silhouette of buildings and chimneys – is reflected in the water and ornamented by crisp golden lights that emanate from the buildings and nearby boats. Although the river flows between the wedges of land either side, the three lights positioned in the centre continue the linear articulation of the horizon. The silhouette and the lights can be read as two separate voices operating in counterpoint, each with its own melodic shape and rhythmic structure. However, the lights and their reflections have a particular resemblance to musical notation - each light being akin to a note head, and its reflection to the note's tail. The *Society*'s cartoonist exploited this likeness – the lights on the right of the horizon are transcribed as musical notation on the upper staff of a grand stave, while the abstracted reeds at the lower edge of the painting become a left-hand tremolo. The lights and chimneys at the left have been interpreted as the musical clef and

Figure 74: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights*, 1872, YMSM 115.

time signature. By positioning these events on a stave, the author indicates that the painting can be read from left to right. In this way, the visual events on the picture plane unfold in sequence just as music unfolds through time. The bars of rest between each event represent the areas of 'empty' space in Whistler's painting. The *pianissimo* marking in the first bar suits the painting's calm and quiet atmosphere, while the tremolos evoke the tremulous flickering of the lights on the water. The butterfly signature placed below the final bar line (taken from the 'cartouche' at the right edge of the painting) might even be interpreted as a pedal marking, given the importance of the sustaining pedal in the nocturne.

However, the static quality of the cartoonist's musical composition does not do justice to the variation of rhythm and pitch in Whistler's painting. For instance, the vertical accents of the chimneys and lights on the horizon (and their respective reflections) create a complex, changing rhythm. At the left, each voice has a steady pulse and slow-moving rhythm. The combination of the two voices creates rhythmic counterpoint. At the right, the chimneys disappear and the rhythm of the lights is faster moving. A repeated motif of two lights followed by four grouped closely together (similar to a pair of quavers, followed by a group of four semiquavers) is followed by another two (a pair of quavers). A single, bold light – a minim - ends the phrase. The varied placement of these lights, higher or lower on the picture plane, creates melodic interest – note how the rise and fall of the lights at the right create an undulating line. When read as an independent voice from far left to far right, the increasing activity of this melodic line can be likened to the rhythmic complexity and ornamental interest of Chopin's nocturnal melodies. For instance, in the opening bars of the Nocturne in B flat minor, Op. 9, No. 1 [ex. 12], a simple, slow-moving melodic idea is immediately repeated in a highly embellished version. In 1871, Haweis praised Chopin's melodic embellishment, writing that 'the little groups of superadded notes' fall 'like light drops of pearly



Example 12: Frédéric Chopin, Nocturne in B flat minor, Op 9, No 1, opening.

dew upon the melodic figure'.[913] The same could be said of Whistler's use of golden lights to ornament the horizon.

In 1908, T. Martin Wood remarked in his essay on Whistler that the artist surrendered detailed description in favour of:

> a fluid, musical, all embracing quality of paint in which the artist can tender his theme as a virtuoso, ever striving to overtake some almost impossible inflection of tone. And as his art becomes this abstract, as it assumes such a mission as music, he finds musical terms for the names of his pictures to give the public the clue.[914]

In *Cremorne Lights*, as in other Nocturnes, a large expanse of the canvas is devoted to exploring colour harmony and to capturing the effects of light on water. The areas above and below the horizon are unified through Whistler's 'sauce' – diluted oil paint that he swept across the canvas in long, wide strokes. The liquid consistency and translucence of the sauce allowed him to layer colours one upon another, achieving a certain depth of accumulative colour. The brush marks are clearly visible and thereby expressive in their own right – their slight undulations capture the physical movement of water and air.[915] This layering of colour is similar to the accumulation of sound by the sustain pedal - the movement in the brush strokes parallels the vibration of sound, while the repetition of horizontal strokes suggests the duration of sustained sound. The role of this veil of colour can therefore be likened to the role of the accompaniment in a musical nocturne – both provide a sustained background wash that recedes or emerges according to the activity of the principal melodies. And just as a musical accompaniment requires time to unfold, the veil requires the viewer to spend time deciphering already abstracted forms.

In *Cremorne Lights* Whistler allowed the veil to create a sense of atmospheric perspective. Furthermore, he reinforced the suggestion of depth by delineating the foreground with reeds at the lower edge. However, in other Thames Nocturnes he avoids markers of pictorial depth and instead focuses solely

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913 Haweis, 1871, p.312.

914 Wood, [1908], p.63.

915 For further discussion of Whistler's sauce and his Nocturnal brushwork, see Corbett, 2004, p.118; Hackney, pp.697-98; and Holden, 1998, pp.28, 60.

on the painted surface, insisting on the self-sufficiency of colour and pattern. For instance, in *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* [fig. 70] - the painting originally entitled 'Harmony in Blue-Green – Moonlight'- the solidity of the buildings on the horizon is at odds with the translucence of the figure at the water's edge. As David Peters Corbett notes in *The World in Paint: Modern Art and Visuality in England, 1848-1914*, the highly expressive horizontal brushstrokes 'build up the painting by superposition, rising vertically one on top of the other from the base to the top of the canvas', thus negating any illusion of pictorial depth.[916] Instead, they draw attention to the artist's exploration of a restricted colour palette, and to the linear interplay that dominates the composition. The many vertical markers – lights, buildings, the cartouche and the fisherman - provide a sense of musical pulse, guiding the viewer's eye across the canvas. The buildings are melded into a single, simplified form, which is embellished by many individual lights and their reflections. When read from left to right, these lights form an undulating melodic voice in which Whistler explores the visual representation of musical pitch and rhythm. Observe how carefully Whistler has considered the placement of each note. The many linear forms that decorate the picture plane are unified by the accompanying wash of colour.

In *Nocturne: Grey and Silver* [fig. 71] Whistler avoided linear delineation in favour of amorphous bands of colour. Although ornamentation is reduced to the two lights in the tower, and the single light by the shore, Whistler retained his musical approach to spatial organization. As Holden explains, 'Whistler's search for the irreducible nocturne led – perhaps inevitably – to a composition which was pared down to just three bands of color, representing water, land, and sky. It was the most abstract statement of the theme, and the barest.'[917] As such it requires greatly extended viewing time. Although the forms are heavily veiled, one can just distinguish the undulating contour of the darkest band. Similarly, vertical markers emerge from the darkness to guide the viewer's eye. For instance, at the lower left a dark form (possibly a solitary human figure) forms a relationship with the vertical reflections in the centre. However, Whistler has deliberately renounced detail in order to focus the viewer's attention on his subtle gradation of colour. By reducing linear description he has effectively avoided

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916 Corbett, 2004, p.118.
917 Holden, 1998, p.52.

melodic movement – that is, in this Nocturne Whistler has focused on harmony at the expense of melody.

Hackney's analysis of Whistler's methods supports the argument that Whistler approached the spatial organization of his Nocturnes in a manner akin to a composer constructing a musical nocturne. Hackney writes that in *Cremorne Lights* Whistler first delineated the buildings on the horizon with a thin wash of dark paint (his principal melody), and then applied his sauce (his accompaniment) across the entire surface, allowing it to merge here and there with the buildings. The lights and their reflections (his ornamentation) were applied after the wash. Hackney concludes:

> By these very simple devices Whistler managed to capture the ethereal effects of the Thames on a still, slightly foggy night. The scene is not an accurate representation but is a record of visual effects that could not easily be captured by any other means. He used the pale blue scumble to cool and soften his image, emulating atmospheric perspective. The process of first defining the dark passages, then methodically scumbling almost the entire surface with a relatively uniform colour, characterises Whistler's nocturne technique...It was clearly a visual effect that fascinated the artist.[918]

Furthermore, this effect was not confined to painting. In his etchings *Nocturne* and *Nocturne: Shipping*, and in his lithograph *Nocturne* [fig. 69] Whistler organized his material in a similar manner.[919] For instance, in the first state of the etched *Nocturne* [fig. 75] the interest is concentrated on the horizon, where the repetition and variation of horizontal and vertical lines forms a pulsating melodic voice. Each boat and building is composed of repeated line. Masts, spires, chimneys and domes provide rhythmic

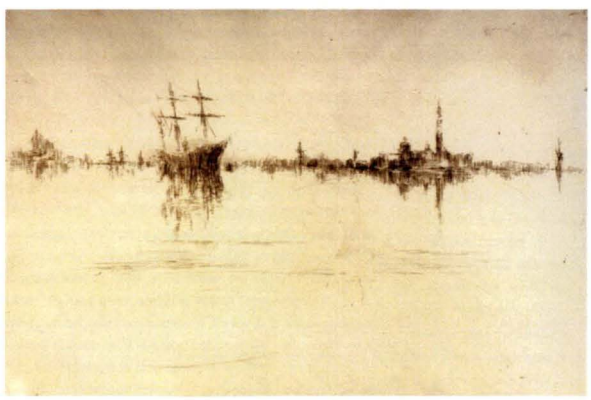

Figure 75: *Nocturne*, 1879/80, K.184, I/V.

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[918] Hackney, 1994, pp.697-98.

[919] *Nocturne*, 1879/80, K.184; *Nocturne: Shipping*, 1879/80, K.233; *Nocturne*, 1878, C.8.

markers. By the fourth state, a tonal wash rendering the water and sky envelops the scene, but the linear nature of etching ensures that the melodic line remains distinct. In contrast, lithography allowed Whistler to veil and meld forms in a similar manner to painting. Katharine Lochnan notes that the lithographic *Nocturne* is closely related to two oil paintings both entitled *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*.[920] In the lithograph Whistler embellished the skyline with vertical rhythmic markers and lights, and unified the composition through an overriding interest in tonal variation. The solitary boatman represents an ideal viewing process in which the scene unfolds through time, while the boatman's movement adds a further layer of rhythmic interest to the image.

Fireworks

In the recent *Turner, Whistler, Monet* exhibition catalogue, Siewert wrote the following entry for Whistler's oil painting *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* [fig. 76]:

> ...this painting...is in certain respects unusual within the larger Nocturne project. Unlike the majority of the other Nocturnes, it leaves the river to depict a fireworks display at London's Cremorne Gardens, and its palette departs from the blues and greens prevalent in those riverside scenes...
>
> Whistler painted a companion piece, *Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel* (1875, Tate, London; YMSM 169), where a crowd gathers to witness a whirling Catherine wheel. For all its singularity, the fireworks theme perfectly embodies the painter's effort in all the Nocturnes to preserve the ephemera of perception through the resources of art.[921]

Struggling to contextualize Whistler's interest in the fireworks motif (aside from its associations with Cremorne) Siewert noted that Turner's *The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons* had appeared on the art market in 1873.[922] While admitting their differences, Siewert offered a simplistic reading of the similarity between Turner's painting and *The Falling Rocket* - in both

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920 *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*, c.1872/78, YMSM 151; *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*, 1871/72, YMSM 113; see Lochnan, 2004, p.160.

921 Siewert in Lochnan, 2004, p.158.

922 J.M.W. Turner, *The Burning of the Houses of Lords and Commons, 16th October 1834*, 1834-35. Oil on canvas, 92 x 123 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art.

paintings, figures witness an unfolding spectacle of fire.[923] While of course Whistler may have viewed Turner's painting with interest, and admired its atmospheric effects and fluidity of treatment, the attraction of fireworks can be better explained by his interest in musical operations. Yet, despite entitling his catalogue essay 'Art, music, and an aesthetics of place in Whistler's Nocturne paintings', and isolating the 'allusions to musical expression' as a vital component of the Nocturnes, Siewert failed to explore the inherent musicality of these images. With the support of literature contemporary with Whistler, it will be argued that fireworks provided Whistler with an ideal means to visually explore the musical elements of movement, attack and decay, rhythm, melodic shape, and contrapuntal texture.

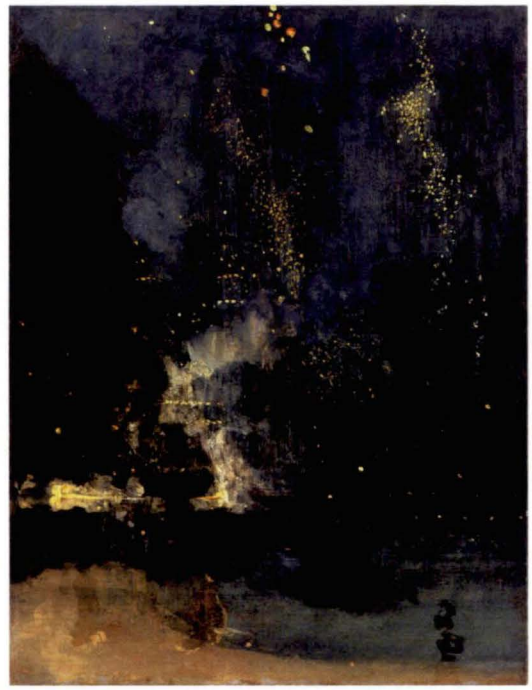

Figure 76: *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*, 1875, YMSM 170.

In *Music and Morals* (1871) Haweis called for the development of a 'Colour-art exactly analogous to the Sound-art of music'.[924] By this, he envisaged an art of colour in which pictures not only depended solely upon colour for their merit, as symphonies depend solely upon sound, but that somehow incorporated velocity and change in their presentation of colour. That is, Haweis challenged artists to imbue their work with the temporal aspect that hitherto had distinguished music from painting. Until this was achieved, he declared, 'music will have no rival as an Art-medium of emotion'.[925] To explain his vision, Haweis used the example of fireworks:

> The reader, whose eye is passionately responsive to colour, may gain some faint anticipation of the Colour-art of the future, if he will try to recall the kind of impression made upon him by the exquisite tints painted upon the dark curtain of

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923 Siewert, 2004, p.143.
924 Haweis, 1871, pp.32-33.
925 Haweis, 1871, p.34.

the night at a display of fireworks. I select fireworks as an illustration in preference to the most gorgeous sunset, because I am not speaking of Nature, but Art...and I select pyrotechny, instead of painting of any kind, because in it we get the important emotional property of velocity, necessarily absent from fixed colouring.

At such a display as I have mentioned, we are, in fact, present at the most astonishing revelations of Light and Colour...But what a majestic Symphony might not be played with such orchestral blazes of incomparable hues! what [sic] delicate melodies composed of single floating lights, changing and melting from one slow intensity to another through the dark, until some tender dawn of opal from below might perchance receive the last fluttering pulse of ruby light and prepare the eye for some new passage of exquisite colour!...[926]

Given that Whistler and Haweis were personally acquainted from *c*.1874,[927] it is reasonable to suggest that Whistler was familiar with Haweis' proposal and that his fireworks images were a response to Haweis' challenge. Firstly, however, it must be acknowledged that Whistler might have been interested in the fireworks motif prior to the publication of Haweis' book, and prior to knowing Haweis. In 1866, from his window overlooking Valparaiso bay, he began the painting now known as *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay* [fig. 77], in which a rocket – perhaps a ship's flare – showers beside a fleet of ships. He continued to work on the painting in London during the early 1870s. Still unfinished in 1874, the painting was first exhibited in 1875 as 'Nocturne in Blue and Silver'. Therefore, the fireworks motif could have been added during the early to mid 1870s. Whistler also included fireworks in *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge* [fig. 72]. In this painting, as in *Valparaiso Bay*, the fireworks

Figure 77: *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay*, 1866, YMSM 76.

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926 Haweis, 1871, pp.33-34.

927 As noted in Chapter One, Haweis' name appears in a ledger kept by Whistler in the mid 1870s. He was greatly admired by Whistler's friend Louise Jopling (known to Whistler from *c*.1874). See Whistler, ledger, [1874/1876], GUL Whistler NB 4/front section; GUW 12714 (4 April 2005); and Jopling, 1925, p.201.

provide decorative interest without dominating the composition. *Old Battersea Bridge* is thought to date somewhere between 1872 and 1875 - the earlier date provided by its similarity with *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*, and the later date marking its first exhibition.[928] However, given that the painted screen does not depict fireworks, and that Whistler added the fireworks, lights and the lights' reflections in the *Nocturne* as the final touches, it seems likely the fireworks in this image were painted closer to 1875 than to 1872.

Admittedly, Whistler's interest in fireworks might have come from a number of sources. For instance, similarities have been noted between *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge* and a woodcut by Hiroshige that depicts fireworks as part of a nightime fête on a river.[929] However, in 1903 Arthur Eddy also drew connections between Whistler's use of colour in the Nocturnes, the colour-effects of fireworks, and the art of pure music. He wrote:

> ...there are in existence certain canvases by Whistler which are little more than color-schemes, and which in color-effects are among the most beautiful things he ever painted; and in all the galleries of Europe there is nothing to compare with them in pure joyousness of color.
>
> As children and men we enjoy the color-effects of fireworks against the blackness of night [etc]...All this is delight in color, - color without sentiment, color without story, color without other thought or reflection than pure sensuous enjoyment...But when an artist who sees such a nightscene [sic] and paints it in such a manner that the color-scheme is preserved and its beauty enhanced in translation, we demand something more. We demand, as did Burne-Jones, "detail and composition"...
>
> Until we learn to love color, as we love music, for its own sake, there will never be any decorations...worth while.[930]

Assuming then, that Whistler's interest in the fireworks motif was informed, at least partly, by its contemporary associations with a colour-art analogous to symphonic music, the use of the musical model to interpret these Nocturnes is justified.

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928 *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*, 1872, YMSM 139.
929 See YMSM, p.86.
930 Eddy, 1903, pp.196-98.

In 1875 Whistler painted *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* [fig. 76] and *Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel* [fig. 78], and in 1876, he illuminated a dancing scene with fireworks in *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Gardens*.[931] As Whistler's most focused and abstracted explorations of the fireworks motif, *The Falling Rocket* and *The Fire Wheel* will form the basis of the following analysis. In both paintings Whistler minimized indications of place - when cross-examined in the Ruskin trial, he stated that *The Falling Rocket* is 'an artistic arrangement' rather than a view of Cremorne.[932] Instead of place, the abstract beauty of the colours, patterns and movement of fireworks became the subject of the works. In 1892 Whistler declared that *The Fire Wheel* had always been one of his favourite pictures, and wrote to the art dealer D.C. Thomson: 'The two fireworks pictures are marvelous! – and are wonderful proof of the *completeness* of these works'.[933] While the latter comment probably referred to the issue of finish that arose in the Ruskin trial, Whistler was clearly proud of his artistic achievements in these works. In 1893, eighteen years after painting the original, Whistler made a watercolour copy of *The Fire Wheel* [fig. 79].

Figure 78: *Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel*, 1875, YMSM 169.

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931 *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Gardens*, 1876, YMSM 166.
932 Whistler, 1890, p.3.
933 Quoted in YMSM, p.96.

Just like a musical performance, fireworks unfold through time - they require their audience to commit to receiving, processing and appreciating their content. By depicting spectators in each of his fireworks paintings, Whistler not only indicated scale, and provided a visual clue to what were, for many nineteenth-century viewers, confusingly abstract images, but he acknowledged the temporal aspect of musical composition, performance and appreciation. In *Valparaiso* a small crowd gathers on the pier; in *Battersea Bridge* animated figures delight in the display from their high viewpoint, conveying their pleasure through pose and gesture; while in *The Gardens* people dance. Alternatively, in the *The Falling Rocket* and *The Fire Wheel*, indistinct figures gaze in awe at the fireworks display, sometimes in company, but often alone, dwarfed by the grandeur of the spectacle. The placement of their diminuitive forms against the large expanse of night sky provides an immediate sense of scale, allowing the viewer to experience and become absorbed in the magnitude of the display. Yet, at the same time, the abstraction of their forms allows the figures to meld into and contribute to the overall decoration of the picture plane. It is curious that in 1892 Whistler may have attempted to remove the foreground figures from *The Falling Rocket*, leaving ghostly reminders of their presence.[934] There, yet not there, the figures remind the viewer to allow the painting time to unfold - time to express its musicality.

Figure 79: *Copy of 'Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel'*, 1893, M. 1359.

Haweis anticipated cinema when he challenged artists to incorporate 'velocity' into their treatment of colour. Lamenting the limitations of painting, he wrote:

> The canvas does not change to the eye – all that is, is presented simultaneously as in one complex chord, and thus the charm of velocity, which is so great a property in emotion, and which might belong to a colour-art, is denied to the

934 YMSM, p.99.

painter...[935]

In his fireworks images, Whistler responded to this challenge by attempting to capture movement and to convey constantly changing imagery in a fixed format. After the initial critical resistance to the paintings (as exemplified by Ruskin), some writers recognised his achievement. In the 1880s one critic wrote that the fireworks Nocturnes were 'an attempt, and a successful one, at fixing the evanescent, setting pyrotechnics on canvas'.[936] In 1905, the *Daily Chronicle* admired the rising and falling rockets, noting: 'the drawing of these two showers of fire is so perfect that when you quickly turn towards the picture the sparks really do ascend and descend'.[937] In *The Falling Rocket* Whistler indicated the direction of the showers by implying the movement of individual sparks. For instance, the sparks that are positioned midway up the right frame have small 'tails' that indicate that those on the left are rising, and that those on the right are falling.

Carefully dripping on and painting in each seperate fleck,[938] Whistler suggested the attack and decay of the sparks through subtle tonal difference, and by varying the size of the individual notes of colour. For instance, the upper left area of the watercolour *Fire Wheel* is patterned with various notes of orange. The crisp, opaque notes of orange represent sparks that have appeared recently, whereas the notes that lean towards pink and brown, represent sparks in various stages of decay. Similarly, the golden whirl of the Catherine wheel is depicted not only by notes of golden yellow but also by shades of yellow that veer towards mustard and green, all in various degrees of clarity or diffusion. By capturing the attack and decay of the sparks, Whistler indicated the rhythm of each firework's explosion. Simultaneously, a sense of musical rhythm is inherent in the relative visual density and sparseness of the sparks. For instance, note the variety of pattern that decorates the surface of *The Falling Rocket*: in some areas individual notes are clearly distinguishable, whereas in other areas the separate notes meld with one another. Within the overall surface pattern, each firework also has its

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935 Haweis, 1871, p.32.

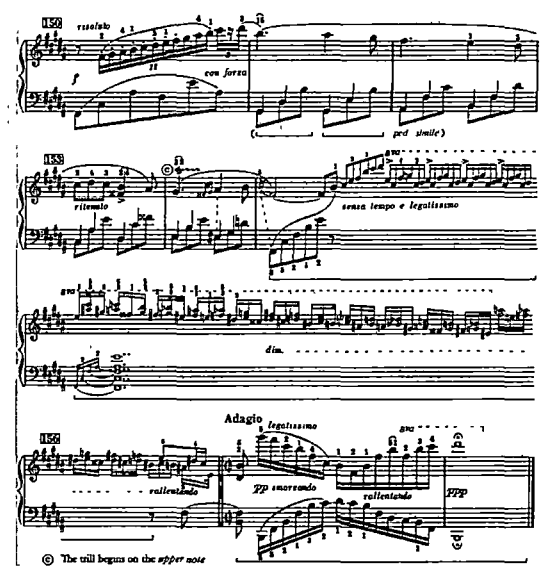
936 Unidentified article from GUW P/C Vol. VII, p.15, in Whistler Presscuttings 1883-87, CWS.

937 'Whistler's Life Work: Memorial Exhibition Opens To-Day at the New Gallery', *Daily Chronicle*, London, Wednesday 22 February 1905, p.437.

938 See YMSM pp.95-99 for an explanation of Whistler's painting methods.

own rhythmic pattern. Assuming that the firework at the right is rising and then falling, the clearly separated lower notes indicate that the explosion begins and ends with a slow-paced sequence of events. The density of the notes above, represents the quickening of pace that occurs at the climax of the explosion.

When outlining his vision of a Colour-art akin to pyrotechny, Haweis wrote of 'orchestral blazes', 'delicate melodies', and 'passages' of colour, thereby evoking the musical elements of melody, sequential structure and texture. These elements operate in Whistler's images of fireworks. Obviously melodic shape is referenced by the rise and fall of the coloured notes that constitute each firework. The flourish with which the fireworks ornament the night sky is reminiscent of improvisatory passages in Chopin's Nocturnes – as in, for instance, the final eight bars of the Nocturne in B major, Op. 9, No. 3 [ex. 13]. In bar 150, the melody rises quickly upwards, and then falls slowly over the next four bars. In bar 155, it rises again to a higher pitch, and then descends chromatically in a highly decorative fashion. The marking *senza tempo* indicates the freedom with which the pianist can determine the shaping of this short cadenza. The overall effect is of something gently spiralling through the air – indeed, fireworks provide an appropriate visual analogy. The same musical example illustrates the concept of sequential structure – the varying states of attack and decay in Whistler's fireworks imply a certain sequence of events. The course of explosions is also akin to orchestral texture – the discharging of fireworks separately (one after another), simultaneously or in an overlapping manner (so that one begins while another is is unfolding) is similar to the interplay of individual voices within a contrapuntal texture.



Example 13: Frédéric Chopin, Nocturne in B major, Op. 9, No. 3, bars 150-58

Musical texture is further referenced by the interplay between horizontal, vertical and curvilinear voices. Curry writes that the horizontal rows of lights at the left of *The Falling Rocket* delineate the 'dim turrets of the "firework temple" –

a cast-iron Victorian version of a picturesque Gothic garden folly'.[939] A similar form is just distinguishable at the left of *The Fire Wheel.* Whistler has abstracted the building to such a degree that it operates not so much as an indication of place, but simply as a vehicle for pattern. The parallel lines and repeated notes of the structure suggest the visual layout of a musical score. When read in this way, the structure contains a number of individual voices that sound simultaneously or in sequence, just as musical voices come in and out of a contrapuntal texture. The straight lines and ordered notes of the 'firework temple' are stabilising elements in the overall composition of these Nocturnes. Its regular pulse operates in counterpoint to the visual flourishes of the fireworks themselves. In *The Fire Wheel* Whistler uses a number of vertical markers to further structure the pacing of the composition. In the watercolour drawing of the original painting, there is a greater degree of tonal variety and greater clarity of form. In this image, three vertical lines in the upper right (indicating the descent of previous explosions), a broad vertical sweep at the left, and the three blue figures in the centre provide rhythmic interest. At the same time, their varied placement higher or lower on the picture plane suggests the changing bass notes of a left-hand counter-melody in a musical nocturne. In this way they articulate the structural framework of the composition (as does a musical accompaniment), while the fireworks provide the main melodic interest. The three vertical lines at the right are akin to the double bar-line found at the end of a musical composition.

Conclusion

Whistler's Nocturnes are layered with musical associations. His method of composing each image involved the musical processes of interpretation, repetition, memorisation, and performance; and his pictorial construction references the musical elements of melody and accompaniment, voicing and texture, rhythm, movement, attack and decay, and tonality. Whistler's use of the musical model allowed him to abstract and transform familiar scenes to such an extent that his paintings were said to hover on the brink of 'absolute indefiniteness'.[940] This effect was heightened by his use of the veil to diffuse clarity, extend viewing time, and focus attention on the expressive interplay of

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939 Curry, 2004, p.184.
940 Duret, 1917, p.45.

form and colour on the pictorial surface. By moving away from figure painting towards landscape, and by employing darkness and atmospheric conditions to transform his and his audience's way of viewing, Whistler created his most original and evocative abstract images.

Conclusion

This dissertation has demonstrated that the musical paradigm was a highly significant influence on Whistler's pictorial theory and practice. The model of music - its autonomy and operations - provided a framework for Whistler to explore, justify and communicate his interest in the expressive potential of freestanding pictorial technique. Simultaneously, it validated and supported Whistler's anti-narrative position. Furthermore, Whistler's approach to subject matter, colour and composition were all informed by his interest in music. Whistler acquired a sound understanding of musical operations by attending musical performances, by discussing artistic issues with the many prominent musicians with whom he was friendly, and by engaging with the general climate of interest in musical modelling.

Whistler's patronage of the performing arts was very eclectic, which is hardly surprising given the flexibility of his social position - as an artist and an American in London and Paris - and given the wide spectrum of events and genres that coexisted during this period. As the Reverend Haweis explained in 1871: 'We seem, as a people, to be musically many-sided...We pay our shilling to hear the "Messiah" at the Agricultural Palace, then go home and sing Glover. We sit for two hours in St James's Hall to hear Beethoven's or Spohr's quartets, and the next day we buy "God bless the Prince of Wales.".'[941] Indeed, Whistler's experiences illustrate such diversity. As this dissertation has demonstrated, Whistler not only facilitated music making in his own home and studio, but he patronised smoking concerts and soirées; music-hall and cabaret; concert music; opera and operetta; popular solo entertainers; blackface minstrelsy; puppet shows; military bands; can-can, ballet and the beginnings of modern dance; historical drama; burlesque and comic drama; and outdoor Wild West shows. His musical friends ranged from the popular entertainers George Grossmith and Corney Grain;

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[941] Haweis, 1871, pp.546-47. Incidentally, Charles William Glover wrote the music for a song entitled 'The Woman in White', which was published in 1860. Dedicated to Wilkie Collins after his novel of the same name, the song had words by Joseph Edward Carpenter. See Curry, 2004, p.74, fig.3.7.

to the composer Franco Paulo Tosti; the concert violinist Sarasate; the impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte; and the pianist, baritone and conductor George Henschel.

Whistler's interest in music had an immense impact on his pictorial practice. Throughout his life, he clearly referenced this interest through images of music making, and also through images of dance – itself a physical and aesthetic response to music. In these works he frequently suggests his own presence, thereby insisting upon the interrelationship of the arts and the similarities between his activity as an artist, and that of the musician. Additionally, from 1867 onwards he employed musical nomenclature – often affixing titles layered with musical associations, to images devoid of musical subject matter. Symphony appeared in 1867; Harmony and Variations in 1871; Nocturne, Arrangement, and Note in 1872; Scherzo in 1882; and Bravura and Caprice in 1884. Therefore, by the mid 1880s all titles were in place. Whistler used this musical nomenclature to indicate his artistic intent. As 'keys' to his art, the titles guide the viewer's manner of visual engagement by referencing musical forms, processes, elements, and modes of expression. They draw the viewer's attention to colours and processes that are not always immediately apparent, and they provide a means of navigating pictorial operations that are frequently geared towards abstraction.

Whistler believed that the materials of visual art could be manipulated in a manner akin to the materials of pure music, and that art works composed in this manner should be appreciated in a similar way to concert music. Furthermore, Whistler's methods of composition were similar to those of a musical composer. He carefully selected his chosen elements from nature and then organized them to form an aesthetically pleasing arrangement. In developing his self-confessed theory of Art – his '*Science* of color and "*picture* pattern"'[942] – Whistler drew upon the framework provided by musical tonality and thematic repetition. As Eddy explained: 'Lines or waves of color placed side by side arbitrarily, and with no more relation to nature than so many notes of music, they meant practically all there is to the science and art of color'.[943] Additionally, as argued in Chapter Seven, Whistler employed the musical processes of memorisation, repetition and performance to create his Nocturnes.

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942 Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, [18 January 1873], Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery; GUW 09182, quoted in YMSM, p.84.

943 Eddy, 1903, p.206.

The resulting pictures – be they Nocturnes or any of the other musically-modelled images that Whistler produced from the 1860s onwards - frequently invite a left-to-right reading of the pictorial surface due to their grid-like compositions, their references to the visual layout of musical scores (which is quite literal in the case of the Schubert inscription on the frame intended for *The Three Girls*), and their flattened pictorial space. Such works are imbued with any number of musical operations: rhythm, movement, pace, pulse, voicing, counterpoint, attack and decay, sequential structure, and of course, harmony. Indeed, Whistler's musical titles were nearly always affixed to works in colour.

Whistler's contemporaries recognised and acknowledged that his pictorial practice was musically modelled. During his lifetime, Whistler's art was often compared with the music of established Western composers: Chopin, Mozart, Beethoven, Berlioz and Wagner are composers referenced in the presscuttings held at the Centre for Whistler Studies in Glasgow. Such comparisons provided a means of describing Whistler's artistic style and approach, and indicating his prominent place within the artistic hierarchy. Furthermore, Whistler's art was often described in musical terms – like the artist himself, critics found that the language of music suited Whistler's practice. Upon his death in 1903 the *Bombay Times* stated:

> His art approached more nearly that of the musician than any painter who has lived, and his adoption of musical terms to distinguish his pictures - a device which mystified the public, and irritated his early critics - was forced upon him by the poverty of the English language to denote the more subtile [sic] language of tone, colour and line his pictures expressed.[944]

To return then to the theoretical context outlined in Chapter One, it is indubitable that Whistler's art-for-art's sake position was informed and nourished by his belief in the musical paradigm. Additionally, it is clear that Whistler engaged with the idea of correpondences in terms of his belief in certain parallels between music and visual art, and his referencing and responding to one art form (music) through another (be it painting, drawing, or printmaking). However, there is absolutely nothing to suggest that he was he interested in synaesthesia: his

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[944] *Bombay Times* (India), 20 July 1903, Box 37:1895-1903, LC PWC.

musical nomenclature was not intended to provoke a synaesthetic response in the viewer. Scientific investigations into the relationship between pitch and colour undoubtedly contributed to the general climate of interest in the parallels and relationship between music and art. Yet, rather than subscribe to any established theory of colour, Whistler developed his own musically-modelled 'science of colour'. Furthermore, Whistler did not believe in uniting the arts towards a common experience. The Pennells wrote that 'Whistler strongly objected to music' being played at exhibitions. As they recalled, Whistler believed that 'the two arts should be kept quite separate, as people who came to hear the music could not see the pictures, and people who came to see the pictures would not want to hear the music'.[945] Clearly Whistler believed in the autonomy of each artform and believed that each deserved undivided attention.

Whistler engaged with both Wagnerism and Beethovenism – the two major movements fuelling musical modelling in the nineteenth century. Whistler mixed with Wagner enthusiasts from the 1850s until at least the 1890s; he was closely aligned with artists who were significantly influenced by Wagner; he exhibited with the group Les XX, whose exhibitions were modelled on Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk*; and he was familiar with Wagner's music.[946] However, Whistler preferred the music of Beethoven. In Chapters Two and Three it was seen that Whistler had ample opportunity to hear Beethoven's music performed in private and public situations, and that he was acquainted with professional musicians who championed Beethoven's music – for instance, Benedict, Dannreuther, Hallé, Joachim and Sarasate.[947] Furthermore, Whistler clearly aligned himself with Beethovenism in his theoretical statements. In his article 'The Red Rag' (1878) Whistler declared that 'Beethoven and the rest wrote music – simply music; symphony in this key, concerto or sonata in that.'[948] Later, in his 'Ten O'Clock' lecture (1885) Whistler referred to Beethoven's 'C minor Symphony' as the musical equivalent of Rembrandt's etchings – both being

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945 Pennell, vol.2, p.225.

946 For instance, see the entries on Appia, Bache, Hallé, Lloyd, and Montesquiou-Fezensac in Appendix One.

947 See Appendix One for details of Benedict, Dannreuther, Hallé and Joachim's relationship to Beethoven's music, and Chapter Three for details of Sarasate's performance of Beethoven's Violin Concerto.

948 Whistler, 1890, p.127.

examples of high art in contrast to 'popular print' and 'songs of the hall'.[949] Finally, Otto Bacher recalled Whistler saying: 'If I can find the right kind of thing I will produce a harmony in color corresponding to Beethoven's harmonies in sound'.[950] Upon Whistler's death, Arthur Eddy reinforced Whistler's self-declared alliance with Beethoven:

> ...his impressions and convictions in the domain of color, like those of Beethoven in the world of sound, were worth recording.
>
> He is to color what Beethoven is to sound...he was the only one to treat color as a composer treats sound, - as material for the arrangements of harmonies to please the eye as music pleases the ear.[951]

As a body of work this dissertation provides a valuable resource for Whistler scholars. In addition, as an interdisciplinary study it contributes to our general understanding of the nineteenth-century arts communities in Paris and London. Therefore, the documentation of whom Whistler knew and what he attended will be of interest to art historians (aside from Whistler specialists) and to musicologists, particularly those working within the fields of Victorian and interdisciplinary studies. Of course, Whistler's engagement with Japanese and other non-Western music is a subject for future study – particularly in light of Ayako Ono's *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and Nineteenth-Century Japan* (2003). Whistler's interest in the theatre, and the impact that theatre had on his theory and practice, are other avenues that warrant dedicated investigations. Although the initial research for this study did encompass Whistler's engagement with theatre, and while there were early plans to incorporate a chapter on theatre within the present dissertation, it was soon realized that both music and theatre (while somewhat interrelated) deserved dedicated attention. The study of Whistler's approach to exhibition design, while addressed in Deanna Marohn Bendix's book *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (1995), certainly deserves further consideration within the context of Whistler's awareness of contemporary theatrical practice. Furthermore, although Whistler was not an admirer of

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949 Whistler, 1885, p.844.
950 Bacher, 1908, pp.58-59.
951 Eddy, 1903, p.176.

Wagner's music, the possible influence of Wagner's concept of the *Gesamtkunstwerk* on Whistler's exhibition practice warrants investigation.

This study – 'Colour-Music: Musical Modelling in James McNeill Whistler's Art' - has focused upon the artworks in which Whistler most clearly indicated his interest in music – that is, those that depict musical subject matter and those that carry musical titles. It has investigated the ways in which such works demonstrate Whistler's interest in musical operations, and has offered fresh interpretations of what are, in many cases, familiar yet enigmatic images. In particular, the study proposes new readings of Whistler's portrait of Sarasate, his Six Projects and his Nocturnes.

Figure 80: *Blue and Silver – The Islands, Venice*, 1880, M. 822.

By documenting Whistler's actual engagement with music making and his friendships with musicians, and by identifying and exploring his use of the musical model within the context of contemporary theories, the dissertation provides the groundwork for further studies in the field. In particular, it provides a model for future investigations into the influence of musical operations on works that do not depict musical subject matter, nor carry musical titles. Many of the small-scale and often highly abstract works that Whistler created from 1880 onwards would appear to be musically modelled. For instance, consider the pastel *Blue and Silver - The Islands, Venice* [fig. 80] the etching *The Embroidered Curtain* [fig. 81] and the oil painting *Seascape* [fig. 82]. These works clearly demonstrate Whistler's interest in the self-sufficient beauty of colour harmony and tonal variation; in rhythm and pulse; in musical voicing and counterpoint; and in the visual layout of musical notation. Therefore, the interpretive model proposed and demonstrated in this dissertation has wider application within the field of Whistler scholarship.

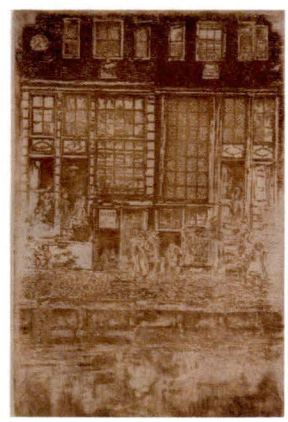

Figure 81: *The Embroidered Curtain*,

Figure 82: *Seascape*, 1890/95, YMSM 414.

Appendix One

Alma-Tadema, Lawrence (1836-1912)

The artist Alma-Tadema was a keen host. He presented musical recitals at his residence in Grove End Road (where he lived from 1883) and probably also at his previous home in Regent's Park Road.[952] Alison Inglis writes that the Alma-Tademas 'lavishly entertained the musical and artistic circles of London'.[953] Their performers included Caruso, Tchaikovsky, Joachim, Sarasate and Paderewski. It is possible that Whistler attended these events. During the 1880s and 1890s Alma-Tadema produced stage designs for Irving and others.

References to Whistler's interactions with Alma-Tadema include Alma-Tadema's attendance at the Ionides' social events, his inclusion on a list of names compiled by Whistler in the mid 1870s (perhaps of subscribers or private view guests), his hosting of Whistler's friend Sarasate in the 1890s, and his attendance at Whistler's funeral. Alma-Tadema was a member of the Gallery Club, and was included in the seating plan for the farewell banquet for Phelps.[954]

Appia, Aldolphe (1862-1928)

The Whistler Collection in Glasgow includes a copy of Appia's *La mise en scène du drame wagnérien* (1895):[955] it is inscribed on the cover page with a personal note to Whistler from the author. Appia supported Wagner's call for 'the unifying artistic control of a director-designer',[956] but he believed that Wagner had not done justice to the staging of his works at Bayreuth. In his book, Appia suggested 'replacing painted scenery with three-dimensional but non-naturalistic scenic units, thus creating an integrated acting area for musically inspired stage movement, the shape and atmospherics of which were to be defined

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952 Inglis, 1996, p.677; Sydney, 1975, p.13.

953 Inglis, 1996, p.677.

954 Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.79; Pennell, 1908, vol.2, p.302; Gallery Club to Whistler, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (22 March 2005); Whistler, ledger, [1874/1876], GUL Whistler NB 4/front; GUW 12714 (22 March 2005); Whistler to Otto Goldschmidt, [20 February 1894?], LC PWC 1/38/1; GUW 07968 (22 March 2005); James Whitehead to Whistler, 24 January 1889, GUL Whistler W1029; GUW 07040 (24 March 2005).

955 Adolphe Appia, *La mise en scène du drame wagnérien*, Paris: Chailley, 1895, GUL.

956 Brandt, 1998, p.145.

by the (then still novel) electric lighting'.[957] While Appia's gift to Whistler indicates that the two men were at least acquainted, the uncut, folded pages (that conceal the text from view) suggest that Whistler never studied the book.

Arditi, Virginia (c1837-??)

Arditi (née Warwick) was a singer: between 1874 and 1877 she sang in promenade concerts in London and Vienna, and from 1878 to 1894 she worked in America and London.[958] In 1878 Arditi gave a concert at Steinway Hall that Whistler planned to attend.[959] She was married to Luigi Arditi (1822-1903), a conductor of opera, composer of chamber works, orchestral pieces and songs, and a violinist. In the role of conductor he introduced twenty-three important operas to London audiences.[960]

Bache, Walter (1842-1888)

Bache was a pianist and conductor. From 1862 to 1865 he studied with Franz Liszt in Rome. He returned to London in 1865 and began a lifelong crusade to establish Liszt's reputation. With Edward Dannreuther he formed an association named 'The Working Men's Society' for promoting the music of Liszt and Wagner. Music by Liszt and other controversial composers was introduced to London audiences through orchestral concerts and piano arrangements. When Liszt visited London in 1886, Bache gave him 'a memorable reception at the Grosvenor Gallery'.[961] Afterwards Bache and Liszt performed together in a series of concerts. Bache also visited Bayreuth and made friendly contact with Wagner. He was Professor of Piano at the Royal Academy of Music, and a member of the Arts Club from 1884 to 1888.[962]

Bancroft, Sir Squire (1841-1926) and Lady Marie (née Wilton, 1840-1921)

The Bancrofts were the managers of the Haymarket Theatre during the early 1880s. They attended the first night of Whistler's 1884 exhibition *'Notes'* –

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957 Brandt, 1998, p.145.
958 'Virginia Arditi, ca 1837-??', biography, GUW (27 February 2006).
959 See Whistler to Walter Théodore Watts-Dunton, [31 May 1878], GUL W1364; GUW 07376 (25 November 2005).
960 Burton and Horner, 2001, p.866.
961 Temperley, 2001a, p.433.
962 Rogers, 1920, p.53.

'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes',[963] and were present at a private reading of his 'Ten O'Clock' lecture at Lady Maidstone's home in 1885.[964] Squire Bancroft was a member of the Arts Club, and on the committee of the Gallery Club.[965]

Bateman Family

In the production of *Queen Mary Tudor* that Whistler attended in 1876, a Miss Bateman (presumably Kate, 1842-1917) played the role of Mary of England, while her younger sister, Isabel Bateman (1854-1934), played 'Alice' (One of the Queen's Women).[966] Whistler might have been personally invited to *Queen Mary Tudor*: in 1872 the actresses' father - Hezekiah Bateman (1812-75) – had offered Whistler a private box to see Isabel perform another role.[967] In the mid 1870s Whistler depicted Isabel in contemporary dress.[968]

Benedict, Sir Julius (1804-1885)

Benedict was a prominent pianist, conductor and composer. Born in Germany, he studied with Hummel and Weber, and met Beethoven. He moved to London in 1835 and became conductor of the Italian Opera at the Lyceum, and at Drury Lane in 1838. Benedict accompanied Jenny Lind prior to her marriage to Goldschmidt. In 1860 he produced a revised Italian version of Weber's opera *Oberon*, in conjunction with its original librettist, J.R. Planché. Benedict also edited a significant edition of Beethoven's piano music, and published books on Mendelssohn and Weber. He was knighted in 1871.[969] Benedict was a member of the Arts Club from 1863 to 1884, and was present at Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture in February 1885.[970]

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963 *World*, 21 May 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

964 See the article on Lady Maidstone's party in Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

965 Rogers, 1920, p.54; Gallery Club, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (18 April 2005).

966 See programme in the 'Queen Mary Tudor' file, TM.

967 See Anna Matilda Whistler to Catherine Jane Palmer, 21 May - 3 June [1872], PUL; GUW 09938 (12 April 2005).

968 *Portrait of the Actress Isabel Bateman*, 1872/78, M. 467. For futher information on the Batemans see Gayle T. Harris, 'Bateman, Hezekiah Linthicum (1812-1875)', article 1666, Oxford DNB (12 April 2005).

969 Temperley, 2001b, pp.240-41.

970 Rogers, 1920, p.56; *World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

Blumenthal, Jacques (1829-1908)

Blumenthal was pianist to Queen Victoria, a fashionable teacher, and a successful composer of numerous short piano pieces and songs.[971] Jopling wrote: 'Jacques Blumenthal was a composer of songs of other days. Who sings them now? He and his wife used to give delightful musical parties'.[972] Blumenthal's name appears in Whistler's address book during the mid 1870s.[973]

Blunt, Arthur Cecil (1843-1896)

Blunt was a Society entertainer and songwriter who acted for some years with the German Reeds; and at the Globe, Gaiety, Opera Comique, Prince of Wales, Haymarket, Court, and Comedy theatres. He was better known as 'Arthur Cecil'.

The Centre for Whistler Studies identifies the 'Arthur Blunt' that Whistler was friendly with, as the artist Arthur Cadogan Blunt (*c.*1861-1934). However, it is quite possible that Whistler also knew 'Arthur Cecil', given that he was an Arts Club member from 1876 to 1891, and probably friendly with Corney Grain.[974]

Boughton, George Henry (1833-1905)

The artist George Boughton and his wife Catherine were known for their entertaining Sunday dinners. Whistler and Boughton became friendly in Paris in 1860, and the Boughtons were amongst those invited to Whistler's Sunday breakfasts in the 1880s. Boughton attended Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture and the farewell banquet for Phelps, and was on the invitation list for the Criterion dinner.[975] In May 1889 the Sunday Times reported that Whistler and Beatrix were part of 'a brilliant crowd of celebrities of every description' at Mrs Boughton's 'At Home'. Apparently, there 'was not too much music, and what

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971 Frederick Corder, 'Blumenthal, Jacques (1829-1908)', rev. David J. Golby, 2004, article 31936, Oxford DNB (4 April 2005).

972 Jopling, 1925, p.217.

973 Whistler, [1874/1876], GUL NB 4/front section; GUW 12714 (27 February 2006).

974 See Whistler to Arthur Blunt, [1/28 February 1881], Published; GUW 09257 (27 February 2006); Whistler to Arthur Blunt, [February/April 1881?], Private collection; GUW 09258 (27 February 2006).

975 'Katherine [sic] Louisa Boughton, ca 1845-??', biography, GUW (25 November 2005); 'George Henry Boughton, 1833-1905', biography, GUW (27 February 2005); Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL S281; GUW 05636; (27 February 2006); James Whitehead to Whistler, [24 January 1889], GUL W1029; GUW 07040 (27 February); *The World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings, CWS.

there was was [sic] most exquisite, the vocalists being Madame Sèmon, Miss Liza Lehmann, and Miss Marguerite Hall. Late in the evening Mr. George Giddens gave his latest contribution to the gaiety of nations - a comic song compounded in equal parts of a serenade and a sneeze.' The Bandurria Quartet also performed.[976]

Burnand, Sir Francis Cowley Burnand (1836-1917)

In the mid 1860s Whistler's friend Du Maurier was in the original cast of Arthur Sullivan and F.C. Burnand's *Cox and Box*. First performed at Burnand's home in 1866, and then at Arthur Lewis's in 1867, this one-act operetta initially had only an improvised piano accompaniment, provided by the composer himself.[977] It is also intriguing to wonder whether Whistler attended Burnand's burlesque *Ariel*, which opened at the Gaiety in 1883. It starred Nellie Farren in the title role and had music by Lutz. Whistler's oil painting entitled *Ariel* dates from the same period - it might relate to the burlesque, although of course Whistler could also have seen a production of Shakespeare's *Tempest*.[978]

Carpenter, Nettie (1865-??)

Nettie Carpenter was an American-born violinist who won first prize at the Paris Conservatoire in 1884.[979] She seems to have visited William and Helen Whistler in London on a couple of occasions during the early 1890s, with little social success. In 1893 Whistler asked his brother, 'how on earth could you ever have that shocking little person Nettie Carpenter back again! - after the horrible way she behaved in your house I wonder you could ever allow her or her man to come inside the door again!'[980] When Carpenter attempted to visit the Whistlers in Paris in 1894, they would not receive her.[981] However, Sarasate obviously kept

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976 *Sunday Times*, 12 May 1889, Whistler Presscuttings 1888-1891, CWS.

977 Ormond, 1969, p.194; David Russell Hulme, 'Cox and Box [Cox and Box; or, the Long-Lost Brothers]', GMO (11 April 2005).

978 *Ariel*, *c.*1884, YMSM 318.

979 Roth, 1997, pp.240, 311.

980 Whistler to William McNeill Whistler, [14 June/July 1893?], GUL W999; GUW 07010 (22 March 2005).

981 Whistler to Helen Whistler, [5/12 February 1894], GUL W720; GUW 06726 (22 March 2005); Whistler to Helen Whistler, [1/10 February 1894], GUL W722; GUW 06728 (22 March 2005).

in contact with her, for in 1895 Whistler reported to Beatrix that Sarasate had become godfather to Carpenter's child.[982]

Clay, Frederic (Emes) (1838-1889)

Described by G.A.F. Rogers as a 'scholarly amateur musician and composer of songs',[983] Clay composed mostly for the stage, but also wrote many popular songs, some hymns and two cantatas. In 1869 Clay introduced W.S. Gilbert to his close friend Arthur Sullivan.[984] Clay was an Arts Club member from 1867 to 1880. In 1873, Whistler attended a production of *Golden Fleece* that had music by Clay and Arthur Sullivan.[985]

Dannreuther, Edward (1844-1905)

A virtuoso pianist, writer, teacher and supporter of contemporary music, Dannreuther 'led the pro-Wagner movement in England and went on to create the Wagner Society in 1873'.[986] During the 1860s he established a successful performance career. In April 1863, he gave the first complete English performance of Chopin's Piano Concerto no. 2 in F minor at the Crystal Palace, and a fortnight later he performed Beethoven's Piano Concerto no. 4. During the 1870s he gave the first English performances of concerti by Grieg, Liszt, Tchaikovsky, Scharwenka and Parry, and organized 'a series of semi-public chamber concerts' to promote contemporary music. These ran from 1876 to 1893.

In 1871, Dannreuther married Chariclea Ionides - a pianist and singer whom he had taught during the 1860s. In 1876, the Dannreuthers and Chariclea's brother Constantine attended the opening of Wagner's Bayreuth opera house, where they met Liszt and Tchaikovsky.[987] In 1877, the Dannreuthers hosted Wagner and his wife Cosima during their visit to London. Athena Leoussi describes the Dannreuthers' home as:

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982 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [3 March 1895], GUL W620; GUW 06626 (22 March 2005).
983 Rogers, 1920, p.64.
984 Knowles, 2001, p.23.
985 Alan Summerley Cole, Diary, [27 March 1872-18 March 1885], LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (11 April 2005).
986 Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.7.
987 Atkins, 1987, p.89.

> a refined and tasteful household where the names of their children Tristan, Siegmund, Wolfram, Isolde, resounded like Wagnerian 'leitmotifs' behind the yellow embroidered curtains, in the midst of Bayreuth Pottery, libretti and pictorial representation of scenes from celebrated Operas by the German master [including works by Fantin-Latour].[988]

Due to his interest in contemporary music (including his enthusiastic support for, and friendship with, Wagner) Dannreuther 'established a reputation in London as a musical radical'.[989]

D'Oyly Carte, Richard (1844-1901)

D'Oyly Carte was an impresario, promoter of English opera (especially Gilbert & Sullivan), and property developer. The son of a flautist, he studied music, composed one-act operettas, worked for musical instrument makers, and organized concert tours. He was involved in organizing Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture, and in 1886 there was talk of Whistler travelling to America under D'Oyly Carte's management, although this never eventuated. Whistler and D'Oyly Carte were in correspondence from 1884 to 1896. Whistler etched D'Oyly Carte's second wife *Miss Lenoir* (K. 334) in 1887/88, and decorated their home. D'Oyly Carte lent Whistler money in 1886, and purchased his lithographs from the Fine Art Society in 1895.[990]

Du Maurier, George (1834-1896)

Whistler and Du Maurier met in 1856 in Paris, where they both enrolled at Gleyre's atelier.[991] Du Maurier shared a studio with the English artists Thomas Armstrong, Edward Poynter, and Thomas Lamont, with whom Whistler was friendly. They maintained their friendship in London in the 1860s, even sharing a flat for a few months in 1860. In 1894 Whistler was offended to find many personal references in Du Maurier's character Joe Sibley - 'the idle apprentice, the king of bohemia' from *Trilby* (originally published in *Harper's Monthly*). An

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988 Leoussi, 1982, p.109.

989 Jeremy Dibble, 'Edward George Dannreuther (1844-1905)', article 40938, Oxford DNB (21 January 2005).

990. Richard D'Oyly Carte, 1844-1901', biography, GUW (27 February 2006); Pennell, 1908, vol.1, p.220; Frederic Woodbridge Wilson, 'Carte, Richard D'Oyly', GMO (30 June 2006).

991 M., p.xxxiii.

apology resulted and the offending material was removed. Both men were Arts Club members from 1863 to 1896.[992]

Leonée Ormond describes Du Maurier as an 'honorary member of the Moray Minstrels': he was a regular and enthusiastic performer by at least the winter of 1861 to 1862.[993] Ormond writes:

> Du Maurier chose his songs to suit his audience. When he first came to London, he felt the need to aim high with 'Svegliaté la mia mia' by Pergolese, and Gordigiani's 'il nome de mia madre', which would frequently reduce the more susceptible members of his audience to tears. Later on, he realised that his lighter French songs, like the anti-imperial 'Sieur de framboisy'... were more original, and he began to develop his performance of these.[994]

Jopling agreed: 'He had a pretty talent for singing little French songs to his own accompaniment'.[995]

In 1865 Du Maurier and Harold Power, son of the famous Irish comedian, Tyrone Power, performed Offenbach's comic duologue, *Les Deux Aveugles*, and two years later Lewis's home provided the stage for a performance of Arthur Sullivan's *Cox and Box,* prior to its public performance at the Adelphi Theatre. The cast for the latter comprised Du Maurier, Harold Power, and John Foster (the conductor of the Moray Minstrels).[996] Foster was an Arts Club member from 1863 to 1895.[997] Thomas W. Angell (*c.*1848-??), another member of the Moray Minstrels, was an Arts Club member from 1863 to 1892.[998] He is mentioned in Whistler's correspondence *c.*1890.[999]

Edwards, Edwin (1823-1879) and Elizabeth Ruth (née Escombe, 1833-1907)

Edwin Edwards was a lawyer, artist and collector, and a keen amateur flautist. His wife was a pianist. They were both Schumann enthusiasts. Whistler

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992 See Leonée Ormond, 'Du Maurier, George Louis Palmella Busson (1834-1896)', article 8194, Oxford DNB (24 March 2005); Ormond, 1969, p.91; Rogers, 1920, p.12; and 'George Du Maurier, 1834-1896', biography, GUW (22 December 2005).

993 Ormond, 1969, pp.105, 194.

994 Ormond, 1969, p.193.

995 Jopling, 1925, p.90.

996 Ormond, 1969, pp.194-96.

997 Rogers, 1920, p.76.

998 Rogers, 1920, p.52.

999 See W. Fisher to Whistler, 26 [October 1890], GUL F348; GUW 01416 (17 January 2006).

met Edwin through Matthew White Ridley, and he introduced them to Fantin-Latour. Fantin-Latour's etching *Un morceau de Schumann* (1864) depicts the Edwards performing together.[1000]

Farren, Ellen (1848-1904)

Farren was a versatile actress who "played with success in every form of entertainment, from farce, burlesque, and comic opera to old English comedy and Shakespearian drama...[but] she proved at her brightest in the 'principal boy' roles of extravaganzas and burlesques" due to her slight build.[1001] Hollingshead wrote of her: 'The irrepressible enjoyment of her work, that inexhaustible spirit, which can only be concisely described by the word "go," a bright face, a lissom figure, graceful movements, nimble feet, and a limited but resonant saucy voice - these were her natural advantages, her stock-in-trade'.[1002]

Forbes-Robertson, Sir Johnston (1853-1937)

Forbes-Robertson was a successful actor-manager. He attended the first night of Whistler's 1884 exhibition *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'*.[1003]

Gear, Henry Handel (1805-1884)

Gear was a Professor of Singing, a violinist and a composer. His name appears in Whistler's address book during the mid 1870s.[1004]

Grain, Corney (1844-1901)

In 1893 the *Sketch* declared that Corney Grain was a household name, popular for his 'clean' humour and entertaining sketches on accessible and family-friendly themes.[1005] Indeed the contents of *An Album of Humorous Drawing Room Songs by Corney Grain*, are described in the preface as 'Good

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1000 'Edwin Edwards, 1823-1879', biography, GUW (27 November 2006); Munro and Stirton, 1998, p.12.

1001 J. Parker, 'Farren, Ellen (1848-1904)', rev. Patty S. Derrick, article 33089, Oxford DNB (3 December 2004).

1002 Hollingshead, 1898.

1003 *World*, 21 May 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

1004 Whistler, ledger, [1874/1876], GUL Whistler NB 4/front section; GUW 12714 (28 November 2005).

1005 'Mr. Corney Grain: A Chat with the Popular Entertainer at Home', *The Sketch*, 24 May 1893, p.214, 'Corney Grain' biographical file, TM.

Class Humour set to pleasing and captivating melodies - they are real Humorous Songs for the home'.[1006] Grain had joined the German Reed entertainment in 1870, and remained with it until his death in 1895. In 1877 he became the managerial partner of Alfred German Reed (who was an Arts Club member from 1882 to 1887),[1007] and he wrote approximately sixty 'entertainments' for the company. These consisted of 'social sketches and songs with piano accompaniments. His comic sketches were fashionable, and were frequently performed in private houses'.[1008]

Whistler obviously admired Grain and enjoyed his company - during the 1880s the two men socialised both privately and in public. Like Whistler, Grain was a member of the Gallery Club in the 1880s,[1009] and they enjoyed amusing afternoons together in Harper Pennington's studio. Recalling his friendship with Whistler, Pennington informed the Pennells:

> Dick (Corney) Grain came there of afternoons to try his new song; George Macquay, too shy to sing in company, would sit there warbling for hours, playing his accompaniments enchantingly! Oscar Wilde dropped in every day almost...The Beefsteak table would be peopled by the spirits of Pellegrini, Arthur Blouet, Dick Grain...[1010]

In the early 1880s Whistler invited Grain to his Sunday breakfasts, where Grain may well have entertained those present; in 1885 Grain attended Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture and in 1886 he attended the private view for Whistler's exhibition *'Notes' - 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'*. He was invited to the Criterion

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1006 Grain, 1923.

1007 'Mr and Mrs German Reed's Entertainment' was begun by Alfred's parents (Thomas) German Reed (1817-1888) and Priscilla Reed (née Horton, 1818-1895) in 1854. During Corney Grain's involvement the format comprised 'a musical monologue to piano accompaniment...preceded and/or followed by a musical piece, later two, often farcial, often a pocket operetta...If Reed's nomenclature attracted the almost rigidly righteous, the excellent quality of cast, text, music, and settings and the careful rehearsals attracted more sophisticated playgoers'. The obituary for (Thomas) German Reed in the *Illustrated London News* described the entertainment as 'a special form of refined amusement, which somehow proved acceptable to a class of good people not accustomed to frequent the ordinary London Theatres.' See Jane W. Stedman, 'Reed (Thomas) German (1817-1888)', article 23278, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005)

1008 Joseph Knight, 'Grain, Richard Corney (1844-1895)', article 11232, rev. Nilanjana Banerji, 2004, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).

1009 Gallery Club to Whistler, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (25 November 2005).

1010 Quoted in Pennell, 1908, vol.2, pp.22-23. The Beefsteak Club was located at 24 King William Street, Strand.

dinner for Whistler in 1889 and attended a prestigious garden party along with Whistler in 1892.[1011] It is possible that Whistler began a portrait of Grain, but no record of it remains.[1012]

Grossmith, George (1847-1912)

Grossmith - an actor, singer, composer and writer - was known to Whistler from at least 1876, when Grossmith was invited to the private viewing of Sir Henry Thompson's porcelain collection.[1013] That same year, Grossmith's operetta *Cups and Saucers* was produced at the Opera Comique.[1014] During the 1870s, Grossmith performed in situations as diverse as smart 'society' parties, church events, at public halls and at the Royal Polytechnic Institution, where he was given his first professional engagement in 1870. As Tony Joseph explains:

> Grossmith's perfomances as an entertainer consisted primarily of what he called 'sketches'. These were made up of anecdotes, mildly satirical comment, ad lib chat, and comic songs, and may best be described as a light-hearted sending up of various aspects of contemporary life and manners. Nearly all his material he wrote and composed himself. His work was consistently amusing, while as a composer he had an attractive gift of tunefulness...Skill as a pianist (he performed for the most part sitting at the piano), skill as a raconteur, skill as a mimic, facial expression, timing - he had it all.[1015]

In 1877, Grossmith began a twelve-year association with the Gilbert and Sullivan Savoy operas, after playing the title role in the operetta *The Sorcerer*. In the mid 1880s Whistler wrote a letter of congratulations to Grossmith after a performance,

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1011 Grain was unable to attend the dinner at the Criterion, as he was giving a performance at St. George's Hall. See Corney Grain to William Christian Symons, [24 April 1889], GUL G155; GUW 01789 (25 November 2005); Whistler to Corney Grain, [3/10 March 1882], GUL LB 3/19; GUW 02954 (25 November 2005); Grant Joseph Wolseley to Whistler, [1876/1878], GUL W1096; GUW 07106, footnote 4 (25 November 2005); *The World*, 5 May 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS; *The World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS; Alan Summerley Cole to Whistler, 21 February 1885, GUL C143; GUW 00642 (25 November 2005); 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.

1012 'Corney Grain, 1844-1895', biography, GUW (25 November 2005).

1013 Merrill, 1998, p.177.

1014 Grossmith wrote this operetta and starred in it. See 'The Dramatic Peerage: The Grossmiths and Letty Lind's Sisters', *Tatler*, 21 August 1901, 'George Grossmith (1847-1912)' biographical file, TM.

1015 Tony Joseph, 'Grossmith, George (1847-1912)', article 33590, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).

and Grossmith attended Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture in 1885.[1016]

Grossmith continued to give his 'society' and other entertainments throughout this period, and then from 1889, he devoted himself mainly to his 'Humorous and Musical Recitals'.[1017] By now, these comprised ninety minutes of 'back-chat, songs and satirical ditties', in a three-part format, and secured his place as 'the most popular solo entertainer of the day, not to mention the most successful financially'.[1018] Grossmith also wrote music for theatre pieces by Arthur Law and Gilbert in the 1880s and early 1890s.[1019] Jopling writes of Grosssmith associating with the Lindsay circle, and Whistler and Grossmith are both present in a illustrative diagram in the Christmas number of the *World* in 1892, which identifies those present at a prestigious garden party.[1020]

Guilbert, Yvette (1867-1944)

In 1892, Whistler wrote to Beatrix that he had been with his publisher William Heinemann to hear Yvette Guilbert perform at the Moulin Rouge (which he found 'big noisy and rowdy').[1021] Guilbert was already 'established as one of the great figures of Paris entertainment'.[1022] However, Whistler wrote: 'she was not to compare with [Céline] Chaumont though I daresay Walter Sickert might have at once proposed to paint her'.[1023] In 1896, the *Sketch* informed its readers that Guilbert:

> does not exactly write all her own songs, but designs them, and is sufficiently well trained to get the best musical effects - very necessary in the case of one who speaks rather than sings...She has been called the Zola of the French stage, while her *soularde* and *pierreuse* have been likened to the creations of Baudelaire. Aptly enough, a writer has compared her to one of the women in the

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1016 Whistler to George Grossmith, [1885/1886?], GUL G231; GUW 01866 (25 November 2005); *The World*, 25 February 1885, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

1017 Hanks, 1981, pp.8-9; 'The Dramatic Peerage: The Grossmiths and Letty Lind's Sisters', *Tatler*, 21 August 1901, 'George Grossmith (1847-1912)' biographical file, TM.

1018 Tony Joseph, 'Grossmith, George (1847-1912)', article 33590, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).

1019 Tony Joseph, 'Grossmith, George (1847-1912)', article 33590, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).

1020 Jopling, 1925, p.278; 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, 1892, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.

1021 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [24 January 1892], GUL W599; GUW 06606, (28 November 2005).

1022 J.B. Steane, 'Guilbert, Yvette', GMO (1 April 2005).

1023 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [24 January 1892], GUL W599; GUW 06606 (28 November 2005).

decorative paintings of Puvis de Chavannes...

The powers of Yvette Guilbert seem to lie entirely in her command over her voice. She is not beautiful, and her costume is weird.[1024]

Perhaps Guilbert's unusual vocal delivery and grim restraint were too foreign for Whistler - by the 1890s he was well versed in the fast-paced humour and tunefulness of the London stage. On the other hand, Chaumont's style was probably more palatable to an English audience, as several of her parts were adapted for Nellie Farren at the Gaiety Theatre.[1025]

Hallé, Sir Charles (1819-1895) and Lady Wilma (1838-1911)

Sir Charles was a pianist and conductor of German birth, who knew Chopin, Liszt, Berlioz and Wagner. He was the first pianist to play the complete series of Beethoven's piano sonatas in Paris and in London. He established the Hallé Orchestra in Manchester in 1858, and was the founding Principal and Professor of Piano at the Royal Manchester College of Music. In 1888 he was knighted and married the distinguished violinist Wilma Norman-Neruda. Together they gave sonata recitals in Britain, Australia and South Africa. Norman-Neruda was a popular soloist and chamber musician.[1026]

Hallé was a member of the Arts Club from 1887 to 1893. He was a regular performer at Leighton's annual music party. Hallé and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423), and attended a Garden Party in 1892.[1027]

Henschel, Sir (Isidor) George (1850-1934)

Henschel was a conductor, baritone and composer of German birth. From 1875 he became closely acquainted wiith Brahms, whose music he promoted when he was conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In Britain he conducted the Scottish orchestra and the London Symphony concerts. Henschel married the American soprano Lillian Bailey in 1881. He became Professor of Singing at the Royal College of Music, and was awarded a knighthood in

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1024 *Sketch*, 13 May 1896, 'Yvette Guilbert' biographical file, TM.
1025 John Hollingshead to Clement Scott, 8 March 1898, Nellie Farren Biographical File, TM.
1026 Michael Kennedy, 'Hallé, Sir Charles', GMO (27 February 2006).
1027 See 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.

1914.[1028] As a composer he wrote works for the stage and for choirs, as well as piano pieces, songs and duets.[1029]

From 1881 until 1885 Henschel was a member of the Arts Club. He may have been invited to the Criterion dinner in 1889.[1030]

Joachim, Joseph (1831-1907)

Joachim was an Austro-Hungarian violinist, composer, conductor and teacher. He studied with Mendelssohn from 1843 until the latter's death in 1847, and then with Liszt. Joachim made his London debut in 1844 with Beethoven's Violin Concerto. This concerto and Bach's D minor Chaconne became his trademark works. Joachim was friendly with Schumann and Brahms, and both composers wrote works for him – he gave the first performances of many of Brahms' chamber works, and introduced them to London audiences. Joachim is remembered as a performer who was concerned with realising the composer's intentions, rather than with glorifying in his own virtuosic technique. He initiated the format of an entire recital devoted to string quartets.[1031]

Joachim was an honorary member of the Arts Club.[1032] Whistler approved his invitation to the Criterion dinner in 1889.[1033] Joachim and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423).

Johnston, Miss

An American soprano by this name attended the private view of Whistler's 1886 exhibition *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'*.[1034]

1028 Anne Pimlott Baker, 'Henschel, Sir George (1850-1934)', article 33824, Oxford DNB (1 April 2005).
1029 Steven Ledbetter, 'Henschel, Sir George', GMO (27 February 2006).
1030 Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL S281; GUW 05635 (27 February 2006).
1031 Beatrix Borchard, 'Joachim, Joseph', GMO (27 February 2006).
1032 Rogers, 1920, p.1.
1033 Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, 25 April 1889, GUL H80; GUW 01979 (27 February 2006).
1034 *The World*, 5 May 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.

Kendal, William (1843-1917) and Dame Madge (née Robertson, 1848-1935)

The Kendals were the managers of St. James' Theatre from 1879 until 1888. They attended the first night of Whistler's 1884 *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'* exhibition[1035] and Madge Kendal also attended the private view of Whistler's 1886 *'Notes' – 'Harmonies' – 'Nocturnes'* exhibition.[1036] William Kendal was an Arts Club member.[1037]

Leighton (of Stretton), Frederic, Baron (1830-96)

Leighton was an enthusiastic amateur musician and patron of music. In Rome in the early 1850s he met the former opera-singer Adelaide Sartoris (née Kemble), and came into contact with the composer Rossini and the opera singer Mario. At this time Leighton was taking piano and singing lessons. In 1854 William Makepeace Thackeray stated that Leighton was already an accomplished musician, and by 1855 he was singing in prestigious private soirées as a tenor. In 1856, Leighton and Mario were re-acquainted in Paris, where Mario was achieving great success. Mario commissioned from Leighton an oil painting entitled *The Fisherman and the Syren - from a Ballad by Goethe*, which was painted from 1856 to 1858. Leighton also drew Mario.

Leighton returned to live in England in 1859. Leonée and Richard Ormond write that his music parties were held annually from 1867 to 1895. Many significant musicians were regular performers: the pianist Sir Charles Hallé, the violinists Joseph Joachim, Madame Norman-Neruda and Nathalie Janotha (who was also a soprano), and the singer George Henschel (whose performance of Schubert's 'Nachstück' Leighton particularly enjoyed). It is also known that the cellist Piatti, and the well-known singer Pauline Viardot performed on at least one occasion. The composer Charles Stanford was a friend of Leighton's, so it likely that he was also involved. Leighton's audience included Mary Gladstone, Lord Redesdale, Browning and Disraeli.[1038]

As President of the Royal Academy, Leighton was instrumental in raising the social status of the professions of music and the theatre. In 1891, at his first Banquet as President, he included music in the official list of toasts for the first

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1035 *World*, 21 May 1884, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.
1036 *World*, 5 May 1886, Whistler Presscuttings 1883-1887, CWS.
1037 Rogers, 1920, p.91.
1038 Ormond, 1975, pp.3, 17, 20-23, 35, 36, 45, 51-52, 62, 64-65, 72, 79, 138, 140, 146.

time in the Academy's history, and also gave 'a gracious tribute to music'.[1039] Arthur Sullivan expressed his appreciation in an obituary tribute to Leighton.[1040]

Leighton was a member of the Arts Club from 1863 to 1896. Like Whistler, he attended the soirées held by Jopling, Arthur Lewis and the Ionides family, and the farewell banquet for Phelps.[1041]

Leslie, Henry David (1822-1896)

Leslie was a conductor and composer, whose main focus was choral music. His works include a choral song entitled 'Annabelle Lee'. At the 1878 Paris Exhibition, the Henry Leslie Choir won first prize in an International Choral Competition.[1042]

Henry Leslie, 59 Conduit Street, appears in Whistler's address book during the mid 1870s.[1043] However the Centre for Whistler Studies identifies him as a playwright, due to Kelly's *London Post Office Directory*, 1861-64 (even though the address book is dated mid 1870s). Henry Leslie the musician was a member of the Arts Club from 1863 to 1882,[1044] so it is quite likely that Whistler knew him.

Lind, Jenny (1820-1887)

In 1852, Sarasate's manager Otto Goldschmidt married the Swedish soprano Jenny Lind who, as a single woman, had enjoyed an illustrious international operatic career. Verdi, Meyerbeer and Mendelssohn had written roles specifically for her, and audiences adored her. During the period Whistler may have known her, Lind occasionally sang for benefit concerts, and in 1883 she was appointed the first Professor of Singing at the newly founded Royal College of Music.[1045] Lind's charitableness explains her presence at the Royal Albert Hall

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1039 Gillett, 1990, p.214; Ormond, 1975, p.64.
1040 Gillett, 1990, p.214.
1041 Leoussi, 1982, p.40; James Whitehead to Whistler, [24 January 1889], GUL W1029; GUW 07040 (8 July 2006).
1042 H.C. Colles and E.D. Mackerness, 'Leslie, Henry', GMO (27 February 2006).
1043 Whistler, [1874/1876], GUL NB 4/front section; GUW 12714 (27 February 2006).
1044 Rogers, 1920, p.94.
1045 Carole Rosen, 'Lind, Jenny (1820-1887)', article 16671, Oxford DNB (22 March 2005).

theatre in 1876 when Whistler acted in *Twenty Minutes under the Umbrella* - a play held to raise funds for a crèche.[1046]

Lloyd, Edward (1845-1927)

Lloyd was a concert tenor, who performed in major events from 1870 onwards. He had a broad concert repertoire (from Wagner to popular song) and was a very popular performer. Lloyd's son studied the piano with Clara Schumann.[1047]

Lloyd and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423), and attended a Garden Party in 1892.[1048]

Lutz, (Johann Baptist Wilhelm) Meyer (1828-1903)

Lutz was a composer, conductor and organist. Of German birth, he moved to England in the late 1840s. He was employed as an organist for various cathedrals, and as a musical director – in this role he moved between the church, the theatre, and the seaside resort. He oversaw tours by the singers Giulia Grisi and G.M. Mario, and composed light operas, orchestral works, cantatas, and a string quartet. Lutz was appointed to the Gaiety Theatre in 1869: he worked there for seventeen years under John Hollingshead's management, and then under George Edwardes until 1893. He composed music for many burlesques produced at the Gaiety, and composed and arranged music for the Christy's Minstrels. Lutz was a significant figure in the development of the modern musical.[1049]

MacKenzie, Sir Alexander Campbell (1847-1935)

MacKenzie was a prominent composer and conductor, whose music was extremely popular during his lifetime, and is today considered important within the context of the musical renaissance in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Britain. He was Principal of the Royal Academy of Music for thirty-six years, and conducted the Novello Choir, the Royal Choral Society and the Philharmonic

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1046 Merrill, 1998, p.207. This production is noted in Alan Summerley Cole, diary excerpts, 1872-1894, GUL LB 6/244-266; GUW 03432 (28 November 2005).

1047 W.H. Husk and George Biddlecombe, 'Lloyd, Edward', GMO (27 February 2006).

1048 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, 1892, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.

1049 Banfield, 2001, pp.392-93.

Society Orchestra. He was well respected within academia. His compositional output was considerable and included works for the stage, orchestral music, choral music and songs, chamber music and instrumental music. MacKenzie's Violin Concerto (1885) was commissioned by the Birmingham Festival and premiered by Sarasate (although it was originally offered to Joachim). He was knighted in 1895.[1050]

MacKenzie and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423). He was an Arts Club member from 1888 until 1915,[1051] and attended the farewell banquet for Phelps in 1889. Given that Sarasate was a mutual acquaintance, it is quite likely that it was Sir Alexander MacKenzie whose invitation Whistler replied to in early 1885. (The recipient of this letter has previously remained unidentified by the Centre for Whistler Studies.)[1052]

Manners, Charles (1857-1935)

Manners was an Irish bass and impresario. He sang with the D'Oyly Carte company from 1881, and created the role of Private Willis in Gilbert and Sullivan's *Iolanthe*. From 1887 he sang with the Carl Rosa company. From 1896 to 1897 he toured South Africa with his wife Fanny Moody, and together they formed the Moody-Manners Company. This lasted from 1898 to 1916. Manners was involved in the creation of the Glasgow Grand Opera Society.[1053]

In 1885, Manners visited Whistler's hotel room in Oxford, and sang for him, William Whistler and Sidney Starr.[1054]

Marchesi, Blanche (1863-1940)

Marchesi was a soprano. She made her professional debut in London in 1896, and sang with the Moody-Manners Opera Company for several seasons. She appeared with them at Covent Garden in 1902. Her mother, Mathilde Marchesi (1821-1913) was a renowned mezzo-soprano and singing teacher,

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1050 Barker, 2001, pp.500-501.
1051 Rogers, 1920, p.97.
1052 Whistler to MacKenzie, [January/February 1885?], Published; GUW 09226 (27 February 2006).
1053 Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe, 'Manners, Charles', GMO (27 February 2006).
1054 Starr, 1908, p.535.

whose pupils included Dame Nellie Melba. Her father Salvatore Marchesi was a baritone.[1055]

Blanche Marchesi purchased a number of Whistler's works.[1056]

Marx, Berthe (b.1859-??)

Following Jenny Lind's death, Otto Goldschmidt married Marx in 1894. She was a concert pianist and composer, who performed throughout Europe as a soloist, and with Sarasate.[1057] A letter from Beatrix to Helen Whistler just prior to the wedding offers an interesting insight into music politics in Paris at the time:

> We heard the other day that Sarasate is quite under the thumb of Goldschmidt and Madame Marx - in fact, she was the attraction. She is the illegitimate daughter of Lamoreau [sic], the man who runs the concerts here - The musical people here - all seem to think that Sarasate will gradually be worked out of it by Goldschmidt, who is supposed to be going to marry the lady.[1058]

Messager, André (1853-1929)

Messager was a French composer of opera and ballet, and of vocal and piano compositions. Initially a stage composer for the Folies-Bergère in the late 1870s, he went on to posts at the Opéra-Comique, the Paris Opera, and Covent Garden, and was conductor of the Conservatoire concert series. He promoted the music of his contemporaries Debussy, Charpentier and Massanet, and was well respected by his peers.[1059]

Messager and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423).

Montesquiou-Fezensac, Comte Robert de (1855-1921)

In 1892, Whistler attended concert and stage productions of Wagner's works in Paris, with the Symbolist writer, poet and collector Comte Robert de

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1055 Forbes, 2001, pp.822-23.

1056 See 'Blanche Marchesi, 1863-1940', biography, GUW (27 February 2006).

1057 Cohen, 1987, p.457.

1058 Beatrix Whistler to Helen Whistler, [15/22 April 1894?], GUL W619; GUW 06625 (22 March 2005). In footnote 11 of the GUW edition, 'Lamoreau' is identified as Charles Lamoureux (1834-1899), violinist and conductor, who conducted weekly concerts for the Société des Nouveaux-Concerts from 1881.

1059 John Wagstaff (with Andrew Lamb), 'Messager, André', GMO (27 February 2006).

Montesquiou-Fezensac. In January, Whistler wrote to his wife Beatrix that Montesquiou had booked them a box at the Paris Opéra for *Lohengrin*.[1060] Shortly afterwards, the invitation was repeated:

> Montesquiou says that I am to tell "ces dames" that still they must go to the Opéra and hear the Lohengrin - that it need be no occasion for grandes toilettes - for the box is a most retired one - a baignoire - you know - one of those very low boxes just down by the Orchestra - and that any little evening dress of black would do - only, of course, no bonnet -[1061]

In February, Montesquiou took Whistler to a daytime concert at the Vaudeville. Whistler expected to hear 'a whole hurrah of Wagner!' and expressed his distaste to Beatrix: 'And you know how I shall hate it! - and all because of this great black work that still is there - an eternal terror and reproach until it is done!'[1062]

Munro, Kate (1848-1887)

Munro was a comic actress and popular singer, who first appeared at the Gaiety Theatre in 1874. Whistler probably saw Munro perform in the Alhambra's production of Offenbach's *Le Voyage dans La Lune*, which he attended with Alan Cole in September 1876. (The *Times* lists a Miss K. Munroe amongst the singers involved in the show.)[1063] In 1883/84 Munro modelled for Whistler's watercolour *Red and Black* (M. 934).[1064]

Paderewski, Ignacy Jan (1860-1941)

Paderewski was a Polish pianist, composer and statesman. As a pianist he made his Paris debut in 1888, and thereafter toured America and Europe. He was an immensely popular performer.[1065]

1060 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [19 January 1892], GUL W600; GUW 06607 (8 April 2005).
1061 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [February 1892], GUL W598; GUW 06605 (4 December 2005).
1062 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [February 1892], GUL W598; GUW 06605 (4 December 2005).
1063 *Times*, Thursday 14 September 1876, Issue 28734, p.8, col.E; Alan Summerley Cole, diary, LC PWC 281/557-587; GUW 13132 (11 April 2005).
1064 MacDonald, 2003b, pp.146-47.
1065 Jim Samson, 'Paderewski, Ignacy Jan', GMO (27 February 2006).

Paderewski and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423), and attended a Garden Party together in 1892.[1066]

Parry, Sir (Charles) Hubert Hastings (1848-1918)

Parry was a composer and teacher. He wrote choral compositions, songs, chamber music, instrumental works, five scores of incidental music and one opera. He joined the staff of the Royal College of Music in 1883, and in 1894 he became its Director.[1067] Parry and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423).

Polignac, Edmond, Prince de (1834-1901)

It was probably in 1885 that Whistler first met Polignac, a composer of choral music, romances and operas, who had been a pupil of Reber. Polignac was visiting England in the company of Montesquiou-Fezensac, and the surgeon Dr. Samuel Pozzi.[1068] According to Edgar Munhill, Montesquiou and Whistler's first meeting occured at the Reform Club in July 1885, and thereafter Montesquiou, and presumably Polignac (who was afterwards given Whistler's correspondence details), visited Whistler's studio and dined with him.[1069] In 1889, Polignac was invited to the Criterion dinner,[1070] and then in early 1892 Whistler met with him in Paris, again in the company of Montesquiou. Whistler described the occasion to Beatrix:

> We cross the street to the Vaudeville - carriages and "good people" without end - and at last we are seated - I am placed behind the "ra-vi-sante" Grefhule - who is queen of the groupe - with Madame de Montebello on the one side and a Russian Princesse, who speaks to me in English, on the other! - The Prince de Polignac in front turns round and says most amiable things -[1071]

1066 'Key to the Garden Party', *World*, 1892, Whistler Presscuttings 1892-1897, CWS.
1067 Stephen Banfield, 'Parry, Hubert', GMO (27 February 2006).
1068 'Edmond Polignac, 1834-1901,' biography, GUW (28 November 2005).
1069 Munhall, 1995, pp.58, 60.
1070 Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL S281; GUW 05635 (6 April 2005).
1071 Whistler to Beatrix Whistler, [24 January 1892], GUL W599; GUW 06606 (6 April 2005).

It is quite possible that Polignac and Whistler maintained contact during the intervening years, and met on other occasions before the Whistlers returned to London in November 1894, given the vast amount of correspondence between Montesquiou and Whistler during this period.

A study of Polignac's 'La Danse du Serpent' from *Salambô*, indicates that Polignac was well versed in the avant-garde music of his day, and was perhaps influenced by Orientalism and Late Romanticism. The score, held in the British Library, is published in a collection entitled *La Danse: Le Gaulois a ses Abonnés* [1888], alongside works by prominent contemporary composers such as Gounod and Saint-Saëns, suggesting that Polignac enjoyed considerable success at this time.[1072]

Santley, Sir Charles (1834-1922)

Santley was an English baritone who studied in Italy. From the late 1850s he sang professionally in many concert and oratorio performances in London, and from 1859 to 1877 he sang for opera companies in London and Barcelona, and at La Scala. He toured America in 1872.[1073]

Santley and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423).

Shakespeare, William (1850-??)

Shakespeare was a Professor at the Royal Academy of Music, a member of the Arts Club from 1884 onwards, and a member of the Gallery Club during the 1880s.[1074] He was included in the invitations for the Criterion dinner for Whistler in 1889.[1075]

Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers (1852-1924)

Stanford was a composer, teacher and conductor. In 1883 he was appointed Professor of Composition and orchestral conductor at the Royal

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1072 Polignac, 1888.

1073 Harold Rosenthal and George Biddlecombe, 'Santley, Sir Charles', GMO (27 February 2006).

1074 Rogers, 1920, p.114; Gallery Club to Whistler, pamphlet, [1881/1885?], GUL G4; GUW 01638 (1 April 2005).

1075 Charles James Whistler Hanson to William Christian Symons, [January 1889?], GUL S281; GUW 05635 (1 April 2005).

College of Music, and in 1887 he was appointed Professor of Music at Cambridge. He was a prolific composer who worked across many genres. His music gained international respect, and many of his works were composed for and played by the most eminent virtuosi of the day. Many of his students also went on to become significant composers.[1076]

Stanford composed incidental music for Tennyson's drama *Queen Mary*, which was first performed at the Lyceum theatre in 1876. Whistler's oil painting *Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain* (YMSM 187) portrays Irving in the character he played in *Queen Mary*. Stanford and Whistler both contributed to the decoration of a lady's fan (see *Dancing girl, on a fan*, 1894/98, M. 1423).

[1076] Jeremy Dibble, 'Stanford, Sir Charles Villiers', GMO (27 February 2006).

Appendix Two

Oil Paintings

At the Piano, 1858-59, 67.0 x 90.5 cm. Ohio, Taft Museum. YMSM 24.

Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony, 1865, 61.4 x 48.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 56.

The Gold Scab, 1879, 186.7 x 139.7 cm. California, The Fine Arts Museum of San Francisco. YMSM 208. [The frame surrounding this painting was originally intended for *The Three Girls*, YMSM 88. It is inscribed with a short quotation from Schubert's *Moments musicaux* No. 3 in F minor, Op. 94.]

Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate, 1884. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute. YMSM 315.

The Violinist, *c.*1894, 78.7 x 53.3 cm. Ohio, Cleveland Museum of Art. YMSM 422.

Drawings

Musicians, 1849/51. Pencil on white laid paper, 6.5 x 5.6 cm. Private Collection. M. 46.

Sir Piercie Shafton Sings, *c.*1850. Pencil, pen and brown ink on beige paper, 13.8-14.3 x 15.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 66.

A Fiddler Playing, Men Dancing, *c.*1850/51. Pen and brown ink on cream wove paper, 12.4-12.6 x 16.0 cm. New York, Buffalo, Albright-Knox Art Gallery. M. 75.

Song of the Graduates, 1852. Drawing. Medium, support, size and whereabouts unknown. Lithographed sheet-music cover 34.0 x 26.5 cm. M. 108.

Jem Bugs, 1852/53. Pencil on beige paper, 9.5-9.7 x 5.3-5.7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 111.

A West Point Drummer, and sketches, 1852/53. Pen and brown ink on white paper, 16.5 x 9.5 cm. North Carolina, Private Collection. M. 122.

Man Playing a Mandolin, 1853/54. Pen and brown ink on beige paper, 6.0 x 5.2-5.4 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 158.

Man Playing a Guitar, *c.*1854. Pen and black ink on beige paper, top cut in semi-circle, 9.0 x 12.3 cm. M. 170.

Ross Winans Playing the Violin, *c.*1854. Pencil, pen, and dark brown ink, on beige paper, 18.2-18.4 x 13.7-14.7 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 194.

May 18th, 1855, 1855. Pencil, pen, and black ink on beige paper, 17.5 x 14.0-14.3 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 208.

Seymour Haden Playing the Cello, *c.*1855. Pencil, pen, and dark brown ink on beige wove paper, 18.4 x 10.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 209.

Woman playing the piano in *Passport*, p.17, 1855/63. Pencil on off-white wove paper. Glasgow University Library. M. 298.

Sketch for 'Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony', *c.*1864. Pencil, pen, and dark brown ink on white laid paper, 21.5 x 18.8 cm. M. 319.

A Woman Listening to a Musician, 1865/58. Chalk on brown paper laid down on card, 34.8 x 18.1-19.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 328.

At the Piano, 1873/75. Conté crayon on cream laid paper, 17.5 x 11.2 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. M. 538.

At the Piano, 1873/75. Conté crayon on white laid paper, 17.0 x 11.0 cm. Tennessee, Private Collection. M. 539.

Studies of two actors or actresses, one playing a banjo (v), 1878. Pen and dark brown ink on off-white laid paper, 13.7 x 11.3 cm. New York, Munson-Williams-Proctor Institute. M. 667.

'Thoughts at Sunrise' by Nita Moncrieff, 1880/81. Pen and ink, probably on white paper, 10.7 x 17.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 833. [M. 833 and M. 834 were illustrations to a song that had music by Nita Moncrieff (née Gaëtano) and words by 'Owen Meredith' (Edward Robert Bulwer Lytton).]

'Thoughts at Sunrise' by Nita Moncrieff, 1880/81. Pen and ink, probably on white paper, 11.7 x 17.1 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 834.

Sketch of 'Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate',

*c.*1885. Pen and blue ink on off-white wove paper, 15.5-15.7 x 8.7 cm. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. M. 998.

Sketch of 'Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate', 1885. Pen and dark brown ink on cream laid paper, 20.2 x 12.6 cm. Feld Family Collection. M. 999.

Room with a grand piano, and a china cabinet in *Sketchbook*, p.2, 1885/87. Pencil on cream wove paper, 9.5 x 14.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1001. [Possibly a design for Sarasate's music room in Paris.]

Two violin-shaped light sconces in *Sketchbook*, p.90, 1885/87. Pencil on cream wove paper, 9.5 x 14.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1001. [Designed for Sarasate's music room in Paris.]

Windows, a violin-shaped sconce, and three butterflies in *Sketchbook*, p.95, 1885/87. Pencil on cream wove paper, 9.5 x 14.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1001. [Possibly designs for Sarasate's music room in Paris.]

Man Conducting Music, *c.*1887. Pencil on off-white wove paper, 8.1 x 5.8 cm. M. 1156.

Harpsichord in *Sketchbook*, p.19, *c.*1893. Pencil on cream wove paper, 15.1 x 11.1 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1363.

Watercolours

Portrait of a young woman; studies of a mermaid; head of a bearded man in *St Petersburg Sketchbook*, p.27, 1844/48. Pencil, pastel, and watercolour on white wove paper, 14.2 x 20.4 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 7. [Includes a quotation from Weber's opera *Oberon*. However both the quotation and the study of the mermaid may have been contributed by C.S. Lidderdale.]

Lady Playing the Harp, 1849/51. Watercolour over pencil on white paper, 11.7 x 8.0 cm. Private Collection. M. 53.

Study for 'Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony', 1864/65. Watercolour and gouache on buff wove paper, 62.8 x 50.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 320.

Bravura in Brown, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 21.8 x

17.6 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 928.

Gold and Brown: The Guitar Player, *c.*1885. Watercolour on cream paper, 23.1 x 14.1 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 997.

Lady Playing the Piano, *c.*1888. Watercolour on white wove paper, 9.7 x 16.1 cm. England, Private Collection. M. 1190.

Pastel

Note in Blue and Opal, 1885/86. Pastel on brown paper, 27.7 x 18.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1080.

The Tambourine, 1900/02. Charcoal and pastel on brown paper, 27.3 x 18.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1628.

A Girl Kicking a Tambourine, 1900/02. Charcoal and pastel on brown paper, 27.6 x 17.9 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1629.

Etchings

The Music Room, 1858. 14.5 x 21.6 cm. K. 33. [Does not depict music-making, but is set in the Haden household.]

Becquet, 1859. 17.2 x 13.8 cm. K. 52.

Ross Winans, 1861? 24.9 x 20.1 cm. K. 88.

The Guitar Player, 1875. 27.5 x 17.5 cm. K. 140.

The Piano, *c.*1875. 23.4 x 15.8 cm. K. 141.

The Band: Luxembourg Gardens, *c.*1893. Etching plate. 18.0 x 15.2 cm. Unversity of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. [This might not have been printed.]

Lithographs

Engaged Man Sings... 'Dearest Wilt thou Then as now', 1855. 24.9 x 21.4 cm. C. 1.

The Little Café au Bois, 1894. 21.0 x 15.6 cm. C. 91. [A scene of an outdoor *café-chantant.*]

The Duet, No.2, 1894. 21.9 x 17.8 cm. C. 96.

The Duet, 1894. 24.6 x 16.5 cm. C. 104.

Appendix Three

Symphonies

The following works have a dubious history and were never exhibited:

Symphony in Silver and Grey, 1871/79? Oil on canvas, 43.2 x 79.9 cm. Whereabouts unknown. YMSM 146.

Symphony in Blue and White, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 146a.

Symphony in Grey and Gold, early 1880s. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 143.

A Symphony in Sand, date unknown. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 202.

The following works were exhibited as Symphonies during Whistler's lifetime:

Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl, 1864. Oil on canvas, 76.0 x 51.0 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 52.

Symphony in White, No. 3, 1865-67. Oil on canvas, 52.0 x 76.5 cm. University of Birmingham, Barber Institute of Fine Arts. YMSM 61.

Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean, 1866-72. Oil on canvas, 80.7 x 101.9 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 72.

The White Symphony: Three Girls, *c.*1867. Oil on millboard, 46.4 x 61.6 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 87.

Symphony in Blue and Pink, c.1868. Oil on millboard, 46.7 x 61.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 86.

Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland, 1871-74. Oil on canvas, 195.9 x 102.2 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 106.

The following works now entitled Symphony, were not exhibited as Symphonies during Whistler's lifetime:

Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl, 1862. Oil on canvas, 214.6 x 108.0 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art. YMSM 38.

Symphonie en argent et émeraude, 1865/68. Oil on canvas, 50.0 x 73.0 cm. Paris, Nat Leeb. YMSM 68.

Symphony in Green and Violet, *c.*1868. Oil on millboard, 61.9 x 45.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 83.

Symphony in White and Red, *c.*1868. Oil on millboard, 46.8 x 61.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 85.

Symphony in Grey: Early Morning, Thames, 1871. Oil on canvas, 45.7 x 67.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 98.

Harmonies

The following works were clearly entitled Harmony by Whistler:

Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room, 1860/61. Oil on canvas, 95.5 x 70.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 34.

Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville, 1865. Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 75.5 cm. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. YMSM 64.

Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red, *c.*1869. Oil on canvas, 38.7 x 35.5 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. YMSM 91.

Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander, 1872-73. Oil on canvas, 190.0 x 98.0 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 129.

Harmony in Grey and Peach Colour, 1872/74. Oil on canvas, 194.0 x 101.0 cm. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. YMSM 131.

Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Peacock Room, 1876-77. Oil paint and gold leaf on leather and wood, room 425.8 high x 398 long x 608.3 cm wide. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 178.

Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist, 1876-77. Oil on canvas, 217.8 x 109.5 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 190.

Harmony in Pink and Red, *c.*1876/78. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 192.

Harmony in Blue and Gold, 1878. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 197.

The Zattere; Harmony in Blue and Brown, 1879/80. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 30.0 x 20.3 cm. Terra Foundation for the Arts, Daniel J. Terra Collection. M. 774.

Harmony in Black and Red, 1880/82. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 236.

Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux, 1881-82. Oil on canvas, 193.7 x 93.0 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 229.

Harmony in violet and amber, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream paper, 25.0 x 16.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 906.

Harmony in violet and yellow, *c.*1884. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 880.

Harmony in Yellow and Brown: Sunday, 1884? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 248.

Harmony in Red: Lamplight, 1884. Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 89.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 253.

Harmony in Brown and Gold: Old Chelsea Church, *c.*1884. Oil on wood, 8.9 x 14.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 305.

Harmony in Blue and Pearl: The Sands, Dieppe, 1885. Oil on wood, 21.6 x 12.7 cm. Private collection. [Florida, Mrs C.R. Foulke?] YMSM 327.

Harmony in Opal and Violet, *c.*1885. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1075.

Harmony in Blue and Violet, 1885/88. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 27.5 x 17.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 1076.

Harmony in White and Ivory: Portrait of Lady Colin Campbell, 1886. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. Possibly destroyed. YMSM 354.

Harmony in Black, No. 10, 1886? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 357.

Harmony in flesh colour and blue, *c.*1886. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1082.

Harmony in violet and pink, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1092.

It is unclear whether Whistler intended the following works to be entitled Harmony:

Harmony in White and Blue, 1870s. Oil on canvas, 209.5 x 87.5 cm. Leeds City Art Gallery. YMSM 126.

Harmony in Gold and Brown, 1870/73. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 13.0 x 25.4 cm. Collection of R.M. Thune. M. 374.

Harmony in Flesh Colour and Black: Portrait of Mrs Louise Jopling, 1877. Oil on canvas, 192.5 x 90.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 191.

Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Butterfly Cabinet, 1877-78. Oil on mahogany with yellow tiling and brass mouldings and glass, 303.0 x 190.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 195.

Harmony in Blue: The Duet, *c.*1878. Oil on wood, 27.3 x 45.7 cm. Providence, Rhode Island School of Design, Museum of Art. YMSM 196.

Harmony in Coral and Blue: Miss Finch, 1881/87. Oil on canvas, 191.0 x 89.5 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 237.

Harmony in Fawn Colour and Purple: Portrait of Miss Milly Finch, 1881/87. Oil on canvas, 189.3 x 88.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 238.

Harmony in Blue and Violet: Miss Finch, 1881/87. Oil on canvas, 191.1 x 88.9 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 239.

Harmony in Brown: The Felt Hat, 1891. Oil on canvas, 191.3 x 89.9 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 395.

Harmony in Black: Portrait of Miss Ethel Philip, *c.*1894. Oil on canvas, 187.2 x 89.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 419.

Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl, 1894/1903. Oil on canvas, 74.7 x 50.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 421.

Harmony in Green and Amber: A Draped Study, 1896/1899. Oil on canvas, 51.1 x 38.3 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 488.

Harmony in Blue and Silver: Beaching the Boat, Etretat, 1897. Oil on wood. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. YMSM 483.

Harmony in Rose and Green: Carmen, *c.*1898. Oil on canvas, oval 57.8 x 44.5 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 507.

The following works were occasionally exhibited as Harmonies during Whistler's lifetime:

La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine, 1863-64. Oil on canvas, 199.9 x 116.0 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 50.

Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge, *c.*1865. Oil on canvas, 63.5 x 76.2 cm. Andover, MA, Addison Gallery of Art. YMSM 33.

Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony, 1865. Oil on wood, 61.4 x 48.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 56.

Sea and Rain, 1865. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 72.7 cm. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan, Museum of Art. YMSM 65.

Blue and Silver: Trouville, 1865. Oil on canvas, 59.1 x 72.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 66.

Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean, 1866. Oil on canvas, 80.7 x 101.9 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 72.

Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso, 1866. Oil on canvas, 58.4 x 75.5 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 73.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea, 1871. Oil on canvas, 50.0 x 59.3 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 103.

Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket, 1876. Oil on canvas, 194.0 x 92.7 cm. Massachusetts, Worcester Art Museum. YMSM 181.

Variations

Whistler exhibited the following works as Variations during his lifetime:

Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony, 1865. Oil on wood, 61.4 x 48.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 56.

Variations in Blue and Green, 1868. Oil on millboard, 46.9 x 61.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 84.

Variations in Violet and Green, 1871. Oil on canvas, 61.0 x 35.5 cm. Florida, Mrs C. R. Foulke. YMSM 104.

Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea, 1871/72. Oil on canvas, 62.7 x 40.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 105.

Variations in Violet, 1884? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 301.

Variations in violet and grey – Market Place, Dieppe, 1885. Watercolour on white paper, 21.0 x 12.1 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 1024.

Variations in violet and rose, 1885/86. Pastel on brown paper, 25.8-26.1 x 17.3-17.9 cm. VT, Shelburne Museum. M. 1079.

The following works were occasionally exhibited as Variations during Whistler's lifetime:

Harmony in Gold and Brown, 1870/73. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 13.0 x 25.4 cm. Collection of R.M. Thune. M. 374.

Harmony in violet and amber, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream paper, 25.0 x 16.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 906.

Nocturnes

The following works were clearly entitled Nocturne by Whistler:

Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay, 1866. Oil on canvas, 75.6 x 50.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 76.

Nocturne in Grey and Gold, 1870s. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 155.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Battersea Reach, 1870/75. Oil on canvas, 49.9 x 76.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 119.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea, 1871. Oil on canvas, 50.0 x 59.3 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 103.

Nocturne in Blue and Silver, 1871/72. Oil on canvas, 44.4 x 60.3 cm. Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. YMSM 113.

Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Southampton Water, 1871/72. Oil on canvas, 50.5 x 76.3 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. YMSM 117.

Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Westminster Bridge, 1871/1872. Oil on canvas, 47.0 x 62.3 cm. Glasgow, Burrell Collection. YMSM 145.

Nocturne: Battersea, 1871/73. Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 106.5 cm. U.S.A., Private Collection. YMSM 120.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Bognor, 1871/76. Oil on canvas, 50.3 x 86.2 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 100.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights, 1872. Oil on canvas, 50.2 x 74.9 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 115.

Nocturne in Blue and Silver, 1872. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 118.

Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge, 1872/75. Oil on canvas, 66.6 x 50.2 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 140.

Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Battersea Reach, *c.*1872/78. Oil on canvas, 39.4 x 62.9 cm. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. YMSM 152.

Nocturne, 1872/78. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 76.8 cm. Washington, D.C., White House Collection. YMSM 153.

Nocturne: Grey and Silver, 1873/75. Oil on canvas, 31.1 x 51.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. YMSM 156.

Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel, 1875. Oil on canvas, 53.5 x 75.5 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 169.

Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket, 1875. Oil on wood, 60.3 x 46.6 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts. YMSM 170.

Nocturne: Trafalger Square – Snow, *c.*1875/77. Oil on canvas, 47.2 x 62.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 173.

Nocturne in Black and Gold, 1876? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 167.

Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Chelsea Snow, 1876. Oil on canvas, 47.2 x 62.5 cm. Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. YMSM 174.

Nocturne: Black and Gold – Rag Shop, Chelsea, c.1876. Oil on canvas, 36.2 x 50.8 cm. Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. YMSM 204.

Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water, 1876-77. Oil on canvas, 47.6 x 63.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 179.

Nocturne in Blue and Gold, 1878? Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 154.

Nocturne, 1878. Lithotint, 17.3 x 26.5 cm. C. 8.

Nocturne: Grey and Silver – Chelsea Embankment, Winter, 1879. Oil on canvas, 62.6 x 47.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 205.

Nocturne: Blue and Gold – St Mark's, Venice, 1879/80. Oil on canvas, 44.5 x 59.7 cm. Cardiff, National Museum of Wales. YMSM 213.

Nocturne, 1879/80. Etching, 20.1 x 29.3 cm. K. 184.

Nocturne: Palaces, 1879/80. Etching, 29.6 x 20.1 cm. K. 202.

Nocturne: Furnace, 1879/80. Etching, 16.8 x 23.2 cm. K. 213.

Nocturne: Shipping, 1879/80. Etching, 15.4 x 22.0 cm. K. 223.

Nocturne: Salute, 1879/80. Etching, 15.3 x 22.5 cm. K. 226.

Nocturne - The Riva, 1880. Pastel on brown paper, 20.3 x 30.1 cm. New York, The Frick Collection. M. 799.

Nocturne - San Giorgio, 1880. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 20.2 x 29.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 803.

Nocturne: Silver and Opal – Chelsea, early 1880s. Oil on wood, 20.3 x 25.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 309.

Nocturne in grey and gold – Piccadilly, 1881/83. Watercolour on white wove paper, 22.2 x 29.2 cm. Dublin, National Gallery of Ireland. M. 862.

Grand Canal, Amsterdam; Nocturne, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 22.6 x 28.4 cm. M. 944.

Nocturne; grey and gold – Canal; Holland, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 29.0-29.3 x 23.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 945.

Nocturne; black and red – Back Canal, Holland, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 21.9-22.1 x 28.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 946.

Nocturne in Grey and Gold: Chelsea Fish Shop, 1885. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 336.

Nocturne: Dance House, 1889. Etching, 27.1 x 16.8 cm. K. 408.

Little Nocturne, Amsterdam, 1889. Etching, 13.4 x 9.8 cm. K. 414.

It is uncertain whether Whistler intended the following works to be entitled Nocturne:

Nocturne: The Solent, 1866. Oil on canvas, 50.2 x 91.5 cm. Oklahoma, Gilcrease Institute of American History and Art. YMSM 71.

Nocturne: Westminster – Grey and Gold, 1870/75. Oil on canvas, 27.9 x 46.4 cm. U.S.A., Elliot L. Jones Trust. YMSM 144.

Nocturne, *c.*1871. Oil on canvas, 47.6 x 76.2 cm. Indiana, Indianapolis Museum of Art. YMSM 114.

Nocturne in Grey and Gold, 1871/72. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 116.

Nocturne in Blue and Gold, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 141.

Nocturne en gris et or, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 142.

Nocturne en gris et or, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 147.

Nocturne in Blue and Silver, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 148.

Nocturne en bleu et argent, 1871/79? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 149.

Nocturne: Battersea Bridge, 1872/73. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 18.1-18.3 x 28.0 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 484.

Nocturne: Cremorne Gardens, No. 3, *c.*1872/77. Oil on canvas, 44.9 x 63.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 165.

Nocturne in Blue and Silver, *c.*1872/78. Oil on canvas, 44.4 x 61.0 cm. U.S.A., Private Collection. YMSM 151.

Nocturne: Battersea Reach, *c.*1874. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 160.

Nocturne, 1874/78. Chalk on brown paper, 27.9 x 18.4 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 570.

Nocturne, *c*.1875/77. Oil on canvas, 55.5 x 39.4 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. YMSM 172.

Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Gardens, 1876. Oil on canvas, 63.8 x 77.2 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 166.

Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice, 1879/80. Oil on canvas, 51.0 x 66.0 cm. Boston, Museum of Fine Arts. YMSM 212.

Nocturne: Venice, 1879/80. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 217.

Nocturne of the Giudecca, Venice, 1880. Oil on wood. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 219.

Riva, Nocturne, 1880? Chalk on white wove paper, 19.7 x 30.2 cm. New York, Private collection. M. 800.

Nocturne: ships and gondolas, Venice, 1880. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 20.0 x 29.9 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 801.

Nocturne: Chelsea, *c*.1881. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 235.

Nocturne: Chelsea, *c*.1881. Pen and brown ink on off-white laid paper, 11.5 x 12.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 860.

Nocturne, *c*.1883. Watercolour on beige wove paper, 22.7 x 28.4 cm. London, British Museum. M. 943.

Nocturne: Chelsea Embankment, 1883/84. Pen, brown ink, and wash on cream wove paper, 6.4 x 13.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 911.

Nocturne - Chelsea Shop, 1883/85. Pen, ink and wash on paper, 8.1-8.4 x 9.6-10.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 948.

Nocturne, 1883/88. Pen, ink, and wash on white wove paper, 18.9 x 7.6 cm. Private collection. M. 912.

Nocturne, 1886? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 171.

Nocturne: Bleu et or, *c*.1897? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 150.

The following works were probably exhibited as Nocturnes on occasion during Whistler's lifetime:

Cremorne, No. 1, 1872/75. Oil on canvas, 49.5 x 76.2 cm. Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University. YMSM 163.

*Blue and Gold: Channel, c.*1874. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 159.

Amsterdam in Winter, 1882. Watercolour on cream paper, 20.4 x 27.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 877.

Arrangements

The following works were entitled Arrangement by Whistler:

Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F.R. Leyland, 1870/73. Oil on canvas, 192.8 x 91.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 97.

Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother, 1871. Oil on canvas, 144.3 x 162.5 cm. Paris, Musée d'Orsay. YMSM 101.

Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter, 1872. Oil on canvas, 74.9 x 53.3 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts. YMSM 122.

Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle, 1872/73. Oil on canvas, 171.0 x 143.5 cm. Glasgow, City Art Gallery. YMSM 137.

Arrangement in Black, No. 2: Portrait of Mrs Louis Huth, 1872/74. Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 99.0 cm. Viscount Cowdray. YMSM 125.

Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket, 1876. Oil on canvas, 194.0 x 92.7 cm. Massachusetts, Worcestor Art Museum. YMSM 181.

Arrangement in Yellow and Grey: Effie Deans, 1876. Oil on canvas, 194.0 x 93.0 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. YMSM 183. [This painting was not exhibited, but c.1881 Whistler inscribed a photograph of the painting as 'Arrangement in Grey & Yellow'.]

*Arrangement in White and Black, c.*1876. Oil on canvas, 191.4 x 90.9 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 185.

Arrangement in Blue and Green, 1876? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 193.

Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder, 1876-78. Oil on canvas, 192.4 x 92.4 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 203.

Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain, 1876-85. Oil on canvas, 215.2 x 108.6 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 187.

Arrangement in Brown, 1877? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 182.

Arrangement in Black: Girl Reading, 1879/1881. Oil on wood, 30.5 x 22.9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 223.

Arrangement in Black: Reading, early 1880s. Oil on wood, 24.7 x 19.2 cm. New Orleans, Charles Kohlmeyer. YMSM 224.

Arrangement in Yellow: Portrait of Lily Langtry, 1881. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 227. [Whistler referred to the intended portrait as 'an arrangement in yellow'.]

Arrangement in Black: Lady Meux, 1881. Oil on canvas, 194.2 x 130.2 cm. Hawaii, Honolulu Academy of Arts. YMSM 228. [This painting was not exhibited as an 'Arrangement', but Whistler did inscribe a related drawing as 'Arrangement in Black – No. 3'.]

Arrangement in Black – No. 3, 1881. Pencil, pen, and brown ink on off-white laid paper, 17.7 x 11.2 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art. M. 851. [This is a study for the oil portrait *Arrangement in Black: Lady Meux* (YMSM 228). Whistler inscribed it with its title.]

Arrangement in Black: La Dame au brodequin jaune – Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell, 1882. Oil on canvas, 213.3 x 109.2 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art. YMSM 242.

Arrangement in Black, No. 8: Portrait of Mrs Cassatt, 1883-85. Oil on canvas, 191.1 x 90.8 cm. Pennsylvania, Mrs John B. Thayer. YMSM 250.

Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate, 1884. Oil on canvas, 217.0 x 111.7 cm. Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute. YMSM 315.

Arrangement in grey: Portrait of Master Stephen Manuel, *c.*1885. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 38.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 321.

Arrangement in blue and silver – The Great Sea, *c.*1885. Watercolour on white paper, 17.6 x 25.3 cm. California, Private collection. M. 1043.

Arrangement in Violet and Pink: Mrs Walter Sickert, 1885/86. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown (probably destroyed). YMSM 337.

Arrangement in Red and Black, 1886? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 346.

Arrangement in Grey and Green: Portrait of J.J. Cowan, 1893-97. Oil on canvas, 94.0 x 50.2 cm. Edinburgh, National Gallery of Scotland. YMSM 402. [In 1893 Whistler acknowledged receipt of a cheque for this 'Arrangement'.]

Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Brown: Portrait of Arthur J. Eddy, 1894. Oil on canvas, 209.9 x 92.4 cm. Art Institute of Chicago. YMSM 425. [This painting was not exhibited, but the title is inscribed in Whistler's hand on the back of the canvas.]

It is unclear whether Whistler intended the following works to be entitled Arrangements:

Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey: The Chinese Screen, 1864/68. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 30.5 cm. Northumberland, Lady Allendale. YMSM 51. [The authenticity of this painting is questionable. A photograph of it has the title inscribed in Joseph Pennell's hand.]

Arrangement in White and Black, 1878. Pen and ink. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 691. [This pen and ink sketch of the oil painting *A Portrait: Maud* (YMSM 186) was reproduced in *Grosvenor Notes* (May 1878) as *Arrangement in White and Black.*]

Arrangement en couleur chair et noir: Portrait de Théodore Duret, 1883/84. Oil on canvas, 193.4 x 90.8 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 252.

Arrangement in black and gold, 1883/85. Watercolour on cream paper, 25.2 x 17.5 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 932.

Arrangement in Pink, Red and Purple, 1885. Oil on wood, 30.5 x 22.8 cm. Ohio, Cincinnati Art Museum. YMSM 324.

Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac, 1891-92. Oil on canvas, 208.6 x 91.8 cm. New York, Frick Collection. YMSM 398.

The following works were occasionally referred to by Whistler, or exhibited during his lifetime, as Arrangements:

La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine, 1864. Oil on canvas, 199.9 x 116.0 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 50.

Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean, 1866. Oil on canvas, 80.7 x 101.9 cm. YMSM 72. [About 1881, a photograph of this painting was inscribed by Whistler 'Arrangement in Grey & Green – The Pacific'.]

Portrait of Miss Florence Leyland, 1871 or 1876/77. Oil on canvas, 190.5 x 91.4 cm. Maine, Portland Art Museum. YMSM 107. [About 1881, Whistler inscribed a photo of the painting as ' "Arrangement in Grey & Black" No. 2'.]

Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander, 1872/73. Oil on canvas, 190.0 x 98.0 cm. London, Tate Gallery. YMSM 129.

Harmony in Grey and Peach Colour, 1872/74. Oil on canvas, 194.0 x 101.0 cm. Massachusetts, Fogg Art Museum. YMSM 131.

Harmony in Black and Red, 1880/82. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 236.

Black and red, 1883/84. Watercolour on white laid paper, 22.8 x 15.9 cm. Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art. M. 936.

Harmony in Black, No. 10, 1886? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 357.

Design for a Mosaic, 1888/91. Pastel on brown paper, 28.0 x 17.5 cm. Private collection. M. 1226. [This was sold at auction in 1892 as 'An Arrangement in Lemon and Turquoise', but it is not clear whether Whistler himself referred to it as an Arrangement.]

Notes

The following works were clearly entitled Note by Whistler:

Note in flesh-colour gold – The Golden Blossom, 1871/73. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 28.0 x 14.1 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 402.

Grey Note, *c*.1872. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 472.

Note in Violet and Green, 1872/74? Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 27.6 x 16.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 1074.

Note in flesh-colour and red, 1879/80. Pastel on brown paper. Size and whereabouts unknown. M. 768.

A Red Note, 1879/80. Pastel on brown or grey paper, size unknown, *c*. 30.0 x 17.0 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 776.

The Staircase; note in red, 1880. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 28.7 x 20.2 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 782.

Note in Pink and Brown, 1880. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 29.8 x 18.4 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. M. 787.

The Giudecca: note in flesh colour, 1880. Chalk and pastel on grey wove paper, 15.9 x 25.2 cm. Amherst, MA, Amherst College, The Mead Art Museum. M. 817.

Note in Blue and Opal: Jersey, 1881. Watercolour on cream paper, 13.7 x 25.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 857.

Note in Red: The Siesta, *c*.1882/83. Oil on wood, 21.6 x 30.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown. YMSM 254.

Pink note – The Novelette, 1883/84. Watercolour on white wove paper, 25.2 x 15.4 cm. Washington, D.C, Freer Gallery of Art. M. 900.

Pink note – Shelling Peas, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 24.2-24.4 x 14.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 925.

Note in Grey: Holland, 1883/84. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 299.

Note in Red and Violet: Nets, 1884. Oil on wood, 12.2 x 21.5 cm. U.S.A., Private Collection. YMSM 269.

Note in Blue and Opal: The Sun Cloud, 1884. Oil on wood, 12.4 x 21.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 271.

Note in Green and Brown: Orlando at Coombe, 1884. Oil on wood, 14.8 x 9.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. YMSM 317.

Note in violet and flesh colour, *c.*1884. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 956.

A Little Red Note: Dordrecht, *c.*1884. Watercolour on cream paper, 12.6 x 21.5 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 969.

Note in Rose and Silver – Dordrecht, *c.*1884. Watercolour on white paper, 20.9 x 12.4 cm. New York, Private collection. M. 970.

Note in Green: Wortley, *c.*1884. Oil on wood, 13.5 x 23.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 303.

Note in Blue and Green, 1885? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 307.

Note in Green and Violet, *c.*1885. Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 341.

Note in Blue and Green, *c.*1885. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1021.

Note in Flesh Colour and Grey: Portrait of Miss Dorothy Menpes, 1885-86? Oil on wood, 25.4 x 15.2 cm. Kent, Michael Tree. YMSM 260.

An Orange Note – Booths, Paris, 1885/86. Watercolour on cream paper, 12.7 x 21.7 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1014.

The Violet Note, 1885/86. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 26.0 x 18.0 cm. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. M. 1081.

Note in Gold and Blue: France, 1886? Oil. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 344.

Note in grey and green – St Ives, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 920.

Note in green – The Garden Laundry, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1007.

Little red note – Place des Enfers, Dieppe, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1029.

Note in red and blue – Dieppe, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1032.

A grey note – Off Dover, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1050.

Note in grey – English Coast, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1052.

Note in blue and green – Sea and Wind, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1055.

Grey note – The Surly Sea, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1056.

Note in flesh colour and orange, *c.*1886. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1087.

Note in flesh colour and red, *c.*1886. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1088.

A yellow note – Flowers, *c.*1886. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1108.

Note in Yellow and Gold: Mrs Gardner, 1886. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 26.5 x 14.1 cm. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. M. 1116.

The Fortune Teller – a red note, 1886/90. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 27.9 x 18.4 cm. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. M. 1083. [Listed with this title by Beatrix Whistler between 1888 and 1892.]

A Red Note: Fête on the Sands, Ostend, 1887. Oil on wood, 13.7 x 23.5 cm. Massachusetts, Mrs J.B. Swann. YMSM 366.

A Pink Note, *c.*1887. Watercolour. Support, size, and whereabouts unknown. M. 1093.

A Grey Note – Flags, Portsmouth, *c.*1887. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1139.

A Grey Note, *c.*1887. Watercolour. Size, support and whereabouts unknown. M. 1140.

A Pink Note, *c.*1888. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1205.

A Violet Note, *c.*1889. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1200.

A Red Note, *c.*1889. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1206.

Crimson note: Carmen, *c.*1895. Oil on canvas, 50.8 x 30.5 cm. Connecticut, Hill-Stead Museum, Farmington. YMSM 441.

It is unclear whether Whistler intended the following works to be entitled Note:

A White Note, 1861. Oil on canvas, 36.8 x 31.8 cm. Connecticut, Mrs C.H. Upson, Middlebury. YMSM 44.

A Yellow Note, 1871/74. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 28.0 x 18.5-18.8 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 418.

Sunset note, 1879/80. Pastel, support unknown, 28.8 x 18.6 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 747.

Convalescent or *Petit Déjeuner; note in opal*, 1883/84. Watercolour on white paper, 24.5 x 17.1 cm. Great Britain, Private collection. M. 903.

Note in black and grey, 1883/84. Watercolour on white paper, 21.5 x 12.7 cm. Cambridge, MA, Harvard University, Fogg Art Museum. M. 931.

Note in pink and purple, 1883/84. Watercolour on white laid paper, 24.8 x 15.8 cm. Cincinnati Art Museum. M. 935.

A Note in Green, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 25.0 x 17.4 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 905.

Note en gris: Dordrecht, *c.*1883-87. Oil or watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 293 and M. 974

Note en rouge: L'Eventail, *c.*1884. Oil on wood, 8.8 x 14.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 256.

A Grey Note: Village Street, 1884. Oil on wood, 12.5 x 21.5 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Museum and Art Gallery. YMSM 265.

Note in grey and silver – Oyster Fleet, 1884/85. Watercolour on off-white paper, 11.9 x 20.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 961.

Note in Grey and Green – Holland, 1884/85. Watercolour on off-white paper, 12.7 x 21.6 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 963.

Note in opal – The Sands, Dieppe, *c.*1885. Watercolour on white paper, 20.6 x 14.3 cm. USA, Private Collection. M. 1033.

Grey note – Mouth of the Thames, *c.*1885. Watercolour on brown paper, 12.7 x 21.5 cm. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. M. 1046.

Note in Blue and Opal, 1885/86. Pastel on brown paper, 27.7 x 18.0 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 1080.

Stimmung in Blau und Silber: Havre, *c.*1888. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 986.

Stimmung in grau und gold, *c.*1888. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1171.

Note rouge, 1892? Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1320.

Note en violet – La Lettre, *c.*1901. Pastel. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1702.

A Grey Note, 1903? Body-colour, probably on paper, 15.2 x 26.9 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 1047.

The following oil paintings were probably exhibited as Notes in 1887:

Arrangement in Black: Girl Reading, 1879/81. Oil on wood, 30.5 x 22.9 cm. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. YMSM 223.

Arrangement in Black: Reading, early 1880s. Oil on wood, 24.7 x 19.2 cm. New Orleans, Charles Kohlmeyer. YMSM 224.

Red and Pink: La Petite Mephisto, *c.*1884. Oil on wood, 25.4 x 20.3 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 255.

Blue and Orange: Sweet Shop, 1884. Oil on wood, 12.0 x 21.0 cm. Boston, Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum. YMSM 263.

The following works were probably entitled Notes on occasion during Whistler's lifetime:

Rose and Silver, 1869. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 28.0 x 14.1 cm. University of Glasgow, Hunterian Art Gallery. M. 356.

Study in Grey and Pink, 1872/74. Chalk and pastel on brown paper, 21.4 x 13.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 470.

Erith – Evening, 1883/84. Watercolour on beige paper, 14.4-14.6 x 24.0 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 884.

Violet and red, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 30.3 x 22.6 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 898.

Grey and Silver – Liverpool, 1883/85. Watercolour on off-white paper, 14.9 x 27.1 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 913.

Sun and Silver – La Petite Crémerie, Paris, *c.*1886. Watercolour, probably on paper, 20.3 x 12.0 cm. Whereabouts unknown. M. 1015.

Scherzo, Bravuras, and Caprices

Scherzo in Blue: The Blue Girl, *c.*1882. Oil on canvas. Size and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 226.

Bravura in brown, 1883/84. Watercolour on cream wove paper, 21.8 x 17.6 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. M. 928.

Bravura in Brown, *c.*1884. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 929.

Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen, 1864. Oil on wood, 50.2 x 68.7 cm. Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art. YMSM 60.

Caprice in Red, *c.*1884. Oil. Size, support and whereabouts unknown. YMSM 257.

Caprice in blue and silver – Dieppe, *c.*1885. Watercolour on white paper, 20.9 x 11.9 cm. Private collection. M. 1034.

Caprice in Red, *c.*1885. Watercolour. Support, size and whereabouts unknown. M. 1067.

Works Cited

ABBREVIATIONS

BBHC: Buffalo Bill Historical Center, 2004, <http://www.bbhc.org>

C: Nesta R. Spink, Harriet K. Stratis, Martha Tedeschi, Britt Salvesen (catalogue entries); and Katharine A. Lochnan (essays); *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler: A Catalogue Raisonné*, 2 vols, Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago in association with the Arie and Ida Crown Memorial; New York: Hudson Hills Press, 1998.

CWS: University of Glasgow, Centre for Whistler Studies.

FGA: Washington, D.C., Freer Gallery of Art, Archives.

GAO: *Grove Art Online*, Oxford University Press, <http://www.groveart.com/>

GMO: *Grove Music Online*, ed. L. Macy, <http://www.grovemusic.com>

GUL: University of Glasgow, Whistler Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library.

GUW: *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*, 1855-1903, eds. Margaret MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort, and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855-1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari, On-line edition, Centre for Whistler Studies, University of Glasgow, 2003, <www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence>

K: Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler*, New York: The Grolier Club, 1910. Reprinted San Francisco, 1978.

LC PWC: Washington, D.C., Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection.

M: Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995.

NAL: London, Victoria and Albert Museum, National Art Library.

Oxford DNB: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004-2005, <http://www.oxforddnb.com>

PUL: Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections.

TCL: Cambridge, UK, Trinity College Library.

TM: London, Theatre Museum.

YMSM: Andrew Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980.

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