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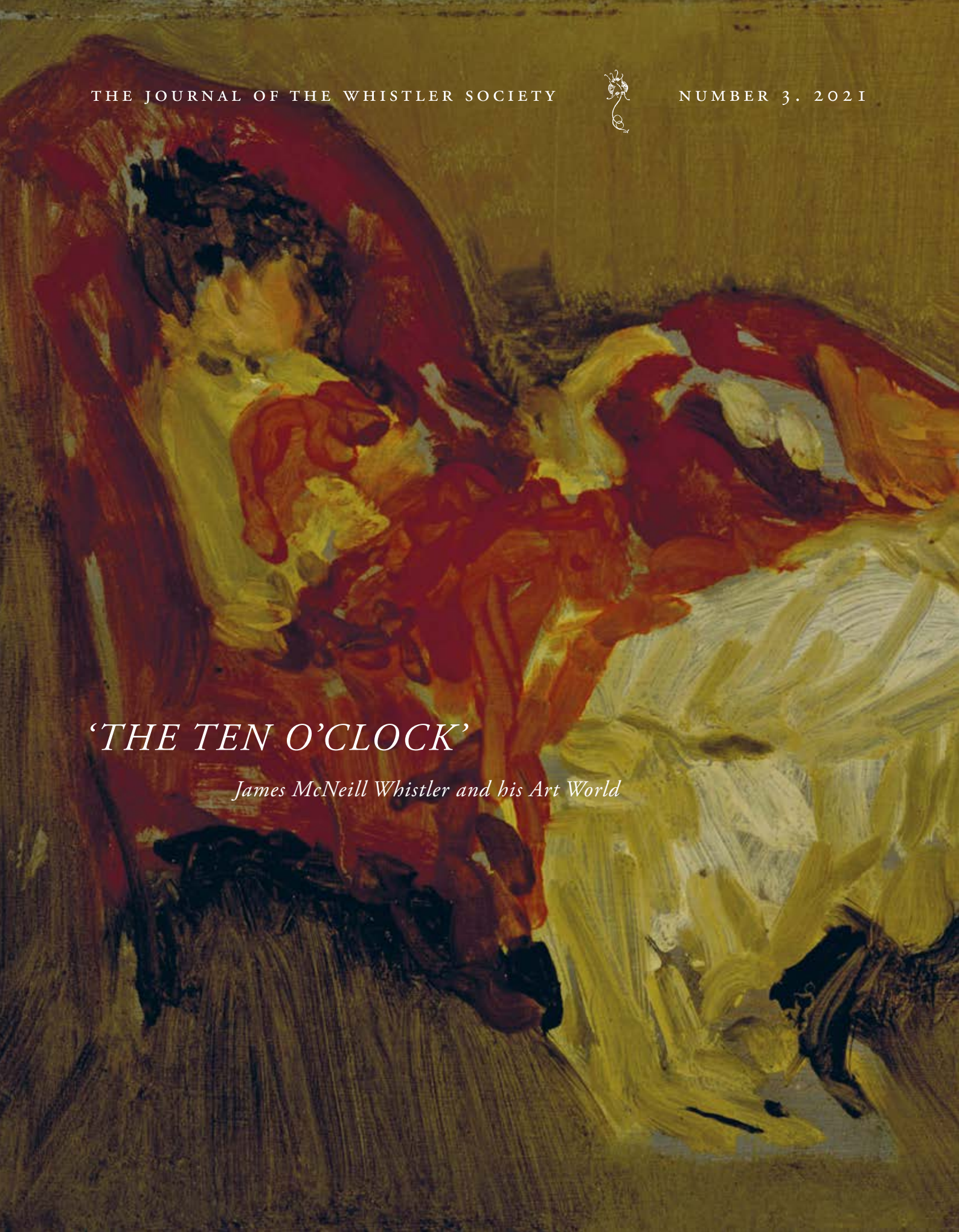

'THE TEN O'CLOCK'

James McNeill Whistler and his Art World

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The Whistler Society
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[cover]
Note in Red: The Siesta, 1883/84.
Oil on wood, 21.1 x 30.5 cm.
Terra Foundation for American Art,
Art Institute of Chicago.
Exhibited: Munich, 1888.

[front endpaper]
The Giudecca; note in flesh colour, 1880.
Chalk and pastel on paper, 15.9 x 25.2 cm.
Mead Art Museum, Amherst
College, Amherst.

[title page]
Paul César Helleu, (1859–1927),
Portrait of Whistler, 1897.
Drypoint, 34.7 × 26.1 cm.
Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven.

[rear endpaper]
The Sisters, 1894.
Lithograph, 15 × 23.6 cm.
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Violet and Red, 1883/84.
Watercolour on paper, 30.3 x 22.6 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian
Institution, Washington, DC.

INTRODUCTION

Martin Riley
Chairman, Whistler Society

The third volume of the Whistler Society's journal 'The Ten O'Clock', focuses on Whistler, the 'International Artist' covering the later part of his career from the 1880s.

In particular this volume looks at Whistler and his connection with Paris and Brussels, and includes illustrations of seven of his paintings that were exhibited in Europe between 1884 and 1899. An essay tells the story of Whistler's close friendship with the French poet and critic Stéphane Mallarmé who was commissioned to translate Whistler's 'Ten O'Clock' lecture into French. Whistler's legacy is celebrated in essays on missing paintings in the University of Glasgow's Online Paintings Catalogue Raisonné, and on the criticism of Whistler that will be documented in the forthcoming online resource of the Centre for Whistler Criticism. Both online resources will be formidably important for future Whistler studies, and the appreciation and understanding of the painter. There is a review of the online catalogue raisonné, and another of a recent exhibition.

Finally, an appendix includes, for the first time in translation, the complete exchange of correspondence between Whistler and Mallarmé concerning the translation of the 'Ten O'Clock' lecture in French.

Grand Canal, Amsterdam; Nocturne, 1883/84. Watercolour on paper, 22.6 x 28.4 cm. Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

A Chelsea Street,1883/86.
Watercolour on paper, 12.6 x 21.7 cm.
Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center
for British Art, New Haven, CT.

Whistler's new 'game' of 1884

JANE COMBS AND THOMAS COOPER

After his post-trial recuperation in Venice, Whistler returned to London in November 1880. In the following years he travelled around England's southern coasts, making quick studies of coastal scenes and seaside towns such as St Ives in Cornwall and Southend-on-Sea, Essex. Back in London, he returned to his old haunts of Chelsea, especially along the Embankment and Cheyne Walk. Something about these familiar surroundings must have changed, or changed *within* Whistler. From 1883 he looked anew at the old streets and shops of Chelsea and painted them with a distinct and fresh approach. Small yet mighty, these urban scenes are filled with light and colour. Nowhere else do we see a pink so strikingly vivid as in *A Chelsea Street*, 1883/86 (Paul Mellon Collection, Yale Center for British Art, New Haven, CT). In 1884 Whistler showed these works in a solo exhibition, *'Notes' - 'Harmonies' - 'Nocturnes'*, at Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, New Bond Street. In the first weeks of May that year he wrote to the artist Mortimer Menpes asking if he would visit on his way to town: 'In case you manage this, pass by the Embankment, if quite early, I shall be at the 'shop' game - & then on to studio'. He was making these works just days before the exhibition opening on 17 May.

For all their freshness, the Chelsea streets and shopfronts pursue themes which had concerned Whistler since the 1850s; representing everyday commerce, sordid back streets and areas of poverty, while seeking within them a picturesque beauty. In 1890, the artist Walter Sickert wrote, 'Suppose that a thousand years hence the pictures painted to-day are discovered hidden away … Whistler's Chelsea Shops will tell the discoverers exactly what London was like at the end of the nineteenth century.' We can see these works as portraits of social history, yet their contemporary criticism in the mid-1880s reveals that social record was not the primary aim of these works. Critics overwhelmingly praised their 'vivacity, delicacy and refinement' and 'perfect harmony', and they were commended for 'the picturesque, of drabs, yellows, dirty bricks, and drooping plaster' of colour. Singled out were the studies of Chelsea's streets, such as *Street in Old Chelsea*, 1883/84 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), in Cheyne Walk, a street 'full of humorous character and truth.' The 'exquisite' *An Orange Note - Sweet Shop,* 1884 (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC), of St Ives, was especially admired. It left no sense of incompleteness, but an impression of a scene 'wrought by an artist who has

[*left*]
Street in Old Chelsea, 1884.
Oil on wood, 13.33 x 22.86 cm.
Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

The scene includes Maunder's Fish Shop (painted white), and the shops of a tailor, a boot-maker, a chimney sweep, and a plumber. Mrs Elizabeth Maunder's fish-shop was at 72 Cheyne Walk, Chelsea, London. The building was demolished in 1892.

[*bottom left*]
Fish-Shop, Chelsea, 1886.
Etching. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

Shows virtually the same scene as the oil, though, in reverse.

[*below*]
Maunder's Fish Shop, Chelsea, 1890.
Lithograph. British Museum.

Shows a sign saying 'To Be SOLD'.

learnt how to see.' It was felt that Whistler presented a new body of work, observed through a new perception and captured with an earnest and delicate brush. The critic Frederick Wedmore wrote in *The Academy*: 'when Mr. Whistler speaks it is because there is something fresh to be said; a new pretty thing has been seen, or has been seen newly, and clamours to be recorded.' That 'thing' might be 'the pile of oranges in the shadowed window of a Chelsea sweet shop, or the ill-clad grace of some draggled hussy of the slums, or the passage of light across a five o'clock tea table.'

Novel perceptions do not come without trial, error or risk; equally they come with playful experimentation. A number of reviews critiqued the lack of apparent labour of the works and many regarded them as 'slight and rapid memoranda' unsuitable for exhibition. In these works Whistler adopts a uniform frontal viewpoint and horizontal support, but his approach to capturing what he sees tests differing possibilities. Greengrocers and fish shops are repeated as he shifts his view across multiple scenes in oil, watercolour and etching. Attention is paid to flattening planes, to the play of light and pattern on surface, and to how these are disrupted by an entryway or shadowed porch. Whistler is interested in the threshold between flatness and depth, between bright sunlight and deep shadow. As described to Menpes, this approach was for Whistler a 'game' in which the artist tested out new subjects and fresh ways of seeing. But what was the object of his game?

Local history was not a concern for Whistler. On a painting trip to Cornwall, Menpes remembered how moved he was at the sight of an ancient parish church, to which Whistler replied: 'We are here at St. Ives to study; to paint shops and seas and skies: we don't want sickly sentiment. Leave that to the minor poet'. The next year, in 1885, Whistler clarified these thoughts publicly in his Ten O'Clock Lecture. He disliked it when 'sentiment is mistaken for poetry', wishing instead that critics notice the 'painter's poetry … that shall have put form and colour into such perfect harmony.' For Whistler, the appeal of a subject lay in visual qualities alone. He thought that a work of art should move its viewer using form and colour rather than an appended, easily verbalised historical or social narrative.

That he saw the shop fronts in these terms is confirmed by another conversation with Menpes, back in London. Walking home one evening along the Embankment, Whistler stopped to look at a fish shop, saying '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 lace-work they form!' In this instance, Whistler is not praising the shop front for any sentimental reasons,

[*above*]
Cheyne Walk, Ordnance Survey, First Edition, LIII, Chelsea, 25 inch, surveyed 1865, published 1874. (Detail). Maunders marked in red.

[*opposite top left*]
Little Maunder's, 1887. Etching.
The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

[*opposite top right*]
The Fish Shop, *c.*1890. Photograph.
Kensington and Chelsea Local Studies & Archives, London.
With 'To Be SOLD' notice.

[*opposite*]
An Orange Note: Sweet Shop, 1884.
Oil on wood, 12.2 x 21.5 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
Shop in St Ives, Cornwall.
Exhibited Paris, 1887.

but instead for its pleasurable colours and lines, which had the potential to be arranged into a harmonious composition.

To make these small sketches he worked quickly, often completing them in one sitting. While in the 1870s he used visual memory techniques in his studio to create the Nocturnes, to create the shop fronts he worked outdoors rapidly, in the manner of sketches. Menpes recalls how Whistler would, 'get his little pochade box, and together we would drift out into the open – onto the Embankment, or down a side-street in Chelsea, – and he would make a little sketch, sometimes in water, sometimes in oil colour.' He was used to switching mediums constantly as well as tweaking their mixtures; indeed, Menpes recalled how he and Whistler used to 'make experiments'. After his trip to Venice in 1879–80, where he produced over 50 etchings and 100 pastels, Whistler added watercolour to his mediums of choice.

These experimental sketches aimed at achieving a faithful transcription of the artist's aesthetically cultivated eye, one that is able to pick out and arrange the most beautiful elements of a scene. In 1885, in his Ten O'Clock Lecture, he argued that a true artist did not copy nature painstakingly, but would instead select the most beautiful elements from the world around him. A lengthy painting timeline, with constant retouching, would perhaps indicate a less gifted artist. In the 1878 libel trial Whistler v. Ruskin, Whistler denounced the idea of equating labour with artistic value, reasoning that he could paint a valuable work in two days because it was the product of the 'knowledge I have gained in the work of a lifetime'.

These ideas are supported by accounts from his pupils. Menpes said that Whistler 'never patched up his pictures ... The result was a oneness, a freshness, quite incomparable.' Concerning the shop fronts, Whistler said how he planned to 'make my mind a blank until I paint that fish shop', as if emphasising the spontaneity of his work. It was through embracing these rapid, experimental and fresh means of capturing what he saw that Whistler approached the object of his game: that even the smallest sketch of an ordinary shop front could be a complete and beautiful work of fine art.

Jane Combs and Thomas Cooper are graduates of the Courtauld Institute of Art, London.

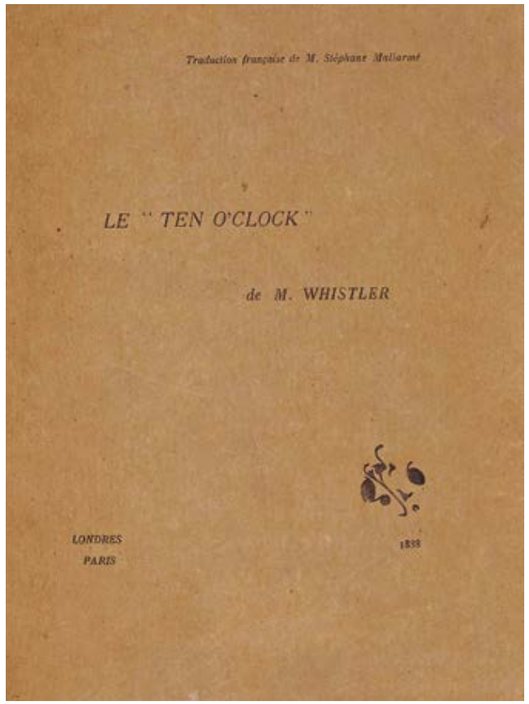
[*opposite*]
Stéphane Mallarmé, 1891/92.
Etching and drypoint.
The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

MALLARMÉ AND WHISTLER

Translating the 'Ten O'Clock' into French

NIGEL THORP

In his Ten O'Clock lecture of 1885, Whistler put forward his views on art as a science, with the artist as the chosen one able to interpret the beauties of nature, which by itself was disorganised and indecipherable to others. In a number of letters to the press, as well as in interviews and pamphlets, he had already expounded several views on this subject. He had also been stimulated to take up the idea of a public lecture in London after being invited to speak at the Dublin Etching Club in late 1884, when their winter exhibition would include both his portrait of his mother and that of Thomas Carlyle. He had to decline their invitation because of the demands on him at the time to complete his portrait of the Spanish violinist, *Pablo de Sarasate*, 1884 (Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh), but he did begin to put his thoughts for a public lecture together, discussing them with friends at his home in Tite Street, Chelsea, and even asked Alan Cole to begin writing them down for him.



Le 'Ten O'Clock' de M Whistler.
Cover of French edition 1888.

Whistler gave his lecture at Prince's Hall, Piccadilly, on 20 February 1885, with the help of his friends, the theatre impresario Richard D'Oyly Carte, and D'Oyly Carte's business manager Helen Lenoir. There was an audience of some 600, and apart from the press, they had paid half a guinea for a ticket. A limited edition of the lecture (only 25 copies) was published privately by Chatto and Windus later that year, followed by a further limited publication in 1886. Yet it was only in May 1888 that the final version was issued, including a few minor changes in the wording.

Some months earlier, in January 1888, discussions had also begun for a French translation by Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–98), *Le 'Ten O'Clock' de M. Whistler* published in Paris 1888. According to Mallarmé expert Carl Paul Barbier, Whistler and Mallarmé had met at some point in 1886–87, probably through the critic Théodore Duret (1838–1927), whose portrait by Whistler was shown at the Salon in 1885. Whistler had subsequently told his

friend Claude Monet that he would like to know Mallarmé better, and it was Monet who had written to Mallarmé in early January 1888 to arrange for both of them to have lunch with Whistler. They met in Paris, and Whistler and Mallarmé discussed a translation of the lecture into French, as subsequently reported in the *Sunday Times* on 15 January 1888. Mallarmé, in a letter of 2 March 1888, warmly thanked Duret for having seen Whistler again during the winter.

In late February/early March, Monet wrote to Whistler asking how the translation was progressing. Mallarmé had promised to have the translation ready by Easter, and on 18 March (see Appendix: Letter 1) he wrote to Whistler to let him know that he would be sitting down with a friend in the next few days who would 'put pen to paper' for him. His friend was the poet Francis Vielé-Griffin (1864–1937), whose knowledge of English was more extensive than Mallarmé's. Mallarmé also told Whistler about the conditions proposed by Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949), the editor of the *Revue Indépendante*, for publishing the lecture, both in the journal and also as a separate pamphlet, which Whistler in his letter of 28 March (Letter 2) was happy to accept. Dujardin had asked to have the text by 8 April, and though Mallarmé and Vielé-Griffin met on 7 April, Mallarmé went on to work further on the text himself. Not until a week later, on 14 April, did he send the final version to Dujardin. The following week, he was able to check the proofs sent to him by Dujardin, returning them on 20 April for correction. The modifications were particularly on the layout, as Whistler had insisted that there should be spaces between some of the paragraphs, allowing some pauses in the flow of text (Letter 2). On 25 April (Letter 3), Mallarmé then wrote to Whistler saying he had sent the translation to Dujardin, and that its publication in the *Revue* could serve as the proof for the separate printing as a pamphlet which was to follow. He invited Whistler to send him his comments and to let him know if there were any alterations he wished to make.

[*above*]
Jean Veber (1864–1928),
Francois Vielé Griffin.
From *L'Ermitage*, 1er semestre, 1898.

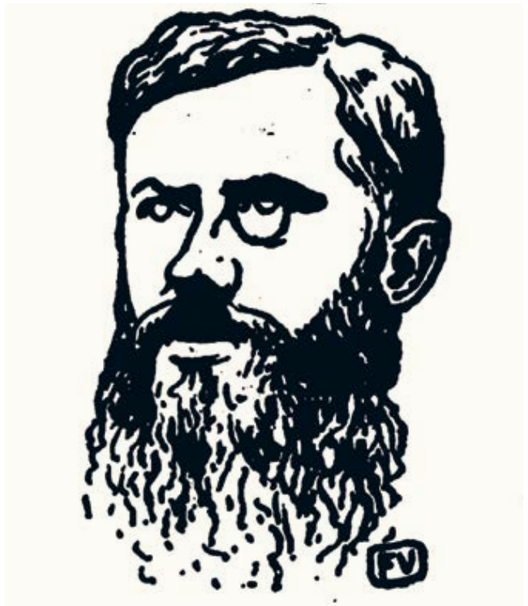
Those three letters about the translation, published from the original (Letters 1 and 3), or from the surviving draft (Letter 2), foreshadowed two others in which Whistler commented in detail on how he wished his text to be understood. The first of these, of 8 May (Letter 4), has been published from the surviving draft, but the other letter, of 10 May (Letter 5), had not been brought to light until it emerged a few years ago that Mallarmé had sent a number of the letters that he had received from Whistler on to Dujardin for him to see what Whistler was expecting from the publication. The Sotheby's sale of Dujardin's archives in Paris in June 2007 led to these two letters being acquired by the Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet in Paris, and they are now published for the first time in the Appendix.

[*opposite*]
Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Black - Portrait of Théodore Duret, 1883/85.
Oil on canvas, 193.4 x 90.8 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
Exhibited Paris, 1885.

The sale also included seven other letters—three from Whistler, one from Beatrix Whistler and two from the art dealer Maurice Joyant showing other connections with Mallarmé.

The first of these two letters to Mallarmé, of 8 May (Letter 4), shows Whistler at his most diplomatic, eager not to give rise to any concern that his friend might have that he was being critical of the translation he had undertaken. He wanted to avoid any suggestion that Mallarmé could have misunderstood thoughts he was expressing in the lecture and takes the blame himself for any passages in the text where the English did not lend itself to formulation in French. He now saw 'one or two passages where the subtlety of ideas to be expressed, and perhaps the required precision of expression, have given rise to a certain ambiguity of sense which the translation has brought to my attention for the first time and have caused unfortunately some slight misunderstandings'. He therefore asked Mallarmé to stop until they could further discuss the translation when he came to Paris.

Before they had further contact, however, the initial version of the translation was published in the May edition of the *Revue Indépendante* (pp. 205–227) and a copy was sent to Whistler. His response was a long letter to Mallarmé on 10 May 1888 (Letter 5), not all of which has survived, in which he seeks Mallarmé's assistance in ensuring that revisions to the text are included in the pamphlet edition that Dujardin is about to release. This particular letter is a model of appreciation and friendship.



Félix Vallotton (1865–1925),
Édouard Dujardin.
From *Le Livre des masques* (vol. II, 1898)
by Remy de Gourmont.

Given his lambasting of critics in England for being incapable of accepting the value of his views, in addition to many of them being so negative in their assessment of his art, this picture of Whistler handling the translation of his carefully crafted words with such delicacy is quite a different portrayal of a man who was seen by the public in particular as truculent and combative. He began by saying that where he discussed the idea, 'dear to those who teach … that certain periods were especially artistic', and refers to 'the flock', translated by Mallarmé as 'la foule' or 'the crowd', he was instead speaking about the chosen few of the art brethren. He had in mind the writings of John Ruskin, who upheld the re-creation of the practices of past centuries, to which Whistler responded by suggesting that the art brethren be called 'the faithful', 'the believers', or 'the precious'. Mallarmé then re-cast 'the flock' as 'les ouailles', with all its ironic reverberations.

The passage under discussion here includes: 'We […] call for the ungainly, and obtain the ugly', on which Whistler commented: 'You give "ungainly" as "trivial" – No! My dear friend – for you, a poet, the trivial is to be scorned, but for me, a painter, the trivial can be charming!' – and he explained what he called the wickedness

of his intention in choosing the term. Mallarmé then changed the translation to read: 'Nous […] appelons le laid et trouvons le gauche.'

Whistler's openness showed very much how he would have engaged in conversation with his friend on the areas he wanted to explain in a little more detail. He also expressed his admiration for the way in which Mallarmé rendered passages such as: 'And so Art has been foolishly confounded with education', 'the disastrous effect of art upon the middle classes' and 'Know then all beautiful women …!'

He then asked him to consider the passage where his text reads 'she yielded up the secret of repeated line.' Mallarmé had given this as 'balanced line', and Whistler continued: 'I mean to indicate the great beauty and the knowledge of the value of the repetition of lines in decorative works — Do you think that "repeated line" would have been wrong in this passage which you have made so sonorous and so poetic?' Mallarmé followed his guidance and responded with 'elle concéda le secret de la répétition des lignes.'

In the closing words of the lecture, Whistler spoke of the 'countless horde of pretenders' whose names 'fill the catalogue of the collection at home, of the gallery abroad, for the delectation of the Bagman & the Critic.' He wrote to Mallarmé: 'Bagman' in English means 'Commercial traveller' — You have 'luggage assistant' —and it is charming! But do you think that it is clear like that? Especially in this context?' — and Mallarmé complied by changing it to 'commis voyageur'.

The story of the translation can be seen against the background of the turmoil that Whistler was experiencing in the spring of 1888, chiefly because of his relationship with the Royal Society of British Artists. Having been elected a member in November 1884, he had since June 1886 been president of the society, and in the summer of 1887 had been instrumental in having the society awarded its Royal Charter; but his autocratic style and the radical changes he made to the society's exhibition policy meant that his presidency became stormy, leading a number of members to put forward a motion in May 1888 calling for his resignation. He resigned the following month, on 4 June, calling it 'Independence day in Suffolk Street – ! –', and escaped to Paris a few days later. He was also escaping from his house in Chelsea, The Vale, as well as from his partner for many years, Maud Franklin. On his return, he would move to a new address, the Tower House, in Tite Street, designed by Edward W. Godwin in 1885, where he would be joined by Godwin's widow, Beatrix. He would marry her on 11 August.

In Paris he saw some of his friends, such as the American critic and author Théodore Child, whom he invited to breakfast at the Hotel du Tibre, on the Rue du Helder, near the Opéra, and the Belgian artist Alfred Stevens, who sent his letter of resignation to the Royal Society of British Artists on 11 June after Whistler had provided him with a draft. On 11 June, he invited Stéphane Mallarmé to join him for lunch at the hotel.

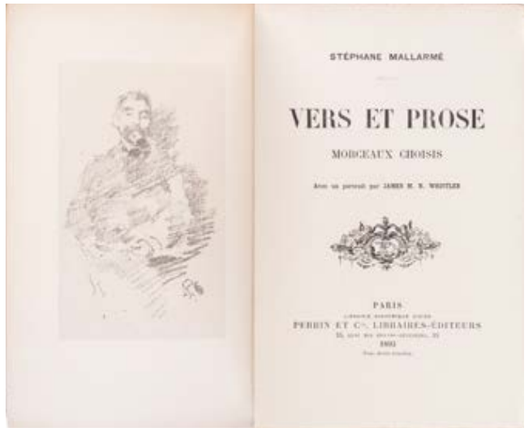
After their concentrated collegial co-operation on the translation, Whistler and Mallarmé continued to be regular correspondents and close friends, with Whistler attending Mallarmé's famous 'Mardis', the Symbolist salon, at his house, 89 rue de Rome, in Paris, and visiting his country home at Valvins, Seine et Marne.

In 1889 Mallarmé presented Whistler with a copy of his translation of *Les Poèmes d'Edgar Poe* (Brussels, 1888), which included the poem 'Annabel Lee' that had been inspired by Whistler's oil painting, *Annabel Lee,* 1869/77 (The Hunterian, University of Glasgow*)* and several pastel studies including *Annabel Lee,* 1885/87 (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC). He even found poetic inspiration from Whistler, writing 'Billet à Whistler', a sonnet published in *The Whirlwind* on 15 November 1890 which describes a dancer who is herself a 'tourbillon', or whirlwind, with the wind of her skirts billowing round the artist himself, who appears at the rhyme as the last word of the poem. Whistler published the first three of his 'Songs on Stone' in this short-lived journal, with the lithograph *The Tyresmith,* 1890, appearing in the same issue as the sonnet on the facing page.

When Whistler moved to Paris in 1892 he met Mallarmé frequently. In April he worked on a lithograph *Stéphane Mallarmé, No. 2,* for the frontispiece of Mallarmé's *Vers et Prose* (Paris, 1893), who thought it the best likeness ever made of him. Whistler's frequent use of colour and flower titles for his studies of women, reflects his friendship with the Symbolist circle around Mallarmé, and it was Mallarmé himself who suggested the title for Whistler's *Purple and Gold: Phryne the Superb!—Builder of Temples*, 1898–1901 (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC).

Early in 1892, Whistler tried to interest the publisher William Heinemann in a book of quatrains by Mallarmé written on letters to friends as imaginative replacements for their postal addresses. Whistler also approached the American publisher, Osgood, McIlvaine & Co., but the project came to nothing. A selection was later published in the *Chap Book*, Chicago, in 1894. He painted a portrait of Mallarmé's daughter, *Rose et gris: Geneviève Mallarmé,* 1897 (Musée Stéphane Mallarmé, Vulaines-sur-Seine) at their home at Valvins. He also drew *Lillith,* a portrait of Mallarmé's cat, for him on 14 August 1898, which is also at Valvins. Mallarmé died very shortly afterwards, on 9 September 1898, and when Whistler received a telegram with the sad news from Geneviève, the heart-felt letter that he sent her showed how much he shared the grief that she and her mother were feeling. An image of *Lillith* was published in the journal *Le Petit Bleu de Paris* two days after Mallarmé's death.

Seldom did Whistler reveal such a degree of affection and sympathy as he felt for Mallarmé. These letters allow us to see their relationship in a particularly open manner, joined by their devotion to the different arts that each of them practised but which they also shared with each other in close friendship. Unlike



[*above*]
Stéphane Mallarmé and family,
Silver gelatin print.
The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.
Right: Mme Mallarmé and beside her Geneviève Mallarmé.

[*top*]
Vers et Prose, Stéphane Mallarmé,
Perrin et Cie, Paris, 1893. First edition.
Title page and frontispiece with portrait of Mallarmé by Whistler.

Rose et gris - Geneviève Mallarmé, 1897.
Oil on wood, 20.6 x 12.2 cm.
Musée Stéphane Mallarmé,
Vulaines-sur-Seine.

Mallarmé, Whistler could be openly confrontational with public figures, and he developed a distinctive manner of affronting those who challenged his own art and ideas. These letters disclose the genuine benevolence he felt towards a friend who was seeking to translate the statement of his lifelong devotion to art for the benefit of a nation that he had known from his early days and where he lived for many years. Thanks to Mallarmé, then, we discover in these letters an unpublished, veiled version of 'The Gentle Art of Making Friends'.

Nigel Thorp is an Honorary Professorial Research Fellow in the Department of Art History at the University of Glasgow.

[*opposite*]
Théo van Rysselberghe (1862–1926),
Portrait of Octave Maus, 1885.
Oil on canvas, 90.5 x 75.5 cm.
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts
de Belgique, Brussels.

Société des XX in Brussels

SIMON WARTNABY

The Belgian avant-garde exhibiting group, Société des XX (Les XX), (1883–93), was one of the significant moments for modern art in Belgium. I will discuss Whistler's involvement with the group, who enthusiastically invited him to send his work to the 1884, 1886 and 1888 exhibitions. It was this success in Brussels that helped to increase his reputation and led to his work being exhibited in ten major cities across Europe from the 1880s to 1900s. Finally, I will look at Whistler's legacy in Belgium.

Les XX originally consisted of eleven young artists, including James Ensor, Fernand Khnopff and Guillaume Van Strydonk, who invited nine others, including Théo van Rysselberghe and Alfred Finch, to join them in 1883. Octave Maus (1856–1919) was elected secretary, and he organised the group's annual open international exhibitions, which made it such a success in Brussels. Maus, much enthused by Whistler as an avant-garde artist, invited him to send his work to the first exhibition of the group in 1884 at the Palais des Beaux-Arts in Brussels. In a letter of 10 December 1883 Whistler responded to Maus by saying he was honoured, and sent four paintings: *Symphony in White, No. 3,* 1865–67 (Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham); *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, 1871 (Tate Britain, London); *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, 1872–73, (Tate Britain, London); and *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*; 1876/78, (Frick Collection, New York), as well as some etchings from the second *Venice Set.* Whistler's paintings made an immediate impact on some of the younger members of Les XX, such as Rysselberghe, who started to emulate his style of painting, particularly in portraiture.

Foreign artists were only invited every other year, so Whistler was not invited in 1885. In a letter probably dating from that year, he expressed his support of Les XX by saying, 'I like and admire your rebellious spirit; without it progress is impossible. We will fight together for the victory of our ideal.' The following year, Maus invited Whistler again, but he submitted just one painting, *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate,* 1884 (Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh). In February, Maus reported to Whistler that the portrait of Sarasate 'is the success of our Salon' and invited him to visit Brussels. Later in the year, Whistler was nominated for election to the group but was unsuccessful . The reason that he was not elected was explained in a letter from Maus of 21 November 1886 to an unknown correspondent:

Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander, 1872–1873.
Oil on canvas, 190.0 x 98.0 cm.
Tate, London.
Exhibited Exposition internationale de peinture et de sculpture, Société des XX, Brussels, 1884. Also: Paris, 1884; Munich, 1888; Vienna, 1898; Venice, 1899.

Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Señor Pablo de Sarasate, 1884.
Oil on canvas, 217.0 x 111.7 cm.
Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh.
Exhibited Les XX, la III exposition annuelle, Société des XX, Brussels, 1886. Also: Paris, 1886; Hamburg, 1894; Antwerp, 1894.

Georges Seurat (1859–1891), *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte*, 1884–86.
Oil on canvas, 207.5 × 308.1 cm.
Art Institute of Chicago.
Exhibited Les XX, la IV exposition annuelle, Société des XX, Brussels, 1887.

> 'As for Whistler, my dear friend, you know that I admire the artist, and that I am fond of the man. I have only one objection to his admission, and you know what that is. I have long been opposed to his election as with that of Rodin or Raffaelli. It is that he is a foreigner and lives abroad. I would be very happy and very honoured to see Whistler join our association if the XX decide to set aside the question of nationality but I admit that I would greatly prefer that we did not at present elect members for the two vacancies, and that one should wait until some new talent reveals itself in Belgium among the young artists.'

The following year, 1887, Whistler was not invited to the group's exhibition, which proved to be a particularly significant one for Les XX because Georges Seurat (1859–91) was invited. The 27-year old French artist sent seven paintings, including *A Sunday on La Grande Jatte,* 1884/86 (Art Institute of Chicago). The painting had been exhibited twice the previous year in Paris, where it was considered controversial and provocative for its modern pointillist technique. The exhibition of Seurat's paintings was inspirational for some of Les XX artists, who immediately started to emulate his style.

Whistler visited Brussels in September 1887, perhaps encouraged by the invitation from Maus the previous year, and the enthusiasm for his paintings. Whistler travelled with his brother William and William's wife Helen. He also took some prepared etching plates, and completed thirteen etchings of Brussels. The subjects he chose were of the picturesque old city, and its people, rather than the brash modern city. Whistler describes Brussels in a letter to his friend the American sculptor, Waldo Storey, in September 1887: 'The place is simply lovely - and I only wonder how it is that I should never have discovered it before! - But the droll thing is that the people themselves - the painter fellows and the rest of them have no idea of it themselves - and I will have to invent their town for them as I did the Thames for the Londoners!'

Maus mentions the visit in an article 'Whistler and Belgium' for *The Studio,* (Vol. 32, 1904), where he says that Whistler was enchanted by the city with its 'picturesque and disreputable quarter … engaged in scratching on the copper his impressions of the swarming life around him'. There is another account of Whistler's visit recalled by the artist Walter Shaw Sparrow (1862–1940) in *Memories of Life and Art through sixty years,* published in 1925. Sparrow, who had studied at the Académie des Beaux Arts, lived in Brussels from 1880 until 1887. While there, he met Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921), a member of the Les XX, who told Sparrow about Whistler's 1887 visit:

'On a Sunday they [Whistler and Khnopff] went into the city together. Whistler's little feet were in patent leather shoes, which were delicately made with pointed toes. There was a delicate cane in one hand, and in the other a dainty pair of gloves in a Whistlerian tint. A heavy shower of rain came on, and Whistler began to walk on tiptoe. They entered a church when Mass was being celebrated. Whistler taking from his pocket a small sketch-book, filled a leaf with light impressive lines: then he turned to Khnopff and said: "There's no room for my butterfly". A little later, at the elevation of the Host, he turned again to Khnopff: "Yes, there is room for my butterfly," he whispered, and made a few touches with his pencil.'

The Whistler etchings catalogue raisonné suggests the incident is related to the etching *The Church - Brussels (Adoration),*1887, which depicts the church of St Nicholas in the old city centre.

Invited to submit works for the 1888 Les XX exhibition, Whistler sent two oil paintings: *Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel,* 1875/77 (Tate Britain, London), and *Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket*; 1876/77 (Worcester Art Museum, MA); two pastels: possibly, *Rose and Silver*, 1869 (The Hunterian, University of Glasgow), and *Variations in violet and rose*, 1885/86 (Shelburne Museum, VT); and four etchings: *St James's Place, Houndsditch* (1886), *The Village Sweet Shop*

[*above*]
The Church - Brussels (Adoration), 1887.
Etching and drypoint.
The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

[*opposite*]
Fernand Khnopff (1858–1921),
Portrait de Marguerite, 1887.
Oil on canvas, 96 × 74.5 cm.
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts
de Belgique, Brussels.
Inspired by Whistler's *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cecily Alexander* exhibited Brussels, 1884.

(1886), *The Young Tree* (1887) and *The Little Nurse, Grays Inn* (1887). Whistler also sent a sketch to show how he wanted his paintings to be hung.

Later, in November 1888, Whistler's name was submitted again for election to Les XX. Strydonk's voting paper for the election is on display in the Musée Fin-de-Siècle, Brussels, and James Ensor's is in the archives of the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique. Both voting papers lack an 'x' against Whistler's name. A letter in the archives from Ensor to Maus explains why: 'To allow Whistler to join the XX would be fatal'. There were a number of foreign artists on the list for election, including Rodin, Seurat and Signac. Only Rodin was elected, and as the first non-Belgian artist admitted to the group, he opened the way for others such as Signac who was elected in 1891. Seurat, sadly, died that same year

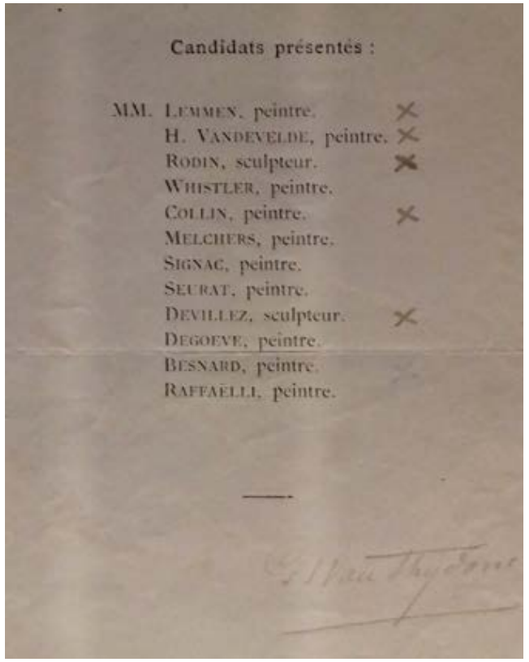
Whistler never exhibited again with Les XX, although he continued to promote himself in Brussels by exhibiting six paintings and three etchings at the Brussels salon in 1890 (Exposition Générale des Beaux-Arts). However, there is evidence in Whistler's correspondence that Maus was still keen for his work to be shown in Brussels, as he invited him to the group's penultimate exhibition, in 1892. In a letter of 30 January 1892, Whistler (in Paris) asked his wife Beatrice,

'What shall I do about Maus? I have not written a line - Do you think that we might pack him off the Pink Meux? - or would three of the framed Venice'. For whatever reason nothing was submitted, perhaps because Whistler was too busy, or because his interest in Brussels had waned.

There was another occasion, probably in 1894, when Whistler wrote to Maus, seemingly responding to an invitation to contribute to the first annual exhibition of La Libre Esthétique, the successor group to Les XX. Whistler says, 'The fact is I have been and am still desperately busy - and when I am at work I fear I neglect all the more important duties of life - and so even charming and flattering invitations like your own remain unanswered - In this case however it was impossible for me to accept - for I have nothing this year ready to send to the Libre Esthétique.' This is the final extant correspondence with Maus.

Whistler had regularly exhibited in London and other cities in the United Kingdom, and to a lesser extent Paris, but nowhere else in Europe. It would seem that Whistler's participation in the Brussels exhibitions of Les XX led to the start of his work being exhibited across nine other major cities in Europe: 1886, Berlin; 1888, Munich; 1889, Amsterdam; 1891, Munich; 1892, Munich; 1894, Antwerp and Hamburg; 1895, Venice; 1897, St Petersburg and Copenhagen; 1898, Vienna; 1899, St Petersburg, Vienna and Venice; 1900, Berlin; and 1901, Munich. There were also some eight etching exhibitions, all confined to four cities in Germany between 1881 and 1902.

Pen Sketch in letter 20/26 January 1888, Whistler to Maus.
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels, 1888.
The sketch shows how the eight works submitted should be displayed.



Voting paper of Guillaume Van Strydonk for 1888 Les XX membership election.
Musées royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

The legacy of Whistler in Belgium was most visible in the contemporary Flemish painters associated with Les XX who were much influenced by his art. As far as his work in Flemish collections is concerned, there is no Whistler oil painting known in a Belgian collection, but there are four etchings in the Royal Library of Belgium. Two of those etchings came from the 'Thames Set': *The Forge* (1861), and *Battersea Dawn (Cadogan Pier)* (1863). They are from the collection of Baron Guido von Usedom (1805–84). There is no information about when they were acquired by the baron or the library. Usedom was a Prussian diplomat and later Director General of the Royal Museums in Berlin from 1872–79. He was married to Olympia (1811–86), daughter of Major General Sir John Malcolm (1769–33), a Scottish diplomat and Governor of Madras. As the baron had died before the Brussels exhibitions, the etchings must have been acquired between 1863 and 1884. There is no record of both etchings being exhibited together between those dates except: Liverpool (1874); London (1874); and Glasgow (1879), so perhaps the well-travelled diplomat had acquired them from a dealer, in London, Paris or Berlin.

Whistler's discovery of Brussels and his exhibiting with the Société des XX in 1884, 1887 and 1889 was an opportunity for his work to be more widely known. He valued and supported the group, which gave him the opportunity to increase his European reputation with his work being exhibited across Europe. Despite the degree of his fame at the time, it was soon eclipsed by European post-impressionism, which could be part of the reason that few of his paintings are in public collections in Europe. Today there are just five oil paintings in public collections: three at the Musée d'Orsay, Paris and one each at the Museo Thyssen-Bornemisza, Madrid, and the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.

Simon Wartnaby is Honorary Secretary of the Whistler Society and an architectural historian.

[*opposite*]
John Lavery (1856–1941),
Père et fille, 1898–1900.
Oil on canvas, 200 x 126 cm.
Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

THE BUTTERFLY AND THE GLASGOW BOY FROM BELFAST

John Lavery

KENNETH McCONKEY

John Lavery (1856–1941), *Portrait Group (Père et Fille)*, 1898 (unfinished state), illustration from *Illustrated Souvenir Catalogue of the Exhibition of International Art, Knightsbridge*, 1898 (William Heinemann), n.p., (no. 237).

During the ten years that John Lavery (1856–1941) was first vice-president of the International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, from 1898 to 1908, committee meetings were often held in his studio at 5 Cromwell Place, South Kensington. Whistler, the society's first president, and Auguste Rodin, its second, seldom made appearances. Like Rodin, Whistler lived and worked in Paris at the society's inception in 1898, and although he eventually moved back to London before his death in 1903, it was with failing health, and to be near his doctor. Of his few attendances at meetings, only two are specifically recalled by Lavery since they involved the older artist surveying pictures currently in progress.

The first meeting of the society must have been in February 1898 when Whistler took the chair. On this occasion, Lavery records that Whistler stayed with him and commented favourably on his *Father and Daughter,* 1898 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), a painting he had put aside to be reworked. It showed the Irish artist's seven-year-old daughter, Eileen Marion Lavery (1891–1935), sitting in a wicker chair and looking directly out at the spectator. Behind her sits her father, and on the floor by her side is a large, rejected rag-doll. The only other thing of note is the lower left corner of a painting hanging on the wall in the background. This is one of Lavery's two Velázquez copies made in the Prado Museum in May and June 1892, when he registered to paint *Don Balthasar Carlos* and *Donna Mariana of Austria*. The confrontation with *Father and Daughter* was compelling: Whistler pronounced it 'beautiful' and 'complete', and Lavery promptly included it in the society's inaugural exhibition in 1898. What his guest saw in the picture was less evident to some reviewers in 1898, and one in particular, D. S. MacColl, the art critic, painter, and siren of the New English Art Club, took its unfinished state as a sign of weakness in the work of the entire Glasgow School. After displaying the painting in the Carnegie Institute exhibition

in Pittsburgh (1898–99), Lavery did in fact rework it, sharpening the heads, altering the child's leg positions, and removing the doll and the section of *Donna Mariana.* Re-shown as *Père et Fille* at the Salon in 1900, it was purchased that year by the French State for the collection of modern art at the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris.

When the painting was first carried out into the light for Whistler to see, Eileen, back from school at the Sacred Heart Convent, Roehampton, was introduced to the artist. Any shyness on her part was immediately dispelled, for while he did not suffer fools, he was delightful with children. Interested in her doll's house, he taught Eileen amusing rhymes about 'a tooter who tooted the flute and so forth' and christened her the 'Little Lady of the Holy Heart'.

In an unexpected way, Lavery's little girl cemented a friendship between the two painters separated in age by 22 years. It was a friendship that had been developing for a decade. They first met in the spring of 1887, when Lavery was down from Glasgow, exhibiting at the Society of British Artists, the New English Art Club and the Royal Academy. Formal introductions were followed by a chance encounter in Piccadilly that led to a late-night drinking session in which Whistler regaled his listener with opinions on the art world. Probably, as was his wont, he recited passages from the Ten O'Clock Lecture, a copy of which had been transcribed for circulation among Lavery's friends in Scotland. The impact was not immediate. Medalled at the Salon for *The Tennis Party*, 1885 (Aberdeen Art Gallery and Museums), Lavery found ample opportunity with the International Exhibition, and the state visit to Glasgow by Queen Victoria, to keep him busy for the next two years. Immediately thereafter, in January 1891, he travelled for the first time to Tangier before returning to important portrait commissions in Edinburgh. It was only on subsequent return journeys from Morocco through Spain that he stopped off in Paris – no doubt reporting to Whistler on his adventures as a Prado *copista.* For all his adulation of Velázquez, Whistler had never made it to Madrid, even though the continuing impact of seventeenth-century Spanish Caravaggesque painting was clearly evident in the work of both – such as in the secretive conception of the *Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac,* 1891–92 (The Frick Collection, New York), and Lavery's full-length, *Harmony in Brown, R B Cunninghame Graham,* 1893 (private collection). Both paintings were shown at the Salon of 1894. In the next two years, Lavery would move to London, and talks begin on the new 'International Society' that they would both lead.

Whistler's second recorded visit to Lavery's studio at 5 Cromwell Place, in 1901, also involved Eileen, now in her tenth year. Lavery recalled the event 23 years later in an unpublished diary entry:

> 'The only criticism or lesson I ever received from him [Whistler] was on a summer's evening about nine o'clock, he came to my studio and looking at a portrait of a little girl in white - certainly influenced by his *Miss Alexander* he remarked that the white frock was too high in key for the flesh tone and asking for some charcoal he rubbed it in the hollow of his hand, then rubbing his finger in this proceeded to tone the white paint on the picture in the most delicate manner possible.'

Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander, 1872–4.
Oil on canvas, 190.2 x 97.8 cm.
Tate, London.

John Lavery (1856–1941),
Her First Communion, 1901–2.
Oil on canvas, 181 x 89 cm.
National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin,
[photo courtesy Patrick Bourne
& Co, London].

John Lavery (1856–1941),
Hazel in Black and Gold, 1916.
Oil on canvas, 183.4 x 92.3 cm.
Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle upon Tyne.

'Tone', suitably lowered, was of course a Whistler byword. In 'A Further Proposition', in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890), he railed against those painters who wished to make their sitters so real that they almost broke through the picture plane into the spectator's space. Figures needed to exist within their frames, not bursting from them. Lavery understood this perfectly, but looking back in January 1924, he wondered if the Whistler effect had led to a loss of confidence. If that was the case, there is no evidence for any loss, just as there are no traces of charcoal dust on the surface of the painting hanging in the National Gallery of Ireland today. What is apparent is the authority that comes ultimately from Velázquez. Where Whistler struggled over Cicely Alexander, Eileen Lavery was breathed on to the canvas. During those arduous sittings, Whistler, when he was not fussing over Miss Alexander's dress, was distracted by the background, and could not decide on the position of the hat and fudged the fingers holding it. Its precedent is derived from Courbet's altar-boy with a censer in *L'Enterrement à Ornans,* 1849 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), as much as later full-lengths by second generation Realists like Édouard Manet.

Gustave Courbet (1819–1877), *L'Enterrement à Ornans*, 1849–50. Oil on canvas, 315.4 × 668 cm, (detail). Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

That Whistler's painting became so iconic is attested in full-length by Lavery, as well as James Guthrie, William Nicholson, Harrington Mann, William Orpen and others. This was well understood by the Irish painter's first biographer, Walter Shaw Sparrow. A student and friend of Alphonse Legros, Shaw Sparrow, could see Whistler's lineage and his shortcomings. On *Her First Communion,* 1901–02 (National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin), he wrote,

> 'This picture, when exhibited publicly, at the Salon Champ-de-Mars of 1902, was compared to the work of Whistler; and yet its method and its spirit were original. For *Her First Communion* was painted in a breath, so to speak, and the mute rich tone is not nearer to Whistler than it is nearer to Velázquez. Whistler would have given the child a rhythmic swagger, well-known to us in the great portrait of Miss Alexander. Lavery paints the delightful little healthy girl who feels proud but shy in her important white dress with a flowing veil. To believe in low tone, and to keep the picture well within its frame, is to illustrate maxims acquired by Whistler from the Master of Madrid; but no pictorial idea that Whistler ever composed into a symphony of colour is like the one that John Lavery orchestrated with fluent ease.'

Whistler lacked the fluency back in 1874, and in Shaw Sparrow's opinion, the cool detachment of the *hidalgo* painter was missing, but how many swashbuckling portraitists of the *belle époque* would overplay the zig-zag fall of the

little girl's veil in *Her First Communion*? Whistler taught the art of understatement even if the demons of vanity distracted him at times. Lavery also had demons; too willing to stand in the shadows, his is often the unidentified face in group photographs of International Society members. The press campaign to gain him recognition in the Royal Academy was for others, and as the cavalcade of full-lengths emerged in the Edwardian years this delightful representation of the artist's winsome little daughter, in her communion dress, was regarded as a 'triumph'. Even as late as 1916, when the *haute-couture-hispagnoliste,* Hazel Lavery, with her plumed shako, sashes and swaying skirt, puts her best foot forward, his flamboyant American wife adopts the classic pose.

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Title to the French Set, 1858.
Etching, 11.1 × 14.6 cm.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Whistler's copyrights

GRISCHKA PETRI

In 2021 the work of James McNeill Whistler is in the public domain in all jurisdictions. The term of protection in the United Kingdom, the United States, and the European Union is 70 years after an artist's death. This means that all of Whistler's art is now free to be reproduced, but what was the legal situation during his lifetime?

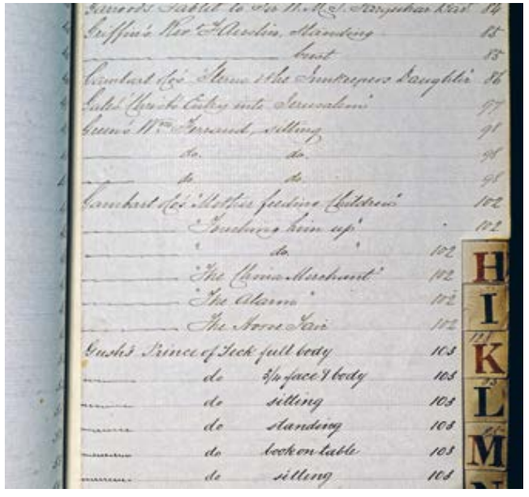
When Whistler arrived in Paris in 1855, the French copyright law had been in effect since 1793. It protected *ouvrages de gravure* and all 'works of the mind or the genius' (*œuvres de l'esprit ou du génie*) during the life of the artist plus ten years. When Whistler published his 'French Set' in 1859, it could therefore have been protected by French copyright if Whistler had cared to submit two specimen proofs to the *Cabinet des estampes* in Paris, as Article 6 of the *Décret de la Convention Nationale* instructed. Without this deposit, it was impossible to bring any counterfeiters before the courts. All Whistler prints today in the collection of the *Bibliothèque nationale de France* seem to have entered its collections at a later date. Whistler's etchings remained without protection in France, because he probably never cared to fulfil the formal requirements of the law.

The etchings that Whistler produced in England suffered a similar fate. They were theoretically protected by the Engravers' Copyright Act, for which the artist William Hogarth had extensively lobbied in 1735. The act was revised and extended in 1766 and 1777. Prints were protected for a period of 28 years from the day of first publication, provided the name of the author and that date were printed on each copy. Only a very few of Whistler's etchings come near to meeting this formal requirement. For example, the title page for the 'French Set', *Douze Eaux Fortes d'après Nature*, indicates the names of the author and the printer, and a date ('Nov. 1858') – which unfortunately is not exact enough since it does not include a precise day. As a result, Whistler's etchings remained unprotected under British law.

Even under US law, Whistler did not comply with the necessary formalities. When the US Congress enacted a revised Copyright Act in 1802, it gave copyright in prints to 'every person, being a citizen of the United States … for the term of 14 years from the recording the title thereof in the clerk's office.' While Whistler remained a US citizen throughout his life, he never registered his prints at the US Copyright Office.

The case was different for Whistler's paintings and drawings. In France, paintings were protected by the same law as etchings and drawings. The definition of *œuvres d'esprit* covered paintings and most other artistic media. His early paintings such as *Portrait of Whistler with a Hat,* 1858 (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC*)*, which stayed in France until the art dealer, Samuel Putnam Avery bought it in 1872, were consequently protected under French law. In the UK, however, in the absence of a universal copyright law, every artistic medium was protected by its own copyright act. Surprisingly, paintings had not yet come on the list until the Fine Arts Copyright Act came into effect on 29 July 1862. Before that date, a British copyright protection for paintings did not exist. This had not hindered successful artists from selling their copyright as part of a contract. Thomas Lawrence is said to have asked a standard price of £100 for the copyright of his paintings. It is remarkable that print publishers were prepared to pay such fees despite the lack of legal protection. Being a young artist, Whistler did not belong to the group of masters whose copyright had become a commodity in its own right. Nevertheless, the rules changed in 1862. Now 'every original Painting, Drawing, and Photograph' made by British subjects and residents was protected. Unlike the legal conditions in France, two prerequisites needed to be met if copyright was to be established in Britain: the work had to be signed and it had to be entered in the registers kept at the Stationers Company.

Today the volumes containing these registers are kept at the National Archives in Kew. They are arranged according to alphabetical index volumes. They do not seem to contain a single reference to Whistler's original paintings. Frederic Leighton (1830–96) belonged to a minority of painters who scrupulously registered their paintings, but most other artists did not. Dealers who published photographs registered their reproductions on a more regular basis, like Ernest Gambart, who, for example, registered *Horse Fair,* 1852, by Rosa Bonheur (1822–99). Only two years after Whistler's death, in 1905, William Axon Mansell (1845–1906), a photographer operating at 405 Oxford Street, London, registered photographs of two of Whistler's *Thames Set* etchings from the Constantine Ionides Collection, which was bequeathed to the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1901: *Black Lion Wharf,* 1859, and *Old Hungerford Bridge,* 1867. Two years later, The Fine Arts Publishing Company (36 Basinghall Street, London) registered a small photogravure of Whistler's portrait of Thomas Carlyle for volume 13 of their famous 'Burlington Art Miniatures'. Copyright for such reproductions did not prevent others from registering their own photographs. It was only a protection against unauthorised copies of these reproductions.



Entries in the Index of Copyright Registers, vol. 5, 1866–74.
The National Archives.

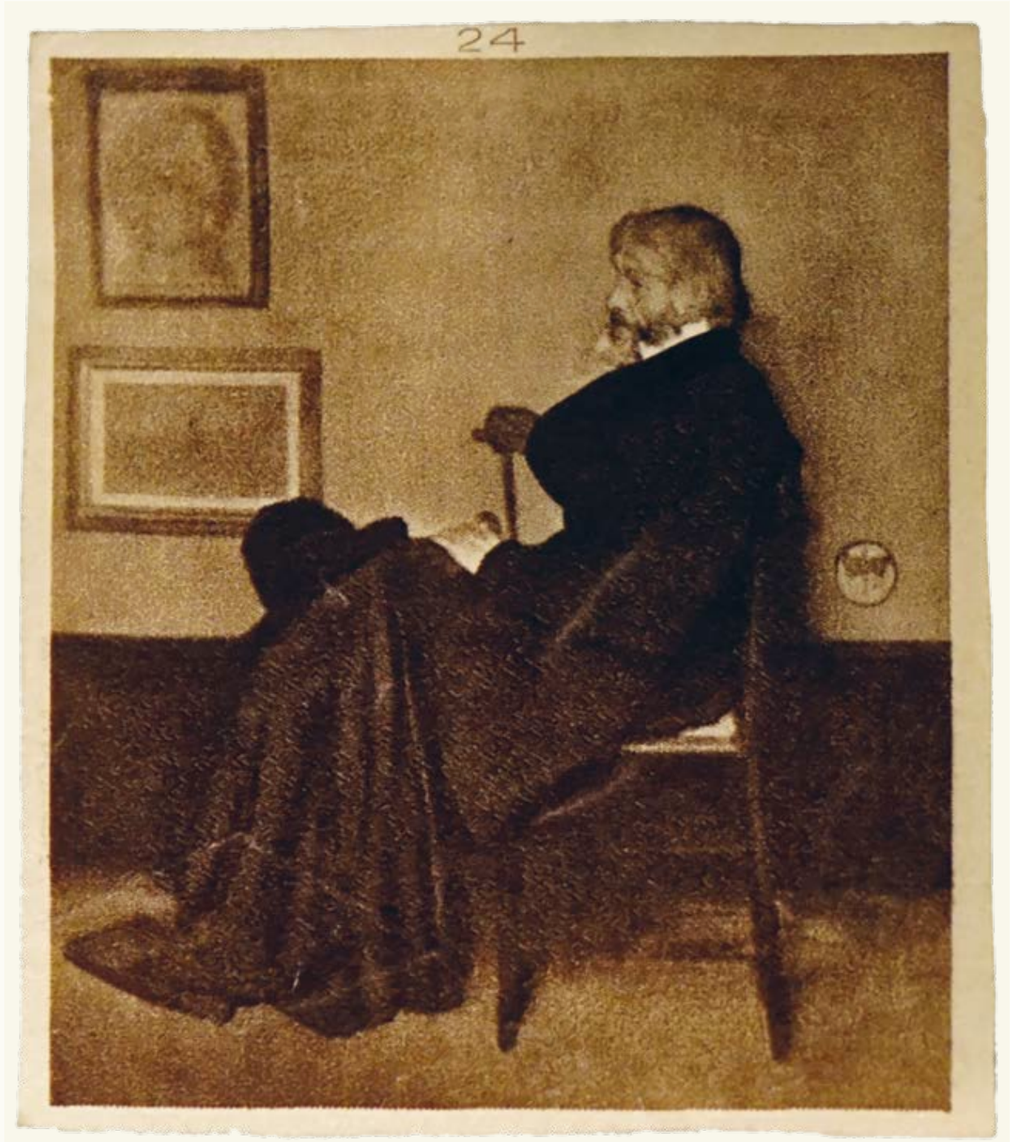
The Fine Arts Copyright Act of 1862 made registration a compulsory condition of copyright. If a painting remained unregistered, its creator could not benefit from any copyright. This means that over the entirety of his career, Whistler's paintings and drawings remained without copyright protection in Britain. For a further seven years after Whistler's death, it would have been possible to register his copyrights, but by then the term had expired and Whistler's works entered the British public domain.

Richard Josey after Whistler, *Rosa Corder*, 1880.
Mezzotint (H. Graves & Co., London), 52.8 × 28.5 cm.
British Museum, London.

The Copyright Act of 1911 came into effect in 1912. It changed the rules again. Now the protection term was an artist's lifetime plus 50 years, without the requirement of a registration. (In 1866, the French legislator had already extended the copyright term in the same way.) Applying this rule, Whistler's copyright would have expired in 1953. However, it became clear that no right which had expired before 1 July 1912 would be revived, as the fifth edition of the authoritative *Copinger's Law of Copyright* (with commentary) unequivocally explained in 1915. The copyright of hitherto unregistered works of art could not be resurrected in this way. Whistler's paintings and drawings remained in the public domain. Because the term for prints was longer (28 years), it was possible to protect prints published after 30 June 1884 under the new law. However, the new law did not heal the omission of an author's name and the publication date on a published print, which is why Whistler's prints did not receive protection even under the new law. In France, Whistler's paintings continued to be protected under the extended term until the end of 1953.

In Whistler's native country, Congress did not add paintings to the list of copyright-protected works until 1870. The US Copyright Act of that year extended the protected term to 28 years, with an option to renew copyright for a further 14 years. Here the administrative condition was to send an application for registration, which was to include a description of the painting or drawing, to the Library of Congress. This was to be followed by a photograph of the painting or drawing ten days after its publication. Needless to say Whistler never sent any such applications and photographs to Washington, DC.

This does not mean that Whistler was ignorant of copyright matters. The art dealer Charles Augustus Howell (1840–90), organised the production of Richard Josey's mezzotint reproductions in the late 1870s of Whistler's: *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*; *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle;* and *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder.* Whistler sold Howell the copyright of the three paintings in 1879, and Josey's



Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle, 1907.
Mezzogravure (The Fine Arts Publishing Company, London), 5 × 5 cm.
The National Archives.

mezzotints were published that year by H. Graves & Co. At a later date, probably in 1886, Whistler must have thought of a similar arrangement with Dowdeswell's over reproducing the portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell.

Whistler was also very aware of his literary copyright when a pirated edition of *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* was printed in Ghent (though bearing the imprint of a New York publisher) in 1890. He even deposited a copy of his own edition in the Library of Congress. In the same year he was invited to attend an international congress on copyright, organised by the *Association Littéraire et Artistique Internationale*, a writers' and artists' association founded in 1878 by Victor Hugo.

Whistler was very keen to defend his legal position in two famous legal cases, Whistler v. Ruskin (1878) in London and Eden v. Whistler (1895 and 1897) in Paris. The question remains why, judging from the absence of any paper trail in the matter, he never took any measures to protect his artistic copyright. A tentative answer is that he did not consider his art to be in danger of being copied, because it was not easily copied. In the view of many contemporaries, Whistler's art suffered from an excess of originality, which several critics called eccentricity. Even the impressions of his etched copper plates were unique. The actual risk of being counterfeited was probably low enough to ignore the administrative hoops that copyright legislation wanted the authors to jump through. In any event, Whistler's ignorance of the complicated artistic copyright regulations was never to be tested. When he prepared the catalogue for his retrospective at the Goupil Gallery in 1892, he confidently declared in letters to the unconvinced director of the gallery, David Croal Thomson, 'The copyright is mine of course … My belief has always been that the copyright of any work of Art, *belongs always* to the Artist'.

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Pink and Silver - Chelsea,
the Embankment, 1885.
Watercolour on paper, 12.6 x 21.6 cm.
The Clark Art Institute, Williamstown.

[*opposite*]
Venus Rising from the Sea, 1868–73.
Oil on canvas, 59.8 x 49.1 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
Frame supplied before 1909 by John Newman Ltd of Soho Square, London.

THE MISSING WHISTLERS

The Online Paintings Catalogue Raisonné

MARGARET F. MacDONALD

Over 550 paintings by Whistler were recorded in the 1980 catalogue raisonné published by Yale University Press, and are now included in the online catalogue raisonné (whistlerpaintings.gla.ac.uk), which went live on 1 August 2018. Astonishingly, over 200 of these paintings are missing. The missing Whistlers were either recorded in his lifetime or their authenticity was established on good authority later, before they disappeared.

There are good and bad reasons why some pictures are missing, including the effects of time and wear, or destruction by the artist or others. Some early portraits such as his patron Thomas Winans, were painted before Whistler left to study art in Paris in 1855, and are probably still in the USA. Several copies of paintings for Captain Charles Phelps Williams, when Whistler was a student in Paris, include surprising subjects, such as after Greuze's *La Cruche cassée* and a group from a painting then thought to be by Velazquez, *La Réunion des cavaliers*. Some of these may still be in the attics of Stonington, Connecticut – and indeed two were discovered a few years ago and as a result, *Copy after Ziegler's La Vision de St Luc* (1857), now hangs in The Hunterian, University of Glasgow, and *Copy after Odier's Episode de la retraite de Moscou* (1857–58) in the Colby Museum of Art, Maine.

Copy after Ziegler's 'La Vision de St Luc', 1857. Oil on canvas, 92.0 x 68.0 cm.
The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

Whistler painted a vivid seascape in France in 1862, *Blue and Silver: Blue Wave, Biarritz*, which is now in Hill-Stead Museum, Connecticut. However, 'a sea piece of deep tone' painted at the same time is still missing. All we have is a frustrating letter to Whistler's friend, the art dealer and collector George A. Lucas, on 18 October 1862, ordering a picture frame to be made in Paris. It is possible that this painting still exists, but if so, it is keeping a very low profile.

Surprisingly, a painting that was accepted and exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1865 as *The Scarf* was later damaged or destroyed by the artist.

A cartoon in *Punch* (13 May 1865) hardly helps identify it, but it seems to have been a Japanese subject, a woman with a large spotted scarf standing in front of a railing or balcony.

One seascape that may have been intended for the Royal Academy in 1870 but was not completed in time, has disappeared; but it may be the seascape that is just visible underneath a later work, a *Venus Rising from the Sea* of 1868–73 (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC). The 'Venus' may have been acquired, in a distinctly battered condition, at the time of Whistler's bankruptcy in 1879, by the London lithographer Thomas Way, who sold it, shortly after Whistler's death, to Charles Freer, the great American collector. However, there is no way to restore the seascape.

Venus Rising from the Sea, 1868–73.
Infrared photograph, 1965.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Poverty may account for the recycling of old canvases. A good example is two portraits, one of Whistler, and one of his mistress Joanna Hiffernan, that are clearly visible in X-rays of *Brown and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge* of 1862–65 (Addison Gallery of American Art, Andover, MA) and *The Last of Old Westminster* of 1862 (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, MA) respectively. Since Whistler had definite commissions for paintings of the Thames, he probably considered these a more reliable source of income than the two portraits. Further information can be found in 'Whistler's Ghosts' on my blog *James McNeill Whistler and his Art* (jmcnwhistler.wordpress.com).

Another group of missing paintings, showing the children of one his most important patrons, Frederick R. Leyland of Liverpool, are known through preparatory drawings, but the actual portraits probably were left incomplete when Whistler fell out with Leyland over the 'Peacock Room' decorations. To partly fulfil his commitments to Leyland, who had paid for the pictures, the artist apparently painted Leyland's daughter Florence on top of a full-length portrait of Whistler's mistress and model, Maud Franklin. The result is a dark, almost invisible portrait now in Portland Museum of Art. The portrait of another Leyland child, the youngest, Elinor, was cut up, probably by Whistler, leaving two corner fragments intact, resulting in two still life studies of flowers and blue and white porcelain, *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Miss Elinor Leyland* (Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC).

Fortunately, Whistler never fell out with the banker William Cleverley Alexander (he could not afford to lose *all* his patrons). However, although he completed one portrait, that of Cicely Alexander, triumphantly (after some 70 sittings), the portrait of her sister May was never satisfactorily finished (both of these are in Tate Britain), and the portrait of Grace disappeared entirely. In all these cases, of both the Leyland and Alexander children, there are numerous pen or chalk and pastel studies, some very beautiful, still in existence. These are now in the British Museum, The Hunterian, the Courtauld Institute, the Fitzwilliam Museum, and elsewhere.

[*opposite left*]
The Blue Girl: Portrait of Miss Elinor Leyland, 1873–75.
Fragment lower left, oil on canvas, 76.8 x 22.0 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

[*opposite right*]
The Blue Girl: Portrait of Miss Elinor Leyland, 1873–75.
Fragment lower right, oil on canvas, 76.5 x 22.0 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

Whistler's financial crisis in the 1870s led to the destruction of many works. Lord Redesdale wrote in his *Memories* (1915): 'On one occasion, I went to see him and found him … surrounded by masterpieces which he had just cut to ribbons in a storm of mad fury lest they should fall into the hands of the bailiffs, and all for a miserable debt of thirty pounds … The blow hit me cruelly, for he had just finished a beautiful portrait of my wife.'

There are photographs, taken in the 1870s, of paintings of Whistler's model and mistress Maud Franklin. These were probably scraped down and destroyed at the time of Whistler's bankruptcy in 1879. Many other portraits were lost at that time because, by the terms of the bankruptcy agreement, destroyed and scraped down canvases could not be sold. Some were returned to Whistler or, after his death, to his sister-in-law and executrix, Rosalind Birnie Philip, and went to the University of Glasgow with his estate. These forming the pre-eminent collection of Whistler's work, and include such fascinating works as *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Black: Portrait of Mrs Louise Jopling*, 1877–78, and *The Blue Girl: Portrait of Connie Gilchrist*, 1879.

At the time of Whistler's bankruptcy, some canvases may have been acquired and reused by other artists, and this may account for several very Whistlerian Thames scenes and portraits by Walter Greaves. Some canvases that emerged in 1910 and were 'restored' by Greaves and others in London for Messrs Dowdeswell, are of doubtful authenticity. They include *Harmony in White and Blue*, 1872/79 (Leeds City Art Gallery), and *Young woman in a white dress*, 1872/1910 (Singer Memorial Museum, Laren, Netherlands).

Works that were by Whistler and which are apparently missing include oils of Venice, Valparaiso, and St Ives. It may be that the difficulties of getting canvases home contributed to these losses. Other paintings by Whistler may or may not be lost. The confusion is partly caused by Whistler's aesthetically pleasing but frustrating terminology, which emphasised colour harmonies rather than describing the subject. There are numerous examples: *Nocturne in Blue and Gold*, *Nocturne en gris et or*, *Symphony in Grey and Gold*, *Symphony in Silver and Grey*, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*, *Nocturne en bleu et argent*, *Nocturne in Blue and Gold*, *Nocturne in Grey and Gold*; and so on. Grey could become silver, the 'silver' and 'gold' giving, one might say, added virtual economic value to the painting. In any case, under the influence of London fogs, silver might well come to look like gold, just as blue sometimes became green. Furthermore, pictures were exhibited several times under different titles.

A high proportion of works exhibited in the 1880s have not been identified or located. These include small, exquisite works exhibited in Dowdeswell's in London, with Georges Petit in Paris, and at Wunderlich's in New York. It may be that they were sold privately and never emerged into the limelight again. Or it may be that they simply have not been identified. Pictures of the Netherlands, for instance (*Note en gris: Dordrecht* or *Blue et argent: Dordrecht*), or of France (*Argent et violet: Dieppe*, *Vert et argent: Dieppe*, *Note in Gold and Blue: France*) may have been bought with 'argent' or 'gold' from the artist or art dealers by unknown

[*opposite*]
Photograph of Whistler in his Fulham studio *c*1886 by Jacomb Hood, with *Portrait of Maud Franklin*, 1886.
Oil on canvas, 191 x 91 cm.
Whereabouts unknown. There is no record of the painting after it was photographed and reported that it was 'almost ready for exhibition' in July 1886.

Blue and Silver: The Devonshire Cottages, 1862/1865, 1895.
Oil on canvas, 32.0 x 62.8 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
Exhibited: Paris, 1887.

collectors at the time. However, the titles make them difficult if not impossible to identify. When it comes to *Gris et or* and *Or et lilas*, both shown at the Galerie Georges Petit in 1887, with no detail in the catalogue of size, subject or even medium (they could be oils or watercolours), well, then I give up.

Take a surviving panel, painted in St Ives in 1883: it was shown at Dowdeswell's in 1884 as *Violet and Silver: The Great Sea*, at Petit's in Paris in 1887 as *Bleu et argent: La grande Mer*, and was possibly the same picture shown at the exhibition of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts in Paris in 1902 as *Bleu et argent: La grande Mer*. After the artist's death, it was shown in the memorial shows in Boston and Paris as *Green and Gold – The Great Sea* and it is now in the Freer Gallery of Art under the original title. To be honest, that was an easy one to track because it does show a stormy sea and big waves.

Another success story is *Blue and Silver: The Devonshire Cottages*, 1862–65, 1895, which is now in the Freer Gallery of Art. It was shown at Dowdeswell's in 1884 as *Green and opal: The Village*, and at the time of the 1980 catalogue it was assumed that the painting dated from about that time and could possibly have been painted in St Ives. Further research has identified it as a picture that was owned by Whistler's younger brother William – it may have been a wedding present – and was sold with Whistler's help when William was in urgent need of money. Whistler described it then (1895) as *The Devonshire Cottages – Blue & Silver* (a typical value-added title). Charles Freer complicated life by calling it Dorsetshire but further investigation suggests it was painted in Colyton, a small town in east Devon, which Whistler apparently visited briefly in the early 1860s. As a reminder of how complicated identifying this work has been, I should mention that Whistler touched it up and signed it with a butterfly before it was

sold in 1895, and that unfortunately in restoring it, his additions (two figures and the signature) were partly obliterated.

I could go on. Where is the portrait *Little Maud Hamerton* or those of Miss Nora McNay, the actor Henry E. Dixey, Miss Laura Barr, or the author S. R. Crockett? Where are the society portraits, *Lady Meux in Furs* or *Harmony in White and Ivory: Portrait of Lady Colin Campbell* – though it is probable that these two were destroyed. And where is the portrait of Sarah Bernhardt? Now that would be a find.

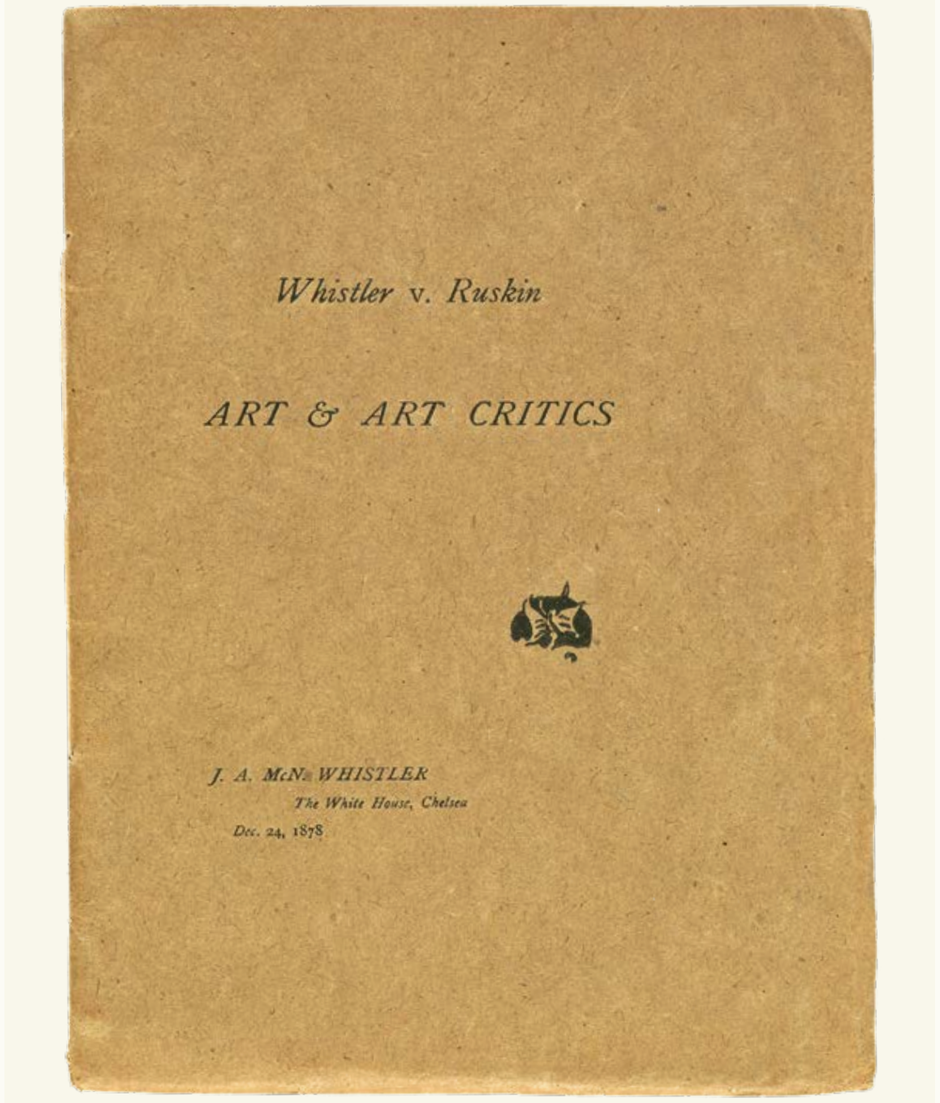
A final group remains to be considered: there are paintings that were recorded in the early twentieth century, and listed in the 1980 catalogue, and some that were in circulation very recently. Nowadays, collectors have become a little warier of revealing works in their collections, but for the sake of the artist's reputation and also that of the art collection, it seems to me preferable to include the works in a catalogue raisonné, with a complete provenance. After all, the owner can remain completely anonymous. So, if you have a Whistler on the wall or in the attic, or have come across one that the Whistler Paintings Project in the University of Glasgow may have missed, please do let us know!

Margaret F. MacDonald is Professor Emerita, University of Glasgow, Scotland.

The Centre for Whistler Criticism

CATHERINE CARTER GOEBEL

The Centre for Whistler Criticism, founded in 2009, aims to create a comprehensive digital archive of Whistler's lifetime criticism in collaboration with international libraries and museums. In its research and construction phase, it provides a pedagogical laboratory for undergraduates to directly engage with archives and digital protocols toward publication. The project is supported through the Paul A. Anderson Chair in the Arts, Dr Donna Bergen and Dr Thomas Madden Whistler Scholars Awards, the William F. Freistat Faculty/Student Fellows Grant, Drs Richard and Paula Arnell, and Dr Thomas and Barbara Carter.



Whistler v. Ruskin: Art & Art Critics,
J. A. McN. Whistler.
Chatto & Windus, 1878, 17 pages.

Edward Linley Sambourne (1844–1910),
An Appeal to the Law, published in Punch
7 December 1878.

'Now the war is really one between the brush and the pen … and involves literally … the absolute *raison d'être* of the critic', taunted Whistler in the opening to his provocative essay, *Whistler v Ruskin: Art and Art Critics* (1878). At this time, due to the growth of urban middle class populations, the burgeoning power of the press became increasingly evident. With this newly powerful medium, the position of the art critic, a writer who by merely wielding a pen could make or break an artist's career, was dramatically elevated. Whistler realised the potential that periodicals offered toward benefiting his reputation. The strength of this mode of communication was a new force with which artists needed to contend and, as was typical of Whistler, he mounted an aggressive campaign.

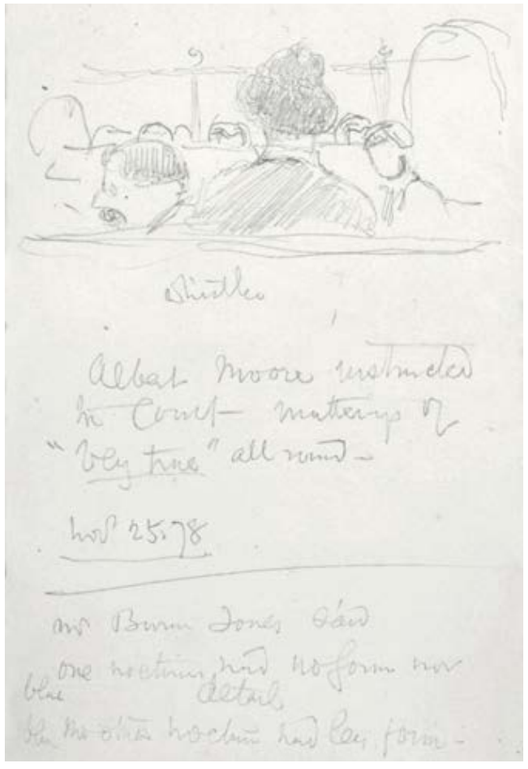
Whistler indeed took criticism seriously, hiring a press clipping agency to keep him abreast of any mention of his name in print, urging friends and family to collect reviews. His artist friend, Thomas Armstrong, recalled: 'I hardly… knew anyone who set such store by newspaper criticisms as Whistler did.' Whistler wrote critiques of critics' reviews, many published in newspapers and journals, and drew from his clipping collection to discredit them. He was thus determined to shape his contemporary public as well as future legacy, leading to his challenging the pre-eminent Victorian critic, John Ruskin, for famously hurling verbal abuse at Whistler's *Nocturne in Black and Gold*: *The Falling Rocket*, 1875

(Detroit Institute of Arts): 'I have seen, and heard, much of cockney impudence before now; but never expected to hear a coxcomb ask two hundred guineas for flinging a pot of paint in the public's face.'

Ruskin crossed the line of fair criticism by attacking the artist along with his art, leading to a public libel trial in 1878 where, as one critic reported, 'the butcher, baker and candlestick maker' as jurors were in the curious position of determining its artistic outcome. Although Whistler won the case, his mere farthing in damages contributed to his bankruptcy. He consequently aimed for the final word, challenging *all* critics by sending his first brown-paper pamphlet, *Whistler v Ruskin: Art and Art Critics* (1878), to London editors. Whistler thereby begged for further dialogue beyond the court's decision.

The Whistler one encounters in his autobiographical *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (1890) is the epitome of the romantic bohemian artist, brilliant and articulate, but never fully appreciated by the philistines around him. The battle with his critics is a chief theme in the writings collected in the book. In the case of British critics, unlike their French counterparts, Whistler suggested they, perhaps, *never* understood. He framed his image as the modern artist who fought derision and suffered persecution from those who could not recognise genius in their midst.

Primary evidence, however, is not so black-and-white, and indicates that many critics understood his theories. Several, indeed, may have helped develop them. Musical metaphor, for example, was perhaps first suggested in a *Punch* review of *At the Piano*, 1858–59 (Taft Museum, Cincinnati), when exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1860, which said 'The tone which he has produced from his piano is admirable…[he] struck on it a chord of colour which will I hope find an echo in his future works.' *The White Girl* [the painting's first title], 1861–63, 1872 (National Gallery of Art, Washington) furnished an opportunity for this echo to resonate at the 1863 Paris Salon des Refusés, providing foundation for Whistler's future musical titles, likely originating in French literary repertoire. The French art critic, Ernest Chesneau, in his review of the 1863 salon, noted 'Two or three keynotes barely bring out these white harmonies', and another French critic, Paul Mantz, declared it in the *Gazette des beaux-arts* 'la symphonie du blanc'. It was not until the Boston memorial exhibition in 1904 that the painting was exhibited as *Symphony in White No. 1: The White Girl*. Thus, what became a challenging aspect for Whistler's critics, musical titles, may have originated in early reviews. Certainly, the French context was supportive toward his professed aims. Through student days in Paris he must have been aware of Charles Baudelaire's analogies between poetry and



Edward William Godwin (1833–86), *Whistler in court*, 1878. Metal-point on paper, 14.6 x 8.3 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

music, resonating in Whistler's 1878 interview for *The World*: '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.'

Echoes of Baudelairian philosophy might also be found in Whistler's assertion that artists should view nature as a visual 'dictionary', picking and choosing rather than slavishly imitating what appears before them. Similarly, Whistler's *Ten O'Clock* (1885) stated:

> '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 result may be beautiful – as the musician gathers his notes; and forms his chords, until he bring forth from chaos glorious harmony.'

When French critics, often poets themselves, suggested Whistler's works fitted this context, it reinforced his association with this milieu.

Not apparent in Whistler's self-imaging, however, is the fact that many British critics also accepted musical aesthetic contexts. One applauded: 'We cannot define the hues of Mr. Whistler's 'symphony' and so must limit our notice here to thanks for their beauty, wealth, and melodious combining.' Another derided: 'It is some years … since … his *Woman in White* … and still we find him harping on the same simple string.' This continuing critical dialogue contributed to Whistler's development of a theory of art central to his aesthetic stance.

The 1878 libel trial attracted broad press coverage, furnishing Whistler with a perfect forum for stating his views. Beyond the bravado, there were important matters at stake. Whistler's assertion that 'none but an artist can be a competent critic' was a call for the role of art critics to be re-evaluated. When the jury awarded their verdict to Whistler, his victory meant the critic could attack the art but not the artist. The derisory farthing in damages, however, compromised the suggestion the artist had been hurt by the criticism.

Leslie Matthew Ward (Spy) (1851–1922), *JAM Whistler - A Symphony, in Vanity Fair*, 12 January 1878.

Whistler v. Ruskin: Art and Art Critics (1878) aimed to clarify the situation. Copies were delivered to London editors a few weeks following the trial, providing Whistler's own conclusion while defining his mission: 'the creature Critic is of comparatively modern growth … the *fine fleur* of his type is brought forth in Paris, and beside him the Englishman is but rough-hewn and blundering.' Having pointed out the superiority of French over British critics, he attacked Ruskin:

> 'We are told that Mr. Ruskin has devoted his long life to art, and … is 'Slade Professor' at Oxford … we have thus his position and its worth. It suffices not … a life passed among pictures makes not a painter—

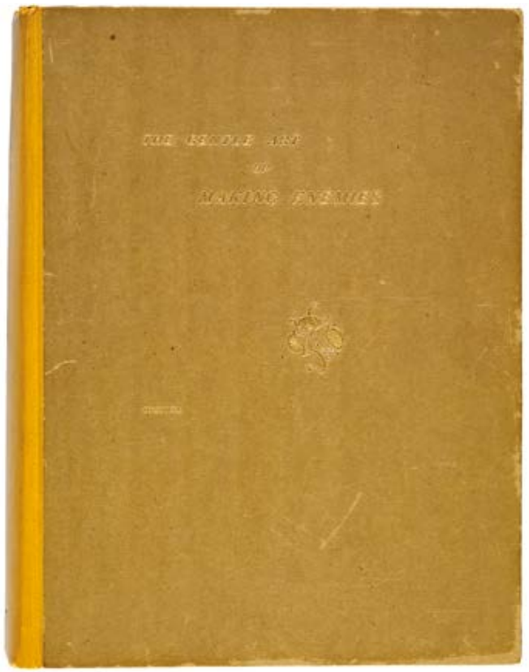
else the policeman in the National Gallery might assert himself. As well allege that he who lives in a library must needs die a poet.'

Whistler then reviewed the whole profession:

> 'The artist … remains unconsulted; his work is explained … without him, by … one who was never in it … No! let there be no critics! They are not a 'necessary evil,' but an evil quite unnecessary, though an evil certainly.'

The pamphlet inspired a number of noteworthy journalists to examine the nature of art criticism in England. Sidney Colvin wrote: 'Art-criticism has on the whole been conducted so much at random, that a shade of ridicule and discredit has attached itself to the very word.' Harry Quilter suggested: 'the critic's endeavour is to find out the author's or the painter's true meaning, and to judge that as a whole; not to regard the work as if it were an enemy's armour, in which he was endeavouring to find the weakest place.' Henry James wrote:

> 'The Cause that Mr. Whistler has at heart is the absolute … extinction of the art-critic and his function … it is easy to understand the state of mind of a London artist … who skims … local journals … [which are] … weak and unskilled … to turn from … them to the Parisian journals is like passing from a primitive to a very high civilization … the development of criticism … has become inordinate, disproportionate … idle and superficial.'



In general, English criticism after the mid-nineteenth century followed, as Nikolaus Pevsner stated in *The Englishness of English Art* (1955), 'a new ideal of morality in art preached powerfully and verbosely by Ruskin.' It led to a style of criticism which tended towards literal interpretation with a mission to educate and enlighten the growing middle class, keen to adopt the trappings of cultural awareness but eager for reviews laden with sentimental description. In emphasising the importance of 'arrangement' over 'subject' with *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother,* 1871 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), Whistler appeared to goad them to attack. French criticism generally embodied artistic theory that addressed more intangible and poetic values such as mood and atmosphere. Whistler must have known these critics would easily accept this concept.

Investigating past the trial's aftermath, later themes evolved such as the manner in which Whistler utilised earlier criticism in promoting his *Second Venice Set* (exhibited at the Fine Art Society in 1883), and with *Mr. Whistler and His Critics: A Catalogue: Out of their own mouths shall ye judge them* (1883) and beyond. Research in newspaper libraries, paginating through British and French periodicals, cued by exhibition dates, would reinforce Whistler's established image. What I discovered instead was a fascinating critical dialogue manipulated for effect in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies,* a hint revealed in the book title's initials as acronym for GAME! Whistler successfully played this 'game' with his contemporary reputation and future standing. Only through careful dissection of primary archives is its complexity revealed.

[*above*]
Arrangement in Grey and Black - Portrait of the Painter's Mother, 1871. Oil on canvas, 144.3 x 162.5 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

[*opposite top*]
Alfred Bryan (1852–99). *Mr J. Whistler: An Arrangement in Done Brown,* in *Entr'acte and Limelight Almanack*, 1879.

[*opposite bottom*]
The Gentle Art of Making Enemies, James McNeill Whistler, William Heinemann, 1890. 286 pages.

Regardless of whether Ruskin proved he was a writer who could analyse art, Whistler was clearly an artist who could relate a good story. Armstrong suggested: 'He 'throwed style' into the narrative as Huck Finn said of Tom Sawyer.' His rival, Oscar Wilde, admired such verbosity. Londoners knew the tale that took place at a private view of the Society of British Artists where Whistler entertained all with a clever statement with universal appeal. Wilde responded: 'Oh, Jemmie, I wish I'd said that!' Whistler countered: 'You will, Oscar, you will.' This exchange was recorded by the press. Yet Wilde defensively responded: 'As for borrowing Mr. Whistler's ideas about art, the only thoroughly original ideas I have ever heard him express have had reference to his own superiority as a painter over painters greater than himself.'

Whistler concluded in *The Gentle Art*: 'The master stands in no relation to the moment at which he occurs–a monument of isolation–hinting at sadness–having no part in the progress of his fellow men.' Wilde countered: 'I differ entirely from Mr. Whistler. An artist is not an isolated fact; he is the resultant of a certain milieu and a certain entourage, and can no more be born of a nation that is devoid of any sense of beauty than a fig can grow from a thorn or a rose blossom from a thistle.' For years, Whistler anecdotes reverberated, many from the master, including when asked to check his cane at an exhibition, Whistler refused with: 'Oh no my little man, I keep this for the critics!' In future, via the Centre for Whistler Criticism, critical dialogues will be further framed within the complex world of Whistleriana.

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Ranelagh Gardens, 1883/84.
Watercolour on paper, 12.7 x 21.5 cm.
Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
The site is most likely to be the garden of Whistler's house at The Vale in Chelsea.
Not exhibited in Whistler's lifetime as far as is known.

REVIEWS

THE PAINTINGS OF JAMES MCNEILL WHISTLER

An Online Catalogue Raisonné

DANIEL E. SUTHERLAND

James McNeill Whistler: The Paintings, a Catalogue Raisonné
Margaret F. MacDonald and Grischka Petri
University of Glasgow (2014)
http://whistlerpaintings.gla.ac.uk

It has been 40 years since publication of the first complete catalogue raisonné of James Whistler's paintings by Yale University Press in 1980. Initiated by Andrew McLaren Young of the University of Glasgow, that project also drew on the expertise of Margaret F. MacDonald, Robin Spenser, and Hamish Miles, whose names, along with Young, provided the now standard catalogue entry of 'YMSM'. Sadly, Professor Young passed away before the catalogue was completed in 1975, and now, of the four original compilers, only Professor MacDonald remains. It is she, with the assistance primarily of Dr Grischka Petri of the University of Bonn, who has undertaken the formidable task of producing this new online catalogue.

For the sake of continuity and convenience, MacDonald has retained the YMSM classification, but this is very much a new and vastly superior catalogue. For one thing, and despite its title, it includes not only Whistler's 565 known oil paintings, but also his 1,734 works on paper (watercolours, pastels, and drawings). These, too, had been originally catalogued separately by MacDonald and published in book form in 1995. Additionally, the site serves as a link to several other important Whistler platforms, including his correspondence, the catalogue raisonné of his etchings (also by MacDonald), and a blog currently maintained by Hester Mauduit, an Honours student in the School of Culture and Creative Arts, University of Glasgow. It should also be stressed that the internet site which went live on 31 July 2018 is still in its Beta (initial) stage, and so may be extended and built upon or edited as desired. For instance, MacDonald intends eventually to offer annotated editions of Whistler's writings as part of the project. Access to all of this is free, thanks to generous funding by the Chancellor's Fund of the University of Glasgow, the Leverhulme Trust and the Lunder Foundation.

For the sake of convenience, this review will concentrate on the catalogue's presentation of Whistler oil paintings, although general remarks about organisation, format, categories of information, and images apply equally to the works on paper. The format is similar to that of MacDonald's etchings catalogue. The information provided for each work is divided into six distinct categories: Date, Images, Subject, Technical description, History, and Bibliography, which are also similar, though not identical, to the etchings. The same topics were covered in the 1980 catalogue, but rather, as was then necessary, cramming the information into two narrow columns per page, with images confined to an entirely separate volume, each category now claims a separate tab, with images integrated throughout. Not surprisingly, the amount of data provided far exceeds that offered in 1980 and has been updated to include material and perspectives unknown or unappreciated at that time.

The first two tabs, titled 'Date' and 'Images', introduce each picture through such basic data as the medium used, its size, the frame maker, artist's signature and inscriptions, but it is the 'Images' page that differs

[*opposite*]

Nocturne in Blue and Gold – Southampton Water, 1872.
Oil on canvas, 50.5 x 76 cm.
Art Institute of Chicago.
Exhibited: Paris, 1883.

most strikingly from the older catalogue and illustrates one of the biggest advantages of an internet edition. The electronic format makes possible high-resolution images of all known versions of each painting, including views of the framed picture, any drawings or sketches, and archival photographs, some of the latter showing how the picture was positioned at various exhibitions. Except for the photographs and drawings, nearly all of the images are also reproduced in colour, which was not true of the 1980 catalogue.

The next four pages provide the meat of the catalogue. The 'Subject' lists all known titles for the painting, which Whistler often changed from one exhibition to the next, sometimes because time had altered the picture's original colours. For instance, what had originally been a *Nocturne in Blue and Gold* might become a *Nocturne in Blue and Silver.* MacDonald then identifies the picture's scene or sitter, tells us where it was created, offers samples of public reaction to it, provides lists of published reviews, and cites historical works that mention the picture. The 'Technical description' page includes an analysis of the brushwork, application of the paint, a conservation history, and comments on the frame. The 'History' provides a detailed provenance and a list of all known exhibitions. The 'Bibliography' supplements the 'Subject' page by citing all contemporary publications to mention the picture, including Whistler's own writings, exhibition catalogues, and reviews from both newspapers and journals. In addition, it lists all modern (post-1905) descriptions or discussions of the picture in monographs, books on Whistler, general art works, journals, exhibition reviews, unpublished works, and on websites.

Again taking advantage of available technology, any mention of a picture in Whistler's correspondence is keyed for direct access to that letter in the correspondence project. Biographical sketches of people mentioned on the 'Subject' and 'History' pages may be accessed in the same way. The entire catalogue is also indexed, cross-referenced, and searchable by word, name, institution, exhibition, and date. Finally, the electronic format means that the catalogue may be updated and corrected as new information and new images are discovered. It is a pity that the University of Glasgow has discontinued such maintenance of the Whistler correspondence project.

WHISTLER AND NATURE

SIMON WARTNABY

'Whistler and Nature'
8 January to 17 March 2019
Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge

The Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge was one of the venues for the exhibition *Whistler and Nature* curated by the University of Glasgow. The exhibition toured to Compton Verney, Warwickshire (2018), the Fitzwilliam (2019) and Laing Art Gallery, Newcastle (2019). The exhibits at Cambridge were largely from The Hunterian, augmented by loans, and from the museum's own collection. In one of the rooms was a row of seven stunning lithographs and an etching of the Luxembourg Gardens in Paris, dating from 1893 and 1894. Whistler and Beatrix had moved to Paris in April 1892 and found an apartment at 110 rue du Bac and a studio at 186 rue Notre Dame des Champs. The studio was close to the southern end of the Luxembourg Gardens. The Luxembourg Palace had originally been built for Marie Medici in the seventeenth century and was much enlarged to house the Senate, between 1835 and 1856. The former Orangery attached to the palace had also been rebuilt as the Musée du Luxembourg in 1884, to house the national collection of contemporary art. It was in the museum that Whistler's *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother,* 1871 (Musée d'Orsay, Paris), was displayed, having been purchased by the French state in November 1891. The gardens adjacent to the palace had been remodelled, and they had attracted Whistler as a new subject for his lithographs of 'modern life'.

The catalogue to the exhibition, *Whistler and Nature* (2018), includes an informative chapter 'Nature on the Margins' by Clare Willsdon, in which she discusses Whistler's love for French formal parks and gardens.

Willsdon suggests that in Whistler's lithograph of *The Garden* (1891) he was reinventing the 'conversation piece' as well as the eighteenth-century *fête galante* made famous by Jean-Antoine Watteau. She also draws attention to Whistler's interest in the *ancien régime,* like his French literary friends, such as Jules and Edmund de Goncourt, Stéphane Mallarmé and Robert de Montesquiou. Whistler's interest in the formal gardens of the Luxembourg is revealed by Willsdon, who quotes his letter to Beatrix of 28 October 1895: 'Also there is a little bill for that most foolish book on Paris gardens - you remember the dreadful person said the beautiful orange boxes of the Tuileries & the Luxembourg were ugly - and that statues should not be in gardens - because they didn't grow there!' Willsdon suggests the book that Whistler referred to in his letter was *The Parks and Gardens of Paris* (1869, 1878 and 1883) by the British gardener and journalist, William Robinson (1838–1935). In the book he was dismissive of the geometric gardens of the Luxembourg Palace, and particularly its statuary, topiary, carpet-bedding and waterworks. He advocated the English informal landscape design and planting in his books, *The Wild Garden* (1870), *The English Flower Garden* (1883), and his weekly journal *The Garden* (launched 1871), where he discusses his natural concept of planting, with the mixed border and dense planting.

One of Whistler's friends and visitors in Paris, Henry James, mentions the Luxembourg Gardens in *The Ambassadors* (written between October 1900 and July 1901 and published in 1903). In the novel James describes

[*above*]
French Senate, Luxembourg Palace, *c.*1860.
Coloured lithograph.

Lambert Strether in the gardens - ‘here at last he found his nook, and here, on a penny chair from which terraces, alleys, vistas, fountains, little trees in green tubs, little women in white caps and shrill little girls at play all sunnily “composed” together, he passed an hour in which the cup of his impressions seemed truly to overflow.’ One can visualise Whistler sitting in a ‘penny chair’ near the great basin, with its terraces, steps and balustrading, and with his crayons deftly sketching on the lithographic transfer paper. In those lithographs at the Fitzwilliam we can see Whistler’s invocation of the sensual scenes of ‘modern life’ and ‘his impressions seemed truly to overflow.’

[*above*]
Notman Photo Co., *Panoramic view of Luxembourg Gardens, Paris*, *c.*1909.
Photographic print.
Library of Congress, Washington, DC.

[*opposite*]
The Steps, Luxembourg Gardens, 1893
Transfer lithograph.
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Simon Wartnaby is Honorary Secretary of the Whistler Society and an architectural historian.

The Winged Hat, 1890.
Lithograph on paper, 17.9 × 17.4 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Whistler gave a copy of the lithograph to Mallarmé. The image was also published in *The Whirlwind* 25 October 1890 under the heading *Mr Whistler's 'Songs on Stone'*. Mallarmé wrote to Whistler on 31 October: "[...] The lithograph is enchanting, you treat it as a complete master, at the first go, as with the etching: and what drawing, my dear Whistler! biting and elegant, supreme charm. Thank you."

APPENDIX

Stéphane Mallarmé, No.1, 1892
Lithograph. Freer Gallery of Art,
Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.
This is the second lithograph that Whistler
worked upon (completed 30 November
1892) and used for Mallarmé's *Vers et Prose*
(1893) frontispiece portrait.

APPENDIX

The Whistler-Mallarmé Correspondence of 1888

COMPILED AND TRANSLATED BY NIGEL THORP

The five letters below are an exchange between Whistler and Stéphane Mallarmé (1842–98) relating to the translation into French by Mallarmé of the Ten O'Clock lecture. As mentioned by Nigel Thorp in his essay above, the lecture was first given in London in 1885. Chatto and Windus published the lecture in 1886 (although the title page bears the date '1885') as a limited edition, with a commercial edition in May 1888. The French version was firstly published in the *Revue Indépendante* (early May 1888), by its editor Édouard Dujardin (1861–1949), and more or less simultaneously he had a pamphlet published by the *Librairie Revue Indépendante* in an edition of 250 copies on Dutch laid paper.

In addition to the letters below, there was correspondence between Whistler and Dujardin concerning the publication of the lecture: of 3 April 1888 (GUW) where he asked Whistler various questions including the design of the pamphlet and Whistler's reply of 27 April 1888 (Christies, Paris. 28 April 2008, lot 140). After the lecture was published in the *Revue* there was further correspondence between Mallarmé and Whistler: following Whistler's letter of 10 May (Letter 5), in which he addresses Mallarmé for the first time as 'Mon Cher', Mallarmé responded on 'Dimanche Mai' (13 or 30 May), and opened his reply '(since that is the form of address we are using, if I deserve to, having been very forward in our friendship in this little job), I am happy that you are too. I did it as if for myself, of course, and I found it all the easier because I understood and agreed with everything in your vision of Art. Thank you for your friendly agreement with the least of my efforts.' In a letter to Mallarmé from Whistler written around 6 June he says that he had not received copies of the pamphlet from Dujardin. Then in a letter from Mallarmé of 29 (?) June where he mentioned a change made by the editor, who had incorrectly changed 'steam-horse' to 'horse-machine'.

The letters published here for the first time are all in translation from French to English, and include the final version of two previous draft letters (Letters 2 and 4), and one unpublished letter (Letter 5). They are held in the Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet in Paris, and together with seven other letters were acquired from the Dujardin sale at Sotheby's, Paris, in June 2007. The sale also included three brief notes from Whistler to Mallarmé in 1888–89. There were also two letters in November 1891, one to Whistler and the other to Mallarmé, from Maurice Joyant, manager of Goupil's branch in Paris, about the purchase of Whistler's painting, *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*, for the Musée du Luxembourg. Mallarmé was active in persuading the French government to purchase the portrait, and in obtaining honours for him. The last of the letters is from Whistler to Mallarmé's daughter Geneviève, on 16 September 1898, just two days after he had written to her with his grief at the news of her father's death. As Nigel Thorp says in his essay the correspondence reveals the degree of affection and sympathy Whistler had for Mallarmé, as well as their devotion to the different arts which they shared with each other in close friendship.

A full version of the unpublished letters including the original text in French will be available to download from the Whistler Society website. (*http://www.whistlersociety.org/journal/*).

Whistler, James McNeill, The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, The On-line Edition, *University of Glasgow, 2003–2010 (abbreviated reference as 'GUW') (http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence/)*

LETTER 1

Paris 89 rue de Rome
Dimanche 18 mars 1888

[Translation:]

Dear Mr Whistler,

I vowed to translate you before Easter, and very soon I shall shut myself away with a young man from among my friends who will put pen to paper... I am delighted with this opportunity to express to you a friendship caused by your attitude which is so extraordinary and truly that of an artist in everything, and which often lets me think about our meeting.

The publisher has been found, but will his terms suit you? It is Dujardin, the editor of la Revue Indépendante: sharing the profits from the sale with you and covering the expenses alone (except for the brown paper cover with which you are providing him), he asks to have the text appear in his periodical on 1 May. The plan is not bad: it includes an invitation for interested people and amateurs to obtain a copy of the booklet, which remains the publication of the Ten O'Clock, published separately, elegantly and without cost.

See what our friend Duret thinks, if he is in London; and please drop me a line as soon as possible, before I go away for some time.

Your hand,

Stéphane Mallarmé

Stéphane Mallarmé to Whistler,
18 March 1888 (GUW 13434).

LETTER 2

BEEFSTEAK CLUB, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

[Translation:]

Dear Mr Mallarmé -

I could not be more touched by your charming letter. Since our last evening together when, in the joy of conversation, I allowed myself to accept, with little ceremony, your so gracious offer to me, I have often thought with real horror of my presumptuous attitude -

I really do not know how to thank you enough, but I assure you [p. 2] *that you have made me really happy - and that I appreciate the great advantage of being presented to readers by Stephane Mallarmé.*

The Ten O'clock [sic] *interpreted by him will become classic - which will prove again that in an artistic work, the value depends on the perfection of the work.*

I accept Mr Dujardin's conditions with pleasure - and I ask you to be kind enough to present my compliments to him.

I would only ask that in the Revue there should be the same arrangement of paragraphs and the same blank spaces as in the text.

I shall rely entirely on you to ensure that Mr Dujardin understands the importance of these publication details

I would like the [p.3] *brochure to appear at the same time as the article in the Independent Review*

Here it is - when shall I have the pleasure of shaking your hand!

J McN W
[butterfly]

NEW ORIGINAL LETTER
(final version of draft (GUW 03777).)
Whistler to Stéphane Mallarmé, 28 March 1888, Paris
(Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet, Paris).

LETTER 3

Paris 89 rue de Rome
Mercredi 25 Avril 1888

[Translation:]

My dear Mr Whistler,

I have delivered the translation to Dujardin, such as it will appear in the Independent Review to serve as a proof for the brochure. You will receive [p. 2] *the issue immediately, read it and let me have your comments, as a friend; telling me about any alterations in case I have misrepresented your meaning a little here and there. I have tried to make a simple and precise version and to keep the* [p. 3] *manner and the oratorical tone, as if you were preparing to repeat the lecture in French; and if perhaps I have altered one or two expressions, it was with that intention and so that everything should be in your voice.*

[p. 4] *I have added to my name as translator that of a young poet and friend* [Francis Vielé-Griffin], *who held my pen during my work. If you see any inconsistency in this, at least for the brochure, please do not hesitate to reply to me. In this procedure* [p. 5] *the first thing is to please you.*

The pagination of the French brochure deliberately repeats your own; do not pay any attention to the compact text of the Review, which [p. 6] *will certainly not leave sufficient blank space visible, in spite of my recommendations.*

I have heard that with Monet giving no sign of life and Renoir no enthusiasm for the international exhibition, [p. 7] *this grand occasion when you were to reappear, were you not? for the opening evening, will perhaps not take place on 6th May, nor later. No matter! We must* [p. 8] *be ready for the Ten O'Clock on about that date so that we do not arrive too long after the Review.*

Thank you for your kind messages: I am very happy to know both the traveller and the subtle writer.

Yours

Stéphane Mallarmé

Friday. I have reopened my letter; I have just heard that Renoir has said, and to tell you, that the International Exhibition, will not take place, on the 6th, at Petit's, but probably on the 16th, at Durand-Ruel's. Perhaps you have been told in any case.

Stéphane Mallarmé to Whistler,
25 April 1888, (GUW 03778).

LETTER 4

[Translation:]

Dear Mr Mallarmé

Your translation is very fine, and I cannot tell you how touched I am with the sympathy for my work which shows in every line, and which inspires you when you find with such success, in your admirable prose, my ideal form of meaning in the 'Ten O' Clock' in French.

I nevertheless must consult you on certain points which seem important.

I must admit to you, on rereading it, that I find in the original text one or two passages where the subtlety of ideas to be expressed, and perhaps the required precision of expression, have given rise to a certain ambiguity of sense which the translation has brought to my attention for the first time and have caused unfortunately some slight misunderstandings for which I beg you, my dear friend, to leave me the entire responsibility but which should none the less be rectified as soon as possible. Therefore stop everything that it is possible to stop until next Monday when I shall come to meet you and shake your hand, and after an hour's discussion everything will be for the best in the best of all worlds.

Yours ever

Whistler
[butterfly]

NEW ORIGINAL LETTER
(final version of draft (GUW 03779).).
Whistler to Stéphane Mallarmé, 8 May 1888
(Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet, Paris).

LETTER 5

BEEFSTEAK CLUB, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

[Translation:]

My dear Mallarmé – forgive me for this intimacy – but I have just read in the Revue itself the superb translation that you have made of the "Ten O'Clock"! – I am much moved by it!

I cannot now forgive myself for the letter that I wrote you this morning – So I beg you to [p.2] *kindly hear me on some small details which, from the point of view of the painter, have given me the courage to request the revision that I noted in my letter –*

In the passage where it says … "and so for the flock, little hamlets grow near Hammersmith" …etc – "flock" does not mean "crowd", but small group – that is to say, the chosen, or the faithful – the enthusiasts or indeed the believers - - All this refers to the writings of Ruskin – which is the reason to try to make habits of the past be practical in our own day – So it is true that a small village has been built at Bedford Park (near Hammersmith) where all is in the Old Style – and where the inhabitants wear strange costumes and lead their everyday lives with a seriousness that exceeds ridicule! – Now you see where I am heading – and in this case the "flock" could almost be translated as the "precious" –

Further on we have: "We of today, in gross contrast with this Arcadian purity, [p. 3] *call for the ungainly, and obtain the ugly" – You give "ungainly" as "trivial" – No! My dear friend – for you, a poet, the trivial is to be scorned, but for me, a painter, the trivial can be charming! – and does not convey the wickedness of my intention – "Ungainly" here means all that is not graceful – and yet disgraceful is perhaps not the word – and yet I, in English, cannot find another –*

"And soon, from the moistened earth, they fashioned forms resembling the gourde!! … etc. Here I repeat the word gourde, because I am continuing [p. 4] *with the poem started earlier …"Traced strange devices with a burnt stick upon a gourde" … and also because gourde is a natural object, which the artist began to imitate, whereas "cup" is already something made by the artist, and could even be the vase of which I describe the birth! –*

Here I shall stop to reproach myself for the boldness with which I dared to discuss these little details with the master who was able to fashion me, in his

NEW ORIGINAL LETTER
Whistler to Stéphane Mallarmé, 10 May 1888
(Bibliothèque Jacques Doucet, Paris).

LETTER 5 (cont.)

beautiful language, and produce, without any visible difficulty, [p. 5] *these splendid pages, where I read with astonishment in a masterpiece of pure and exquisite French, the most subtle thoughts of my Ten O'Clock!*

I shall never be able to express my gratitude in reading the translation of all this passage: "And so Art has been foolishly confounded with education …"

I am writing this to you in the Club – far from the publication that Mons. Dujardin sent me – so I am not reminding you one by one of all the wonders of transposition that delighted me in this brilliant work!

What more beautiful than your "cotillion path" and all that goes with it, and the "disastrous effect of art upon the middle classes"? – the appeal to the ladies! – "Know then all beautiful women …!" and everything – and everywhere! – I am just amazed!!

From the standpoint of the painter I would wish timidly to indicate one thing - "From the sunny morning, when with her glorious Greek relenting, she yielded up the secret of repeated line" … [p. 6] *you have "balanced line" – I mean to indicate the great beauty and the knowledge of the value of the repetition of lines in decorative works –*

Do you think that "repeated line" would have been wrong in this passage which you have made so sonorous and so poetic? …"for the delectation of the Bagman & the Critic." – "Bagman" in English means "Commercial traveller" - You have "luggage assistant" – and it is charming! But do you think that it is clear like that? Especially in this context? At first the commercial traveller [end of sheet; page missing]

Stéphane Mallarmé, No.2, 1892.
Lithograph. National Gallery
of Art, Washington, DC.
This is the first lithograph that Whistler
worked upon (completed 27 October 1892)
for Mallarmé's *Vers et Prose* (1893). But not
used as the frontispiece.

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May, whose ray lasts
Only to dazzle the air,
Combines art with its greenery
And joins Whistler to spring.

Stéphane Mallarmé
Paris 1 May 1888

A translation of a quatrain by Mallarmé which he sent to Whistler to coincide with a dinner held in his honour at the Criterion Restaurant, London, 1 May 1889.