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PhD thesis

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Variations in Gold:
The Stylistic Development of the
Picture Frames used by
James McNeill Whistler

Volume 1

by
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Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of
Doctor of Philosophy in Decorative Arts in the
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Abstract

The picture frames used by the American painter James McNeill Whistler developed stylistically throughout his career. This thesis identifies these developments, defines the characteristics indicative of each design, and contextualises their creation within Whistler's larger body of work. By employing a chronological method of approach, observations are made regarding the evolution of these designs.

First-hand examinations of over a hundred frames, in both the United Kingdom and the United States, resulted in challenging the generic understanding that a 'Whistler frame' is characterised only by reeded ornamentation. These physical examinations are cross-referenced with the significant amount of correspondence existing between Whistler and his contemporaries, thanks in large part to the publication of the on-line edition of *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*. In doing so it is possible to observe the unique framing habits of Whistler and the histories of specific pairings of paintings and frames. This thesis argues that the stylistic developments present in Whistler's frames are directly linked to his understanding and perception of the frame's function.

Chapter 1 – The Purpose of the Picture Frame: An Examination of Frame Exhibitions, 1986-1996 – outlines that a picture frame can serve one of three functions: (1) as a decorative art object linking the painting to the environment, (2) as a decorative art object dividing the painting from the environment, or (3) as an extension of the painting. This thesis also applies the additional approach that the picture frame functions as an indicator of the provenance for both the painting and frame.

Chapter 2 – Whistler's Reframes: The Question of Originality in Whistler's Picture Frames – explores this method of provenance by examining Whistler's reframing habits. It also focuses on the framing histories of the four Whistler canvases shown at the 2006 exhibition *Americans in Paris* at the National Gallery of Art, London.

Subsequent chapters further establish the chronological development of Whistler's frames. Each chapter provides an in-depth examination for a specific frame style, places it within its proper context, and reflects on the relationship existing between the frame's design and its function.

Chapter 3 – The 1864 Whistler Frame: Extension of the Painting – explores Whistler's friendship with Dante Gabriel Rossetti and his early designs from 1864. These frames are observed as extending the painting to become a cohesive whole. The influence of Whistler's blue-and-white porcelain collection on his early design is also considered.

Chapter 4 – **Waves, Baskets and Butterflies: The 1870s Whistler Frame, part 1, 1871-1873** – documents Whistler's earliest attempt at painted frames and their development into incised ornament. Their role at Whistler's one-man exhibition of 1874 is also observed.

Chapter 5 – **Trials, More Waves and Peacocks: The 1870s Whistler Frame, part 2, 1873-1878** – explores the effect that Whistler's interior designs (including the Peacock Room) had on his frames. The reincorporation of the painted 'blue sea wave' or seigaiha pattern and his libel suit with John Ruskin is also explored.

Chapter 6 – **Gilders, Framers, and Dealers: the 1880s Frame and the Dowdeswell Exhibitions** – focuses on the frame created during the 1880s and addresses the framing of Whistler's works on paper. The relationship Whistler shared with his framers and dealers is explored as well as his interest in exhibition design.

Chapter 7 – **Stateliness times Five: The Grau Frame of the 1890s** – examines Whistler's working relationship with Frederick Henry Grau and the preparations made for the 1892 Goupil Gallery exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces*.

This thesis explores the complex relationship and histories between Whistler's paintings and frames. It highlights the stylistic differences between his picture frame designs and offers an explanation as to why and how these developments occurred. This thesis is an object-based, archive-rich, frame-specific approach to the artwork of James McNeill Whistler.

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Abbreviations:

Museums:

AIC	Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago, IL, USA
CIA	The Courtauld Institute of Art, London, UK
DIA	Detroit Institute of Art, Detroit, MI, USA
FGA	Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., USA
Fogg	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA, USA
Frick	Frick Collection, New York City, USA
HAG	Hunterian Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, UK
ISGM	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston, MA, US
Met	The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City, USA
MFAB	Museum of Fine Arts Boston, MA, USA
NGA DC	National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., USA
NPA UK	National Portrait Gallery, London, UK
PMA	Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, PA, USA
PC	Private Collections (details given)
Tate	Tate Britain, London, UK

Sources:

AAA	Archives of American Art, Washington, D.C., USA
C	Stratis, Harriet K. and Martha Tedeschi. <i>The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler</i> (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1998).
GUL	Whistler Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, Scotland
GUW	<i>The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903</i> , eds. Margaret MacDonald, Partica de Montfort, and Nigel Thorp. On-line edition, (Glasgow: Centre for Whistler Studies, University of Glasgow, 2003); www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk .
M	MacDonald, Margaret F. <i>James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonne</i> (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
PC	Press Cutting Books, Whistler Collection, Special Collections, Glasgow University Library, Scotland.
PWC	Elizabeth Robins and Joseph Pennell Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
YMSM	Young, Andrew McLaren, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles. <i>The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler</i> . 2 vols. (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980).

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 All works are oil on canvas,
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Introduction

A 'Frame-specific' Approach to the Art of James McNeill Whistler

For many, the picture frame is an enigma. Traditional art historians do not consider it to be a part of the painting, while decorative art historians do not consider it an independent object. As a result, the frame is 'peripheral' to the concerns of both and has been left to live a life in the footnotes of academic art history.¹ Yet, during the second half of the nineteenth century, several artists, including the English Pre-Raphaelite, Dante Gabriel Rossetti, the French Impressionist, Edgar Degas, and the American Aesthete, James McNeill Whistler, expressed a significant concern for the functional relationship between a painting and its frame. Of these artists, Whistler has been selected as having the greatest potential to begin to explain the complex relationship that exists between painting and frame. Therefore, this thesis sets out to examine the little-known history of the peripheral objects that surround Whistler's oil paintings and works on paper.

The subject of the frame is a relatively new interest in the world of academic art history, but it has long been a concern to professional framers, conservators, and museum curators. This thesis is strongly indebted to the vision and pioneering spirit of this early generation of frame historians, including William Adair, Peter Cannon-Brookes, Ira Horowitz, Paul Mitchell, Eva Mendgen, Timothy Newbery, Lynn Roberts and Jacob Simon. Their work has resulted in the picture frame receiving attention throughout Europe and the United States.

¹ Peter Cannon-Brookes, 'Picture Framing: A Neglected Art', *National Art-Collections Fund Review* 1984 (1984), p. 85.

Their direct engagement with the physical characteristics of individual frames introduces a unique list of questions to the art historical analysis of Whistler's frames. What is the frame made of? How was it made? What role did the artist take in its creation? What was the relationship between the artist and the framer and/or designer? How has the frame affected the history and perception of the enclosed painting? And, perhaps most importantly, how did the frame end up on the painting? In engaging with these new questions, the basic outline and approach needed for the creation of a 'frame-specific' study have been established.

Another question often asked of a frame is what function or purpose does it serve? By examining previous frame-specific writings, primarily catalogues from frame exhibitions, it is possible to determine that a frame can serve one of three functions:

- as a decorative art object that links the enclosed painting to the surrounding environment;
- as a decorative art object that separates the enclosed painting from the surrounding environment; and
- as an extension of the enclosed painting.

All of these functions can be observed occurring at different points during the stylistic development of Whistler's picture frames. These functions can offer a possible explanation of why his frame designs alter so significantly – with each newly established style, the frame serves a different function.

Why Whistler?

Of the artists mentioned above, Whistler's ideas regarding the relationship between frame and painting are arguably the most complex. Throughout his career, the American artist James McNeill Whistler maintained control over the framing of his artistic creations and often incorporated them into his exhibition designs. Following the exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines, and Chevalet Pieces* in 1892, Whistler wrote to Gerald Potter, son of one of his earliest patrons, saying:

I hope you are as pleased as I am with my new frames – at last the pictures have a dress worthy their own dignity and stateliness, Wherefore you may thank me for finally inventing them – You see it takes years to know these things – and

by the way what an execrable knobly [sic] horror was round your “Blue Wave, Biarritz!”²

This quote encapsulates Whistler’s on-going relationship with the picture frame. This thesis observes how Whistler’s picture frames developed during his career, favouring specific frame designs during particular periods of time (ranging from several years to a couple of months), only to abandon them later to develop something new and more ‘worthy’ of his artwork. Whistler’s habits serve to complicate the question of ‘originality’, another underlying theme of this thesis. If Whistler gave a painting more than one frame, which is the original? Is one more ‘authentic’ than the other? This study examines the ‘years’ and processes that Whistler took to invent these ‘dresses’ for his artwork.

In answering these various questions, this thesis builds upon existing studies of Whistler’s frames and expands on their observations. Only by observing the chronological and stylistic development of Whistler’s frames can an accurate understanding of these objects be reached.

Studies on Whistler’s frames have already been carried out, but they have not attempted to answer the question of why Whistler ‘invented’ these frames. Nor have they explored how these designs developed. Instead their primary concern has been to provide a simplistic style guide to Whistler’s frames, avoiding complex concepts such as ‘originality’ or design.

Ira Horowitz conducted the first in-depth examination of Whistler’s frames. His master’s thesis entitled ‘The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris’, was completed in 1974 and then condensed into the article ‘Whistler’s frames’ published by *The Art Journal* in 1979.³ Although he was keenly interested and offered insightful information on the subject, the Whistler scholar Andrew McLaren Young, described him as ‘incredibly ignorant about what goes inside the frame’.⁴ Nevertheless, this thesis uses Horowitz’s writings as a foundation and

² James Whistler to John Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], MS Whistler F420B; GUW 01488, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

³ Ira Horowitz, ‘The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris’ (Master of Arts, Queens College, City University of New York, 1974) and Ira Horowitz, ‘Whistler’s Frames’, *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980).

⁴ Letter from McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, 4 April 1974, Barber Institute Curatorial file, (accessed, 8 November 2006), see **Appendix: Unpublished Sources**.

builds on his observations to create a 'frame-specific' examination of Whistler. To achieve this, it is essential to place these objects within the context of the artist's career.

Whistler's 1892 statement to Potter, cited above, reflects the process of his frame development. The 'execrable knobbly horror' surrounding *Blue Wave, Biarritz* (YMSM 41) was placed on the painting thirty years previously by Whistler. In October 1862, he wrote to George Lucas, a Paris-based art dealer, requesting the assistance of his friend's good taste:

I am painting a couple of pictures and wish on my arrival in Paris to have frames ready for them – Will you have the great kindness to order them for me from your frame-maker? – The first is for a sea piece of deep tone, and I should like it to be something ... richly carved, and bold – deep and rather broad; massive but not cumbersome, and well finished.⁵

One of the two canvases referred to here was Potter's *Blue Wave, Biarritz*. Accompanying these requests is a small pen and ink drawing of a neoclassical frame, which illustrates that Whistler was not yet creating original frame designs (see **fig. 2.4**); but it does indicate that he was taking an active role in the framing of his artwork.

Prior to this, it is believed that Whistler surrounded his canvases in antique frames. On his twenty-first birthday, 11 July 1855, his mother, Anna, wrote asking, 'Do you look after the Picture frame I left for repair at Barretts in Howard St?''⁶ The following week, she wrote to Whistler again regarding this frame saying, 'I wish you would call at Barretts & have your W[est] Point painting framed in the old Peter Gt. Frame, have it re-gilded'.⁷ Most likely, the 'Peter Gt. Frame' mentioned here corresponds to an antique frame made during the reign of Peter Romanov I and was possibly purchased by Anna in the 1840s when the Whistler family lived in St. Petersburg. From her references, it is possible to conclude that Whistler's earliest works were given second-hand frames.

⁵ James Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, 18 October [1862], Baltimore Museum of Art, 06 folder, W-Lucas file; GUW 09187, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

⁶ Anna Whistler to James Whistler, 11 July 1855, GUL MS Whistler W458; GUW 06463, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

⁷ Anna Whistler to James Whistler, [18 July 1855], GUL MS Whistler W456; GUW 06461, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

Following this, as seen in the 1862 letter to Lucas, Whistler had new frames of contemporary designs made for his canvases. Yet, ten years after these orders, Whistler wrote again to Lucas regarding his newest frame designs. In the oft-quoted letter from 1873, Whistler declared:

You will notice and perhaps meet with opposition that my frames I have designed as carefully as my pictures – and thus they form as important a part as any of the rest of the work – carrying on a particular harmony throughout.⁸

Here we can see the progression that took place in Whistler's frame designs. The 'well finished' additions ordered by Whistler in 1862 have evolved into being 'integral aspects' of his artwork. The frames from 1862 and those from 1873 serve different purposes and vary significantly from one another stylistically. During the 'years' Whistler took to invent these 'dresses' he had to create new frame designs to serve these different purposes.

The 'Whistler Frame'

This thesis also expands the range of data included in the definition of the 'Whistler frame' by employing the 'frame-specific' questions asked by those directly connected with frame making and conservation. This data was acquired by combining two methods of analysis: (1) physical examinations of the objects; and (2) archival research of Whistler's papers and those of his contemporaries.

Before an examination of Whistler's frames can be made, the term 'Whistler frame' must be defined. Eli Wilner, a frame-dealer based in New York City, defines a 'Whistler frame' as 'consisting of reeded moulding'.⁹ Jacob Simon, curator at the National Portrait Gallery in London, expands on this and describes it as 'a reeded frame, named after the painter, current from the 1870s onwards, found either as a flat frame with inner and outer reeded bands, or as a reeded cushion frame'.¹⁰ Neither definition accurately describes the richness and subtleties present in Whistler's frame designs.

⁸ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore; GUW 09182, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

⁹ Eli Wilner, ed., *The Gilded Edge: The Art of the Frame*, (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000), p. 195.

¹⁰ Jacob Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1997), p. 208.

To many people, a 'Whistler frame' has become a generic term referring to any frame possessing reeded ornamentation, and it does not imply those created by the artist. The term 'Whistler frame' has resulted in numerous misconceptions regarding Whistler's frame designs. Because of its widespread acceptance, many believe that Whistler only employed one type of frame during his career, and they fail to take into account the numerous variations present in their development. At this point in time, the vocabulary needed to define and understand these objects does not exist. Therefore, this thesis seeks both to challenge these preconceived notations and to create the necessary vocabulary to facilitate an understanding of Whistler's picture frames.

Systematic Physical Examinations

This thesis is firmly grounded in an object-based approach. It proposes that evidence extracted from a close physical examination of the frame is relevant to the precise dating of individual frames and directly contributes to our understanding of their subtle nuances in design. As a result, almost every frame documented has been examined and photographed. Close contact and study by the author with working frame-makers, conservators and restorers has helped to identify which questions to ask, how to answer them, and why they were important to the present examinations.

Several months were spent working at a frame-conservation studio in Washington, DC, gaining knowledge in the traditional methods of gold-leaf gilding and restoration. With these skills, it was possible to conduct a survey of Whistler's frames. Since 2004, numerous trips to major museums and galleries have been made in order to examine these objects first-hand. The museums visited include: Tate Britain, London; Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.; Metropolitan Museum and Frick Collection, New York City; Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham (UK); Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia; and the Museum of Fine Art and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, Boston. Prior to these visits, requests were sent to each institution asking that the verso (or back side of the frame) be made accessible. On several occasions, the paintings were taken down off the gallery walls. Approximately one

hundred Whistler frames were examined.

These physical examinations were undertaken systematically with the particulars of each frame recorded in detail on a specifically designed form/checklist. A copy of this form can be found in **Appendix: Database**. All information gathered was then entered into the 'Whistler Frame Database'. This database comprises a tool upon which a significant portion of this thesis is based, and it enables the user to cross-reference frames, paintings, exhibitions, frame-makers, labels, and methods of construction. Furthermore, the information was supported by photographic documentation gathered during the physical examinations. More information regarding the creation of this database can be found in the appendix.

After measuring and photographing the frame, four key elements were considered when encountering a new frame: the profile, the condition, evidence of possible alterations, and the presence of labels. The profile, or the basic shape of the frame's moulding, can be the first indicator of the frame's style. As Wilner and Simon both observed, most of Whistler's frames possess a form of reeded ornamentation. However, these reeds are not arranged identically, but vary throughout Whistler's development. Simon alluded to these varying profiles in his definition when he referenced the 'flat' and 'deep cushion' frame. The profile features significantly in the frame analyses, as it can accurately illustrate the subtle differences occurring in Whistler's frame development.¹¹

The frame's condition can illuminate the object's history. The surface can suggest whether conservation attempts have been made or if the piece has been re-gilded. Similarly, examination of its construction can confirm the dating of a frame. By looking at the verso, it is possible to tell if a frame dates from the nineteenth century or is a modern reproduction. Whistler's framers often employed the use of corner-blocks to support the mitre joints, and these deep reeded frames consist of multiple smaller frames that are joined together to create the whole (see **fig. I.1**). Where this technique has been employed, the frame possesses a hollow back.

¹¹ The progression of profiles during the development of Whistler's frames is illustrated in **figs. 2.2, 3.1, 4.1, and 6.1**).



Fig. I.1: Front, Verso and Verso Profile of the frame on *The Last of Old Westminster* (1862, MFAB, YMSM 39).

Any 'Whistler frame' made with rails of solid wood is most likely a modern reproduction (**fig. I.2**).

Another question asked during these verso examinations was whether any evidence of re-sizing or alterations could be detected. These observations can further illuminate the history of the frame. If re-sizing occurred, it would indicate that it was not originally on the enclosed painting. Additionally, any alterations could indicate possible changes in ownership or re-hanging in another location.



Fig. I.2: Front and Verso of *The Storm – Sunset* (1880, Fogg, M. 808, chalk and pastel on brown paper).



Fig. I.3: Nine labels on the verso of *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, Plate 34).

Perhaps the most noteworthy discoveries made during the verso examinations were the paper labels and/or written inscriptions. **Figure I.3** shows nine labels found on the verso of *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, **Plate 32**). In several circumstances, the frame can be confidently dated by the existence of a label identifying a specific framer or exhibition. As with the profiles and alterations, these discoveries factor heavily in the frame analyses.

Documentary Evidence

The physical examinations were underpinned by a meticulous search for and analysis of primary sources that assist in the documentation of the stylistic changes occurring to Whistler's frames. Not only have the frames been physically examined, but also letters, exhibition reviews and bills have been carefully researched. A very substantial amount of this information became accessible with the publication of the on-line edition of *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler*. In 2003, the Centre for Whistler Studies at the University of Glasgow launched the digital resource, enabling users to search the database for painting titles, exhibitions, owners and framers.¹² While a number of the original sources were consulted, the majority of the primary source material used in this thesis was taken from the on-line edition.

¹² Frame historian, Lynn Roberts, commented on the significance of the edition in September 2003 in the notice, 'Whistler's Correspondence', published at the website for the National Portrait Gallery, UK. <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/framewhistlers.asp>, (accessed, 10 August 2007).

To illustrate what can potentially be gained from these combined approaches (object and archive) in the analysis of Whistler's frames, the painting *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (1865, FGA, YMSM 56, **Plate 1**) can serve as an example.

The painting currently hangs at the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. in a reeded cushion frame, a style commonly made by Whistler's framer from the 1890s, Frederick Henry Grau.¹³ By considering the frame's profile and corner-block construction, it is possible to date it as from 1892 (**fig. I.4**). The work's accession number, '1892.23a-b', confirms this date. The Freer Gallery of Art is unique in that it assigns alphanumeric numbers to its paintings. The first part of this number indicates the year in which the work was accessioned into Freer's collection, and the second part records the specific number the painting was given in that particular year. Accordingly, *The Balcony* was the 23rd painting accessioned in 1892. The lower case letters refer to the individual objects that made up the gift. The letter 'a' refers to the painting, while 'b' refers to the frame. This accession number illustrates that this was the first and only frame to be on the work since entering the Freer Gallery. If there had been subsequent frames, they would have been given additional letters (c, d, e, etc) depending on the order they were added.

Due to the date in the accession number (1892), it can be assumed that this frame dates from that point in Whistler's career. Letters found in the on-



Fig. I.4: Verso of *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

¹³ The relationship between Whistler and Grau will be further examined in Chapters 6 & 7.

line correspondence confirm this. The New York dealer E.G. Kennedy wrote to Whistler in December 1892, saying that he had sold the work, and the annotations record that it was sold to the collector Charles Lang Freer.¹⁴ However, additional searches for letters exchanged between Kennedy and Whistler suggest that this frame was American-made and not placed on the work by the artist.

In June 1892, Whistler wrote to Kennedy requesting that several of the dealer's newly acquired works, including *The Balcony*, be given new frames. He declared that the works must 'be in hideous old things'.¹⁵ Therefore, he instructed Kennedy to go to Mr. Grau explaining that 'he is the only one who has the true pattern of my frame'.¹⁶ It appears that Kennedy did not heed Whistler's requests and instead sent the canvases to New York City without their frames.¹⁷ In August 1892, Kennedy wrote to Whistler's wife, Beatrice. In response to her question, 'Why didn't you have new frames for them all?'¹⁸, he stated:

I wrote to you from London that the reason I did not order three frames was, that we make our own frames, and thus save duty on the frames, besides making a better article, or rather one which won't split or crack in our climate. ... But why this anxiety as to frames and not a single word as to the paintings themselves?¹⁹

Therefore, the frame currently on *The Balcony* is not the first to surround the work, but rather it is the third.

Whistler first began work on the canvas in 1864. From this date, it is possible that the first frame to surround the work may have been either an Empire or Watts style frame (see **figs. I.5 & I.6**). However, the subject matter and the date both suggest that it was surrounded in a frame

¹⁴ Edward Guthrie Kennedy to James Whistler, 2 December 1892, GUL MS Whistler W1195; GUW 07207, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

¹⁵ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, [13 June 1892], NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/19; GUW 09685, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

¹⁶ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, [13 June 1892], NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/19; GUW 09685, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

¹⁷ Edward Guthrie Kennedy to Beatrix Whistler, 31 August 1892, GUL MS Whistler W1189; GUW 07201, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

¹⁸ Beatrix Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, 12 August 1892, NYPL E.G. Kennedy III/166; GUW 09829, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

¹⁹ Edward Guthrie Kennedy to Beatrix Whistler, 31 August 1892, GUL MS Whistler W1189; GUW 07201, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

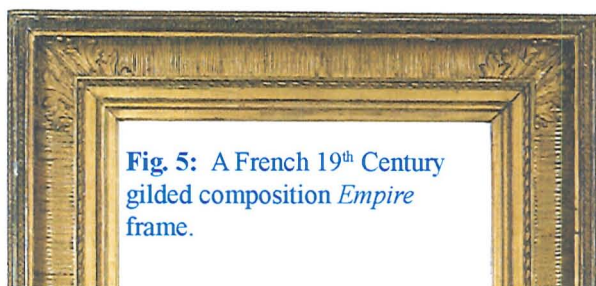


Fig. 5: A French 19th Century gilded composition *Empire* frame.



Fig. 6: An English late 19th century gilded oak and composition *Watts* frame.

similar in design to that seen on *Purple and Rose: the Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1864, PMA, YMSM 47, **Plate 2**).

This frame was then replaced according to Whistler's directions in 1878. Whistler wrote to John Cavafy, owner of the painting at that time, stating that 'in the end I also ordered for it a new frame – and elaborately painted and ornamented it – and again the mere price of the frame was refused when Foord and Dickenson sent in his bill'.²⁰ This decorated frame can be dated by the names mentioned by Whistler. Foord & Dickinson were frame-makers who produced several frames for Whistler during the mid-to-late 1870s. From this, it is possible to conclude that the frame Whistler ordered to surround *The Balcony* may have been similar to the one on *Nocturne Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (1872/73, Tate, YMSM 140, **Plate 3**). Yet, this was the frame that Kennedy left behind in London, in order to save expenses.

By combining observations from the object examinations with documentary evidence, it is possible to conclude that *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* has a rich history of frames that was unknown before such an analysis was made. In this one case study, we can see the progression and development of Whistler's frames.

This research identifies that James McNeill Whistler may have created eight different types of frames:

- an Oriental cassetta frame, c. 1864;
- a reeded cassetta frame containing the first stage of painted ornament, c. 1871 - 1874;
- a reeded cassetta frame with incised ornament, c. 1874;

²⁰ James Whistler to John Cavafy, [July/October 1878?], GUL MS Whistler C50; GUW 00549, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

- a reeded cassetta frame containing the second stage of painted ornament, c. 1876-1879;
- a reeded 1880s Dowdeswell watercolour/pastel frame;
- a white etching frame with veneered ornament, c. 1883-1892;
- a reeded portrait frame, c. 1880s; and
- the Grau-made frames which include, the small pastel frame, c. 1887, the flat reeded frame, c. 1887, and the deep reeded cushion frame, c. 1891-1894.

Three of these styles can be directly associated with the painting *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*. Listed in the order in which they occurred, they comprise an Oriental cassetta frame, a reeded cassetta frame with the second stage of painted ornament, and a deep reeded cushion Grau-style frame.

As previously mentioned, this study aims to contextualise the development of Whistler's picture frames. The literary evidence suggests that Whistler saw his later frame designs as superior to those he developed earlier in his career. This thesis argues that the chronological exposition of changes in Whistler's approach to framing his pictures is the only way to detect these modifications, determine their significance, and evaluate Whistler's maturing understanding of the relationship between the picture and its frame.

1.0. Chapter One

The Purpose of the Picture Frame: An Examination of Frame Exhibitions (1986 – 1996)

1.1. The Function of the Frame

Scholarly interest in the picture frame grew considerably between the years 1986 and 1996. During this time, the topic inspired the staging of several innovative exhibitions at privately owned frame studios and international art museums. This chapter examines the methods employed by three exhibitions during the decade: the Art Institute of Chicago's *The Art of the Edge: European Frames, 1300-1900* (1986), the Van Gogh Museum's *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920* (1995), and the National Portrait Gallery's *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons, and the Framing of Portraits in Britain* (1996).¹

While each exhibition focused on specific aspects of the picture frame, one theme remained constant. Each show explored the functionality or purpose of a picture frame, and each show provided a different answer. The way that the individual curators and institutions addressed this concept of frame function ultimately affected the approach and interpretation at each exhibition.

At first, the question of the frame's function appears to have a simple answer: its basic purpose is to surround and protect the enclosed painting. As Henry Heydenryk observed:

¹ Richard R. Brettell, Steven Starling, & Jose Ortega y Gasset, *The Art of the Edge: European Frames 1300-1900*, (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1986); Eva Mendgen, ed., *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995); Jacob Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1997).

At the most technical level a frame protects a painting from many kinds of damage. The frame acts as a buffer against the wear of time, and against inadvertent jostling, and provides an area that can be gripped should the painting have to be moved.²

However, from a review of the exhibition catalogues, it is possible to identify three additional functions for a picture frame. *The Art of the Edge* viewed the frame as a decorative art object that could serve either as a link connecting the painting to its surroundings or as a divide separating the painting from its surroundings; *In Perfect Harmony* focused on paintings known to have artist-designed frames, perceiving the frame as an extension or additional dimension of the painting; and *The Art of the Picture Frame* considered the historic nature of the frame, interpreting it as an indication of the painting's provenance.

1.2. The Frame as Decorative Art Object

The Art Institute of Chicago's [AIC] exhibition, which was curated by Richard R. Brettell, holds a unique position within the history and development of frame studies. At the time, it was heralded as being 'one of the most unusual exhibitions' in the history of the AIC.³ On 12 October 1986, Alan Artner, art critic for the *Chicago Tribune*, commented 'that it is the first such show in a major American museum perhaps indicates just how unusual it is'.⁴

The first indication that Brettell interpreted the frame as a decorative art object was seen in the design for the exhibition. Artner bluntly commented that the exhibition 'treats frames as decorative objects independent from pictures,' which suggests that the exhibition displayed only frames.⁵ In fact, seventy-five frames were included, and twenty were shown with paintings. Sue Taylor of the *Chicago Sun-Times* wonderfully expressed her bewilderment at this unusual method of display when she wrote: 'It's strange to see a great wall hung floor to ceiling with empty frames. For the most part, however, these objects have been stripped of their contents so we may consider them, for once, on their own terms'.⁶ She concluded that:

² Henry Heydenryk, *The Art and History of Frames: an Enquiry into the Enhancement of Paintings*, (New York: 1963).

³ Alan G. Artner, 'A Focus on the Edge, Art Institute Exhibition Frames a History that Borders on Being Overlooked,' *Chicago Tribune*, 12 October 1986.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Sue Taylor, 'The Art of the Edge. Renovation brings frame into focus at Art Institute,' *Chicago Sun-Times*, 30

The sheer effort of will required really to look at these frames explains why our awareness of frames in general has remained, until now, subliminal at best. In a sense the exhibition makes visible the invisible.⁷

However, the exhibition was not conceived to be a sensationalist spectacle. Artner perceived its purpose as:

to start viewers thinking about an object that most often is taken for granted. In this regard it is different from the kind of exhibition that gives a definitive view of a subject already known. It is much more exploratory, and for nearly everyone who sees the show it will emphasize a number of ideas that long were in play but never were focused.⁸

The objective of the exhibition was to call attention to the ignored object of the frame and to display it as a decorative art object. Accordingly, the frame was hung alone on the wall 'stripped' completely of its painting. This removed any relationship between painting and frame, with the frame becoming more like a piece of silver or porcelain, but with no indication of its original context or the reason for its existence. Brettell's interpretation is articulated in his brief account of the development of the frame. In the catalogue, he wrote:

The independent picture frame has a neatly definable history. It began in Italy during the early years of the Renaissance, largely as the result of the privatization and secularization of the painting, and it ended during the last decades of the 19th century, as painters began either to ignore the frame or to subsume it into the arena of the picture itself. The exhibition documented in this catalogue celebrates the great age of the physically independent picture frame, from roughly 1500 to 1850, when picture frames were works of decorative art fundamentally separate from the pictures they surround and ornament.⁹

Brettell outlined a cyclical pattern present within the history of frames comprising three developmental stages: *engaged* – *independent/disengaged* – *engaged*. This approach determined his examination and understanding of the frame.

In the first *engaged* stage, the frame is integral to the painting it surrounds and cannot be

October 1986.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Artner, 'A Focus on the Edge'.

⁹ Brettell, Starling, & Gassett, *The Art of the Edge: European Frames 1300-1900*, p. 11.

removed, as exemplified by the twenty frames noted by Artner.¹⁰ *Engaged* frames were most common during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and often relate to altarpieces and *trompe l'oeil* pictures (fig. 1.1).

The second stage is the *independent* or *disengaged* frame. With the increased involvement of cabinetmakers, woodcarvers and architects, the design and manufacture of frames began to have less in common with the enclosed paintings. At this point, the frame fulfils what Brettell regarded as its true purpose: it has become a decorative art object, independent of the painting and bearing



Fig. 1.1: an engaged frame on *Madonna and Child* by Paolo di Giovanni Fei, (c. 1390, Met).

greater similarities to the furniture and architecture of the surrounding room, so connecting the painting to the environment. Throughout his essay, Brettell expressed strong opinions on the decorative art qualities of the *disengaged* frame:

These new frame makers were anxious, in the end, to rob pictures of their power, to put them 'in their place,' so to speak, in the larger and more literal schemes of architecture and the decorative arts. Hence frames increasingly controlled their pictures, surrounding them with precious penumbra of decorations that were related more to the rooms that held them, to furniture nearby, or to the coat of arms of their owners, than to the pictures themselves.¹¹

Brettell subdivided the *independent* or *disengaged* frames into two further categories: architectural and ornamental.¹² The architectural frame was defined as possessing simple mouldings, similar to those seen on windows or doorframes, and certain elements may be painted to resemble architectural features (see fig. 1.2). The ornamental frame was identified as being closely linked to the decorative patterns popular in furniture design and the decorative arts (see fig. 1.3). The design for these frames was described as having 'natural and curvilinear

¹⁰ Artner, 'A Focus on the Edge'.

¹¹ Brettell, Starling, & Gassett, *The Art of the Edge: European Frames 1300-1900*, p. 12.

¹² Ibid., p. 13.

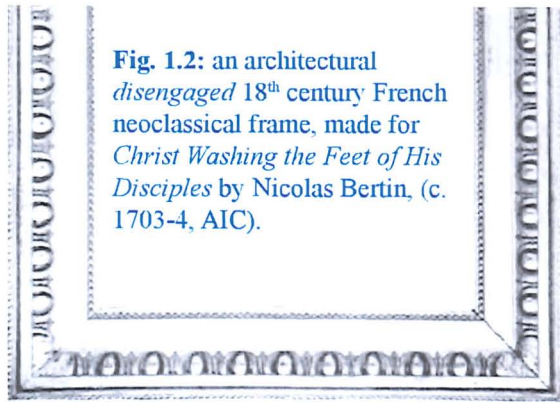


Fig. 1.2: an architectural *disengaged* 18th century French neoclassical frame, made for *Christ Washing the Feet of His Disciples* by Nicolas Bertin, (c. 1703-4, AIC).



Fig. 1.3: an ornamental *disengaged* 16th century Venetian leaf torus frame.

forms' that 'triumph over the architectural', and bursts 'forth into the room with ebullience.'¹³

The third stage of the cyclical history of frames was identified as occurring during the 19th century, and its development was related directly to mass production. In practice, cabinetmakers and architects had become much less active in the direct design and manufacture of frames, and factories had come to dominate the process. Manufacturers were motivated by profit, and as their production levels of frames increased, the level of craftsmanship decreased. Brettell drew a parallel between this relationship of market and quality to a shift that occurred between the frames and the artists:

painters themselves became increasingly estranged from frame makers, and most often had little, if any, choice about their frames. Perhaps for this reason ... the independent picture frame, especially the gilded, ornamental variety, came under increasing attack by artists.¹⁴

As the availability of frames increased, the very group who needed them – the artists – grew alienated. Brettell states that 19th century artists dismissed the traditional *independent* frame, which might lead one to believe that these painters chose to ignore the frame altogether. However, several artists chose to embrace the frame and incorporated it into their work. Their reintegration of the frame with the painting marks the death of the *independent* frame.

Brettell listed several artists who participated in this 'attack'. The first on the list was James McNeill Whistler.¹⁵ This is the first time Brettell mentioned an artist by name, but he still wrote in generalities, and his analysis of Whistler's work was limited to the following sentence:

¹³ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁴ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 14.

‘Whistler refused to allow anyone to design his frames, and he created simple, unadorned rectangles, dully gilded so as not to break with the greyed palettes of the pictures within’.¹⁶ This statement is only partially true. Whistler was involved in the framing of his works, but his frames were not unadorned or dully gilded – several of his frames contain painted or incised ornamentation and were brightly gilded.

Brettell’s inclusion of Whistler at this point is significant, as he considered Whistler’s frames to be *engaged* frames, directly disqualified from being classified as decorative art objects. A frame that serves its true function must remain permanently fixed at this second stage of the cycle, because once a *disengaged* frame becomes *engaged*, the development of the frame ends. In light of this, a frame can only be a frame when it shares a closer connection with the decorative surroundings than with the painting. It may seem an extreme conclusion, but according to Brettell, the frame is only a frame when it does not enhance the enclosed painting. This represents a significant fault in his understanding of the picture frame.

How then does Brettell’s perception of the frame affect his view of the framing practices of art museums? If the frame is detached from the decorative environment that gave it its purpose, can the frame still serve the same function? Brettell notes that:

Perhaps because these frames compete for visual attention with the picture, many of them were destroyed or, alternatively languish in storage areas of modern museums.¹⁷

These decorative art frames that used to link the paintings to their original environments are now lost in the modern museum, and the ornamentation would be inappropriate in the neutral exhibition space of the modern art gallery. Brettell observed the differences in current framing practices and those of the past:

The fervent desire of most museum curators is to house works of art in frames appropriate to them – that is, of a sympathetic size, colour, and texture and from the same region and historical period. Thus, the function of the frame

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 17.

has totally changed; it no longer places the work in its particular collection, but rather replaces it in some approximation of its original context.¹⁸

Brettell acknowledged that the frame is still considered to be a decorative art object, but that it no longer links the painting to the room. Instead, it acts as a divide between the two worlds.

The concept of these 'two worlds' was addressed by José Ortega y Gasset in his commentary 'Meditations on the Frame,' which was included in the catalogue for *The Art of the Edge*. In the introduction, Brettell described this essay as:

perhaps the most important ever written about framing ... In it, Ortega y Gasset addresses the larger, conceptual issues involved in understanding the picture frame. Rather than present the history of the frame, he meditated on the *idea* of framing.¹⁹

Ortega y Gasset's commentary is a brief and entertaining look at the frame. While it is heavy on musing and light on information, it provides an additional aspect to the interpretation of the frame, comparing the relationship between painting and frame to the relationship shared between the body and clothing and jewellery. He concluded that the frame was unlike either, because they both serve to enhance the body, whereas the purpose of the frame was to isolate and divide:

What is needed is for the real wall to terminate quickly and abruptly, so that we may find ourselves suddenly and without hesitation in the unreal territory of the picture. An isolator is needed. And that isolator is the frame.²⁰

Throughout his meditations, he praised the frame as being a separate and detached object. It was a decorative art object that served to separate two worlds from one another, an object whose decorative beauty assisted the task of separation. The gilding and ornament enhanced the distinction between the unreal world of the canvas and the real world of the viewer.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17.

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 9.

²⁰ Jose Ortega y Gasset, 'Meditations on the Frame', in *The Art of the Edge: European Frames 1300-1900*, ed. Richard R. Brettell (Chicago: Art Institute of Chicago, 1986), p. 24.

1.3. The Frame as Extension or Part of the Painting

Nine years after *The Art of the Edge* in Chicago, another frame exhibition travelled between two major European cities. During 1995, the exhibition *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920* was displayed at the Van Gogh Museum in Amsterdam and the Kunstform in Vienna. The approach for this exhibition differed greatly from that taken by the AIC. Instead of displaying frames hung without their accompanying canvases, the organisers chose to focus on the relationship shared between the two objects, with special attention given to frames that had been designed by the artist to surround certain paintings. Significantly, the exhibition highlighted the creations by artists that Brettell had previously described as 'attacking' the traditional *independent* frame.²¹

Eva Mendgen, the curator for the exhibition, wrote in *The Journal of Museum Management and Curatorship* that the central problem addressed was 'which frame to choose?'²² She expanded on this simple query by saying that this question was 'as old as the history of painting itself. It remains a basic issue for artists, dealers and collectors alike'.²³ The same question had motivated the Van Gogh Museum towards the creation of this exhibition. In the catalogue's foreword, the Van Gogh Museum and the Kunstforum Museum directors stated that 'the idea for the exhibition originated with the need for a satisfactory and historically responsible frame for the paintings of Vincent van Gogh'.²⁴ Accordingly, a modern curiosity for the selection of a historically accurate and visually pleasing picture frame for an artist's work led to the creation of the exhibition *In Perfect Harmony*.

To answer the question of which frame to choose, the catalogue adopted a chronological method of examination. Each essay focused on the designs and framing methods employed by an individual or group of artists working during the seventy years from 1850 to 1920. Although the initial focus was on the frames used by Vincent van Gogh, other artists were also examined.

²¹ Ibid., p. 14.

²² Eva Mendgen, 'World of Museums - In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 14, no. 2 (1995), p. 197.

²³ Ibid., p. 197.

²⁴ Mendgen, ed., *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, p. 7.

The organizers acknowledged that their approach was unusual and unexpected and wrote that:

the period 1850 to 1920 was an epoch in which the various and fascinating aesthetic possibilities embodied in this link between the fiction of the painting and the reality of the wall were explored. In *Perfect Harmony* is an exhibition not only of tangible objects, but also of immaterial relations – that between picture and frame, which is in fact more than the sum of its parts.²⁵

One of these immaterial relations was the question of which frame should surround a particular painting. While Mendgen noted that this was the primary issue of the exhibition, the question of the frame's purpose also ran throughout. This exhibition illustrated that before Mendgen's first question can be answered, the second must be addressed. In other words, the selection of any frame is dependent on the purpose it is meant to serve.

In his essay, 'A Shelter for Paintings: Forms and Functions of 19th Century Frames', Wolfgang Kemp opened with the following statement: 'The picture frame would never have become a source of irritation had the concept of artistic autonomy formulated in the second half of the 18th century prevailed'.²⁶ While expressing his desire for an uncomplicated study of frames, Kemp made two observations: (1) this quest is not simple but complex and 'a source of irritation' and (2) the study of frames and people's perception of them has altered throughout history, thus contributing to the aforementioned irritation.

As decades passed and fashions changed, so did the understood function of picture frames. Kemp noted these changes in his examination of the 'first 19th century painting given an artist-designed frame'.²⁷ In his *Cross in the Mountains* (1807-8, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister, see **fig. 1.4**) Caspar David Friedrich had used the painting and frame to convey a unified message, one the painting could not deliver alone. Contemporary critics criticised the painting as dependent on an outside element. It was

²⁵ Ibid., p. 7.

²⁶ Wolfgang Kemp, 'A Shelter for Paintings: Forms and Functions of 19th-Century Frames', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850 - 1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 13.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 13.

considered a great fault that the two objects had to be seen together to be complete.²⁸

From this, Kemp noted that, 'It would seem then that our task is to investigate the relationship of the frame to the picture and to its surroundings. What, however, about the frame itself?'²⁹ He quoted Jacques Derrida's observations from the essay 'Parergon', which concluded that if a frame is considered to be a part of the painting, it then becomes a part of the painting and is lost. Yet, if a frame is thought to be part of the wall, it then becomes part of the

wall and, once again, is lost.³⁰ Either way the frame disappears and is no longer an independent object. Kemp concluded by stating: 'This article, in fact this entire exhibition, is proof that the opposite is true: *tertium datur!*'³¹ This statement illustrates how Kemp, Mendgen and the organisers viewed the debate surrounding the frame's purpose. Frames, especially during



Fig. 1.4: The 'first' artist-designed picture frame *Cross in the Mountains* by Caspar David Friedrich, (1807-8, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, Dresden, Gemäldegalerie Neue Meister).

²⁸ Ibid., p. 15.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 15.

³⁰ Jacques Derrida, *The truth in painting*, trans. Geoff Bennington and Ian McLeod (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987), p. 61. 'The *parergon* stands out both from the *ergon* (the work) and from the milieu, it stands out first of all like a figure on a ground. But it does not stand out in the same way as the work. The latter also stands out against a ground. But the parergonal frame stands out against two grounds, but with respect to each of those two grounds, it merges into the other. With respect to the work which can serve as a ground for it, it merges into the wall, and then, gradually, into the general text. With respect to the background which the general text is, it merges into the work which stands out against the general background. There is always a form on a ground, but the *parergon* is a form which has as its traditional determination not that it stands out but that it disappears, buries itself, effaces itself, melts away at the moment it deploys its greatest energy. The frame is in no case a background in the way that the milieu or the work can be, but neither is its thickness as margin a figure. Or at least it is a figure which comes away of its own accord.'

³¹ Kemp, 'A Shelter for Paintings', p. 16.

the 19th century, had a new dimension: they existed somewhere between the painting and the environment and became objects in their own right.

In light of his new discovery, Kemp suggested three additional interpretations of picture frames. He termed the first group ‘Cynosure and Safeguard’ frames and described them as attractions for ‘attention within a competitive market’.³² Examples of this function included Friedrich’s altarpiece and James McNeill Whistler’s *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* (1871-72, FGA, YMSM 105, **Plate 4**). Kemp observed that:

The mere fact that a frame was designed by the artist himself was enough to make certain that both he and his painting would solicit notice ... These practices have often been interpreted as part of an aesthetic of the *gesamtkunstwerk*.³³

Kemp speculates that while Whistler may have been interested in creating this aesthetic synthesis, he was more concerned with creating a ‘trademark’ and an image that would attract the attention of a Victorian audience.³⁴

To the second group, Kemp gave the name ‘Interruption and Extension’. He described these frames as having an emphasis ‘on the notion of the picture frame as a window frame and the painting as a window on the world’.³⁵ These frames serve as a divide, giving the framed picture an imaginary sense of depth. His primary example of a frame with this function is seen on the painting *Young Peasant Woman with Three Children at a Window* (Ferdinand Waldmüller, 1840, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Neue Pinakothek, **fig. 1.5**). The figures in this



Fig. 1.5: an ‘Interruption and Extension’ frame, *Young Peasant Woman with Three Children at a Window* by Ferdinand Waldmüller, (1840, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Neue Pinakothek).

³² Ibid., p. 16.

³³ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 16.

³⁵ Ibid., p. 19.

painting peer out of a painted *trompe l'oeil* wooden frame that blends into the actual frame. The two work together to create an overall effect of a 'window on the world'.

Kemp identified the third group as 'Commentary and Self Reflection' frames. A frame serves this function when 'the medium [of the] 'frame' becomes part of the painter's argument, and a symbolic commentary supplements or translates that which appears lifelike and concrete in the painting'.³⁶



Fig. 1.6: a 'Commentary and Self-reflection' frame, *The Awakening Conscience* by William Holman Hunt, (1853-54, Tate).

Frames in this group appear to compete with the painting for the viewer's attention.³⁷ They also seem to have been particularly popular during the second half of the 19th century, and Kemp used several Pre-Raphaelite frames as examples, including William Holman Hunt's *Awakening Conscience* (1853-54, Tate, fig. 1.6). Hunt's frame contains several elements that comment upon or supplement the action seen. On the lower part of the frame the following two lines are painted: 'As he that taketh away a garment in cold weather/ so is he that singeth songs to an heavy heart'.³⁸ In addition to these lines, a guilloche pattern containing marigolds and ringing bells wraps around the sides and top of the frame. Both the lines and the bells confirm and expand upon the emotional events occurring within the painting.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 22.

³⁸ Text taken from the inscription seen on the frame.

The essays that follow Kemp's illustrate different examples of artist-designed frames. Each generally approaches the frame as being a part of the painting, but it soon becomes apparent that individual artists often held different views on the frame's purpose. Thus, these essays further illustrate how these different views affected the design and selection of frames. The essay by Eva Mendgen, entitled 'Patinated or Burnished: Picture and Frame in the Work of Lenbach and Böcklin' compared and contrasted the work of the two artists in the title. Both used gold-leaf frames that were often based on 16th and 17th century Italian models of flat mouldings and relief or low-relief ornamentation. Nonetheless, differences between the frames become noticeable once the artist's view of the frame's purpose is taken into consideration. Lenbach saw the frame as being a part of the painting or his '*atelierstil* [studio-style] installations', and this affected the frames he chose.³⁹ Lenbach saw no ethical problems in making new frames *appear* older than they actually were, and he often patinated the surface of both old and new frames with a dark red or red-brown pigment, thus blurring the distinction between old and new works.⁴⁰ This can be seen on the frame surrounding his self-portrait from 1866 (fig. 1.7). By contrast, Böcklin viewed the frame as a boundary that separated his paintings from their surroundings. He was also influenced by the uniqueness of hand-carved frames and



Fig. 1.7: Lenbach frame with applied red patina on *Self-Portrait*, by Franz von Lenbach (1866, Bayerische Staatgemäldesammlungen, Munich, Schackgalerie).

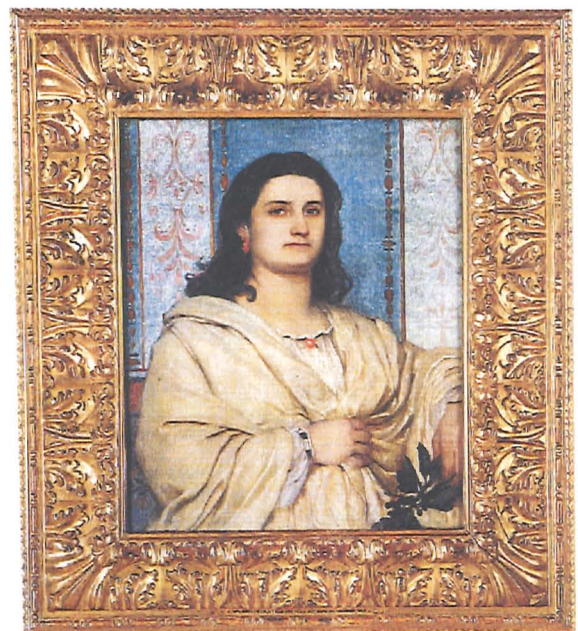


Fig. 1.8: Hand-carved Böcklin frame on *Angela Böcklin as a Muse* by Arnold Böcklin, (1863, Öffentliche Kunstsammlung, Basel).

³⁹ Eva Mendgen, 'Patinated or Burnished: Picture and Frame in the Work of Lenbach and Böcklin', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 29.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

commissioned them, with contrasting matte and burnished areas, direct from Italian craftsmen. This resulted in one-of-a-kind creations that underlined the uniqueness of the paintings they surrounded (see **fig. 1.8**).

Antique Italian frames from the 16th and 17th centuries may have inspired both Lenbach and Böcklin, but their frame designs manifested this influence in different ways. Lenbach believed the frame to be a part of the larger artwork; therefore, his frames incorporated the design and the patina of the artwork and enhanced the overall effect. Böcklin saw the frame's purpose as being a boundary between the painting and reality, and he created a frame that uniquely achieved this purpose.

Another essay that reflects the parallel between frame purpose and frame design is 'Art or Decoration – Picture and Frame in the Work of Stuck and Klimt', also written by Mendgen.

Here she identified Franz von Stuck's

frames as having four possible functions: (1) a compositional element, (2) an indicator of place, (3) a means of creating an iconic image, or (4) an additional means of decoration.⁴¹ Stuck's framing of the painting *Faun with a Panpipe (By the Sea)* (1914, Museum Villa Stuck, Munich, **fig. 1.9**) provides an example of the first function. The two panels were painted by Stuck to resemble wooden friezes and run horizontally above and below the painted image. All three aspects of

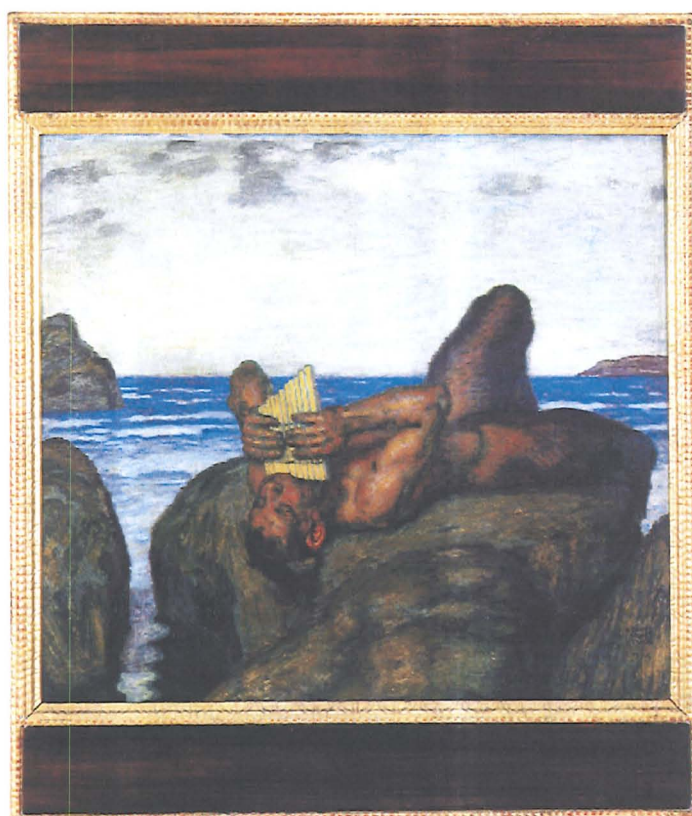


Fig. 1.9: A Stuck frame functioning as a compositional element on *Faun with a Panpipe (By the Sea)*, by Franz von Stuck (1914, Museum Villa Stuck, Munich).

⁴¹ Taken from the subject headings in the essay, Eva Mendgen, 'Art or Decoration: Picture and Frame in the Work of Stuck and Klimt', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995).

Stuck's composition – the horizontal panels and the painting – are framed identically. Mendgen observes that the frames were 'made by a frame or cabinet-maker according to Stuck's designs and then, where necessary, painted by the artist.'⁴² In similar fashion, Klimt used frames as an integral aspect of the painted image. Several illustrations display frames with text or additional decorative ornamentation that irrevocably ties the painting and the frame together. Klimt's *Judith and Holofernes I* (1901, Österreichische Galerie, Vienna, **fig. 1.10**) provides an example, where the title 'JVDiTH VND HOLOFERNES' is placed on the frame directly above the central figure. These frames illustrate a new dimension within the history and study of picture frames, where the removal of the artist-designed frame would destroy an aspect of the artist's creation. Thus the frame has become an extension of the painting.

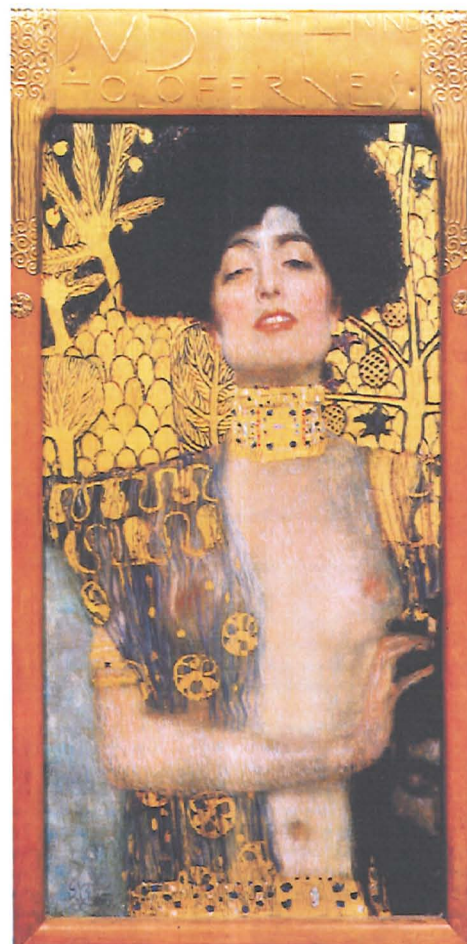


Fig. 1.10: *Judith and Holofernes I*, by Gustav Klimt (1901, Österreichische Galerie, Vienna).

This method of viewing the picture frame as an aspect of the painting not only dictated which frame would be chosen for a particular painting, but it also affected the way that Mendgen wrote about the subject. She began to focus more on the physical object of the frame and was not as preoccupied with the theoretical ideas that concerned Kemp. In consequence, the frame gained an added dimension – it now serves to increase our knowledge of the artist. Previous examinations had focused on how artists' views of frame function affected the design of their frames, but Mendgen approached frames with the goal of gaining a better understanding of the artist who created them.

In her essay, 'Edgar Degas: Gold or Colour', Isabelle Cahn took these observations a step further and illustrated how the frame designs of one artist could evolve and develop throughout

⁴² Ibid., p. 98.

his career due to a changing understanding of the frame's function. In the opening paragraph, Cahn outlined the structure of her examination and stated:

As a starting point, it would be useful to see how Degas' experience fits in with a wider context in which the surround, as a limitation or continuation of the painting, becomes an active element in its development. Afterwards, we will look in detail at the model frames created by Degas and more generally at his innovations in the presentation of works of art.⁴³

Cahn observed that two different functions affected the development of Degas' frames. The first function saw the frame as a 'limitation' or divide that separated the painting from its surroundings. Cahn observed that with these early frames, Degas might have been influenced by the art he saw during visits to Naples and Rome in 1856.⁴⁴ These frames illustrated a 'clear demarcation between the imitative representation of the world on canvas and the reality which surrounded it.'⁴⁵ Degas' early frames represent the idea of a frame as window-frame [*théâtre du mode*] or an open window; ultimately they are a separator or divide.

The second function a Degas frame might have was to serve as a continuation of the painting. His frame designs did not remain as divisions, but instead developed and became harmonious complements to his paintings. No longer did the frame separate two worlds – the frame now enhanced the enclosed painting.

Cahn highlights the progress of this shift in function through a series of profile drawings from Degas' sketchbooks, illustrating how his frames grew shallower (**fig. 1.11**). The inclusion of these sketches is notable. Of the three exhibitions examined in

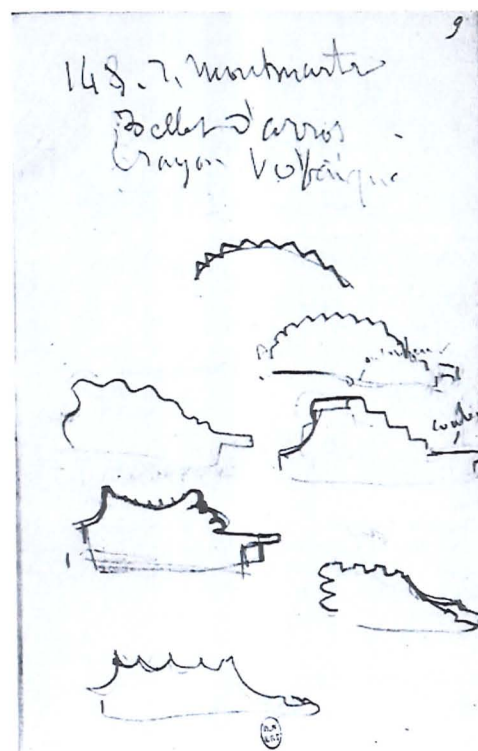


Fig. 1.11: Frame profiles and sketches from Degas' notebook 31 (1878-9).

⁴³ Isabelle Cahn, 'Edgar Degas: Gold or Colour', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 129.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 129.

this chapter, this is the only instance where an author used profile drawings to support their analysis. Perhaps Degas is unique in having so many surviving sketches that Cahn could use to her benefit. In examining the profiles, Cahn observed a subtle progression within their development and identified three types of Degas frames: (1) the 'cockscorn' frame, (2) the striped roll frame, and (3) the box-type frame with fluted outer moulding.⁴⁶

Although the methods observed in this exhibition may be enlightening, they can also be limiting. The percentage of frames designed by the artist is very small, and in many cases the artist did not select the frame that surrounds the work. Therefore, a new method of frame selection must be established. How can a frame be selected if the artist did not indicate a preference? And what happens when a painting has been reframed and is no longer enclosed in the original frame? These questions are addressed in the next section within the examination of Jacob Simon's *The Art of the Picture Frame*.

1.4. The Frame as an Indication of Provenance

The two previous exhibitions illustrated that scholarly interest in frames continued to develop throughout several years and continents. *The Art of the Edge* was shown in the American mid-West, while *In Perfect Harmony* was seen at two art museums in Europe. In the third exhibition examined here, the interest in frames had found a new home: in late 1996 and early 1997, London became the centre of picture frame studies. Over these winter months, three separate exhibitions focusing on the frame were staged. One was located at the showroom of Paul Mitchell Limited, a gallery and conservation studio located off New Bond Street. Here the exhibition *Frameworks: Form Function & Ornament in European Portrait Frames* could be seen and coincided with the publication of *Frameworks* and *The History of European Frames*, co-authored by Paul Mitchell and Lynn Roberts. The second was staged at the studio of another London frame-maker, Arnold Wiggins & Sons on Bury Street, where the show *A Hang of English Frames, 1620—1920: including frames with maker's labels* was seen from 12 November to 20 December. The third and perhaps most significant show, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons, and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, was held at the National

⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 131.

Portrait Gallery from November to February. Of the three listed, this was the only one to be heralded as a 'milestone'⁴⁷ and the 'first exhibition on frames to be mounted by a museum in Britain'.⁴⁸

It was in this environment of growing interest and increasing curiosity on the subject of frames that Jacob Simon, curator of the exhibition for the National Portrait Gallery [NPG], wrote the following statement:

Our knowledge of the history of picture framing is in its infancy. As research continues, attitudes to framing and re-framing will continue to evolve. The spate of publications on the history of framing not surprisingly excites interest in the subject. Such publications should instil caution as well as confidence.⁴⁹

If Simon's own catalogue, as well as the two previously examined, were to be included within this 'spate of publications', it should likewise be treated with equal amounts of caution, confidence and excitement.

The catalogue is divided into three themes. The first three chapters focus on the frame as an object; the next three chapters explore the relationships the frame shares with artists, patrons and frame-makers; and the final chapter is a catalogue of the frames included, as well as a glossary and profile drawings.

In his review of the exhibition, Peter Cannon-Brookes observed four thematic divisions within the physical exhibition that mirror those outlined in the catalogue. These themes focused on: (1) the techniques and materials used during frame-making; (2) the stylistic development of English frames; (3) the difficulties revolving around the concept of 'ideal' or 'correct' frames; and (4) the relationships between the frame and outside factors.⁵⁰ Cannon-Brookes described the temporary exhibition as being an interactive experience.

⁴⁷ Peter Cannon-Brookes, 'Picture Framing: The Exhibition of 'The Art of the Picture Frame'', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 17, no. 3 (1998), p. 419.

⁴⁸ Nicholas Penny, 'Exhibition Reviews: London Picture Frames', *Burlington Magazine* 139, no. 1127 (1997), p. 130.

⁴⁹ Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, p. 29.

⁵⁰ Cannon-Brookes, 'Picture Framing: The Exhibition of 'The Art of the Picture Frame'', pp. 420-422.

To illustrate the technical aspects of frame production, the NPG created a frame studio within the gallery space, where visitors could ‘watch demonstrations of frame conservation and restoration and a video recording the conservation of four historic frames of different types that were displayed nearby’.⁵¹ The second theme followed the development of style, and it extended from the temporary exhibition galleries into the permanent collection. One hundred and thirty-two frames were gathered in the main exhibition (all frames were hung surrounding their respective portraits), and another one hundred and ten portraits in the permanent display were given labels containing additional information on their frames.

The third theme identified by Cannon-Brookes – the problems associated with the concept of an ideal or correct frame – was the central focus of Simon’s research, and it extends throughout the second half of the catalogue. In his introduction, Simon observed that while both style and technique are important to any discussion of picture frames, a greater question remains unanswered. The exhibition and the catalogue requested that the audience ‘look beyond these questions to matters of choice: how were decisions on framing made by artist, architect, patron or framemaker?’⁵² Simon had shifted the focus of his examination from being an exploration of the physical object of the frame to an examination of its history and the reasons why certain frames had been chosen for particular paintings. Simon was more concerned with a painting’s unique story and how it came to be in the NPG collection.

This approach differs significantly from the others already discussed. Eva Mendgen sought to answer the problem of selection, while Simon questioned the motivation behind these selections. Furthermore, the questions of purpose and function, which were addressed by *The Art of the Edge* and *In Perfect Harmony*, were not present in Simon’s exhibition. He was unconcerned with personal understandings of the frame’s function, and he expressed no views on whether the frame was a link, or an extension, or even a divide. In this instance, the frame was allowed to serve any of these three functions, because it had now assumed an added dimension – it has become a means to decipher the provenance of the enclosed painting.

⁵¹ Ibid., p. 421.

⁵² Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, p. 7.

Nick Penny understood Simon's approach as that of an individual interested in the scholarly study of all frames. In his review for *Burlington Magazine*, Penny wrote:

Simon has escaped from the old connoisseurship which valued only fine old carved frames retaining vestiges of their original finish and also from the new curatorial pedantry which insists on frames of more or less the right period. Previous exhibitions and publications on frames have formed the very attitudes which this one questions. Simon is interested in cheap frames as well as expensive ones and argues for the interest and indeed the poetry of anachronistic examples.⁵³

Under the leadership of Simon, the NPG employed an unusual approach to the growing study of picture frames. Instead of valuing a frame for its decorative quality or its connections to the artist, Simon was interested in the reasons why it was chosen for the painting. Furthermore, this exhibition challenged any previous understanding of a 'correct', 'right', or 'original' frame, and it stated that all frames are worthy of study and attention. As long as a picture frame represented some aspect of the painting's history, it should be of valid interest to the art historian and frame scholar.

This unique approach to frame study was illustrated most effectively in the exhibition's display of the first acquisition of the NPG, *William Shakespeare* or 'The Chandos Portrait' by John Taylor, c.1610. Again, Peter Cannon-Brookes provides an insightful glimpse into how this portrait was displayed:

Three very different frames made over a hundred years for the so-called Chandos portrait of *William Shakespeare* are exhibited in a row, enclosing where necessary high quality facsimiles of the original so that the different effects can be judged. None are particularly happy for this national icon, ... As documents of the history of taste these frames are fascinating, but even more intriguing have been the overheard comments of the bemused public!⁵⁴

The hanging of three frames for one portrait was a bold move. The National Portrait Gallery did not hide the fact that one painting may have had numerous frames throughout its history, but instead entered directly into the debate and questioned the use of the term 'original frame'. Each of the three frames was chosen at specific points in the painting's history. The oldest

⁵³ Penny, 'Exhibition Reviews: London Picture Frames', p. 130.

⁵⁴ Cannon-Brookes, 'Picture Framing: The Exhibition of 'The Art of the Picture Frame'', p. 421-2.

frame is the 18th century *Maratta* frame, which was on the work when it first entered the NPG in 1856 (fig. 1.12). The second frame, of the 17th-century style, was ordered from Foord and Dickinson by the NPG in 1864 (fig. 1.13). The third frame, which is the painting's current surround, was placed on the painting by the museum in 1983 and is described as 'an old tortoiseshell frame' (fig. 1.14).⁵⁵ It does not date from the period of the painting, but as Simon observed, it 'enhance[s] the scale of the picture and its sense of colour.'⁵⁶ Because of these qualities, it remains on the work. To remove one frame in favour of another would not rectify the situation; it would only increase confusion. How can one frame be more 'correct' than another, especially if the removal illustrates the historic preferences of the artist, patron or curator? Equipped with this new approach towards the scholarly study of frames, Simon attempted to address the question of choice and frame selection. How do certain frames come to be on particular paintings? Who chose them? When and why? In this situation, the frame has become an indication of the painting's provenance.

Simon approached these questions by listing specific examples of different pairings of paintings and frames. In scouring artists' papers, estate inventories, letters and account books, he uncovered a substantial amount of material. Although it does make for dull and repetitive



Fig. 1.12: 18th century Maratta frame that surrounded *William Shakespeare*, by John Taylor (c. 1610, NPG UK) when accessioned.



Fig. 1.13: Same picture, reframed in 1864 by Foord and Dickinson.

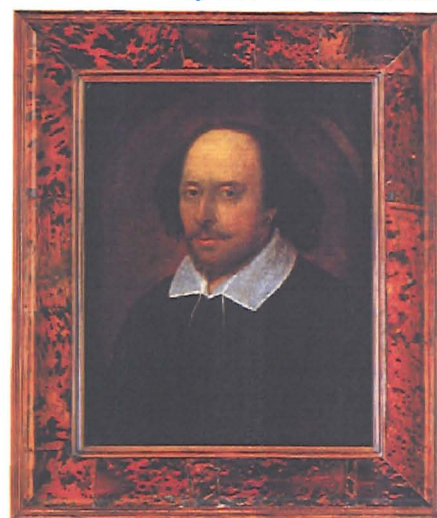


Fig. 1.14: Same picture, reframed in 1983 in a Tortoiseshell frame.

⁵⁵ Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

reading, these lists are a wonderful way of presenting this information, and the catalogue is ideal as a reference book. With the text structured in a way that facilitates looking up of specific facts, each chapter is divided into several sub-sections often organised chronologically, and this effectively illustrates the evolution of changing fashions. Over the course of the book, the catalogue begins to take on encyclopaedic proportions, which is extremely helpful for the frame historian but overwhelming for the casual reader.

Despite Simon's exhaustive examination of the NPG's frame collection, not much attention was given to the Gallery's framing practices. The one aspect missing from Simon's research is an account of the historic views of frames held by the NPG. While he illustrated the different stages of framing with the inclusion of the three 'Chandos' frames, no other work was given this attention. For an exhibition that claimed to be an examination of one collection, 'warts and all', little notice was given to the warts.⁵⁷ What happened after the accessioning of portraits? Did they retain their frames or were they treated like the 'Chandos' portrait and given different frames whenever fashion and taste dictated?

Simon celebrated the use of different frames, but he did not discuss the role of the NPG in framing. The lists of pairings selected by the patrons, collectors, artists, frame-makers and architects often overshadow references to the frames selected by the gallery. Simon did address the issue of museum framing at the end of the first chapter, 'Attitudes to Picture Framing in Britain and Abroad', where he briefly outlined his ideal framing policy:

The foundation of any framing policy should be an informed understanding of the museum's collection. ... Once one has an understanding of the present frame, and of the collection in which it sits, one can go on to ask if there is a case to reframe a picture or whether it would be better left as it is, whatever its faults.

If the decision is to reframe, whether an old master or a more modern work, is one to try to find something historically accurate (and does one have the knowledge), or is a pleasing frame the criterion? And whatever the preference, should one try to find a period frame, if one can be found at the right price, or is it better to have a frame made?⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 8

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 29.

Since Simon outlined no criterion for the reframing of pictures, one assumes that all the frames included in his examples are frames in their original state or at least frames selected by individuals outside the NPG. He confirms this assumption in the last section of the book. Before the main text of 'A Survey of Picture Frames in the National Portrait Gallery', Simon stated that 'the frames are original to the pictures unless otherwise indicated.'⁵⁹ It is remarkable that so many original pairings have survived. However, is it possible to make this claim only because of previous reframing campaigns by the museum?

Simon stated in the introduction to the catalogue that the collection of the NPG was stored unframed for the duration of the First World War and noted that several portraits were wrongly framed after the war.⁶⁰ This came to light while researching for *The Art of the Picture Frame*, when a collection of glass plate negatives taken at the NPG during the late 19th and early 20th centuries was discovered. If evidence found during this research resulted in the NPG initiating a reframing campaign, then why wasn't it documented by the exhibition? Where is the information outlining the steps taken to re-establish these original pairings?

Of course, it is difficult to judge Simon's work on the exhibition alone, as it was a temporary display and could not show the full extent of his research. Therefore, it is important to note that some information on the NPG's reframing programme can be found in the individual catalogue entries. One example of a portrait that was reframed after the discovery of the photographs is *Sir Christopher Wren*.⁶¹ Another circumstance of a frame being switched within the NPG is found in the history of the portrait of *Elizabeth Gunning, Duchess of Hamilton and later of Argyll* (Francis Cotes, 1751, NPG UK, **fig. 1.15**). Simon wrote:



Fig. 1.15: Maratta frame now surrounding *Elizabeth Gunning Duchess of Hamilton and later of Argyll* by Francis Cotes, (1751, NPG UK).

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 149.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 8.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 156.

Though undoubtedly the original, the frame on no. 42 was replaced in 1972 by one in the rococo style, presumably because it was thought that a Maratta frame was not appropriate to such an early work. The frame has recently been restored to its rightful place.⁶²

Although he does not say how he knew the frame was original, or give any details about the reframing process, Simon's information is useful for understanding the history of both the painting and the frame.

In some entries, Simon justifies his use of the term 'original' by using a wealth of primary sources as evidence. This is seen in the entry for Sir Joshua Reynolds' portrait of *Sir Joseph Banks* (1773, NPG UK, **fig 1.16**):

Reynolds's portrait of the explorer and botanist, Joseph Banks, was shown at the same Royal Academy exhibition as his double portrait of David Garrick and his wife, [1773, NPG UK, **fig. 1.17**] probably in a Maratta frame like the Garrick. The rococo frame now on the portrait was presumably chosen by a descendant ... The frame probably dates to the 1760s but the coat of arms on the cartouche remains unidentified.⁶³

In this case, Simon used the exhibition history of the painting to aid in the selection of the frame. By observing how other works by the same painter were framed, he convincingly concluded that the rococo frame was not original.



L to R: **Fig. 1.16:** Rococo frame now surrounding *Sir Joseph Banks* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, (1773, NPG UK); **Fig. 1.17:** Maratta frame now surrounding *David Garrick and his wife Eva Maria* by Sir Joshua Reynolds, (1773, NPG UK).

⁶² Ibid., p. 161.

⁶³ Ibid., p. 161.

Simon also used a significant amount of technical and visual evidence to support his statements. Regarding the frame surrounding the portrait *John Dryden* (Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1693, NPG UK, **fig. 1.18**), he described it as:

A silver bunched leaf frame of a style introduced in the 1660s and rather old-fashioned by the time this portrait was painted in the 1690s. Although the frame is of fine quality, its surface has been stripped and renewed and the corners slightly cut making it unlikely that the frame is original to the picture.⁶⁴

In this situation, Simon applied his technical knowledge of the frame-making process to judge whether or not a frame was original to a painting. If a frame appears to have been re-sized, then most likely the frame was made to surround another painting and has been altered to fit the current one. This application and use of technical information is perhaps one of the greatest strengths in



Fig. 1.18: Corner of frame now surrounding *John Dryden* by Sir Godfrey Kneller, 1693, (NPG UK).

Simon's research. Nick Penny praised Simon's astute observations on the craftsmanship of frames, but observed that 'One's only regret is that there are not more sectional drawings. One cannot visualise the profile of a moulding from modern photography which uses artificial light from more than one direction'.⁶⁵ Simon's strengths parallel his weaknesses. The book is filled with bright, colourful illustrations, and he made excellent use of technical drawings in the glossary. However, a book filled with as much detail as this would have benefited from additional illustrative material. Many of the examples are not illustrated, thus making the reading of the text slightly difficult.

Simon's application of the term 'original' differs greatly from Mitchell and Roberts's use of the same term. As noted before, the book *The Art of the Picture Frame* leads the reader to believe that every frame is worthy of study as long as it embodies an aspect of the painting's

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 154.

⁶⁵ Penny, 'Exhibition Reviews: London Picture Frames', p. 130.

history. Therefore, it is not vitally important for the frame to be original to a work or not. On the other hand, Mitchell and Roberts showed great concern for the concept of the original frame. Before the introduction to their book *Frameworks*, a solitary page entitled, 'Notes to the Reader' explains that:

The relationship of the frame to the picture it contains is expressed in one of four ways: (a) 'original for' = the existing frame was the first frame for the picture; (b) 'contemporary for' = the frame is of the same nationality and period as the picture; (c) 'made for' = the frame was made for the picture at a later date; (d) 'on' = the frame applied to the picture is not necessarily contemporary or of the same nationality.⁶⁶

As a result of these definitions, each caption located under the illustrations in the book has one of the listed terms. For Mitchell and Roberts, the idea of the original frame has affected their overall understanding of the frame. They cannot view a frame without classifying it. A frame has to be either 'original for', 'contemporary for', 'made for', or 'on' a painting; these defining factors are the method that enables them to understand and interpret the frame. In light of this categorisation, it is interesting to examine Simon's approach to frame studies. For one who is interested in the anachronistic pairing of paintings and frames, he is uninterested in drawing attention to the presence of these examples. Simon advocated the study of any frame to the extent that discrepancies in period, country or style that occurred between the painting and frame are no longer noticeable. Penny described Simon as being 'more concerned to extend our sympathies than to sharpen our discrimination'.⁶⁷ Indeed, at the end of reading this book, our appreciation for frames has increased, but our ability to discriminate an original frame has decreased.

1.5. Conclusion

In his review of the exhibition *The Art of the Picture Frame*, Alastair Laing considered the development of the study of frames over the previous thirty years and noted that: 'First came an interest simply in the stylistic character of frames and exhibitions ... in which the empty frame

⁶⁶ Paul Mitchell & Lynn Roberts, *Frameworks: Form, Function & Ornament in European Portrait Frames*, (London: Paul Mitchell Limited in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), p. 19.

⁶⁷ Penny, 'Exhibition Reviews: London Picture Frames', p. 131.

was considered sufficient in its own right'.⁶⁸ This first stage of development was illustrated in Richard R. Brettell's exhibition *The Art of the Frame* at the AIC in 1986. The second stage comprises an interest in artist-designed frames, embodied in Eva Mendgen's exhibition at the Van Gogh Museum, *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame*. The third stage, observed Laing, continues to build upon these previous interests and adds an interest in the frame-makers and patrons. This third stage is what was seen at the National Portrait Gallery in 1996.

Laing then predicted where the next focus of interest in the development of frame studies would occur: 'the next stage will include ... an exhaustive examination of the workings of frame-making as a trade, with full analysis of sweat-shop wages, mortality rates from mercury poisoning, et cetera'.⁶⁹ It is difficult to judge whether Laing was serious in his prediction or if he was being ironic. Nevertheless, there is new interest in the examination of the frame-maker's trade, and this is given attention in this thesis where it applies to the making of Whistler's frames. It is possible that the next step in frame studies lies elsewhere. I believe that the field of frame studies will build upon these methods, but further explore the concept of an original frame. The relationships shared between the artist, patron and the frame-maker will continue to be examined, but carried out specifically to test our understanding of an original frame. Likewise, this thesis will explore the relationship Whistler shared with his patrons and frame-makers, but with the aim of gaining a better insight into the *originality* of his frame designs.

⁶⁸ Alastair Laing, 'Exhibition Reviews: The Art of the Picture Frame', *Apollo* (1997), p. 52

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 53.

2.0. Chapter Two

Whistler's Reframes: The Question of Originality in Whistler's Frames

2.1. The Reframing Campaigns of James McNeill Whistler

The concept of originality is particularly relevant to any study devoted to the frame designs of James McNeill Whistler. This is because Whistler habitually reframed his canvases or significantly altered the surface of his picture frames, sometimes twenty years after their initial creation. Due to these changes, which often occurred under instructions directly from Whistler, our very understanding of the word 'original' is challenged. As indicated in Chapter 1, the frame historians, Paul Mitchell and Lynn Roberts, defined this relationship between frames and paintings in four ways: a frame could be 'original for', 'contemporary for', 'made for', or 'on' a given painting.¹

However, what happens when an artist frames a painting, only to replace it a decade later? Is one version more original or valuable than the other? To answer these questions, Jacob Simon's anachronistic approach to studying the pairings of paintings and their frames offers a useful methodology. Each stage of Whistler's reframing campaigns becomes an indication not only marking the development of his designs but also reflecting the provenance and history of the painting and its frame.

¹ Paul Mitchell & Lynn Roberts, *Frameworks: Form, Function & Ornament in European Portrait Frames*, (London: Paul Mitchell Limited in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), p. 19.

A group that represents both Whistler's frame development and his tendency to reframe paintings was seen in 2006 at the London showing of *Americans in Paris: 1860-1900*. The group comprises the frames currently surrounding the following Whistler paintings:

- *The Coast of Brittany* (1861, Wadsworth Athenaeum, YMSM 37, **Plate 5**),
- *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (1862, NGAD, YMSM 38, **Plate 6**),
- *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* (1865, ISGM, YMSM 64, **Plate 7**), and
- *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1871, Musée du Louvre, YMSM 101, **Plate 8**).

Each Whistler frame in this exhibition represents a different design or period of Whistler's frame development. Although they may appear similar in style, the four frames differ slightly from one another and create unique surrounds for the enclosed paintings. It has been observed that Whistler's designs evolved and changed throughout his career and that these stylistic differences form categories in which his frames can be classified. William Adair observed that 'Whistler's frames fall into two groups, those with a painted panel and those without'.² Adair's categories can be observed within the four frames on display.

The White Girl has a *seigaiha* pattern painted along the *frieze* as well as Whistler's butterfly monogram (**fig. 2.1**), while *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* and *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* have reeded frames that are gilded without the additional painted ornament. Eva Mendgen

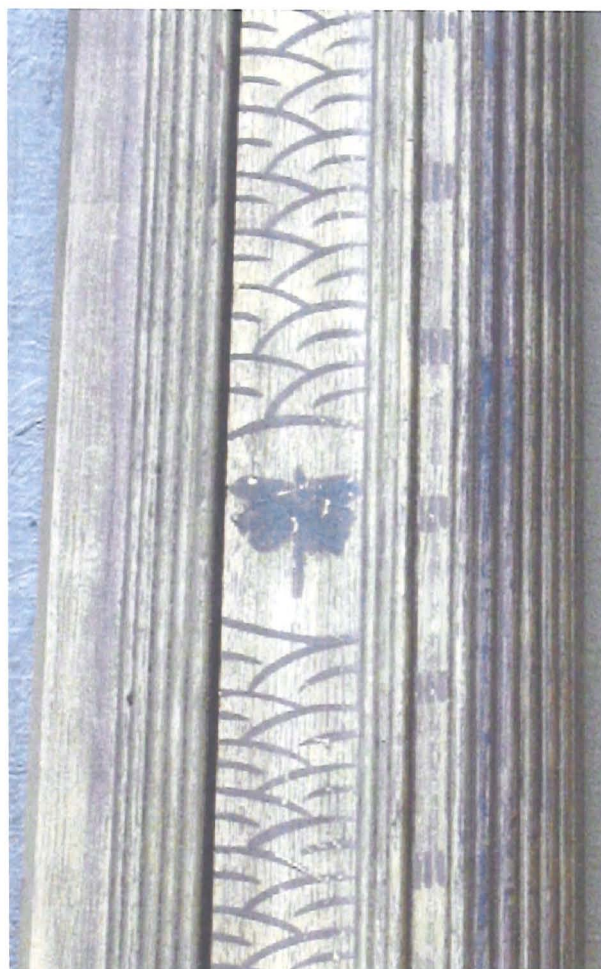


Fig. 2.1: Painted *seigaiha* pattern and butterfly signature from frame on, *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38, **Plate 6**).

² William Adair, 'Endangered Frames: To Save a Butterfly', *Picture Framing Magazine* (1995).

elaborated on these categories and suggested the following classifications:

Whistler employed three types of frame in succession: [1] a flat frame with abstract Chinese or Japanese low-relief ornament; [2] another with delicately reeded mouldings and painted Japanese motifs (carried out in the main colour of the canvas); and finally [3] an inward sloping, reeded trim frame.³

Although Mendgen is more precise in her grouping of Whistler frames, her statement that these groups occurred in succession is misleading. Whistler's frames did undergo a sequential development from one style into the next, but he often altered older picture frames to reflect newer designs.

Whistler's tendency to reframe works, often years later, complicates the dating of his picture frames. Due to a reframe or alteration, a Whistler painting may now possess a frame that dates from a different point in his career and there could be twenty years between the creation dates of the two artefacts. Consequently, the date of a Whistler frame cannot be based on the enclosed painting. For example, it would be incorrect to assume that *The Coast of Brittany*, the oldest Whistler painting at *Americans in Paris*, has the oldest frame and that the youngest painting, *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* has the most recent frame. His reframing campaigns often resulted in pairings of paintings and frames whose dates of origin are incongruent.

If a strict chronological approach to Whistler's frames cannot be taken, how should his frames be studied? Individually, the frames can date from the 1860s, 1870s etc., but these dates cannot be established according to the paintings enclosed. Instead, the history of both the frame and the painting must be considered before the date and authenticity of a picture frame is determined. This means that primary written evidence (such as letters, exhibition notices and bills) and visual evidence will be considered and factored in before any verdicts are given.

Although some pairings of frame and painting remain unchanged, a large percentage of

³ Eva Mendgen, 'James McNeill Whistler: "...carrying on the particular harmony throughout"', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 87.

Whistler's frames has been altered or completely replaced. For example, it is possible to identify at least 15 different accounts of reframing from the entries in the catalogue raisonné *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* and the letters compiled in *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903*.⁴ The majority of these reframes occurred during two distinct points in Whistler's career; the first took place from 1878 to 1879, and the second from 1891 to 1892. The four frames seen at the exhibition *Americans in Paris* are amongst the fifteen accounts listed.

Each individual case presents a unique set of motives and reasons why Whistler reframed a canvas, but a common set of motivations can be observed. For instance, changes in the ownership of a painting, the environment in which the work was hung, or contemporary fashions may have directly or indirectly contributed to the modification or reframing of an artwork. In addition, the physical condition of the frame may have initiated the process of reframing. If a frame suffered damage or was poorly made, the painting would require a new frame. Examining the history of the four Whistler canvases listed above, as well as other paintings closely associated with these works, will reveal the motivating factors that contributed to Whistler's reframing campaigns.

2.2. Changes in Ownership and Environment: the 1870s

The first frame at *Americans in Paris* that was altered by Whistler surrounds the painting *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*. The frame is made of two separate sections joined together to create a whole. The outer frame has a cluster of eight reeds that leads to a small flat where a bamboo pattern has been painted (see fig. 2.1). On the other side of this flat is another cluster of three reeds, which leads down to a wide *frieze*, which has also been painted with a greyish-silvery pigment to form a *seigaiha* or wave pattern. Also painted on this flat, on the right side, about two-thirds up from the bottom, is Whistler's butterfly signature. The inner frame is made up of a bundle of five reeds that leads to a flat and bevelled sight edge (see fig. 2.2).

⁴ Most likely there are significantly more than fifteen.

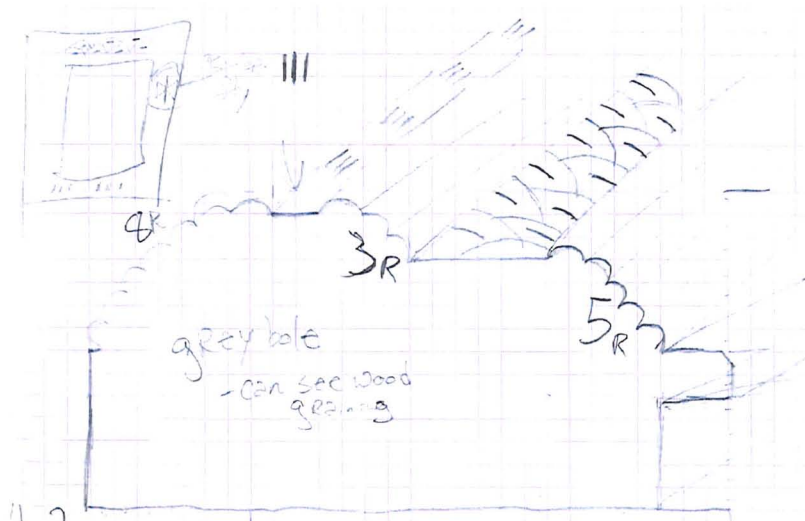


Fig. 2.2: Profile drawing of frame on *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38, Plate 6).

It is possible that the frame dates from when the canvas was first painted, thus making it the first to surround the canvas. Young, MacDonald, Spencer and Miles speculated that ‘the frame may be the original, and date from March 1862, when Whistler purchased in Paris two sections of frame, one in oak, the other moulded in plaster’.⁵ The present frame matches the description given above, in that it has two parts, one of which is made of oak. However, Whistler did not develop the reeded design or the painted ornamentation, both of which are seen here, until the 1870s. Accordingly, the presence of these two elements makes an 1860s frame date unlikely.

Whistler reworked the frame surface in 1875, before the painting experienced a change in ownership and environment. The painting travelled to the United States later that autumn and remained there for the duration of Whistler’s life. He wrote to Mrs. Francis Leyland in the late summer of that year, saying, ‘the White Girl’s frame has not been neglected – I suppose that she will leave for her future home early this next week’.⁶ This simple statement implies that Whistler gave some amount of attention to the frame. Whether it was a complete reframe or the application of additional decoration is open to interpretation. Either way, the frame seen in *Americans in Paris* differs from what was exhibited when the painting was shown at the Salon des Refuse in Paris in 1863.⁷

⁵ Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, & Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 38; Mercier to James Whistler, 31 March 1862, GUL MS Whistler M317; GUW 04046.

⁶ James Whistler to Frances Leyland, [20 August/4 September 1875], PWC 2/16/4; GUW 08052, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

⁷ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 38.

Similarly, Whistler decorated the frame that surrounds the painting *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach* (1870/1875, FGA, YMSM 119, **Plate 9**) with a painted *seigaiha* pattern. For this work, Whistler provided the owners with a new frame to replace the first one. In the autumn of 1878, Whistler wrote to Mrs. Rawlinson saying, ‘My trial with Ruskin makes me very busy just now but I shall come soon to call – and also to bring another frame – painted – don’t let this one be touched please – I will explain’.⁸ What happened to the initial frame that required Whistler to replace it completely remains unknown. It is possible that a well-intentioned painting restorer cleaned the frame, since in the same letter, Whistler discussed the cleaning and varnishing the painting had received from the picture restorer, Brazio Buggiani.⁹ Perhaps Buggiani cleaned the frame as well as the canvas. Whatever the circumstance, this reframe did not result from a change in ownership.

Whistler may have given the canvas a new painted frame due to a change in the environment in which it was hung. In November 1878, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach* was displayed at the Westminster Palace Hotel, London, where Whistler had collected several of the paintings first seen in 1877 during the *First Summer Exhibition* at the Grosvenor Gallery. It was at this exhibition that Ruskin infamously critiqued the painting *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1875, DIA, YMSM 170, **Plate 10**). To support his case, Whistler created an environment in the hotel rooms that provided the jury a suitable context to understand his work, recreating the conditions in which Ruskin had seen *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*. In his opening remarks, John Humffrey Parry, the barrister representing Whistler, explained the necessity for these rooms:

Some of the paintings will be produced, but it is impossible to exhibit the pictures properly in court. A room has been engaged in the Westminster Palace Hotel, and all the plaintiff’s pictures that could be procured have been arranged there.¹⁰

Other works included in this impromptu exhibition were:

⁸ James Whistler to May Margherita Rawlinson, [September/November 1878], PWC 2/43/1; GUW 08112, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

⁹ According to the 1881 census, Buggiani (ca. 1818 -?) was located at 86 Oxford Street, West London. GUW, biography for Brazio Buggiani.

¹⁰ Linda Merrill, *A pot of paint: aesthetics on trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1992), p. 140.

- *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (1872/1873, Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, YMSM 137, **Plate 11**),
- *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (1872/3, Tate, YMSM 129, **Plate 12**),
- *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**),
- *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*, and
- *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, **Plate 3**).¹¹

Prior to the Westminster Palace Hotel exhibition, Whistler had given painted frames to several of these works. One example was seen earlier in Whistler's preparations for the Rawlinson's *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach*. In providing new frames for these works, perhaps Whistler sought to display a cohesive group of paintings in a sympathetic artistic environment and the presence and use of painted frames assisted in creating this environment.

Whistler's painted frames proved successful, in that they received direct attention during the trial. When *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* was exhibited for the court's inspection, Sir John Holker, the counsel for John Ruskin, asked Whistler, 'What is that peculiar dark mark on the frame?'¹² Whistler replied:

The blue colouring on the gilt frame is part of the scheme of the picture. The blue spot on the right side of the frame is my monogram, which I place on the frame as well as the canvas; it balances the picture. The frame and the picture together are a work of art.¹³

In front of judge and jury, Whistler clearly stated that the frame and the painting work together to create a balanced work of art, and one without the other would create an incomplete work of art. It is therefore conceivable that the environment Whistler created at the Westminster Palace Hotel assisted in the creation of complete works of art. If painting and frame work together to make a work of art, then the joining of several frames and paintings into one cohesive environment would similarly work together to create a cohesive work of art. Therefore, in the circumstances observed here, the canvases were reframed due to a change in their environment.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 152.

¹² Ibid., p. 153.

¹³ Ibid., p. 151.

2.3. Changes in Environment and Fashion: the 1870s and 1890s

Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville is another painting that received a secondary frame containing painted ornament prior to the exhibition at the Westminster Palace Hotel. Although the frame may be original to the work, its surface is not. At some point, the surface of the frame was altered, and it is currently in an unoriginal state. The reframing was carried out during the autumn months of 1878, during the lead up to the Whistler vs. Ruskin trial. Whistler wrote to John Cavafy, son of the owner G.J. Cavafy, requesting that a new frame be given to the painting:

With very little hope however I set to work and finally manage[d] to clean the little picture – and restore it to its original fairness – and then take the trouble to order for it a frame designed by myself – so that after a long period it is returned to you pretty enhanced in beauty; and as a result, so little is the who[l]e thing cared for, that your Father refuses to pay the frame maker for the frame for my silly gift – Now the right thing to do would be simply this - Give me back my picture – you have had it quite long enough – the enjoyment you have got out of it is properly gru[d]ged by the refusal to pay for its new dress.¹⁴

It appears that the Cavafys proved less accepting of Whistler's intrusive requests than the Rawlinsons. In this extract, his statements reveal that he had borrowed the canvas from Cavafy, the owner, and had it restored as well as reframed without informing him of these intentions. Cavafy resented both of these actions taken by Whistler. Most importantly, Whistler revealed that he himself had designed the frame for the painting, which he saw as a gift that enhanced, benefited and increased the painting's value. His letter captures Whistler's surprise at the owner's refusal of his gift.

Whistler ordered this frame from the London frame-makers Foord & Dickinson, a favourite of the Pre-Raphaelites.¹⁵ A bill from the framers specifies that in April 1878, 'a wainscot reeded frame own pattern gilt with green gold' measuring 29¾ x 19½ inches was made for Whistler.¹⁶ This could be the frame on *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*, for which

¹⁴ James Whistler to John Cavafy, [July/October 1878?], GUL MS Whistler C50; GUW 00549, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

¹⁵ Paul Mitchell & Lynn Roberts, *A History of European Picture Frames*, (London: Paul Mitchell Limited in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), p. 69.

¹⁶ Ford and Dickinson to James Whistler, [August 1878/1879], PWC, LC6/520-1; GUW 08944, (accessed, 31 July 2007).



Fig. 2.3: Foord and Dickinson label from the verso of *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* (YMSM 64, Plate 7).

Cavafy refused to pay, as a Foord & Dickinson label can be found in the verso of this frame (fig. 2.3).¹⁷ It is interesting to note that no painted decoration is outlined in the billing from Foord & Dickinson, and the only details mentioned were the type of frame and the colour of gilding. This suggests that Whistler applied the decoration after the frame was gilded and completed. However, the painted decoration is no longer present on the frame's surface. The only remaining ornamentation is the prominent oak grain present beneath the oil gilt surface.

It is possible that the frame on *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* underwent further alterations during Whistler's last reframing campaign, which took place during the early 1890s. The frame-maker, F.H. Grau re-gilded numerous frames in 1892 during the preparations for the exhibition *Marines, Nocturnes and Chevelat Pieces* held at the Goupil Gallery in London. This process of re-gilding required the removal of the painted decoration in order that a new layer of gold leaf could be applied. Although this painting was not shown at this exhibition, it does display evidence of having been altered at this time. Therefore, the ISGM Whistler frame may have been altered twice during its history – once during Whistler's first stage of reframing in 1878 when the work's environment changed, and again in 1892 when it was sold to a new owner.

In June 1892, Edward Guthrie Kennedy of Wunderlich and Co. of New York purchased several Whistler paintings from George John Cavafy. Amongst the paintings purchased were: *The*

¹⁷ Examined by Sarah Parkerson in March 2007.

Last of Old Westminster (1862, MFAB, YMSM 39), *Battersea Reach* (1863, CGA, YMSM 45), *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, and *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*. In an insightful letter, Whistler expressed to Kennedy his desire for the dealer to reframe the collection just purchased: 'You ought to have my new frames made at once for The Westminster Bridge and the Thames picture - both of which must be in hideous old things'.¹⁸ Whistler's statements almost possess a hint of embarrassment. His writings give the impression that he could not bear the thought of his older paintings travelling to a new country, into a new environment, under new ownership, in old-fashioned frames. In this instance, Whistler initiated the reframing process recognising that some of his frame designs were dated and had become 'hideous old things'. By reframing them, he could update the way the audience viewed his artwork.

Yet, one problem remains. The frame surrounding *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* is the 1878 Foord & Dickinson frame that was decorated by Whistler. However, the frame as seen today does not possess this painted decoration. The wood is original, but the surface is not. Furthermore, it is extremely likely that the over-paint was removed according to Whistler's instructions. Although no actual order exists for this particular frame, in several circumstances Whistler expressed his wish for the removal of 1870s painted decoration. On two occasions, Whistler gave instructions for the frame surrounding the portrait *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* to be re-gilded by Grau. In February 1892, Whistler wrote to Rachel Agnes Alexander saying, 'Grau has had orders to thoroughly clean and regild the frame – and afterwards, if you wish it, I will with great pleasure repaint the ornament upon it'.¹⁹ A month later, Whistler wrote to David Croal Thomson, organiser of Whistler's retrospective exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines, and Chevalet Pieces*, in which *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* was shown, with the following instructions: 'Grau. To scrape and regild frame to Miss Alexander – Never mind about painting on frame – will do that myself by & bye'.²⁰

¹⁸ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, 13 [June] 1892, NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/19; GUW 09685, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

¹⁹ James Whistler to Rachel Agnes Alexander, [15/28 February 1892], British Museum 1958-2-8-28; GUW 07580, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²⁰ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, [3 March 1892], PWC LC2/1771-2; GUW 08349, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

However, the 'by & bye' never occurred and Whistler did not replace the painted decoration on the surface of Cicely's frame.

This removal of the painted ornament in 1892 was not uncommon. The painted frame that surrounded Rawlinson's *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach* can no longer be seen on the canvas. The same frame Whistler implicitly asked to remain untouched in 1878 was re-gilded by Grau. On the same day that Whistler wrote the previous instructions to Thomson, Rawlinson wrote to Whistler: 'It is so beautiful that I should like it to be seen at its best - I have had the frame regilt by your man Grau'.²¹ Thus, Rawlinson admired his painting and desired that it be shown to its best advantage. For this to occur, he followed Whistler's example and instructed that the frame should be re-gilt and the painted surface removed. From these examples, it can be assumed that the same process was applied to the surface of the frame on *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*. It also illustrates the possibility that Whistler's interpretation of an ideal relationship between the painting and its frame was changing. No longer did he expect the marks on the frame, which he commented on during the trial in November 1878, to work with the painting to create a complete work of art. Fourteen years later, Whistler corrected these past pairings by updating them to correspond with his new frame designs.

2.4. Changes in Environment and Ownership: the 1890s

The third Whistler painting from *Americans in Paris* that underwent a reframe is *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother*. Once again, it is possible that this painting has had multiple frames, and the current pairing could be the third. The first frame was destroyed in a railway fire while in transit to London from Liverpool, where Whistler had taken it to show the Leyland family at Speke Hall. Whistler's mother, Anna, the subject of the painting, wrote to her friend, James H. Gamble on Saturday, 13 April 1872, that:

the 3 cases of Portraits were preserved from fire on the R R train coming from Speke Hall, tho many packages of valuable luggage were entirely consumed, and the case in which my Portrait was, the flames had reached but in time

²¹ James Whistler to William George Rawlinson, 3 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler R24; GUW 05124, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

discovered. the lid so burnt, a side of the frame was scorched! & yet the painting uninjured.²²

In this incident, the picture frame had served its most basic purpose – it protected the painting even to its own detriment. Mrs. Whistler recorded only that the frame had been damaged by the fire and failed to mention if any efforts were made to repair it. She continued to write to Mr. Gamble, saying:

you will know my thankfulness for the Interposition that my dear Jemie was spared the loss of his favorite work. I hope it is a favorable omen that it may be hung properly in the Royal Academy for the Exhibition.²³

If the hope was for the painting to be prominently displayed at the Royal Academy in London, it can be assumed that work must have been carried out on the frame. Therefore, in 1872, the first frame that surrounded the portrait of Anna Whistler was either replaced completely or at the very least re-gilt to repair the scorched surface.

Either way, the frame seen at the Royal Academy in 1872 is not the same frame seen today. Whistler had the painting 'lined and reframed by Grau' twenty years later in 1891.²⁴ This reframe was carried out in preparation for the painting's move to the Musée du Luxembourg in Paris. On the 14 December 1891 the painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* became the second of Whistler's works to be bought by a public collection. The first had occurred earlier that year, when Glasgow purchased *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Thomas Carlyle*. This was sent to Glasgow in March 1891; Whistler had reframed it in a new frame made by Grau. Whistler wrote of this process to James W. Paton, curator for the Glasgow Industrial Museum:

Pray present my compliments to the Gentlemen of the Committee & say that the painting in question, my portrait of Carlyle, is in absolutely perfect condition – this I have seen to myself – I have had the picture newly framed in the frame

²² Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10-20 April 1872, GUL MS Whistler W543; GUW 06549, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²³ Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 10-20 April 1872, GUL MS Whistler W543; GUW 06549, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²⁴ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 101.

of my own design in which I trust it may always remain.²⁵

Both portraits were purchased by public collections, reframed and accessioned within the year 1891. Both were separated from the frames that originally surrounded them, marking the second stage of Whistler's reframing. The accession of his first two paintings into public museums, as well as the major retrospective staged at the Goupil Gallery, London, in the following year, must have triggered Whistler's desire to return to his earlier works and ensure that they upheld his new artistic ideals and aesthetic vision. He revisited them, reframed them, re-varnished and restored them to the state of perfection he wished for them to retain for prosperity. This process is explored further in Chapter 7.

2.5. Additional Motivations

Some paintings may have been given new frames for practical reasons, such as poor craftsmanship. This may have been the circumstance with the reframing of the painting *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (1866, Frick, YMSM 72, **Plate 13**). In February 1892, Whistler wrote to D.C. Thomson saying, 'The picture which is very dirty should go at once to Richards to be cleaned & varnished – Frame in very bad state I fear – Grau had better see what can be done'.²⁶ Whistler omitted the specifics of the frame's 'bad state', but continued to suggest how Grau might remedy *The Ocean*'s frame: 'he might find a larger frame in my studio that would cut down to it – the old frame of Carlyle, or the one of my Mother, would do, regilded'.²⁷ Curiously, Whistler had not disposed of the 1870s frames that were removed from the two portraits during the previous year. Instead, he had stored them in his studio and then suggested here that Grau might cut them down to create a new surround for *The Ocean*.

Whether Grau resized the frames stored in Whistler's studio remains uncertain. A bill sent to Whistler from the Goupil Gallery on 20 May 1892 provided a list of lenders who had not settled

²⁵ James Whistler to James W. Paton, 26 March 1891, GUL MS Whistler G40a; GUW 01674, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²⁶ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, 21 February [1892], PWC 3; GUW 08212, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²⁷ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, 21 February [1892], PWC 3; GUW 08212, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

their accounts with Grau. The entries included: ‘Peter Taylor, Old frame being regilt, refuses new frame’ and ‘Mrs. Peter Taylor, – see above’.²⁸ This bill indicates that the Taylors refused a new frame in favour of having their old frame re-gilt, which further increases the uncertainty of Grau’s involvement. Ira Horowitz described the frame on Whistler’s *Symphony in Grey and Green: the Ocean* as having ‘painted decoration that appears on the central flat, which takes the form of repeating sets of overlapping curves called *seigaiha*, or ‘blue sea waves’.²⁹ The frame displays a painted surface similar to that seen on *Symphony in White, No.1: The White Girl* and what was believed to have been on *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville*. The current decoration was reapplied under the direction of D.C. Thomson following the Goupil Gallery exhibition in 1892 (this is examined in depth in Chapter 7). While this frame was not removed, only resurfaced, Whistler had initially suggested that the frame be replaced because the original was in a ‘bad state’.

Whistler also tried to replace the first frame on *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864, Tate, YMSM 52, **Plate 14**) in 1892. Whistler wrote to John Gerald Potter saying, “‘The little White Girl’ also ought to have a new frame. The old one is quite too weak for the picture – but there was no time to alter that – Do order one from Mr Grau. 570. Fulham Road’.³⁰ There are two possible interpretations for Whistler’s use of the word ‘weak’ in describing the frame that surrounded the *Little White Girl*. The first meaning could imply that the frame was not strong enough, physically, to support or protect the painting, thus suggesting poor craftsmanship or damage to the frame. In this case, the motivation for the removal of the 1862 frame could be faulty craftsmanship. The second meaning of the word ‘weak’ could imply that the frame was not strong enough, aesthetically, to support the painting. If this is the case, it illustrates a shift in Whistler’s artistic vision; the older frame had lost its original beauty and ultimately required replacing. If this is the case, then Whistler’s frames were undergoing changes due to altering fashions and aesthetic concepts and not because of the level of craftsmanship involved.

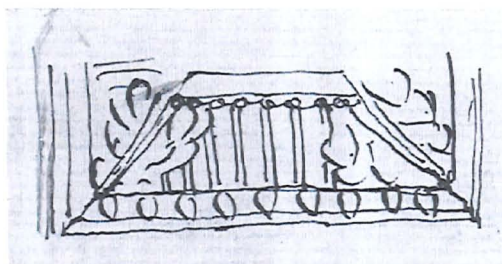
²⁸ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

²⁹ Ira Horowitz, ‘Whistler’s Frames’, *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980), p. 127.

³⁰ James Whistler to John Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], GUL MS Whistler F420b; GUW 01488, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

The last pairing of a Whistler painting and frame from *Americans in Paris* examined here comprises one of Whistler's earliest paintings, *The Coast of Brittany*. The original frame seen at the Société Nationale in Paris in 1861, and at the Royal Academy in London the following year, was Parisian in origin and ordered by Whistler from his friend George Lucas. The exact date of the order is unknown, but Whistler wrote to Lucas, an art dealer working in Paris, in 1862 requesting him to order two frames: 'something like the one I had for the painting I brought from Brittany last year (which you remember) richly carved, and bold – deep and

Fig. 2.4: Design for a picture frame (1862, The George A. Lucas collection of the Maryland Institute, College of Art, on loan to the Baltimore Museum of Art, M. 308).



rather broad; massive but not cumbersome, and well finished'.³¹ Whistler even provided a sketch illustrating the style of frame he desired (**fig. 2.4**). Later in the same month, Whistler wrote to Lucas again:

Many thanks for having so kindly done what I asked you to – and for having written at once – The large picture, “toile de soixante,” is, you know for exhibition, and the frame I have to pay for myself – so that I can't well afford to run the risk of an expensive one, and perhaps not sell the painting after all! – The Brittany sea piece last year was a “toile de cinquante” and the frame very large and deep as you remember – it cost 150 fr – and if possible I should like to pay no more this time – I would even sacrifice a centimetre or two in breadth and perhaps the outside painted instead of gilded – The rest I leave to you, and am sure I shall be pleased with your choice.³²

Whistler's instructions to Lucas are insightful, in that they reveal his early interest in frames. While he wanted to display his paintings to their best advantage, he also had to be practical financially. Lucas acted on Whistler's requests and ordered the two frames from the Parisian frame-makers Dutocq & Fernandez on 21 October 1862.³³

³¹ James Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, 18 October [1862], Baltimore Museum of Art 06 folder, W-Lucas file; GUW 09187, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

³² James Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, [27 October 1862], Baltimore Museum of Art 07 folder, W-Lucas file; GUW 09188, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

³³ Lillian M.C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Agent in Paris, 1857-1909*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton, University Press, 1979).

Dutocq & Fernandez may also have produced this early frame for *The Coast of Brittany*, seen surrounding the canvas in the photographs from the Whistler Memorial Exhibition held at the Copley Society of Boston in 1904 (see **figs. 2.5 & 2.6**).³⁴ These photographs illustrate the painting with a neo-classical frame. Featuring a cove decorated with anthemion composition ornament, it stands in contrast to the deep reeded cushion Grau-

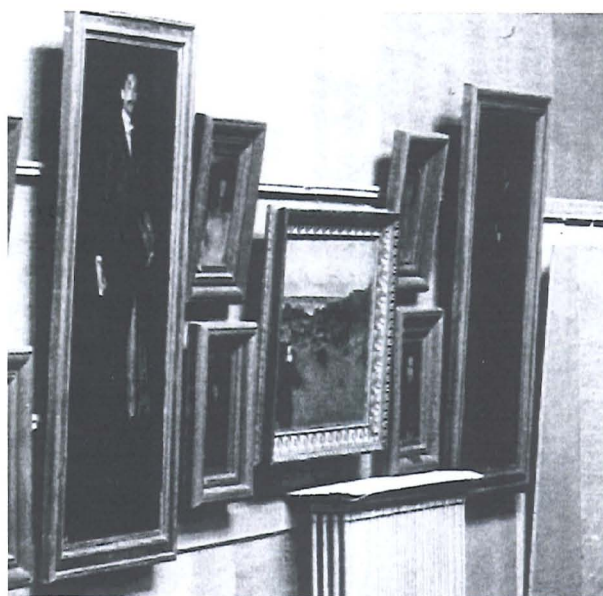


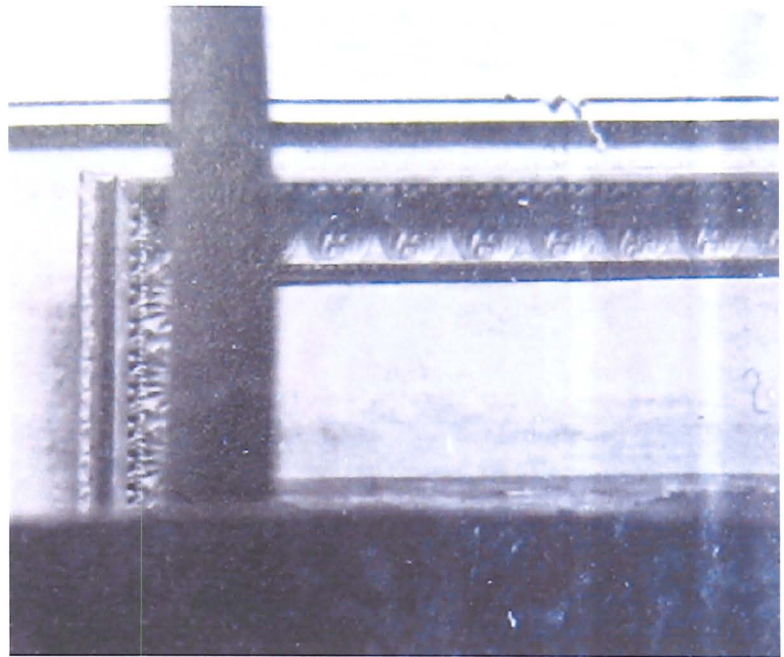
Fig. 2.5: Photograph from the Whistler Memorial Exhibition at the Copley Society, Boston, 1904.

style frames on the paintings surrounding it. At some point after the 1904 Boston Memorial Exhibition, the painting underwent the process of reframing, and it also acquired a deep reeded Grau-style frame. Despite the fact that the canvas may be the oldest of Whistler's displayed at the *Americans in Paris*, the frame is the most modern.

The exact details surrounding the modern reframing of *The Coast of Brittany* remain unknown. Kate Theimer speculated that the neo-classical frame was removed sometime after the memorial exhibition, but before the painting's accession into the Wadsworth Athenaeum. Whatever the circumstance, this painting represents a reframe that was not performed according to Whistler's direct instructions, but was carried out after his death. The reframing of *The Coast of Brittany* illustrates an attempt made by the subsequent owner or the Wadsworth Athenaeum to follow the example set by Whistler. Throughout the previous examinations, Whistler served as the primary instigator in the reframing of his paintings. The motivations and reasons why Whistler instigated this process varied, but common factors included changes in ownership, environment and fashion. Whatever the motivation, the alterations Whistler made to his own paintings have influenced museums and owners to do the same.

³⁴ Letter from Kate M. Theimer, Freer Gallery of Art to Elizabeth Kornhauser, Wadsworth Athenaeum, (26 July 1995). Copy, courtesy of Adria Patterson at the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Ct.

Fig. 2.6: Detail of a photograph from the Whistler Memorial Exhibition at the Copley Society, Boston, 1904.



2.6. The Effect of Whistler's Reframes

In examining the history and processes involved in the reframing of the four Whistler canvases included in the London showing of *Americans in Paris: 1860 – 1900* the following observations have been made: (1) Whistler experienced two distinct periods of reframing, first during the late 1870s and again in the early 1890s; (2) when he did not completely replace a frame, Whistler often altered the frame surface, sometimes more than once; and (3) the most prominent factor initiating the reframing of a painting was a change in an outside force, such as ownership, environment and/or fashion. Yet, upon examining these individual case studies, two questions remain. Why did Whistler reframe his work, and does the fact that he changed the frame affect this study?

Whistler's habit of reframing fundamentally challenges our preconceived notion of originality. The definition of the word 'original' contains elements specifying that an object must be the first in a sequence. With this in mind, can a reframed painting be classified as being an original pairing? If Whistler changed the frames that surrounded his paintings on more than one occasion, can they still be defined as original? Are they essentially artist-designed frames, as recognized by Eva Mendgen in the exhibition *In Perfect Harmony*, or must another term be invented? In these instances, the individual who instigated the process of reframing is an important factor to consider.

Three basic groups have the authority and power to reframe a painting: (1) the artist, (2) the owner, and (3) the museum. While each group may have its own reasons for reframing, they cannot be treated equally. For instance, can the reframing of *The Coast of Brittany*, which was possibly reframed by the Wadsworth Athenaeum, be treated in the same manner as those works that Whistler reframed? Or are the situations where Whistler, the artist, instigated the process of reframing more valid than those instigated by the owner or museum? If this is the case, and Whistler's reframes are more acceptable than the reframes of others, how should these different versions or stages of frame be studied? If Whistler was the instigator behind the multiple framings of a painting, then which is the original state of the frame?

Whistler's habit of reframing paintings has proved to be a difficulty in previous frame examinations. In his article 'Whistler's Frames', first published in 1979, Ira Horowitz commented that 'inherent in the study of frames is the problem of dating. Many of Whistler's paintings were reframed for subsequent exhibitions'.³⁵ Horowitz cited examples where the dating of a frame had been complicated due to alterations made by Whistler. For instance, he wrote of the frame on *Symphony in White, No. III* (1867, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, University of Birmingham, YMSM 61, **Plate 15**):

The frame ... presents an intriguing problem of dating. The canvas was begun in 1865 and was reworked by Whistler in 1867, as is indicated by the change in date on the canvas. The frame now on this painting is the reeded type used by Whistler in the early '70s. Another indication that frame and canvas do not date concurrently is the two incongruent signatures. Whistler scrawled his name at the bottom left of the canvas, while using his butterfly signature inscribed in a circle on the upper right inner frame flat.³⁶

The process described by Horowitz is similar to that observed in the reframing of Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl*. Both paintings date from the 1860s and possess a scrawled signature on the canvas. The parallels continue, in that both are surrounded by a reeded frame design developed by Whistler during the 1870s, which also possesses painted ornamentation. Rather than perceiving them as indicators of a change in Whistler's artistic vision and understanding of the function of the frame, Horowitz saw the difference in dates as

³⁵ Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', p. 130.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 127.

problematic.

The negative view of Whistler's reframing practices can also be seen in Peter Cannon-Brookes's writings. In 1995, he stated that:

The study of Whistler's picture frames is greatly complicated by the painter's habit of reframing his paintings – not only for the Goupil exhibition of 1892, and sometimes with frames appreciably earlier in date than the paintings which they were to enclose – while decades of heavy-handed alteration/restorations add additional uncertainty.³⁷

Cannon-Brookes also observed the difficulties involved in accurately dating a picture frame that surrounds a painting dating from a different point in Whistler's career. The frustrations of Horowitz and Cannon-Brookes are born from a common misconception that the dates for a painting and a frame must be congruent.

Throughout the examinations of the Whistler frames included in the exhibition *Americans in Paris* one observation has remained constant: a strict chronological method of analysis cannot be used on the picture frames of James McNeill Whistler. The simple conclusion that an 1860s painting must have an 1860s frame is not valid. Therefore, in order to comprehend and value each stage of a Whistler reframing, the anachronistic approach employed by Jacob Simon in the exhibition *The Art of the Picture Frame* must be applied. The frames of Whistler are now seen as indications of the painting's provenance or history. Each version or generation of a frame is valid and should therefore be acknowledged regardless of its present state. When this approach is applied, each stage of the frame's history also possesses aspects of the painting's history, and this history in turn reveals more about the various stages of framing. If these reframes are embraced, not ignored, and are factored into the analysis and study, a greater understanding of Whistler's frames can be attained. We will then be able to accept the 20-year age gap existing between a painting and frame and conclude that it is in fact an original pairing.

³⁷ Peter Cannon-Brookes, 'Picture Framing: J.M. Whistler's Picture Frames in the Freer Gallery, Washington, in the light of the 1994-5 Whistler Exhibition', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 14, no. 2 (1995), p. 208.

3.0 Chapter Three

The 1864 Whistler Frame: Extensions of the Paintings

3.1. The 1864 Oriental Cassetta Frame

A subtle link exists between the function and the design of a picture frame. Decorative elements within the frame's design often reveal aspects that indicate the function the frame is intended to serve. For example, if a frame links or divides the real world from the imaginary, the frame's design must reflect this purpose. Alternatively, if the purpose of a frame is to serve as an extension of the enclosed painting, aspects illustrating this function will similarly be included in its design.

Upon examining the frame designs of James McNeill Whistler, it becomes evident that he used frames as extensions of his paintings at two periods during his career. The first occurred in 1864 with the production of the four Oriental cassetta frames, and the second took place fourteen years later around the time of Whistler's trial with John Ruskin. This chapter explores the circumstances that surround the design of four frames Whistler created in 1864. Attention is given to the relationship between function and design and how one has had a direct impact on the other.

It should be noted that the frames examined are not actually a part of the painting. Painting and frame remain two separate objects that can be separated at any time. However, these

four frames are considered to be a part of the artwork, because they share strong links to the enclosed canvas.

The frames Whistler used in 1864 were the first made for him according to an original design. Prior to this date, Whistler had already shown an interest in the picture frame, as illustrated in the previous chapter in the examination of the 1862 landscape *The Coast of Brittany* (YMSM 37, **Plate 5**). Included in the correspondence between Whistler and George Lucas was a sketch for a picture frame (see **fig. 2.4**).¹ Ira Horowitz overlooked the significance of this sketch in 1979 when he referenced this letter and stated that ‘Whistler had not yet assumed the initiative in frame designing’.² Although it is not an original design, the sketch does indicate Whistler’s interest in frames and his role in their selection. The frame that could have resulted from the above transaction may be the French neo-classical frame seen on *The Coast of Brittany* at the Boston exhibition of 1903. This frame differs greatly from those Whistler designed in 1864, which Horowitz regarded as being the first evidence of Whistler’s interest in frames.³

Whistler’s 1864 frames were (and can still be found) on four paintings:

- *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, **Plate 14**),
- *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (YMSM 47, **Plate 2**),
- *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelain* (FGA, YMSM 50, **Plate 16**), and
- *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (FGA, YMSM 60, **Plate 17**).

The surface decoration of each frame varies, but these four frames possess an identical profile of three sections: (1) a flat back-edge that rounds off to a flat outer moulding covered with a cross-hatch pattern made of composition ornament, (2) a wide frieze, level with the picture plane adorned with incised whorls and roundels, and (3) an astragal or decorated flat as the inner moulding (see **fig. 3.1**).

¹ Letter: James Whistler to George Aloysius Lucas, 18 October [1862], Baltimore Museum of Art 06 folder, W-Lucas file; GUW 09187, (accessed, 31 July 2007). Sketch: 1862, The George A. Lucas collection of the Maryland Institute, College of Art, on loan to the Baltimore Museum of Art, M. 308; Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 308.

² Ira Horowitz, ‘Whistler’s Frames’, *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980), p. 124.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 124.

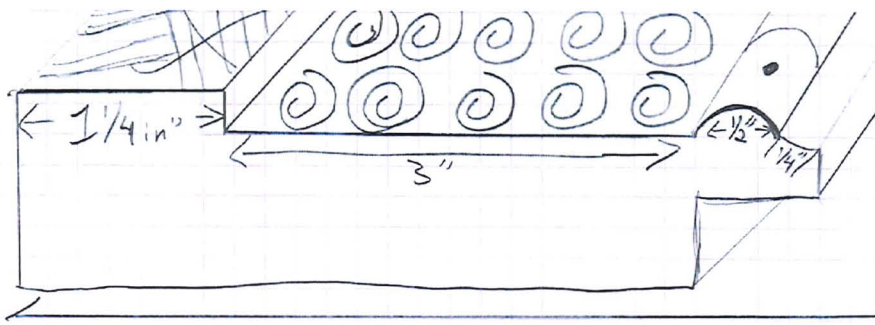


Fig. 3.1: Profile drawing of the 1864 Whistler frame, from *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, Plate 19).

The profile outlined here is in direct contrast to the scooped profile seen on the neoclassical frame chosen for the *Coast of Brittany*. With only two years separating the selection and creation of these differing styles, it raises the following question: What happened during this time that altered Whistler's preference in frames? There are two possible factors that may have contributed to this significant shift. The first was Whistler's new friendship with the Pre-Raphaelite painter/poet Dante Gabriel Rossetti. The second was his growing interest in oriental art, primarily that of blue-and-white porcelain.

3.2. Whistler and the Pre-Raphaelites

Whistler and Rossetti first became friends following Whistler's move to London in 1862. After spending seven years as a student in Paris, Whistler settled into the residential area of Chelsea in December 1862. For the first three months, he lived at 7A Queen's Road West, and he then moved to 7 Lindsay Row, a few houses down from Tudor House, the home and studio of D.G. Rossetti.⁴ Shortly after this move, Whistler became an active member of Rossetti's artistic circle of friends. Rossetti's younger brother, William Michael Rossetti, wrote:

I forgot how it was exactly that we got introduced to him; possibly by Mr. Algernon Swinburne, who was also to be an intimate ... before meeting Whistler or just about the time we met him, we had seen one or two of his paintings. *At the Piano* must have been one; and we most heartily admired him, and discerned unmistakably that he was destined for renown.⁵

At the time of Whistler's move, Rossetti was already a distinguished member of the London art world. He had first risen to fame during the late 1840s, when he and seven other like-minded

⁴ Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, & Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), p. ix.

⁵ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), p. 99.

young men founded the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood, which had the following goals:

(1) to have genuine ideas to express; (2) to study Nature attentively, so as to know how to express them; (3) to sympathize with what is direct and serious and heartfelt in previous art, to exclusion of what is conventional and self-parading and learned by rote; and (4), and most indispensable of all, to produce thoroughly good pictures and statues.⁶



Fig. 3.2: *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* by Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1864, Tate).

With this creed in hand, the Brotherhood sought to reform the traditional art of painting as well as certain aspects of the decorative arts, including picture frames. From the group's inception, the frame proved to be of great interest, especially to Rossetti. As early as November 1848, Rossetti wrote to his godfather, Charles Lyell:

I called on Mr. Eastlake, with the intention of asking him for the address of his frame-maker; but he was from home at the time. I went accordingly to a person whom I knew to be in the habit of making frames for Mr. Herbert, Mr. Hart & other members of the Academy.⁷

⁶ William Michael Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, vol. 1 (London: Ellis and Elvey, 1895), p. 135.

⁷ William E. Fredeman, ed., *The Correspondence of Dante Gabriel Rossetti, The formative years 1835-1862: Charlotte Street to Cheyne Walk*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2002), p. 75.

Rossetti was seeking guidance for the framing of his painting the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (1848-50, Tate, **fig. 3.2**), the first work by a member of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood to be exhibited publicly. Unfortunately, the frame originally seen at the 1849 Free Exhibition in London no longer surrounds the work today. Like Whistler, Rossetti frequently reframed paintings, often years after they were completed. He reframed this painting in 1864, the same year that Whistler designed the four ‘Oriental’ frames.⁸

The original design for the frame for the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* remains uncertain, but it is possible to speculate about how it might have looked. From the shading and discolouration of the paint at the top-right and left-hand corners of the canvas (**fig. 3.3**), it is likely that the frame once had an arched spandrel, similar to that seen on *The Awakening Conscience* by William Holman Hunt (see **fig 1.6**).⁹ Below the spandrel, Holman Hunt left the corners unpainted and used the space to make notes on restorations performed to the canvas (**fig. 3.4**).¹⁰ The corners of Rossetti’s canvas may have been left unpainted behind the shaped spandrel, and painted in when the work was refitted into the redesigned 1864 frame.¹¹ W. M. Rossetti further recorded that the early frame incorporated text into the surface decoration:



Fig. 3.3: Top left corner of *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* showing the dark shading where a spandrel may have once been.

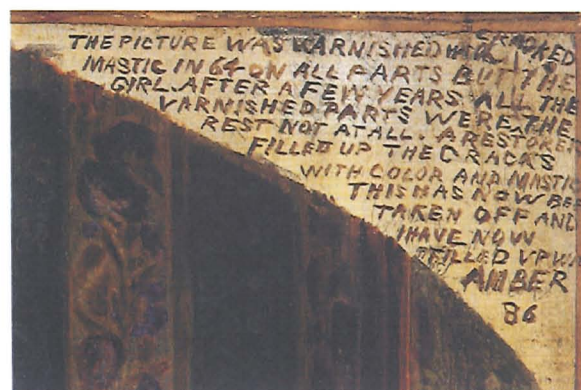


Fig. 3.4: Unpainted right corner of *The Awakening Conscience* displaying annotations by Hunt.

⁸ Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, vol. 1, p. 148.

⁹ Joyce H. Townsend, Jacqueline Ridge, & Stephen Hackney, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques: 1848-56*, (London: Tate Publishing, 2004), p. 82.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

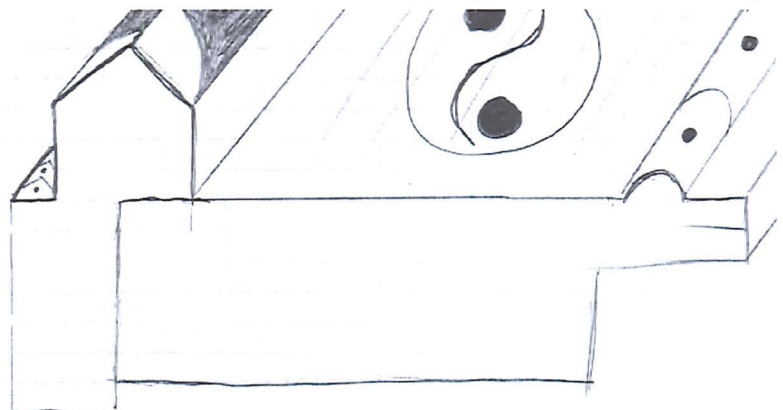
For the frame of the picture my brother had a slip of gilt paper printed (I still posses a copy of it) containing two sonnets of his composition – the first setting forth the general purport of the work, and the second its individual symbols.¹²

William Michael not only provided valuable information regarding the inclusion of the text within the frame's design, but also explained why Rossetti included it – the text provided an additional commentary on the painting.

From his first frame design, Rossetti illustrated a strong awareness of the role the picture frame played in the presentation of his artwork. The archway created a theatrical effect that served as a window assisting the viewer to see the action within the painting. In effect, the frame functioned as a divide separating the real world of the viewer from the painted world of the canvas. When Rossetti changed the frame in 1864, its new function was to enhance the canvas and become an extension of the painting. Perhaps this changing view of the frame's function encouraged him to create a new design, one that captured his new understanding of its purpose. Of the two decorative elements used on the 1849 frame, only the incorporation of text is used within the 1864 design.

Rossetti's 1864 frame consists of three distinct sections: (1) a triangular outer moulding carved with a wave-like pattern that is known as a 'thumb-mark' pattern, (2) a wide frieze, level with the picture plane, with incised decorative roundels and text gilded directly onto the surface, and (3) an incised astragal sight edge (**fig. 3.5**). In this design, Rossetti created a frame that was an extension of the painting. The flatness of the profile, plus the parallel surfaces of the frieze and canvas, together create the illusion of one surface. The two parallel surfaces merge

Fig. 3.5: Profile drawing for *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* (**fig. 3.2**).



¹² Rossetti, *Dante Gabriel Rossetti: His Family Letters*, vol. 1, p. 143.

into one another; the image spills out onto the surface of the frame, creating the effect that the frame extends the image beyond the restrictions of the canvas. Correspondingly, the use of text in the frame's design and decoration works with the painted image to assist the viewer in interpreting the action of the painting.

3.2.1. The incorporation of text

The box-like geometrical frame designed by Whistler in 1864 shares two significant similarities with Rossetti's frame from the same year: (1) the incorporation of text within the surface ornament, and (2) the flatness of the profile. The design for the first frame on Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* included both of these elements. The painting was reframed after 1892, but a photograph remains of the 1864 frame, showing that a poem was included within the design (fig. 3.6). The poem *Before the Mirror: Verses under a Picture* was written by Algernon Swinburne for this exact purpose. The Pennells recorded that Swinburne was so moved by the painting that he wrote the poem in response to the image.¹³



Fig. 3.6: Photograph of *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, **Plate 14**) in its 1864 Oriental cassetta frame.

The poem was printed on gold leaf paper and gilded directly over the incised whorls on the lower half of the frame. The application of the poem over the whorls indicates that the text was not an original part of the frame's design, but

was added later. In a letter to Whistler from April 1865, a month before the painting's debut at the Royal Academy, Swinburne wrote:

Here are the verses, written the first thing after breakfast & brought off at once. I could not do anything prettier, but if you don't find any serviceable as an Academy-Catalogue motto & don't care to get all this printed under the picture,

¹³ Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (1908), vol. 1, p. 128.

tell me at once that I may try my hand at it to-morrow again. Gabriel praises them highly, & I think myself the idea is pretty.¹⁴

From his statements, it seems likely that Swinburne, who was then a lodger at Rossetti's Chelsea home, wrote these verses with encouragement from Rossetti. Considering the high praise he gave to Swinburne, it is also plausible that Rossetti suggested the placement of the poem onto the frame before it was exhibited at the Royal Academy.

Regardless of what occurred, the presence of the text in Whistler's frame design may indicate Rossetti's involvement. Like Rossetti's use of text, the words are intended to serve a purpose greater than simple surface decoration. In this case, the text provided additional information on the subject of the painted image. Although Whistler may not have written the poem personally, he did choose to link it irrevocably to the image of *The Little White Girl*. By incorporating text within the frame's design, the frame became an extension of the image.

3.2.2. The use of the cassetta profile

The second similarity shared between the 1864 frame designs of Rossetti and Whistler is the type of profile they used. The profiles for the frames of both men contain three distinct sections: (1) a raised outer edge, (2) a wide frieze parallel with the canvas, and (3) a sight edge containing a small astragal often with incised decoration. The pattern outlined here closely resembles that used for a *cassetta* frame (fig. 3.7).

The cassetta frame was first developed and used during the Early Renaissance, but it remained a popular style in Europe from the fifteenth century to the nineteenth century.¹⁵ Cassetta frames are accurately described as being frames with a broad flat that is surrounded by raised inner and outer mouldings. The frame historian, Timothy

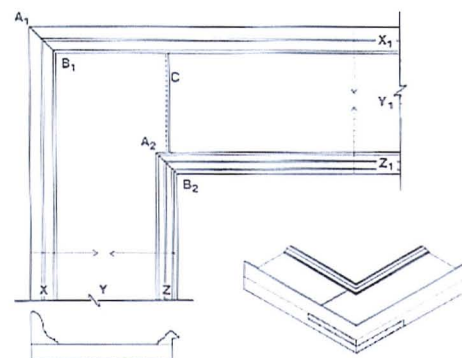


Fig. 3.7: Profile drawing of a cassetta frame.

¹⁴ Algernon Charles Swinburne to James Whistler, [2 April 1865], GUL MS Whistler S265; GUW 05619, (accessed, 26 July 26, 2007).

¹⁵ Timothy Newbery, 'Picture Framing I: European 'Cassetta' Frames from the 15th to the 19th Century', *Museum Management and Curatorship* 14, no. 1 (1995), p.103.

Newbery, expanded on this simple definition:

The basic cassetta frame format is that each side is made up of a broad, flat length of wood onto which are attached two narrower strips of wood, or mouldings with distinct and usually different profiles, leaving an open frieze between. The inner, or rebate, provides the sight edge next to the painting, which determines how much of it is to be seen, while the back-edge, delineating the outer perimeter of the structure, separates the frieze from the wall and the rest of the room.¹⁶

The inclusion of the wide flat within these frames serves multiple purposes. For instance, the broad frieze may have been created to provide a suitable surface for the placement of text. Furthermore, as observed earlier in the discussion of Rossetti's *Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, the flat profile enhances the lack of depth present within the painting. This results in a frame closely linked to the canvas.

Despite the undeniable similarities in the frame designs of Whistler and Rossetti, several differences also exist. These differences mostly involve how the artists approached the manufacture of the frame. Rossetti employed the traditional techniques of the frame-maker's trade to create a frame that further enhanced the flatness of the painted image and increased the connection shared between the canvas and frame. His frame design for *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* contains three additional characteristics not seen in Whistler's frames. The first is the emphasis given to the construction of the frame. Alastair Grieve commented on this in 1973:

Rossetti was always careful to make his pictures decorative. He arranged their compositions to stress their real flatness and their overall shape. Forms were usually placed parallel to the surface plan and perspectival recession was suppressed in favour of pattern related to the rectangular frame.¹⁷

The flatness of the painting was heightened by the flatness of the frame's profile. Secondly, by leaving the wide flat free from moulded composition ornament, the joints become more noticeable. In the case of *The Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, the joints took on a more decorative quality. In addition, Rossetti's use of the butt joint differed from Whistler's designs, which were joined using mitre joints.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 103.

¹⁷ Alastair Grieve, 'Applied Art of D.G. Rossetti - I. His Picture Frames', *Burlington Magazine* 115 (1973), p. 16.

Thirdly, the two artists approached the surface of the frieze differently. On Rossetti's frame, the carcass of the frame has been veneered with a thin layer of quarter-sawed oak. If the frames had been covered according to the traditional methods of water-gilding, the fine details of veneer and construction would have been lost. A water-gilded frame requires the wood to be covered with layers of gesso, clay and glue, before the thin layer of gold leaf can be attached. For the delicate, decorative details of the oak and construction to be seen by the viewer, Rossetti's frame was oil-gilded. This process is achieved by applying a thin layer of sticky vanish, or 'size', to the wooden frame surface. The gold leaf is applied when the size is nearly dried but still has some adhesive qualities.¹⁸

This is seen on the *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* frame; the gold leaf has been gilded directly to the oak veneer and not a white gesso base. As a result, the wood grain and construction are both visible underneath the gold leaf, creating a unique texture that 'absorbs light and deflects it back to the eye with shimmering effect'.¹⁹ The combination of the oak veneer and the oil-gilding within Rossetti's design produced a distinct surface that cannot be observed in Whistler's designs. With these three design elements, along with the use of text and symbols, Rossetti created an extension of his paintings.

Grieve also observed that 'this frank exposure of the material as well as the inscriptions upon it seem to make the frame more important in its own right – it is not simply a surround to an illusionist view'.²⁰ The design of the frame has taken on additional aspects that in turn indicate the fundamental purpose and function of the frame. The frame is not intended to surround the painting and protect it from the environment; rather, it is intended to serve the painting as an extension that provides an additional commentary on the action in the painting.

¹⁸ William Adair, *Gold Leaf Workshop*, (Washington, D.C.: Gold Leaf Studios, 1999). Also see, William Adair, ed., *The Gilder's Manual; a complete practical guide to gilding in all its branches. Designed for all trades in which Water Gilding is used. Including Silvering. Together with picture framing, picture repairing, and much other useful information, valuable receipts, &c.*, Reprint of Original 1876 edition printed by Jesse Haney & Co. of New York ed., Society of Gilders (Washington, DC: Society of Gilders, 1990).

¹⁹ William Adair, 'Endangered Frames: To Save a Butterfly', *Picture Framing Magazine* (1995).

²⁰ Grieve, 'Applied Art of D.G. Rossetti - I. His Picture Frames', p. 20.

3.2.3. Whistler and Rossetti: who influenced whom?

The friendship between Rossetti and Whistler is of great interest to the frame historian due to the uncertainty that surrounds the originality of this tri-sectional picture frame. Both designs date from the year 1864, but which artist designed it first, Whistler or Rossetti? Or was the design born simultaneously from mutual sources of inspiration? To answer this question directly is impossible. However, Whistler's biographers, Elizabeth and Joseph Pennell, were possibly the first to attempt an answer, as it may have been asked of them frequently. In the revised edition of their biography, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, they added the following statements:

On the frames of early pictures Japanese patterns were painted in red or blue on the flat gold, and a Butterfly placed on them, in relation to the picture ... Certain people want to make out that Whistler got the idea from Rossetti. It might as well be said that Rossetti got it from the beginning of the world. There is nothing new in the idea. Artists always have decorated special frames for special pictures, and Whistler only carried on tradition when he designed frames in harmony with his work and varied them according to the picture for which they were used.²¹

Their understanding of Whistler's frames is slightly confused, as they did not present his designs in the order in which they occurred. Instead, they mixed Whistler's different styles and failed to observe the progressive development. In the above quote, the Pennells actually describe the frames Whistler used during the 1870s and not those from 1864. Yet Elizabeth and Joseph Pennell addressed the idea of Rossetti's designs inspiring those of Whistler. They quickly negated this idea and said that both artists were inspired by traditional practices of designing a frame for a specific painting.

It is interesting to note that, in 1909, Elizabeth recorded in her journal:

I forgot to write on Tuesday that Meyer [of Obach & Co.] talked of Whistler's frames, the talk suggested by J[oseph]'s asking him if he had seen the picture Ströhlen had in Paris, a Whistler, he said it was, that he got from Carmen [Rossi]. Meyer said yes, because Ströhlen sent it over to them to have it framed. They sent it to Whistler's old frame-maker, in Wardour Street [Foord and Dickenson], he said, who told him that Rossetti had made the first design for Whistler's frames in the old days.²²

²¹ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 5th revised ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1911), p. 90.

²² Elizabeth Robbins Pennell, Journal, 7 February 1909, PWC, Box 352, folder 55, pp. 253-254, (accessed, 17 90

Presumably, Elizabeth Pennell did not take this rumour seriously, as this information did not appear in the revised edition of their biography. Perhaps the Pennells concluded that Meyer's statement was not entirely accurate. In his anecdote, Meyer reports that Whistler's old framer was located on Wardour Street. During the nineteenth century, the frame-makers Foord and Dickenson operated from two different addresses on Wardour Street. The firm, founded by George Foord in 1829, was first located at 90 Wardour Street and moved to 129 Wardour Street sometime before 1879, where it remained until 1900 when it was sold.²³ Although Foord and Dickenson were in operation during the early 1860s at Wardour Street, it is understood that Rossetti, the Pre-Raphaelites and Whistler did not engage their services until the 1870s.²⁴

During the 1860s, the preferred frame-maker for Rossetti and his friends was Joseph Green, who, Jacob Simon claimed, 'became the first [frame-maker] to have strong links with the Pre-Raphaelites'.²⁵ Additionally, Joyce Townsend observed in the book *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques* that:

The most important of these [frame-makers] was Joseph Green of 14 Charles Street, who seems to have been involved at the beginning working for D.G. Rossetti in the early 1850s, and then for most of the other Pre-Raphaelites until the firm of Green changed hands in the early 1870s.²⁶

Townsend further speculated that it was Green who oversaw the reframing of Rossetti's *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* in 1864.²⁷ This idea validates the statements made by Alastair Grieve, who wrote that the frame for *Girlhood of Mary Virgin* was:

made by a craftsman called Green who continued to work for Rossetti at least into the late 'sixties. In the 'seventies many of his frames were made by Foord and Dickinson though Rossetti found this firm expensive and had some frames made more cheaply by Charles Rowley of Manchester.²⁸

September 2004).

²³ Betty Elzea, *Frederick Sandys, 11829-1904; A Catalogue Raisonne*, (Suffolk: Antique Collectors' Club, 2001), p. 336.

²⁴ Paul Mitchell & Lynn Roberts, *A History of European Picture Frames*, (London: Paul Mitchell Limited in association with Merrell Holberton, 1996), p. 69.

²⁵ Jacob Simon, *The Art of the Picture Frame: Artists, Patrons and the Framing of Portraits in Britain*, (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1997), p. 134.

²⁶ Townsend, Ridge, & Hackney, *Pre-Raphaelite Painting Techniques: 1848-56*, p. 73.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

²⁸ Grieve, 'Applied Art of D.G. Rossetti - I. His Picture Frames', p. 19.

If Joseph Green was the framer involved, then it is less likely that the Wardour Street framer was involved. For this reason, the truthfulness of the rumour recorded in Elizabeth Pennell's journal is questionable. Although Foord and Dickenson were already established at this time, evidence suggests that they did not produce frames for Rossetti, Whistler and their colleagues until the 1870s. Therefore, the 'old framer', as mentioned by Meyer, would not have worked on the 1864 frames of Rossetti and Whistler and could not speak with trustworthy authority on the subject of Rossetti's early influence on Whistler.

Nevertheless, the similarities between the two artists' frame designs are undeniable. Ira Horowitz wrote in his article, 'Whistler's frames', that:

Whistler's ingenuity in frame designing lay not so much in his originality as in his unique ability to adapt what he saw around him to serve his own needs. Rossetti's and Degas' frames, Japanese ceramics, and Thomas Jeckyll's furniture and interiors provided Whistler with significant sources for his frames and their decorations.²⁹

While Horowitz's observations are accurate, they are true only to a certain extent. Whistler never copied the frames of Rossetti, as seen in the differences observed between the individual designs. While Whistler used similar ornament, the most fundamental commonality between the two artists was the use of the same frame function. The two friends viewed frames as extensions of their paintings, and as a result their frames share corresponding decorative elements.

3.3. Whistler and Chinese/Japanese Art

Another influence suggested by Horowitz was Japanese ceramics, objects collected by both Whistler and Rossetti. Throughout the early 1860s, as the friendship between Rossetti and Whistler continued to grow, so did their interest in Japanese and Chinese art, particularly blue-and-white porcelain. Several accounts record their mutual admiration for the foreign ceramics and chronicle the friendly rivalry existing between them. In February 1864, Rossetti wrote to James Anderson Rose, the solicitor for both men, asking:

²⁹ Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', p. 124.

Did I hear you say something about going to Holland? And if so, when? I want to go some day as soon as I can, for blue china, but do not hint a word to Whistler. Since I lately bought all in a lump that gorgeous collection, I pant & gasp for more; and if I am right in thinking I heard you talk of going to Holland, I would try to go with you.³⁰

This candid letter not only illustrates the enthusiasm both men had for their collections of blue-and-white porcelain, but also that they were willing to travel, cloaked in secrecy if need be, to amass a collection greater than that of the other.

The two artists also collected Japanese kimonos and fabrics, often worn by the models in the paintings they produced during this period. In November 1864, Rossetti wrote to his mother saying:

Paris is very much altered since I was last here, but I keep in so narrow a circle that I see little of the change. I have bought very little – only four Japanese books, ... I went to his Japanese shop, but found that all the costumes were being snapped up by a French artist, [Jacques Joseph] Tissot, who it seems is doing three Japanese pictures, which the mistress of the shop described to me as the three wonders of the world, evidently in her opinion quite throwing Whistler into the shade.³¹

Evidently, Whistler and Rossetti were not alone in their inclusion of oriental fabrics in their paintings. Perhaps Whistler was also aware of Tissot's buying habits. In a letter written from Lindsey Row to the artist, Henri Fantin-Latour, Whistler signs off with the following statement: 'When you go by the Rue de Rivoli tell the Japanese woman to put all the costumes on one side for me'.³² This shop may be the same one frequented by Rossetti the year before. M. and Mme de Soye ran the shop 'Porte Chinoise' at this address in Paris, where they sold china, kimonos, and other oriental artefacts.³³ It was from these objects that Whistler observed the oriental decorative motifs that he translated onto the surface of his frames.

³⁰ Dante Gabriel Rossetti to James Anderson Rose, [24 February 1864], PCW LC3/2474-75; GUW 12292, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

³¹ Oswald Doughty & John Robert Wahl, eds., *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 527.

³² James Whistler to Henri Fantin-Latour, [September 1865], PWC 1/33/17; GUW 08037, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

³³ Whistler to Fantin-Latour, [September 1865], PWC 1/33/17; GUW 08037, (accessed, 31 July 2007).

3.3.1. Incorporation of oriental motifs and designs

In Whistler's frame designs, each section of the frame's profile illustrates a different method by which oriental motifs were incorporated. The first is present on the outermost edge where the top moulding is made of a raised flat edge, covered with a cross-hatch or 'diaper' pattern made from composition ornament. Owen Jones illustrated this pattern in his *Grammar of Ornament* as figures 1 and 6 on Plate LIX (fig. 3.8).³⁴ This same pattern can be seen on the porcelain dish (fig. 3.9) from the Whistler Collection located at the Hunterian Art Gallery. This collection was Whistler's second blue-and-white porcelain collection, formed after the sale of his first in 1879. Located on the inner side, below the gilt rim of the dish, is the same geometric diaper pattern as seen on Whistler's 1864 frames.

Fig. 3.8: Plate LIX from *The Grammar of Ornament* (1856) Owen Jones.

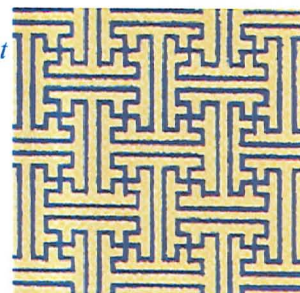


Fig. 3.9: Ceramic dish, porcelain with cobalt blue underglaze, (19th Century, HAG).

Another decorative motif on the dish is also present on the four 1864 frames. Within the observed geometric pattern, each of the four rosettes is surrounded by radiating lines that create a fringe-like border. On the frame that surrounded *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*, the frieze contains six roundels, four at the corners and two at the right and left midpoints. These roundels each contain a single incised rosette with a fringe-like border. The roundels on the ceramic dish and the frame are identical. The motif of the encircled flower can also be found inside the blue-and-white porcelain teacups also from the Whistler Collection (see fig. 3.10). Located at the bottom of these teacups, are single flowers with stems that are surrounded by double rings. It is likely that Whistler adopted the rosette motifs seen on

³⁴ Owen Jones, *The Grammar of Ornament: illustrated by examples from various styles of ornament*, Dorling Kindersley Book, reprint 2001 ed. (London: Day and Son, 1856), p. 278.

these two pieces of blue-and-white and similar pieces of porcelain and used them in his frame designs.



Fig. 3.10: Inside blue-and-white teacup, (HAG).

All four of the 1864 Whistler frames display some incarnation of this circular ornament or roundel design, the most distinctive of which is found on the frame surrounding *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*. This frame has six roundels, four at the corners and two at the right and left midpoints. All six are incised with a different Chinese character, each resembling the six marks often located on the underside of blue-and-white porcelain (see fig. 3.11). These marks indicate the reign or date on which an individual piece of porcelain was made, plus additional details regarding the producer or craftsman (see fig. 3.12). Horowitz published the following translation for these marks: 'Made during the reign of Emperor K'ang and H'si of the great Ch'ing [Manchu] Dynasty'.³⁵ This translation can also be found in Gerald Davison's *Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*.³⁶ It is possible that Whistler saw these marks on the underside of the dishes he collected and used them as frame decorations.

The painting *Purple and Gold: the Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* shows a young woman seated alone on a Chinese camp chair. She is holding a blue-and-white porcelain jar in her lap and a paintbrush in her hand, and she is poised as if to paint additional ornamentation on the pot. Surrounding her are several pieces of blue-and-white china, including two ginger jars, a dish, a vase, and a teacup and saucer. By surrounding this image with a frame possessing the six marks often associated with the porcelain depicted within the painting, Whistler linked them together. Here the frame serves as an extension of the painted image. Just as Rossetti used the text to expand and comment on the action in *Girlhood of Mary Virgin*, so Whistler used symbols to expand and comment on the figure of the *Lange Leizen*.

³⁵ Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', p. 124.

³⁶ Gerald Davison, *The Handbook of Marks on Chinese Ceramics*, (London: Han-Shan Tang Books, 1994), p. 120.

Another 1864 Whistler frame that contains decorative motifs taken from oriental artefacts surrounds *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (see fig. 3.13 & 3.14). This frame has eight roundels, which follow one of two designs. Those located at the corners contain a pattern of intertwined ‘commas or tadpoles’, whereas the four at the midpoints display a pattern of rotating leaves. The same leaf design is seen on the frame for *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (see fig. 3.15). For these roundel decorations, Whistler adapted the use of traditional Japanese *mon* ornamentation.



Fig. 3.11: Six roundels from *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (YMSM 47, Plate 2).



Fig. 3.12: Underside of blue-and-white Kangxi plate. (HAG).

The two previous frames on *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* and *La Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* displayed decorative motifs taken from the surface ornament of blue-and-white Chinese porcelain. In comparison, the *mon*-based roundels on *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* and *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* could have been taken from Whistler’s Japanese kimonos. *The Grove Dictionary of Art* defines the term *mon* as:

originally textile ‘patterns’ and often mistranslated as ‘crests’, are hereditary badges used in much the same way as European arms. ... *Mon* were an indigenous creation, reflecting the needs of a military feudal society, and nothing resembling them has been found in either China or Korea, which were frequent routes for foreign influences on the Japanese.³⁷

³⁷ John A. Goodall, “Heraldry- IV. Japan,” Oxford University Press, <http://www.groveart.com/shared/views/article.html?section=art.037633.4>.



Fig. 3.13: Bottom left roundel on *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelain* (YMSM 50, Plate 16).

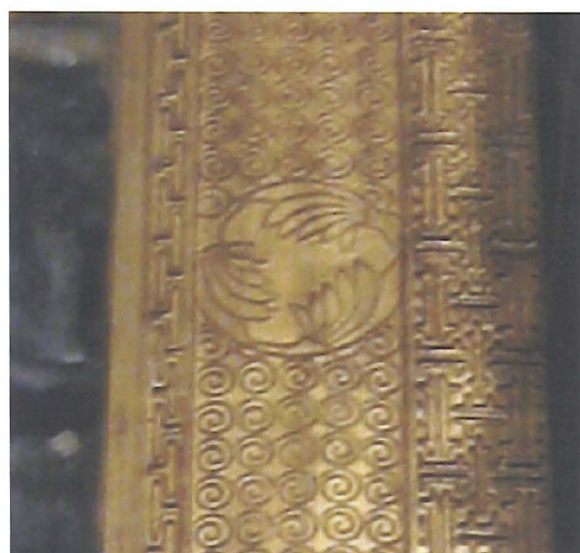


Fig. 3.14: Mid-right roundel on *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelain* (YMSM 50, Plate 16).

Mon are symbols that are integral to Japanese culture. Whistler possibly observed them from the Japanese fabrics he collected or from pattern books. Stuart Durant records that 'Woodblock books of *mon* were sold in the 1880s by Batsfords as 'Japanese Encyclopaedias of Designs' at two shillings a volume'.³⁸ Two such books are included within the Whistler Collection, and they may be the type of books Rossetti purchased at the Japanese shop in Paris in 1864. The books in the Hunterian Art Gallery are *Cinsen Doban Hosoye Shu*, published by Suigetsudo in 1857, and *Alphabetical Index of patterns*, edited by Tanaka Kikuo and published by Matsuzaki Hanzo of Tokyo in 1881.³⁹ It is uncertain when Whistler collected these books, but they do contain images of the *mon* used in his frame designs. For instance, the *Alphabetical Index of patterns* illustrates the comma-like pattern seen on *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, as well as several rosettes or plum blossoms similar to those seen on *The Little White Girl* frame. It also provides a series of diagrams instructing how to

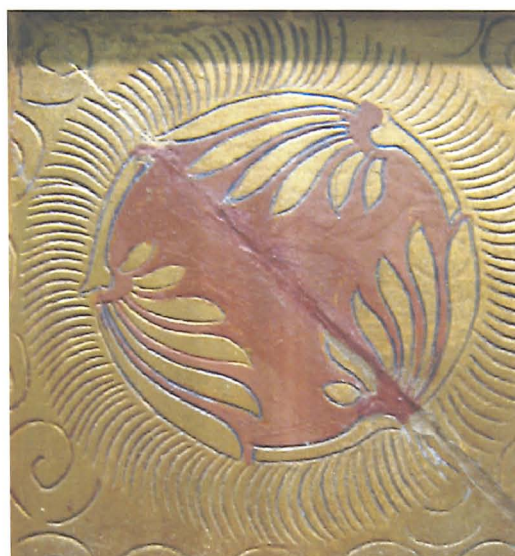


Fig. 3.15: Top right roundel on *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, Plate 17).

³⁸ Stuart Durant, *Ornament: A Survey of decoration since 1830, with 729 illustrations*, (London: Macdonald & Co., 1986), p. 170.

³⁹ Iroha-Biki Moncho, *Alphabetical Index of Patterns [Book of Mon]*, (Tokyo: Matsuzaki Hanzo, 1881), [GLAHA 18791]; *Cinsen Doban Hosoye Shu*, (Suigetsudo, 1857), [GLAHA 18792].

reproduce these encircled motifs (fig. 3.16).

However, these design books were produced seventeen years after Whistler designed his frames. Accordingly, the most likely place for Whistler to have observed the use of *mon* is from the Japanese fabrics he collected, and specifically from the kimonos worn by the women featured in *Purple in Rose: the Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*, *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, and *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*. It is possible to identify the individual *mon* that Whistler used for his frame designs. Several are included on the kimono illustrated in **Figure 3.17**. The first are *tomoe* or *tomoemon*, the intertwined commas or tadpoles seen surrounding *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*:⁴⁰

A pattern of one or more curled tadpole shapes inside a circle. The pattern is also called right *tomoe*, *midigomoe*, or left *tomoe*, *hidaridomoe*, depending on the direction in which the pattern curves ... the expressions ‘double tomoe’ *futatsudomoe*, or ‘triple tomoe’, *mitsudomoe* are used depending on the number of tadpole shapes used.⁴¹

In light of this definition, the roundel design seen on *la Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* can

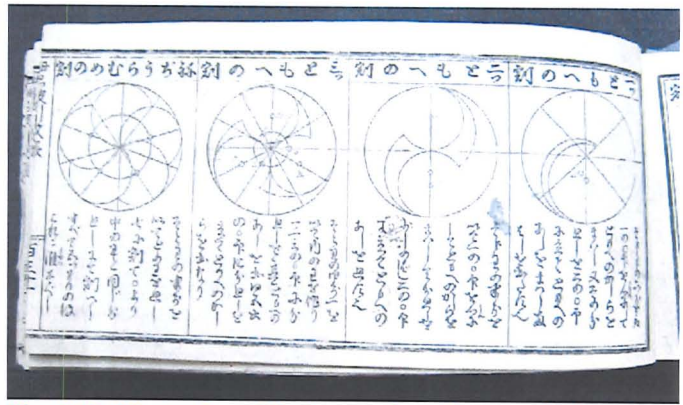


Fig. 3.16: Illustration of the instructions for reproducing the *mon*, from Moncho, *Alphabetical Index of Patterns [Book of Mon]*, (1881).



Fig. 3.17: Boy's Noshime Kosodo, (Late Edo period, Neutrogene Corporation Collection).

⁴⁰ JAANUS, ‘tomoemon’, *Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System*, <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/>, (accessed, 1 September 2007).

⁴¹ JAANUS, ‘tomoemon’, *Japanese Architecture and Art Net Users System*, <http://www.aisf.or.jp/~jaanus/>, (accessed, 1 September 2007).

be identified as being a *mitsudomoe* or 'triple tomoe'.

Another *mon* used by Whistler is seen on the frame surrounding *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*. Horowitz identified the circular crests at the midpoints as being paulownia leaves or *kiri* (fig. 3.18).⁴²

In the book *Keramic Art of Japan*, the authors, George A. Audsley and James L. Bowes, wrote extensively on the *kiri* or *Paulownia imperialis*, claiming it to be the first and grandest of all Japanese trees.⁴³ They documented that:

The *Kiri* is one of the most magnificent vegetable productions of Japan. Its stem, with a diameter of two to three feet, rises to a height of thirty to forty feet. It branches into limbs, not numerous but strong, at right angles, forming a vast crown. The broad leaves are apposed, have stalks, or notches at the base in the shape of the heart, oval and perfectly unbroken, or else cut into three unequal lobes (the middle one which is the longest).⁴⁴

From this description it is easy to see that the roundels on *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* follow the pattern set out by Audsley and Bowes, but they do not correspond to the examples seen in Figure 3.19. The paulownia leaves seen here have three smaller sprigs of blossoms sprouting out from the heart-shaped leaf below, while Whistler's midpoint motifs only illustrate the large leaf without the additional sprigs.

Fig. 3.19: Group of Japanese family crests, containing paulownia leaves, from Moncho, *Alphabetical Index of Patterns [Book of Mon]*, (1881).

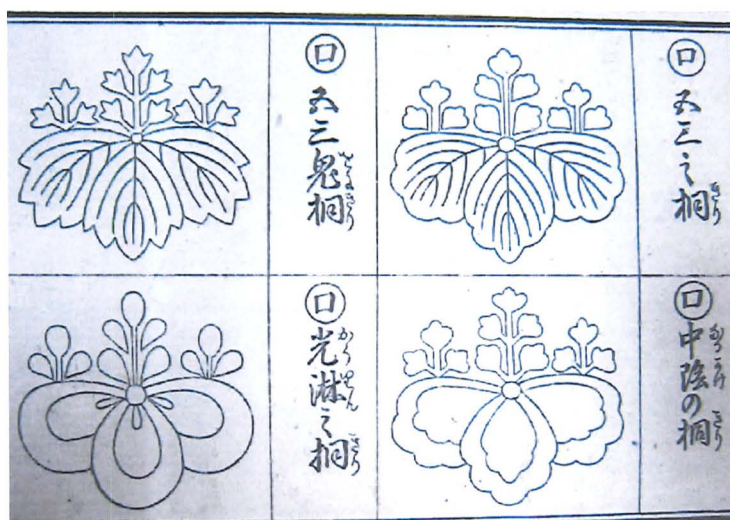


Fig. 3.18: Mid -right roundel on *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, Plate 17).

⁴² Ira Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris' (Master of Arts, Queens College, City University of New York, 1974), p. 87.

⁴³ George A. Audsley & James L. Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan*, (London: Henry Sotheran & Co., 1881).

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 29.

Ikegami Chuji observed Horowitz's incorrect identification of this *mon*, but for different reasons. In his brief paper, 'British Design à la japonaise of Picture-Frame – D.G. Rossetti and J.M. Whistler–', he made the following comment:

It, however, is clear that they are not paulownia leaves but ivy leaves. When the paulownia is used as a family crest, its flower is always shown turning upwards. If ivy is used as a family crest, (it, of course, does not have a flower), the leaves will point downward. Although certainly the leaves of both ivy and paulownia are shaped alike, it is not difficult to distinguish ivy from paulownia, if one refers to family crest books. Whistler must have been able to get the shape of the ivy leaf from a crest book or Ukiyo-e publisher seals such as those books by Tsutaya.⁴⁵

Whistler used variations of the ivy leaf, not the paulownia (fig. 3.20). The final *mon* design used by Whistler in his frame designs of 1864 are the three encircled leaves found on both *La Princesse du pays du la porcelaine* and *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*. Again Horowitz identified these as palm leaves or *shuro*.⁴⁶ Ayako Ono also identifies them as being 'derived from the Japanese family crest *Mitsuware Shuro*', saying that '*shuro* is a kind of palm'.⁴⁷

Regardless of where or what type of *mon* Whistler applied to the surface of his picture frames, each served the same purpose: to link the frame to the canvas. Just as Rossetti's application of text to the frame comments and enhances the action of the painting, so does Whistler's use of the Japanese *mon*. These four

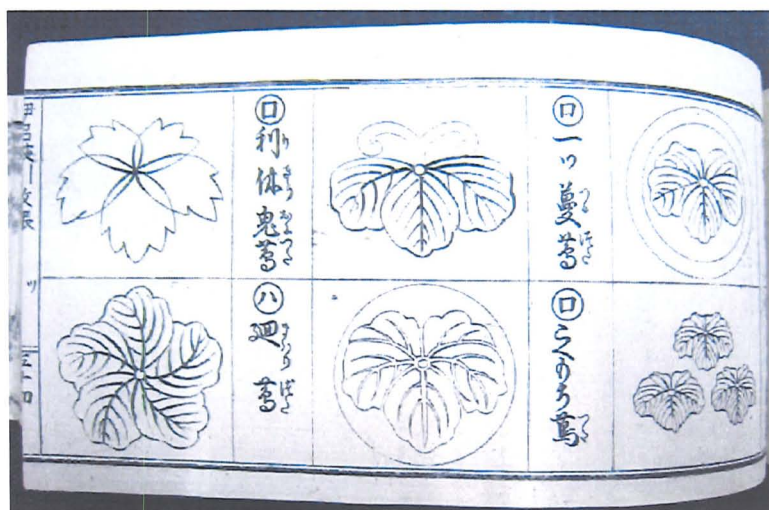


Fig. 3.20: Group of Japanese family crests, containing ivy leaves, from *Moncho*, *Alphabetical Index of Patterns [Book of Mon]*, (1881).

⁴⁵ Ikegami Chuji, 'British Design à la japonaise of Picture-Frame: D.G. Rossetti and J.M. Whistler', *East and West in Asian Art History - Opposition and Exchange* (1991), p. 96.

⁴⁶ Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris', p. 87.

⁴⁷ Ayako Ono, *Japonisme in Britain: Whistler, Menpes, Henry, Hornel and nineteenth-century Japan*, (London and New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), p. 65.

cassette frames illustrate that Whistler took the decorative motifs observed from the Chinese porcelain, Japanese fabrics and oriental books he collected, and applied them directly onto the frame's surface. Again, as he did with the text on the first frame for *The Little White Girl*, Whistler incorporated items of significance into the frame's design that irrevocably ties them to the image. As a result, the frame becomes an extension of the painting and the two objects, together, become a complete work of art.

3.3.2. Use of banded design from blue-and-white porcelain

The porcelain collected by Whistler served an even greater purpose than providing numerous decorative motifs. It gave him an entirely new system in which to organise the ornament. In the design of the 1864 frames, Whistler mimicked and reproduced a method of patterning often seen in the porcelain he collected. He also took his understanding of the frame function a step further than his friend D.G. Rossetti. Whistler used the two elements of painting and frame to create a complete work of art, so that the two objects interacted to form a united whole. No longer did the frame simply provide a supplementary commentary on the image contained within, but instead the two aspects were joined as a single object.

While the design possibilities for porcelain remain endless, Jessica Rawson presented a general format taken for Chinese porcelain. In her examination of Chinese ornament, she described this pattern as consisting of 'an outer border of panels or flowers and an inner design which hinted at some sort of picture'.⁴⁸ She continued that, with this pattern, 'Chinese porcelains provided models that European potters copied'.⁴⁹ Like the potters observed by Rawson, these Chinese porcelains provided inspiration and models for Whistler to follow in his frame designs. As observed earlier, the profile for the 1864 Whistler frames is made up of three basic sections –the outer edge, the frieze, and the inner edge (see fig. 3.1). If the painting is included within this configuration, these works of art comprise four distinct parts. This pattern corresponds to the banded ornament commonly seen on the blue-and-white porcelain that Whistler collected during this period.

⁴⁸ Jessica Rawson, *Chinese Ornament: The Lotus and the Dragon*, (London: British Museum Publications, 1984), p. 12.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

Fig. 3.21: Chinese porcelain dish with birds and landscape, diameter 45.8 cm, (Yuan dynasty, 14th Century, Victoria and Albert Museum).



Rawson described the porcelain dish from the Victoria and Albert Museum (fig. 3.21) as being:

A large Yuan dynasty (fourteenth-century) porcelain dish, decorated in underglaze blue, has a central design of birds in a rocky landscape surrounded by foliage. The cavetto of the dish is filled with an undulating scroll supporting large flower heads, with pointed petals and small pointed leaves. The rim contains a border of lozenges. This combination, of a central motif of creatures in a landscape with a border of flowers, was a standard formula used on porcelain dishes at this date.⁵⁰

The profile of the 1864 Whistler frame and the layout of the decoration of this porcelain dish have several similarities. Rawson described the dish as having three basic sections: (1) the central design of the two birds in a landscape, (2) the cavetto with the flowing flower scroll

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

pattern, and (3) the rim with the geometric pattern. However, one additional element has been omitted from Rawson's description of the dish's design. Located on either side of the flower scroll are breaks in the ornamental surface where the undecorated white surface of the porcelain has been left exposed. These white bands serve as pauses between the multiple bands of ornament present on the dish. If these breaks were included, especially the one separating the cavetto from the central design, the dish could be classified as having four distinct sections.

These four sections correspond to the four sections of Whistler's artworks from 1864. On both objects, the outermost edge, or rim, possesses a strong pattern made up of intersecting lines. The frame's frieze and the dish's cavetto also display ornament of a similar nature, covered with a design based upon a curvilinear pattern. On all four of Whistler's 1864 frames, the broad frieze has been covered with incised whorls. Whistler's design arranged these whorls in a neat pattern of five rows, which extend along the entire surface of the frame. Sometimes, if the light is right, a pencil grid, marking the specific placement of these whorls can be detected on the gilded surface (**fig. 3.22**). The curving whorl pattern is reminiscent of the flowered scroll of the porcelain dish. The undulating patterns on both the frame and the dish serve to fill the middle section of the individual designs and to give an overall sense of busyness to the objects.



Fig. 3.22: Detail of the pencil markings for the placement of the incised whorls on *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, **Plate 17**).

The only significant difference in the design of the two objects is found within the third band of ornament. The profile for Whistler's 1864 frames possesses small astragals at the point closest to the painting, whereas the dish displays an unadorned white circle set off by two thin lines. Both sections provide a pause in the dense pattern of the artwork and serve as immediate framing devices for the focal point of the artwork, the painting or central image. In light of this comparison, it is possible to employ the same method Rawson used to describe the porcelain dish, when describing the four works produced by Whistler. For instance, Whistler's *Purple and Rose: the Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* has a central design of a young woman sitting in an interior surrounded by Far Eastern artefacts. The cavetto (or frieze) is filled with an undulating scroll or whorl pattern, and the rim contains a border of lozenges.

In combining the geometric fretwork of the outer moulding and the curvilinear whorls of the frieze, Whistler incorporated methods of decoration he observed within the oriental art he was collecting, particularly blue-and-white porcelain. George A. Audsley and James L. Bowes outlined these methods in their book *The Ceramic Art of Japan*. Although this book was published almost ten years after Whistler's 1864 frame designs, it is assumed that the text captures a contemporary view on these foreign objects. In order to begin their 'comprehensive grammar of Japanese ornament', Audsley and Bowes observed the artistic process followed by the Japanese artist.⁵¹ They wrote that:

the Japanese artist is unerring in ... his disposition of such hard forms as frets and diapers, in combination with floral and other free and flowing designs, is always pleasing, and invariably tends to impart a steadiness and firmness to his otherwise erratic fancies. The artistic combination of the straight, the inclined and the curved is evidently carefully studied by the Japanese artist; and while this is done, his love for irregularity gets its full scope in the disposition of his varied devices.⁵²

The use of various types and systems of ornament, the harsh geometrical fretwork and the soft whorls, is evident in Whistler's frames, and this arrangement parallels that of the Japanese artists described above. Consequently, it is possible to deduce that Whistler, inspired by the

⁵¹ 'Ceramic art of Japan (Book Review)', *Journal of the Society of Arts* 23, no. 30 July 1875 (1875), p. 795.

⁵² Audsley & Bowes, *Ceramic Art of Japan*, p. 6-7.

ornament he observed on Japanese and Chinese artefacts, applied similar decorative motifs in a manner reflecting those used by his Far Eastern counterparts. While the design for the 1864 Whistler frames does not directly mirror the ornament seen on the fourteenth-century Yuan dynasty dish described by Rawson, the decorative bands produce similar effects. The viewer's eye is drawn to Whistler's painting in almost the same manner that the underglazed decoration on the blue-and-white dish leads the viewer's eye to the central image.

By adopting and adapting decorative elements from the Pre-Raphaelite frames designed by Dante Gabriel Rossetti and the porcelain artefacts he collected, Whistler created a unique and original surround for the paintings he produced during the year 1864. The inclusion of text on the frame originally on *Symphony in White No. 2: The Little White Girl* provided an additional commentary for the viewer on the subject of the painting. Whistler's use of the flat cassetta-shaped profile, the shape also used in Rossetti's 1864 frame, enhanced the flatness of the image and created an illusion of one continuous surface. By using these two elements, Whistler created a frame design that served as a continuation and extension of the painting. Whistler also applied the decorative motifs observed from his porcelain collection onto the surface of the frame. Not only did he incorporate these objects within the painted images, but he also translated them onto the surface of the frame. Whistler arranged the frame's surface according to oriental methods, with rows and bands of ornament surrounding the painted image in a style similar to that found on a porcelain dish. By combining characteristics common to the frames produced by the Pre-Raphaelite painter, D.G. Rossetti and the blue-and-white porcelain he collected, Whistler produced a frame that perfectly enhanced his images. The design of the 1864 Whistler frame contains subtle links to the painted image, and it thus forms a perfect example of a frame that functions as an extension of the image enclosed within.

4.0. Chapter Four

Waves, Baskets and Butterflies: The 1870s Whistler Frame, part 1 (1871-1873)

Throughout the examination of the four 1864 Whistler frames, a common function was observed: they all served as extensions of the enclosed painting. While Whistler's frames from the early 1870s (1871-1873) retained this function, a shift occurred during this time that resulted in these frames functioning as decorative art objects, linking each painting to its environment. This change is subtle and often elusive, but identifiable through a careful examination of Whistler's early 1870s frames.

Previous studies have tended to group all of Whistler's frames from the 1870s into one large category, and they have not been concerned with these subtle developments occurring in his frame designs. William Adair explained that 'Whistler's frames fall into two groups, those with a painted panel and those without'.¹ Eva Mendgen described the 1870s frames as having 'delicately reeded mouldings [with] painted Japanese motifs (carried out in the main colour of the canvas)'.² Ira Horowitz wrote of them as possessing 'a rectilinear emphasis' that shared a strong connection to the interiors of Japan.³ While these comments are accurate, they do not encompass all the frames designed and used by Whistler during the 1870s, and they fail to recognise the stylistic developments occurring on the surface of the frame.

¹ William Adair, 'Endangered Frames: To Save a Butterfly', *Picture Framing Magazine* (1995), front page.

² Eva Mendgen, 'James McNeill Whistler: "...carrying on the particular harmony throughout"', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 87.

³ Ira Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980), p. 126.

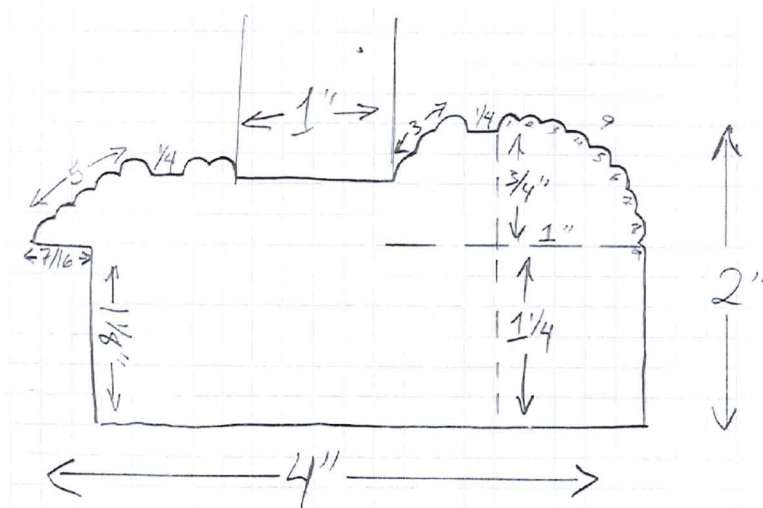


Fig. 4.1: Profile drawing of frame on *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (YMSM 122, **Plate 19**).

The basic profile for the 1870s Whistler frames remained fundamentally unchanged throughout the course of the decade (**fig. 4.1**). It generally possesses four main characteristics:

- a cassetta-based profile, similar to that seen on the 1864 Whistler frame;
- two small fillets surrounded by groups of closely assembled reeds;
- a wide central frieze, which may be left unadorned or adorned with either a seigaiha or basket-weave pattern (either painted or incised); and
- on most frames, a Whistler butterfly, painted on the frame's surface.

Under the current system of classification, no distinction can be made concerning the stylistic development of these frames, and it is impossible to determine the order in which they occurred. Which frame design did Whistler develop first: those with the basket-weave or those with the seigaiha pattern? As alterations occur to the surface decoration, so does the frame's purpose. Therefore, this chapter examines Whistler's paintings, frames, and exhibition practices with the aim of detecting these subtle alterations and gaining an accurate understating of the stylistic development that occurred in his early 1870s frames.

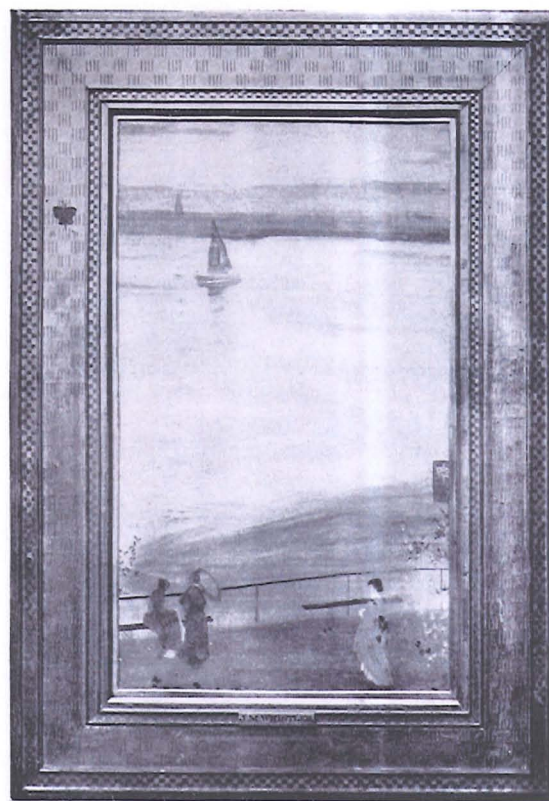
4.1. Baskets vs. Waves

It is difficult to determine which surface ornament Whistler developed first: the basket-weave or the seigaiha pattern. Based on the observation that the frames on *Variations in Violet and Green* (1871, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, YMSM 104, **Plate 18**) and *Variations in Pink and Grey:*

Chelsea (YMSM 105, **Plate 4**) date from either 1871 or 1872 and were both adorned with an incised basket-weave pattern, it may be that this motif was adopted first. Thus, this pattern may have debuted as early as November 1871, when *Variations in Violet and Green* was exhibited at the Dudley Gallery.

Ira Horowitz raised no question regarding the dating of the frame:

The frame for the 1871 painting *Variations in Violet and Green* marked a significant transition in Whistler's frames. ... The painted 'checkerboard' motif is new. The butterfly signature on the right side of the canvas is repeated identically in the butterfly on the left side of the frame, indicating that the frame and the painting date concurrently.⁴



VARIATIONS IN VIOLET AND GREEN
OIL
In the possession of Sir Charles McLaren, Bart.
Showing frame designed by Whistler
Plaque inscribed Whistler at bottom not by artist

Fig. 4.2: Photograph of *Variations in Violet and Green* (YMSM 104, **Plate 18**).

Although Horowitz recognised a shift in design from Whistler's 1864 frames to those of the 1870s, his description of the frame was inaccurate. As his source, Horowitz cited the illustration of this painting and frame from the 1911 edition of the Pennell biography *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (**fig. 4.2**).⁵ From this photograph, Horowitz interpreted and described the surface ornament as painted, when it is, in fact, incised. Horowitz also stated that the two butterflies are identical; however, if they are re-examined, a noticeable difference in style becomes apparent. The butterfly painted on the canvas consists of a long thin body and three diagonal lines that connect to form the wings. The butterfly painted on the upper left-hand side of the frame consists of a small body with wide, thick wings and two antennae projecting from the top of its head.⁶ The butterflies are

⁴ Ibid., p. 126.

⁵ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 5th revised ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1911), facing p. 120. Also included in Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), facing p. 156.

⁶ Below this butterfly are also painted the numbers '18' and '71', referring of course to the date. This frame appears to be the only known example where the date has been included on the frame's surface.

significantly different in design, and therefore, I believe, do not support the claim that the frame and painting date concurrently.

The position and shape of the butterfly also bring its origins into question. Both *Variations in Violet and Green* and *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* have butterflies that are painted on top of the incised decoration. On *Variations in Violet and Green*, the lines of the basket-weave pattern extend from behind the butterfly's wings, and on *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* the butterfly covers an entire block of the pattern (fig. 4.3). In both circumstances, the butterfly has been made to fit into the already existing surface decoration.

This cannot be said of the butterfly on the frame surrounding *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (1872, Detroit Institute Of Arts, YMSM 122, Plate 19). In this case, the frieze also contains a basket-weave pattern – but it is painted rather than incised. Located on the mid-left-hand side of the frame is a painted butterfly cartouche that interrupts the pattern on the frieze (fig. 4.4). The butterfly appears to hover behind the reeded lines of the frame, and its wings extend into the space of the fillets located on either side of the frieze. In this example, Whistler's butterfly signature has not been made to fit into the already existing surface ornament; instead, the butterfly



Fig 4.3: Detail of the butterfly signature on the frame for *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* (YMSM 105, Plate 4).



Fig. 4.4: Detail of painted butterfly and Basketweave pattern on the frame for *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (YMSM 122, Plate 19).

has been incorporated into the surface ornament. Due to the variations in the butterflies, it is possible that the decorative arrangement established by *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* is a more accurate indication of how Whistler first incorporated his butterfly signature on his frames.

Along with *Variations in Violet and Green*, Whistler also submitted *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (1871, Tate, YMSM 103, **Plate 20**) for display at the Dudley Gallery's 5th *Winter Exhibition of Cabinet Pictures in Oil* in November 1871. The frame that surrounds this canvas is decorated with a seigaiha or 'blue-sea wave' motif that is painted in a blue/green pigment over the oil-gilt surface. This frame also possesses a painted butterfly cartouche that interrupts the pattern. Located on the lower right-hand side of the frame is an encircled Whistler butterfly, similar to that seen on *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*.

Horowitz was the first to identify this pattern as seigaiha, in his 1979 article, when he wrote:

the painted decoration that appears on the central flat, which takes the form of repeating sets of overlapping curves called *seigaiha* or 'blue sea waves'. The pattern is commonly found on Japanese pottery from the Edo period. It has been pointed out that this motif was illustrated in the 1875 volume of *Keramic Art of Japan*, written by Audsley and Bowes. In each set of waves, the outer curve is accented by a broader and more forcefully painted stroke than the smaller interior ones.⁷

In this extract, Horowitz has cited Robin Spencer's observation that Audsley and Bowes included this wave pattern in their 1875 book, and he suggests it may have been a possible source for Whistler's adoption of the pattern. However, Spencer actually credits the original source of this pattern as the Japanese objects Whistler saw: 'Most forms of Japanese art were available by the early 1870s, for the South Kensington Museum acquired in 1871 and 1872 large collections of Oriental applied art and design'.⁸ Spencer went on to discuss Audsley and Bowes' use of the design in their book and recognised it as:

⁷ Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', p. 127-128.

⁸ Robin Spencer, *The Aesthetic Movement: theory and practice*, (London: Studio Vista/Dutton Pictureback, 1972), p. 74.

the decorative motif used by Whistler in the Peacock Room and on his picture frames; and it seems very likely that Whistler became acquainted with their [Audsley and Bowes] remarkable collection in the late sixties or early seventies when he often went to stay at Speke Hall near Liverpool.⁹

Spencer may be accurate in his speculations, since *The Ceramic Art of Japan* was not published until 1875, and Whistler first incorporated the seigaiha pattern on his frames in 1871. It is most likely that Whistler saw the motif on objects from the newly acquired collection at the South Kensington Museum.¹⁰

During the preparations for the 1871 Dudley Gallery exhibition, Whistler was visiting Speke Hall, the Liverpool home of his patron Fredrick Leyland, and was unable to supervise the hanging of his canvases. While there, Whistler wrote to Walter Greaves, one of his studio assistants in London, saying:

I am very glad you and Harry [Greaves] have been to the Dudley – and that the two “harmonies” look swell among the crowd – Have they managed to fit in the little gold flat you know that Clay took down to the Gallery and that they wouldn’t let him put in the frame, but fixed it in themselves? Does it look all right? They have not taken off too much of the butterfly have they?¹¹

Even while he was across the country, Whistler displayed a genuine concern about the framing and presentation of his artwork. In this letter, he instructed Walter Greaves to double check that the Dudley Gallery had correctly inserted the flat into the frame. It is unknown why the flat was required, but it appears that this added liner still surrounds the painting *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* today. The innermost gilded edge, which is closest to the painting’s surface, is uneven (**fig. 4.5**). The right and left-hand sides are wider than the top and bottom. Perhaps this uneven edge resulted from the Dudley Gallery inserting the flat in such a way that Whistler’s butterfly signature, located at the bottom-centre of the canvas, was not covered up.

⁹ Ibid., p. 74.

¹⁰ ‘The Liverpool Art Club,’ *The London Times*, Thursday, 26 December 1872, from *The Times Digital Archive* (accessed, 26 July 2007).

¹¹ James Whistler to Walter Greaves, [14 November/ December 1871], PWC 9/645/1; GUW 11496, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

Also in his letter to Greaves, Whistler recounted his adventures in trying to find an acceptable sea to paint. He described going to the seaside for a:

sort of change - not only for me but for my palette also as I hoped to be able to find some grand greys and great masses of waves that I might spread over a couple of small canvasses with the true waterman's jerk, and send up for you both to hang and put in the patern [sic] when the frames which poor Fox would be unable to make should have come from Foord & Dickinson.¹²



Fig. 4.5: Detail of showing the uneven flat/sight edge surrounding *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, Plate 20).

Here, Whistler revealed significant insights into the framing of his early 1870s works. The pattern mentioned by Whistler could be interpreted as either the painted seigaiha or basket-weave pattern. Whistler also mentions two frame-makers by name. He implied that Fredrick Fox would have had difficulties making these frames, and that he should have ordered them from Foord & Dickinson. This off hand remark is the first mention by Whistler of Foord & Dickinson. It could be that this simple story reflected a situation that actually occurred. It is possible that the two frames on *Variations in Violet and Green* and *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, both seen at the Dudley Gallery in 1871, were made by the frame-maker Fredrick Fox and Whistler regretted the situation, wishing he had hired Foord & Dickinson.

In his review of the Dudley exhibition, published in *The Times* on Tuesday, 14 November 1871, Tom Taylor described two Whistler paintings as containing the:

least possible amount of objects, nothing, in fact, beyond the faintest indications of river surface under moonlight, a dim mass of faintly – lighted buildings closing the high horizon, and reflected in the water, and, for foreground objects,

¹² James Whistler to Walter Greaves, [14 November/ December 1871], PWC 9/645/1; GUW 11496, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

in the one case a scarcely intelligible barge and faint figure of a mud-lark, in the other some slightly indicated female personages on a shadowy balcony. The only way to explain the perspective of the pictures is to suppose them taken from a high window.¹³

Taylor's statements are accurate descriptions of both *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* and *Variations in Violet and Green*, and he captured the unique impact that these paintings must have had on the public. He then continued to document Whistler's frames and stated that:

The colour, consistently with the theory of the painter, is carried out into the frames by means of delicate diapering and ripples of faint greens and moony blues on their gold, and the Japanese influence in which the painter delights is carried even to the introduction of the coloured cartouche.¹⁴

Taylor's observations of Whistler's frames are perhaps the earliest made by the press, and his mention of the 'delicate diapering and rippling' could describe both the basket-weave and the *seigaiha* patterns. He went on to comment on the presence of the frames' butterfly signatures, saying, 'Mr. Whistler has introduced his own monogram or symbol in this way, carefully attuning the colour of the cartouche to the dominant harmony of his picture'.¹⁵ These comments more accurately describe the incorporated butterfly on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* rather than the haphazard insect floating on *Variations in Violet and Green*. This further supports the possibility that the butterfly on *Variations in Violet and Green* was added to the surface after its initial creation. While visitors to the Dudley Gallery in 1871 may have seen both forms of decoration, it is most likely that the *seigaiha* pattern on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* is in an untouched state, and was the subject of Taylor's comments.

This claim can be supported with the fact that William Cleverly Alexander purchased the painting *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* directly from the Dudley Gallery exhibition for £210.¹⁶ The painting remained a part of the family's collection until 1959, when Alexander's daughters gave the work to the National Gallery in London, where it remained until 1972

¹³ Tom Taylor, 'Dudley Gallery - Cabinet Pictures in Oil,' *The Times* 1871, from *The Times Digital Archive*, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 103.

when it was transferred to the Tate Britain.¹⁷ Due to this artwork remaining within a small private collection for the majority of its existence, it is probable that the surface of the frame has survived untouched. As a result, it is safe to assume that the frame surface of *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* remains as it was first seen at the 5th Winter Exhibition of the Dudley Gallery in 1871. Therefore, it seems even more improbable that the painted seigaiha decoration on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* has not been altered since it was first exhibited in 1871.

Whistler maintained a busy exhibition schedule throughout the next year. In May 1872, he exhibited *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (YMSM 101, **Plate 8**) at the Royal Academy. His paintings were also included in the 5th Exhibition of the Society of French Artists, held in November, and the 6th Winter Exhibition of the Dudley Gallery. Included within the



Fig. 4.6: Top left corner showing the painted seigaiha pattern on *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*. (YMSM 72, **Plate 13**).

works exhibited were *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (YMSM 72, **Plate 13**) and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*, both of which are surrounded by 1870 Whistler frames with painted decoration.

Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean contains a painted seigaiha motif and follows the pattern established by *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*. Both are horizontal paintings that depict water scenes, and the seigaiha pattern on the frieze is interrupted on the lower right rail by an encircled butterfly insignia. At first, the painted seigaiha pattern appears to be identical to that seen on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*. However, the pattern on *The Ocean* is more

¹⁷ Ibid., 103.

clearly and tightly painted (see **fig. 4.6**) and the overlapping curves appear to be smaller in size than the loosely painted waves surrounding *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (see **fig. 4.5**). This could be due to different individuals painting the decoration onto the frame's surface. As already indicated by Whistler in his letter to Greaves in November 1871, he often enlisted the help of his assistants to 'put in the pattern' on his frames.¹⁸ Therefore, these varying blue waves could be evidence of a different hand, or perhaps of a different frame-maker, who may have painted in the decoration. This surface is explored further in Chapter 7.

Whistler originally created the painting during his brief voyage to Valparaiso, Chile, in 1866, yet the frame contains aspects common to his 1870s frames. The frame currently seen may have been made for the 6th *Winter Exhibition* at the Dudley and could date from 1872. However, before the exhibition at the Goupil Gallery, Whistler suggested that the frame be altered. On 21 February 1892, he wrote to D.C. Thomson, expressing his strong desire for *The Ocean* to be included:

What about the sea piece? Have you got it from Brighton – If not call upon Madame Venturi. Carlyle Cottage, King's Road Chelsea – (opposite Paulton Square, and beg her to intercede with Mrs Taylor – The picture which is very dirty should go at once to Richards to be cleaned & varnished - Frame in very bad state I fear – Grau had better see what can be done – he might find a larger frame in my studio that would cut down to it – the ^{old} frame of Carlyle, or the one of my Mother, would do, regilded.¹⁹

In 1892, Whistler declared that this frame was in a 'very bad state' and suggested that it should undergo significant restoration or even replacement by remnants of discarded frames. No evidence exists that these actions were actually undertaken. Nonetheless, there is the possibility that the original painted decoration was removed at this time. A bill sent to Whistler from the Goupil Gallery on 20 May 1892 listed work done by Grau on the frames for the exhibition, and it indicated that *The Ocean*'s frame had been resurfaced because the owners had refused to accept a new frame.²⁰

¹⁸ James Whistler to Walter Greaves, [14 November/ December 1871], PWC 9/645/1; GUW 11496, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

¹⁹ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, 21 February -1892], PWC 3; GUW 08212, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

²⁰ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T84; GUW 05740, (accessed, 26 July 2007), the note reads 'Old frame being regilt/ refuses new frame.'

Therefore, the frame and the painted decoration seen today could be decoration that was reapplied to the frame surface at some later time in an attempt to restore the frame to its 'original' condition. This possible reapplication of ornament may account for the varying seigaiha patterns as well as the two butterfly cartouches. Regardless of the varying patterns, both *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* and *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* demonstrate one common and fundamental characteristic: they both possess a painted butterfly-signature that interrupts the painted pattern on the frame's frieze.

As seen earlier, the frame surrounding *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* also has a painted frieze, but in this example it is a version of the basket-weave pattern first seen on *Variations in Violet and Green* and *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*. This frame also has a butterfly that interrupts the painted pattern on the frieze. It differs from the two butterflies on the frames of the *Variations*, where the butterflies have not been incorporated into the design of the frame. Perhaps they were added onto the frame surface as an afterthought, either by Whistler or by some unknown individual who was mimicking the practices employed by Whistler. In any case, the butterflies on the two *Variations* do not appear to function in the same manner as those included on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*, *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*.

In similar fashion to the differences that exist between *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* and *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* in terms of the paint application of the seigaiha pattern, differences exist between the three basket-weave frames. While all maintain a checkerboard pattern that alternates between rows of one or two blocks, the formation of these blocks differs on each frame: *Variations in Violet and Green* possesses blocks consisting of four incised lines; *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* possesses blocks consisting of five incised lines; and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* possesses blocks consisting of three painted lines. The variations between the patterns may not be significant, but it could be evidence of different decorators or periods of time in which the decoration was applied. However, the continuity within the design and execution on the frames surrounding *Nocturne:*

Blue and Silver – Chelsea, Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean and Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter suggests that Whistler developed the use of painted decoration on his frames before incorporating incised motifs. If this is the case, then the painted basket-weave pattern is perhaps the earliest basket-weave of this motif used by Whistler on his frames. The use of the incised decoration dates later, but the exact year of its inception remains uncertain.

In addition to being shown in London during the winter months of 1872, *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* travelled to Paris in January 1873 and was exhibited at the Galerie Durand-Ruel. Whistler wrote to Charles William Deschamps, the organiser for both the Society of French Artists and the Durand-Ruel exhibitions, on two occasions asking whether or not his paintings had arrived safely in Paris.²¹ Whistler was clearly excited to be included in this exhibition, as illustrated by one of his letters to Durand-Ruel. ‘Sir’, Whistler wrote ‘I shall most probably have something ready in time for your exhibition and will send to you with pleasure’.²² Along with his self-portrait, Whistler sent *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**), *[Views of the Thames]* (Whereabouts Unknown, YMSM 138) and possibly *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter’s Mother*.²³

Therefore, it was these four works that Whistler referred to when he wrote to his friend George Lucas, on 18 January 1873:

You will notice and perhaps meet with opposition that my frames I have designed as carefully as my pictures – and thus they form as important a part as any of the rest of the work – carrying on the particular harmony throughout – This is of course entirely original with me and has never been done – Though many have painted on their frames but never with real purpose – or knowledge – in short never in this way or anything at all like it – This I have so thoroughly established here that no one would dare to put any colour whatever (excepting the old black and white and that quite out of place probably) on their frames without feeling that they would at once be pointed out as forgers or imitators;

²¹ James Whistler to Charles William Deschamps, [November/December 1872], PWC 1/23/3; GUW 07904, (accessed, 26 July 2007), and James Whistler to Charles William Deschamps, [December 1872], PWC 1/24/6; GUW 07905, (accessed, 22 July 2007).

²² James Whistler to Durand-Ruel, [November 1872/ January 1873], PWC 1/24/11; GUW 07926, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

²³ Robin Spencer, ‘Whistler, Manet, and the Tradition of the Avant-Garde’, in *Studies in the History of Art, Volume 19: James McNeill Whistler A Reexamination*, ed. Ruth E. Fine, Studies in the History of Art (Washington, DC: National Gallery of Art, 1987), p. 56; YMSM 56 & 138; Margaret MacDonald & Richard Dormant, *James McNeill Whistler*, American ed. (Washington, DC: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994), p. 141.

and I wish this to be also clearly stated in Paris that I am the inventor of all this kind of decoration in color in the frames; that I may not have a lot of clever little Frenchmen trespassing on my ground.²⁴

These statements are perhaps the most open ever written by Whistler on the subject of his picture frames. While he did not describe the surface decoration, he did indicate that they were painted. In the letter's postscript he also explained the inclusion of his signature; 'You will see my mark on pictures and frames – It is a butterfly and does as a monogram for J.W. Characteristic I dare say you will say in more ways than one!'²⁵ In this letter, Whistler declared that the frame's painted decoration, the incorporation of the butterfly signature, and the canvas were all carefully designed. The combination of these three elements created a 'particular harmony'. He stated that his frames formed as 'important a part as any of the rest of the work'. Both the painting and the frame were carefully designed by Whistler to create this harmony.

This statement alone throws the frames and butterflies on *Variations in Violet and Green* and *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* into question. The placement of the butterflies over the incised basket-weave decoration does not reflect the painstaking attention to detail that Whistler described to Lucas. It appears that the butterflies have not been 'designed as carefully as [the] pictures'. Therefore, it is doubtful that the butterflies date from this stage in Whistler's frame development.

The primary purpose of Whistler's letter to Lucas was to urge his friend to visit the exhibition at the Galerie Durand-Ruel; Lucas dutifully obliged. On Monday, 20th January, two days after the letter was sent, Lucas recorded in his diary, 'At Durand-Ruel & saw Whistler's pictures'.²⁶ The pictures seen by Lucas were listed above, but the frames that surrounded them remain a mystery. Whistler had mentioned to Lucas that his frames had been painted, and this is certainly true for *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*, but was this the only one? Or do Whistler's comments apply to the other works exhibited at the Galerie Durand-Ruel?

²⁴ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD; GUW 09182.

²⁵ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD; GUW 09182.

²⁶ Lilian M.C. Randall, ed., *The Diary of George A. Lucas: An American Agent in Paris, 1857-1909*, vol. 2 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), p. 373.

Although the details pertaining to, and the history of, the painting recorded as *Views of the Thames* is unknown, it is possible to speculate that it may have had a frame with a painted seigaiha pattern. This speculation can also be made on the observation of the following trend: thus far in the discussion, the paintings depicting landscapes (or waterscapes) have been surrounded by a seigaiha pattern, and those featuring figures have been surrounded by a basket-weave pattern. However, an exception to this trend exists with *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38, **Plate 6**). This painting shows a solitary figure of a young girl, dressed completely in white, standing on a bearskin rug. Surrounding her, within the frieze of the frame, is a painted seigaiha pattern that differs in style and colour from the pattern seen on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*. The pattern is painted on top of the gilded surface in a silver pigment, not in the blue-green colour as seen on the other frames (**fig. 4.7**). It also possesses a simplified version of the seigaiha pattern, which consists of a broad curving line with one secondary line underneath, as opposed to the two secondary lines of the other seigaiha patterns. *The White Girl*'s frame was first discussed in Chapter 2, where Whistler was described as not neglecting the frame in 1875.²⁷ The present seigaiha pattern may have been applied then or as early as 1872 when he worked on the canvas in the hope of exhibiting it at the London International Exhibition.²⁸

In light of this exception, the painted decoration on the remaining frames exhibited at the Galerie Durand-Ruel remains a mystery. It is possible that both *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* and *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* had either a painted seigaiha or a basket-weave



Fig. 4.7: Bottom right corner showing the painted seigaiha pattern on *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (YMSM 38, **Plate 6**).

²⁷ James Whistler to Frances Leyland, [20 August/4 September 1875], PWC 2/16/4; GUW 08052, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

²⁸ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 38.

pattern on the frieze. Or perhaps the frames surrounding these paintings were left unadorned, like the Foord & Dickinson frame on *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach* (YMSM 119, **Plate 9**).

Focusing on the framing history of *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, the painting was originally started by Whistler in 1864/1865, and it closely resembles his paintings from that period. The figures are clad in kimonos, surrounded by oriental objects, and placed within a composition that reveals Whistler's oriental influences. Due to these similarities, it is possible that the first frame seen on *The Balcony* was in the style of the 1864 Whistler frames. If this were the case, the painting was exhibited at the Durand-Ruel Gallery in an 1864 frame that is now missing.

As briefly mentioned in the introduction, evidence exists that yet another frame was once on this painting. In 1878, Whistler wrote a disgruntled letter to John Cavafy, son of the owner of *The Balcony*, saying:

Look also at the matter of the little Balcony. I borrowed it several times from your Father – and each time I worked upon it and added to its worth until at last I had more than quadrupled its value - In the end I also ordered for it a new frame – and elaborately painted and ornamented it – and again the mere price of the frame was refused when Foord and Dickenson sent in his bill.²⁹

From these statements, it is more probable that *The Balcony* was shown in Paris in the Foord and Dickinson frame mentioned here by Whistler. In his letter, Whistler described this frame as containing 'elaborate' painted ornament. From the established trend, and based on the observation that the frames on the two previously examined *Variations* paintings possessed a basket-weave decoration, it is safe to assume that *The Balcony* was likewise surrounded by this motif.

While the exact design of the 'elaborate painting' is unknown, Whistler's 1878 letter to Cavafy does imply that during the 1870s *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* once

²⁹ James Whistler to John Cavafy, [July/October 1878], GUL MS Whistler C50; GUW 00549, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

possessed a Foord & Dickinson frame. The catalogue raisonné suggests that this frame was made during the latter half of the decade.³⁰ However, it is possible the frame was actually made in preparation for the 1873 Durand-Ruel exhibition. As early as 1871, Foord and Dickinson were producing frames for artists within Whistler's circle. In the summer months of that year, Albert Moore employed them to create two frames for his paintings *Shuttlecock* and *Battledore*. Moore declared these frames to be 'unusually successful, and certainly the best with which I have had anything to do'.³¹ Whistler was also aware of Foord and Dickinson's talents when he wrote to Walter Greaves in 1871 and declared that 'the frames which poor Fox would be unable to make should have come from Foord & Dickinson'.³²

Regardless of what sort of decoration Lucas saw on the frames exhibited at the Galerie Durand-Ruel in January 1873, Whistler's statements to his friend form a significant document to any study dedicated to his frame designs. Whistler implied that he decorated the two objects (the painting and the frame) to work together as a complete work of art. At this stage, Whistler was still producing frames that functioned as extensions of the paintings they surrounded. The earliest 1870 Whistler frame observed here is seen functioning according to the same method outlined in the previous chapter. They became a part of the painting.

4.2. The Flemish Gallery (1874) – the Frame as a Link to the Environment.

Following the Paris exhibition in January 1873, a shift began to occur and became more noticeable throughout the year, until it was manifested at Whistler's first one-man show, *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition*, at the Flemish Gallery, Pall Mall in June 1874. In 1873, William Cleverly Alexander hired Whistler to design rooms for his newly purchased home of Aubrey House, Campbell Hill, Notting Hill.³³ The two men first met when Alexander purchased Whistler's *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* from the Dudley Gallery in November 1871.³⁴ As a result of his purchase and from admiring *Arrangement in Black and Grey, No. 1: Portrait of the*

³⁰ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 56.

³¹ Robyn Asleson, *Albert Moore*, (London: Phaidon Press Limited, 2000), p. 118.

³² James Whistler to Walter Greaves, [14 November/ December 1871], PWC 9/646-6; GUW 11496, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

³³ MacDonald & Dormont, *James McNeill Whistler*, p. 146.

³⁴ Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 22 November 1872, GUL MS Whistler W546; GUW 06553, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

Artist's Mother, when it was shown at the RA in May 1872, Alexander commissioned Whistler to paint portraits of his children. In November 1872, Mrs. Whistler records in a letter to Mr. Gamble:

Did I not write you of a Moonlight picture of this river exhibited in the Dudley Gallery last Autumn? We have formed a friendship with Mr Alexander & his family since he bought that in June. ... Jemie is painting a life size Portrait of his 2nd little daughter, nearly finished now, Mrs A has been bringing Cecily twice a week to stand in the Studio.³⁵

The portrait referred to by Mrs. Whistler is *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (YMSM 129, **Plate 12**). Before their move to Aubrey House in the autumn of 1873, Mrs. Alexander had brought young Cicely to Whistler's studio at No. 2 Lindsay Row for her sittings. Having been painted in his studio, Cicely is connected in theory to the painting *Arrangement in Grey and Black, Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, because Cicely and Mrs Whistler posed in the same room. However, the backgrounds are different. The room surrounding Cicely has a grey-green distempered wall, which is split in two by a black-lacquered batten. This is then connected to the equally striking black dado. Cicely stands on a mat, which does not contain much detail, just enough to convey its presence to the viewer.

In 1873, Whistler produced a series of room designs for the decoration of Alexander's Aubrey House (**fig. 4.8**). Each drawing contains a series of horizontal bands of colour; these bands represent different sections of the wall – the baseboard, the dado, the wall, and the ceiling.

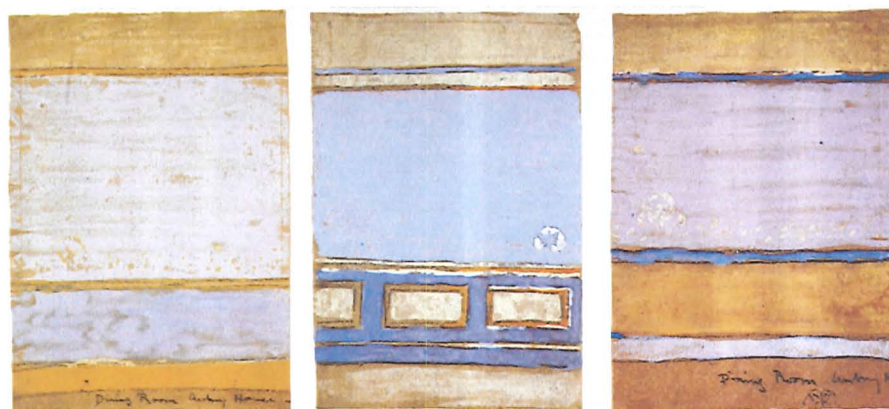


Fig. 4.8: Designs for wall decorations at Aubrey House. (1873/1874, HAG, M.489); Designs for wall decorations at Aubrey House (1873/1874, HAG, M.490); Designs for wall decorations at Aubrey House (1873/1874, HAG, M.491).

³⁵ Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 22 November 1872, GUL MS Whistler W546; GUW 06553, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

Amongst these drawings are two sketches for the floor matting (fig. 4.9).

Whistler may have developed this idea of floor matting from the interior practices of Japan. In 1892, Marcus Huish described a Japanese interior in his book *Japan and its Art* stating that 'the size of each [room] is planned out most accurately according to the number of mats which it will take to cover the floor. These mats are always

of the same size, namely, about 72 inches by 36 inches'.³⁶ In both of Whistler's drawings, the basket-weave pattern is similar to that found on the frames surrounding *Variations in Violet and Green*, *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*, and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*.

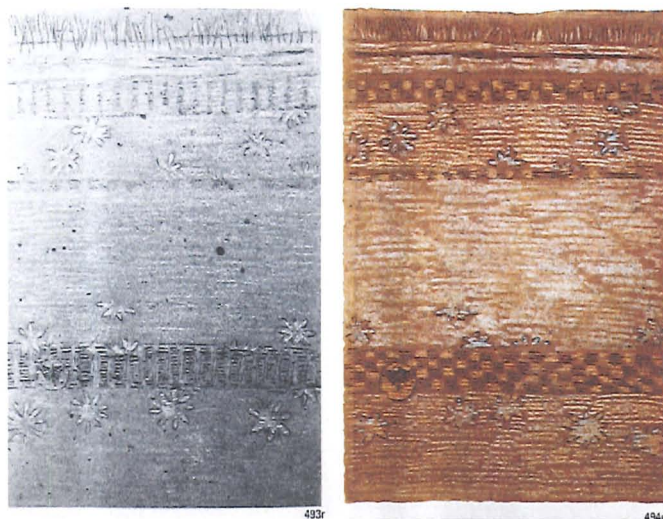


Fig. 4.9: r.: Design for matting; v.: Design for panelling (1873/1875, Fogg, M.493); r.: Design for matting; v.: Design for matting (1873/1875, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MA., M.494).

The design for this floor matting illustrates a new interest for Whistler and blurs the lines that exist between his paintings, frames, and interiors. All three elements could now possess the same decorative motifs. For example, *Cicely* is painted standing on a chequered mat, which Whistler also designed for the Alexander's residence at Aubrey House. Therefore, it is possible that the painting was hung in a room that contained the same chequered matting. It is also possible that *Cicely's* frame once had this same chequered basket-weave pattern painted onto its frieze. This frame was first observed in Chapter 2, when it was discovered that Whistler requested the removal of the painted surface decoration and the application of a new layer of gilding. He promised that he would apply the decoration 'by & bye', but the lack of painting on the current frame suggests that this was never done.³⁷

To these designs, Margaret MacDonald gave a creation date that ranges from 1873 to 1875, and

³⁶ Marcus Bourne Huish, *Japan and its art*, 2nd ed. (London: Fine Art Society, [1892]), p. 96.

³⁷ James Whistler to D. C. Thomson, [3 March 1892], PWC LC2/1771-2; GUW 08349, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

not the 1869 date mentioned by Ira Horowitz.³⁸ In his article, Horowitz stated that:

The checkerboard pattern became a favorite motif for Whistler in the early 1870s. The source for this pattern can be found in the Oriental matting, which was used in his 1872-74 composition *The White Girl, No. 4* (Fogg Art Museum) [*Harmony in Grey and Peach* (1872/1874, Fogg, YMSM 131, **Plate 21**)]. In fact, Whistler was so deeply impressed by such Oriental accoutrements that around 1869 he sketched a design for his own matting, using the checkerboard pattern as his theme.³⁹

Whistler's use of the basket-weave or, as described by Horowitz, the 'checkerboard' pattern within these designs raises questions. Did he first develop this pattern as a surface decoration for his frames, only to incorporate it subsequently into his interiors? Or did the opposite occur? Was this basket-weave pattern developed while he was designing the interiors for Aubrey House and then applied the surface of his frames? Whenever the design originated, by mid-1873 Whistler had created a frame that served a different function.

Here, the basket-weave frame serves as a link between the painted image and the surrounding room. Once his interest in interior schemes and the domestic display of his artwork became a concern, the pattern on his frame changed. The frame's function developed in such a way that it became a decorative art object that served to link the painting to its surroundings. By using the same basket-weave pattern in the canvas, on the frame and within the room itself, Whistler created a unique world that completely surrounded the viewer. This is particularly relevant when Whistler's first one-man show, *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition*, staged in 1874, is examined.

Following the Durand-Ruel exhibition of January 1873, Whistler was invited by Degas to show with the *Société anonyme* in April 1874. Whistler never responded to Degas' invitation and thus did not participate in what has become known as the first Impressionist exhibition.⁴⁰ Spencer speculated that Whistler was reluctant to participate due to the disappointing outcome of the Durand-Ruel exhibition where he 'found no buyers and received little public attention'.⁴¹

³⁸ Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 493 & 494.

³⁹ Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', p. 126.

⁴⁰ Robin Spencer, 'Whistler's First One-Man Exhibition Reconstructed', in *The Documented Image: Visions in Art History*, ed. Gabriel P. Weisberg and Laurinda S. Dixon (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), p. 28.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

Instead, on 19 January 1874, Whistler signed a lease 'for the term of one year or thereabouts' with E. Clifton Griffith for the possession of the Flemish Gallery at Pall Mall.⁴² The rent for the Gallery was set at three hundred and fifteen pounds, which was to be paid in four equal instalments throughout the year. The staging of *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition* at the Flemish Gallery in Pall Mall was not an inexpensive venture. Mrs. Whistler wrote to a friend saying:

You may have been informed of the Exhibition he has had this Summer, as so many favorable notices in the leading London Papers published about the Artist Whistlers Gallery at 48 Pall Mall so he has at least acquired fame tho not yet money in proportion to the expenses attendant upon it. But as he is unwearied in working & has orders more than enough, I trust his hopes may be realized & my prayers answer [sic] for him, for they are far more than he has yet aspired to.⁴³

From this, it is evident that Whistler gained fame but not fortune from his exhibition. His mother clearly points out to her friend that he received no money to match the amount he spent on it.

Dante Gabriel Rossetti held his own theory regarding Whistler's funding for the independent show. He wrote to his fellow Pre-Raphaelite, Ford Madox Brown, declaring:

I see Whistler is getting up an exhibition! I think I twig the motive power. He must have finished the Leyland portraits, and persuaded L. [Leyland] that they were sure to hang badly if sent to the R. A. whereupon L. rather than see himself hoisted, paid bang out for an independent show of them. I have no doubt at this juncture it will send Whistler sky-high, and Leyland will probably buy no one else any more!⁴⁴

Rossetti may have been correct. In two letters, written by Anna Whistler, she implied that the two Leyland portraits, *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F.R. Leyland* (1870, FGA, YMSM 97, **Plate 22**) and *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*

⁴² Edward Clifton Griffith to James Whistler, 19 January 1874, PWC LC3/2192-4; GUW 12146, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁴³ Anna Matilda Whistler to Mary Emma Harmer Eastwick, 8, 9, 23 and 29 September 1874, PWC34/65-66; GUW 11843, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁴⁴ Oswald Doughty & John Robert Wahl, *Letters of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, 4 vols., vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 1287.

(1871, Frick, YMSM 106, **Plate 23**) were originally to be shown at the Royal Academy. On 13 March 1872, she wrote:

We are in the pressure of the Season, & he begins work directly after our eight ocl breakfast regularly. he is perfecting the portrait of Mr Leyland & trying to finish a beautiful life size of Mrs L, the pictures must be sent to the Royal Academy the 1st or 2nd day of April, though the Exhibition is not to be til a month later. I will not build castles or anticipate rewards to Jemie's diligence. I was sorry that a very large & beautiful painting had been sent away only the day before.⁴⁵

The very large and beautiful painting mentioned here by Mrs. Whistler was her portrait, which Whistler submitted to the Royal Academy for inclusion in the *104th Exhibition*. Although Anna wrote that the work was refused, it was in fact displayed after Sir William Boxall threatened to resign from the RA if it was rejected. Regardless of this, in November of that same year, Anna Whistler still suggests the hope that the Leyland portraits would be shown at the Royal Academy. On 5 November 1872, she wrote that 'her illness last Summer prevented Jemies finishing there, but he hopes to Exhibit it in the R A next Season with Mr Leylands'.⁴⁶ *Arrangement in Grey and Black, Portrait of the Painter's Mother* was the last work Whistler exhibited at the Royal Academy. Perhaps one result of Whistler's bad experience at the RA was receiving money 'bang out' from Leyland, so that his own portrait was not treated likewise. When the Leyland portraits were nearing completion in late 1873, Whistler signed the yearlong lease with Griffith.⁴⁷

In his lease, Whistler agreed to 'keep the Interior of the said Gallery together with the Walls and all fixtures in good order & condition and to leave the same in as good condition as they now are'.⁴⁸ Four months after the signing of this lease, Whistler began altering the Gallery. Frederick Fox, the frame-maker mentioned by Whistler to Greaves in 1871, was hired to

⁴⁵ Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 13 March 1872, GUL Whistler W542; GUW 06548, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁴⁶ Anna Matilda Whistler to James H. Gamble, 5 and 22 November 1872, GUL MS Whistler W546; GUW 06553, [accessed, 2006-10-29].

⁴⁷ Edward Clifton Griffith to James Whistler, 19 January 1874, PWC LC3/2192-4; GUW 12146, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁴⁸ Edward Clifton Griffith to James Whistler, 19 January 1874, PWC LC3/2192-4; GUW 12146, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

conduct these improvements. Fox started work on the gallery in April 1874 and continued until June, when *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition* opened to a private view on Thursday, 4 June.

At the end of his tenancy of the Gallery, a disagreement arose between Griffith and Whistler. On 21 January 1875, Griffith wrote to Whistler declaring:

Up to this moment no one has come to do anything towards restoring the gallery, ... I must hold you responsible for the rent from that date and must continue to do so until the gallery be restored to the condition in which you found it. ... P. S. From enquiries I have made I believe that the re-colouring and decorating may be done for about £30 - If you like to send me a cheque for that sum I will take all further trouble in that respect off your hands.⁴⁹

As a result of Griffith's legal actions, an affidavit was taken from Fredrick Fox describing the work done by him and his firm on the interior decoration of the Gallery.⁵⁰ The document opens by saying, 'In April 1874 Fredk Fox 418 Britannia Terrace Kings Road Chelsea Frame Maker & Decorator was instructed by Mr Whistler to inspect & see what repairs were necessary to the Gallery & to decorate same according to his designs'.⁵¹ Fox goes on to describe the work that was done in redecorating the room. He records that the walls 'of the gallery had been some time back roughly distempered & covered with a morone [sic] cloth - The cloth was in bad condition dirty & full of nail holes'.⁵² Whistler instructed the maroon cloth to be taken down, cleaned and stored, and not to be put back up. Fox recorded that after he 'thoroughly washed & distempered the walls afresh', he:

then colored the walls with 2 coats of Pink distemper & the ceiling with 1 coat & after Mr Whistler did not like the effect the color [sic] being too light. The ceiling was then done with 1 coat of brown distemper & the wall with 2 coats of pink [grey?] distemper.⁵³

The skylight, which let light into the gallery, also needed repairs. Fox's affidavit states that the 'rain had come thro' & destroyed the ceiling & thro' the skylight at the end & destroyed

⁴⁹ Edward Clifton Griffith to James Whistler, 21 January 1875, PWC 1/40/5; GUW 12154, [accessed, 2006-10-29].

⁵⁰ Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁵¹ Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁵² Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁵³ Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

the papering on the skylight'.⁵⁴ Fox then cleaned the skylight and painted it with one coat of white paint, while the 'panels underneath ... had 2 coats of paint – the panels [grey?] pink – the [styles?] (round the panels) pink'.⁵⁵ From Fox's account and the details provided in his affidavit, it is evident that the colour of the room was important to Whistler. He paid careful attention to the effect the different layers of distemper had on the overall room. The room designs that Whistler created for Alexander's Aubrey house also reflect this careful attention to detail.

David Park Curry observed that 'Whistler applied his extraordinary color sensitivity to all phases of his work. Making little distinction between easel paintings and decoration, Whistler conceived walls like paintings, even when no figurative pattern appeared'.⁵⁶ Likewise, the Pennells captured Whistler's desire to create the ideal colour for a room's walls in their description of No. 2 Lindsey Row, Whistler's home during the early 1870s, when they wrote:

But in the rooms, pattern never disturbed the simple wall spaces delicately flushed with colour. After this, there was never pattern anywhere. He preferred colour that would make his rooms bright and gay, the first essential in London where often all is dark and dreary without. He kept his colour flat so the pictures and prints would tell upon it and not have to struggle with it. Distemper gave him what he wanted, but plain paper could be used. For distemper he mixed the colour himself, only too well aware that no house-painter could get the right tone though, once he had mixed it, any house-painter could put it on.⁵⁷

By mixing the distemper in such a way as he might have mixed his paints for a canvas, Whistler treated the two surfaces in a similar fashion. The wash of colour that he and Fox applied to the walls can be compared to the washes Whistler applied to his canvases.

Within these delicately painted rooms, Whistler displayed thirteen oil paintings, fifty etchings and thirty-six drawings, all hung together in the same space without any distinction. Oil paintings were placed beside etchings and above drawings. Along one wall, Whistler displayed

⁵⁴ Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁵⁵ Fredrick Fox to James Whistler, [8/10 February 1875], PWC; GUW 12138, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁵⁶ David Park Curry, 'Total Control: Whistler at an Exhibition', in *James McNeill Whistler: a Re-examination*, ed. Ruth E. Fine (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1987), p.72.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Pennell, 'Whistler as Decorator', in *The Whistler Journal*, ed. Elizabeth Pennell and Joseph Pennell (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1921), p. 301.

four full-length portraits. From left to right, they were:

- *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*,
- *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F.R. Leyland*,
- *Harmony in Grey and Peach*, and
- *Arrangement in Black, No.2, Portrait of Mrs. Louis Huth* (1872/1874, Collection of Lord Cowdray, YMSM 125).

By displaying these portraits in this order, Whistler conveyed to his audience the importance of colour. These four paintings created columns of colour on the exhibition walls. Robin Spencer observed that these four portraits:

must have been placed at least five feet above the ground, thereby dominating the arrangement and providing four alternating vertical accents: flesh colour (Mrs. Leyland), black (Mr. Leyland), gray and peach, and last black again (Mrs. Louis Huth).⁵⁸

On the opposite side of the room *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (YMSM 137, **Plate 11**) hung next to *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*. Below these works were hung large sketches, and interspersed throughout were the etchings.⁵⁹

Whistler's method of picture hanging was contrary to those practiced at the Royal Academy, where as many paintings as possible were hung in one room anywhere in the room, all the way up to the ceiling and down to the floor, without regard to what was next to what. The Pennells quote Whistler saying that:

A beautiful picture should be shown beautifully, therefore it must be hung so it can be seen, with plenty of wall-space round it, and in a room made beautiful by colour, by sculpture judiciously placed, by furniture and decorations and hangings in harmony.⁶⁰

Whistler took advantage of this opportunity to control the display of his own work and so illustrated to London an alternate method of hanging paintings in a gallery.

⁵⁸ Spencer, 'Whistler's First One-Man Exhibition Reconstructed', p. 33.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁰ Pennell, 'Whistler as Decorator', p.304.

Whistler's exhibition at the Flemish Gallery was not the first in London to go against the Royal Academy's practices and exercise the advantage of an uncluttered gallery space. The *6th Exhibition* of The Society of French Artists, held in London during April 1873, is also noted for containing the characteristics observed at the Flemish Gallery. Fredrick Stephens wrote for the *Athenaeum* saying:

The pleasure which we feel on visiting this exhibition is due to two circumstances, the high character of most of the pictures contained, and the sober aspect of the gallery, where the very frames and fittings have been considered with a view to a homogeneous effect. Nor is the small number of the paintings on view in any respect a disadvantage to the visitor or the contributor. We have protested many times against the injurious effects of the English practice of hanging as many pictures as the walls of our galleries will hold.⁶¹

Spencer suggested that, due to the similarities between the Society of French Artists' exhibition of April 1873 and Whistler's show of June 1874, Whistler may have been involved in the design for both.⁶² These designs could be the 'preparations for the Pairs affair' of which Whistler wrote to the art dealer, Charles Deschamps.⁶³

The concept of creating an uncluttered exhibition room and displaying artwork 'beautifully' was not limited to Great Britain. The French Impressionists are also noted as having designed less confusing exhibition rooms. As mentioned above, Degas invited Whistler to exhibit at the first Impressionist exhibition, also held in 1874. However, Whistler never responded to the friendly gesture, and he chose instead to stand out on his own in London, rather than participate with a group in Paris. Perhaps his cutting remark to Lucas regarding the 'clever little Frenchmen' who were trespassing on his ground supports this idea that Whistler wished to differentiate his frames and exhibition methods from that used by the Society of French Artists.⁶⁴

⁶¹ Fredrick Stephens, 'Exhibition at the Society of French Artists', *Athenaeum* (26 April 1872), p. 540.

⁶² Spencer, 'Whistler's First One-Man Exhibition Reconstructed', p. 37.

⁶³ JW to Charles William Deschamps, [October/ December 1872], PWC; GUW 07917, (accessed, 28 August 2007).

⁶⁴ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD; GUW 09182.

Indeed, Deanna Bendix has noted a difference existing between Whistler and the Impressionists. She observed that while the Impressionists may have spaciouly placed their work throughout the exhibition rooms, they were unconcerned with the overall harmony existing within that space:

Unlike Whistler, however, who prided himself on being an artist and designer, the impressionists were chiefly painters. Their bright, sunlit, extroverted art did not suggest inner psychological states or seem to require a subtly nuanced interior setting. The emphasis of their [the impressionists] inaugural exhibition was on the work itself rather than on the conditions of exhibition or the harmonic beauty of the installation.⁶⁵

Although Bendix's statements may be extreme, they do bring an interesting aspect to the present examination. She drew a connection between, and contrasted the motivating factors involved in, the artwork produced by Whistler and the French Impressionists. Degas and the other members of the *Société anonyme* were motivated to exhibit their work to enhance the individual canvases displayed. Whistler was motivated to display his paintings as a cohesive and complete whole. By hanging his artwork 'beautifully', Whistler illustrated the following claim made by the Pennells. They wrote that Whistler had:

insisted that [a] painter must also make of the wall upon which his work hung, the room containing it, the whole house, a Harmony, a Symphony, an Arrangement, as perfect as the picture or print which became a part of it.⁶⁶

The rooms at the Flemish Gallery embodied these statements. Within these rooms, Whistler placed artefacts not normally seen in a picture gallery. His desire was to display his works as they might be seen within the home.⁶⁷ Curry describes the rooms as including 'blue-and-white pots with yellow calceolaria'. He also refers to the presence of a 'glaring yellow matting striped in 2 shades' on the floor.⁶⁸ In a much later cartoon of Whistler greeting Carlyle at the show, we can see how both the pots and the plants may have found their space within the room (see fig. 4.10).

⁶⁵ Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler*, (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), p. 213.

⁶⁶ Pennell, 'Whistler as Decorator', p. 299.

⁶⁷ Spencer, 'Whistler's First One-Man Exhibition Reconstructed', p. 29.

⁶⁸ Curry, 'Total Control: Whistler at an Exhibition', p. 67.

The show opened on 4 June 1874. The Pennells commented that:

The exhibition was a shock to London. The decorations seemed an indiscretion, for no one before had suggested to people, whose standard was the Academy, that a show of pictures might be beautiful.⁶⁹

Since few of Whistler's interior schemes have survived, excluding the Peacock Room that was created two years later, it is difficult to study Whistler's designs as he executed them. Because of this, his portraits serve as a wonderful time capsule to us now. They not only capture the likeness of the individuals, but they also provide the viewer with a glimpse of a Whistlerian interior. Out of the thirteen oil paintings included in the show, seven of these were portraits, and five contained backgrounds of an interior designed by Whistler.⁷⁰

The same characteristics that Whistler displayed in his exhibition designs are present within his portraits. The backgrounds of these portraits were custom-made for the individuals shown, and they contained two characteristics in common with his exhibition design. There



Fig. 4.10: Max Beerbohm, *Blue China Cartoon*, (Tate).

is an extraordinary sense of harmony present within Whistler's subtle use of colour, and decorative accessories were placed within the painted picture. These, in turn, served to connect the painted image to the outside room. This was already observed in *Harmony Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* and can also be seen in *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs. Leyland*.

⁶⁹Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (1911), p. 127.

⁷⁰ These portraits are *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 1: Portrait of the Artist's Mother*, *Arrangement in Grey and Black No. 2: Portrait of Mrs Louis Huth*, *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland*, *Harmony in Grey and Peach Colour*, and *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*.

This full-length light-coloured portrait, designed by Whistler, serves as a perfect complement to the darkly coloured portrait of her husband, which hung to her right.⁷¹ Mrs. Leyland originally wished to be painted in a dark black dress, similar to that in which Mrs. Huth was depicted, but Whistler refused and chose instead to create an environment that complimented her colouring.⁷² Linda Merrill commented that 'the "flesh colour" setting for the portrait appears specifically designed to harmonize with Frances Leyland's auburn hair, but it was, in fact, the drawing room at 2 Lindsey Row'.⁷³ However, it may be possible that Whistler designed this room to harmonise with his sitter. If this was the case, then Whistler created a harmonious environment in which he posed Mrs. Leyland, and he then translated the scene onto his painted canvas. The Pennells described this technique with the observation that 'every room was an arrangement and every sitter had to fit in.'⁷⁴

Whistler took this one step further and specially designed the dress that Mrs. Leyland wore. He did dozens of studies on the dress's design and took the task of designing Mrs. Leyland's dress so seriously that his drafts and sketches closely resemble fashion plates.⁷⁵ Ultimately, he designed a loose-fitting, uncorseted dress, which was commonly known as a tea gown.⁷⁶ Again, this dress embodies specific Whistlerian characteristics such as soft colours, interesting textured fabrics, and subtle variations in colour.

Whistler's sense of the decorative patterning is also present with the floor mat, dado, and wall, where a series of banded colours was created. There is no sense of dimension, only horizontal flashes of colour. These gradations tend to repeat on either side of the dado. On the bottom of the canvas, the painting is a very dark pink, which lightens to white. Once off the woven mat, there is a dark strip of flooring and then the white dado. The wall above this is a light pink, which gradually becomes darker until it is the same colour value as the bottom layer.

⁷¹ Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, (Washington, DC & New Haven: Freer Gallery of Art & Yale University Press, 1998), p. 131.

⁷² Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 106.

⁷³ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 131.

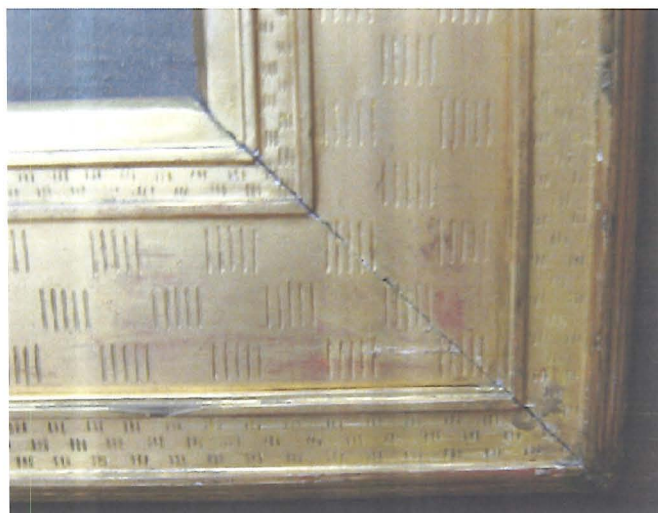
⁷⁴ Pennell, 'Whistler as Decorator', p. 301.

⁷⁵ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 131.

⁷⁶ Susan Grace Galassi, 'Whistler and Aesthetic Dress: Mrs. Frances Leyland', in *Whistler, Women, and Fashion*, ed. Margaret MacDonald, Susan Grace Galassi, and Aileen Ribeiro (New York: The Frick Collection, 2003), p. 104.

The matting on the floor also serves an important purpose, not only in the painting, but also in connecting it to the viewer's space. Inside the painting, Whistler uses this mat to continue the variety of colour tones found on the floor. Whistler also wanted us to walk on top of the colour harmony. The portrait illustrates and brings us to a further realisation of what the Flemish Gallery must have looked like. Whistler put colour tones everywhere – in front of the viewer, on the walls, above on the ceiling, and even below at their feet. This patterning is observed repeating itself on the painting's frame, which pushes this notion of tonalities and the use of the decorative on every aspect of exhibition even further (fig. 4.11).

Fig. 4.11: Bottom right corner showing the incised basket-weave pattern surrounding *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland* (YMSM 106, **Plate 23**).



Placed within the context of the Whistlerian-decorated rooms at the Flemish Gallery, Whistler's frames display a new function. They now serve as a link between the painted image and the room in which the audience views the painting. In his letter to Lucas in January 1873, Whistler proclaimed:

my frames I have always designed as carefully as my pictures—and thus they form as important a part as any of the rest of the work – carrying on the particular harmony throughout.⁷⁷

At his first one-man show, *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition*, Whistler extended this definition and created a new type of 'particular harmony'. As stated in his letter to Lucas, Whistler listed only two elements present within the previous 'harmony', the painting and the frame. Here at the Flemish Gallery, and with the basket-weave decorated frames, a third element was

⁷⁷ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD; GUW 09182.

added, that of the environment. The frames serve to connect the painting to the surrounding environment.

Henry Blackburn, in his review of the exhibition for *The Pictorial World*, summed up the show best, when he wrote:

If anyone wishes to realize what is meant by true feeling for colour and harmony – born of the Japanese – let him sit down here some morning, within a few yards of, but in secure shelter from, the glare of the guardsman's scarlet tunic in the bay window of the club opposite, just out of hearing of Christie's hammer, and just out of sight of the conglomeration of a thousand pictures at the Royal Academy. A 'symphony' is usually defined as 'a harmony of sounds agreeable to the ear;' here, at 48 Pall Mall, is a harmony of colour agreeable to the eye.⁷⁸

Within the 'harmony of colour agreeable to the eye' described by Blackburn, the picture frame serves to link all the present elements together, and as a result it further enhances this 'harmony'.

⁷⁸ Henry Blackburn, "'A Symphony" in Pall Mall', *The Pictorial World*. 13 June 1874; in Robin Spencer, ed., *Whistler: A Retrospective*, (New York: Wings Books, 1991), pgs. 109-110.

5.0. Chapter Five

Trials, More Waves and Peacocks: The 1870s Whistler Frame, part 2 (1873-1878)

Throughout the remainder of the 1870s, Whistler continued to experiment with the surface decoration of his picture frames and painted different motifs onto the frieze. The previous chapter examined the origins of two motifs: the basket-weave and seigaiha pattern. In addition to these decorations, Whistler experimented with at least two additional forms of painted surface decoration, both of which expanded upon his interest in interior design and continued to serve as links between the painting and the surrounding environment. It is therefore possible to speculate that the surface of Whistler frames during the 1870s underwent the following development: (1) the first stage of seigaiha pattern; (2) painted/incised basket-weave; (3) painted Maltese crosses and floral decoration; and (4) the second stage of seigaiha pattern.

5.1. The frame as a link: Maltese crosses

The frame surrounding *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**) follows the pattern of an 1870s frame as outlined in Chapter 4, except that it possesses two friezes, both of which appear to be unadorned. However, close examination of the innermost frieze reveals a pattern of Maltese crosses beneath the gilded surface (see **fig. 5.1**).

John Sandburg first noted the presence of the Maltese crosses in 1968. In his article entitled 'Whistler Studies', he explored the relationship between James Whistler and Albert Moore. He wrote that the painting was 'Whistler's only finished figure painting of the late 1860s' and



Fig. 5.1: Frame Detail, of *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**), illustrating the Maltese Crosses underneath the gilded top-layer.

described the white colour scheme as being ‘enlivened by the girls’ reddish hair, the orange of the fan, the gray and turquoise of the background, and the green and lilac of the flowers at the right’.¹ Sandburg concluded this description with the observation that ‘on the floor appears a pattern of turquoise and white maltese crosses, a motif echoed on the margin of Whistler’s frame’.² Located on the floor below the girls’ feet is a light-blue rug decorated with a pattern of white and dark-blue Maltese crosses (**fig. 5.2**). It is therefore



Fig. 5.2: Painting Detail of *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**), illustrating the Maltese Crosses on the rug.

possible to assume that the pattern was applied to the surface of the frame to coincide with the painted decoration. This method of applying a pattern from the painting onto the frame’s surface was first observed in Whistler’s treatment of the basket-weave pattern, and the previous chapter illustrated how this relationship was seen at Whistler’s one-man exhibition held at the Flemish Gallery in 1874. Several of the portraits, including *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs. Frances Leyland* (YMSM 106, **Plate 23**), showed the subject standing on a chequered mat. The same pattern was present on the frame surface, and the floor of the exhibition space was covered with the same motif. In this instance, the frame served as a link connecting the painted mat on the canvas to the real mat present in the exhibition space. It is possible that the frame on *Symphony in White, No. 3* served a similar purpose and linked the painted rug to a real one.

In addition to these crosses, the frame possesses a butterfly insignia, similar in style to that seen on the frame surrounding *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, **Plate 20**). The butterfly located on the upper right-hand side of the frame, however, is currently positioned

¹ John Sandburg, ‘Whistler Studies’, *The Art Bulletin* 50, no. 1 (1968), p. 59.

² *Ibid.*, p. 59.

upside down (**fig. 5.3**). Andrew McLaren Young wrote to Hamish Miles on 4 April 1974 observing that:

It is inconceivable that Whistler would have decorated his frame with a butterfly standing on its head. I can find nothing else in the photographs [of the frame] of what you call left side and which I make right which would contradict this. This, of course, meanse [sic] that what you call top becomes bottom and bottom becomes top. Neither presents any problems.³

Despite McLaren Young's initial observations, the placement of the canvas within the frame has not been altered, and the painting today hangs in a frame where the butterfly remains 'standing on its head'.

The existence of these painted decorations on *Symphony in White, No. 3* is often ignored due to the fact that they are hidden from sight by the gilded top layer. Even the frame scholar, Ira Horowitz failed to notice the pattern. He wrote to Hamish Miles in January 1974 saying:

he [Sandburg] mentioned that the border or margin of the Whistler ptg, [sic] *Symphony in White, No. 3*, had maltese crosses on it, echoing the pattern on the floor in the picture. When I was there several years ago I never noticed this. Can you take a quick look for me to see if these crosses do in fact exist on the margin of the frame? Has there been any frame changes since 1968?⁴

Professor Miles responded to Horowitz's queries on 21 January 1974 by stating that Sandburg was indeed correct, but that the crosses were difficult to read due to the over-gilding.⁵

The reason for this over-gilding is uncertain, but in his letter of 4 April 1974, Andrew McLaren Young suggested a possible explanation to Hamish Miles:

At some point he [Whistler] seems to have gone off these painted frames and by the time of his 1892 exhibition at Goupils he was reframing pictures in



Fig. 5.3: Frame Detail of *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, Plate 15), illustrating the painted butterfly underneath the gilded top-layer.

³ Letter, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, 4 April 1974, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006). Photocopies of these letters can be found in the **Appendix: Unpublished Sources**.

⁴ Letter, Ira Horowitz to Hamish Miles, 18 January 1974, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

⁵ Letter, Hamish Miles to Ira Horowitz, 21 January 1874, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

what one now regards as the standard Whistler reeded frame (it must have been at this time that the *Symphony in White, No. 2* lost its original frame and its Swinburne poem). My idea therefore is that it could well have been at this time that *Symphony in White, No. 3* was regilded and the coloured decorative elements covered up. I can not prove this for sure but the thickness of the paint under the gilding suggests that this is so and the undecorated parts (as we now see them [handwritten above text]) may have been covered with less impasted paint.⁶

McLaren Young was correct in his assumptions regarding the reframing of Whistler's *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (YMSM 52, **Plate 14**). The original 1864 frame was removed after the Goupil exhibition in 1892 in favour of the Grau-style frame currently on the work.⁷ However, the idea that the frame on *Symphony in White, No. 3* received similar treatment does not reflect the practices used by Whistler and Grau during the preparations for the Goupil show. As seen in Chapter 2, Whistler asked Grau to 'scrape and regild frame to Miss Alexander – Never mind about painting on frame'.⁸ The use of the word 'scrape' implies that Whistler did not wish for the frame to be simply re-gilded over with a new layer of gold leaf. In another letter, which also addresses the treatment of the frame on *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (YMSM 129, **Plate 12**), Whistler wrote saying that 'Grau has had orders to thoroughly clean and regild the frame – and after wards, if you wish it, I will with great pleasure repaint the ornament upon it'.⁹ This implies that Grau was instructed to remove the frame's topmost layer and to apply a completely new gilded surface. Therefore, it can be assumed that the typical treatment of an 1870 painted frame at the time of the Goupil Gallery exhibition of 1892 was to remove the topmost layer and replace it with a fresh layer of gold leaf. The surface found on *Symphony in White, No. 3* does not comply with the surface treatments found in Whistler's letters. The paint layer has not been removed and, as observed above, is visible below the gilded surface. This would suggest that the frame was re-gilded after 1892, according to the instructions of someone other than Whistler.

⁶ Letter, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, 4 April 1974, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

⁷ This was addressed in Chapter Two and Three.

⁸ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, [3 March 1892], PWC; GUW 08349, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

⁹ James Whistler to Rachel Agnes Alexander, [15/28 February 1892], British Museum 1958-2-8-28; GUW 07580, (accessed, 26 July 2007).

The dating of this frame has been of particular interest to scholars of Whistler's frames. In his article, Horowitz states that this frame 'presents an intriguing problem of dating'.¹⁰ This perceived problem stems from the difficulty Horowitz has in understanding Whistler's re-framing habits.¹¹ Whistler first began work on the painting *Symphony in White, No. 3* during the previous decade. Anna Whistler wrote to Whistler of the painting in 1865, saying:

I cannot tell you how intense is my anxiety about your finishing the Sofa! George talked in the nicest way, about your success last evening to me; he admires your little White Girl (Potters) and was glad to hear of your last sea views (Annie having described them to me in a letter I recd yesterday) I hope you may add to the Sofa as many beautiful touches as you did to the little white girl & that Houth [sic] may be so charmed he may add more of Whistlers to his own collection.¹²

The patron mentioned by Anna was Louis Huth, who was 'charmed' by the painting and purchased several Whistler canvases for his collection, including *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* (YMSM 105, **Plate 4**). When Huth actually took possession of the work is uncertain. Anna implied in her letter that he purchased the work in 1865, but further letters suggest he may have bought it during the early months of 1873. On 31 January 1873, Whistler wrote to Huth regarding *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* and referenced other works that Huth was interested in purchasing. He wrote, 'I think the Venus ought to be somewhere about 6 or 7 hundred and the other of the two figures at least 8 hundred or a thousand'.¹³ The mention of the two figures was made in reference to the two girls shown in *Symphony in White, No. 3*. On 1 February 1873, Huth accepted the price given by Whistler.¹⁴

The canvas *Symphony in White, No. 3* was first painted by Whistler in 1865 and later reworked by the artist in 1867, yet the frame dates from the 1870s. McLaren Young addressed this issue

¹⁰ Ira Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980), p. 127.

¹¹ As explored in Chapter 2.

¹² Anna Matilda Whistler to James Whistler, 25 November [1865], GUL MS Whistler W520, GUW 06526, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹³ James Whistler to Louis Huth, [31 January 1873], GUL MS Whistler H338, GUW 02242, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁴ Louis Huth to James Whistler, 1 February 1873, GUL MS Whistler H339, GUW 02243, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

of the frame's date in his letter to Hamish Miles, saying:

There comes a problem of date. At this stage I do not want to be too dogmatic. But I would feel that 1867, the date on the picture, is too early. The earliest dated butterfly I have ever found is 1869 and that is a very mechanical kind of thing. My guess would be 1869-70, which would suggest that when it went to the R.A. it was in a different frame. However one learns as one goes on and I am prepared to be convinced that Whistler could have done a butterfly of this kind earlier than I had believed.¹⁵

From the style of the butterfly, it is possible to speculate that the current frame was made when the painting was shown at the *6th Exhibition* of the Society of French Artists in April 1873.¹⁶ Horowitz wrongly stated that this painting was shown alongside Whistler's *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (YMSM 122, **Plate 19**) and observed that the two works were displayed in painted frames both with butterfly signatures inscribed in circles.¹⁷ This statement is incorrect in that *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* was shown six months previously at the *5th Exhibition* of the Society of French Artists which opened in November 1872.

None of this speculation assists in answering the question of when the painted decoration was gilded over. In order to answer this, it is necessary to look at the provenance of the painting since 1892. *Symphony in White, No. 3* remained in Huth's collection until March/April 1899 when the art dealers, Thomas Agnew & Sons, sold the work to Edmund Davis. It then stayed in Davis's possession until his death, when Christies sold it to the Barber Institute of Fine Arts on 7 July 1939.¹⁸ It is possible that the alterations were made during one of these transactions. The involvement of the Agnews in the painting's provenance is confirmed by the Thomas Agnew & Sons label on the back of the inner portion of the frame (**fig. 5.4**).



Fig. 5.4: Frame Detail of *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**), illustrating the Thomas Agnew & Sons label on the verso.

¹⁵ Letter, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, 4 April 1974, Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

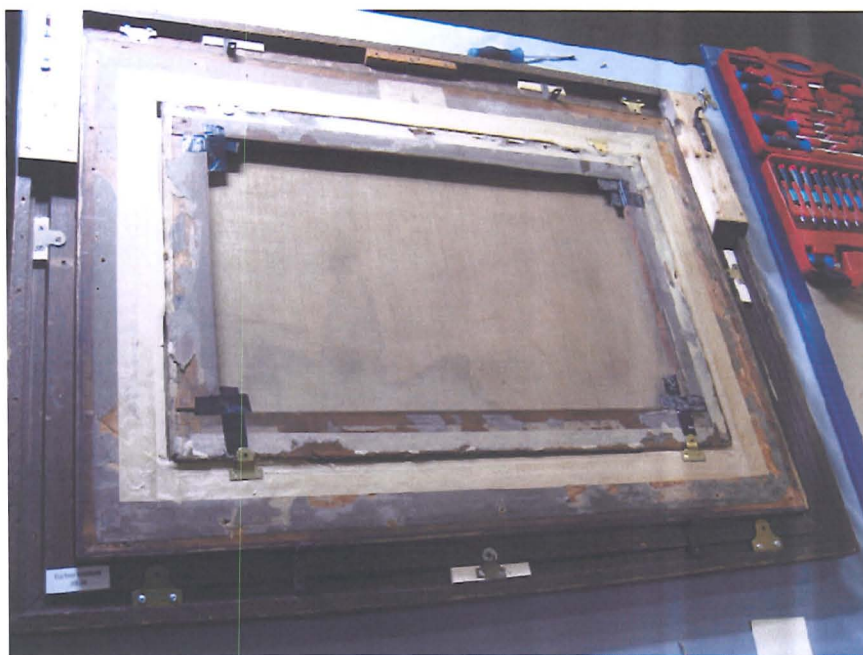
¹⁶ Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, & Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), 61.

¹⁷ Ira Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris' (Master of Arts, Queens College, City University of New York, 1974), p. 91.

¹⁸ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 61.

In addition to gilding over painted decoration, one further alteration has been made to the *Symphony in White, No. 3* frame. A large outer frame has been constructed around the original that doubles the moulding width and size of the frame (**fig. 5.5**). This additional border consists of an outer section of eight reeds, a fillet, a small inner section of three reeds, and a wide frieze that has the same ornamentation seen on the inner frieze. The fact that the Agnew label is located on the inner and not the outer portion of the frame could indicate that this outer frame was added after 1899. Therefore, it appears that the alterations were made while the painting was in the care of Edmund Davis or the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, some time after 1899 and before Miles's response to Horowitz in 1974. Either way, the pattern on the frame reflects painted decoration from the canvas and can be interpreted as serving either to extend the painted image or to link the painting to a specific interior.

Fig. 5.5: Frame Detail of *Symphony in White, No. 3* (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**), illustrating the verso the inner and outer mouldings.



5.2. The Frame as Link: Floral Patterns and Interior Schemes

The second painted decoration examined in this chapter may date from earlier than both the basket-weave and Maltese cross patterns. The decoration found on the frame currently surrounding *The Gold Scab* (1879, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California, YMSM 208, **Plate 24**) and present along the edge of *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* (1872/3, HAG, YMSM 139, **Plate 25**) comprises a pattern of petals and flowers painted directly onto the gilded surface with blue paint. Both objects have been signed with identical butterflies that hover in perfectly round

circles, and they have two top wings painted in a light-blue paint and two bottom wings in dark-blue (fig. 5.6).



Fig. 5.6: Detail of the painted butterfly-signature on frame of *The Gold Scab* (YMSM 139, Plate 24).

It was believed that Whistler first created the screen for his patron Fredrick R. Leyland; however, this is supported only by a statement from Walter Greaves to the Pennells.¹⁹ On Tuesday, 18 September 1906,

Elizabeth Pennell wrote that her husband Joseph ‘went to see the Greaves in Fulham’ and:

He [Greaves] said the stairs of the house were covered with Dutch metal. J. [Joseph] forgot to ask if it was only the banisters, or the whole thing in which case it probably gave Alma-Tadema his brazen idea. Whistler painted ships at the end of the hall one Sunday morning after he had taken his mother to church and before she returned. The blue screen with the gold moon and bridge upon it, which always stood in the studios in Paris and Fitzroy Street, Greaves says was painted for Leyland. But, if so, either Leyland never had it or else gave it back to Whistler.²⁰

While the initial origins of the *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* are uncertain, Whistler wrote to Charles Deschamps in December 1872 asking him to pay a visit to his studio saying, ‘I am finishing a screen that I will only have this chance of showing you’.²¹ The screen mentioned by Whistler may have been *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*.

Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge was first shown publicly at Whistler’s one-man exhibition at the Flemish Gallery in 1874, where it was displayed in the rooms described in Chapter 4. While the floral pattern on the screen may not serve the same function as the basket-weave within the exhibition space decorated by Whistler, it does possess some similarities with the domestic interiors that Whistler created for his private residence at No. 2 Lindsey Row (96 Cheyne Walk) and those he designed for Leyland’s London residences of 23 Queen’s Gate and 49 Prince’s Gate.

¹⁹ Linda Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, (Washington, DC & New Haven: Freer Gallery of Art & Yale University Press, 1998), p. 182.

²⁰ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Whistler Journal*, (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1921), p. 116 & 122.

²¹ James Whistler to Charles William Deschamps, 21 December 1872, PWC 1/22; GUW 11438, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

Following his return from Valparaíso in February 1867, Whistler settled into his second London residence at No. 2 Lindsey Row.²² The Pennells document that the house was a 'three-story house with an attic' and was characterised most by its simplicity of decoration.²³ In the article 'Decorative Art and Architecture in England, III'; published in 1874 for the American publication *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, M.D. Conway wrote:

Another American artist, and one of whom his country has no less reason to be proud, has adorned his London residence in a way quite notable. ... Mr. Whistler has done much to light up and beautify a somewhat dark staircase in his house by giving the walls a lemon tint above a dado of gold, on which he has painted butterflies such as adorn the frames of his pictures, and constitute the signature of his work.²⁴

Conway's statements confirm those made by Walter Greaves to Joseph Pennell. Whistler decorated the staircase of his residence with the application of Dutch metal, which is defined as 'an alloy of copper and zinc that makes an inexpensive substitute for genuine gold leaf'.²⁵ Conway's observation also answers the question raised by Elizabeth in her journal. She commented that Joseph failed to gather from Greaves if only the balustrade was gilded or also the dado and steps of the stairwell.

Conway wrote that the gilded dado panels contained a pattern of painted butterflies, such as those seen on Whistler's frames. Perhaps Conway was mistaken in his observation and what he saw as butterflies was in fact the petal/floral pattern seen on *The Gold Scab* and *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*. Linda Merrill recorded that:

Whistler eventually discovered the desired tone for the dado (or lower panels of the wainscoting) in dutch metal ... upon that "old gold" surface, he painted pink and white chrysanthemum petals that were sometimes mistaken for butterflies.²⁶

²² Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, lxi.

²³ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 5th revised ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1911), p. 97-98.

²⁴ M.D. Conway, 'Decorative Art and Architecture in England. - III', *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 50 (1874/1875), p. 35-36.

²⁵ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 179.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 179.

A sketch of the decoration for the stairwell in No. 2 Lindsey Row survives in the collection at the Hunterian Art Gallery (**fig. 5.7**). It is documented that:

It was originally thought the staircase design dated from 1876 when Whistler was painting *convolvulus* up the staircase for Leyland. In fact both designs relate to Whistler's decoration of 2 Lindsey Row (96 Cheyne Walk) where he lived with his mother from 1867 to 1878.²⁷

From Conway's observations and Greaves memoirs, it is possible to assume that *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* stood in Whistler's hallway at No. 2 Lindsey Row, as the painted, gilded edge of the screen mirrors the decoration on the painted and gilded dado. However, the screen could also have been placed in other rooms. Photographs illustrate the placement of a Japanese screen in the drawing room, and later in the 1890s the screen sat in Whistler's Paris studio (see **figs. 5.8 & 5.9**).

It is then possible to assume that the floral pattern developed in the following sequence: (1) Whistler decorated the hall and stairway of his residence at No. 2 Lindsey Row sometime after his 1867 return to London; (2) he then applied this pattern of decoration to the edge of *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*, which stood sometime during 1872 and 1874 within this decorated space; and (3) the pattern was then applied to the frieze of the picture frame, which now surrounds the painting *The Gold Scab*.

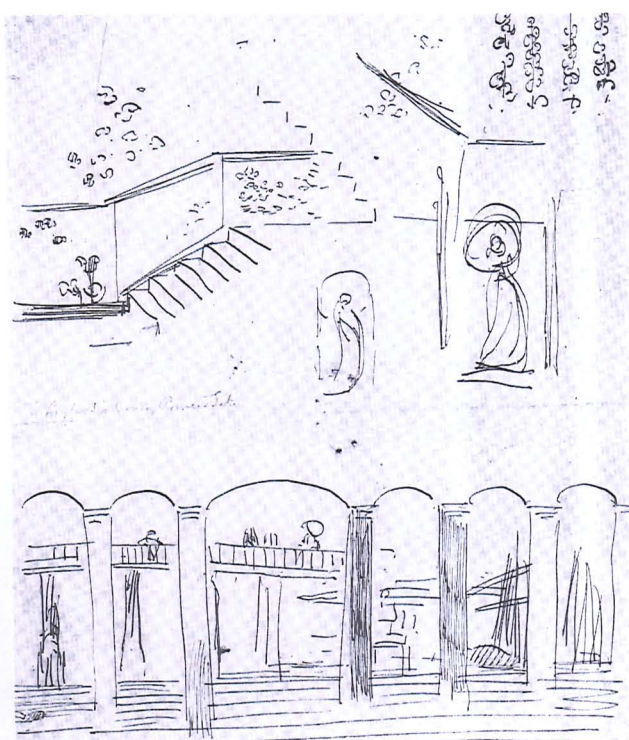


Fig. 5.7: Designs for the wall decorations at Whistler's House, No. 2 Lindsey Row (HAG, 1877/8, M. 659r).

²⁷ Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 659.



Fig. 5.9 (Right): Photograph of James McNeill Whistler in his studio at 86 rue Notre Dame des Champs, Paris, c. 1894, with *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 139, Plate 25).

Fig. 5.8 (Left): Photograph of the drawing room at No. 2 Lindsey Row, London, Whistler's residence from 1867 to 1878.



Linda Merrill described *The Gold Scab* frame as being:

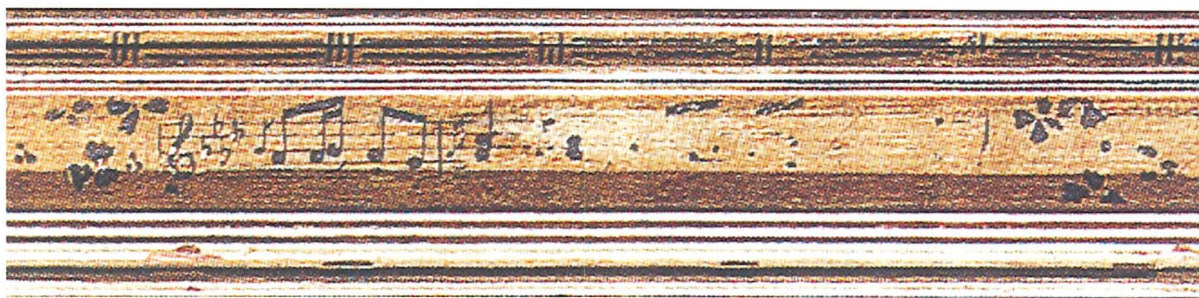
produced by Foord & Dickinson, the framemakers Whistler had used since the 1860s, who applied the gilding in the old manner, directly on the wood so the grain showed through. Whistler adorned the flat of the frame with small blue flowers, possibly meant as 'hawthorn' petals in allusion to Chinese blue and white, arranged with studied informality; he signed it with a butterfly that might also be mistaken for a blossom were it not enclosed in a circle, in the signature style of that period. The most distinctive feature of the frame, however, is the tiny musical passage inscribed on one side – a treble clef, a key signature, and the opening notes of the third part of Schubert's *Moments musicaux*.²⁸ (fig. 5.10)

It is uncertain which painting this frame originally surrounded. However, it is safe to conclude, from the painted floral decoration, that it was created either in late 1872 or early 1873 during the same time that *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* was decorated. Again, the framing of *The Gold Scab* presents an occurrence where the frame and painting do not share the same creation date: the frame dates from the first half of the decade, while the painting dates from the second half.

It is evident from the placement of the painted decoration that these two objects were not

²⁸ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 142-143, and Horowitz also identified these musical notes in Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris', 95.

Fig. 5.10: Detail of the musical notes painted on the frieze surrounding *The Gold Scab* (YMSM 139, **Plate 24**).



created for one another. The position of the painted butterfly and musical notes reveal that the frame was originally designed to accommodate a horizontal canvas and not the vertical-orientated canvas of *The Gold Scab*. In its current display, the butterfly is seen flying sideways above the main figure's head, and the musical notes on the left rail run sideways.

It has been commonly accepted that this floral frame was originally intended to surround *The Three Girls* (1872/1875, Destroyed), a painting Leyland commissioned from Whistler in 1867.²⁹ Horowitz first suggested this possibility in his 1974 thesis, based on size comparisons made by Professor Andrew McLaren Young:

Professor Young has determined that there is only one existing painting by Whistler that could fit the dimensions of the *Gold Scab* [73 ½" (186.7) x 55" (139.7) (canvas dimensions)] frame. It is *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* [YMSM 89], whose dimensions are 54 ¾" X 73". However, this picture was executed in 1878, too late for the style and motif pattern of the *Gold Scab* frame.³⁰

The painting mentioned here by Horowitz may not directly contribute towards solving the origins of the frame, but it does suggest one possibility. *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* (1878, Tate, YMSM 89, **Plate 26**) is a sketch made by Whistler in 1878 of the painting *The Three Girls*.³¹ Whistler detailed the creation of this sketch in a letter to his sister-in-law when he wrote:

Now see this Nellie – on one of the last days in the White House I painted a rough copy, or commencement of a copy, of the 3 girls – on the same size

²⁹ Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris', p. 95 and Anna Whistler to James H. Gamble, [27 August 1867], GUL Whistler W529, GUW 06535, (accessed, 27 July 2007), note 22, speculated that Whistler was at work on *The Three Girls* for Leyland.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 95

³¹ James Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [22 March 1880], GUL MS Whistler W682, GUW 06688, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

canvas – this was sent over to Pellegrini's and from there, John took it first I suppose to Wimpole Street – Now if this be the 3 girls you have – then ~~by no~~ most certainly do they belong to no one but myself – as they were done after the settlement of my affairs.³²

Whistler indicated here that the original and the copy were the same size, and therefore both could fit in the painted floral frame. Horowitz's suggestion that *The Gold Scab* frame once surrounded *The Three Girls* has remained unquestioned since the 1970s. It is quite possible that *The Three Girls* may have possessed such a frame, but additional factors associated with this pairing should be considered before a definite conclusion is made.

The Pennells speculated that Leyland may have commissioned Whistler to create a decorative scheme for his London residence.³³ *The Three Girls* was the first canvas selected and enlarged from the small studies.³⁴ This conclusion was based on a diary entry made by W.M. Rossetti on 28 July 1867:

Whistler is doing on a largish scale for Leyland the subject of women with flowers, and has made coloured sketches of four or five other subjects of the like class, very promising in point of conception of colour and arrangement.³⁵

The proposed scheme has come to be known as *The Six Projects* (see **fig. 5.11**).³⁶ In combining Horowitz's suggestion with the Pennells' assumed decorative scheme, Richard Dorment concluded that *The Six Projects* was intended to decorate a music room either at Leyland's first London residence, 23 Queen's Gate, or his Liverpool house of Speke Hall.³⁷ In the catalogue for the 1994 exhibition *James McNeill Whistler*, Dorment further speculated that 'Whistler would certainly have continued this musical motif on the frames of each of the completed pictures used in the decoration'.³⁸ With this conclusion, it is possible to speculate that Whistler

³² James Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [22 March 1880], GUL MS Whistler W682, GUW 06688, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³³ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 1 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), p. 149.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

³⁶ *The Six Projects* is made up of the following paintings: *Venus* (1868, FGA, YMSM 82), *Symphony in Green and Violet* (1868, FGA, YMSM 83), *Symphony in Blue and Pink* (1868, FGA, YMSM 86), *Variations in Blue and Green* (1868, FGA, YMSM 84), *Symphony in White and Red* (1868, FGA, YMSM 85), and *The White Symphony: The Three Girls* (1867, FGA YMSM 87).

³⁷ Margaret MacDonald & Richard Dorment, *James McNeill Whistler*, (Washington, DC: Tate Gallery Publications, 1994), p. 94.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 94.



Fig. 5.11: Installation at the Freer Gallery of Art, showing three of Whistler's 'Six Projects', the decorative scheme intended for Leyland. Paintings shown, left to right: *Variations in Blue and Green* (1868, FGA, YMSM 84), *The White Symphony: The Three Girls* (1867, FGA, YMSM 87) and *Symphony in White and Red* (1868, FGA, YMSM 85).

used the painted flowers and the musical notes to create a frame that linked the images to the surrounding environment. The surface design and decoration of the frame reflect the purpose of the room and thus support the function the frame was created to serve.

However, these conclusions are contingent on Horowitz's first assumption that the decorated frame on *The Gold Scab* was originally created for *The Three Girls*. Yet, there are significant problems with Horowitz's conclusion. While *The Three Girls* may have been a similar size as *The Gold Scab*, it should be noted that Whistler never finished the painting. Leyland commissioned the work from Whistler as early as 1867, but he never received the completed canvas. On 27 July 1877, an exasperated Leyland wrote to Whistler declaring:

As respects the fourth painting it is difficult to understand what are the conditions you find necessary for its completion. You have been paid for it nine years ago and however imaginative the work may be, it is high time now that it should be delivered if it is ever to be finished.³⁹

If, after nine years, Whistler had yet to finish painting the canvas, then why would a frame have already been made for it? Merrill suggested that 'it must have been in that mood of creative optimism that Whistler prepared the most elaborate frame he ever designed, which, unlike the painting, has survived'.⁴⁰ Merrill may be right in her observation. The frame could have been created as an example to illustrate to Leyland what a music room designed by Whistler would look like. When the partially completed canvas of *The Three Girls* was cut down in 1878, the frame could have been removed at that time and placed either by Whistler or his creditors onto the newly completed canvas of *The Gold Scab*. If so, it creates a uniquely biting insult

³⁹ Fredrick Richards Leyland to James Whistler, 27 July 1877, GUL MS Whistler L132, GUW 02598, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁰ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 142.

to Leyland. The painting is a venomous depiction of Whistler's former patron. How ironic to surround the scathing portrait of the patron in a frame first used to illustrate to him a proposed decorative scheme.

Whistler, however, never received the opportunity to complete any design for Leyland's music room. One month following the show *Mr. Whistler's Exhibition* at the Flemish Gallery in 1874, where *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* was first shown, Leyland acquired the lease for 49 Prince's Gate. At his new residence, Leyland charged Whistler with the decoration of a much grander space, the hall and staircase. Whistler chose to decorate this space in a fashion similar to his residence at No. 2 Lindsey Row. The dados were covered with a layer of Dutch metal upon which he painted a pattern of flowers. This is seen on the *Panel from the Stair Hall of 49 Prince's Gate* at the Freer Gallery of Art (1876, FGA, YMSM 175, fig. 5.12).⁴¹

Fig. 5.12: *Panel from the Entrance Hall at 49 Princes Gate* (1876, FGA, YMSM 175).



By March 1876, Whistler began to devote his artistic efforts to the decoration of Leyland's hall. Alan Cole wrote in his journal on 24 March 1876, 'to Leyland's House to see Whistler's colouring of Hall – very delicate cocoa colour and gold – successful'.⁴² Whistler took a different approach from the methods he used in his own residence. Merrill observed that

⁴¹ Ibid., p. 179.

⁴² Alan Summerly Cole, [27 March 1872–18 April 1885], PWC 281/557-587, GUW 13132, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

'having learned from experience how to achieve an 'old gold' effect, he exploited the property of imitation gold that is usually considered its chief disadvantage, allowing the metal leaf to oxidize'.⁴³ Merrill further described Whistler's treatment of the staircase:

Once the dutch metal had tarnished the desired degree, Whistler sealed its surface with the same transparent-green glaze he had used as a fixative, then gently abraded the surface so the gold tones shimmered through the cooler green. The grid pattern formed by the slightly overlapping squares of metal leaf suggests a trellis.⁴⁴

The flowers painted on the dado panels and those on the frames for *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* and *The Gold Scab* differ stylistically. They are not identical, and they do not serve the same purpose. The flowers located on the frames surround and further enhance the decorative quality of the enclosed artwork and link the images to the environment, while the flowers on the staircase are images framed by the dado panels. Despite these differences, there are some similarities: both create an illusion of a vine of flowers growing up and around the artwork, and both link elements within a larger environment. The frame flowers link the painting to its surroundings, while the dado flowers link the wall to the floral motifs present within the elaborate balustrade situated opposite (fig. 5.13).



Fig. 5.13: Photograph of the Entrance Hall of 49 Prince's Gate, London, c. 1890.

Whistler's designs for the grand staircase must have met with approval from his patron,

⁴³ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 180.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

Frederick Leyland. In April 1876, only weeks after Cole observed Whistler's work on the dado, Leyland wrote to Whistler requesting:

Jekell writes to know what colour to do the doors and windows in [the] dining room. He speaks of two yellows and white – Would it not be better to do it like [the] dado in the hall – i.e using dutch metal in large masses. It ought to go well with the leather. I wrote to him suggesting this but I wish you would give him your ideas.⁴⁵

The Jekell named by Leyland is Thomas Jeckyll, the architect commissioned with the design and decoration of the dining room at 49 Prince's Gate. Over the course of the summer, Whistler made several suggestions regarding the decoration of this room and by the autumn months had redecorated it entirely. Curry acknowledged the connection between the decorative schemes of the dining room and hallway and stated that 'Whistler's work on the staircase was the key by which he gained access to the dining room'.⁴⁶

Following Leyland's move from 23 Queen's Gate to 49 Prince's Gate, it was in the dining room that Whistler's painting *The Three Girls* was to hang.⁴⁷ No longer were the figures to adorn the walls of a music room, instead they were to be hung opposite Whistler's 1864 painting *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine* (YMSM 50, **Plate 16**). If this had occurred and *The Three Girls* had been placed opposite the *Princesse*, the painted floral frame would have been an unsuitable surround. The floral decoration may have harmonised with the dado panels of the staircase, but it would not have been in tune with Jeckyll's decorations or the 1864 frame on the *Princesse*. The use of an 1864 frame on *The Three Girls* would have been a better match for this environment.

This presents an unusual reversal in Whistler's typical reframing habits. If the 1872 floral frame was to surround *The Three Girls*, it may have been removed in favour of an 1864 style frame. This may be the one circumstance where Whistler chose not to update the framing of a

⁴⁵ Frederick Richards Leyland to James Whistler, 26 April 1876, GUL MS Whistler L103, GUW 02567, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁶ David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*, (New York, London: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1984), p. 160, Plate 72.

⁴⁷ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 195.

painting but instead selected the use of an older frame pattern. In this situation, Whistler chose neither to reframe the *Princesse* to match Jeckyll's designs, nor to alter the frame to match the suggested floral frame of *The Three Girls*. Instead, it is possible that *The Three Girls* frame was to be changed in order to mirror the existing frame on the *Princesse*.

Another possibility may be that the 1872 floral frame was never intended for *The Three Girls*. Considering that Whistler may have begun the work in 1867 and never finished it, it seems more likely that it was surrounded by the frame now seen on *Girl with Cherry Blossom* (1872/1878, The Hon. Christopher McLaren, on loan to Courtauld Institute, YMSM 90, **Plate 27**). Although the complete original canvas of *The Three Girls* does not exist, it is believed that a remnant of the canvas remains in the form of *Girl with Cherry Blossom*. As noted earlier, Whistler wrote to his sister-in-law saying, 'on the other hand I understood Elden long ago to say that the 3 girls were cut off their stretcher and carried away by the trustees' people'.⁴⁸ It is possible that when the trustees cut the canvas off the stretcher, they cut the canvas to form more than one painting. The central figure from the original composition and one of these surviving pieces may be *Girl with Cherry Blossom*. The frame on this fragment presents a more suitable candidate for inclusion in the Peacock Room. While it may date closer to the inception of the canvas, it does possess faults and does not provide a perfect solution towards our understanding of these works.

The frame on *Girl with Cherry Blossom* consists of two separate sections. The outermost section consists of a reeded edge (added possibly after 1913) and a wide frieze adorned with a whorl pattern common to the 1864 frames, and it mirrors the frame on *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*.⁴⁹ The whorl frame may have been created to surround *The Three Girls* as early as 1867 or possibly as late as 1876 when it was intended to hang in the dining room at 49 Prince's Gate.

⁴⁸ James Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [22 March 1880], GUL MS Whistler W682, GUW 06688, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁹ Horowitz, 'The Picture Frame, 1848-1892: The Pre-Raphaelites, Whistler, Paris', p. 96. Horowitz mentions that a fragment of the frame was illustrated with the painting in the October 1903 edition of *The Studio*. This could indicate that the reeded edge was added after this date.



Fig. 5.14: Frame details of *Girl with Cherry Blossom* (YMSM 90, Plate 27), illustrating the irregular whorl pattern at the bottom right corner and the top left corner.

However, as stated earlier, Whistler never completed the painting, and it was cut down sometime during 1878 or 1879. The frame reflects such an occurrence – it has been altered and cut down to the current size. This is shown in the inconsistency of the pattern at the bottom-right and upper-left corners, where the rows of whorls fail to match up (**fig. 5.14**). The two corners where the pattern runs undisturbed indicate that the corners have not been altered, while the wood at the corners where the pattern fails to match has been separated, cut, and reassembled without attention given to realigning the surface decoration. By looking at the condition of the pattern in the corner, it is possible to determine that the width and not the height of the frame, as it now stands, has been altered (**fig. 5.15**). Therefore, one might assume that the frame currently on *Girl with Cherry Blossom* could, at some point in time, have been large enough to enclose a canvas the size of the missing *Three Girls*.

Regardless of what might have happened during the framing histories of *Symphony in White, No. 3*; *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge*; *The Gold Scab*; *The Three Girls*;

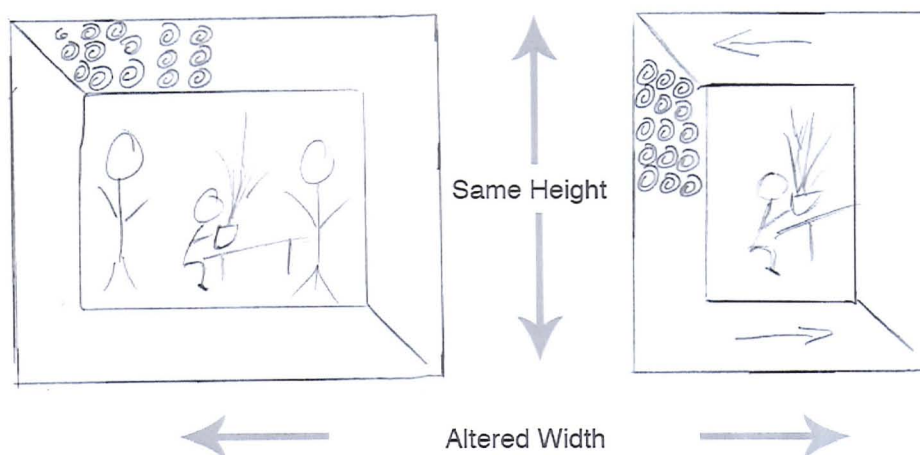


Fig. 5.15: Sketch illustrating alterations made to the frame on *Girl with Cherry Blossom* (YMSM 90, Plate 27).

and *Girl with Cherry Blossom*, the two additional forms of painted decoration seen here (that of the Maltese cross and the painted floral pattern) continue to illustrate Whistler's interest in interior design. By experimenting with these two forms of decoration, Whistler continued to create frames that served to link his paintings to the environments he created.

5.3. The Seigaiha Pattern Returns: the Frame as an Extension

The end of the 1870s saw Whistler's frames return to functioning as extensions to their enclosed paintings. This shift in function was accompanied by the return of an earlier form of surface decoration: the seigaiha pattern. While Whistler may have used this pattern throughout the decade, it appears that he made a conscious effort to reinstate the motif, especially during the preparations for his trial with John Ruskin in late 1878. However, the seigaiha pattern used by Whistler at this time is notably different from the design first used at the Dudley Gallery in 1871.

The difference between the seigaiha patterns was alluded to in Chapter 4. The frames on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* and *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, **Plate 3**), both in the Tate, illustrate these two stages effectively. The current frame on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* was first exhibited in 1871 at the Dudley Gallery and may have been made by Fredrick Fox with decorations by Walter Greaves. Seven years after this show, in November 1878, Whistler staged a temporary display of his work at the Westminster Palace Hotel to coincide with his trial with the art critic John Ruskin. Merrill noted that the purpose of this show was 'to vindicate his position as an established, accomplished artist', and that 'he insisted on mounting a small retrospective for the jury'.⁵⁰ During the early morning hours before the trial began, Whistler's solicitor, James Anderson Rose, rented the rooms at the Westminster Palace Hotel,⁵¹ and Foord & Dickinson were hired to hang the paintings in these rooms and to transport the pictures to and from the hotel.⁵²

⁵⁰ Linda Merrill, *A pot of paint: aesthetics on trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, (Washington, D.C.: Freer Gallery of Art, 1992), p. 126.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 126.

⁵² Foord and Dickinson to James Whistler, [August 1878/1879], PWC, GUW 08944, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

In his opening statements, John Humffreys Parry, counsel for the plaintiff [Whistler], stated the reasons for forming this supplementary display of his client's art. In his address to the court he said:

I hope no attempt will be made to judge Mr. Whistler's style by the exhibition of any single picture held up in the court for purposes of ridicule. I would ask that a large number of Mr. Whistler's works be seen by the judge and jury so that an opportunity might be given for a full, fair, and proper criticism. Some of the paintings will be produced, but it would be impossible to exhibit the pictures properly in this court. A room has been engaged in the Westminster Palace Hotel, and all the plaintiff's pictures that could be procured have been arranged there.⁵³

During the trial, Whistler listed these works displayed for the jury. He stated:

The collection includes Mr. Carlyle's portrait and a picture of a young lady that was not exhibited in the Grosvenor Gallery. Besides those portraits, I have produced one other nocturne picture (...) The picture of Philip II, also exhibited at the Grosvenor last year, is a mere sketch, unfinished. There is another picture, a balcony scene entitled *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green*, which was exhibited at the Grosvenor this year; and another representing the seaside and sand, called *Harmony in Blue and Yellow*. ... The Carlyle was not offered for sale. ... *Nocturne in Black and Gold*, which has now been sent for, was the only picture at the Grosvenor for which I asked two hundred guineas and is therefore, I suppose, the picture referred to in the libel. ... My system of harmony and arrangement, to whatever criticism it may be open, is the object of a life's study.⁵⁴

From this list and considering the works shown as evidence during the course of the trial, it is possible to speculate that eight oil paintings were shown at the Westminster Palace Hotel.⁵⁵

Out of these works, Whistler may have reframed five in seigaiha-decorated Foord & Dickinson frames, such as that seen on the Tate's *Nocturne Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*.

The seigaiha pattern present on this frame is similar to that seen on *Nocturne, Blue and Silver*

⁵³ Merrill, *A pot of paint: aesthetics on trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, p. 140.

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 152.

⁵⁵ The Eight works shown at the Westminster Palace Hotel include: *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* (1871/2, Fogg YMSM 113, **Plate 28**), *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No.2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (YMSM 137, **Plate 11**), *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (YMSM 129, **Plate 12**), *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**), *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* (YMSM 64, **Plate 7**), *Arrangement in Brown*, (1877, Whereabouts Unknown, YMSM 182), *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1875, DIA, YMSM 170, **Plate 10**) and *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, **Plate 2**).

– *Chelsea*, and at first the two patterns appear to be identical. They both possess a pattern of overlapping waves, and each has a butterfly cartouche that interrupts this pattern – but stylistic differences exist. These differences may be the result of age or various treatments that the frames have received, but it is important to note the distinctions between the two patterns and acknowledge that they are in fact two very different designs. The seigaiha pattern on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* appears to have more depth than that seen on *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (figs. 5.16 & 5.17). This could be the result of re-



Fig. 5.16: Frame detail of *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, Plate 20), illustrating the first stage of Whistler's seigaiha pattern.

gilding, i.e. the frame may have received subsequent layers of gold and the painted pattern may have been reapplied to the surface. As a result, the pattern on the 1871 frame possesses a three-dimensional quality that is absent from the 1877 frame. In addition, the pattern has been applied to the surface of the frame differently. The brushstrokes on the 1871 frame are thickly applied, whereas those on the 1877 frame are thin and very delicate. Moreover, the colour of the applied pigment differs between the two frames. The earlier is decorated with a muddy greyish paint that appears to be fading in some areas, while the later frame is decorated with darker bluish-green paint.

The last difference between the seigaiha patterns concerns the fluidity of the decoration. The painted waves surrounding *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* are uniform and overlap at

Fig. 5.17: Frame detail of *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, Plate 3), illustrating the second stage of Whistler's seigaiha pattern.



exactly the same point, regardless of their position in the pattern. The painted waves on the later frame, *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Old Battersea Bridge*, move throughout the design, overlapping and meeting at varying points within the frieze. The wave pattern remains constant on the top and bottom rails of the frame. This same pattern can be seen on an empty Foord & Dickinson frame located at the Hunterian Art Gallery (c. 1877, **Plate 29**).⁵⁶

Perhaps the most significant indication that these two frames date from opposite ends of the decade is the varying styles of butterflies. The 1871 frame is signed with an early Whistler butterfly, similar to that seen upon the enclosed canvas (**fig. 5.18**). In comparison, the 1877 frame displays a later butterfly (**fig. 5.19**), similar to that seen on *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist* (1876-7, Met, YMSM 190, **Plate 30**, see **fig. 5.20**). From this comparison it is possible to conclude that the frame on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* represents the first stage in Whistler's development of the seigaiha



Fig. 5.18: Frame detail of *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, **Plate 20**), illustrating the butterfly signature.



Fig. 5.19: Frame detail of *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, **Plate 3**), illustrating the butterfly signature.

⁵⁶ It is uncertain what painting was once enclosed in this frame and why it has survived. Most likely it was in Whistler's studio at the time of his death and was given to the HAG as part of Rosalind Birnie Philip's gift to the University of Glasgow in 1935, or the bequest of 1958.

pattern, and that the frame on *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* represents the second.

Whistler's use of the seigaiha pattern may have been the result of it developing over time, but it could also have resulted from other factors, particularly his work and interest in interior decoration. By working in a medium different from



Fig. 5.20: Butterfly signature on *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl* – Connie Gilchrist (YMSM 190, Plate 30).

those typically used by painters, Whistler further developed his understanding of decorative surfaces. This can be seen especially in his work in the Peacock Room. F.R. Leyland had originally commissioned Thomas Jeckyll to design and decorate the dining room at his 49 Prince's Gate residence, but by the summer months of 1876, Thomas Jeckyll's health began to decline. Following the recommendations of Leyland in April of that year, Whistler took over the final decorations of the room.⁵⁷ Merrill described Whistler's first task in the room as:

completing parts of the room that Jeckyll had left undone – the ceiling, the shutters and doors, the canvas cornice and upper dado, and the walnut wainscoting – virtually everything, that is, *except* the leather [walls].⁵⁸

Whistler applied and further developed his seigaiha pattern in the cornice and the upper portion of the dado (see **Plate 16**). Once he had covered the doors and shelves with Dutch metal and treated the dado and cornice in the same fashion as Leyland's staircase, he wrote to Leyland saying, 'the wave pattern above and below – on the green gold – will alone be painted in blue – and this I shall come and do on Friday –without at all interfering with the pots or the leather'.⁵⁹ Merrill observed that this 'wave' pattern was already in the room and featured prominently in the decorations left by Jeckyll. It is seen on the serving-room door, where the leaded glass and brass fittings have been arranged in a series of bands that alternate between

⁵⁷ Susan Weber Soros & Catherine Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll: architect and designer, 1827-1881*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), p. 196.

⁵⁸ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 210.

⁵⁹ James Whistler to Frederick Richards Leyland, [9 August 1876], PWC 6B/21/11, GUW 08791, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

a circular seigaiha pattern and a geometric box-like pattern (fig. 5.21).⁶⁰ Jeckyll's wave design differs from that of Whistler's, in that it is a simplified version of the pattern. The waves consist of only one semi-circular line and do not include the smaller secondary lines.

Merrill also stated that:

Leyland may have sanctioned the idea in the belief that it would unify the decoration; for in revising Jeckyll's design, Whistler was also dismantling its aesthetic coherence. Jeckyll's wave pattern ... also happened to be the pattern that Whistler knew best. Indeed, his whole experience in pattern-making resided in his picture frames, which Walter Greaves was often employed to decorate with the wave or 'mackerel-back' pattern.⁶¹

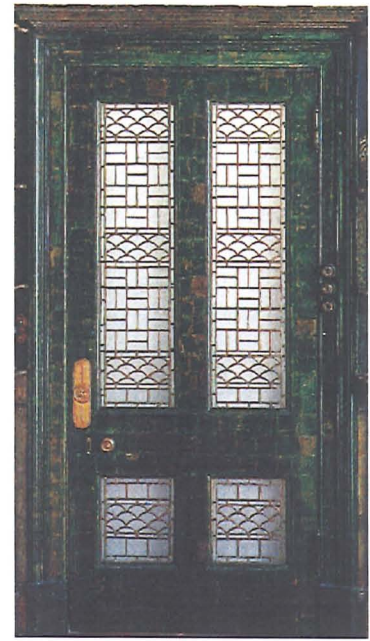


Fig. 5.21: The serving-room door for *The Peacock Room*, (designed by Thomas Jeckyll, FGA, 1875-76).

Leyland would have been familiar with Whistler's use of the seigaiha pattern. During the early 1870s, Whistler gave the painting *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* to Mrs. Leyland and wrote to Leyland in 1872 saying:

I want much to borrow Mrs. Leylands little "Nocturne." She says that she has no objection – so if you would kindly let John pack it in the case I took it to Speke in, and send it to me I should be very much obliged – with apologies for the trouble.⁶²

Leyland promptly replied, saying that he was sending the painting directly. Along with the *La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine*, this nocturne of Mrs. Leyland's was one of only two paintings by Whistler that the Leylands actually owned.⁶³ *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* (YMSM 113, **Plate 28**) was not exhibited until 1877, but it can be assumed since Whistler first began work on the canvas in 1871 that it was mounted in a frame similar to that on *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea*. Therefore, a similar frame decorated with the painted seigaiha may

⁶⁰ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 212 and Soros & Arbuthnott, *Thomas Jeckyll: architect and designer, 1827-1881*, p. 193.

⁶¹ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 212.

⁶² James Whistler to Frederick Richards Leyland, [2/9 November 1872], PWC 6B/21/3, GUW 08794, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶³ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 187.

have surrounded the canvas. Mrs. Leyland confirmed the presence of a seigaiha pattern in an interview with Elizabeth Pennell. On 26 October 1903, Elizabeth recorded Mrs. Leyland stating that:

It was her nocturne that was brought into court in the place of Mrs. Wyndham's, which she insists was the one Ruskin wrote about. Mrs. Wyndham was away, and hers was sent down from Speke Hall, and she was furious because it was taken into court without the frame, and the frame was painted by Whistler – with blue waves, carrying out and completing the design. It got so battered afterwards she had it gilded over. It hangs in her drawing room: a beautiful blue night, a great wide stretch of river, the factory chimneys and church tower of Battersea on the far shore, and in the foreground a spray of foliage and the Butterfly in the long narrow Japanese panel.⁶⁴

From this it can be assumed that in 1876, when Leyland approved the idea of Whistler painting the seigaiha pattern into the dado panels of the Peacock Room, he was already familiar with the design. Pennell commented that the frame was re-gilded following its presentation at the trial due to damage it had incurred during its display. While the frame may have received a new surface in 1878, the painting received a new frame in 1892 according to the following directions given by Whistler to D.C. Thomson: 'Mrs Leyland – Get her Nocturne so that no time may be lost – for cleaning varnishing & framing. My man Grau to frame & glaze it without referring the matter to Mrs L'.⁶⁵ Whether Mrs. Leyland's frame was replaced following the 1892 Goupil Gallery exhibition is uncertain, but it is possible that the painting was reframed at this time in a reeded Grau frame. It is currently surrounded by a reeded replica frame, which was made by M. Grieve framers of New York City during the early 20th century.⁶⁶

To illustrate a frame decorated with this wave or 'mackerel-back' pattern, Linda Merrill selected *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (YMSM 72, **Plate 13**). However, this selection is problematic due to the possibility that the seigaiha pattern was re-applied after the Goupil Gallery exhibition of 1892.⁶⁷ This does not provide an accurate and truthful representation of

⁶⁴ Pennell & Pennell, *The Whistler Journal*, p. 103.

⁶⁵ James Whistler to David Croal Thomson, 14 February 1892, PWC 3; G UW 08216, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶⁶ Grenville L. Winthrop gave the majority of the Whistler's at the Fogg Art Museum in 1943. It appears that in preparation for his bequest, or following their accession to the museum, that these paintings were given the identical replica Grieve-made frames.

⁶⁷ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; G UW 05740, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

the seigaiha pattern used by Whistler during the mid-1870s, but that seen on *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* does.

Upon comparing the wave pattern present on the upper dado panels of the Peacock Room and the seigaiha pattern on *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*, there seem to be few similarities. Linda Merrill observed that Whistler's dado decoration evolved into a completely new and unique design. She quoted Whistler's friend Edward Godwin, who commented that it was 'really neither more nor less than the scale or feather pattern drawn on gold in blue lines, with a blue touch in the middle of it', and she concluded that Whistler had invented a pattern that mimicked 'the markings of a peacock's plumage'.⁶⁸ Yet, the two designs possess the same strength of line and fluidity of design; movement is present in both. This may signify that Whistler's involvement in the Peacock Room, his growing interest in interior design, and his development in pattern making may have affected the patterns applied to the frieze of his picture frames. Before working on decorations for his residence at No. 2 Lindsey Row, and on Leyland's homes at 23 Queen's Gate and 49 Prince's Gate, the patterns on Whistler's early 1870s frames were stagnant and stiff. However, following his involvement in these interior schemes, the pattern of his frames altered and began to take on new life.

The frames Whistler created, painted and used during the late 1870s illustrate a significant shift in function. No longer did they serve to link the painting to specific environments; Whistler had returned to creating frames that served as extensions of the enclosed paintings. In the late 1870 frames, the two objects of painting and frame joined together to create a unique whole. Whistler confirmed this idea in the testimony he gave at his trial with John Ruskin. When *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge* was brought before the court, Sir John Holker, the counsel for the defendant, asked Whistler 'What is that peculiar dark mark on the frame?'⁶⁹ To this question, Whistler gave the following reply:

The blue colouring on the gilt frame is part of the scheme of the picture. The blue spot on the right side of the frame is my monogram, which I place on the frame as well as the canvas; it balances the picture. The frame and the picture

⁶⁸ Merrill, *The Peacock Room: A Cultural Biography*, p. 212.

⁶⁹ Merrill, *A pot of paint: aesthetics on trial in Whistler v. Ruskin*, p. 151, line 474.

together are a work of art.⁷⁰

Whistler may have begun and ended the decade with the seigaiha design, but during the course of the 1870s he experimented and placed several patterns onto the surface of his frames. Three designs are known, and these include those examined in the last two chapters: the basket-weave, the Maltese cross and the floral pattern, all of which possibly coincide with the interiors he created. Yet, following his time spent designing rooms and environments, at the end of the decade Whistler returned to creating and designing picture frames that served to extend his canvases. After his numerous experiments, he had discovered that the best pattern to achieve this function was the seigaiha design.

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 151, line 475-479.

6.0. Chapter Six

Gilders, Framers and Dealers: The 1880s Frame and the Dowdeswell Exhibitions

6.1. The Whistler Frame during the 1880s

At the end of the previous chapter, it was observed that James McNeill Whistler held the view that the frame and the painting formed a complete work of art. This was seen in his statements made during the trial with John Ruskin in 1878 and illustrated in the reframing of several nocturnes before they were brought before the jury. However, almost a decade later, in 1887, Whistler published very different views. In the article entitled 'A Further Proposition' from *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies*, Whistler stated:

The one aim of the unsuspecting painter is to make his man 'stand out' from the frame – never doubting that, on the contrary, he should really, and in truth absolutely does, stand *within* the frame – and at a depth behind it equal to the distance at which the painter sees his model. The frame is, indeed, the window through which the painter looks at his model, and nothing could be more offensively inartistic than this brutal attempt to thrust the model on the hitherside of this window!¹

In this statement Whistler outlined a very different perception of the picture frame. No longer did the two objects of painting and frame create a complete work of art or link the image to the surrounding environment. Instead, the frame had taken on the role of a separator, dividing the image from the outside world. This shift represents the last stage in Whistler's frame development.

Before examining these frames, it is necessary to explore those used by Whistler between

¹ James McNeill Whistler, 'A Further Proposition', in *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* (London: William Heinemann, 1890), p. 177-178, first published in *The Art Journal*, 1887.

1878 and 1888. During this time, four different stages in Whistler's frame development can be identified. Each coincides with the production or staging of an exhibition and occurs in the following sequence:

- the first use of the 1880s frame at *Mr. Whistler's 'Venice Pastels'* at the Fine Art Society [FAS] in February 1881;
- the first use of the white etching frame at *Arrangement in Yellow and White* at the FAS in 1883;
- the $5\frac{9}{16}$ inch frame at the Dowdeswell exhibitions in 1884 and 1886; and
- the use of the Grau-made frame during the reframing campaign of 1888.

This chapter explores the stylistic and physical attributes of the 1880s frames, the roles that they played in their coinciding exhibitions, how they reflected the artist's changing perceptions of the frame's function, and how they further illustrate Whistler's ever-changing interest in frame design.

6.2. The 1881 Venice Pastel Frame

Thomas R. Way was perhaps the first to examine how the frame functioned within Whistler's artwork. In 1903, with G.R. Dennis, he wrote the following observations of Whistler's 'fine decorative instincts':

He was never content with the stock patterns of the frame-maker, but designed his own mouldings, and, in the case of his earlier works, even went so far as to paint a kind of Japanese pattern on the surface of the gold, using one of the dominant colours of the pictures it inclosed. [sic] All his frames are extremely simple in style, and it is interesting to trace through the years the changes which he developed, not only in the mouldings, which were mostly arrangements of fine reeds, but in the colour of the gold used. With the idea ever in his mind that a picture must first of all be a perfect piece of decoration on the wall, it was only natural that he should have considered the frame – which is the means of isolating the picture from its surroundings – as an integral part of the whole.²

In this description, Way and Dennis attempted to categorise Whistler's frames, claiming that they were stylistically simple decorative art objects. Furthermore, Way and Dennis identified two types of Whistler frames. The first dated from the 1870s and was characterised as

² T R. Way & G. R. Dennis, *The Art of James McNeill Whistler: An Appreciation*, (London: George Bell and Sons, 1903), p. 103-104.

possessing painted Japanese patterns. The second group was identified according to variations in tone and colour of the frame's surface rather than any alteration in design or profile. Both groups were interpreted as being created as a means of isolation and as an extension of the enclosed image.

Way expanded these observations in 1912 in his book, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler the Artist*:

It is interesting, I think, to remember his [Whistler's] treatment of frames. From the first he was original in them, and always considered that they formed part of the whole scheme of the picture, hence the colour of the frame was of vital consequence.³

Way provided further insight into the stylistic progression of Whistler's frames, identifying three different frame types:

At the period of the 'Little White Girl' he used a nearly flat moulded frame, with an incised pattern of a Japanese character all over it, and painted certain of the flowers with colour to harmonise with the pictures, upon the simple gold. Later on he designed a reeded wooden frame, which has a broad flat in its centre, and he painted a Japanese design upon it, often putting his signature there too. The frame of the Tate Gallery picture of the fireworks under old Battersea Bridge is an example, but he also used several colours of gold – red, pale and green, the last-named especially for nocturnes and pictures where blue was the dominant colour.⁴

These classifications perfectly describe the first two groups present in Whistler's frame development and provide an accurate introduction to the third. The first type describes

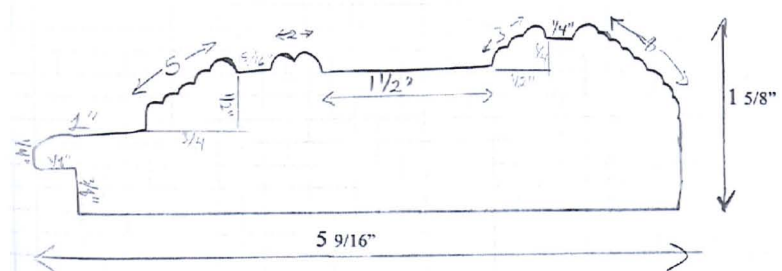


Fig. 6.1: Profile drawing for *Grand Canal, Amsterdam* (M.944, Plate 31).









the Oriental frames of 1864; the second is the painted cassetta frames of the 1870s; and the third is seen surrounding the small oils, watercolours and pastels produced during the 1880s.

³ T. R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler the Artist*, (London: John Lane: The Bodley Head, 1912), p. 54.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 54-55.

The profiles of the 1870s and 1880s frames are similar. This can be seen by comparing the frames on *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (YMSM 122, **Plate 19**, see **fig. 4.1**) and *Grand Canal, Amsterdam* (1883, FGA, M. 944, **Plate 31**, see **fig. 6.1**). The profile for both frames follows the pattern outlined by the cassetta frame; a wide frieze is sandwiched between the inner and outer edges of reeded mouldings. The noticeable difference between the 1870s and 1880s frames is that the frieze of the 1880s frame has remained unadorned. Whistler seems to have abandoned both the basket-weave and the seigaiha patterns developed during the previous decade and is credited by Way as altering the surface tone of the frames by applying varying colours of gold.

COLOUR CHART FOR GOLD LEAF

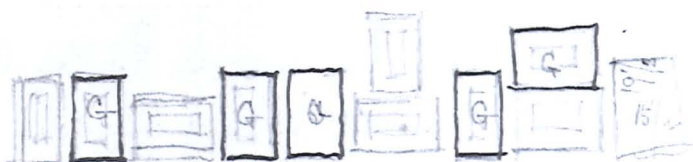
			
22CT. REGULAR (WG.)	22CT. DOUBLE DEEP (WG.)	22½CT. DEEP DARK (WG.)	23¼CT. SPECIALLY SELECTED (WG.)
			
23½CT. ROSENOBLE (WG.)	18CT. LEMON (WG.)	16CT. GREEN (WG.)	12CT. WHITE (WG.)

To achieve the various gilded surfaces, it is possible that the karat of gold used was altered. As a general rule, the lower the karat the paler the gold will be (**fig. 6.2**). For instance, 18k gold produces a greenish gold, while 23k gold has a reddish tone. Another method of altering the tone of the frame's surface is by changing the bole colour. In the process of water gilding, the wooden frame structure is covered with a white gesso, upon which a fine layer of clay bole is applied. The gold leaf adheres to this layer. A frame's bole can vary in colour, ranging from red, orange and yellow to grey or black, and it can often add a distinctive tint to the overall frame surface, especially when burnished. However, the noticeable appearance of the oak grain on Whistler's 1880s frame indicates that these frames are oil gilded, not water gilded. Oil gilding differs from water gilding in that the gold leaf adheres directly to the wooden carcass of the frame via an oil size without the need for intermediate layers of gesso and bole. Therefore, the different tints must be due to varying the type of karat. Another possibility is that casein pigments or tones were used to add the distinctive 'red, pale and green' surfaces observed by T.R. Way.

These multi-coloured gold frames were first used in 1881 at the exhibition of Whistler's Venice pastels at the Fine Art Society. Shortly after the trial with John Ruskin, Whistler was declared insolvent on 8 May 1879, and he was forced to sell his newly built home, the White House, and auction off his porcelain collection as well as several of his canvases, etchings and drawings. In order to rebuild his reputation and fortune, Whistler set off for Venice with a commission from the FAS to produce a dozen etchings. In December 1880 these were shown to mixed reviews. Robert Getscher speculated that 'this critical indifference could well have been one of the major influences in the design of the exhibition of the Venetian pastels ... Whistler wanted to be noticed'.⁵

A month after the etchings debuted, Whistler mounted a larger exhibition at the Fine Arts Society that consisted of fifty pastels produced during his eighteen-month stay in Venice. For this display, Whistler paid close attention to the hanging and presentation of the delicate works. The design for the room is reminiscent of the interiors created seven years earlier for the exhibition at the Flemish Gallery. E. W. Godwin described the room as having decorations all attributed to 'Mr. Whistler'. He wrote that the room consisted of 'a low skirting board of yellow gold, then a high dado of dull yellow green cloth, then a moulding of green gold, and then a frieze and ceiling of pale reddish brown'.⁶ He continued and described that 'most of the frames and mounts are of rich yellow gold, but a dozen out of the fifty-three are in green gold, dotted about with a vie to decoration, and eminently successful in attaining it'.⁷ In his catalogue, Godwin made rough sketches illustrating one of the walls at the exhibition (fig. 6.3). He also included notes regarding the colour of the walls, as well as how the works were hung. From eleven works recorded, five have the letter 'G' written into the sketch. These G's may indicate that the noted frame could have been one of the 'dozen' green-gold coloured frames.

Fig. 6.3: Godwin sketch of Venice Pastels show (London: Fine Art Society, 1881), GUL.



⁵ Robert H. Getscher, 'Whistler in Venice' (PhD, Case Western Reserve University, 1970), p. 169.

⁶ E. W. Godwin, *British Architect*, (4 February 1881); GUL PC 4/37, AAA roll number 4687, frame 350, (accessed, 6 February 2007).

⁷ E. W. Godwin, *British Architect*, (4 February 1881); GUL PC 4/37, AAA roll number 4687, frame 350, (accessed, 6 February 2007).

However, five out of eleven is a high ratio, one that would indicate the presence of a larger number of green-gold frames, and a larger number would negate Godwin's observation that the frames were 'dotted' around the room. Regardless of the meaning of the G, a significant number of reviews commented on these twelve greenish-gold frames. The press-cutting books compiled by Whistler, which are now at the University of Glasgow, contain six reviews that make reference to the gilding of the frames.

The review in the *Country Gentleman* recorded that:

fifty-three Venice Pastels are displayed in a cunning arrangement of his [Whistler's] own – a marvellous study of room decoration. There is a tall dado of golden olive in cloth, about nine feet, with a moulding above of citron gold and beneath of guinea gold, surmounted with a frieze of Venetian red and cornice of ruby gold. A subtle medium for the display of his gems. The stimulating effect of the pictures, in their frames and moulding of the three golds employed in the moulding, upon the reparative shade of the cloth is complete.⁸

The art critic for *The World* wrote that:

Mr. Whistler has further indulged his fancy in the choice of the 'tone' of his gilded frames, favouring now 'old gold', and not gold of almost a silvery complexion, to suit the scheme of colour adopted in his pictures.⁹

He continued, warning Whistler that 'there is a danger sometimes of the picture being forgotten because of the eccentric glories of its environment'.¹⁰

Due to the attention given to the exhibition design and the frames used, they must have been dazzlingly different from those of his peers. Way observed that:

In the Venice pastels the variation of colours was very notable. I was so much interested in this exhibition that I made a thumb-note of the composition of each of the fifty-three subjects, noting the colour of gold used for each frame, and, in addition made colour notes of a few – as a record and means of identification.¹¹

⁸ *Country Gentleman*, (London, 5 February 1881); GUL PC4/47, AAA roll number 4687, frame 360, (accessed, 6 February 2007).

⁹ 'Fine Arts: Mr. Whistler's "Venice Pastels"', *The World*, (London, 2 February 1881); GUL PC4, page 49, AAA roll number 4687, frame 362, (accessed, 6 February 2007).

¹⁰ 'Fine Arts: Mr. Whistler's "Venice Pastels"', *The World*, (London, 2 February 1881); GUL PC4, page 49, AAA roll number 4687, frame 362, (accessed, 6 February 2007).

¹¹ Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler the Artist*, p. 55.

While Way's miniature reproductions of these pastels are illustrated in his *Memories*, the notes regarding the colour of gold that surrounded these images is not. The actual profile and design for these frames also remains unknown, and it is uncertain if any have survived.¹² Nonetheless, the multi-coloured frames from the Fine Arts Society show of 1881 were the first produced for Whistler during the 1880s.

In a letter to his sister-in-law, Whistler provided evidence for the initial inception of these frames. In March 1880, he wrote from Venice declaring:

I shall be all jolly again. Huish is preparing fifty frames! for the pastels which are, and remain even in my present depression, lovely! Just think fifty – complete beauties! – and something so new in Art that every body's mouth will I feel pretty soon water.¹³

The framing of these pastels presented Whistler with a new situation. Previously, it appears that he would frame his paintings only when the need arose, but in this instance Whistler ordered the production of a large number of frames. All the while, he maintained the view that the frame and the image together created a complete work of art. This is seen in the excitement he expressed to his sister-in-law. Whistler wrote of the joy that everyone, including himself, would receive upon the creation of fifty 'complete beauties'. In this statement, Whistler revealed that the pastels he produced in Venice would finally reach completion once they were framed. Therefore, this letter illustrates that during the early 1880s, Whistler still upheld the idea that the two objects – frame and image – formed a complete work of art.

Marcus Bourne Huish, director of the FAS and Whistler's contact while in Venice, received his request for the fifty frames. It is interesting to note that no discussion seems to have transpired or has survived between Whistler and Huish regarding the gilding or design of these fifty frames. At this early stage, it appears that Whistler may not have asked for the dozen green-

¹² Dr. Kenneth John Myers, formally of the Freer Gallery of Art, claimed to have discovered two frames that date from this 1881 exhibition, however, it will be discussed (in Chapter 6 & 7) that these frames may have been made or resurfaced seven years later in 1888, following Whistler's statements in 1887.

¹³ James Whistler to Helen Euphrosyne Whistler, [20 February/March 1880], GUL MS Whistler W684; GUW 06690, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

gold frames. Nonetheless, these frames were ordered while Whistler was still in Venice, and on his return to London the Fine Arts Society charged him for the production costs. On 21 December 1880, Huish wrote to Whistler outlining the financial affairs that existed between Whistler and the FAS. He declared that he would send Whistler a cheque 'to complete the payment of the Venice Plates' and called Whistler's attention to the fact that:

You will see that we have not charged you for interest, rent of "atelier" as the lady calls it, or any thing save the actual money advanced and the amount due to us for the 51 frames.¹⁴

Huish failed to provide any details on how much these frames cost or who made them. It is possible that he employed one of the last framers used by Whistler before he travelled to Venice. If so, it is likely that Foord & Dickinson or Henry John Murcott would have made these frames.

As seen in the previous chapters, Foord & Dickinson were popular amongst Whistler and his contemporaries. The first reference to them by Whistler was in 1871 in his letter to Walter Greaves regarding the framing of *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, **Plate 20**). Whistler employed Foord & Dickinson throughout the 1870s, and they are listed amongst his creditors in 1879 – James Anderson Rose, Whistler's solicitor, listed them as being owed £86.6.3 for 'goods and work done'.¹⁵ Additionally, in September 1881, Whistler referred to a 'Messrs Dickinson' in a letter to Henry Greaves.¹⁶ From this letter, it can be assumed that at the beginning of the 1880s Foord & Dickinson were still making frames and working for Whistler.

The second frame-maker that Huish could have hired to produce the fifty pastel frames is John Henry Murcott, who may have first worked for Whistler in 1878. In a letter written to Murcott

¹⁴ Marcus Bourne Huish to James Whistler, 21 December 1880, GUL MS Whistler F50; GUW 01119, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁵ [James Anderson Rose?] to The London Bankruptcy Court, 7 May 1879, FGA Whistler 304; GUW 11711, (accessed, 27 July 2007), and James Anderson Rose to [unknown], [May 1879?], PWC LC5/514-20; GUW 11926, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁶ James Whistler to Henry Graves, 4 September 1881, Houghton Library, Harvard University f MS A 1412; GUW 10915, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

on 4 February 1878, Whistler wrote with an air of familiarity, civility, and significant detail:

Dear Sir – / I want you to make me at once another frame like the last two – also a stretcher – The stretcher to measure 2. ft ½ inch or 24½ inches by 1” 5½ inches or 17½ in / The frame will be made to fit the stretcher – So that the sight measurement would be about twenty four inches by seventeen inches – Please remember this time that second moulding you missed before – also let the inside flats be of the same oak as the rest of the frame – (and not stucco preparation) also let there be a glass - and have the pale green gold – and especially let me have the stretcher here at once – tomorrow evening – or say Thursday morning at about 10:30 – and the frame by next tuesday – evening – and oblige.¹⁷

In this letter, Whistler specified the size, profile, wood, and gilding necessary to create this frame, illustrating that he was interested and engaged with the design and creation of his frames as well as the specific type of gold to be used.

Whistler’s working relationship with Murcott continued, as seen in another letter written during the preparations for the Grosvenor Gallery Summer Exhibition of 1879:

Mr Murcott – / Dear Sir – / I want a large frame regilded and should [sic] it might be easily done here – instead of bothering about removing the frame and bringing it back in a van – If you can manage this, please send down a gilder the first thing tomorrow morning – Let him bring very yellow gold - not at all red – and plenty of it – for the frame is at least 7 feet long – Of course he would bring whatever he might want in the way of washes to clean the frame – and perhaps he might have to scrape it.¹⁸

Again, Whistler provided his frame-maker with intricate details. On this occasion, the canvas Whistler may have needed reframed was *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist* (YMSM 190, **Plate 30**), the largest work of Whistler’s shown at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1879. While no explanation was given regarding Whistler’s motivation for the re-gilding, he stipulated the exact colour of gold he desired for the frame’s new surface.

In this letter, Whistler also asked Murcott to:

¹⁷ James Whistler to Henry John Murcott, 4 February 1878, GUL MS Whistler M504; GUW 04234, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁸ James Whistler to Henry John Murcott, [31 March 1879?], GUL MS Whistler M503; GUW 04233, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

knock me up a large frame in 10 days - for the Grosvenor? - no matter how roughly - always the same pattern - if so let your man come tomorrow morning by 10 o'clock - and take the measure - necessary.¹⁹

Again, Whistler's informality suggests a high level of familiarity with Murcott. He asked that a new frame be made within two weeks, in the same pattern. This indicates that Murcott produced more frames for Whistler than the three from the first letter. Whistler exhibited several portraits and nocturnes at the 1879 Grosvenor Gallery summer exhibition; due to the implied size of the frame needed, it is possible he was seeking a frame for *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* (1876, Frick, YMSM 203, **Plate 32**).²⁰ Given the level of interaction between Whistler and Murcott prior to Whistler's move to Venice, as well as the detailed discussions regarding the frame's profile, colour of the gilded surface, type of wood used, and the mention of a known 'pattern', it is likely that Huish would turn to Murcott when faced with the prospect of ordering fifty frames for Whistler's new pastels. Huish could trust Murcott to decide on the details omitted by Whistler in his correspondence.

These fifty frames were waiting for Whistler upon his return to London in November 1880, and it would seem that he had little control over the manufacture and production of the dozen 'green-gold' frames that were considered so noteworthy by the London art world. As stated earlier, no written record chronicles any discussions between Huish and Whistler over the details of the profile and gilding of these fifty frames. Therefore, it could be possible that this first group of 1880s frames was the result a 'happy accident'. The dozen green-gold frames could have resulted from the frame-maker gilding thirty-eight frames in one karat of gold leaf only to run out and thus having to gild the remaining twelve with a different karat of gold. Furthermore, the profile could have resulted from modifications made by the frame-maker (Murcott) on the last pattern Whistler used before leaving for Venice. These situations may be unlikely, but if they did occur, the insights from the letters transcribed above suggest that Murcott would very likely have been able to discern the type of frame and gold leaf Whistler required.

¹⁹ James Whistler to Henry John Murcott, [31 March 1879?], GUL MS Whistler M503; GUW 04233, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²⁰ This frame is not the one seen on the painting today. The 1879 Murcott frame is now missing.

Regardless of who made these frames, and whether Whistler provided any input from Venice regarding their profile, design and colour, when he returned to London he did choose which pastel would be enclosed in which frame. Whistler had complete control of the exhibition space at the FAS. As observed in Getscher's statements, Whistler's display of the Venice Etchings at the FAS in December 1880 was not the success he might have hoped for. Perhaps for his second attempt at re-establishing his position in the London art world, Whistler decided to create an environment similar to his first solo exhibition of 1874. By colouring the walls, as observed in the reviews mentioned earlier, and arranging the fifty-three pastels in a manner with the twelve green-gold frames enhancing the decorative quality of the room, Whistler created an environment that complemented his 'complete beauties'. Whatever motivated him to design the *Venice Pastels* show of 1881, the three aspects of frame, image and environment worked together to showcase his artwork to its best advantage. As a result, the frame took on characteristics seen at the Flemish Gallery in 1874; not only did it serve to complement the framed image, it also became an appealing decorative art object hanging in a gallery demanding that the viewer take notice of it as a *Whistlerian* creation.

6.3. The 1883 Etching Frame

Whistler continued to develop the technique and method of display used at the FAS's *Venice Pastels* show of 1881. For his third and last exhibition staged at the FAS, Whistler mounted another display of etchings and drypoints, most of them produced while in Venice. In February 1883, Whistler's *Arrangement in White and Yellow*, the second exhibition of etchings opened at the FAS. Once again, he transformed the exhibition rooms so that everything reflected the two colours of the title. In a letter from 5 February 1883, Whistler wrote to his friend, Thomas Waldo Story expressing his excitement regarding the show: 'I have won my battle and am on good terms with the Fine Art Society - having it all my own way of course - hurrah!'²¹ He celebrated his victory and described the newly decorated rooms to his friend:

I can't tell you how perfect – though you would instinctively know that there

²¹ James Whistler to Thomas Waldo Story, [5 February 1883], The Pierpont Morgan Library MAH 244; GUW 09430, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

isn't a detail forgotten – Sparkling and dainty – dainty to a degree my dear Waldino – and all so sharp – White walls – of different whites – with yellow painted mouldings – not gilded! – Yellow velvet curtains – pale yellow matting – Yellow sofas and little chairs – lovely little table yellow – own design – with yellow pot and Tiger lilly [sic]! Forty odd superb etchings round the white walls in their exquisite white frames – with their little butterflies – large White butterfly on yellow curtain – and Yellow butterfly on white wall – and finally servant in yellow livery (!) handing Catalogue in brown paper cover same size as Ruskin pamphlet!!! And such a catalogue! – The last inspiration! – Sublime simply – Never such a thing thought of – ... The whole thing is a joy – and indeed a masterpiece of Mischief!²²

In this letter, Whistler provided written documentation of his white etching frames. It is possible that Whistler used these white frames in 1880 at the FAS show; however, due to the amount of attention given to the planning and design of *Arrangement in Yellow and White*, it seems more likely that they were first created for this show.

Some scholars believe that Whistler's use of white frames followed the example set for him by the French Impressionists. As observed in Chapter 3, Ira Horowitz credited Edgar Degas as one of Whistler's many influences, referencing Louisine W. Havemeyer's memoirs of Degas to illustrate the French artist's interest in frame designs. In her book, *Sixteen to Sixty*, Mrs. Havemeyer recalled purchasing the pastel *Répétition de Ballet* from Degas when she was sixteen (1871).²³ She further recounted that the pastel was most 'appropriately framed by Degas in a soft dull gray and green which harmonized' with aspects of the painted composition.²⁴ She continued, saying, 'Degas once told me he considered it an artist's duty to see his pictures properly framed, that he wished the frame to harmonize and to support his pictures and not to crush them as an elaborate gold frame would do'.²⁵ These statements suggest that Whistler and Degas may have used the frame for a similar purpose to suggest a surround that harmonised and enhanced the image.

Isabelle Cahn, however, credits this harmonisation to the painting and not the frame. In her

²² James Whistler to Thomas Waldo Story, [5 February 1883], The Pierpont Morgan Library MAH 244; GUW 09430, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²³ Louisine W. Havemeyer, *Sixteen to Sixty: Memoirs of a Collector*, 2nd ed. (New York: Ursus Press, 1993), p. 249.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

discussion of Degas' frames she observed that the 'choice of coloured frames was evidently linked to the power of colour and the new function of painting. The picture was no longer considered as a "window on the world" but as a coloured harmony on a flat surface.'²⁶ Even before Whistler began to alter the colour of the gilded surface of his frames, his communications with George Lucas in 1873 addressed the question of whether his French colleagues originated certain framing practices:

I wish this to be also clearly stated in Paris that I am the inventor of all this kind of decoration in colour in the frames; that I may not have a lot of clever little Frenchmen trespassing on my ground.²⁷

In Chapter 1, Cahn's catalogue entry for *In Perfect Harmony: Painting + Frame* was examined as a useful illustration of observing how a shift in frame function could be noticed within a shift in frame design. Cahn outlined three different types of frames used by Degas and observed how the frame function progressed from being a 'window' to being an 'extension' of the image. She explained that in order to accommodate this shift in function, the profile of Degas's frames grew shallower. This can be seen in the 'striped roll frame', the second type of Degas frame to be identified by Cahn.²⁸ This frame also provided another similarity that has been pointed out between the frames of Degas and Whistler, namely the use of the reeded ornament. However, the sketches from Degas's books for this type of frame suggest that he was experimenting with the shape of the 'serrated line' and not the rounded reeded moulding (see **figs. 1.11 & 6.1**). As a result, his designs tend to reflect a fluted pattern rather than the rounded reeding so often seen in Whistler's frames. While similarities appear to exist between the colouring and the ornamentation of the frames used by Whistler and Degas, the two artists were not mimicking each other's designs. During the late 1870s and early 1880s, it appears that the two maintained the same understanding that the frame should harmonise with the enclosed image. To achieve this, both of them coloured the frames. As for the ornament, the two patterns appear to be similar upon first examination, but one is reeded while the other is fluted. Therefore, Degas and Whistler were actually employing radically different means of

²⁶ Isabelle Cahn, 'Degas's Frames', *The Burlington Magazine* 131, no. 1033 (1989), p. 289.

²⁷ James Whistler to George Lucas, [18 January 1873], Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore MD; GUW 09182.

²⁸ Isabelle Cahn, 'Edgar Degas: Gold or Colour', in *In Perfect Harmony: Picture + Frame, 1850-1920*, ed. Eva Mendgen (Zwolle: Waanders Uitgevers, 1995), p. 131.

decoration.

Camille Pissarro was another French Impressionist who often used white frames to surround his paintings. In February 1883, Pissarro received a written description of Whistler's *Arrangement in Yellow and White* from his son, Lucien, who was then living in London. In response, Pissarro expressed a regret for having not seen the show:

I would have liked to have been there as much for the fine drypoints as for the setting, which for Whistler has so much importance; he is even a bit too *pretentious* for me, aside from this I should say that for the room white and yellow is a charming combination.²⁹

He then stated that:

The fact is that we ourselves made the first experiments with colors: the room in which I showed was lilac, bordered with canary yellow. But we poor little rejected painters lack the means to carry out our concepts of decoration. As for urging Durand-Ruel to hold an exhibition in a hall decorated by us, it would, I think, be wasted breath. You saw how I fought with him for white frames, and finally I had to abandon the idea.³⁰

Robin Spencer speculated that Pissarro's mention of the lilac walls were made in reference to the fifth Impressionist exhibition of 1880, where 'he showed several prints mounted on yellow paper and framed in lilac or purple'.³¹ In his comments, Pissarro revealed his frustrations with the Impressionists' art dealer and promoter, Durand-Ruel, and described the difficulty involved in the designing of a room that harmonised with the displayed artwork. Thus he suggests either 'pretentiousness' on Whistler's part or an exceptional relationship existing between Whistler and Huish, so that the FAS would let an artist overrun their exhibition halls.

Ira Horowitz first described Whistler's white etching frame as being 'square in section, without ornamentation. These frames look as if they were composed solely of narrow strips of molding'.³² He then referenced the review 'Mr. Whistler's Etchings' from *The Building News* as saying

²⁹ Camille Pissarro, *Camille Pissarro: Letters to his son Lucien*, ed. John Rewald, 4th ed. (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 22.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 22-23.

³¹ Robin Spencer, ed., *Whistler: A Retrospective*, (New York: Wings Books, 1991), p. 198.

³² Ira Horowitz, 'Whistler's Frames', *The Art Journal* 39, no. 2 (1979/1980), p. 130.

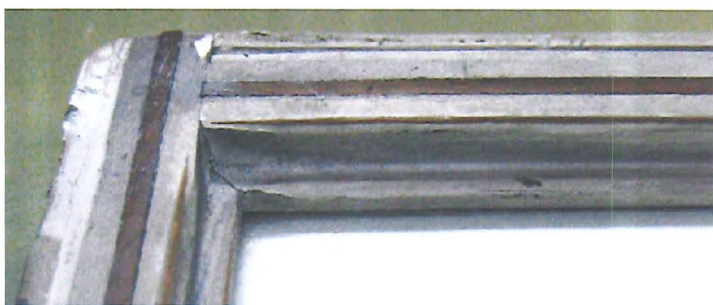


Fig. 6.4: Frame detail of *Yellow House, Lannion* (C. 67, **Plate 33**) illustrating the wooden veneer.

that: 'The frames are white, plain, square in section, with two brown lines as their only relief.'³³ However, a review from the New York showing of *Arrangement in Yellow and White* at H. Wunderlich & Co., in October 1883, documented that the etchings were 'mounted on their wide white cards and framed in white painted wood, scarcely relieved by slender stripes of black'.³⁴ From these conflicting accounts, it is difficult to determine whether Whistler's white frames were coloured with brown or black lines. Similarly, it is uncertain from these written descriptions if these lines were painted or wood veneer. A frame of this description can be found in the collection at the Hunterian Art Gallery on the lithograph *Yellow House, Lannion* (1893, HAG, C. 67, **Plate 33**). It has a squared profile, with a moulding depth of $\frac{5}{8}$ of an inch (1.59cm) and a width of 1 inch (2.54cm). The surface is white and appears to have been covered with a layer of fine gesso that was left ungilded, thus exposing a smooth polished surface. The top moulding measures $\frac{1}{2}$ inch (1.27cm) and is embellished with two small sections of brown veneer each measuring $\frac{1}{16}$ of an inch (.16cm) in width (**fig. 6.4**). The date of this frame remains uncertain, as does its classification as an etching frame. Located on the lithograph's backboard is a label from Deprez and Gutekunst, print dealers who are recorded as having sold a 'Yellow and Green House' in the early months of 1894 (**fig. 6.5**).³⁵ Therefore, from the

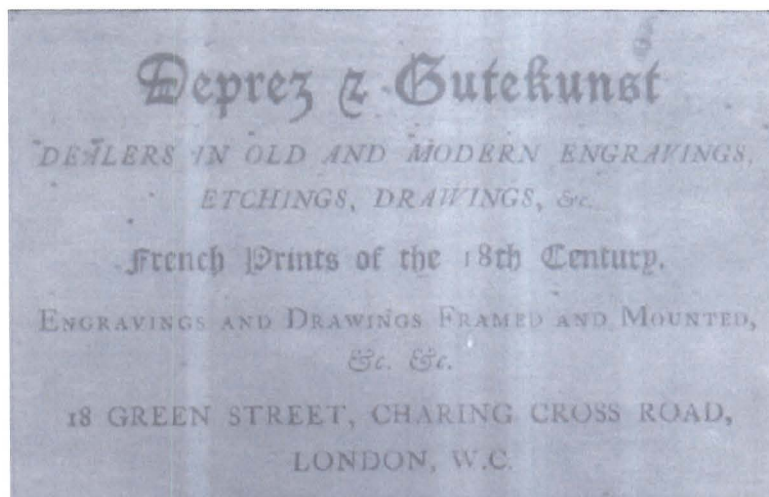


Fig. 6.5: Frame detail of *Yellow House, Lannion* (C. 67, **Plate 33**) illustrating the Deprez & Gutekunst on the verso.

³³ Ibid., citing, 'Mr. Whistler's Etchings', *The Building News*, XLIV, (1883), p. 622.

³⁴ 'Art Babble', *New York Daily News*, (4 October 1883); GUL PC3/75, (accessed, 7 February 2007).

³⁵ James Whistler to Deprez and Gutekunst, 5 February 1894, GUL MS Whistler LB 1/329/1; GUW 02704, (accessed, 17 July 2007).

date of the print and the label on the frame's verso, it is possible that this frame dates from 1893/4, and it may in fact be an example of an 1890s lithograph frame, not an 1880s' etching frame. The Hunterian Art Gallery also possesses another white Whistler frame (fig. 6.6). This empty frame appears to follow after the design sketched by Whistler during the late 1880s, and it also consists of an undecorated gesso surface with lines of black veneer (fig. 6.7).³⁶

The white frames made for *Arrangement in White and Yellow* may have been produced by the frame-maker William R. Wheatley. Whistler's first reference made to Wheatley occurred in a letter to Thomas Waldo Story in December 1882, when he wrote that Wheatley had packed a large case that was sent to Story in Rome.³⁷ It is unclear as to which Wheatley Whistler was referring.

In the 1881 census, William Morter Wheatley is listed as being aged 43, with the occupation of gold-beater. The eldest of his ten children was a William R. Wheatley who was 19 at the time. *The Times* obituary for William Morter Wheatley, published in 1926, documented that he had worked as a gold-beater early in his career and had passed this business on to his eldest son 'fifty years' previously.³⁸ If those dates are correct, William Morter Wheatley would have left the business to his fourteen-year-old son,

William R., and this seems improbable. The younger Wheatley took over the family business, as indicated in the 1901 census where he is listed as being a gold-beater.³⁹ The actual date of the transfer of ownership is uncertain. In 1883, William R. would have been 21, and while



Fig. 6.6: Frame detail of an empty etching frame (c. 1887/1888, HAG).

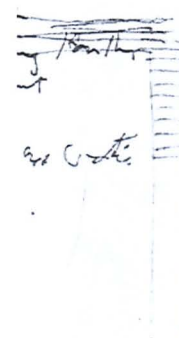


Fig. 6.7: Design for a frame (c. 1887/1888, GUL, pencil on cream laid paper, M. 1167).

³⁶ This frame is in very poor condition and black marker has been applied to fill in gaps where the veneer has gone missing.

³⁷ James Whistler to Thomas Waldo Story, [December 1882], Institute Neerlandais, Paris, Document J1692; GUW 09434, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³⁸ 'Mr. William Wheatley,' *The Times*, (London: 18 February 1926); *The Times Digital Archive*, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³⁹ 1881 and 1901 census' (accessed, 10 March 2007), via www.ancestry.com.

that still is young, he might have been the Wheatley who produced the frames for Whistler's *Arrangement in White and Yellow*. Perhaps it was Wheatley's youth that appealed to Whistler, as this may have contributed to the 'cheap' rates at which Wheatley produced the mounts he required.⁴⁰

Wheatley may also have produced the gold leaf and the frames used for the 1881 *Venice Pastels* show at the FAS. In an undated letter from Whistler to Frances Elizabeth H.B. Creyke, Whistler wrote: 'I send you my man - he brings you this and will tell you all about the Golds, and better still make you the mounts quite as cheaply and with more understanding than anyone else'.⁴¹ As the letter shows, Whistler sent Wheatley directly to a patron to pass on his knowledge of gold. These statements made by Whistler, along with the census entries, confirm the fact that the Wheatleys were a family of gold-beaters. Therefore, it could be possible that the Wheatleys produced the gold leaf that contributed to the different tones of gold observed in 1881.

6.4. The Dowdeswell Frames of 1884 and 1886

A year later, in 1884, the first collaboration between Whistler and the Dowdeswell Gallery took place. The title printed on the catalogue for this show was "*Notes*" – "*Harmonies*" – "*Nocturnes*", but Whistler also gave it the title *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey*. As with the 1881 *Venice Pastels* and the 1883 *Arrangement in Yellow and White*, Whistler continued to develop his interest in exhibition design and the interactions that existed between the frame, image and showroom. For the Dowdeswell 1884 *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey*, Whistler again coloured the walls and decorated the rooms to harmonise with the works displayed.⁴² Whistler's designs began to take on a life of their own. The floors were covered with coloured matting and the walls painted in horizontal bands of colour. Dr. Kenneth Myers

⁴⁰ James Whistler to Francis Elizabeth H. B. Creyke, [1882/1884?], Published; GUW 11545, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴¹ James Whistler to Francis Elizabeth H. B. Creyke, [1882/1884?], Published; GUW 11545, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴² Letters, James Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, [1/14 May 1884?], Library of Congress LC7/081-82; GUW 08635, (accessed, 27 July 2007), and James Whistler to Mortimer Menpes, [1/14 May 1884?], Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, University of Texas at Austin, PWC014/1225; GUW 10020, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

recounted that the room had walls covered with a textured cloth that was ‘variously described as “pink”, “salmon”, and a “delicate rose-tint”’.⁴³ Myers compared the possible effects of the room to those observed in the background of Whistler’s *Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux* (1881-82, Frick, YMSM 229, **Plate 34**). The reviewer for *The Academy* observed that:

[Whistler] has taught us to look for temporary entertainment, as he had taught us to look likewise for abiding pleasure on the occasion when he makes display of his art. A gallery does not suffice for Mr. Whistler. He needs a stage. The thing must be done in his own way if it is done at all.⁴⁴

For Whistler the entire room took on and possessed his personality and air of theatricality.

In preparation for the 2003 exhibition *Mr. Whistler’s Galleries*, Dr. Myers, in his capacity as associate curator of American Art at the Freer Gallery of Art, carried out considerable research on the 1884 Dowdeswell show. To commemorate the centenary of Whistler’s death, Myers led the Freer in the recreation of the Dowdeswell show using the pastels, watercolours and oil paintings available in the Gallery’s collection. Throughout his examinations, Myers took note of the picture frames surrounding these works and attempted to identify specific frames that had been included in the original show. Myers identified three different types of frames, all of which are defined according to the moulding width: (1) the 4 ½” [11.43 cm] frame; (2) the 4³/₈” [11.11cm] frame; and (3) the 5⁹/₁₆” [4.13 cm] frame.

The first 1880s frames identified by Myers had moulding widths of 4 ½ inches and surround the pastels *The Old Marble Palace* (1880, FGA, M. 794, **Plate 35**) and *The Beadstringers* (1880, FGA, M. 788, **Plate 36**). Myers documented that the verso of each frame has a F.H. Grau label (see **fig. 6.8**).⁴⁵ Myers also observed additional stamps on the verso that correspond to the pastels’ catalogue numbers from the 1881 FAS exhibition of ‘Venice Pastels’. Accordingly, he assumed that these two frames also dated from 1881 (see **fig. 6.9**).⁴⁶ While Myers’s observations

⁴³ Kenneth John Myers, *Mr. Whistler’s Gallery: Pictures at an 1884 Exhibition*, (Washington, DC: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution Scala Publishers, 2003), p. 19.

⁴⁴ ‘Mr. Whistler’s Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Gray’, *The Academy*, (24 May 1884), GUL PC 6, AAA role 4687, Frame 554, (accessed, 7 February 2007).

⁴⁵ Myers, *Mr. Whistler’s Gallery: Pictures at an 1884 Exhibition*, footnote 17, p. 97

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, footnote 49, p. 98.

that there are labels and carved numbers on the verso of both of these frames are correct, his interpretation of these markings is faulty. An early date of 1881 is unlikely, as Whistler first mentioned the frame-maker Frederick Henry Grau in a letter to his son in 1888.⁴⁷ As the next chapter examines, Whistler often expressed a preference for F.H. Grau, who was intimately involved in Whistler's re-framing campaigns of the 1890s. It seems unlikely that Whistler would have employed Grau in 1881, then hire alternate frame-makers before returning to him in 1888. Additionally, most Grau frames have been marked with a black signature and not a paper label (see **fig. 6.10**). These markings are discussed further in Chapter 7. While it is possible F. H. Grau did make these 4½" frames, the evidence suggests that the '1881 Grau frames' were in fact made in 1888 and not for the *Venice Pastel* show as Myers suggested.



Fig. 6.8: F.H. Grau label from the back of *The Beadstringers* (M. 788, **Plate 36**).



Fig. 6.9: The carved numbers from the back of *The Old Marble Palace* (M. 794, **Plate 35**).

Myers's attempts at interpreting the picture frame remain faulty throughout his discussions. This is due to the fact that he defined these frames according to a single characteristic – the moulding width. While the width of a frame is a critical aspect of the physical nature of the picture frame, it cannot be the sole characteristic used to define frame types. Several frames may have the same moulding width but possess very different profiles and methods of construction. When this occurs, the adopted system of classification fails to encapsulate and describe the object being examined, as exemplified by Myers's discussion of the 4³/₈" and the 5⁹/₁₆" frames.

Myers first speculated that these Dowdeswell frames 'derive' from those made by Grau in

⁴⁷ James Whistler to Charles James Whistler Hanson, [14/21 September 1888], PWC 1/43/7; GUW 08001, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

1881.⁴⁸ However, no description was given of similarities existing between the two designs, and no illustrations were provided for comparative purposes. He then suggested that these frames were



Fig. 6.10: F.H. Grau Signature on verso of *Blue and Silver – Trouville* (YMSM 66, Plate 42).

made by the frame-maker Charles Mitchell May, citing a letter from Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, ‘probably’ dating from 1884.⁴⁹ Again, this date is too early for May’s involvement in the framing of Whistler’s works for Dowdeswell, and additional letters indicate that May actually produced the frames for the 1886 Dowdeswell show.⁵⁰ Myers continued that ‘the Grau and May frames are similar in appearance but have significant differences in construction’, again failing to illustrate the exact differences between these frames.⁵¹ These statements highlight the problems that arise when frames are defined on the basis of a single characteristic. The fact that the ‘Grau’ frame is 4 ½” and the ‘May’ frame is 5⁹/₁₆” is the only means of classification that Myers can make, to the exclusion of other distinguishing features.

One defining factor that may have contributed to the identification and classification of these 1880s frames was the colour of gold leaf applied to the frame surfaces. On the decorated walls of the Dowdeswell Gallery, Whistler hung his artwork in frames gilded in various tones of gold leaf. Unfortunately, due to age, reframing campaigns, and re-gilding during various conservation attempts, it is almost impossible to determine the exact gold used.⁵² Myers wrote that during the conservation process for eight frames, pencil markings were discovered,⁵³ and

⁴⁸ Myers, *Mr. Whistler’s Gallery: Pictures at an 1884 Exhibition*, footnote 17, p. 97.

⁴⁹ Ibid., footnote 17, p. 97. Letter cited either – James Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, [7/14 May 1884/1886?], Library of Congress LC7/069-70; GUW 08628, (accessed, 27 July 2007), James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [March/July 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/098-99; GUW 08644, (accessed, 27 July 2007), or James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [June/August 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/096-97; GUW 08643, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁵⁰ See letters, James Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, [7/14 May 1884/1886?], Library of Congress LC7/069-70; GUW 08628, (accessed, 27 July 2007), James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [March/July 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/098-99; GUW 08644, (accessed, 27 July 2007), or James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [June/August 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/096-97; GUW 08643, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁵¹ Myers, *Mr. Whistler’s Gallery: Pictures at an 1884 Exhibition*, footnote 17, p. 97.

⁵² For instance, a significant number of frames at the Freer Gallery of Art appear to have been re-gilded by Istvan P. Pfeiffer in 1961.

⁵³ Freer Gallery of Art, “Mr. Whistler’s Galleries: Avant-garde in Victorian London,” Freer Gallery of Art, <http://www.tfaoi.com/aa/4aa/4aa170.htm>, (accessed, 27 July 2007).



Fig. 6.11: Pencil markings from inside the rabbet of *Note in Opal: Breakfast* (1883/4, FGA, M. 897) which read 'Green, 9 ½ x 6 ½ // 10'.

that 'these notations gave dimensions that matched the opening size of the frame, and always gave a colour: "red", "green", or "yellow"' (fig. 6.11).⁵⁴ The Freer Gallery then stripped these eight frames and re-gilded them in accordance with the noted colours. Thus, eight of the frames were re-gilded in 2003 according to these inscriptions, while the rest of the displayed frames were re-gilded or replaced with replica frames. Unfortunately, while Myers notes the moulding width and the presence of any Dowdeswell labels within the individual entries in his catalogue, no indication is given of which eight frames were re-gilded and which were given replicas.

As mentioned above, Myers speculated that the frames for the 1884 Dowdeswell show were made by the frame-maker Charles Mitchell May, based on three letters between Whistler and Dowdeswell. Again Myers's observations are correct, but his dating remains slightly skewed, as the letters actually indicate that May made the frames for the second Dowdeswell show of 1886. Therefore, it is possible that William R. Wheatley made the frames for the 1884 Dowdeswell show. A letter from Whistler to his assistant Mortimer Menpes during the summer months of 1883 shows that Wheatley was still working for Whistler even after the 1883 *Arrangement in Yellow and White* at the FAS.

Other letters illuminate the process followed during the framing of Whistler's pastels, watercolours and oils for the Dowdeswell shows. It appears that while Wheatley may have made the frames, Whistler's assistant Menpes actually fitted the works. Menpes outlined this process as being the first task completed during the preparations for the exhibition:

First of all there were the choosing of the pictures and the framing of them. ... The next work was to cut the pictures to fit their frames. This was invariably a terribly trying time both to Whistler and to the people by whom he was surrounded. Often he was in such frantic excitement that he has said to me: "Look here, Menpes: you take the pictures and cut them in the way you think

⁵⁴ Ibid.

best. I leave it to you; but, for heaven's sake, don't let me see them before they are framed."⁵⁵

Menpes' statements are confirmed in the correspondence between him, Whistler and Dowdeswell. While the dates remain uncertain, it can be assumed that these documents record the preparations for the show in May 1884. At least three letters were written to the effect that Whistler requested frames from Dowdeswell, who in turn ordered them from the frame-maker. Once these frames were made, Dowdeswell sent them to Whistler's studio, where Whistler or Menpes fitted the pastels into the frames. During the preparations for *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey*, Whistler wrote to Charles William Dowdeswell, saying, 'You forgot after all to leave the drawings this morning – You said you were bringing them with you – They are wanted today for Menpes to frame'.⁵⁶ Whistler then wrote to Menpes on two occasions. The first stated:

You know that in every case you must come down to the studio tomorrow – for thirty frames have been delivered – Dowdeswell has just told me – shall expect you – Perhaps you might take me at the house by 9o'clock on your way.⁵⁷

And the second letter stated:

I want to ask you about the colours of the new frames you have made the list of – perhaps you may have put them down – green gold, red gold etc., though I don't remember seeing it – Besides I was thinking I might give you a coloured sketch of a plan of the room for Dowdeswell as you are going there.⁵⁸

The method of framing and fitting of the works into their frames, as outlined above, appears to have been maintained during the preparations for the second “Notes” – “Harmonies” – “Nocturnes” held at the Dowdeswell Gallery in 1886. This exhibition, also known as *Arrangement in Brown and Gold*, included a variety of pastels, watercolours and oils by Whistler, which were displayed in a room especially designed by the painter. One reviewer wrote:

⁵⁵ Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler As I Knew Him*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), p. 115.

⁵⁶ James Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, [1/14 May?], Library of Congress LC7/114-115; GUW 08653, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

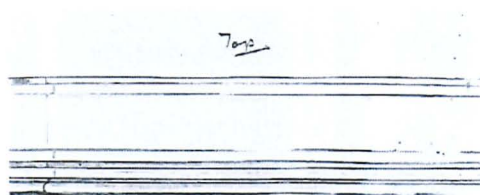
⁵⁷ James Whistler to Mortimer Menpes, [1/14 May 1884?], Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center University of Texas at Austin PWC014/1213; GUW 10019.

⁵⁸ James Whistler to Mortimer Menpes, [1/4 May 1884?], Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center University of Texas at Austin PWC014/1225; GUW 10020.

From the moment we entered the place our eyes were delighted by the harmonious ‘arrangement in brown and gold,’ with which the galleries are adorned. The room itself in which the drawings hang is decorated in the most artistic fashion with brown wall-paper, and gold wainscoting, panelling, &c. The fireplace, is draped with brown and yellow velvet and Indian silk, and the centre of the room, subduing the light which enters from above, floats a cloud of yellow merino, forming a series of exquisite curves. The whole thing is a perfect harmony of colour and design, carried even to the costumes of the attendants. It is all beautiful, and moreover, it is an expression of that exquisite artistic sense which is the mainspring of all Mr. Whistler’s art-productions.⁵⁹

Again, these letters illustrate that Whistler had created an ideal artistic environment to display his works, one where the picture frame played a key role. The frame is the link that harmonises and joins the enclosed image with the outside world.

Fig. 6.12: Design for Mouldings for Messrs Dowdeswell (1886, Rosenwald Collection, Rare Books Division, Library of Congress, Washington, DC., M. 1103).



A design of Whistler’s for the dado panels still exists, as does the letter from Whistler to the Dowdeswells that first accompanied the drawing (fig. 6.12): ‘here you are – Raw-Umber – with a little yellow ochre and raw Sienna with white –Keep it light like the left side of the Butterfly ... I shall turn up soon’.⁶⁰ It is likely that the multi-coloured frames for the 1886 show were made by Charles Mitchell May, as three letters indicate May’s involvement in the framing of Whistler’s work for a Dowdeswell exhibition. In this case, writing to Charles William Dowdeswell with particulars regarding the room decorations, Whistler closed his note saying, ‘Now – Immediately must have three more frames – So let May have the sizes on the other half sheet’.⁶¹ After the exhibition of 1886, Whistler wrote to Walter Dowdeswell stating, ‘Don’t forget about May,’ and to ‘please send the enclosed to May the frame maker’.⁶² May was the

⁵⁹ ‘Whistler at Dowdeswell’s’, GUL PC3/69, AAA roll number 4687.

⁶⁰ James Whistler to Messrs Dowdeswell, [10 April 1886], Library of Congress LC7/204-205; GUW 08713, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶¹ James Whistler to Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, [7/14 May 1884/1886?], Library of Congress LC7/069-70; GUW 08628, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶² James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [June/August 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/096-97; GUW 08643, (accessed, 27 July 2007) and James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [March/July 1886?], Library of Congress LC7/098-99; GUW 08644, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

London frame-maker favoured by John Signer Sargent. Jacob Simon documented that Sargent used May from at least 1894 until 1922 when he went out of business.⁶³ From these dates, it is evident that May's work for Whistler was very early in his career. While paper conservators from the Freer Gallery of Art saved several May labels from the verso of frames, unfortunately, the frames were not saved (fig. 6.13). Their records suggest that May frames once surrounded *Greek Girl* (1866/9, FGA, M.333), and *Study in Grey and Pink* (1872/4, FGA, M. 470).⁶⁴

It appears that after the frames were made by Charles Mitchell May, an employee of the Dowdeswell Gallery named Sparks inherited the task of fitting the images into the surrounds. Whistler wrote to Charles William Dowdeswell, declaring, 'I send up some more water

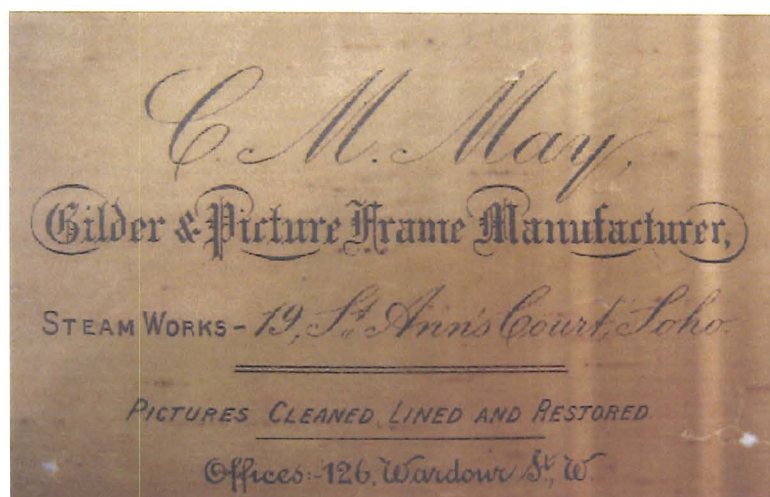


Fig. 6.13: Charles Mitchell May label from the missing frame once on *Greek Girl* (1866/9, chalk on brown paper, FGA, M. 333).

colors for Sparkes to mount – do let him do them at once – that every thing may be ready for our exhibition long before hand this time'.⁶⁵ Another letter from Whistler to Dowdeswell included a pattern for Sparks to follow when fitting the images to the frames, stating: 'Exact size by which to cut the water color boards – Mr Sparks had better keep this by him for future cutting.'⁶⁶

While Myers may have been incorrect in the dating of these frames of when the frame-makers worked for Whistler, he was correct in his identification of the $5\frac{9}{16}$ " moulding width frame as being from the two Dowdeswell exhibitions. The twenty-five frames that served as the

⁶³ Jacob Simon, 'Notes on John Signer Sargent's frames', <http://www.npg.org.uk/live/frsarg.asp>, revised 2003, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶⁴ Both of which were (M. 333 & M. 470) once owned by T. Way, possibly indicating that he ordered the frames from May.

⁶⁵ James Whistler to Charles William Dowdeswell, [25/28 February 1886], Library of Congress LC 7/033-34; GUW 08610, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶⁶ James Whistler to Walter Dowdeswell, [March/April 1886], Library of Congress LC7/197-198; GUW 08710, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

main source for Myer's information and conclusions were a part of Henry Studdy Theobald's collection. The Pennells documented that Theobald 'became the fortunate possessor of some thirty or forty drawings and pastels through the Dowdeswells' at some point during the early 1880s.⁶⁷ An invoice from Dowdeswells to Whistler from the summer of 1885 or 1886 also indicates this purchase. Listed amongst the works sold is the following entry: '29 Drawings, H.S. Theobald Esq., July 1. 1885, 3 Westbourne Square.W'.⁶⁸ Furthermore, a receipt documents the sale of '29 Pictures by yourself framed', thus indicating that the pastels and watercolours purchased by Theobald were framed by Whistler.⁶⁹

The collection remained in Theobald's ownership until 1902, when Charles Lang Freer purchased the thirty-one drawings, pastels and watercolours for £3000.⁷⁰ Since this collection remained in the possession of one collector, who in turn sold it to another collector, it is likely that the frames did not undergo any significant alterations. However, Whistler did request to borrow several pieces from Theobald, once in 1885 and again in 1888, to be included in various exhibitions. He told the Pennells:

My intercourse with the Master was limited to occasions when he wanted to borrow the pictures. His manner of proceeding was somewhat abrupt. Some morning a person would appear in a four wheel cab and present Whistler's card, on which was written, 'Please let bearer have fourteen of my pictures.' Sometimes, but not often, there was a preliminary warning from Whistler himself. But though the pictures went easily, it was a labour of Hercules to retrieve them. Once when I went to fetch them at his studio by appointment, after a previous effort, also by appointment, which was not kept, I found the studio locked, but after a search among the neighbours I got the key and then I found some two or three hundred pictures stacked round the room buried in the dust of ages. Whistler loved his pictures, but he certainly took no care of them.⁷¹

It appears that Theobald granted Whistler's requests in 1885 but may have refused in 1888. In

⁶⁷ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), p. 128.

⁶⁸ Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell to James Whistler, [July 1885/1886], GUL MS Whistler D73; GUW 00867, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶⁹ Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell to James Whistler, 1 July 1885, GUL MS Whistler D64; GUW 00858, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁷⁰ Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), 944.

⁷¹ Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (1908), p. 128-29.

April 1888, Whistler composed a formal letter of request to Theobald seeking the loan of his collection for the 3rd *Internationale Kunst-Ausstellung* that was held in Munich during the month of July.⁷² While this exhibition did contain several of Whistler's works, it is not believed that any of Theobald's collection was represented.⁷³ If any alterations were made to the frames, it would have been before these exhibitions. However, due to the consistency between the Freer frames, it seems probable that they remain in an unaltered state.

In light of this assumption, it appears that Whistler continued to use the frame pattern developed during the 1884 Dowdeswell exhibition, first manufactured by Wheatley, for the second exhibition of 1886. Recently, the University of Glasgow was gifted an annotated exhibition catalogue from the 1886 Dowdeswell show, *Arrangement in Brown and Gold*, that included a

sketch of one of the frames on display (fig. 6.14). Located upside down at the top of the sixth page of the brown-paper-covered catalogue is a rough sketch of a frame's profile (see fig. 6.15). This profile is similar in design to the 5⁹/₁₆" frame identified by Myers (see fig. 6.1). The Freer 5⁹/₁₆" frame possesses an outer moulding with two sections of eight reeds and three reeds separated by a small fillet. On the other side of the inch-and-a-half wide main frieze is the inner moulding, which also consists of a section of two reeds and five reeds that are separated by another small frieze. The sight edge closest to the

painting is bevelled and left unadorned. While the details are not exact, a similar profile is seen in the sketch in the 1886 catalogue: there is a wide frieze placed between an outer and inner moulding each made up of two distinct sections of reeding that are separated by small fillets (see fig. 6.16). The unknown viewer who made this sketch (possibly a fellow artist or

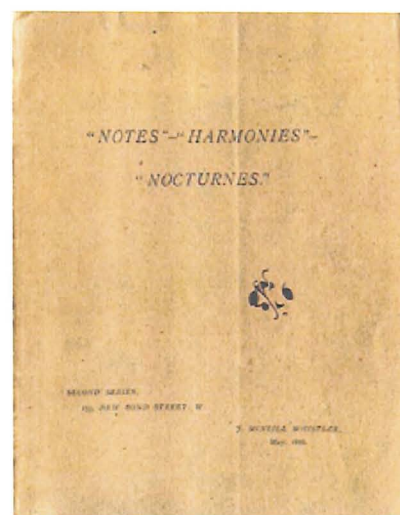


Fig. 6.14: Front cover of "Notes" – "Harmonies" – "Nocturnes", *Second Series*, catalogue (London: Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, May 1886), annotated catalogue given GUL.

⁷² James Whistler to Henry Studdy Theobald, 25 April 1888, British Museum 59-11-14-6; GUW 09668, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁷³ James Whistler to Henry Studdy Theobald, 25 April 1888, British Museum 59-11-14-6; GUW 09668, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁷⁴ James McNeill Whistler, "Notes" – "Harmonies" – "Nocturnes", *Second Series*, annotated catalogue given to University of Glasgow (London: Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, 1886), p. 6.

designer) also notes the width of the frame. While the handwriting is difficult to decipher, it is possible to interpret this notation as '5" frame', based on the 1880s frames.⁷⁴ Below the artworks listed on this page, the viewer also noted that: 'Some of the [figures] are done with a metal [either] silver lacquer or a very pale foil'.⁷⁵ This suggests that Whistler was still applying variations of gold leaf on the surface of his frames, and perhaps this exhibition was the last where he experimented with the artwork, the frame, and interior all with the objective of creating an encompassing work of art.

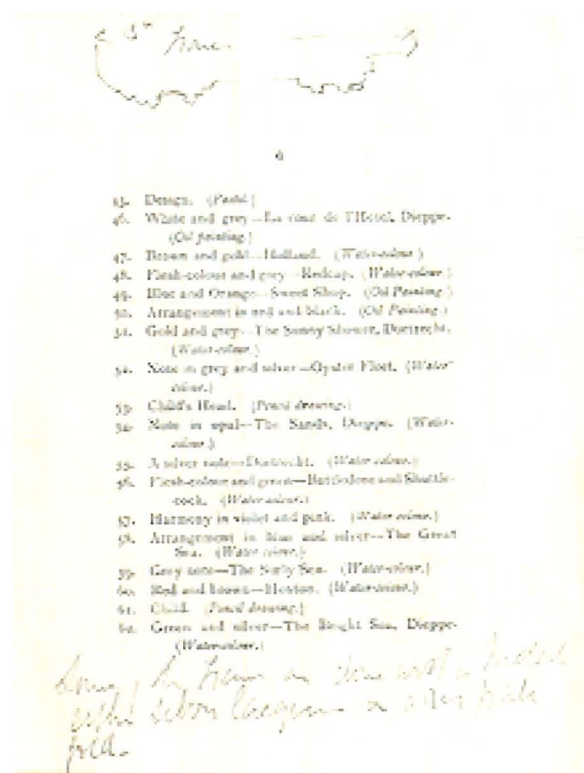


Fig. 6.15 (Above): Page 60f "Notes" – "Harmonies" – "Nocturnes", *Second Series*, catalogue (London: Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell, May 1886), annotated catalogue given to GUL.

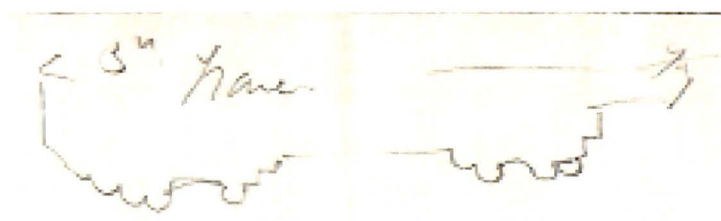


Fig. 6.16 (Left): Detail of the profile drawing from page 6

6.5. The 1888 Grau Frame

In 1888 Whistler's frames once again experienced a significant shift in function. In an article written by Walter Dowdeswell and published in the *Art Journal* in April 1887, Whistler was recorded as making the following statement:

The frame is, indeed, the window through which the painter looks at his model, and nothing could be more offensively inartistic than this brutal attempt to thrust the model on the hitherside of this window!⁷⁶

This statement may represent the last stage of Whistler's frame development. It was observed that ten years previously in the statements made before the jury at his trial with John Ruskin, and in his letter to Nellie Whistler in 1880, Whistler had maintained the view that the frame and

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁶ Walter Dowdeswell, *Art Journal*, (London: April 1887).

image worked together to create a 'complete beauty' and work of art. He continued to display this idea/theory and illustrate this viewpoint throughout the series of one-man exhibitions staged at the FAS and the Dowdeswell Gallery. However in 1887/1888, the statement recorded in Walter Dowdeswell's article from the *Art Journal* appeared in print in several different forms. Whistler's words were included in Malcolm C. Salaman's article 'In Whistler's Studio' from the 1 July 1888 edition of the *Court and Society Review*.⁷⁷ They can also be found in Whistler's *The Gentle Art of Making Enemies* under the title 'A Further Proposition'.⁷⁸ While this statement refers to the framing of art, and expresses the different approach of seeing the frame as a window, it may originally have been a comment on the portraits that Whistler produced during the 1880s. Dowdeswell and Salaman stated that, before the issue of the frame was raised, Whistler addressed how a portrait should be painted. Whistler argued against the concept of making the subject stand out from the painting, stating that the figure should be set well into the frame and that the frame is a 'window through which the painter looks at his model'.⁷⁹ Regardless of how this new view of the frame began, in 1888 Whistler started to apply it to almost every medium in which he was working. As a result, he wanted to reframe his works in order that all the 'oils, watercolours and pastels' could be framed and essentially presented identically.⁸⁰

The framer Whistler enlisted and employed to assist him in this reframing 'campaign' was Frederick Henry Grau. In the introduction to his examination of the 1884 frames, Ken Myers wrote:

For the 1884 exhibition at the Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell Gallery in London, James McNeill Whistler widened and flattened the profile of a gilded oak frame that he had designed for a previous exhibition in 1881. By standardizing his frames, and using relatively large frames for all but the smallest works, Whistler established a consistent visual element connecting the paintings and drawings to the surrounding walls, supporting his view that his works be appreciated as flat combinations of colour and line, not as windows onto the real world. Whistler used the same frames for both oil paintings and works on paper, promoting his

⁷⁷ Malcolm C. Salaman, 'In Whistler's Studio', *Court and Society Review*, (1 July 1888), vol. 3, no. 104, pp. 558-90. GUL PC 3/65.

⁷⁸ Whistler, 'A Further Proposition', p. 178.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

⁸⁰ James Whistler to Charles James Whistler Hanson, [14/22 September 1888?], PWC1/43/7; GUW 08001, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

belief that works of art should be valued – both aesthetically and financially – not by media or size, but solely for their beauty of form.⁸¹

Once again, Myers is correct in his observations, but his chronology of Whistler's frame development is slightly skewed. The early 1881 'Grau' frames that Myers noted are smaller and deeper than those used at the Dowdeswell exhibition *Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Grey* in 1884. Myers interprets this as Whistler moving away from using frames as a window and developing a shallower frame that accentuated the flatness and decorative beauty of his images. However, if his statements are reversed, they make more sense. Frederick Henry Grau did not make these frames in 1881, but it is entirely possible that they were made or re-surfaced in 1888 when Whistler was reframing pastels. In the same letter to his son, Charles, from September 1888, Whistler wrote regarding plans to submit works for a pastel exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery:

I want you to call on Mr James Forbes – and tell him that I fear he never got two or three notes that I wrote to him – so I suppose he must have been away – That now I am forced to trouble him, as it is a question of the Pastel Exhibition at the Grosvenor and I want him very much kindly to lend me the “Venice” ones he has of mine – If he will do this, will he let you take them now – so that Grau can be getting frames made for them – In which case, tell Grau to measure them for the usual frames he always makes for all my little pictures – Oil or watercolour or Pastel – and tell him to be most particular, in his notes, to get the exact measurement of the “sight”.⁸²

This letter illustrates that by 1888 Grau was intimately involved in the framing or reframing of Whistler's works. Whistler implied that Grau had carried out such work for him before, even requesting that he should make the 'usual frames'. An additional detail found in this letter is the fact that Whistler was seeking to reframe the 'Venice' pastels. This could possibly confirm the belief that the two Grau frames in the Freer Collection identified by Myers date from this period and not from the 1881 FAS exhibition.

Therefore, it is possible to conclude that by the end of the 1880s, Whistler's frames were

⁸¹ Freer Gallery of Art, “Mr. Whistler's Galleries: Avant-garde in Victorian London”, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸² James Whistler to Charles James Whistler Hanson, [14/22 September 1888?], PWC1/43/7; GUW 08001, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

getting deeper and gradually becoming more window-like. Whistler continued to develop this concept into the 1890s along with his working relationship with Frederick Grau. This is explored further in the next chapter, which examines Whistler's preparations for and framing of the 1892 Goupil Exhibition.

7.0. Chapter Seven

Stateliness times Five: The Grau Frame of the 1890s

7.1. The Final Stage of Whistler's Frame Development

Whistler's final reframing campaign began in 1887 and lasted until the mid 1890s. While the exact dates are uncertain, a considerable amount of activity coincided with the preparations for, and the mounting of, the exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces* held at the Goupil Gallery in 1892. For this show, Whistler and the director of the Gallery, David Croal Thomson, set out to stage a comprehensive exhibition of the artist's oil paintings. Forty-three paintings from every stage of Whistler's artistic career were selected for display within the Gallery's two exhibition rooms. Every known stage of his frame development was also represented. Frames dating from 1864 were hung alongside the painted and decorated frames of the 1870s and the first plain reeded frames of the 1880s. Yet this exhibition did not simply provide an overview of Whistler's past accomplishments. Whistler took the opportunity to revisit, rework and reframe several of the canvases shown. During the preparations for the exhibition, thirty-three frames were either replaced completely or underwent extensive alterations.

This chapter explores the events that occurred during Whistler's last reframing campaign. Previous discussions in this thesis have observed that, with each new frame style, Whistler often reframed specific paintings to coincide with his newly established designs and presentation methods. This chapter argues that Whistler's approach to the Goupil show continued in this tradition and set the precedent for how we view his artwork today.

At the Goupil Gallery in 1892, Whistler not only established a new frame design, but he also introduced his legacy to the art world and attempted to raise his status to that of a grand master. He set the standard of how he wished future generations to view his art. To achieve this, Whistler worked closely with Thomson and enlisted the assistance of the picture restorer, Stephen Richards, and the frame-maker, Frederick Henry Grau. Whistler's relationship with Thomson and Grau, as well as the patrons who lent the forty-three works to the exhibition, and the motivations for this final stage of his frame development are all considered in this concluding chapter.

The products from this reframing campaign can be divided into the following groups:

- frames created by Grau before 1892;
- frames created by Grau during 1892;
- frames resurfaced during 1892; and
- frames that remained unaltered throughout the preparations.

The dating of specific Whistler frames is a difficult task, since numerous factors must be considered before a precise date can be identified. In preparation for the Goupil show, Whistler gave Grau-made frames to some paintings, only to have them rejected and returned by the owners after the exhibition. Yet, today a significant number of these paintings can be seen surrounded by a Grau-style frame. This phenomenon is explored with regard to Whistler's legacy and the perpetuation of his framing ideals amongst his growing group of followers and advocates after the close of the 1892 show at the Goupil Gallery.

7.2. Frederick Henry Grau before 1892

The first category of frames dating from this final reframing campaign comprises those created by Grau before the 1892 exhibition at the Goupil Gallery. Several paintings were given new frames before Thomson and Whistler had even begun to discuss an exhibition. These frames were created for various reasons, such as in preparation for other shows, to increase the value of an enclosed painting, or in preparation for a painting's accession into a public gallery. Whatever the motivation, Whistler had a preference at this time for the frame-making capabilities of Frederick Henry Grau.

Frederick Henry was born in the Pancras district of London on 2 March 1859.¹ He was the eldest son of John H. Grau, or Johann Heinrich, and Maria, both from Germany, who married in London in 1858. The census of 1861 documented a Johann Heinrich, cabinet-maker, at 6 Buckingham Street², and the London Post Office directory of 1865 recorded a John H. Grau, 'Fancy Cabinet Maker', at 50 Cirencester Place, Fitzroy Square, S.W..³ The next census, taken in 1871, documented John H. as a master cabinetmaker still located at Cirencester Place.⁴ By the 1881 census, the Graus had moved to Lower Sloane Street, S.W., and on this occasion the father's occupation was listed as 'Cabinet Maker'. Under this listing, ditto marks have been placed beside the names of his two sons, Frederick H. (aged 22) and George F. (aged 18), indicating that they too had begun work in the family trade.⁵

By 1888, Frederick Henry Grau appears to have gained the status of 'master' cabinetmaker and established his own trade at the location of 570 Fulham Road, as indicated by the London Trade Directories.⁶ Grau remained at this address for the duration of his career until 1894, when he may have become too unwell to run the business. He died of phthisis on 11 March 1895 at the age of 36.⁷ Grau was survived by his childless wife of seven years, Georgina, without a known successor to inherit his enterprise.⁸ Frederick's trade could have been handed over to his father John H. who outlived his son by two years.⁹ However, the Post Office Directories suggest that by 1898, William J. Jenkins, who was listed as being a carver and gilder, had taken over Grau's office.¹⁰

Frederick Henry Grau began to work for Whistler shortly after his move to 570 Fulham Road. Whistler may have been familiar with Grau's workshop because he lived nearby. He

¹ Birth Certificate, General Register Office, England. All Grau papers relating to the Grau family's history can be found in **Appendix: Grau Papers**.

² UK census 1861, from www.ancestry.co.uk, (accessed, 10 March 2007).

³ London Post Office Directory for 1865.

⁴ UK census 1871, from www.ancestry.co.uk, (accessed, 10 March 2007).

⁵ UK census 1881, from www.ancestry.co.uk, (accessed, 10 March 2007).

⁶ E.R. Kelly, ed., *Kelly's London, Suburban Directory*, (London: Kelly & Co., 1888), p. 127.

⁷ Death Certificate, for Frederick Henry Grau, 14 May 1895 General Register Office, England.

⁸ Marriage certificate for Frederick Henry Grau and Georgina Hawkins, 3 May 1888, of Fulham, Middlesex, England, General Register Office, England.

⁹ Death certificate

¹⁰ E.R. Kelly, ed., *Kelly's London, Suburban Directory*, (London: Kelly & Co., 1898).

had been working from a studio at 454A Fulham Road, which he leased in October 1884.¹¹

Whistler remained at this studio, it is believed, until the summer of 1888, when he gave up his accommodation at 'The Vale' and the studio at Fulham Road before moving to the Tower House on Tite Street.¹² The earliest documentation connecting Grau to Whistler is the letter written from Whistler to his son, Charles Whistler Hanson, which was mentioned briefly at the end of the previous chapter. In this letter, Whistler requested his son to gather pastels from their owner, Mr. Forbes, so that they could be included in an exhibition at the Grosvenor Gallery. He expressed a desire for Grau to make:

the usual frames he always makes for all my little pictures – Oil or watercolour or Pastel – and tell him to be most particular, in his notes, to get the exact measurement of the “sight”.¹³

This letter probably dates from 1888, and it implies an established level of familiarity between Whistler and Grau. This relationship was first suggested in the previous chapter, and it may be confirmed by the placement of a Grau label on the back of the frame surrounding *Chelsea in Ice* (1864, Private Collection, YMSM 53, **Plate 37**). Grau most likely made this frame a year before the letter, during the preparations for the 1887 exhibition at the Society of British Artists.

On 14 March 1887, Whistler wrote to Mme Venturi, then owner of *Chelsea In Ice*, promising the safe return of the painting 'upon the closing of Exhibition SBA; unaltered and unimproved or injured'.¹⁴ He then scratched out the words 'in the same' and replaced them with 'it's proper frame.' This written amendment may suggest that he changed or replaced the frame at this time. *Chelsea in Ice* was included in the Society of British Artists exhibition of 1887 under the title *Harmony in Grey: Chelsea in Ice*. It is uncertain when the piece entered into the possession of Mme Venturi, but Whistler is believed to have painted the

¹¹ Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, & Hamish Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 2 vols., vol. 1 (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1980), lxiv and James Whistler to Luigi Fabbrucci, 11 October 1884; GUL MS Whistler F1, GUW 01070, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹² Ibid. p. lxvi.

¹³ JW to Charles James Whistler Hansen, [14/21 September 1888?], PWC 1/43/7; GUW 08001, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁴ James Whistler to Mme Venturi, 14 March 1887, GUL MS Whistler V89; GUW 06001, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

work in 1864. If this date is correct, it may have had an 1870s frame painted and decorated in a style similar to those seen on the Tate nocturnes, *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (YMSM 103, **Plate 20**) and *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge* (YMSM 140, **Plate 3**). However, since it is not known to have been exhibited before the 1887 SBA show, it could have been surrounded in a frame chosen by the owner. Therefore, this may have been the reason that it was necessary for Whistler to enclose it in a frame of his own design, as it would have been inconceivable for a work of his to be publicly displayed in a frame other than his own. Regardless of the reason, he commissioned Grau to make the frame that remains on the painting today.

Fig. 7.1: F.H. Grau paper label from the verso of *Chelsea in Ice* (YMSM 53, **Plate 37**).



Due to the placement of a label on the back of *Chelsea in Ice* it is certain that Grau made this frame in 1887 (**fig. 7.1**). Located at the centre of the bottom rail, this paper label contains the following text:

F.H. Grau,
Carver, Gilder, & Picture frame Maker,
570, FULHAM ROAD,
Percy Cross, S.W.
(Opposite the Fire Brigade Station).
Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer and Decorator.
Agent for J. Berry, the Manchester Dyer.¹⁵

Also included on this label are the handwritten number '338' and a border of asterisk-like stars surrounding the text. A similar label can be seen on the frame surrounding *Harmony in yellow and gold – Connie Gilchrist* (YMSM 190, **Plate 30**), with text surrounded by the same asterisk/star pattern (see **fig. 7.2**). Although the F.H. Grau portion of the text is missing, the layout remains the same, with the addition of another line at the end that reads: 'TH. Ling & Son, Steam Printers, 30 Rochester Row, Westminster'.¹⁶

¹⁵ Transcription of the paper label on the verso of *Chelsea in Ice*.

¹⁶ Transcription of the paper label on the verso of *Connie Gilchrist*.

As observed in Chapter 5, the exhibition history for *Connie Gilchrist* suggests that John Henry Murcott created a frame for this portrait in preparation for the Grosvenor Gallery show of 1879.¹⁷ When and how the Grau label was applied to the verso is uncertain, but it could date from when the work was returned to Whistler in the 1880s.¹⁸

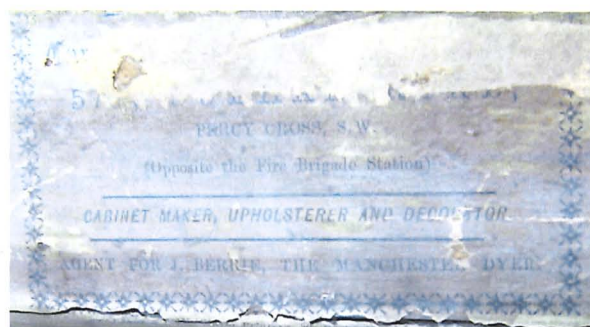


Fig. 7.2: F.H. Grau paper label from the verso of *Harmony in yellow and gold - Connie Gilchrist* (YMSM 190, **Plate 30**).

Perhaps Grau made a new frame at the same time he made the one for *Chelsea in Ice*, before it was displayed at the Royal Society of British Artists.¹⁹ At some point after 1898, Whistler's sister-in-law, Rosalind Birnie-Philip, wrote out a list of works that Whistler had shown at the RSBA. The last article listed on this document is the following entry: 'Outside measurement of the frame of / 'Connie Gilchrist' 97 by 56 ½'.²⁰ The measurements given by Birnie-Philip almost directly correspond to the dimensions of the current frame, which are approximately 98 inches by 55 inches.²¹ Therefore, the frames currently on *Chelsea in Ice* and *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl - Connie Gilchrist* may date from as early as 1887. They could pre-date the pastel frames that Grau made for Whistler in preparation for the Grosvenor Gallery exhibition of 1888 (which were mentioned in Whistler's letter to his son).

Pastels with frames possibly manufactured or resurfaced by Grau for the Grosvenor Gallery pastel exhibition of 1888 include *The Old Marble Palace* (M. 794, **Plate 35**), *The Beadstringers* (M. 788, **Plate 36**) and *The Violet Note* (1885/6, ISGM, M. 1081, **Plate 38**). In the previous chapter, it was observed that Dr. Kenneth Myers dated the two Grau frames on the Freer pastels as being from 1881. He supported these claims by the presence of two

¹⁷ James Whistler to Henry J. Murcott, [31 March 1879], GUL MS Whistler M503; GUW 04233, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁸ Young, MacDonald, Spencer, & Miles, *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler*, 190.

¹⁹ Rosalind Birnie-Philip list, [1898/1903?], GUL MS Whistler LB6/270-267; GUW 03446, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²⁰ Rosalind Birnie-Philip list, [1898/1903?], GUL MS Whistler LB6/270-267; GUW 03446, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²¹ Measurements taken when frame was examined by Sarah Parkerson in March 2007.



Fig. 7.3: *The Marble Palace* (M. 794, Plate 35) F.H. Grau paper label from verso.



Fig. 7.4 (Right): *The Beadstringers* (M. 788, Plate 36) Inscribed exhibition catalogue number.

indicators on the verso of these frames: (1) the Grau paper label (**fig. 7.3**); and (2) the incised numbers corresponding to the pastels' numbers in the catalogue from the 1881 Fine Art Society exhibition *Venice Pastels* (**fig. 7.4**). However, due to the fact that Frederick Henry Grau was not established at the 570 Fulham Road address until 1887 and was most likely still working with his father at Lower Sloane Street in 1881, he could not have made these particular frames at the date given by Dr. Myers. Most likely Grau resurfaced these two frames in preparation for their possible display at the Grosvenor Gallery in 1888.

These assumptions may be supported further by the placement of differing labels on the verso of the frames. As observed on the back of *Chelsea in Ice* and *Connie Gilchrist*, the paper labels contained a section of printed text that was surrounded by a border of asterisk-like stars. While the same label can be seen on the back of *The Violet Note* (see **fig. 7.5**), it is not found on the frames surrounding *The Marble Palace* and *The Beadstringers* (**fig. 7.3**). In this instance, the labels have a slightly reworded text, which is enclosed in a plain black-lined border. These labels read:

F.H. Grau,
Cabinet Maker, Upholsterer,
and Decorator
570, Fulham Road, S.W.
opposite the Fire Brigade Station,
Carver, Gilder and Picture frame Maker
Agent to John Berry the Manchester, Dyer.²²

The varying designs in the labels may be incidental, but it is more likely that they illustrate

²² Transcription from the labels on *The Old Marble Palace* and *The Beadstringers*.

Fig. 7.5: *The Violet Note* (M. 1081, Plate 38)
F.H. Grau paper label from verso.



important distinctions in time or work done to the frames. The labels on the back of the Freer pastels may be from a later period of Grau's association with Whistler, or they may indicate that these frames were not actually manufactured by Grau and his workshop, but were simply resurfaced. Either way, it is difficult to decipher with absolute certainty the meaning of these varying labels and their possible implications on our understanding of Grau's frames, but these differences are important to note and may feature more substantially in the future.

F.H. Grau appears to have abandoned the use of his paper labels by 1891. It is uncertain when or why this occurred, but there are two possible reasons. The first is that, as his labels suggest, he was working in association with John Berry, the Manchester dyer. At some point after the frames were made in 1887-1888, he may have broken his association with Mr. Berry and established his own independent business and as a result he stopped using the paper labels. The second possible reason may be due to his working relationship with Whistler. Records from the 1891 census document Grau's profession and occupation as being 'an artist in furniture' and not the traditional classification of 'cabinet maker'.²³ This may indicate a change in Frederick Henry's approach to his craft and trade. Whistler's artistic sensibilities may have influenced the framer and affected his attitude to the objects he created. As a result, Grau may have abandoned the use of his paper labels and adopted the practice of signing his frames.

Whistler seems to have had this effect on other frame-makers. Mortimer Menpes recorded in his book, *Whistler as I Knew Him*, regarding one of Whistler's framers from the 1880s that:

Whistler's frame maker, when he first employed him, was an ordinary workman;

²³ UK census 1891, from www.ancestry.co.uk, (accessed, 10 March 2007).

Fig. 7.6: Pencil Signature located on the back of *Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso* (YMSM 73, **Plate 39**).



but very soon, under the influence of the Master, he became an impressionist. (He felt that he must spread himself somewhere, and his impressionism took the form of music – in short, he learnt to play the violin.)²⁴

While it is unlikely that Menpes is referring to Grau in the above statement, it is possible that Whistler acted like a Pied Piper to the craftsmen who made his picture frames. Since Whistler so often viewed the frame as an integral aspect of his artwork, whether as an extension of the painting or as a link to the surrounding room, he must have shared a special collaborative relationship with his frame-maker. This working relationship may have had an affect on Grau, who, as a result, began to view himself as more than an ordinary craftsman. By 1891, Grau described himself as an ‘artist’ whose preferred medium was furniture. It is difficult to ascertain when this switch occurred, but it can be assumed to have happened sometime following the creation of the 1888 frames and before the 1891 census. This can be confirmed by the presence of a pencil signature located on the back of *Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso* (1866, Tate, YMSM 73, **Plate 39**). On the top rail is a faint inscription reading, ‘F.H. Grau, London, 1891’ (**fig. 7.6**). This may be the first of Grau’s signed frames. Therefore, it can be established that any frame with a Grau paper label dates from his association with Whistler during the 1880s, while a frame with an F.H. Grau signature dates from the 1890s.

In addition to the F.H. Grau signature seen on the 1890s frames, some have markings of ‘R.W.’ (**fig. 7.7**). These initials can be seen on the verso of *Nocturne: Grey and Silver* (1873/1875, PMA, YMSM 156). The meaning of these additional letters is unknown, but they could indicate the

Fig. 7.7: F.H. Grau signature, and R.W. initials on *Nocturne: Grey and Silver* (1873/5, PMA, YMSM 156).



involvement of an apprentice or an associate working for Grau. It can hardly refer to the successor who took over Grau's business after his death in 1895, since his name, as mentioned earlier, was William J. Jenkins. Furthermore, Whistler comments on this individual in a letter to David Croal Thomson in September 1895, when he wrote to Thomson enquiring about Grau's whereabouts. Upon learning of Frederick's death, Whistler responded, 'I am sorry about poor old Grau – and did not at all know of his death – Of course nothing can be done with his successor – so that's all over'.²⁵ Due to Whistler's lack of enthusiasm for the new owner, as well as the incongruent names and initials, it seems most likely that the markings of 'R.W.' date from Grau's lifetime.

Whistler continued to employ Frederick Henry Grau during the early 1890s before any suggestion of a show at the Goupil Gallery had been made. At this time, Whistler began to solicit individual patrons to hire Grau to make new frames for their paintings. He wrote to W. Graham Robertson in 1890 requesting that his newly acquired canvas, *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso* be given a new frame. In a letter postmarked 26 November 1890, Whistler sent Robertson the following request:

Do take this occasion, and send for Grau – and tell him to make you at once one of my beautiful new frames for the Valparaiso – Of exactly the same gold as that he has used for me lately – The old frame is altogether too rickety – & moreover it neither fitted (too large – Grau should have the "sight" at least an eighth of an inch smaller all round) nor was it of the right colour – Your picture in the new frame will look five times as stately and beautiful.²⁶

In this letter, we can observe Whistler in full salesmanship. Walford Graham Robertson was a new patron who had purchased *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso* and *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, **Plate 32**) earlier in November 1890 when works from C.A. Howell's collection were auctioned at Christies.²⁷ Almost immediately after Robertson's purchase, Whistler sent his request.

²⁴ Mortimer Menpes, *Whistler As I Knew Him*, (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1904), p. 115.

²⁵ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [20 September 1895], PWC 17/4/7; GUW 08371, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²⁶ James Whistler to Walford Graham Robertson, 26 November [1890], Huntington Library WR 654; GUW 09403, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²⁷ James Whistler to Walford Graham Robertson, 26 November [1890], Huntington Library WR 654; GUW 09403, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

The frame that surrounded *Crepuscle* at the time of the sale may have been a painted and decorated frame from the 1870s similar in design to those on the Tate Nocturnes, *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea* and *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge*.

Whistler's request marks the last stage that occurred in the development of his picture frames. As with the previous stages, the newly established frame design reflected a shift occurring in the function of the frame. The frames of the 1890s had begun to take on the task of serving as a means of appropriation or association, and they functioned to raise the value or status of the enclosed painting. Whistler wrote to Robertson saying that, if his painting received a new Grau-made frame, it would become 'five times as stately and beautiful', thus elevating the entire status and aesthetic value of the piece. Whistler also tried to convince W.C. Alexander to commission Grau to reframe his *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea* in preparation for the Goupil Gallery show. In February 1892, he wrote to W.C. Alexander that:

I want you so much to see The "Valparaiso" at Mr Graham Robertson's – 23. Rutland Gate. They would be delighted to show it to you – What I want is that you should see the beautiful effect of my new frame – and then let my man – Mr Grau. 570. Fulham Road make one for your Nocturne – It will gain three times in stateliness and charm.²⁸

It appears that Whistler was unsuccessful in convincing Alexander, so he followed up his request to the lady of the house. A week later Whistler wrote to Rachel Agnes Alexander requesting her to:

persuade Mr Alexander to have one of the new frames for the Nocturne – it would cost very little – Grau's charges are very moderate – and you have no idea, (unless you have seen Mr Graham Robertson's "Valparaiso" –) how greatly it adds to the picture's "state"!²⁹

Whistler's attempts were again unsuccessful. The Alexander nocturne, *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea* is one of three frames to have survived untouched and unaltered during the Goupil preparations and which remains in its original state today.

²⁸ James Whistler to William Cleverley Alexander, [14 February 1892], British Museum 1958-2-8-24; GUW 07575, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

²⁹ James Whistler to Rachel Agnes Alexander, [15/28 February 1892], British Museum 1958-2-8-28; GUW 07580, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

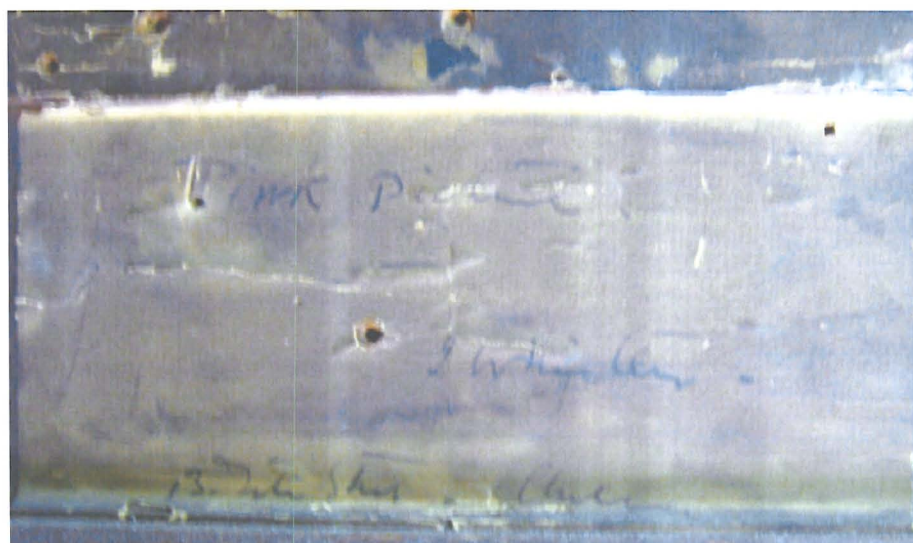
In 1891 Whistler had Grau make a new frame for the portrait *Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux* (YMSM 229, **Plate 34**). Apparently, Whistler did this without the knowledge of the owner, who wrote to the artist on 28 November:

Dear Mr Whistler / I have not yet received the picture. I did not intend to make a new frame for it, as the old one is in very good order, however as you have a new one I suppose I must accept it. When you send it, will you order your man to take away the pink one which I am sending you. I think it would be as well if you were to varnish it.³⁰

Unfortunately, the Grau frame ordered by Whistler has not survived, and the frame currently seen on the work is American-made, possibly ordered by the collector, Henry Clay Frick. However, the original 'pink' frame mentioned by Lady Meux in her letter can be seen at the Frick Collection, where it currently surrounds *Arrangement in Black and Brown: Portrait of Rosa Corder*, as indicated by the handwritten label on the verso. A gummed label, which appears to have been written in Whistler's own hand, declares that the title of the portrait enclosed is 'Pink Picture' (**fig. 7.8**). When this portrait received the rejected 'pink' frame is uncertain, but it could have been at this time following its brief return to Whistler's studio in 1891.

Whistler also reframed both *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother* (YMSM 101, **Plate 8**) and *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of*

Fig. 7.8: Handwritten label from the back of *Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, **Plate 32**) describing it as the 'Pink Picture'.



³⁰ Valerie Meux to James Whistler, 28 November 1891, GUL MS Whistler M340; GUW 04070, (accessed, 18 June 2007).

Thomas Carlyle (YMSM 137, **Plate 11**) in 1891 in preparation for their accession into public galleries. As observed in Chapter 4, these portraits may have been surrounded by basket-weave incised frames, similar in design to that on *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland* (YMSM 106, **Plate 23**). However, at this stage Whistler may have been conscious of the fact that, as these works entered large collections, he would lose control over how they were displayed.

The *Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* was the first of the two portraits to be sold. On 24 March 1891, James W. Paton of the Corporation of Glasgow wrote to Whistler of the committee's decision to purchase the painting for one thousand guineas.³¹ The conditions of the purchase included that the 'picture shall be delivered to the Committee in good condition, in a frame suitable for the work, and for a public gallery'.³² Two days later, Whistler sent the following reply:

Dear Sir – / I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 24 – Pray present my compliments to the Gentlemen of the Committee & say that the painting in question, my portrait of Carlyle, is in absolutely perfect condition – this I have seen to myself – I have had the picture newly framed in the frame of my own design in which I trust it may always remain – I will see to its immediate delivery to the officials of the South Kensington Museum.³³

Whistler's comments to Paton confirm that he had fulfilled the Committee's conditions. He promised the safe delivery of the piece by the South Kensington Museum, which would transport it to Glasgow. He also acknowledged the placement of a 'frame suitable' for the painting. Whistler then added a condition of his own. He stated that the frame was of his own design, and that he desired the painting to remain in it for all time.

In his statements to Paton, Whistler illustrates a distinctly new approach to his picture frames. A common observation made throughout this thesis is that Whistler reframed his pictures. However, in his preparations for the placement of the *Carlyle* in the Glasgow City

³¹ James W. Paton to Whistler, 24 March 1891, GUL MS Whistler G39; GUW 01673, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³² James W. Paton to James Whistler, 24 March 1891, GUL MS Whistler G39; GUW 01673, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³³ James Whistler to James W. Paton, 26 March 1891, GUL MS Whistler G40a; GUW 01674, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

Museum, he asked for the work to remain in the frame he put on it. These statements and the precautions made by Whistler, ensure that future generations see and experience his art as he left it. The frames of the 1890s differ from those that had come before. Whistler did not want these 1890s frames to be removed, but he wished for them to stand testament for him and represent him for all time in the public galleries in which they found their home. He had finally created a frame that was 'suitable' for a public gallery. He expressed his pleasure for this new frame style to one of his early patrons, Gerald Potter:

At last the pictures have a dress worthy their own dignity and stateliness, Wherefore you may thank me for finally inventing them – You see it takes years to know these things.³⁴

Before the *Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* travelled north to Scotland, it was displayed at the Goupil Gallery in London.³⁵ This display appears to have been a very brief and solitary showing of this canvas. There are three clippings in the Whistler press-cutting books that pertain to this exhibition of the *Carlyle*. In the 9 April 1891 edition of the *Pall Mall Gazette* the notice 'Mr. Whistler's Portrait of Carlyle' reads:

Mr. Whistler's portrait of Carlyle will be on view to-day and for three or four days after at the Goupil Gallery. The picture, as our readers know, has been purchased by the Corporation of Glasgow, and will, after its present exhibition, be removed to that city by the South Kensington authorities.³⁶

The display must have proved popular, as it was still attracting attention and notice on the 18 April, when *The Spectator* reported that:

It seems natural in noticing an exhibition that proclaims here and there the work of scholars to turn for a moment to a work of the Master. The Corporation of Glasgow have just bought for their gallery the portrait of Carlyle by Mr. Whistler. By this act they have at once done themselves an honour and the nation a service, and have marked a stage in the public appreciation of a great talent. The picture has been on view for a day or two at Messrs. Goupil's, and seen after some years, appeared even greater than before. The sitter has

³⁴ James Whistler to Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], GUL MS Whistler F420b; GUW 01488, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

³⁵ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (London: William Heinemann, 1908), p. 116.

³⁶ 'Mr. Whistler's Portrait of Carlyle', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (9 April 1891); GUL PC11/39, AAA roll number 4687, frame 1001, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

reached perfect harmony this way, if no other; and the artist, while yet the jeers of the mob that regarded him as a mere jester have hardly died away, will find himself an old master before his time.³⁷

The reporter of the *Spectator* observed Whistler's subtle goal: he saw that the painter had broken out of the ranks of being a 'jester' and had become an 'old master'.

The new frame given to Whistler's portrait of *Carlyle* did not go unnoticed in these reports.

In another notice published by the *Pall Mall Gazette*, 'a Correspondent' wrote that:

It is in splendid condition and should last as long as paint and canvas may. Mr. Whistler bestows the most loving care upon works of art. He will not again exhibit a picture until a year or more after it has been painted – until it has been varnished, in fact, and entirely completed. The 'Carlyle' is in this sense only recently finished. It has lately been varnished, put behind plate-glass, and sealed up in one of the artist's most recently-designed frames.³⁸

After the sale and the display of the *Carlyle*, the Pennells noted that:

Mr. D. Croal Thomson, the director of the Gallery, saw that the tide was turning, and suggested offering the *Mother* to the Luxembourg.³⁹

On 30 November 1891, Whistler received a letter from Léon Bourgeois, a minister for the Beaux Arts, stating that the Musée du Luxembourg had agreed to purchase the painting for the total of four thousand francs.⁴⁰ At the time of the purchase the painting was on display at the galleries of Messrs Boussod, Valadon & Cie in Paris. The London branch for this firm was The Goupil Gallery, where D. Croal Thomson was the director. Therefore, due to Thomson's involvement in the display of the *Carlyle* and his desire to sell the *Mother* to the Musée du Luxembourg, it can be assumed that this portrait received the same treatment as the *Carlyle* had before it was sold to the Corporation of Glasgow. The *Mother* may even have been displayed in a similar fashion at the Paris Boussod, Valadon & Cie Gallery as

³⁷ *The Spectator*, (18 April 1891); GUL PC11/41, AAA roll number 4687, frame 1003, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

³⁸ A Correspondent, 'Mr. Whistler's Portrait of Carlyle', *Pall Mall Gazette*, (April 1891); GUL PC11/39, AAA roll number 4687, frame 1001, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

³⁹ Elizabeth Robins Pennell & Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, 5th revised ed. (London: William Heinemann, 1911), p. 296.

⁴⁰ Léon Bourgeois to James Whistler, 30 November 1891, GUL MS Whistler F429; GUW 01497, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

the *Carlyle* was in London. Perhaps this contributed to the creation of the 1892 exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces* and ultimately led Whistler to view his own work in an entirely new way.

7.3. *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces at the Goupil Gallery*

Following the success of the *Carlyle* showing at the Goupil Gallery, Whistler and Thomson set out to stage a non-commercial display of Whistler's oil paintings. On 18 December 1891, shortly after the sale of the *Mother* to the Musée du Luxembourg, Thomson wrote to Whistler stating:

With reference to the suggestion to have a collection of your important pictures we shall be glad to arrange for the exhibition during the month of March 1892 & if you will kindly say that this is agreeable we can keep the time for you & arrange the details later.⁴¹

Thomson followed up on this proposal in a letter to Whistler from 21 December, asking that 'if you can decide definitely about the exhibition in March we shall commence to work'.⁴² Whistler accepted, and in the following January he sent Thomson a list of works he wished to include in the exhibition.⁴³ Throughout the months leading up to the exhibition's opening in March, both Whistler and Thomson solicited individual patrons to lend paintings from their private collections. Thomson told the Pennells that:

Mr. Whistler laboured almost night and day: he wrote letters to every one of the owners of his works in oil asking loans of the pictures. Some, like Mr. Alexander and all the Ionides connection, acceded at once, but others made delays, and even to the end several owners declined to lend. On the whole, however, the artist was well supported by his early patrons, and the result was a gathering together of the most complete collection of Mr. Whistler's best works – forty-three pictures in all.⁴⁴

Throughout this process, Whistler continued to be interested in the framing of his works as

⁴¹ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 18 December 1891, GUL MS Whistler T24; GUW 05679, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴² D. C. Thomson to James Whistler, 21 December 1891, GUL MS Whistler T25; GUW 05680, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴³ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [4 January 1892], PWC 3; GUW 08214, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁴ Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol.2, (1908), p. 120-121.

well as the condition of the canvas. He applied the treatment given to the *Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* to the forty-three works displayed. When the paintings arrived at the Goupil Gallery, the canvases were sent to Stephen Richards and the frames to Frederick Henry Grau. This is evident from a letter dated 1 March 1892, where Thomson informs Whistler that ‘we have obtained today, 4 from J. C. Potter / 2 from C. Flower M P. / 1 from Hon Mrs P. Wyndham & all have been sent the frames to Mr Grau & the pictures to Mr Richards’.⁴⁵ Thomson was acting on the requests stipulated by Whistler a month earlier. On 8 February 1892, Whistler had written saying:

I want you to get all these things in as soon as you can, that they may be taken to Mr. Richards for him to look at – clean and varnish wherever necessary (keeping separate accounts of each transaction – not to be sent in until further advice from myself) – Then my Mr. Grau will call and take measures for new frames for most of them.⁴⁶

Whistler then proceeded to order several new frames to be made by the young Grau. In most cases, he obtained permission from the owner before placing the orders, but as seen in his relations with Lady Meux, Whistler did not hesitate to order first and inform the patron after the work was completed.

Early in the preparations, in January 1892, Whistler asked the artist Frederick Jameson, owner of *Crepuscle in Opal: Trouville* (1865, Toledo Museum of Art, YMSM 67) to allow him to ‘have it framed in one of my newly composed frames’.⁴⁷ Again, Whistler promised the owner that his painting would consequently ‘gain five times in stateliness’.⁴⁸ By the end of the month, however, Whistler began to realise the possible limitations to the capabilities of Frederick Henry Grau and the cooperativeness of his patrons. This is illustrated in the following statement to Thomson on 21 February:

Date: Fix as late as possible – because wish all pictures to be in good condition

⁴⁵ D. C. Thomson to James Whistler, 1 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler T37; GUW 05692, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁶ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [8 February 1892], PWC 3; GUW 08215, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁷ James Whistler to Frederick Jameson, [14 January 1892], PWC 11/1013; GUW 10825, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁴⁸ James Whistler to Frederick Jameson, [14 January 1892], PWC 11/1013; GUW 10825, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

- properly framed & glazed – Don't trouble owners upon the frame question
- Stir up Grau – of course he cannot put new frames on every thing – but what he is doing, he requires much pushing.⁴⁹

Thomson responded on 23 February with the following statement: 'Grau. Seen him & stirred him up'.⁵⁰ In this example, Whistler had expressed his desire for his paintings to be seen in a good condition defined as being properly framed and glazed. Yet, at this point, it becomes apparent that the preparations were beginning to take their toll on Grau, who required proper encouragement in order to complete the task. Whistler's comments are also enlightening in that they suggest that he was encountering some hesitation from his patrons. Earlier, he had explicitly instructed Thomson to continue the framing campaign without regard to the wishes of the owner. On 14 February, Whistler wrote the following to Thomson regarding Mrs. Leyland's loan of *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* (YMSM 113, **Plate 28**):

Get her Nocturne so that no time may be lost – for cleaning varnishing & framing. My man Grau to frame & glaze it without referring the matter to Mrs L – Indeed in several cases I shall have frames made on my own account – taking them off afterwards.⁵¹

At this point during the preparations, Whistler had become so driven and preoccupied with his aim of staging a London exhibition of his works in 'good condition' that he risked alienating his patrons. He also illustrated the willingness to pay the costs personally in order for his desires to be achieved. Whether he actually planned to pay is another question, but he did feign the willingness to do so.

The exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines & Chevalet Pieces* opened to the London public in March 1892. The Pennells record that Thomson's original idea was to stage an exhibition made up of portraits, but that Whistler wanted to include works from throughout his career.⁵² Thomson is also recorded as saying that Whistler hung the canvases alone without any assistance:

⁴⁹ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, 21 February [1892], PWC 3; GUW 08212, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁵⁰ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 23 February 1892, GUL MS Whistler T31; GUW 05686, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁵¹ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, 14 February 1892, PWC 3; GUW 08216, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁵² Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2, (1908), p. 120.

The arrangement of the pictures was entirely in Mr. Whistler's own hands, for although it had been arranged that several young artists should come to the Gallery the evening the works were to be hung, through some mischance they did not arrive, and I was therefore left alone with Mr. Whistler, and received a great lesson in the art of arranging a collection. ... the next day Whistler told his young friends how much they had missed, and what a splendid and exciting evening we had had in hanging the forty-three pictures of the collection.⁵³

The design for this exhibition was sparse and provided a very different approach to the exhibition methods commonly employed by Whistler. The accoutrements commonly seen in Whistler-designed galleries had disappeared.

Several reviewers noted this lack of decoration, and their surprise can be detected in the clippings found in the Whistler press-cutting books. The author for the *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote, 'Some enthusiasts certainly were disappointed. They expected groves of yellow muslin, with pale blue butterflies settling on the pale gold picture frames'.⁵⁴ The 'Indiscriminate Admirer' at *The Illustrated London News* asked of Whistler: 'Have you any surprises for us this time? Any dainty delights in drapery?'⁵⁵ Whistler replied that the catalogue was the one consistent factor from his previous displays. The 'Admirer' then declared that 'a Whistler exhibition without any decoration will seem strange to the private-viewers, won't it?'⁵⁶

The *Saturday Review* noted:

Not this time, as on previous similar occasions, does a shrinking youth, travestied in the colours of a daffodil, hand us our catalogue; pale green and golden hangings do not distract us from the pictures; no butterflies of gamboges satin are dancing about the place on wires.⁵⁷

The reporter for the *Saturday Review* then provided a possible motivation for these

⁵³ Ibid. vol. 2, (1908), p. 121.

⁵⁴ 'Whistlers', *Pall Mall Gazette*, March [1892]; GUL PC13/37, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁵⁵ An Indiscriminate Admirer, 'A Gossip at Goupil. Mr. Whistler on his works', *The Illustrated London News*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/29, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁵⁶ An Indiscriminate Admirer, 'A Gossip at Goupil. Mr. Whistler on his works', *The Illustrated London News*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/29, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁵⁷ 'Mr. Whistler's Pictures', *The Saturday Review*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/33, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

alterations by suggesting that 'Mr. Whistler has considered, no doubt, that his fame has grown above the need of these gewgaws to advertise it, and he is right'.⁵⁸

This observation can also be seen in the review published in *The Pictorial World*, where 'An Enthusiast' wrote:

Doubtless many were disappointed to see no draperies of saffron hue festooned over the walls and the entrance, no elegant *velarium* hung to soften the light upon the pictures; no dainty damsels in yellow frocks dispensing tea in corners, and, above all, to miss the personal presence of the painter. But now that Mr. Whistler has won his place in the Luxembourg, with the prospect of the posthumous honours of the Louvre, he can afford to take the simpler path of unadvertised and unadorned dignity. His fame has been gloriously blazoned over artistic Europe.⁵⁹

The 'Enthusiast' continued that it was 'no longer necessary to surround his pictures with decorative elegance in order to get society talking about them'.⁶⁰ From these reviews, it can be detected that indeed the 'tide was turning'.⁶¹ *The Scotsman* noted that:

The exhibition, too, has been guarded against mere eccentricity ... To those who have hitherto known M. Whistler as he chose to be seen at the Suffolk Street Gallery ten years ago, the exhibition is something of a revelation. In these rooms one irresistibly feels that he is under the influence of artistic genius. The reputation of the painter will stand higher in London to-morrow than it has ever been before ... on every wall there is a masterpiece of execution and colour.⁶²

Whistler's reputation in London was rising, and many credited his changing exhibition methods to this accession. Whistler was now famous and regarded by some as an 'old master'.⁶³ Now he could simply display his paintings and expect them to be well received.

In consequence, Whistler's frames also changed. The frames shown at the Goupil Gallery in March 1892 did not serve as an extension or link, but instead they functioned as objects

⁵⁸ 'Mr. Whistler's Pictures', *The Saturday Review*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/33, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁵⁹ An Enthusiast, 'Mr Whistler in Bond Street', *The Pictorial World*, (26 March 1892), p. 616; GUL PC13/28, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁶⁰ An Enthusiast, 'Mr Whistler in Bond Street', *The Pictorial World*, (26 March 1892), p. 616; GUL PC13/28, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁶¹ Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, (1911), p. 296.

⁶² *The Scotsman*, 21 March [1892]; GUL PC12/24, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

of association. They symbolised to the viewers that what was enclosed was an original Whistler painting that had met his standard of being 'in good condition'. This approach may have resulted from the anticipation of the 'posthumous honours' by the 'Enthusiast' in *The Pictorial World*. With the sale of the *Mother* and the *Carlyle* to large public galleries, Whistler may have begun to approach his paintings and frames with a greater aspiration in mind. He wasn't going to live forever, and he would not have control over the presentation of his artwork after his death. Therefore, he took the occasion of the 1892 showing at the Goupil Gallery to illustrate how he wished his works to be displayed in perpetuity. As a result, he created a new method of display, one devoid of aspects he could not control and one that possessed a simple 'unadorned dignity'.⁶⁴

As observed by Thomson, Whistler was left to arrange and hang the forty-three oil paintings as he wished.⁶⁵ The exhibition was divided into two neighbouring rooms, which were described as being the 'large room' and the 'small room'. It appears that the frames influenced the hanging and the overall presentation in the exhibition rooms. In the larger room, Whistler placed the large portraits and works that had been reframed by Grau. In the smaller room, Whistler hung the smaller nocturnes and earlier paintings, the majority of which had remained untouched and unaltered by Grau.

From an insightful letter written by David Croal Thomson to Beatrix, Whistler's wife, and from a detailed review in *The Lady's Pictorial*, it is possible to determine in which room certain works were placed.⁶⁶ As a result, a rough re-creation of Whistler's 1892 exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines & Chevalet Pieces* can be made. In Thomson's letter to Mrs. Whistler dated 12 March 1892, he wrote that:

Both our large rooms are filled with the pictures & the effect is magnificent. The three large portraits (Rosa Corder, Lady A. Campbell & the Fur Jacket) hang on our wall & they dwell in ones mind like the grand orchestral tones of a fine oratorio. They are magisterial in every way, & their harmonies march

⁶³ *The Spectator*, (18 April 1891); GUL PC11/41, AAA roll number 4687, frame 1003, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁶⁴ An Enthusiast, 'Mr Whistler in Bond Street', *The Pictorial World*, (26 March 1892), p. 616; GUL PC13/28, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁶⁵ Pennell & Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (1908), p. 121.

⁶⁶ There were forty-three oils and one photograph exhibited.

along like heroes returning from victory.⁶⁷

The writer for *The Lady's Pictorial* reported that the following paintings were interspersed between these three portraits⁶⁸: *Nocturne: Black and Gold – The Fire Wheel*; *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay*; and *Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Westminster*.⁶⁹ Also on this wall was a photograph of *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother*. Since it had recently been accessed into the collection at the Musée du Luxembourg, it could not be included in the exhibition. Therefore, it was represented by 'a small but wonderfully good photograph' that gave an 'excellent notion of the dignified pose and subdued colouring of the original'.⁷⁰

On the far wall was placed *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*, which was surrounded by *Grey and Silver: Old Battersea Reach*; *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*; *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Southampton Water*; *Chelsea in Ice*; and either *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Battersea Reach* or *Nocturne: Blue & Silver – Battersea Reach*.⁷¹ On the wall opposite the arrangement of the three female portraits hung the *Portrait of Thomas Carlyle*. Thomson described it as being 'in the centre of the large room'. Located on either side of the *Carlyle* were marines, possibly *Blue and Silver: Blue Wave, Biarritz* and *Green and Grey: the Oyster Smacks, Evening*.⁷² The last wall of the large room held *Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux*, with *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – St. Mark's, Venice* and possibly *Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water* and *Nocturne: Blue and Gold – Old Battersea Bridge*.⁷³ Other works that may have been shown in the larger gallery space include *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Bognor*; *Grey and Silver: Chelsea*

⁶⁷ D. C. Thomson to Beatrix Whistler, 19 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler T50; GUW 05705, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁶⁸ Large portraits listed in GUW 05705: *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder*; *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell* (1882, PMA, YMSM 242); *Arrangement in Black and Brown: The Fur Jacket* (1876, Worcester Art Museum, YMSM 181).

⁶⁹ Painting details: (1872/7, Tate, YMSM 169, **Plate 40**); (1866, FGA, YMSM 76); and *Bridge* (1871/2, Burrell Collection, YMSM 145).

⁷⁰ 'Art Notes. The Whistler Exhibition at Goupil's', *The Lady's Pictorial*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/35, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁷¹ Painting details: (YMSM 129, **Plate 12**); (1863, AIC, YMSM 46); (YMSM 72, **Plate 13**); (1871/1872, AIC, YMSM 117); (YMSM 53, **Plate 37**); and (YMSM 119, **Plate 9**) or (1871/1878, ISGM, YMSM 152).

⁷² Painting details: (1862, Hill-stead Museum, YMSM 41) and (1871, Whereabouts Unknown, YMSM 99).

⁷³ Painting details: (1879/1880, National Museum of Wales, YMSM 213) and (1876/7, FGA, YMSM 179).

Wharf, and *Blue and Silver: Trouville*.⁷⁴ Of the works shown in the large gallery, it is known that eight received new frames from F.H. Grau.⁷⁵ The only painted and decorated frame to be shown in the larger gallery was on *Nocturne Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*.

The small gallery contained what Thomson described as ‘the smaller pictures’. He also recorded that ‘the effect of this salon is a contrast to the other, more gay, perhaps & more easily understood [sic] by the people’ but it was, he was quick to point out, ‘equally triumphant in its result’.⁷⁶ *The Lady’s Pictorial* also noted this change:

In the smaller gallery the pictures by Mr. Whistler are also extremely interesting, some of them recalling curiously enough, the early work of Mr. Holman Hunt and the other Pre-Raphaelite brethren.⁷⁷

It is more difficult to determine the exact placement of these paintings, but it is possible to conclude which works hung in this room. From the statements made by Thomson and *The Lady’s Pictorial*, it can be assumed that the smaller nocturnes and the earlier works such as the Oriental-influenced works from the 1860s, were shown here, including *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*; *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*; *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks*; and *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*.⁷⁸ Other works shown in this room were: *Symphony in White, No. 3*; *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket*; *Nocturne: Silver and Opal – Chelsea*; *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room*; *Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso*; *Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Chelsea Snow*; *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*; and possibly *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights* and *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter*.⁷⁹

⁷⁴ Painting details: (1871/1876, FGA, YMSM 100, **Plate 41**); (1864/1868, NGA DC, YMSM 54); and (1865, FGA, YMSM 66, **Plate 42**).

⁷⁵ A detailed list can be found in **Appendix: Goupil Papers and Listing**.

⁷⁶ D.C. Thomson to Beatrix Whistler, 19 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler T50; GUW 05705, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁷⁷ ‘Art Notes. The Whistler Exhibition at Goupil’s’, *The Lady’s Pictorial*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/35, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁷⁸ Painting details: (YMSM 52, **Plate 14**); (YMSM 60, **Plate 17**); (YMSM 47, **Plate 2**); and (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**).

⁷⁹ Painting details: (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**); (YMSM 170, **Plate 10**); (1880, FGA, YMSM 309); (1860/1, FGA, YMSM 34, **Plate 43**); (YMSM 73, **Plate 39**); (1876, Fogg, YMSM 174); (YMSM 105, **Plate 4**); (1872, Tate, YMSM 115); and (YMSM 122, **Plate 19**).

Frames that were re-gilt at this time include those on *Symphony in White, No. 3, Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*, and *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*. The most significant arrangement within this small room was the grouping of Whistler's 1860s paintings, none of which were reframed. In this room three of the Oriental cassetta frames from 1864 (explored in detail in Chapter 3) were displayed side-by-side, perhaps for the first and last time. Also shown in this room were two painted and decorated frames on *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* and *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Chelsea*.

While the reviews fail to notice or mention the presence of these frames, *The Lady's Pictorial* did observe Whistler's affinity to Japanese art:

In no. 40 "Harmony in Flesh-colour and Green," Mr. Whistler gives us a purely Japanese subject - girls in the picturesque robes of the land of the Mikado, lounging about on a wooden balcony of a wonderful blue -green colour, with sprays of apple blossoms filling in the foreground.⁸⁰

It continued that:

Another Japanese subject is seen in No. 5, "The Lange Liesen of the Six Marks," a red-haired girl in draperies of purple silk, putting the finishing touches with her brush to a blue and white pot which she holds in her hand.⁸¹

When left alone to hang the rooms for this exhibition, Whistler consciously and deliberately grouped specific paintings together. This is most evident in the small gallery, where he hung his older works that had not been reframed by Grau. This may have been an attempt to preserve some of the historical integrity of his works. Whistler may have wanted to juxtapose his older framing methods with his newer approaches; or these frames may have survived because of uncooperative patrons and the lack of time and money.

⁸⁰ Reference to *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, 'Art Notes. The Whistler Exhibition at Goupil's', *The Lady's Pictorial*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/35, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁸¹ 'Art Notes. The Whistler Exhibition at Goupil's', *The Lady's Pictorial*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/35, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

7.4. Whistler's Patrons and Work during and after 1892

The frames seen at the Goupil Gallery Exhibition can be categorised into two main groups: those reframed prior to the show and those reframed or resurfaced for the exhibition.

Additional groups comprise several works reframed by Whistler during the preparations, only to be returned to their pre-Goupil frame by the owners after the closing of the show, and a number of works reframed after 1892 either by Whistler or another individual.

Following the London showing of *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces*, Whistler wished for the show to travel to Paris and then on to Munich. He hinted at these plans to the 'Indiscriminate Admirer' from *The Illustrated London News*, where he is quoted as saying:

This is certainly not a representative exhibition. It is only a small collection of oil-paintings lent by their owners, many of which have been shown before - shown, if not *seen* ... I look upon this collection merely as a prelude to that which I hope to show before long in Paris, where all my strongest art sympathies are centred.⁸²

These plans were still in effect after the close of the London exhibition. In April 1892, Whistler, who was in Paris, wrote to Thomson in London requesting that he send the outside measurements of several frames. These measurements were required by the 'hanging Committee of the Champs de Mars' in Paris, in order that sufficient space be left on the wall so the works could be hung immediately upon arrival.⁸³ The next day Thomson sent the overall dimensions for: *Nocturne: Grey and Gold – Chelsea Snow*; *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Bognor*; *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*; *Nocturne in Blue and Silver*; *Blue and Silver: Blue Wave, Biarritz*; *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*; and *Nocturne: Trafalgar Square – Snow* (1876/77, FGA YMSM 173, **Plate 44**).⁸⁴ Out of the seven frames listed, only one frame remains on its painting today.⁸⁵ This painting, *Nocturne: Trafalgar Square – Snow* hangs in the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, DC, and is enclosed in a signed Grau 1892 reeded frame.

⁸² An Indiscriminate Admirer, 'A Gossip at Goupil. Mr. Whistler on his works', *The Illustrated London News*, (26 March 1892); GUL PC13/29, AAA roll number 4688, (accessed, 31 May 2007).

⁸³ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [13 April 1892], PWC LC2/1753-5; GUW 08340, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸⁴ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 14 April 1892, GUL MS Whistler T68; GUW 05723, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸⁵ This is an assumption, as it was not possible to measure all of the frames listed. But due to the provenance, it is possible that *Nocturne: Trafalgar Square* is the only surviving frame from this list.

The list of works measured included paintings lent by Alfred Chapman and Gerald Potter, two of Whistler's earliest patrons. Chapman agreed to allow Whistler to show his paintings in Paris and Munich, but in early May, he changed his mind.⁸⁶ Thomson sent Whistler a telegram confirming this⁸⁷ and followed up the next day with a letter, informing the artist that, 'All Mr. Chapman's pictures are to be returned to Liverpool and he prefers his old frames'.⁸⁸

Thomson had mentioned earlier, in February, that Chapman was initially not happy with the prospect of his paintings receiving new frames:

Please let us know if we require authority from each owner to clean & varnish each picture or if you have arranged for that yourself with the owners. Mr. Chapman does not seem to like the idea of new frames.⁸⁹

It may have been to this inquiry that Whistler wrote to Thomson, saying 'Indeed in several cases I shall have frames made on my own account – taking them off afterwards'.⁹⁰ Many of Whistler's patrons did not appreciate his cavalier approach towards the replacement or re-surfacing of their frames. All five of the Chapman pictures were given new Grau-made frames, only to be returned after the exhibition, restored to their pre-Goupil frames.

The actual events that occurred after the closing of the Goupil show in 1892 are sometimes difficult to follow. It is possible that even Whistler was confused at this time, as he requested Thomson to 'kindly give me once more names of who have paid frames, & who have refused'.⁹¹ Such a list had been sent to Whistler in May, but this repeat request could indicate that these situations had yet to be resolved a month later. The first list sent to Whistler on 20 May 1892 provides an invaluable resource to our understanding of this exhibition and

⁸⁶ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, 1 May [1892], PWC 3; GUW 08202, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸⁷ Boussod, Valadon & Cie. to James Whistler, [2 May 1892], GUL MS Whistler T79; GUW 05734, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸⁸ Boussod, Valadon & Cie. to James Whistler, 2 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T80; GUW 05735, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁸⁹ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 9 February 1892, GUL MS Whistler T28; GUW 05683, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁰ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, 14 February 1892, PWC 3; GUW 08216, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹¹ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [6 June 1892], PWC LC2/1744-5; GUW 08337, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

the preparations taken in the months before it was staged.⁹² The document lists the owners who lent paintings to the Goupil Gallery in one column and the work done to their loans in a separate column. Entries in the latter column include 're-gilt', 'new frame', 'nothing done', and 'refused new frame'.⁹³

From this list, it is evident that Chapman was not the only owner to refuse the frames ordered by Whistler. Gerald Potter, Mrs. Leyland, Louis Huth, and Sebastien-Paul Gallimard either returned frames or refused to pay the expenses for the work carried out by Grau. In March 1892, Whistler wrote a letter to Gerald Potter explaining the placement of these new frames on his paintings. Potter had lent four paintings to the exhibition and this letter suggests that possibly three had been given new Grau frames. He wrote:

I hope you are as pleased as I am with my new frames – at last the pictures have a dress worthy their own dignity and stateliness, Wherefore you may thank me for finally inventing them – You see it takes years to know these things – and by the way what an execrable knobbly [sic] horror was round your 'Blue Wave, Biarritz'!⁹⁴

Whistler went on to state that:

'The Little White Girl' also ought to have a new frame. The old one is quite too weak for the picture – but there was no time to alter that – Do order one from Mr. Grau, 570 Fulham Road. His prices are very little – and the pictures represent so much in comparison to what they cost!⁹⁵

Whistler's comments support the theory that due to a lack of time, *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* was not reframed in 1892, but that it was displayed in its 1864 Oriental cassetta frame, the one adorned with the Swinburne poem 'Before the Mirror'. Whistler continued to write to Potter, saying 'I do trust you will keep the works in the frames I have

⁹² Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740, (accessed, 27 July 2007). A copy of this letter can be found in the **Appendix: Goupil Papers and Listings**.

⁹³ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁴ James Whistler to Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], GUL MS Whistler F420b; GUW 01488, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁵ James Whistler to Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], GUL MS Whistler F420b; GUW 01488, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

put upon them – and so pay the little man Grau'.⁹⁶

The list sent from the Goupil Gallery indicates that Potter did not pay 'the little man Grau', and these frames were returned to Whistler. He confirms this in a letter to E. G. Kennedy two years later, in February 1894, where Whistler recounted to Kennedy that Potter:

made a great fuss about paying for the cleaning and refused to take the one or two new frames I had put his paintings in - by this toilette I had of course not only set their wares before the public to the best advantage but I had put the works themselves into the most splendid condition⁹⁷

He concluded with the statement that 'Mr. Potter left the frames on my hands.'⁹⁸

Other work included on the list of clients who had 'not paid for work done to frames belonging to them' were those that had been re-gilded or re-surfaced.⁹⁹ According to this list, the following works were re-gilt: *Chelsea in Ice*; *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen*; *Symphony in White, No. 3*; *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*; *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea*; *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach*; *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander*; *Nocturne Grey and Gold: Westminster Bridge*; and *Nocturne Opal and Silver*. The majority of these frames would have had a painted and decorated frieze, which would have been lost after they were re-gilded. On 3 March, William G. Rawlinson wrote to Whistler that he 'should like it to be seen at its best' and therefore 'had the frame regilt by your man Grau'.¹⁰⁰ Whistler also explicitly instructed Grau to 'thoroughly clean and regild' the frame on *Miss Cicely Alexander*.¹⁰¹ This same treatment may have also been applied to *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*.

⁹⁶ James Whistler to Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], GUL MS Whistler F420b; GUW 01488, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁷ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, 4 February 1894, NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/48; GUW 09715, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁸ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, 4 February 1894, NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/48; GUW 09715, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

⁹⁹ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁰ William George Rawlinson to James Whistler, 3 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler R24; GUW 05124, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰¹ James Whistler to Rachel Agnes Alexander, [15/18 February 1892], British Museum 1958-2-8-28; GUW 07580, (accessed, 27 July 2007) and Thomson to Whistler, 4 March 1892, GUL MS Whistler T40; GUW 05695, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

In February, Whistler first addressed his concerns regarding the frame on *The Ocean*:

The picture which is very dirty should go at once to Richards to be cleaned & varnished – Frame in very bad state I fear – Grau had better see what can be done.¹⁰²

There are some suggestions that a new frame had been made. On the Goupil Gallery list from 20 May, the following two entries appear beside the owner's name 'Mrs. Peter Taylor':

Old frame being regilt refuses new frame¹⁰³

It appears that this work was sold during the exhibition to William Taylor Malleson, who requested that the old frame be returned to the painting. It is uncertain whether the regilded 1870s frame or the 1892 Grau frame was shown at the exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces*. Whichever frame enclosed the painting, it can be assumed that it did not have the painted decoration presently seen on the work. Due to the presence of a Goupil Gallery label on the verso of the current frame, it is possible that the 1870s frame was used and given a new surface, one without the painted seigaiha pattern (fig. 7.9). The correspondence between Thomson and Whistler confirms this by stating on 11 April:

Mr. Matterson [sic], the present owner of Mrs Peter Taylors picture is willing to send the Picture to Paris if it is insured against all risks & if you agree to have the old frame put in new condition afterwards.¹⁰⁴

Fig. 7.9: Goupil Gallery Label on the verso of *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean* (YMSM 72, Plate 13).



¹⁰² James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, 21 February [1892], PWC 3; GUW 08212, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰³ Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁴ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 11 April 1892, GUL MS Whistler T64; GUW 05719, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

Thomson wrote to Whistler again on 23 April concerning the restoration of the 1870s frame:

The present owner wants to use his old frame again & asks us to put it in hand for him (at his expense) if you will decide who is to the colouring or decorating on the frame. Will you please say who should do it?¹⁰⁵

Whistler did not respond to Thomson's request. However, since the frieze is now decorated with a painted seigaiha pattern and butterfly, it is assumed that Thomson found a suitable person to 'restore' the frame.

As with Chapman and Potter, Louis Huth was upset with Whistler regarding the treatment of the frame surrounding the painting he lent. Upon the return of *Symphony in White, No. 3* from the Goupil Gallery, Huth wrote to Whistler saying that the work 'arrived yesterday with the frame much abraded in spite of Goupils apparent careful packing'.¹⁰⁶ Huth addressed the issue of the bills sent to him from Goupil pertaining to the treatments given the canvas and frame by Richards and Grau. He wrote:

I was fairly taken aback when I got it, having been assured I should be put to no expense whatever in regard to it – what was the object of the exhibition? certainly not my gratification I hated parting with the picture & did so, I can assure you, most reluctantly – it was done wholly & solely to oblige you.¹⁰⁷

While Huth's letter was polite and amicable, Whistler confided in a postscript to Thomson in July that he wanted 'to tackle the people who have refused to pay' for the cleaning and work on the frames.¹⁰⁸ After this statement he instructed that the frames 'these people have refused had better be sent through your house to me'.¹⁰⁹

It is important to note that while Chapman, Potter, and others may have refused the Grau-made frames in 1892 in favour of the pre-1892 frames, a large number of these paintings

¹⁰⁵ D.C. Thomson to James Whistler, 23 April 1892, GUL MS Whistler T75; GUW 05730, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁶ Louis Huth to James Whistler, 20 April 1892, GUL MS Whistler H341; GUW 02245, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁷ Louis Huth to James Whistler, 20 April 1892, GUL MS Whistler H341; GUW 02245, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁸ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [19 July 1892], PWC LC2/1733-4; GUW 08332, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

¹⁰⁹ James Whistler to D.C. Thomson, [19 July 1892], PWC LC2/1733-4; GUW 08332, (accessed, 27 July 2007).

can be seen in Grau-style frames today. This means that these paintings have experienced numerous re-framings. First by Whistler into the standard 1892 Grau-made frame, and later by the patron back into the frames that enclosed the painting before the 1892 exhibition. Finally, at some point, depending on the individual provenance of the painting, they were reframed into a frame made to resemble the Grau-produced 1892 frames. Paintings that have undergone this treatment include *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl*; *Nocturne Blue and Gold – Bognor*; and *Nocturne Blue and Silver – Cremorne Lights* to name a few.

These occurrences illustrate vividly the effect that Whistler's actions had on his framing legacy and how the art world came to view his work. Paintings he had framed in a standard frame were returned to the frames preferred by the patrons, only for these same paintings to be returned to the standard Grau-style (c. 1892) frame sometime after leaving the patrons' ownership and control. While the dates for these final re-framings are individual and vary, many may have occurred after Whistler's death. This trend reflects the statements made by the 'Enthusiast' for *The Pictorial World* in March 1892. At the start of 1892, Whistler was in a new position – he had won a place in the Luxembourg. He now faced the challenge of preparing himself and his artwork for receiving 'posthumous honours'. He used the design and the display for the Goupil Gallery exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces* to establish how he wanted to be remembered. After his death, as is seen with the treatment of this last group of frames from the exhibition, he did not need personally to oversee the alterations. Instead museums, dealers and patrons diligently followed the actions outlined by the Master and reframed his works for him, as they had frequently seen him do.

Conclusion

Whistler, Freer and the *Little Blue Girl*

The last frame decorated by Whistler can be seen surrounding the painting *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl* (1893-1903, FGA, YMSM 421, **Plate 45**), which hangs in the Freer Gallery of Art in a Grau-style reeded cushion frame. Whistler altered this standard design, which he had previously described as the ‘true pattern’¹ and ‘worthy’ of his works², by painting a decorative basket-weave border and butterfly signature upon it. David Park Curry observed that this frame:

carries on patterns in the painting itself. The blue squares alternate with gold in the checker motif that echoes the pattern on the rug underneath the model’s feet. In this case, the blue and gold of the frame repeats the blue and gold harmonies of the painting, and Whistler signed only the frame of his carefully integrated pair.³

Curry’s reading of the painting and frame is accurate. The frieze and the fillet have been adorned with a small checkerboard pattern, which not only reflects the mat shown in the painting, but is also reminiscent of the basket-weave pattern developed by Whistler during the 1870s. Yet the design seen here differs from those he used previously. The incised pattern on *Harmony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs. Leyland* (YMSM 106, **Plate 23**) and the painted

¹ James Whistler to Edward Guthrie Kennedy, [13 June 1892], NYPL E.G. Kennedy I/19; GUW 09685, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

² James Whistler to John Gerald Potter, [26/30 March 1892], MS Whistler F420B; GUW 01488, (accessed, 19 August 2007).

³ David Park Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art* (New York, London: Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, 1984), p. 159.

pattern on *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter* (YMSM 122, **Plate 19**) are not made up of solid blocks of colour, but neatly arranged lines.

However, whereas Curry's observations are valid, they do not properly interpret Whistler's placement of this decoration. He notes the similarities between the decorative patterns used, but he does not consider why Whistler used this pattern. Is the purpose for this frame simply to extend the canvas and connect to the environment? Or was Whistler using the frame to convey a deeper meaning? As seen in the discussions in Chapters 4 and 5, Whistler employed the basket-weave pattern for a limited amount of time before returning to the seigaiha pattern. Why then, after nearly twenty years, did he return to this motif and apply it to this particular frame and not to others from this period?

In light of the analyses made throughout the course of this thesis, it is possible to interpret this pattern as more than a reflection of the mat shown at the model's feet.

The American collector, Charles Lang Freer, first commissioned this work in 1894 but did not receive it until after the artist's death in 1903. The two men first met at the start of Whistler's final reframing campaign. In March 1890, Freer, who was visiting London for the first time, took time from his business affairs to introduce himself to Whistler. Freer had been collecting Whistler prints since the late 1880s. While he had yet to buy a Whistler oil painting, he was amassing a notable collection of canvases from a trio of American painters, namely Thomas Wilmer Dewing, Dwight W. Tryon, and Abbott Handerson Thayer. Freer's approach to his art collection was unique, and he proved to be the ideal patron for Whistler.

Freer was sympathetic to the artists' desires to display their artwork to its best advantage, and he went to great lengths to ensure that this occurred. During his early friendship with Whistler, Freer was in the midst of building and decorating his home on Ferry Avenue in Detroit, Michigan, where he commissioned the tonalist painter Tryon, to produce a series of mural paintings to hang in the front hall. Tryon, along with the assistance of fellow Freer favourite, Thomas Wilmer Dewing, went on to create interiors and gardens that enhanced and

harmonised with the works in Freer's collection. It was during these preparations that Freer wrote to Dewing, saying 'you should always consider that your wishes must control your work, in which you and I have a joint ownership'.⁴ Freer believed that he was merely a steward overseeing the safekeeping of the artworks in his collection. This can be seen in his willingness for his home to be decorated in a way that best enhanced and displayed the collected works.

This attitude of stewardship may have led Whistler to confide in Freer in 1899, 'I think I may tell you without the least chance of being misunderstood, that I wish you to have a fine collection of Whistlers!! - perhaps The collection'.⁵ Whistler recognized Freer's desire to protect the artistic integrity of his collection and his great efforts to ensure that it was seen in a beautiful way.

Freer's careful approach to Whistler's works can be seen in the preparations taken for the 1904 memorial exhibition at the Copley Hall in Boston. In September 1903, Freer wrote to Rosalind Birnie Philip, Whistler's ward and executrix, saying:

I have been doing a lot of work lately in weeding out unworthy things in my collection, framing others, etc., etc., All of Mr. Whistler's paintings in oil, water colour and pastels are now properly framed and in condition to be properly seen. I have followed Mr. Whistler's practice in framing and all are now of standard form and colour. The result is most beautiful. You must come to America sometime and see the group together. I have a capital workman who makes the frames, does the gilding etc. under my own inspection. He is most capable and sympathetic.⁶

The framer mentioned is James E. Hanna, who began making frames for Freer in the 1880s. A bill, also dated from the 16th September 1903, documents that Freer spent \$320 on '19 new frames for Whistler's pictures'.⁷ Yet, *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl* remained untouched.

⁴ Freer to Dewing, 7 June 1892, FGA Letterpress Book 1.

⁵ James Whistler to Charles Lang Freer, [29 July 1899], FGA Whistler 40; GUW 03196, (accessed, 13 August 2007).

⁶ Freer to Birnie Phillip, 16 September 1903, FGA Archives (Box 10, Folder 3); (accessed 5 April 2005).

⁷ James E. Hanna to Freer, 16 September 1903, FGA Archives.

In the book, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*, David Park Curry commented on this painting, saying:

The somewhat overworked surface is a palimpsest that records multiple changes to the image, some of which were made following the death of Mrs. Whistler. ... But one wonders whether Whistler was ever actually satisfied with the work.⁸

Again, these comments do not provide an accurate interpretation of Whistler's work. If the frame, the painting and the events involving Whistler and Freer are considered, a very different reading of this artwork can be attained.

On 10 May 1896, Whistler's beloved wife, Beatrice, died of cancer. Since their meeting in 1890, Mrs. Whistler and Freer had grown to be good friends. A popular anecdote has often been told to illustrate this close friendship; it tells of when Mrs. Whistler, who was in the early stages of her illness, requested Freer to find the songbird, Shama Merle, during his trip to India in 1895. Freer wrote to Beatrice that he 'constantly searched for the songster, but found him only in museums – stuffed.'⁹ He finally discovered a pair in Calcutta and sent them back to the bedridden Beatrix. One bird survived the trip from India to Paris and later witnessed her passing.

Following her death, Whistler consoled himself by working on Freer's painting *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl*. He wrote to Freer on 24 March 1897 of both events and his grief and loss:

Shall I begin by saying to you, my dear Mr Freer, that your little "Blue & Gold Girl" is doing her very best to look lovely for you? ... I write to you many letters on your canvas! – and one of these days, you will, by degrees, read them all, as you sit before your picture

And in them you will find, I hope, dimly conveyed, my warm feeling of affectionate appreciation for the friendship that has shown itself to me, in my forlorn destruction – as it had done before, in our happiness, to both of us – And in the work, perhaps will you of your refined sympathy and perception, discover the pleasure and interest taken in the perfecting of it, by the other one who, with me, liked you – and delighted in the kind and courteous attention paid, on your

⁸ Curry, *James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art*, p. 152.

⁹ Charles Lang Freer to Beatrix Whistler, 18 March 1895, MS Whistler F443; GUW 01511 (accessed, 28 August 2007).

travels, to her pretty fancy and expressed wish – She loved the wonderful bird you sent with such happy care from the distant land!¹⁰

Freer treasured this letter but was grieved by his previous correspondence with Whistler. After Whistler had mailed his letter, but before it had been received, Freer sent a telegram asking ‘can you forward ‘Blue Girl’ and pastel to reach me before April fifteenth and save me twenty five per cent duty?’¹¹ Upon receiving Whistler’s letter, Freer quickly sent the following reply:

Your letter with its exquisite memories, tenderness and friendship came this morning, and as I read of her sympathetic interest in the “Little Blue and Gold Girl” and realized for her sake, how precious its care and deeply-loving each finishing touch, my heart sank at the thought of having asked you to hurry the picture to me –

Forgive, I pray, those cold words of last week – colder to you, I fear, than the icy waves of the Atlantic through which they were flashed. And be assured, my dear Mr. Whistler, that whenever, in your own good time and way, you are quite ready to complete, and transfer to my keeping, that which she loved, and which all who have seen loves, I shall be rejoiced to receive, and care for as you would have me. And when I am gone, the picture shall rest with its own beautiful kind, so, “that in after years, others shall pass that way, and understand.”¹²

The sorrow expressed by Whistler and Freer can be seen when both the frame and its painting are re-examined. Yes, the decorative pattern reflects the pattern in the rug at the model’s feet, but upon reading these letters, it is possible to interpret this pattern as serving a more significant purpose.

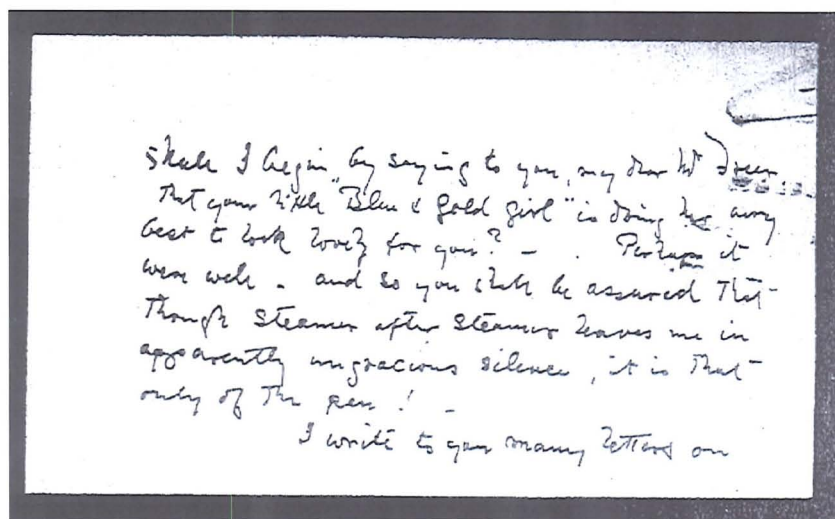
Whistler wrote to Freer saying that he did not have the words to express his grief in a letter. Instead, he chose to communicate this ‘forlorn destruction’ in his painting and declared that he had written ‘many letters’ to Freer upon the canvas. Whistler’s grief was further conveyed by the use of the stationery upon which his sentiments are written. A thick black mourning border surrounds the front page of this note. (see **fig. C.1**).

¹⁰ James Whistler to Charles Lang Freer, 24 March 1897, FGA Whistler 38; GUW 11571 (accessed, 30 August 2007).

¹¹ Charles Lang Freer to James Whistler, 31 March 1897, FGA Letterpress Book 4; GUW 13817 (accessed, 30 August 2007).

¹² Charles Lang Freer to James Whistler, [6 April 1897], MS Whistler F446; GUW 01514 (accessed, 30 August 2007).

Fig. C.1: Front page of James McNeill Whistler's 24 March 1897, letter to Charles Lang Freer, with the black mourning border.



If this letter is compared to the painting *Harmony in Blue and Gold: the Little Blue Girl* and its surrounding frame, an interesting parallel emerges. Since Whistler likened the canvas to being 'many letters', then the decorated border around the frame could be seen as the mourning border present around the written lines of the letter. The painting and frame work together to express his grief, in the same way as the paper and the mourning border. Thus, the black mourning border and the blue and gold checkerboard pattern function as an expression of the artist's grief.

The frame on *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl* simultaneously serves multiple functions. It is a divide and method of association, because Whistler adapted his standard deep reeded cushion frame as developed by F.H. Grau. It is a link to the environment, since it mirrors the mat in the canvas, and it may also reflect decorative patterns present in Freer's Detroit home.¹³ And it is an extension, in that it tells the story of the artist's mourning for his departed wife. With his last frame, Whistler has tied together almost every stage of his frame development to create a fitting tribute for his beloved wife. There are elements of the frames produced from the 1870s, 1880s and 1890s. This pairing of painting and frame tells the tale of his love and grief for Beatrix, and it also stands as a testament to the enduring friendship that was shared between the Whistlers and Charles Lang Freer. Because of Freer's commitment to care for the work, we 'in after years' can 'pass that way, and understand.'¹⁴

¹³ The stairwell and hallway was decorated with basket-weave patterns.

¹⁴ Charles Lang Freer to James Whistler, [6 April 1897], MS Whistler F446; GUW 01514 (accessed, 30 August 2007).

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Glossary

Basic Terms

ASTRAGAL. A convexity of about a $\frac{2}{3}$ circle. (Newbery)

BACK EDGE. The outer edge of the frame furthest from the picture. (Simon)

CAVETTO. A concavity of about a $\frac{1}{4}$ circle. (Newbery)

CUSHION. A broad slight convexity. (Newbery)

FILLET. A narrow flat step between the mouldings of the frame. (Simon)

FLAT. A wide flat area of a frame, often adjoining the picture. (Simon)

FRIEZE. The flat central area between the inner and outer mouldings of a frame. (Simon)

LINER. An inserted flat or bevelled strip fitted in the rebate of a frame; also called **SLIP**.

MOULDING. A shaped projecting or recessed band running along a frame, which may be plain or enriched. (Simon)

RAIL. Reference to either one of the horizontal or vertical sections of the frame.

REBATE. The recess beneath the sight edge designed to take the picture. (Simon)

RUNNING PATTERN. A decoration that runs continuously around a frame. (Wilner)

PROFILE (SECTION). A cross section of the frame showing the shape (contours) and arrangement of elements. (Wilner)

SCOTIA. A concavity of about a $\frac{1}{2}$ circle. (Newbery)

SIGHT EDGE. The inner edge of the frame nearest to the picture. (Simon)

SLIP. An inserted flat or bevelled strip fitted in the rebate of a frame; also called **LINER**.

TOP EDGE. The most prominent moulding of a frame. (Simon)

VERSO. The reverse (back) of the frame.

Ornament

ANTHEMION. A band of semi-naturalistic ornament, usually consisting of alternating palmettes and lotuses. (Newbery)

DIAPER. A diamond-shaped pattern. (Wilner)

FLUTING. A series of parallel concave grooves, generally cut across the hollow or frieze of a frame at right angles to the frame side. (Simon)

GUILLOCHE. An ornament of two or more bands or strings repeatedly interwoven; based on a series of circles. (Newbery)

REEDING. A series of thin convex ridged mouldings set parallel with each other, somewhat resembling a group of bundled reeds. (Simon)

SEIGAIHA. A pattern that consists of repeating sets of overlapping curves; also known as 'blue sea waves'. (Horowitz)

SPANDREL. Shaped additional inner structure to a rectangular frame, usually describing an oval or circular picture. (Newbery); Commonly seen on Pre-Raphaelite frames.

Frame Types

CASSETTA. A frame of flat section with raised inner and outer mouldings, an Italian term for an internationally used type, literally a box or case; sometimes called a Box frame. (Simon)

EMPIRE. Emerging from France during the beginning decades of the nineteenth century, these frames featured a low relief design with natural ornamentation such as anthemions well as palmettes, flowers and tendrils. (Wilner)

ENGAGED FRAME. An early sixteenth-century frame type with grooves into which the panel of the painting engages. (Simon)

NEOCLASSICAL. Based on more recently discovered remains of ornament and Louis XVI models. (Newbery)

WATTS. A BOX type frame, named after the painter George Frederic Watts, very common from the 1860s to the 1910s, the sight edge and top edge with leaf ornament in compo, the main flat frieze often gilt direct onto the oak. (Simon)

WHISTLER. A reeded frame, named after the painter James McNeill Whistler, current from the 1870s onwards, found either as a flat frame with inner and outer reeded bands, or as a reeded cushion frame, usually gilt directly onto oak. (Simon)

Technique and Construction

BOLE. A fine-grained clay substance used during the gilding process. The bole is applied in liquid form over the gesso layer, and its colour (yellow, red, white, brown, black and blue) will affect the tone of the gold laid on top of it. (Wilner)

BURNISHING. A technique in finishing water-gilding. Selected areas of the frame are polished with agate stones to create highlights and to contrast with the matte areas. (Wilner)

BUTT JOINT. A joint with two closely abutting timbers. (Simon)

COMPOSITION (COMPO). A pliable mixture made of whiting, glue, resin and linseed oil, which can be pressed to make moulding ornament. (Simon); Pressed into boxwood moulds, it was then removed and applied to the wood substrate. (Wilner)

CORNER BLOCK. A block used on the rear side of a frame to secure a mitre joint and to strengthen the inner and outer back frame, a technique used in the 19th century. (Simon)

DUTCH METAL. An alloy of copper and zinc used in leaf form as a substitute for gold leaf but require a finishing lacquer to prevent tarnishing. (Simon)

GESSO. A liquid mixture of chalk (calcium carbonate), hide glue, and water. Several coats are applied to the wood to prepare the frame for gilding. (Wilner)

GILDED OAK. Frames in which gold is directly applied to an oak panel without the use of gesso or bole via the oil-gilding method. The result shows the wood grain texture underneath the gilded surface. (Wilner)

GILDING. The application of gold leaf to a prepared surface. (Simon)

GOLD LEAF. Gold that has been pounded down into sheets or leaves nearly 1/250,000 of an inch thick. The variety of gold can differ from a deep gold (23K) to a lemon gold (18K) and pale gold (12K), which are alloyed with small amounts of silver. (Wilner)

GOLD SIZE. The adhesive used to fix gold leaf in place. (Simon)

MITRE JOINT. A diagonal joint used at the corner of frames with the adjacent sides abutting. (Simon)

OIL GILDING. Gilding using an oil-based gold size as adhesive. (Simon) It cannot be burnished and thus keeps a matte surface. (Wilner)

SIZE. An adhesive used to make gesso and to protect unburnished water gilding, traditionally made from animal skin or parchment clippings. (Simon)

WATER GILDING. A mixture of alcohol, water and hide glue is applied to the bole layer. This adhesive holds the gold leaf to the frame. Once dry, it can be burnished. (Wilner)

WHITENING. An essential component of gesso and composition. (Simon)

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Appendix: Unpublished Sources

Unpublished 1:

Elizabeth Robins Pennell's Journal, (Saturday, 7 February 1909), PWC, Box 352, folder 55, p. 253, (accessed, 17 September 2004).

Unpublished 2:

Elizabeth Robins Pennell's Journal, (Saturday, 7 February 1909), PWC, Box 352, folder 55, p. 254, (accessed, 17 September 2004).

Unpublished 3:

Letter, Ira Horowitz to Hamish Miles, (18 January 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Unpublished 4:

Letter, Hamish Miles to Ira Horowitz, (21 January 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Unpublished 5:

Letter, Ira Horowitz to Hamish Miles, (26 January 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Unpublished 6:

Letter, page 1, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, (4 April 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Unpublished 7:

Letter, page 2, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, (4 April 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

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Friday, February 5th. Joseph's letter not in the Times. Pawling writes that he is consulting Lewis about answering the paragraph in the Globe's Art and Artists to which we called his attention and in which it is said that "biographies" were also included in these last wishes of Whistler's and that his executrix is justified and so on. We dined with the Withers at the Imperial Club. Mrs. Thynne was there. Also the Fernalds and Van Anrooy who was very enthusiastic about the book. J. asked Mrs. Thynne about Whistler's white lock. She said she did not know exactly what the origin was - she always remembered it there and had the impression that he probably began to grow grey just there and encouraged it, might even have helped it on - he always took such trouble about anything concerning his personal appearance. She also spoke of Valparaiso and said while in the town he had really gone through awful things in the way of earthquakes. She seemed to think the journey was just the result of a freak. There was not much chance to talk to her quietly with the others there, also talking to her.

Saturday, February 7th. Pawling writes that Lewis does not think it well for them to take up the Globe affair but suggests that we might consult our solicitors as to the propriety of our doing so. As we are not mentioned by name in the paragraph we do not see the use of going into it ourselves though we think it would be a good thing if Heinemann did. The Times has sent back Joseph's letter, with just the usual printed form. It looks as if the Whibley-Harmsworth combination was more than mere conjecture.

I forgot to write on Tuesday that Meyer talked of Whistler's frames, the talk suggested by J.'s asking him if he had seen the picture Ströhlen had in Paris, & Whistler, he said it was, that he got from Carmen. Meyer said yes, because Ströhlen sent it over to them to have it framed. They sent it to Whistler's old frame-maker, in Wardour Street, he said,

Folder 55 - Box 352
Library of Congress
Pennell-Whistler Collection
17 Sept 2004

Elizabeth Robins Pennell's Journal, (Saturday, 7 February 1909), PWC, Box 352, folder 55, p. 253, (accessed, 17 September 2004).

254.

who told him that Rossetti had made the first design for Whistler's frames in the old days - also that he had made the frames for Whistler's etchings (we thought Holland did) and that in the end, after the plain white frames in two planes, Whistler went back to the frames with black lines. At one time he had them made with green lines, but only once.

Wednesday, February 10th. Little Brown lunched with us to talk over the show he wants to give of Joseph's pastels. Before lunch was over, the talk of course turned on Whistler. Brown said again that he had always appreciated Whistler and Whistler knew it. As a proof of his appreciation - as well as of the fact that Whistler always had admirers who believed in him - he spoke again of the two plates published by the Fine Art Society and told us how the publication came about - a new version of what he told us before. Whistler brought them proofs of the Putney Bridge, and Brown, when he saw how quickly they sold these proofs, advised the Director to buy the plate for which Whistler asked only £ 90 - they bought it, and the result of its success was that they commissioned him to do the Battersea Bridge. He repeated several things he has told us already, with two new incidents, one in Whistler's appreciation of him. It was at the beginning of the Fine Art Society days, when he was very young and was earning next to nothing, but he asked Whistler and Howell to dine with him, and he remembers Whistler's anxiety that the dinner, though it was at the Cafe Royal, was to cost him nothing. The other incident was of a much later period, when Whistler had the Fitzroy Street studio. Burrell, who had already bought the Fur Jacket and other Whistlers, came up to London and was very anxious to meet Whistler, and after various preliminaries, Brown arranged it, Whistler asking them both to tea in the studio. Brown remembers their getting into a cab and Burrell, who was a great big

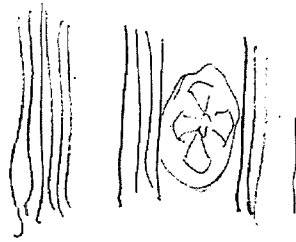
Folder 55- Box 352
Library of Congress
Pennell-Whistler Collection
17 Sept 2004

Elizabeth Robins Pennell's Journal, (Saturday, 7 February 1909), PWC, Box 352, folder 55, p. 254, (accessed, 17 September 2004).

Brooklyn, NY 11235

January 18, 1974

Mr. H.A.D. Miles,
Director,
The Barber Institute of Fine Arts,
University of Birmingham
Birmingham
England



Dear Sir:

Presently I am preparing an article on Whistler picture frames. In an article which appeared in the Art Bulletin, March, 1968, by Sandberg, he mentioned that the border or margin of the Whistler pty, Symphony in White, No. 3, had Maltese crosses on it, echoing the pattern on the floor in the picture. When I was here several years ago I never noticed this. Can you take a quick look for me to see if these crosses do in fact exist on the margin of the frame? Has there been any frame changes since 1968? A very brief note will be greatly appreciated as you must know, I am working against a tough deadline.

With deepest appreciation
Ira Horowitz

Letter, Ira Horowitz to Hamish Miles, (18 January 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

21st January, 1974.

Dear Dr. Horowitz,

Sandburg was right when he said that there are Maltese Crosses on the frame of Whistler's Symphony in White No.3. There are other decorative motifs of plant-like kind as well. The whole decoration of the frame is difficult to describe in words, if only because the Crosses and the plant-like motifs are covered over with gilding and consequently difficult to read. If you want detailed information of this patterning on the frame, the only thing to do would be to get photographs taken, probably under a raking light. Even this might not bring much out, and it might be necessary to resort to photography by invisible light. (There have been no alterations to the frame since 1968.)

If you will excuse a very crude diagram, here is an indication of where the decoration is on the frame:

Yours sincerely,

Letter, Hamish Miles to Ira Horowitz, (21 January 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Brooklyn, New York 11235

January 26, 1974

Dear Prof Miles,

I cannot tell you how helpful your letter of January 21st is to my work. Your sketch solved many problems for me. I would deeply appreciate you having the score of the Symphony in White, No 3 photographed for me by whatever means you feel is necessary to obtain the best results. I will, of course, pay for any work done.

I hope that this photographic work can be done very soon.

I shall always remember your kindness and clarity of information that you showed me.

With deepest respects,

Ira Horowitz



DEPARTMENT OF FINE ART
THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW
GLASGOW W2

Telephone 041-339 8855 ext 548

Professor Hamish Miles
Barber Institute of Fine Arts
Birmingham B15 2TS

4 April 1974

Dear Hamish,

Many thanks for being so prompt in sending me the negatives. We have been equally prompt in printing them and getting them back to you (that is if Cowper has sent them). They are, quite frankly, easier to work with than looking at the frame itself. Here are a few observations.

It seems to me that it would be most unlikely for Whistler to go to so much trouble in painting the frame and then doing his best to make his painting invisible. I know Whistler aimed at great subtlety in effect but this would be carrying subtlety to the most absurd extreme.

Whistler's painted frames date mainly from the 1860s and early 1870s. Surviving examples of them are those for Sutton (Phaidon) Plates 26, 28, 51, 59, 95 (the last was begun in the 70s): and recently I found that the original frame for Pl.30 has been put to use for a completely different picture, also in the Freer. There also used to be a painted frame on which Whistler had painted Swinburne's poem Before the Mirror for the Tate Symphony in White No.2 (Sutton frontispiece): the picture in this frame is reproduced in Pennell (1919, p.124). and also in the 1911 (one vol) ed. of Pennell fac. p.124 (but NOT in the standard 1906 2 vol ed.)

The earlier designs of these frames was rather Pre-Raphaelite and in the earliest he favoured a kind of spiral decoration very much in the style of Rossetti (and, interestingly, taken up much later by Klimt and Stuck). Later he went in for a kind of Japanese wave motif and later still, as illustrated in the Glasgow University's Pictures Cat.No.86, Colour Pl.IV, he used one of petal-like leaves.

At some point he seems to have gone off these painted frames and by the time of his 1892 exhibition at Goupils he was reframing pictures in what one now regards as the standard Whistler reeded frame (it must have been at this time that the Symphony in White No.2 lost its original frame and its Swinburne poem). My idea therefore is that it could well have been at this time that Symphony in White No.3 was regilded and the coloured decorative elements covered up. I can not prove this for sure but the thickness of the paint under the gilding suggests that this is so and the undecorated parts may have been covered with less impasted paint.

My other principal observation is that the frame has at some time been turned upside down. If you reversed the photographs making where you write 'Right side top to bottom' into 'Left side bottom to top' you will see that the very first photograph (21-33) has a butterfly on it which would then be the right way up. It is inconceivable that Whistler would have decorated his frame with a butterfly standing on its head. I can find nothing else in the photographs of what you call left side and which I make right side which would contradict this. This, of course, means that what you call top becomes bottom and bottom becomes top. Neither presents any problems.

*for a butterfly of this type the right way up look
at The Ballroom, Sutton (Pl. 44)

Letter, page 1, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, (4 April 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White*, No. 3, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

There comes a problem of date. At this stage I do not want to be too dogmatic. But I would feel that 1867, the date on the picture, is too early. The earliest dated butterfly I have ever found is 1869 and that is a very mechanical kind of thing. My guess would be 1869-70, which would suggest that when it went to the R.A. it was in a different frame. However one learns as one goes on and I am prepared to be convinced that Whistler could have done a butterfly of this kind earlier than I had believed.

I would be interested to know whether these observations square up with those which Ira Horowitz is likely to make. He is sending me a copy of his thesis so I will be able to confirm this. I think he would be able to tell you more than I can about the nature of the kind of quatre-foil decoration and where Whistler got it from. He is very good at this sort of thing but incredibly ignorant about what goes inside the frames.

I was also interested in the painting on the back which I will give more thought to. It does not, however, at first sight, seem to present any sort of interesting problems.

Yours sincerely *ew*

Andrew

Professor A. McLaren Young

Receipt ack'd 8/4/76
12 Apr. - negative not yet received

Letter, page 2, Andrew McLaren Young to Hamish Miles, (4 April 1974), Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Curatorial file for *Symphony in White, No. 3*, (accessed, 4 November 2006).

Appendix: Grau

Frederick Henry Grau Papers

Grau 1:

2 March 1859, Birth Certificate for Fredrick Henry Grau, son of Johann Heinnrick Grau (Cabinet Maker) and Maria (Ettling) Grau, born at Windmill Street, Saint Pancras.

Grau 2:

1861 – UK London Census, Johann H. Grau, Cabinet Maker and family, Maria, Fredrick, and Alfred.

Grau 3:

1871 – UK London Census, Johann H. Grau (36), Cabinet Maker Master.

Grau 4:

1871 – UK London Census, Maria (35), Frederick (12), Alfred (10), George (8), Amelia (5), Emma (3), and Arthur (1) Grau.

Grau 5:

1881 – UK London Census, John H Grau (46), Cabinet Maker and Maria (45), Fredrick H. (22), George (18), Amelia (15), Emma (13), Arthur (11), listed at 49 St. John Street.

Grau 6:

1888 – Kelly's London Suburban Directory. 570 Fulham Road. Grau Fdk. H. upholster.

Grau 7:

3 May 1888 – Marriage Certificate for Frederick Henry Grau (29), Cabinet Maker Master of 570 Fulham Road, Fulham and Georgina Hawkins (24) of 111 Harwood Road, Fulham.

Grau 8:

1891 – UK London Census, Frederick Henry Grau (32), Artist in Furniture (cabinet maker), and Georgina Grau (26) located at 570 Fulham Road.

Grau 9:

1894 – Kelly's London Suburban Directory. 570 Fulham Road. Grau Fdk. H. upholster.

Grau 10:

11 March 1895 – Death Certificate for Fredrick Henry Grau (36) Cabinet Maker, died of phthises.

(Census' found on www.ancestry.co.uk. Accessed, 2 March 2007.)



JRF

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF BIRTH

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number... COL365637



REGISTRATION DISTRICT **Pancras**

1859 BIRTH in the Sub-district of **Tottenham** in the **County of Middlesex**

Columns:-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
No.	When and where born	Name, if any	Sex	Name and surname of father	Name, surname and maiden surname of mother	Occupation of father	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar	Name entered after registration
	27th March 1859. Windmill Street, Tottenham.			Johann Heinrich Grau	Maria (Ettling) Grau	Cabinet Maker	St. St. George's Church, Tottenham, 28th March 1859.			

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Births in the District above mentioned.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the **22nd** day of **August** **2007**

BXCC659878

CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE. "CROWN COPYRIGHT" WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.

FORMS 1267 0107 MISC. 01098

2 March 1859, Birth Certificate for Fredrick Henry Grau, son of Johann Heinnrick Grau (Cabinet Maker) and Maria (Ettling) Grau, born at Windmill Street, Saint Pancras.

9

The undenotified Houses are situated within the boundaries of the															
Civil Parish for Enumeration of		Municipal Borough of		Municipal Ward of		Parliamentary Borough of		Town of		Village or Hamlet, &c., of		Registration District of		Electoral District of	
St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.		St. Mary's, &c.	
No. of House	ROAD, STREET, ALLEY, and No. or NAME of HOUSE	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to HEAD of Family	CON- DITION	AGE Years	Rank, Profession, or OCCUPATION	WHERE BORN								
1	111	George Thomas	Head	Married	20	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
2	112	Elizabeth	Wife	Married	18	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
3	113	James	Son	Single	15	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
4	114	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	12	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
5	115	George	Son	Single	10	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
6	116	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	8	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
7	117	James	Son	Single	6	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
8	118	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	4	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
9	119	George	Son	Single	3	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
10	120	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	2	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
11	121	James	Son	Single	1	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
12	122	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
13	123	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
14	124	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
15	125	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
16	126	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
17	127	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
18	128	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
19	129	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
20	130	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
21	131	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
22	132	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
23	133	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
24	134	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
25	135	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
26	136	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
27	137	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
28	138	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
29	139	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
30	140	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
31	141	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
32	142	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
33	143	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
34	144	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
35	145	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
36	146	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
37	147	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
38	148	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
39	149	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
40	150	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
41	151	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
42	152	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
43	153	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
44	154	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
45	155	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
46	156	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
47	157	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
48	158	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
49	159	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
50	160	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
51	161	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
52	162	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
53	163	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
54	164	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
55	165	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
56	166	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
57	167	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
58	168	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
59	169	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
60	170	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
61	171	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
62	172	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
63	173	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
64	174	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
65	175	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
66	176	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
67	177	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
68	178	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
69	179	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
70	180	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
71	181	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
72	182	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
73	183	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
74	184	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
75	185	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
76	186	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
77	187	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
78	188	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
79	189	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
80	190	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
81	191	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
82	192	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
83	193	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
84	194	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
85	195	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
86	196	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
87	197	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
88	198	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
89	199	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
90	200	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
91	201	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
92	202	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
93	203	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
94	204	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
95	205	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
96	206	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
97	207	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
98	208	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
99	209	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
100	210	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
101	211	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
102	212	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
103	213	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
104	214	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
105	215	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
106	216	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
107	217	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
108	218	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
109	219	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
110	220	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
111	221	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
112	222	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
113	223	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
114	224	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
115	225	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
116	226	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
117	227	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
118	228	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
119	229	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
120	230	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
121	231	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
122	232	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
123	233	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
124	234	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
125	235	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
126	236	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
127	237	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
128	238	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
129	239	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
130	240	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
131	241	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
132	242	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
133	243	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
134	244	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
135	245	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
136	246	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
137	247	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
138	248	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
139	249	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
140	250	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
141	251	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
142	252	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
143	253	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
144	254	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
145	255	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
146	256	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
147	257	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
148	258	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
149	259	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
150	260	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
151	261	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
152	262	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
153	263	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
154	264	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
155	265	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
156	266	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
157	267	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
158	268	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
159	269	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
160	270	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
161	271	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
162	272	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
163	273	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
164	274	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
165	275	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
166	276	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
167	277	James	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
168	278	Elizabeth	Daughter	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
169	279	George	Son	Single	0	Labourer	St. Mary's, &c.								
170	280														

[illegible]

Draw the pen through such of the words as are inappropriate.

Latency before reformation is not even less than the duration of formation itself.

1871 – UK London Census, Maria (35), Frederick (12), Alfred (10), George (8), Amelia (5), Emma (3), and Arthur (1) Grau. (page 2)

The undermentioned Houses are situate within the Boundaries of the									
Civil Parish (or Township) of	City or Municipal Borough of	Municipal Ward of	Parliamentary Borough of	Town or Village or Hamlet of	Urban Sanitary District of	Rural Sanitary District of	Electoral Division of	Page 7	Electoral Division of
St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John	St. John
ROAD STREET, No. and No. of HOUSE	HOUSES	NAME and Surname of each Person	RELATION to Head of Family	CON- DITION as to Marriage	AGE last Birthday of	RANK, Profession, or OCCUPATION	WHERE BORN	II	II
21	1	John H. Grau	Head	Mar.	46	Cabinet Maker	St. John	(1) Deceased, Dumb	(1) Deceased, Dumb
		Maria	Wife	do	45	do	do	(2) Deceased, Dumb	(2) Deceased, Dumb
		Fredrick H.	Son	Mar.	22	do	do	(3) Deceased, Dumb	(3) Deceased, Dumb
		George	do	do	18	do	do	(4) Deceased, Dumb	(4) Deceased, Dumb
		Amelia	do	do	15	do	do	(5) Deceased, Dumb	(5) Deceased, Dumb
		Emma	do	do	13	do	do	(6) Deceased, Dumb	(6) Deceased, Dumb
		Arthur	do	do	11	do	do	(7) Deceased, Dumb	(7) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	10	do	do	(8) Deceased, Dumb	(8) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	9	do	do	(9) Deceased, Dumb	(9) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	8	do	do	(10) Deceased, Dumb	(10) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	7	do	do	(11) Deceased, Dumb	(11) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	6	do	do	(12) Deceased, Dumb	(12) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	5	do	do	(13) Deceased, Dumb	(13) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	4	do	do	(14) Deceased, Dumb	(14) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	3	do	do	(15) Deceased, Dumb	(15) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	2	do	do	(16) Deceased, Dumb	(16) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	1	do	do	(17) Deceased, Dumb	(17) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(18) Deceased, Dumb	(18) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(19) Deceased, Dumb	(19) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(20) Deceased, Dumb	(20) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(21) Deceased, Dumb	(21) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(22) Deceased, Dumb	(22) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(23) Deceased, Dumb	(23) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(24) Deceased, Dumb	(24) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(25) Deceased, Dumb	(25) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(26) Deceased, Dumb	(26) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(27) Deceased, Dumb	(27) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(28) Deceased, Dumb	(28) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(29) Deceased, Dumb	(29) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(30) Deceased, Dumb	(30) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(31) Deceased, Dumb	(31) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(32) Deceased, Dumb	(32) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(33) Deceased, Dumb	(33) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(34) Deceased, Dumb	(34) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(35) Deceased, Dumb	(35) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(36) Deceased, Dumb	(36) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(37) Deceased, Dumb	(37) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(38) Deceased, Dumb	(38) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(39) Deceased, Dumb	(39) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(40) Deceased, Dumb	(40) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(41) Deceased, Dumb	(41) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(42) Deceased, Dumb	(42) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(43) Deceased, Dumb	(43) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(44) Deceased, Dumb	(44) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(45) Deceased, Dumb	(45) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(46) Deceased, Dumb	(46) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(47) Deceased, Dumb	(47) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(48) Deceased, Dumb	(48) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(49) Deceased, Dumb	(49) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(50) Deceased, Dumb	(50) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(51) Deceased, Dumb	(51) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(52) Deceased, Dumb	(52) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(53) Deceased, Dumb	(53) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(54) Deceased, Dumb	(54) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(55) Deceased, Dumb	(55) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(56) Deceased, Dumb	(56) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(57) Deceased, Dumb	(57) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(58) Deceased, Dumb	(58) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(59) Deceased, Dumb	(59) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(60) Deceased, Dumb	(60) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(61) Deceased, Dumb	(61) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(62) Deceased, Dumb	(62) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(63) Deceased, Dumb	(63) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(64) Deceased, Dumb	(64) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(65) Deceased, Dumb	(65) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(66) Deceased, Dumb	(66) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(67) Deceased, Dumb	(67) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(68) Deceased, Dumb	(68) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(69) Deceased, Dumb	(69) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(70) Deceased, Dumb	(70) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(71) Deceased, Dumb	(71) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(72) Deceased, Dumb	(72) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(73) Deceased, Dumb	(73) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(74) Deceased, Dumb	(74) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(75) Deceased, Dumb	(75) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(76) Deceased, Dumb	(76) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(77) Deceased, Dumb	(77) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(78) Deceased, Dumb	(78) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(79) Deceased, Dumb	(79) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(80) Deceased, Dumb	(80) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(81) Deceased, Dumb	(81) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(82) Deceased, Dumb	(82) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(83) Deceased, Dumb	(83) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(84) Deceased, Dumb	(84) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(85) Deceased, Dumb	(85) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(86) Deceased, Dumb	(86) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(87) Deceased, Dumb	(87) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(88) Deceased, Dumb	(88) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(89) Deceased, Dumb	(89) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(90) Deceased, Dumb	(90) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(91) Deceased, Dumb	(91) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(92) Deceased, Dumb	(92) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(93) Deceased, Dumb	(93) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(94) Deceased, Dumb	(94) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(95) Deceased, Dumb	(95) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(96) Deceased, Dumb	(96) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(97) Deceased, Dumb	(97) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(98) Deceased, Dumb	(98) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(99) Deceased, Dumb	(99) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(100) Deceased, Dumb	(100) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(101) Deceased, Dumb	(101) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(102) Deceased, Dumb	(102) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(103) Deceased, Dumb	(103) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(104) Deceased, Dumb	(104) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(105) Deceased, Dumb	(105) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(106) Deceased, Dumb	(106) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(107) Deceased, Dumb	(107) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(108) Deceased, Dumb	(108) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(109) Deceased, Dumb	(109) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(110) Deceased, Dumb	(110) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(111) Deceased, Dumb	(111) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(112) Deceased, Dumb	(112) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(113) Deceased, Dumb	(113) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(114) Deceased, Dumb	(114) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(115) Deceased, Dumb	(115) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(116) Deceased, Dumb	(116) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(117) Deceased, Dumb	(117) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(118) Deceased, Dumb	(118) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(119) Deceased, Dumb	(119) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(120) Deceased, Dumb	(120) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(121) Deceased, Dumb	(121) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(122) Deceased, Dumb	(122) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(123) Deceased, Dumb	(123) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(124) Deceased, Dumb	(124) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(125) Deceased, Dumb	(125) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(126) Deceased, Dumb	(126) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(127) Deceased, Dumb	(127) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(128) Deceased, Dumb	(128) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(129) Deceased, Dumb	(129) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(130) Deceased, Dumb	(130) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(131) Deceased, Dumb	(131) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(132) Deceased, Dumb	(132) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(133) Deceased, Dumb	(133) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(134) Deceased, Dumb	(134) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(135) Deceased, Dumb	(135) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(136) Deceased, Dumb	(136) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(137) Deceased, Dumb	(137) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(138) Deceased, Dumb	(138) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(139) Deceased, Dumb	(139) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(140) Deceased, Dumb	(140) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(141) Deceased, Dumb	(141) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(142) Deceased, Dumb	(142) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(143) Deceased, Dumb	(143) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(144) Deceased, Dumb	(144) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(145) Deceased, Dumb	(145) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(146) Deceased, Dumb	(146) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(147) Deceased, Dumb	(147) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(148) Deceased, Dumb	(148) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(149) Deceased, Dumb	(149) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(150) Deceased, Dumb	(150) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(151) Deceased, Dumb	(151) Deceased, Dumb
		Edward	do	do	0	do	do	(152) Deceased, Dumb	(152) Deceased, Dumb
		Kate	do	do	0	do	do	(153) Deceased, Dumb	(153) Deceased, Dumb
		Flora	do	do	0	do	do	(154) Deceased, Dumb	(154) Deceased, Dumb
		Charles	do	do	0	do	do	(15	

385.]

FULHAM.

127

Henry
Mrs
Edward, grocer
Claybrook rd.
Geo. Edw. drpr
Mrs. Sarah, dairy
ng Henry, tailor
Robert, baker
Lurgan aven.
ley James, greengro
Benjamin, butcher
Union Dispensary
L. Hughes, dispensr
Edw. pawnbroker
William, draper
Aspenlea rd.
Thos. Hutton, surgn
Charles, stationer
Dean Robt. ham dlr
ound P.H. Rt. Dean
Greyhound rd.
s & Green, grocers
wine & spirit deals
r. MONEY ORDER &
TELEGRAPH OFFICE
Savings Bank
ord Robert, butcher
Alfred, draper
David, dining rms
Arcill st.
Samuel, baker
John, dairy
Wm. tobacconist
Harrison & Son,
bers
Delerm st.
Thos. prov. dlr
George, builder
Crown rd.
Park gardens,
dham road.
Col. James Fenton
obald
chard
Walter John
William
Edward
ries
ones Poole
William
William
George Edward
nry
Edward
Mrs
Mrs
Major Edward T
William Henry
George
dter, jun
dter, sen
Fk. prof. of music

Fulham Park road.
Lammin Wm. (Eridge ho)
King Mrs. (Park cottage)
Cottle Ernest William
(Truro lodge)
Temple Charles (Rose vi)
2 Barry Charles, surgeon
Ley Jas. H. (The Turret)
5 Phillip Harold
6 Wilson Dudley
7 Micklethwaite Albert
8 Gwatkin Alex. Geo. S
9 Whistler Mrs
10 Ley Edwin Archibald
11 Simpson Herbert James
12 Baginley Alfred Clayton

Fulham road, from Stamford
bridge, through Walham
green to High street, con-
tinuation of Fulham road,
given in the POST OFFICE
LONDON DIRECTORY

NORTH SIDE.

398 Harrison John & Co.
cradle spring makers
London Athletic Club
Grounds
402 Keen Raymond
404 Downey Paul
406 Gingell Charles Thomas
408 Le Compte Mrs
410 Johnson Thomas
412 Lee William Edw. surgn
416 Curtis Mrs
416A, Carter Geo. mkt. garhur
418 Vincent Philip
420 Russell Miss
422 Williams Miss Clare
424 Moore Park Grammar
School (Richard Edw.
Cranfield c.m. principal)
426 Worrall Thomas Henry
428 Gellowski Edward E
430 Davis Samuel
434 Wulff Louis James
436 Hillyear Mrs
438 Fryer Miss
440 Weeks Wm. nurseryman
442 Stamford Mrs
446 Bray William
448 Wilson Sl. ham & beef dlr
450 Parry Henry, dairyman
WESLEYAN CHAPEL
452A, Croaker Alfred William,
auctioneer
454 Victoria Wine Co
454A, Whistler Jas. M. artist
454A, Horniman Emslie John,
artist
454A, Drury Alfred, sculptor
454A, Percy Herbt. S. artist
454A, Fabbucci Louis, scpt
456 Wilson Jas. A. music slr
460 Pallett Geo. J. tobacconst
462 London General Omnibus
Co. Lim. (J. W. Hare,
dist. supt)

490 Fielder Frank, job master
492 Red Lion, n. Hy. J. Squires
494 Thomas Mrs. Ann, saddler
496 Wheeler Wm. R. hur dresser
498 Snelling Free Lk. laundry
500 Thompson Fitzjames,
butcher
502 Hall Charles, boot maker
504 Franzman John, baker
here is M. Louth pl.
London & Provincial Bank
Limited (Matthew Henry
Wilde, manager)
Wilde Matthew Henry
(Bradfield house)
George inn, Thos. Hamer
508 Ambbridge Hy. photographr
510 Tucker Wm. H. architect
512 Roberts Thomas Richard
514 Mousell Bros. furniture
removers
516 Croft Jas. rent collector
Police Station
524 Bignall Daniel, dentist
Clark Arthur
530 Pearcey Mrs
532 Launderers Alex. Oliver
534 Bonnick William Frank
542 Brown Mrs. Maria, dress
maker
556 Pickford & Co. carriers
592 Johnson John, grocer
564 Simpson Mrs. Frances
Matilda, dress maker
566 Burt Mrs. Eliza, print sellr
570 Grau Fdk. H. upholsterer
572 Kennett Henry, oilman
Shorts Jas. R. surgeon
Wykes Mrs. (Dungau-
non house)
576 Wheat Sheaf p.m. Robert
Bagholomew
578 Palmer Mrs. Ellen Eliza,
shopkeeper
Sinclair Rev. John S.
M.A. (incumbent of St.
Dionis)
Sinclair Miss (Arundel ho)
Hales Jn. (St. Peter's dge)
Marchant Miss (Percy vil)
Fulham Free Library,
Henry Burns, sec
Higgins Joseph Napier
(Percy Cross house)
Seymour Chas. (Vine cut)
WESTFIELD TERRACE:
1 Mills George
2 Ashby Mrs
3 Middleton Robt. W. surgn
here is Lilyville rd.
4 Jenkins John Shns
6 Sanders Miss
8 Macdonald Mrs. Edith,
ladies' school
9 Lee Barnard, solicitor
10 Webb Henry
here is Radipole rd.
12 Whistler Robert

Blanford & Williams, lunatic
asylum (Munster house)
Williams Chas. F. (Munster ho)
WALL LETTER BOX
here is Munster rd.
Durrell Arnis p.m. William
Henry Dearing
FULHAM PARK VILLAS:
1 Peachey George Charles
2 Forster Thomas
3 Clifton George
4 Barde Henry
Pattison Edward Seton,
surgeon (Granville ho)
Fagge Leonard M. dentist
(Woolville)
Parr Robert (Nuttfield)
Barber Jn. G. (Gresham ho)
Clarke Mrs. (Ashlands)
Northcott Arthur, surgeon
(Oakdene)
here is Cassibury rd.
Palmer John (Colnhurst)
Vidion Fredk. (Malmesville)
Thomas Geo. W. 1 & 2 villas
Mack Robert E. 2 villas
ROSEDALE TERRACE:
4 Taylor Harry F. oilman
5 Weller Wm. Fk. plumber
6 Puddington Mrs. Ann E.
furniture dealer
7 Chapman Wm. estate agt.
8 Garcia Mrs. Katharine,
fancy draper
9 Fenn John, coffee rooms
10 Harris Jn. Thos. butcher
11 Simmons Edw. dairyman
SOUTH SIDE.
461 Mallous Geo. T. beer rtlr
463 Brown Geo. cheesemonger
465 Hill Mrs. Emma, ward-
robe dealer
466 Swan Wm. dairyman
471 Clark Wm. coffee rooms
473 Alvey Mrs. Chas. confectionr
475 Moy Thos. coal merchant
477 Rising Sun p.m. Jn. Henry
James
here is Moore Park rd.
479 Everett Charles, solicitor
479 Smith James Hy. & Co.
domestic machinery dtrs
481 Bishop Miss Mary, ladies'
school
483 Bellaoche George
485 Gurney Fredk. Kingston
487 Hatfield & Colbourne,
dress makers
489 Lawson Henry
493 Egan Francis, surgeon,
L.R.C.S.D. & P. Ire
495 Darbyshire Wm. furn. dlr
499 Morris William E. grocer
501 Oddy The Misses
503 Cockburn Arthur
505 Gibbs Mrs

1888 - Kelly's London Suburban Directory. 570 Fulham Road. Grau Fdk. H. upholster.

3 May 1888 – Marriage Certificate for Frederick Henry Grau (29), Cabinet Maker Master of 570 Fulham Road, Fulham and Georgina Hawkins (24) of 111 Harwood Road, Fulham.



CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF MARRIAGE

GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number **COL986733**

1888. Marriage solemnized at the Register Office in the District of <u>Fulham</u> in the County of <u>Middlesex</u>								
No.	When Married.	Name and Surname.	Age.	Condition.	Rank or Profession.	Residence at the time of Marriage.	Father's Name and Surname.	Rank or Profession of Father.
99	Third May 1888	Frederick Henry Grau	29 years	Bachelor	Cabinet Maker Master.	570 Fulham Road Fulham	John Henry Grau	Cabinet Maker
		Georgina Hawkins	24 years	Spinster	—	111 Harwood Road Fulham	James Hawkins	Miller
Married in the <u>Register Office</u> according to the Rites and Ceremonies of the — by <u>Certificate before</u> by me,								
This Marriage was solemnized between us,		<u>Frederick Henry Grau</u>	in the Presence of us,		<u>William J. Gibbs</u>	<u>David Shepland, Registrar</u>		
		<u>Georgina Hawkins</u>			<u>Ellen Brownfield</u>	<u>J. A. Marsh, Superintendent Registrar</u>		

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a register of Marriages in the Registration District of **Fulham**

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the **1st** day of **March** 2007

MXD 102509

This certificate is issued in pursuance of section 63 of the Marriage Act 1949. Sub-section 3 of that section provides that any certified copy of an entry purporting to be sealed or stamped with the seal of the General Register Office shall be received as evidence of the marriage to which it relates without any further or other proof of the entry, and no certified copy purporting to have been given in the said Office shall be of any force or effect unless it is sealed or stamped as aforesaid.

CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE. "CROWN COPYRIGHT"

WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.

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JAW

[illegible]

1891 – UK London Census, Frederick Henry Grau (32), Artist in Furniture (cabinet maker), and Georgina Grau (26) located at 570 Fulham Road.

Fulham Palace rd.—con.
..... here is Edgarley ter
..... here is Gannan aven
..... here is Wardo aven
Fulham Waste Land & Lygon
Alms-houses
Fulham Cemetery (Thomas
Furner, supt. ; David Shop-
land, clerk)
Public Recreation Ground
..... here is Lillie rd
WEST SIDE.
Model Dwellings ; George
Hart, superintendent
London Lord Bishop of, Right
Rev. Frederick Temple D.D.
& P.C. (Fulham palace)
Davidson Rev. J. P. F. M.A.
(St. James' lodge)
WALL LETTER BOX
St. James' Diocesan Home
ST. CLEMENT'S CHURCH
..... here is Crabtree la
[For remainder see Hammer-
smith.]

Fulham Park gardens,
Fulham road.
1 Greenall Col. James
2 Blackwood John
4 Grizelle Frederick Charles,
professor of music
Nash Edwd. B. (Ellerslea)
6 Mills George
7 Rackham Miss
8 Littleboy James
9 Godwin Richard
10 Werner Rinaldo, artist
11 Parr Mrs
12 Mayland William
13 Ryley William
14 Cowley James
15 Wilcock Henry Yeardley
17 Hart Peter
18 Rees John
19 Slevin Mrs
21 Howard Miss
22 Pierrepont Miss
23 Morrison Matthew
24 Matkinson Robert
25 Barr Rt. architct. & surveyr
26 Davies David Thomas
27 Gerald B
28 Manlove Mrs
29 Scott George
30 Kerr Walter
31 Seymour Mrs
32 Friskin John George
33 Morgan James
34 Edwards Fredk. Francis
36 Ostlere Miss
37 Spyer Mrs
38 Hastings Mrs
39 Gaconnet Mdle
40 Arnold Edward
41 Mellish Charles Thomas
42 Thomas Mrs
43 Ehrlich Egmont
44 Howard Henry
46 Taxpeter T
47 Johnson Walter
48 Rodrigues Charles Edward
49 Wade Theo
52 Elwell Wm. Richd. German
53 Hamblin Mrs
54 Walker Hyde Edwards

Fulham Park place, Ful-
ham Park gardens.
1 Taylor Mrs
2 Muder John C
3 Smith Reginald
4 Sutherland John

Cottle Wm. (Truro lodge)
Peachey George Wyatt
(Rose villa)
2 Barry Charles J. surgeon
3 Ley James H
4 Borthwick George
6 Boosé James
7 Ward Benjamin
8 Gwatkin Alex. Geo. S
9 Whistler Mrs
10 Swanson Hector
11 Gray Malcolm
12 Baguley Alfred Clayton
..... here is Landridge road.....

Fulham road, from Stamford
bridge, through Walham
green to High street.

[For earlier numbers see Ful-
ham rd. in the POST OFFICE
LONDON DIRECTORY.]

NORTH SIDE.
392 Cocks Mrs. Harri. fnl. fnshr
396 Lloyd Wm. hair dresser
398 Goy & Co. athletic outfitters
London Athletic Club
Grounds,
S. K. Holman, sec

402 Keene Raymond
406 Gingell Charles Thomas
408 Le Compte Pierre
410 Johnson Thomas
412 Lee William Edwd. surgn
414 Curtis Mrs
416A, Carter Geo. mkt. gardnr
418 Swift James
422 Haines Frederick Henry
424 Moore Park Grammar
School (Richard Edwd.
Cranfield C.M. principal)
426 Ringi Ernest, artist
428 Carter Mrs
430 Greenham Richard
438 Shopland Dvd. registrar of
births, deaths & marriages
438 Fulham Burial Board,
David Shopland, clerk
440 Weeks Wm. nurseryman
442 Stamford Mrs
444 Davis Ivor M.D. surgeon
446 Pepper William
448 Gibbard Chas. dining rms
450 Skinnerton & Co. auctionrs
London General Omnibus
Co. Stables

WESLEYAN CHAPEL
452B, FULHAM STUDIOS:
1 vonWeber Edmund L. sculptr
2 Little Miss Emily, artist
3 Mackenzie Frank J. artist
5 Mackenzie Wm. G. artist

452 Jannaway Henry, furni-
ture warehouse
454 Victoria Wine Co.
454A, FULHAM STUDIOS:
1 Birch Chas. Bell, sculptor
3 Franzini Paul, artist
4 Geurant Rbt. artistic mntr
6 Fabbrucci Aristide, sculptr
6 Stock Henry J. artist

456 Ivers Thos. Wlfr. confectionr
460 Bennett Sidney, wrdrb. dlr
462 London General Omnibus
Co. Limited
464 Short Robert, tailor
466 Tilly Alfd. C. boot maker
468A, Mostyn Miss Ada, tbacnst
468 Shepherd Fredk. L. bookslr
470 Turland Miss My. An. dairy
472 Glacier Madame Elise,

472A, Wells Horace, est. agt. & co
474 Walker Wm. ham & beef dlr
476 Toovey William, farrier
(King's Head yard)
476 King's Head P.H. Samuel
Janes
478 Jones Alec I. & Co. tobecnsts
..... here is Vanston pl
480 Smith Wm. Hy. builder
482 Warren Wm. V. tripe drsr
484 Lucas Chas. E. shoe maker
486 Jones William, corn dealr
488 Taylor Miss Alice, confctnr
490 & 492 Red Lion P.H. Henry
J. Squires

494 Smith William, saddler
496 Wheeler Wm. R. hair drsr
498 Snelling Fredk. laundry
500 Dent Henry, confectioner
502 Hall Charles, boot maker
504 Chaplin Reuben, baker
..... here is Mcmoth pl
506 George hot. Jas. Hy. Squires
508 Ambridge Hy. photogrpgr
512 Mousell Bros. furniture
depository
516 Dossett Chas. undertaker
516 Hanson Oswald & Co. solrs

520 Fulham Police Station,
Charles Hunt, supt
..... here is Grove avenue
522 Webb Robert, physician
524 Feltham Mrs. Emma, drsm
526 Ranzer Maximilian Herman
528 Taylor Miss Rose, dressma
530 Baum Frederick Joseph
532 Launders Oliver Alexandr
534 Gill Joseph
..... here is Rock avenue

536 Cogan William Henry
538 Baxfield Alfrd
542 Warren Miss Eliza, school
542 Cox Charles Henry
544 Sawyer John
546 Brown Mrs. Maria, drsma
548 Donovan Patrick, rent colr

PILLAR LETTER BOX
550 Dring Samuel
552 Garner Mrs
Pickford & Co. carriers
558 Butler Thos. M. pawnbroker
560 Manahan Chas. dining rms
562 Johnson John, grocer
564 Simpson Mrs. Frances
Matilda, tobacconist
564 Lipscombe Henry, mathe-
matical instrument mkr
566 Nye James, print seller
568 Lock John, dining rooms

570 Grau Frdk. H. upholsterer
..... here is Lodge avenue
572 Kennett Henry, prov. dealr
574 Doggett & Son, dairymen
..... here is Darlan rd
578 Davis William A. hair drsr
580 Wheat Sheaf P.H. Robert
Bartholomew

..... here is Wheatsheaf alley...
Sinclair Rev. John S. M.A.
[incumbent of St. Diony-
sius] (Arundel house)
Hales John (St. Peter's lodge)
Marchant Miss (Percy villa)
Fulham Free Public Library,
Henry Burns, librarian
& sec. (Parsers cross)
Higgins Joseph Napier Q.C.
(Percy Cross house)

WESTFIELD TERRACE:
2 Painter Ernest F. dentist
3 Pope Percy, surgeon
..... here is Lilyville rd
4 Lubbock Edgar Ashlev.

12 Whitlam Richard, M.D.
physician & surgeon
13 Lawrence Spencer
14 Moore Mrs
15 Goodacre Thomas
WESLEYAN CHAPEL
..... here is Chesham rd
ROSTRON TERRACE:
1 Erbach William, baker
2 Sinclair Mdme. Eliza
3 White Edwd. chasconier
Simpson Fdk. Maresden, atch
4 Gatrell Mrs. Sarah, butcher
5 Welford & Sons Limited,
dairy farmers

Bagley Mrs. Helen, station
POST, MONKY ORDNANCE
& TELEGRAPH OFFICE &
Savings Bank
7 Badger John Fraz, confctnr
7 Continental Laundry Co
8 Brewer & Co. drapers
9 Thomson David, pwnbroker
10 Miller Richard Edward,
grocer, & agent for W. &
A. Gilbey, wine & spirit
merchants
..... here is Rostrevor rd

MUNSTER PARADE:
1, 2 & 3 Gilbert & Co. drapr
4 Harvey Mrs. Alice, lamp &
oil dealer
5 Cooper Misses Jessie &
Sarah, berlin wool ropstry
6 London Necropolis Co
7 Hellis & Sons, photogrpgrs
8 Godfree Geo. wine & spirit
merchant

9 Bedford Edward Thomas,
fancy stationer
10 Hunn Hy. Hannen, ho. agont
11 Marion Mdme. Ann, confctnr
12 Haynes Thomas, fishmongr
13 Jackson Hy. Edwd. butcher
13 Maurice Mesdams. drsrmkrs

Blandford & Williams, lunatic
asylum (Munster house)
Williams Chas. F. (Munster ho)
WALL LETTER BOX
..... here is Munster rd
Durell Arms P.H. Jn. D. Clark

FULHAM PARK VILLAS:
2 Calder Augustus Barclay,
surgeon
3 Leheldt Frederick Chas
4 Barde Henry

Pattison Edward Seton, physi-
cian & surgeon (Granville ho)
Fagge Leonard M. dentist
(Woodville)
Wakeford David (Nascot)
Heyes Austin (Trewarren)
Redacki Mrs. G. (Highclere)
Hally Wm. surgeon (Park ho)
Peel Harry (Hazlemere)
Carter Henry (Homedle)
Izod Edwin Wm. (Lyndhurst)
Loftus Arthur Smith, surgeon
(Lindisfarne)

Fruien Henry (Edenleigh)
Williams William Henry
(Gresham house)
Fishburn Joseph (Ashlands)
..... here is Dorncliffe rd
Wheeler Wm. Jas. (Colnhurst)

HARWOOD VILLAS:
1 Payne William
TREWERN VILLAS:
2 Brundell Walter
1 Thomas Mrs

11 March 1895 – Death Certificate for Fredrick Henry Grau (36) Cabinet Maker, died of phthises.

Grau 10

CERTIFIED COPY OF AN ENTRY OF DEATH



GIVEN AT THE GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE

Application Number COL006331

REGISTRATION DISTRICT	Chelsea
1895 DEATH in the Sub-district of Chelsea North	in the County of London

Columns:-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
No.	When and where died	Name and surname	Sex	Age	Occupation	Cause of death	Signature, description and residence of informant	When registered	Signature of registrar

63	11 March 1895 13 Shelton Street	Fredrick Henry Grau	Male	36 years	Cabinet maker	Of phthisis Certified by G. J. Pattison M.D.	James Barker Occupier 13 Shelton Street	11 March 1895	G. J. Pattison Deputy Registrar
----	------------------------------------	---------------------	------	----------	---------------	---	---	---------------	------------------------------------

CERTIFIED to be a true copy of an entry in the certified copy of a Register of Deaths in the District above mentioned.

Given at the GENERAL REGISTER OFFICE, under the Seal of the said Office, the 8th day of March 2007

DYB 450085

See note overleaf

CAUTION: THERE ARE OFFENCES RELATING TO FALSIFYING OR ALTERING A CERTIFICATE AND USING OR POSSESSING A FALSE CERTIFICATE ©CROWN COPYRIGHT

WARNING: A CERTIFICATE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY.

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Appendix
Grau Papers

Appendix: Goupil

Goupil Papers and Listing

Goupil 1 – 2:

Photocopy of the letter listing the lenders and the work done to the frames by F.H. Grau in preparation of the Goupil Gallery exhibition *Nocturnes, Marines and Chevalet Pieces* in March 1892; Goupil Gallery to James Whistler, 20 May 1892, GUL MS Whistler T85; GUW 05740.

Goupil 3 – 7:

Excel spreadsheet detailing the paintings shown at the Goupil Gallery in 1892, the YMSM number, the lender, what work was done on the frames, and details regarding their treatment. Works listed by their exhibition catalogue number

Goupil 8 – 9:

Works listed according to work done and the groups detailed in 'Chapter 7 – Stateliness times Five: The Grau Frame of the 1890s'.

NOTE DE SERVICE de

Copy

London le 20th May 1892

1

List of clients who have not yet paid for work done to frames belonging to them, in connection with Mr. Whistler's.

Name/Correspondence
 - Venture
 - Leyland
 W. Laidlaw
 - Moore
 - Theobald
 - Rawlinson

paid

new one ~~not done~~
 regilt (no answer)
 refuses new frame
 nothing done
 new frame
 frame regilt
 direct with Gran

Chapman	refuses new ^d frame
Potter	refuses to pay work done
Harrison	nothing done
Leathart	-
Hutt	refuses.
Peter Taylor	refuses new frame
Wm. Penllon	nothing done
Gallinard	refuses new frame
The following have paid	
Cybil Flower	paid (two frames regilt)
Hon. Mrs. P. Wytham	do
Mrs. Peter Taylor	- see above
Alexander	paid
Lady Menue	do.
	WHISTLER 785

Ex. No.	Title at Exhibition	YMSM	Lent by	GUW 05740	work done	Museum	Notes	Gallery Room
1	Nocturne. Grey and Silver - Chelsea Embankment - Winter	205	J. G. Orchar, Esq.		reframed	FGA	Group B: Got new frame from Grau, unclear if it was reframed or resurfaced [GUW 10884]	
2	Symphony in White, No. III	61	Louis Huth	refuses	regilt	Birmingham	Group C: Regilt for the exhibition and again after [GUW 05740, 02245, 05722]	Small
3	Chelsea in Ice	53	Madame Venturi	regilt (no answer)	regilt	Private Coll.	Group A: Reframed by Grau in 1887 [GUW 06001], Grau paper label on verso	Large
4	Nocturne Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge	140	Robert H.C. Harrison	nothing done	nothing	Tate	Group F: untouched & unaltered; frame remains on work today	Large
5	The Lange Leizen - of the six marks. Purple and Rose	47	J. Leathart	nothing done	nothing	PMA	Group F: untouched & unaltered; frame remains on work today	Small
6	Nocturne Trafalgar Square-Snow	173	Albert Moore	new frame	reframed	FGA	Group B: Reframed for exhibition [GUW 05740] Grau signed frame on painting now	Large
7	Nocturne - Black and Gold. The Fire Wheel	169	J. McN. Whistler		reframed	Tate	Group B: Reframed by Grau for the show [GUW 08216]	Large
8	Arrangement in Black and Brown. The Fur Jacket	181					unknown.	Large
9	Nocturne. Blue and silver	113	Mrs. Leyland	refuses new frame		Fogg	Group D: reframed by Grau without Mrs. Leyland's knowledge & returned after [GUW 08216]	Large?
10	Nocturne, In Black and Gold - The Falling Rocket	170	J. McN. Whistler		reframed	Detroit	Group B: reframed by Grau for the show and sold afterwards [GUW 08216]	Small

11	Nocturne - Opal and Silver	309	H. Theobald	frame regilt	regilt	FGA	Group C: Regilt By Grau for exhibition [05740]	Small
12	Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room	34	Madame Reveillon	nothing done	nothing	FGA	Group E: remained touched, but now is in a Grau style frame.	Small
13	Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green. Valparaiso	73	Graham Robertson, Esq.		Grau frame	Tate	Group A: Reframed by Grau in 1890/91 [GUW 09403]	Small
14	Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen	60	Cryil Flower, Esq., M.P.	paid (two frames regilt)	regilt	FGA	Group C: Regilt By Grau for exhibition [05740, 05692]	Small
15	Symphony in Grey and Green - The Ocean	72	Mrs. Peter Taylor	old frame regilt // refused new frame (Paid)	regilt	Frick	Group C: Regilt for show, and the painted decoration was restored afterwards. Goupil Label on verso [GUW 08212, 05719, 05730]	Large
16	Nocturne, Grey and Gold - Chelsea Snow	174	Alfred Chapman, Esq.	refuses new frame	reframed /not kept	Fogg	Group D& E: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 05735, 05740] now in an early 19th Cen. 'Whistler' replica frame	Small
17	Nocturne. Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach	119	W.G. Rawlinson, Esq.	direct with Grau	regilt	FGA	Group C: 1878 Foord & Dickinson frame regilt and painted decoration removed [GUW 08112, 05124, 05740]	Large
18	Nocturne. Blue and Silver - Chelsea	103	W. Alexander		no change	Tate	Group F: untouched & unaltered; frame remains on work today, despite Whistler's attempts to reframe [GUW 07580]	Small

19	Nocturne. Grey and Gold - Westminster Bridge	145	Mrs. Percy Wyndham	d[itt]o [paid]	regilt	Burrell	Group C: Regilt By Grau for exhibition [05740, 05692]	Large
20	Nocturne. Blue and Gold - Southampton Water	117	Alfred Chapman, Esq.	refuses new frame		AIC	Group D& E: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 05735, 05740]	Large
21	Blue and Silver. Blue Wave - Biarritz	41	Gerald Potter, Esq.	refuses to pay work done	reframed/ not kept		Group D: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 01488, 05740, 09715]	Large
22	Arrangement in Black and Brown. Miss Rosa Corder	203	Graham Robertson, Esq.			Frick	Group B or E: Reframed, not sure when.	Large
23	'Harmony in Grey and Green'. Portrait of Miss Alexander	129	W. Alexander	paid	regilt	Tate	Group C: Resurfaced for show, Grau was told to 'scraped and regild' the frieze [07580, 05695].	Large
24	Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor	100	Alfred Chapman, Esq.	refuses new frame	reframed/ not kept	FGA	Group D& E: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 05735, 05740] Now in a Grau style, LeBroqu-made frame	Large?
25	"Nocturne". Battersea Reach	152	Alfred Chapman, Esq.	refuses new frame	reframed/ not kept	ISGM	Group D& E: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 05735, 05740] Now in a Grau Style frame	
26	Blue and Gold. Channel	159	Alfred Chapman, Esq.	refuses new frame	?		Group D& E: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 05735, 05740] whereabouts unknown	
27	Pink and Grey, Chelsea	105	Cryil Flower, Esq., M.P.	paid (2 frames regilt)	regilt	FGA	Group C: Regilt By Grau for exhibition [05740, 05692]	Small

28	Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Valpariso	76	Alexander Ionides	nothing done	glazed	FGA	Group F: Possibly glazed by Grau [GUW 08358]	Large
29	Green and Grey. The Oyster Smacks - Evening.	99	Alexander Ionides	nothing done	glazed	where-about Unk-nown	Group F: assumed nothing was done [GUW 05740] whereabouts unknown	Large
30	Grey and Black. Sketch	122	Alexander Ionides	nothing done		Detroit	Group F: untouched & unaltered; frame remains on work today	small?
31	Brown and Silver. Old Battersea Bridge	33	Alexander Ionides	nothing done	glazed		Group F: Possibly glazed by Grau [08358]	Large
32	Nocturne. Black and Gold	179	J. McN. Whistler		reframed	FGA	Group B: Reframed by Grau for the show [GUW 08216] Grau signature & Goupil Gallery Label on verso	
33	Symphony in White No. II. The Little White Girl	52	Gerald Potter, Esq.	refuses to pay work done	new frame suggested	Tate	Group E: Shown in original 1864 Oriental Casseta Frame [GUW 01488]	Small
34	Nocturne. Blue and Silver - Cremorne Lights	115	Gerald Potter, Esq.	refuses to pay work done	reframed /not kept	Tate	Group D: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 01488, 05740, 09715]	
35	Grey and Silver. Chelsea Wharf	54	Gerald Potter, Esq.	refuses to pay work done	reframed/ not kept	NGA DC	Group D: Reframed by Grau, but returned after the show [GUW 01488, 05740, 09715]	Large?
36	Grey and Silver. Old Battersea Reach	46	Madame Coronio	Paid - new one cut down	reframed	AIC	Group B: Received new frame [GUW 05742]	Large

37	Blue and Silver	66	J. McN. Whistler		refram- ed	FGA	Group B: Reframed by Grau for the show [GUW 08216]	Large?
38	Nocturne Blue and Gold - St. Mark's, Venice	213	Monsieur Gallimard	refuses new frame	refram- ed/ not kept	Wales	Group D: Whistler request Grau to make a frame, but it was returned afterward. [GUW 08217; 05740]	Small
39	Crepuscule in Opal	67	Fred. Jame- son, Esq.		refram- ed	Toledo	Group B: Reframed by Grau for show [GUW 08216]	Large ?
40	Harmony in Flesh Colour and Green - The Balcony	56	John Cavafy		no change	FGA	Group E: shown in decorated Foord & Dickinson frame [GUW 00549]	Small
41	Arrangement in Black: La Dame au Brodequin Jaune	242			nothing	PMA	Group F: untouched & unaltered; frame remains on work today	Large
42	Arrangement in Grey and Black. Thomas Carlyle	137	The Cor- poration of Glasgow			Glasgow	Group A: Reframed by Grau 1891 [GUW 01674]	Large
43	Harmony in Pink and Grey: Por- trait of Lady Meux	229	Sir Henry Meux	d[itt]o [paid]	refram- ed	Frick	Group A: reframed by Grau in 1891 [GUW 04070] But not currently in it.	Large
44	Arrangement in Grey and Black. Portrait of the Painter's Mother	101	Photograph of Picture.		refram- ed	Louvre	Group A: Reframed in 1891	Large

Group A: Works Reframed Before 1892.

Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle (YMSM 137, **Plate 11**).

Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Painter's Mother (YMSM 101, **Plate 8**).

Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso (YMSM 73, **Plate 39**).

Chelsea in Ice (YMSM 53, **Plate 37**).

Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux (YMSM 229, **Plate 34**).

Group B: Works Reframed For the 1892 Goupil Show.

Nocturne: Black and Gold - The Fire Wheel (YMSM 168, **Plate 40**).

Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket (YMSM 170, **Plate 10**).

Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water (1876/7, FGA, YMSM 179).

Blue and Silver: Trouville (YMSM 66, **Plate 42**).

Grey and Silver: Old Battersea Reach (1863, AIC, YMSM 46).

Crepuscle in Opal: Trouville (1865, Toledo Museum of Art, YMSM 67).

Group C: Frames Altered for the 1892 Goupil Show.

Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean (YMSM 72, **Plate 13**).

Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander (YMSM 129, **Plate 12**).

Nocturne: Silver and Opal - Chelsea (1880, FGA, YMSM 309).

Chelsea in Ice (YMSM 53, **Plate 37**).

Nocturne: Grey and Gold - Westminster Bridge (1871/2, Burrell Collection, YMSM 145).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach (YMSM 119, **Plate 9**).

Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen (YMSM 60, **Plate 17**).

Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea (YMSM 105, **Plate 4**).

Symphony in White, No. 3 (YMSM 61, **Plate 15**).

Group D: Frames that were returned & works restored to pre-Goupil frame.

Nocturne: Trafalgar Square - Snow (YMSM 173, **Plate 44**).

Nocturne: Blue and Gold - St. Mark's, Venice (1879/1880, National Museum of Wales, YMSM 213).

Nocturne in Blue and Silver (YMSM 113, **Plate 28**).

Nocturne: Grey and Gold - Chelsea Snow (1876, Fogg Art Museum, YMSM 174).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor (YMSM 100, **Plate 41**).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach (1871/1878, ISGM, YMSM 152).

Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Southampton Water (1871/1872, AIC, YMSM 117).

Grey and Silver: Chelsea Wharf (1864/1868, NGA DC, YMSM 54).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Cremorne Lights (1872, Tate, YMSM 115).

Group E: Paintings reframed after 1892.

Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**).

Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl (YMSM 52, **Plate 14**).

Nocturne: Grey and Gold - Chelsea Snow (1876, Fogg Art Museum, YMSM 174).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor (YMSM 100, **Plate 41**).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach (1871/1878, ISGM, YMSM 152).

Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Southampton Water (1871/1872, AIC, YMSM 117).

Grey and Silver: Chelsea Wharf (1864/1868, NGA DC, YMSM 54).

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Cremorne Lights (1872, Tate, YMSM 115).

Group F: Frames that remain Unaltered.

Nocturne Blue and Silver - Chelsea (YMSM 103, **Plate 20**).

Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge (YMSM 140, **Plate 3**).

Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks (YMSM 47, **Plate 2**).

Appendix: Database

Database 285 - 297

The Whistler Frame Database: a Brief Illustrated Guide

Database 298

Database form for Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony (YMSM 56, Plate 1), completed during the examination of the frame on 4 April 2007.

Database 299 - 307

Print out of all the frames entered into the Whistler Frame Database, listed by the catalogue raisonné number.

The Whistler Frame Database

Why create a database?

Most art historical texts do not reproduce the picture frames surrounding the artworks, therefore, it was necessary to visit specific museums to examine the objects that this thesis explores. As the introduction mentions, during these visits a form/checklist was used to systematically gather information about each frame. This form can be seen at the end of this report and all information gathered was entered into the 'Whistler Frame Database' [WFDB].

The WFDB was established to be a tool in which all the fine details and observations could be stored, compiled and analyzed further. In order to explain how the WFDB functions, a step-by-step guide detailing its contents, design and usefulness follows.

Structure of the 'Whistler Frame Database':

A relational database was created using FileMaker Pro 8.0v1 on an Apple Mac PowerBook G4. It was created to organise and store the information gathered during the physical examinations of individual picture frames, and to document the absence of lost, destroyed and missing frames and artworks.¹ It was designed using a one-to-many relationship between two main tables labelled 'Artworks' and 'Picture Frames'. This was done because an artwork could possess several different frames during its history, and the WFDB needed to reflect

¹ The word 'artwork' has been used over the word 'painting' because watercolours, pastels, drawings, etchings and lithographs have also been included in the database.

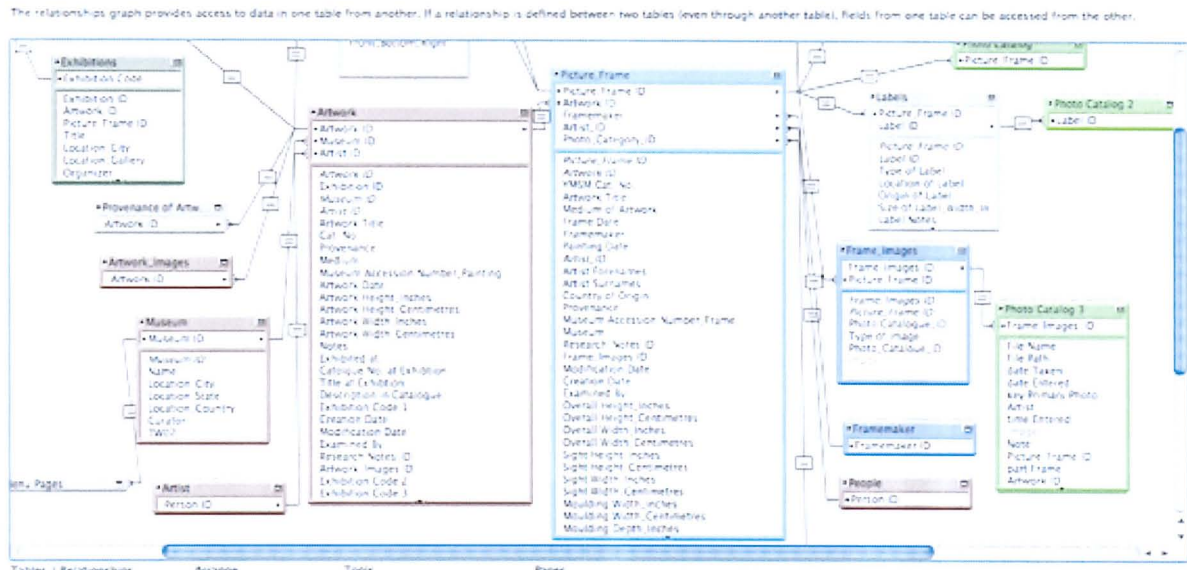


Fig. D.1: Window showing the tables and relationships involved in the structure of the 'Whistler Frame Database'.

these circumstances. The likelihood of a frame possessing more than one painting is rare. However, revisions to this design will need to be made to accommodate those circumstances. Thus far there are only two known occurrences where a frame was been on more than one Whistler artwork: the frame currently on *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Miss Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, **Plate 32**) was first on *Harmony in Grey and Peach: Portrait of Lady Meux* (YMSM 229, **Plate 34**), and the 1864 Oriental cassette frame on *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (YMSM 60, **Plate 17**) was once on *Portrait Sketch of a Lady* (mid-1870s, FGA, YMSM 184).

In **Figure D.1** pictured above, the Picture Frame Table (in blue on the right) contains 135 different fields, and the Artwork Table (in red on the left) contains 37 different fields. Additional tables were created to store information pertaining to the artists, museums, images, exhibitions, and provenance activity associated with each artwork. As of 18 September 2007, there are 144 frame records, 170 artwork records, and 35 museum records. All records document artworks created by the American artist James McNeill Whistler, the picture frames that surround (or surrounded) them, and the museums in which they are housed.

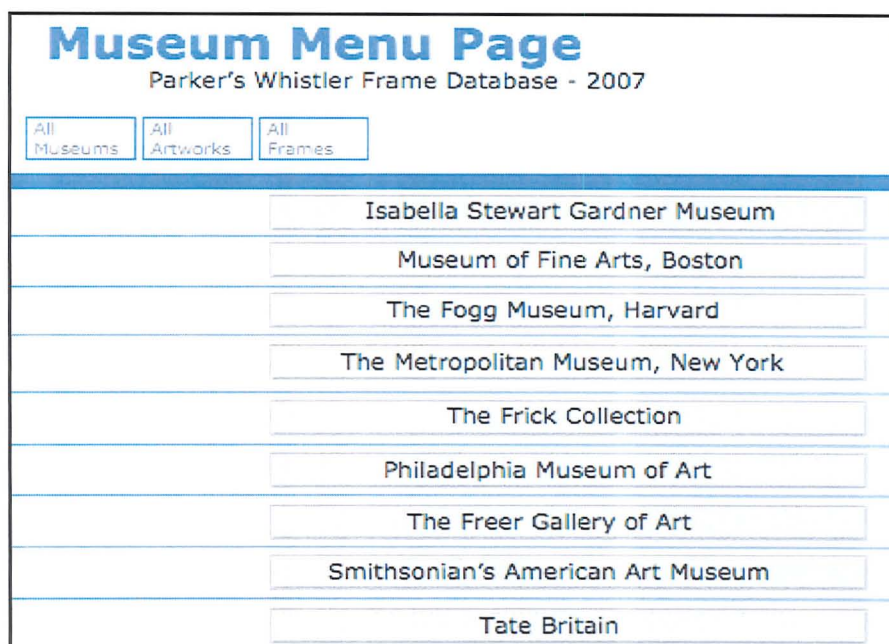


Fig. D.2: Museum Menu Page listing all the major museums consulted, in the order visited.

Main Menu/Museum Page

The main menu page (see **fig. D.2**) lists all the major museum collections or galleries visited during this project. Options are to click on a Museum button to see all the artworks in its collection. Or the top buttons can be used to see a list of all the museums included (not just those visited), all the artworks or all the frames included in the WFDB. For the purposes of this outline, the case study from the Introduction, *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**) will be used.

From the menu page, clicking the 'Freer Gallery of Art' button produces a screen with a list of all the artworks from the FGA (**fig. D.3**). Of the 170 artworks in the WFDB, 75 are located in the FGA. This list displays the Artwork Title, the catalogue raisonné number, the

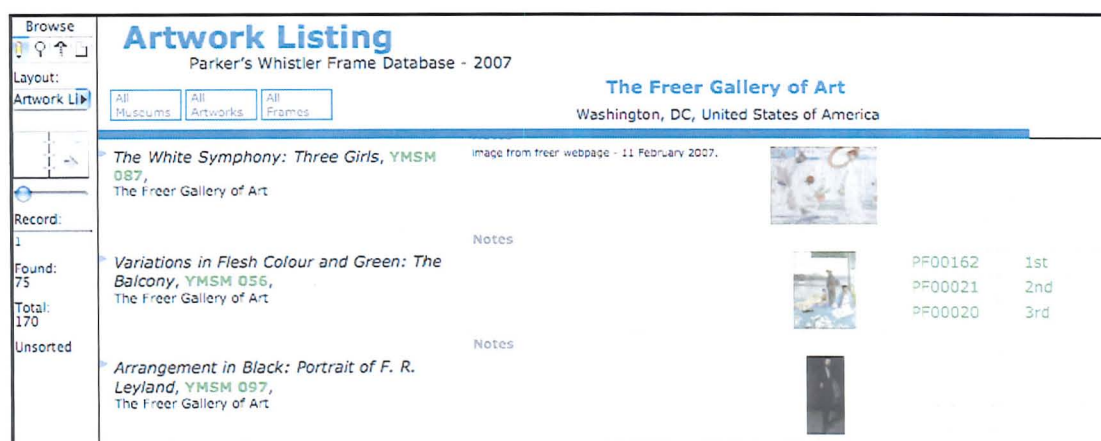


Fig. D.3: Artwork Listing for works from the Freer Gallery of Art, including *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**).

Fig. D.4: WFDB record for PF00162, the missing 1864 frame once on *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

Whistler Frame Database		Essential Frame Details	
New Delete		Find PF00162 Sort	
previous next			
Frame Details	Measurements	Surface Details	Construction
Labels & Pics	Painting details	Painting Images	Frame Images
Research Notes			
Whistler <i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i> YMSM 056			
(1865) The Freer Gallery of Art, 1st frame (Lost/Destroyed).			
Current State of Frame			
Frame Date	Frame Location	Country of Origin	
1864	Lost/Destroyed	England	
Type of Profile	Condition	Format	Orientation
1860s Oriental Cassetta			Portrait (Vertical)
Manufacture Details			
Designed By	Manufactured By		
Painting Now Enclosed (if applicable)		New Artwork	
Artist, Title		Artwork ID	
James McNeill Whistler		PG00024	
<i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i>			
Museum	Made for Painting enclosed?	Suitability on Painting	No. of Frame on Artwork
The Freer Gallery of Art	Yes		1st
Accession No. for Frame			
Accession No. For Painting			
F1892.23a-b			

museum in which it resides, any additional notes made on the work, and a thumbnail image. Next to the image, is a another list displaying numbers beginning with PF and either '1st', '2nd', or '3rd'. These refer to the picture frames that relate to the artwork and are listed in the order they appeared on the painting. For example, *The Balcony* has had three possible frames which are stored in three different records. The first frame (from 1864) is PF000162, the second frame (from 1876) is PF00021, and the third frame (from 1892) is PF00020. These are Foreign Keys that are automatically given to a frame upon the creation of its record. By clicking on these PF numbers, the record for that particular frame is then opened and the 'Essential Frame Details' appear.

Picture Frame Details

Figure D.4 illustrates the window for the missing 1864 frame (PF00162). Located below the heading 'Current State of the Frame' and next to the date is a drop down box labelled 'Frame Location'. This list specifies the current location of the frame at the time of the examination. Amongst the options that can be selected are 'on painting', 'in storage', 'lost/destroyed' or 'broken/fragmented'. In the lower half of the window, details regarding the enclosed painting are shown. Any museum-given accession numbers for the frame can be recorded here. There's also a drop down box where the frame number can be selected. As seen in the Database 288

Fig. D.5: WFDB record for PF00020, the 3rd frame that is currently on *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

Whistler Frame Database		Essential Frame Details	
New Delete		Find PF00020 Sort	
previous next			
Frame Details	Measurements	Surface Details	Construction
Labels & Pics	Painting details	Painting Images	Frame Images
Research Notes			
Whistler <i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i> YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art F1892.23b, 3rd frame (On Painting)			
<u>Current State of Frame</u>			
Frame Date	Frame Location	Country of Origin	
1892	On Painting	United States of America	
Type of Profile	Condition	Format	Orientation
1890s Grau Reeded	Good		Portrait (Vertical)
<u>Manufacture Details</u>			
Designed By	Manufactured By		
<u>Painting Enclosed (if applicable)</u>		New Artwork	
Artist, Title		Artwork ID	
James McNeill Whistler		PG00024	
<i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i>			
Museum	Made for Painting enclosed?	Suitability on Painting	No. of Frame on Artwork
The Freer Gallery of Art	Yes	Good	3rd
Accession No. for Frame	F1892.23b		
Accession No. For Painting	F1892.23a-b		

FGA listing, a frame can be classified as being the '1st', '2nd', '3rd', etc. to enclose a specific artwork. If unknown, this is left blank. However, if it is certain that the frame examined is not the first given to the work, it is classified as being at least the '2nd' frame.

Figure D.5 illustrates the record for PF00020, the 3rd frame given to *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony*, which has the accession number of F1892.23b; it is the 3rd frame and is currently found on the painting.

Located on the top of the 'Essential Frame Details' window are several navigational tabs which direct the user to the layouts where the frame measurements, surface details, construction and labels/pictures are stored.

Measurements and Profiles

Figure D.6 shows the initial window for the measurements layout where the basic frame dimensions are recorded. All measurements are taken in inches and then the WFDB converts the entries into centimetres. Both the overall and sight dimensions are taken, as well as measurements of the moulding width and depth. Additional notes are made of the number of

Parker's Whistler Frame Database New Delete Find PF00020 Sort

previous next

Frame Details **Measurements** Surface Details Construction Labels & Pics Painting details Museum Painting Images Frame Images Research Notes

Whistler *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art F1892.23b, 3rd frame (On Painting).

Frame Dimensions **Profile Details/Measurements** **Profile Drawing/Notes**

Overall	Sight	Moulding
<u>Height</u> 37.00 in 93.98 cm	<u>Height</u> 23.50 in 59.69 cm	<u>Depth</u> 2.75 in 6.99 cm
<u>Width</u> 32.25 in 81.92 cm	<u>Width</u> 18.63 in 47.31 cm	<u>Width</u> 5.63 in 14.29 cm
<u>No of Frame Pieces</u>	<u>Rabbet</u>	<u>Built up on Back?</u> Yes
<u>Sight Edge Width</u> 0.4375 cm 1.11125 cm	<u>Outer Edge Height</u> 1.875 in 4.7625 cm	<u>New Moulding Depth</u> 3.125 in 7.9375 cm

Conversion Table - Fractions into Decimals

1/4 inch = .25
1/2 inch = 0.5
3/4 inch = 0.75
1/8 inch = 0.125
3/8 inch = 0.375
5/8 inch = 0.625
7/8 inch = 0.875
1/16 inch = 0.0625
3/16 inch = 0.1875
5/16 inch = 0.3125
7/16 inch = 0.4375
9/16 inch = 0.5625
11/16 inch = 0.6875
13/16 inch = 0.8125
15/16 inch = 0.9375

Fig. D.6: Window showing the dimensions for WFDB-PF00020.

pieces the frame is made of, as well as the outer edge height and the sight edge width. Any museum made build-ups are also recorded.

Details of the frame's profile are recorded on the next tab found on the measurement page.

This layout can be seen in **Figure D.7**. The reeds for each separate section are counted and measured and the width of the individual fillets or friezes are also recorded. These sections are defined in the detailed profile drawing illustrated as **Figure D.8**. This level of detail was

Parker's Whistler Frame Database New Delete Find PF00020 Sort

previous next

Frame Details **Measurements** Surface Details Construction Labels & Pics Painting details Museum Painting Images Frame Images Research Notes

Whistler *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art F1892.23b, 3rd frame (On Painting).

Frame Dimensions **Profile Details/Measurements** **Profile Drawing/Notes**

	Number of Reeds	H of Reeds	W of Reeds		Fillet Size
Section 1	8	0.75 in 1.91 cm	0.88 in 2.22 cm	Fillet 1	0.375 in 0.9525 cm
Section 2	16	1.00 in 2.54 cm	1.88 in 4.76 cm	Main Frieze	0.625 in 1.5875 cm
Section 3	2	0.19 in 0.48 cm	0.38 in 0.95 cm	Fillet 2	0.25 in 0.635 cm
Section 4	8	0.63 in 1.59 cm	0.88 in 2.22 cm	Fillet 3	
Section 5				Notes on Profile Measurements	
Section 6					

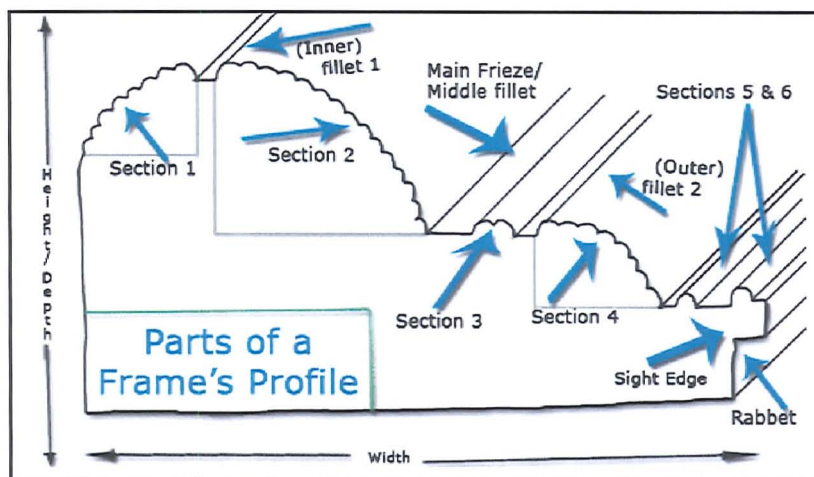
Conversion Table - Fractions into Decimals

1/4 inch = .25
1/2 inch = 0.5
3/4 inch = 0.75
1/8 inch = 0.125
3/8 inch = 0.375
5/8 inch = 0.625
7/8 inch = 0.875
1/16 inch = 0.0625
3/16 inch = 0.1875
5/16 inch = 0.3125
7/16 inch = 0.4375
9/16 inch = 0.5625
11/16 inch = 0.6875
13/16 inch = 0.8125
15/16 inch = 0.9375

Fig. D.7: Window showing the Profile details and measurements for WFDB-PF00020.

taken to aid future study, as the number of reeds and size of the moulding may, in the future, shed more light on the work of various frame-makers. As the database grows, it may become possible to identify the creator of unmarked frames. Furthermore, this practice could assist in the detection of subtle design developments that may initially appear unseen.

Fig. D.8: Detailed profile drawing illustrating the various parts and sections measured and counted.



Labels

During the examinations, it soon became necessary to create a table to store the numerous labels and inscriptions being discovered. For instance, a frame may have up to nine different labels.² *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* does not have any remaining labels, but does have a few inscriptions. **Figure D.9** shows the complete list of labels and inscriptions found on the verso of a frame, and if the blue number starts with 'L' (i.e. L00190) clicking it will cause the individual record for that inscription to appear. The WFDB was designed to allow individual labels to have more than one photograph included

Fig. D.9: List of Labels and Inscriptions on the Verso of WFDB - PF00020

Parker's Whistler Frame Database				Label Information	
				Find	Sort
				PF00020	
				previous	next
Frame Details	Measurements	Surface Details	Construction	Labels & Pics	Painting details
				Museum	Painting Images
				Frame Images	Research Notes
Whistler <i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i> YMSM 056					
(1865) The Freer Gallery of Art F1892.23b, 3rd frame (On Painting).					
Insert info					
L00112	Written	Top-Centre	Unknown	'Gold Medal'	
L00189	Written		Unknown	Bottom 1	
L00190	Written		Owner	Variations in Flesh Colour	

² This can be seen on the verso of *Arrangement in Black and Brown: Miss Rosa Corder* (YMSM 203, **Plate 32**) and illustrated as **Figure I.3**.

Fig. D.10: Record of the inscription found on the verso of WFDB-PF00020.

in its record. This is seen here, where the painting's title 'Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony' was written on the verso (fig. D.10). To see a detailed photograph of a label or inscription, just click on the thumbnail image. The photograph's file from the photograph catalogue opens in a new window (fig. D.11).

On this screen, there are two buttons at the top, underneath the main title, which direct the user back to the details page for either the Artwork or the Frame. Going back to the Artwork Details page, the information entered into the WFDB regarding Whistler's artworks appears.

Fig. D.11: Window showing the individual record from the photo catalogue for the inscription found on the verso of WFDB-PF00020.

Artwork Details

The information used for these pages was gathered from the two catalogue raisonnés of Whistler's work:

- *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* by Andrew McLaren Young, Margaret MacDonald, Robin Spencer, and Hamish Miles, and
- *James McNeill Whistler; Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours, A Catalogue Raisonné* by Margaret F. MacDonald.

All relevant information from these catalogues were entered for each artwork occurring in the WFDB, including: the catalogue raisonné numbers, creation dates, medium, location (museum), measurements (in inches and centimetres), and the exhibition histories and provenance records. If known, the museum-given accession number is also recorded. As with the museum listings page, all related frames associated with the artwork are listed at the bottom. This can be seen in **figure D.12**, where the unique picture frame number is listed next to the frame's profile and an approximate creation date. Below is a button that enables the user to add a new frame to this artwork's history.

Fig. D.12: Artwork record for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

Whistler <i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i> YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art			
Frame Details	Measurements	Surface Details	Construction
Labels & Pics	Painting details	Painting Images	Frame Images
Sort	New	Delete	Research Notes
<div> <div>Painting Info</div> <div>Measurements</div> <div>Exhibition History</div> <div>Provenance</div> <div>Notes</div> </div>			
Catalogue No. YMSM 056		Artist ID ART00001	Museum ID Mu0001
Painting Title <i>Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony</i>			
Date	1865	Medium	Oil Painting
Accession Number for Painting		The Freer Gallery of Art F1892.23a-b	
Associated Frames			
PF00020	1890s Grau Reeded	1892	
PF00021	1870s Reeded Cassetta		
PF00162	1860s Oriental Cassetta	1864	
New Frame			

Fig. D.13: Exhibition History window listing shows in which *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, **Plate 1**) was displayed.

Artist	Year	Number	Title
Durand-Ruel	1873		unknown
Goupil	1892	40	Harmony in Flesh Colour and Green - The Balcony
Grosvenor Gallery	1878	54	Variations in Flesh-Colour and Green
RA	1870	468	'The Balcony'
Westminster	1878		unknown

Exhibition History

To view (or enter) information regarding the artwork's exhibition history, click on the tab 'Exhibition History' and a new layout appears, listing all the (known) exhibitions of the work. It's number and title from the exhibition catalogue have also been included (**fig. D.13**). To see all the artworks (or frames) shown at a particular exhibition, click the blue exhibition title and a new window appears displaying a list of all the WFDB entered artworks. **Figure D.14** illustrates the paintings shown at the 1892 Goupil Gallery exhibition, *Nocturnes*,

Fig. D. 14: List of artworks shown at the Goupil Gallery exhibition in 1892.

Number	Title	YMSM
01	Nocturne. Grey and Silver - Chelsea	YMSM 205
02	Symphony in White, No. III	YMSM 061
03	Chelsea in Ice	YMSM 053
04	Nocturne Blue and Gold - Old Battersea	YMSM 140
05	The Lange Leizen - of the six marks	YMSM 047
06	Nocturne Trafalgar Square-Snow	YMSM 173
07	Nocturne - Black and Gold. The Fire	YMSM 169
08	Arrangement in Black and Brown. The	YMSM 181
09	Nocturne. Blue and silver	YMSM 113
10	Nocturne. In Black and Gold - The Falling	YMSM 170
11	Nocturne - Opal and Silver	YMSM 309
12	Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music	YMSM 034
13	Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green	YMSM 073
14	Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden	YMSM 060
15	Symphony in Grey and Green - The Ocean	YMSM 072
16	Nocturne. Grey and Gold - Chelsea Snow	YMSM 174
17	Nocturne. Blue and Silver - Battersea	YMSM 119
18	Nocturne. Blue and Silver - Chelsea	YMSM 103
19	Nocturne. Grey and Gold - Westminster	YMSM 145
20	Nocturne. Blue and Gold - Southampton	YMSM 117
21	Blue and Silver. Blue Wave - Biarritz	YMSM 041
22	Arrangement in Black and Brown. Miss	YMSM 203
23	'Harmony in Grey and Green'. Portrait of	YMSM 129
24	Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor	YMSM 100
25	"Nocturne". Battersea Reach	YMSM 152
25	Nocturne. Battersea Reach	YMSM 120
26	Blue and Gold. Channel	YMSM 159
27	Pink and Grey. Chelsea	YMSM 105
28	Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Valpariso	YMSM 076
29	Green and Grey. The Oyster Smacks -	YMSM 099

Fig. D. 15: Data-entry for a new exhibition for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

The screenshot shows the 'Parker's Whistler Frame Database' interface. At the top, there's a 'Find' button and tabs for 'Painting Images', 'Frame Images', and 'Research Notes'. Below this, a header reads 'Goupil 1892, Blue and Silver: Trouville, 1865, YMSM 056, The Freer Gallery of Art'. The form contains three sections for data entry, each with fields for 'Exhibition Code', 'Exhibition No.', 'Title at Exhibition', and 'Artwork ID'. The first section is pre-filled with 'Goupil 1892', '37', 'Blue and Silver', and 'PG00006'. The second section is empty. The third section is pre-filled with 'Goupil 1892', '38', 'Nocturne Blue and Gold - St. Mark's, Venice, 1879 - 1880, YMSM 213, National Museum of Wales', and 'PG000201'. Each section has '+ Prov.' and '+ Exh.' buttons.

Marines and Chevalet Pieces. If the blue YMSM number is clicked, that painting's detail page appears. Back on Figure D.13, a button located above the list, labelled 'insert info', enables the user to add a new exhibition to the list. In this layout a joint table operates to connect the specific painting to a specific exhibition (fig. D.14). A joint table was used to create a many-to-many relationship; because one painting could be shown at several exhibitions, while one exhibition would show several paintings. Figure D.15 shows where the data would be entered. The individual exhibitions are stored in a separate table and given unique Codes that often follow after those used in the various catalogue raisonnés consulted. A specific exhibition code can be selected by using the drop down box. There are field boxes in which to enter the exhibition numbers and artwork titles. Clicking on the Painting Title takes the user back to the 'Exhibition History' tab on the 'Artwork Information' page, where the information is automatically entered into the list (fig. D.16).

Fig. D. 16: A more detailed Exhibition History for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1).

The screenshot shows the 'Parker's Whistler Frame Database' 'Artwork Information' page. At the top, there's a 'Find' button with 'PG00024' and a 'Sort' button. Below this, there's a 'previous next' link and tabs for 'Frame Details', 'Measurements', 'Surface Details', 'Construction', 'Labels & Pics', 'Painting details', 'Painting Images', 'Frame Images', and 'Research Notes'. The main title is 'Whistler Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art'. Below this, there's a 'Painting Info' tab and a 'Measurements' tab. The 'Exhibition History' tab is active, showing a table of exhibitions. The table has columns for 'Exhibition No.', 'Title at Exhibition', and 'Artwork ID'. The table lists several exhibitions, including 'Buffalo 1901', 'Durand-Ruel 1873', 'Goupil 1892', 'Grosvenor Gallery 1878', 'New York 1892', 'Paris 1905', 'Pittsburgh 1896-7', 'RA 1870', and 'Westminster 1878'. An 'Insert info' button is located above the table. On the right side, there's a vertical list of museums: 'Fogg Museum', 'Freer Gallery', 'Frick Gallery', 'ISM Boston', 'Met Museum', 'MFA Boston', 'Phila. Museum', and 'Tate Britain'.

Fig. D. 17 & D.18: Empty Provenance page for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1). And, entry for a new provenance listing.

The screenshot shows the 'Parker's Whistler Frame Database' interface. The 'Artwork Information' section is active, displaying the title 'Whistler Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony YMSM 056 (1865) The Freer Gallery of Art'. The 'Provenance' tab is selected, showing an empty table with an 'Insert info' button. The right sidebar lists various museums: Fogg Museum, Freer Gallery, Frick Gallery, ISGM Boston, Met Museum, and MFA Boston.

This screenshot shows the 'Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony, YMSM 056, 1865' entry form. It includes fields for 'Artwork ID' (PG00024), 'Date', and a transaction entry. The transaction entry shows 'James Whistler' sold the artwork 'to...' 'G.J. Cavafy'. There are buttons for '+ Prov.' and '+ Exh.'.

Provenance

The recording of the painting's provenance functions in a similar way as the exhibition history. Again, a joint table has been used and to enter new information. Click the 'insert info' button found within the 'Provenance' tab (fig. D.17) and a new window opens. The Artwork ID is entered automatically next to three field boxes. The top and bottom are text boxes in which the names of the individuals involved can be typed. Between these is a drop down box where the relationship between the parties can be detailed, options include: 'purchased by ... from'; 'sold by ... to'; 'given to ... by'; 'bequeathed to ... by'; 'acquired by'; and 'owned it'. **Figure D.18** shows that James Whistler sold *The Balcony* to G.J. Cavafy. It is also possible to record the date of the transaction (if known). **Figure D.19** shows a more complete provenance for the artwork.

This screenshot shows the 'Provenance' tab for the same artwork, now populated with a complete provenance listing. The listing includes the date of the transaction, the name of the individual, the relationship, and the name of the next owner.

Date	From	Relationship	To
	James Whistler	sold by.... to...	G.J. Cavafy
1892	G.J. Cavafy	sold by.... to...	E.G. Kennedy
1892	E.G. Kennedy	sold by.... to...	Charles Lang Freer

Fig. D. 19: Provenance page for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1), after entry.

Summary

As detailed as the Whistler Frame Database attempts to be, it should be noted that it is still a work in progress and is far from completion. It has been an invaluable tool for my research and to the arguments outlined in this thesis. Without it, it would have been extremely difficult to make connections between which paintings (and frames) were shown at specific exhibitions and to observe in detail the numerous frames that surrounded particular artworks, such as *The Balcony*. It also became an indispensable tool in which to organise the copious number of photographs taken during the physical examinations. But perhaps, its most surprising usefulness was in the storing and sorting of the numerous labels and inscriptions. As of 18 September 2007, 187 different labels or inscriptions have been discovered. While the origins of some remain unknown, with additional research it may be possible to identify how and why they were placed on the back of these objects.

PARKER'S FRAME TOUR 2007

Date: 4/4/07 Location: IGA Accession #: 1892-23

Artist: The Balcony

Title: The Balcony

Artwork Date: 1865 Frame Date: 1892 Original? Yes ☐ No ☒ Maybe ☐

Number of Frame on Work: 4 Medium: Oil ☒ Pastel ☐ Watercolor ☐ other ☐

Frame style: _____

DIMENSIONS:

Overall:	Sight:	Molding:	Built up? <u>Yes</u>
H <u>37</u>	H <u>23 1/2</u>	Depth <u>23/4</u>	New Depth: <u>3 1/8"</u>
W <u>52 1/4</u>	W <u>14 5/8</u>	Width <u>6 5/8"</u>	Rabbet: _____

PROFILE MEASUREMENTS:

Outer edge height: 17/8" Number of Pieces: _____

Sec1: #Reeds <u>8</u>	H: <u>3/4"</u>	W: <u>7/8"</u>	Fillet Size: <u>3/8"</u>
Sec2: #Reeds <u>16</u>	H: <u>1</u>	W: <u>1 1/8"</u>	Fillet Size: <u>3/8"</u>
Sec3: #Reeds <u>2</u>	H: <u>3/16"</u>	W: <u>3/8"</u>	Fillet Size: <u>1/4"</u>
Sec4: #Reeds <u>8</u>	H: <u>5/8"</u>	W: <u>7/8"</u>	Fillet Size: _____
Sec5: #Reeds _____	H: _____	W: _____	Fillet Size: _____
Sec6: #Reeds _____	H: _____	W: _____	Fillet Size: _____

Sight Edge: 7/16"

Labels: #: _____ Location: _____ Details: _____

Frame Maker: _____ Location: _____

Wood: Pine ☐ Bass ☐ Oak ☐ Chestnut ☐ Other ☐ Corners: Mitre with Nails ☐
 Mitre with Spline ☐ Lap ☐ Lap with Nails ☐ Corner Blocks ☒ Butt ☐ Hardware: _____
 Rings ☐ Other ☐

Surface: Metal leaf ☐ Silver ☐ Bronze ☐ Painted ☐ Veneer ☐ Other ☐
 Gilding: Water Gilding ☐ Oil Gilding ☐ Combination ☐ Other ☐ Gesso: White ☐
 Grey ☐ Pink ☐ Extruded ☐ Other ☐ Bole: Red ☐ Orange ☐ Yellow ☐
 Grey ☐ Black ☐ Other ☐ Gold Leaf: 23K ☐ 18K ☐ 12K ☐ other ☐
 Tone: Matte ☐ Burnished ☐ Asphalt Casein ☐ Toned w/ Pigments ☐ Other ☐
 Combination Matte and Burnish ☐ new surface

Decoration: Butterfly ☐ Basketweave ☐ Seigaiha ☐ Bamboo ☐ Reeded ☐
 Incised ☐ Painted ☐ Both ☐ Details _____

Any Alterations: Re-Gilded ☐ Re-Sized ☐

Details: "Gold Medal"

Additional Notes on Back.

Database form for *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (YMSM 56, Plate 1), completed during the examination of the frame on 4 April 2007.

Artwork Title	Catalogue Raisonne No.	Museum Name	Frame Location	Frame Date	No. of Frame on Painting	Type of Profile	Museum Accession Number for Frame
Aurelia		Tate Britain	On Painting			Watts	
Yellow House, Lannion	C. 067	Hunterian Gallery of Art	On Painting			White Etching (1880-90s)	
Venice Bay	M.	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1920s	2nd	1880s Dowdeswell	F1905.158b
Greek Girl	M. 0333	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1920s	2nd	1880s Dowdeswell	
Resting	M. 0381	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1920s?	3rd	1880s Dowdeswell	F1902.176d
Study in Grey and Pink	M. 0470	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1920s	2nd	1880s Dowdeswell	F1905.151b
Study: Seated Figure	M. 0694	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c 1920s	2nd	1880s Dowdeswell	F1905.145b
A Street in Venice	M. 0767	Freer Gallery of Art	In Storage	c. 1890s		1890s Grau Reeded	F1904.86b
Note in pink and brown	M. 0787	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	1920 c.	2nd		
Bead Stringers	M. 0788	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1881?	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	F1905.124b
Behind the Arsenal	M. 0791	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting			Other	
The Marble Palace	M. 0794	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1881?	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	F1905.125b
Sunset; Red and Gold - the Gondolier	M. 0806	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c. 1930s		Other	
The Storm, Sunset	M. 0808	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s	Other	Other	
Nocturne in grey and gold - Piccadilly	M. 0862	National Gallery of Ireland	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	
Amsterdam in Winter	M. 0877	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1904.81b

Erith - Evening	M. 0884	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1884	1st	Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	1902.168b
Grey and silver - Pier, Southend	M. 0890	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	
Note in Opal: Breakfast	M. 0897	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s		Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.162b
Note in Pink and Purple: The Studio or Violet and red	M. 0898	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s	1st	Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.163b
Pink note - The Novelette	M. 0900	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c 1880s	1st	Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.158b
Yellow and grey (A Note in Green)	M. 0905	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s		Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.165c
Harmony in violet and amber	M. 0906	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s	2nd	Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.164b
Millie Finch	M. 0907	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 2003	4th	1880s Dowdeswell	F1907.170d
Moreby Hall	M. 0908	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s		Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1904.80b
Pink note - Shelling Peas	M. 0925	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1884		Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.166b
Note in black and grey	M. 0931	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s	Other	Other	
Red and Black	M. 0934	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s		Other	
Grand Canal, Amsterdam; Nocturne	M. 0944	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.161b
Nocturne; grey and gold - Canal; Holland	M. 0945	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.160b

Nocturne; black and red - Back Canal, Holland	M. 0946	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.159b
Zuyder Zee	M. 0962		On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	
Gold and Brown, Dordrecht	M. 0968	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting		2nd	1880s Dowdeswell	
Grey Note - Mouth of the Thames	M. 1046	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	1904 (?)	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	FR3967
Blue and Violet. Lapis Lazuli	M. 1070	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1888	1st	1888 Grau Frame	
The Violet Note	M. 1081	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1887	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	
Note in Yellow and Gold: Mrs Gardner	M. 1116	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1888 c.	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	P25e1 (Frame)
Green and Silver: Beaulieu, Touraine	M. 1180	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1880s	1st	1880s Dowdswell	F1899.25b
Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room	YMSM 034	Freer Gallery of Art				1890s Grau Reeded	
The Thames in Ice	YMSM 036	Freer Gallery of Art					F1901.107b
The Last of the Old Westminster	YMSM 039	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	1904 (?)	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	FR3004
Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks	YMSM 047	Philadelphia Museum of Art	On Painting	1864	1st	1860s Oriental Cassetta	Cat.1112- Frame
La Princesse du pays de la porcelaine	YMSM 050	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting		1st	1860s Oriental Cassetta	F1903.91b
Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl	YMSM 052	Tate Britain	On Painting	1895 c.	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	

Chelsea in Ice	YMSM 053	Private Collection	On Painting	1887	2nd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	N/A
Grey and Silver: Chelsea	YMSM 054	National Gallery of Art, USA	On Painting		2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	
Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony	YMSM 056	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1892	3rd	1890s Grau Reeded	F1892.23b
Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen	YMSM 060	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1864	1st	1860s Oriental Cassetta	F1905.329b
Symphony in White, No. 3	YMSM 061	Barber Institute of Fine Arts	On Painting		1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville	YMSM 064	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1878	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	P1e6 (frame)
Blue and Silver: Trouville	YMSM 066	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	F1902.137b
Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean	YMSM 072	Frick Collection	On Painting	1876 c.	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	1914.1.135 (frame)
Crepuscle in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso	YMSM 073	Tate Britain	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	
Sketch for 'Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay'	YMSM 074	Smithsonian's American Art Museum	On Painting	1910 c.	3rd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	1929.6.159 (F)
Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Valparaiso Bay	YMSM 076	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1920s	2nd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Venus	YMSM 082	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			1890s Grau Reeded	F1903.175b
Symphony in Blue and Pink	YMSM 086	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1892		1890s Grau Reeded	F1903.179B
The Girl with Cherry Blossom	YMSM 090	The Courtauld Institute	On Painting	1868/1878	1st	Other	
Harmony in Flesh Colour and Red	YMSM 091	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	1876 (?)	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	FR2725

Symphony in Grey: Early Morning, Thames	YMSM 098	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting				F1904.50b
Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor	YMSM 100	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1900		1890s Grau Reeded	F1906.103b
Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Chelsea	YMSM 103	Tate Britain	On Painting	1871	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea	YMSM 105	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1872	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	F1902.249B
Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland	YMSM 106	Frick Collection	On Painting	1874	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	1916.1.133 (frame)
Nocturne in Blue and Silver	YMSM 113	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s	2nd		
Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Cremorne Lights	YMSM 115	Tate Britain	On Painting		2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	
Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Reach	YMSM 119	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1878	2nd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	F1902.97b
Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter	YMSM 122	Detroit Institute of Arts	On Painting	1873	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Miss Agnes Mary Alexander	YMSM 127	Tate Britain	On Painting		1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander	YMSM 129	Tate Britain	On Painting			1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Harmony in Grey and Peach Colour	YMSM 131	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s	2nd		
Nocturne: Blue and Gold - Old Battersea Bridge	YMSM 140	Tate Britain	On Painting	1877	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	

Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Battersea Bridge	YMSM 152	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1895	1st	1890s Grau Reeded	
Nocturne: Grey and Silver	YMSM 156	Philadelphia Museum of Art	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	Cat.1111- Frame
Cremorne, No. 1 (Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Gardens)	YMSM 163	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	1878?)	1st	1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Cremorne Gardens, No. 2	YMSM 164	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	c.1890s	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	
Nocturne: Cremorne Gardens, No. 3	YMSM 165	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1900	2nd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	F1919.12b
Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Gardens [Nocturne in Green & Gold]	YMSM 166	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	1892		1890s Grau Reeded	
Nocturne in Black and Gold	YMSM 167	Location UNKNOWN					
Cremorne	YMSM 168	Location UNKNOWN	On Painting	18812		1880s Dowdswell	
Nocturne: Black and Gold - The Fire Wheel	YMSM 169	Tate Britain	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	
Nocturne: Trafalgar Square - Snow	YMSM 173	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	F1908.169b
Nocturne: Grey and Gold - Chelsea Snow	YMSM 174	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s			
Nocturne in Black and Gold: Entrance to Southampton Water	YMSM 179	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	1892	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	F1897.21b
Arrangement in White and Black	YMSM 185	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			1870s Reeded Cassetta	F1904.78b

Arrangement in Black, No. 3: Sir Henry Irving as Philip II of Spain	YMSM 187	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting			1880s Portrait	
Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl - Connie Gilchrist	YMSM 190	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	1888 c.	2nd	1888 Grau Frame	
Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder	YMSM 203	Frick Collection	On Painting	1880 c.	2nd	1870s Reeded Cassetta	1914.1.134 (F)
Nocturne: Black and Gold - Rag Shop, Chelsea	YMSM 204	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930		1870s Reeded Cassetta	
Nocturne in Blue and Silver: The Lagoon, Venice	YMSM 212	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	c. 1904	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	3247
Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux	YMSM 229	Frick Collection	On Painting	1900 c.	2nd	1880s Portrait	1918.1.132 (frame)
Arrangement in Black: Portrait of Lady Archibald Campbell (The Lady in the Yellow Buskin)	YMSM 242	Philadelphia Museum of Art	On Painting	c.1884	1st	1880s Portrait	
Chelsea Shops	YMSM 246	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.149b
Street in Old Chelsea	YMSM 249	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	1904	2nd	1890s Grau Reeded	FR2727
Arrangement in Flesh Colour and Black: Portrait of Theodore Duret	YMSM 252	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	c.1880s	1st	1880s Portrait	
Red and pink - La Petite Mephisto	YMSM 255	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.147b

Note en rouge: L'Eventail	YMSM 256	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 4 3/8"	F1913.91b
Blue and Orange: Sweet Shop	YMSM 263	Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum	On Painting	1886	1st	1880s Dowdeswell	
An Orange Note: Sweet Shop	YMSM 264	Freer Gallery of Art	In Storage			1890s Grau Reeded	
Note in blue and opal - The Sun Cloud	YMSM 271	Freer Gallery of Art	In Storage			1890s Grau Reeded	F1904.314b
Low Tide	YMSM 280	Freer Gallery of Art				Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.156b
The Angry Sea	YMSM 282	Freer Gallery of Art	In Storage		1st	1890s Grau Reeded	F1904.76b
Blue and grey - Unloading	YMSM 296	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 4 3/8"	
Violet and silver - The Great Sea	YMSM 298	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.148b
Black and Emerald - Coal Mine	YMSM 302	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 4 3/8"	
Wortley; note in green	YMSM 303	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 4 3/8"	
Harmony in brown and gold - Old Chelsea Bridge	YMSM 305	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 4 3/8"	F1902.152b
Red and Blue - Lindsey Houses	YMSM 306	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting	c. 1880s		Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.157b
Nocturne; silver and opal - Chelsea	YMSM 309	Freer Gallery of Art	On Painting			Dowdeswell - 5 9/16"	F1902.146b
Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of Master Stephen Manuel	YMSM 321	Freer Gallery of Art					F1908.178b
White and Grey Hotel Dieppe	YMSM 325	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930			
Grey and Brown: The Sad Sea Shore	YMSM 329	Freer Gallery of Art					F1914.2b
The Butcher's Shop	YMSM 383	Freer Gallery of Art					F1903.181b

The Grey House	YMSM 385	Freer Gallery of Art					F1903.182b
Arrangement in Black and Gold: Comte Robert de Montesquiou-Fezensac	YMSM 398	Frick Collection	On Painting	1892	1st	1890s Grau Reeded	1914.1.131 (frame)
Portrait of E. G. Kennedy	YMSM 404	Metropolitan Museum of Art	On Painting	c.1892		1890s Grau Reeded	
Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl	YMSM 421	Freer Gallery of Art					F1903.89b
Gold and Orange: The Neighbours	YMSM 423	Freer Gallery of Art					F1913.66b
The Master Smith of Lyme Regis	YMSM 450	Museum of Fine Arts, Boston	On Painting	1904	1st	1890s Grau Reeded	FR3848
Brown and Gold: Lillie in our Alley!	YMSM 464	Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University	On Painting	c.1930s			
Green and Gold: The Little Green Cap	YMSM 467	Freer Gallery of Art					F1907.169b
The Little Red Glove	YMSM 468	Freer Gallery of Art					F1903.180b
Purple and Gold: Phryne the Superb! -- Builder of Temples	YMSM 490	Freer Gallery of Art					F1902.115b
Rose and Brown : La Cigale	YMSM 495	Freer Gallery of Art					F1902.110b
The Little Faustina	YMSM 510	Freer Gallery of Art					F1909.113b

Variations in Gold:
The Stylistic Development of the
Picture Frames used by
James McNeill Whistler

Volume 2

by
Sarah Lawrence Parkerson

Submitted in fulfillment of the requirements of
Doctor of Philosophy in Decorative Arts in the
Department of History of Art, University of Glasgow
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Plate 1: *Variations in Flesh Colour and Green: The Balcony* (1865, FGA, YMSM 56), [AD] $24 \frac{1}{4} \times 19 \frac{1}{4}$ (61.4 x 48.8); deep reeded cushion Grau-style frame (c. 1892, 3rd frame), [FD] $37 \times 32 \frac{1}{4}$ (93.9 x 81.9), [MW] $5 \frac{5}{8}$ (14.2).



Plate 2: *Purple and Rose: The Lange Leizen of the Six Marks* (1864, PMA, YMSM 47), [AD] 36 x 24 $\frac{1}{4}$ (91.5 x 61.5); Oriental cassetta frame (1864, 1st frame), [FD] 46 $\frac{3}{8}$ x 34 $\frac{1}{4}$ (117.7 x 87), [MW] 5 $\frac{3}{8}$ (13.6).



Plate 3: *Nocturne in Blue and Gold: Old Battersea Bridge*
 (1872/1875, Tate, YMSM 140), [AD] $26 \frac{1}{4} \times 19 \frac{3}{4}$ (66.6 x 50.2);
 reeded cassetta frame, painted with the second-stage seigaiha pattern
 and butterfly signature, made by Foord & Dickinson (c. 1875/6, 1st
 frame), [FD] $36 \frac{3}{8} \times 30$ (92.3 x 76.2), [MW] $4 \frac{1}{8}$ (10.4).



Plate 4: *Variations in Pink and Grey: Chelsea* (1871-72, FGA, YMSM 105), [AD] $24 \frac{5}{8} \times 16$ (62.7 x 40.5); reeded cassetta frame with incised basket-weave pattern and painted butterfly, (c. 1872, 1st frame), [FD] $32 \frac{3}{4} \times 23 \frac{7}{8}$ (83.1 x 60.6), [MW] $4 \frac{1}{8}$ (10.5).



Plate 5: *The Coast of Brittany* (1861, Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, Ct., YMSM 37), [AD] $34 \frac{3}{8} \times 45 \frac{1}{2}$ (87.3 x 115.8).

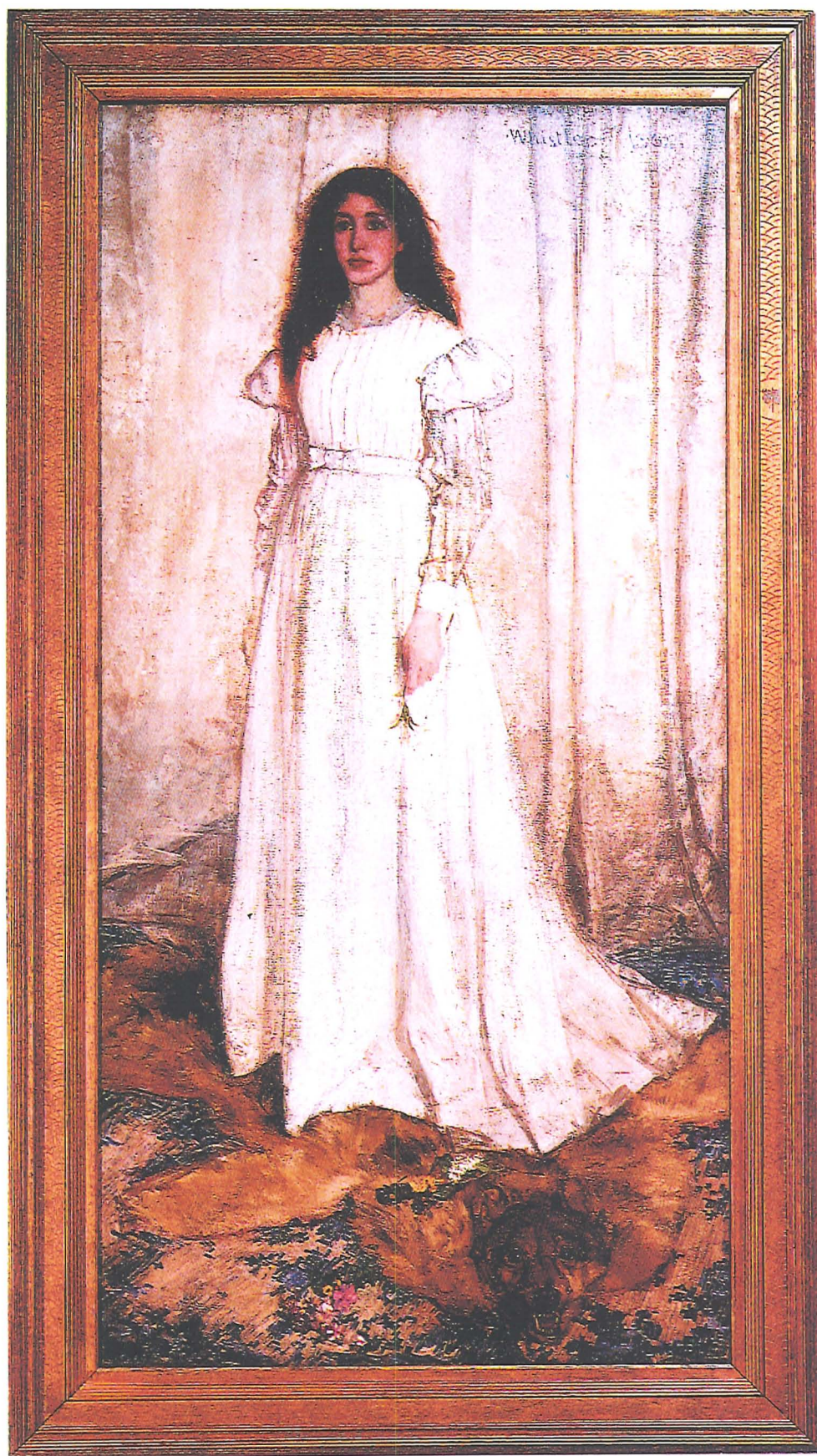


Plate 6: *Symphony in White, No. 1: The White Girl* (1862, NGA DC, YMSM 38), [AD] 84 ½ x 42 ½ (214.6 x 108.8).



Plate 7: *Harmony in Blue and Silver: Trouville* (1865, ISGM, YMSM 64), [AD] $19\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{3}{4}$ (49.5 x 75.5); reeded cassetta Foord & Dickinson frame (c. 1878, 2nd frame), [FD] $32\frac{1}{4} \times 42\frac{5}{8}$ (81.9 x 108.2), [MW] $6\frac{1}{2}$ (16.5).



Plate 8: *Arrangement in Grey and Black: Portrait of the Artist's Mother* (1871, Musée du Louvre, Paris, YMSM 101), [AD] 56 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 64 (144.3 x 162.5).



Plate 9: *Nocturne in Blue and Silver: Battersea Reach* (1870/1875, FGA, YMSM 119), [AD] $19 \frac{5}{8} \times 30 \frac{1}{8}$ (49.9 x 76.5); reeded cassetta Foord & Dickinson frame (c. 1878, 2nd frame), [FD] $32 \frac{1}{2} \times 42 \frac{1}{2}$ (82.5 x 108.1), [MW] $6 \frac{1}{2}$ (16.5).



Plate 10: *Nocturne in Black and Gold: The Falling Rocket* (1875, DIA, YMSM 170), [AD] $23 \frac{3}{4} \times 18 \frac{3}{8}$ (60.3 x 46.6); reeded cushion frame (c. 1892, 2nd frame).



Plate 11: *Arrangement in Grey and Black, No. 2: Portrait of Thomas Carlyle* (1872/1873, Glasgow Art Gallery & Museum, YMSM 137), [AD] $67 \frac{3}{8} \times 56 \frac{1}{2}$ (171.0 x 143.5); deep reeded cushion frame by F.H. Grau (c. 1891, 2nd frame).



Plate 12: *Harmony in Grey and Green: Miss Cicely Alexander* (1872/3, Tate, YMSM 129), [AD] 74 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ (190.0 x 98.0); reeded portrait frame (c. 1874-1888, 1st frame, 2nd state).



Plate 13: *Symphony in Grey and Green: The Ocean*. (1866, Frick, YMSM 72), $31 \frac{3}{4} \times 40 \frac{1}{8}$ (80.7 x 101.9); reeded cassetta frame with painted seigaiha pattern and butterfly signature (1874-6, 1st frame, 3rd state), [FD] $40 \frac{3}{8} \times 48 \frac{1}{8}$ (102.5 x 122.2), [MW] $4 \frac{1}{2}$ (11.4).



Plate 14: *Symphony in White, No. 2: The Little White Girl* (1864, Tate, YMSM 52), [AD] 30 x 20 (76.0 x 51.0); deep reeded Grau-style frame (after 1892, 2nd frame), [FD] $42 \frac{3}{4} \times 32 \frac{5}{8}$ (108.5 x 82.8), [MW] $6 \frac{5}{8}$ (16.8).

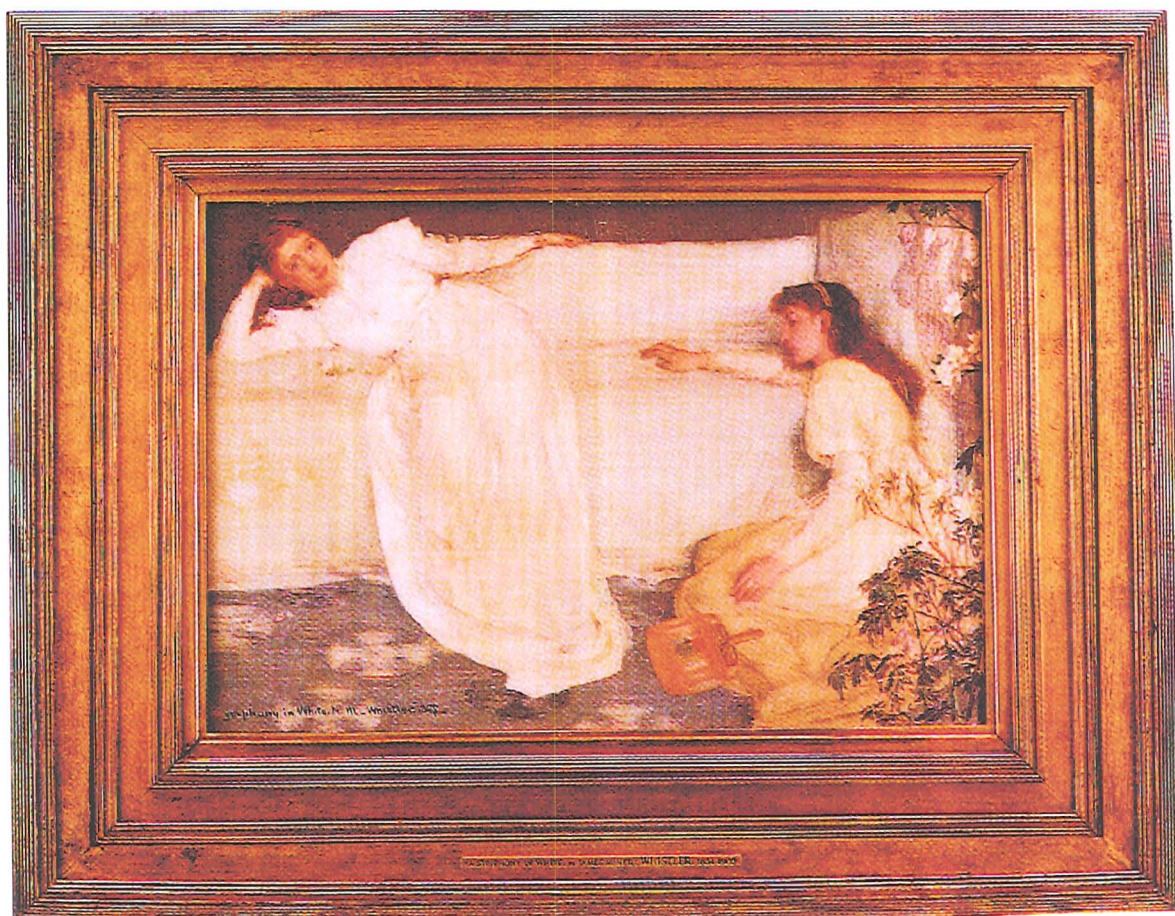


Plate 15: *Symphony in White, No. III* (1867, BIFA, YMSM 61), [AD] $20 \frac{1}{2} \times 30 \frac{1}{8}$ (52.0 x 76.5); reeded cassetta frame with painted Maltese Cross pattern and butterfly signature (c. 1867/1873, 1st frame, 2nd state), [FD] $33 \frac{7}{8} \times 44$ (86.0 x 111.7), [MW] $7 \frac{1}{4}$ (18.4).

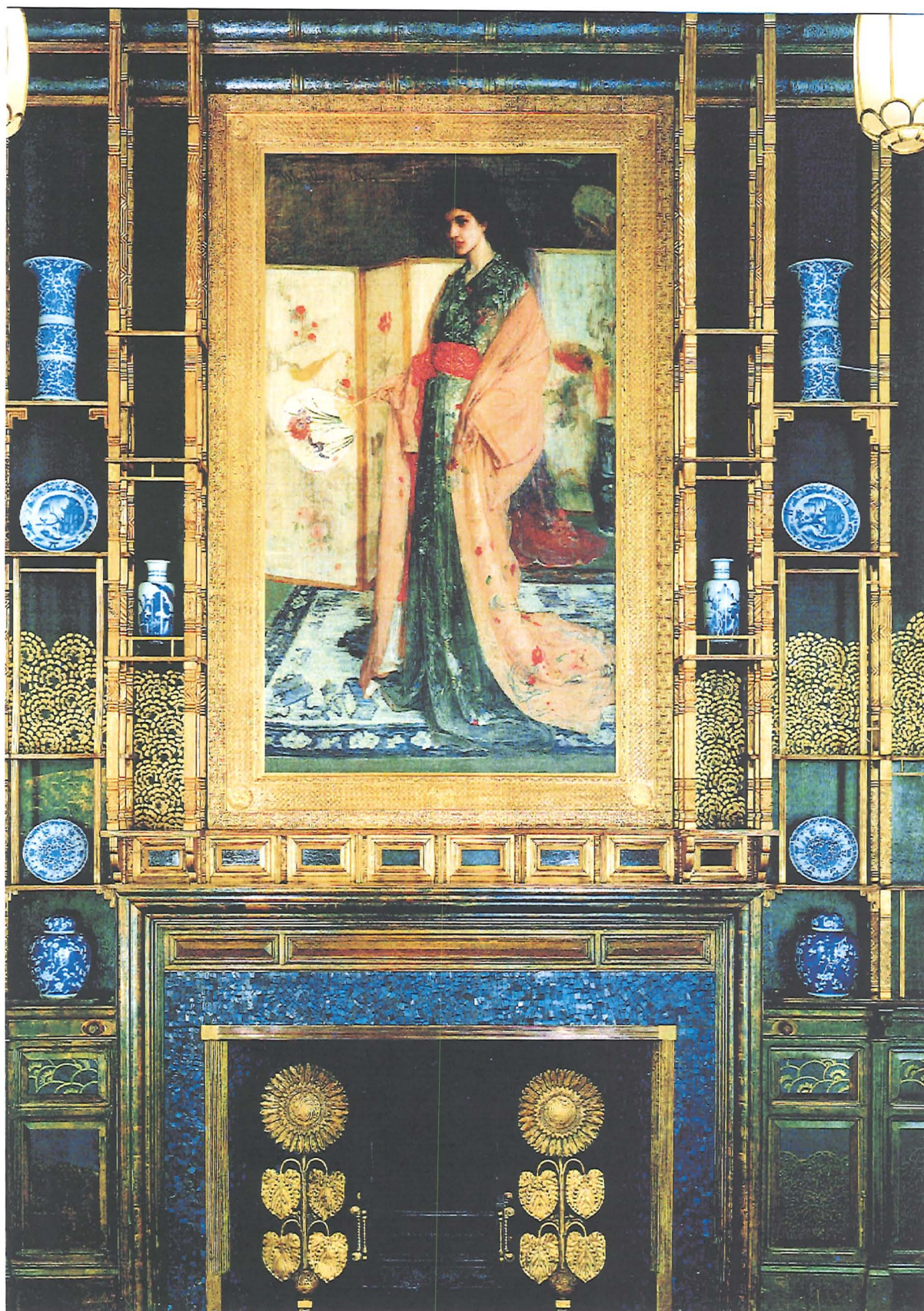


Plate 16: *La Princesse du pays de la Porcelain* (1864, FGA, YMSM 50), [AD] 78 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 45 $\frac{3}{4}$ (199.9 x 116.0); Oriental cassetta frame (1864, 1st frame).



Plate 17: *Caprice in Purple and Gold: The Golden Screen* (1864, FGA, YMSM 60), [AD] $19\frac{3}{4} \times 27$ (50.2 x 68.7); Oriental cassetta frame (1864, 1st frame), [FD] $30 \times 36\frac{3}{4}$ (76.2 x 93.3), [MW] $5\frac{1}{4}$ (13.3).



Plate 18: *Variations in Violet and Green* (1871, Musée d'Orsay, Paris, YMSM 104), [AD] 24 x 14 (61.0 x 35.5); reeded cassetta frame with incised basket-weave pattern and painted butterfly signature (c.1874, 1st frame).



Plate 19: *Arrangement in Grey: Portrait of the Painter* (1872, DIA, YMSM 122), [AD] 29 ½ x 21 (74.9 x 53.3); reeded cassetta frame with painted basket-weave pattern and butterfly signature (c. 1873, 1st frame).



Plate 20: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver – Chelsea* (1871, Tate, YMSM 103), [AD] $19\frac{3}{4} \times 23\frac{1}{2}$ (50.0 x 59.3); reeded cassetta frame, painted with first stage seigaiha pattern (1871, 1st frame), [FD] $27\frac{1}{4} \times 32\frac{1}{2}$ (69.2 x 82.5), [MW] $4\frac{1}{2}$ (11.4).



Plate 21: *Harmony in Grey and Peach* (1872/1874, Fogg, YMSM 131), [AD] $76 \frac{3}{8} \times 39 \frac{3}{4}$ (194.0 x 101.0); reeded replica frame by M. Grieve (c. 1930, 2nd frame), [FD] $86 \frac{1}{2} \times 50$ (219.7 x 127), [MW] $5 \frac{1}{2}$ (13.9).



Plate 22: *Arrangement in Black: Portrait of F.R. Leyland* (1870, FGA, YMSM 97), [AD] $75 \frac{7}{8} \times 36 \frac{1}{8}$ (192.8 x 91.9); reeded portrait frame.



Plate 23: *Symphony in Flesh Colour and Pink: Portrait of Mrs Frances Leyland* (1871, Frick, YMSM 106), [AD] 77 $\frac{1}{8}$ x 40 $\frac{1}{4}$ (195.0 x 102.2); reeded cassetta frame with incised basket-weave pattern (1874, 1st frame), [FD] 86 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 50 (219.7 x 127), [MW] 6 (15.2).



Plate 24: *The Gold Scab* (1879, California Palace of the Legion of Honor, The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, California, YMSM 208), [AD] 73 ½ x 55 (186.7 x 139.7); reeded cassetta frame with painted floral pattern (c. 1873/4, 1st frame).

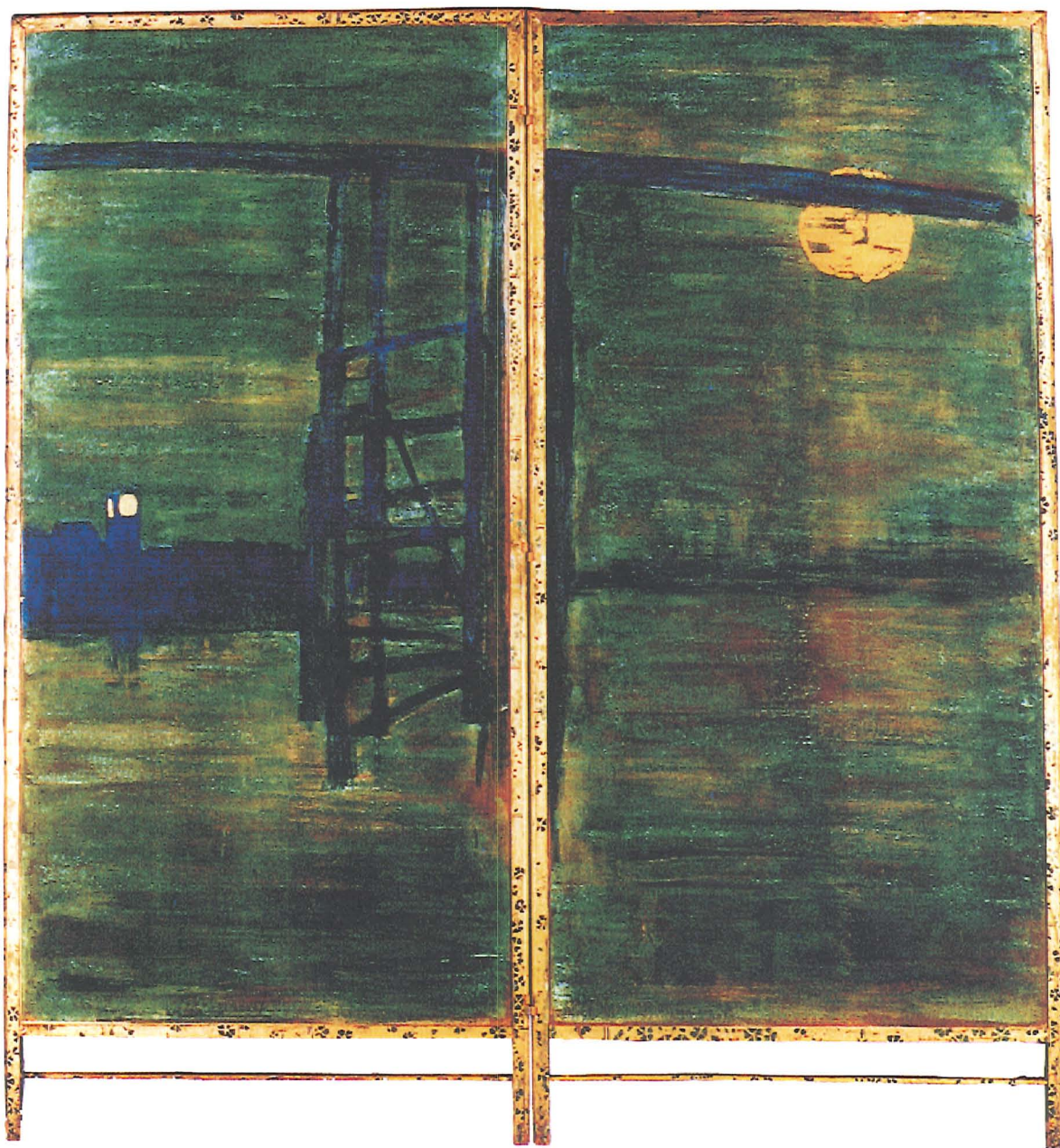


Plate 25: *Blue and Silver: Screen, with Old Battersea Bridge* (1872/3, HAG, YMSM 139), [AD] 76 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 71 $\frac{3}{4}$ (195.0 x 182.0); gilded frame with painted floral pattern (1873/4).



Plate 26: *Pink and Grey: Three Figures* (1878, Tate, YMSM 89),
[AD] 55 x 73 (139.7 x 185.4); whorl incised reeded replica frame
(c.1990s, 2nd frame).



Plate 27: *Girl with Cherry Blossom* (1872/1878, The Hon. Christopher McLaren, on-loan to CIA, YMSM 90), [AD] 54 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 29 (139.2 x 73.7); whorl incised reeded frame (c. 1868/1878, 1st frame), [FD] 66 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 41 (168.9 x 104.1), [MW] 2 (5.0).



Plate 28: *Nocturne in Blue and Silver* (1871/2, Fogg, YMSM 113), [AD] 17 ½ x 23 ¾ (44.4 x 60.3); reeded replica frame by M. Grieve (c. 1930, 2nd frame), [FD] 25 ½ x 32 (64.7 x 81.2), [MW] 4 ¼ (10.8).

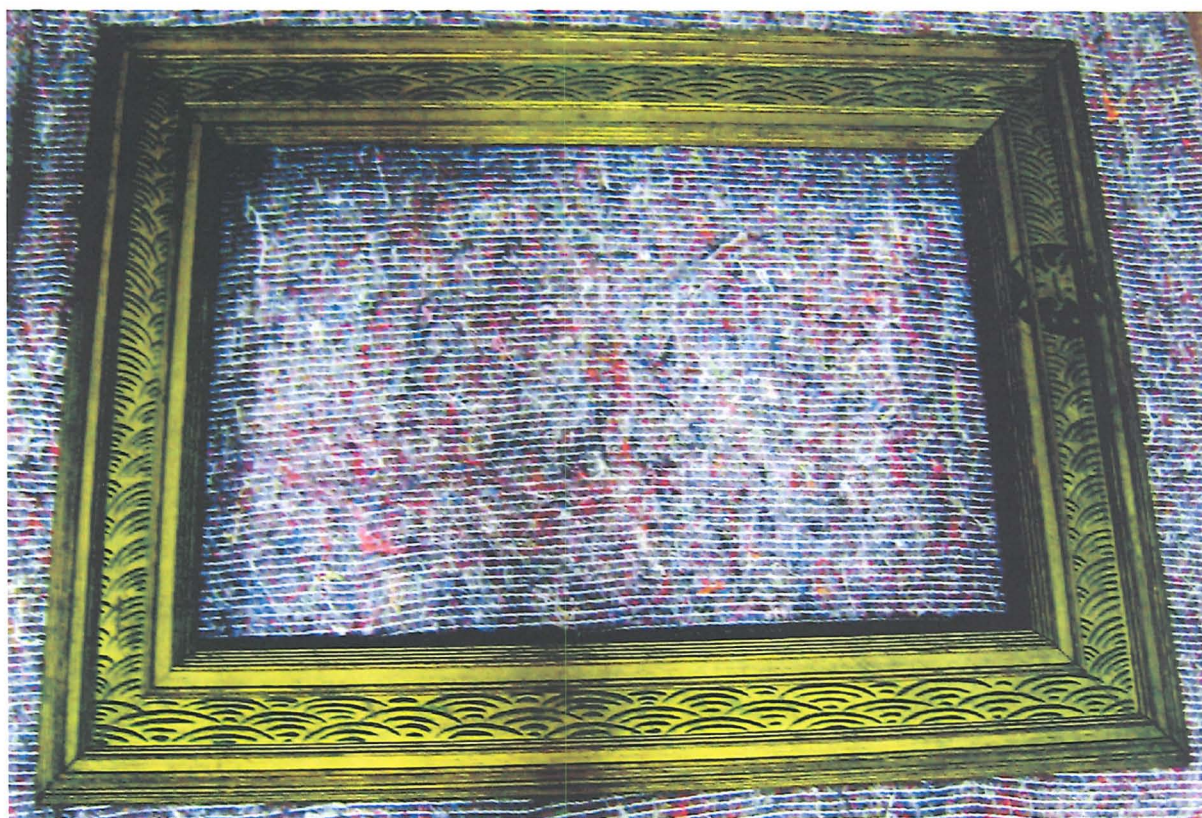


Plate 29: Empty Foord & Dickinson Frame, painted with the second-stage *seigaiha* pattern (c. 1876-78, HAG).



Plate 30: *Harmony in Yellow and Gold: The Gold Girl – Connie Gilchrist* (1876-7, Met, YMSM 190), $85 \frac{3}{4} \times 43 \frac{1}{8}$ (217.8 x 109.5); reeded portrait frame, with possible F.H. Grau label on verso (c. 1888?, 2nd frame), [FD] 98×55 (248.9 x 139.7), [MW] $6 \frac{3}{4}$ (17.1).

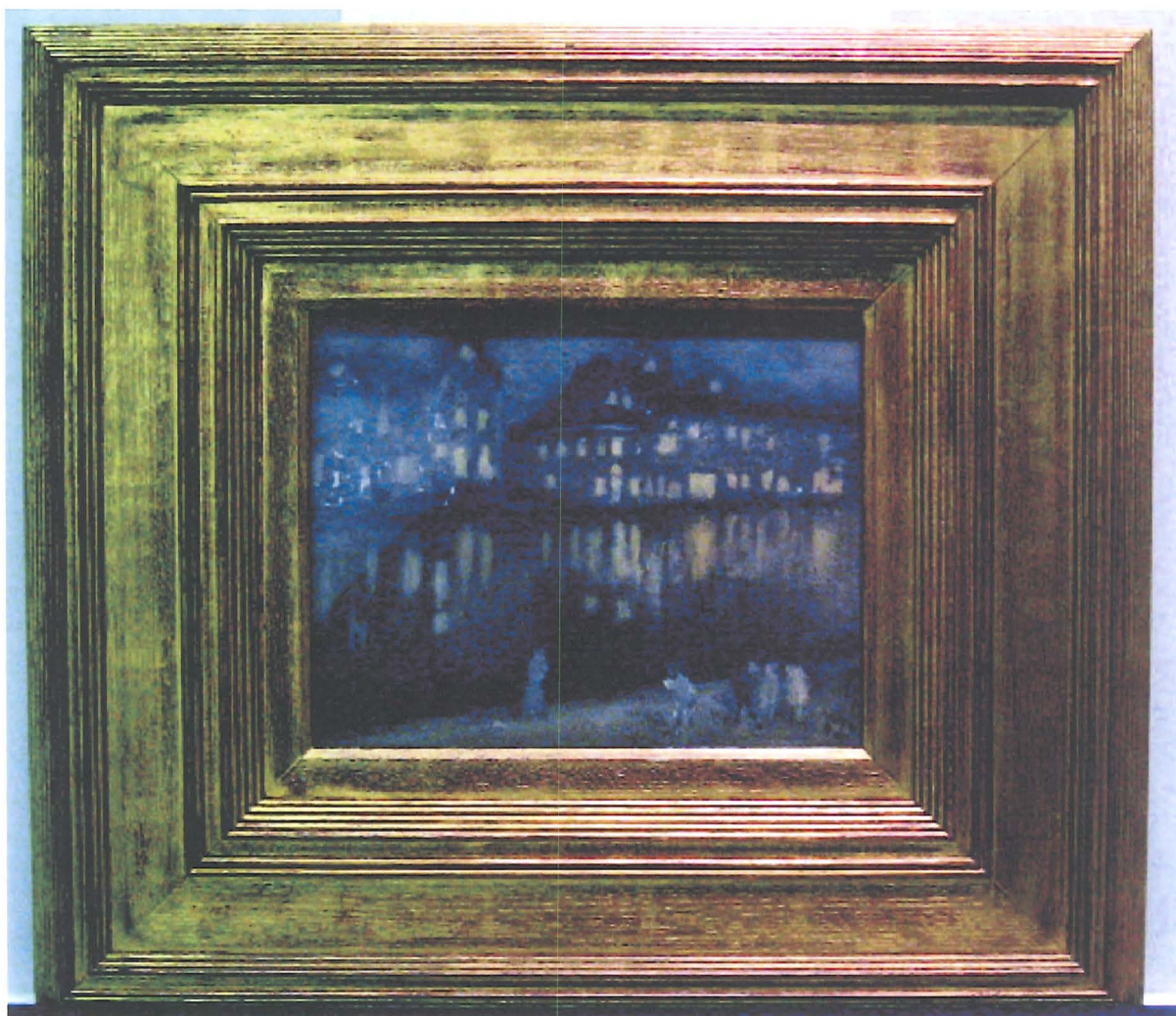


Plate 31: *Grand Canal, Amsterdam* (watercolour, 1883, FGA, M. 944), [AD] $8 \frac{7}{8} \times 11 \frac{3}{16}$ (226 x 284); reeded Dowdeswell frame (c. 1884, 1st frame), [FD] $19 \frac{5}{8} \times 22$ (49.8 x 55.8), [MW] $5 \frac{9}{16}$ (14.1).

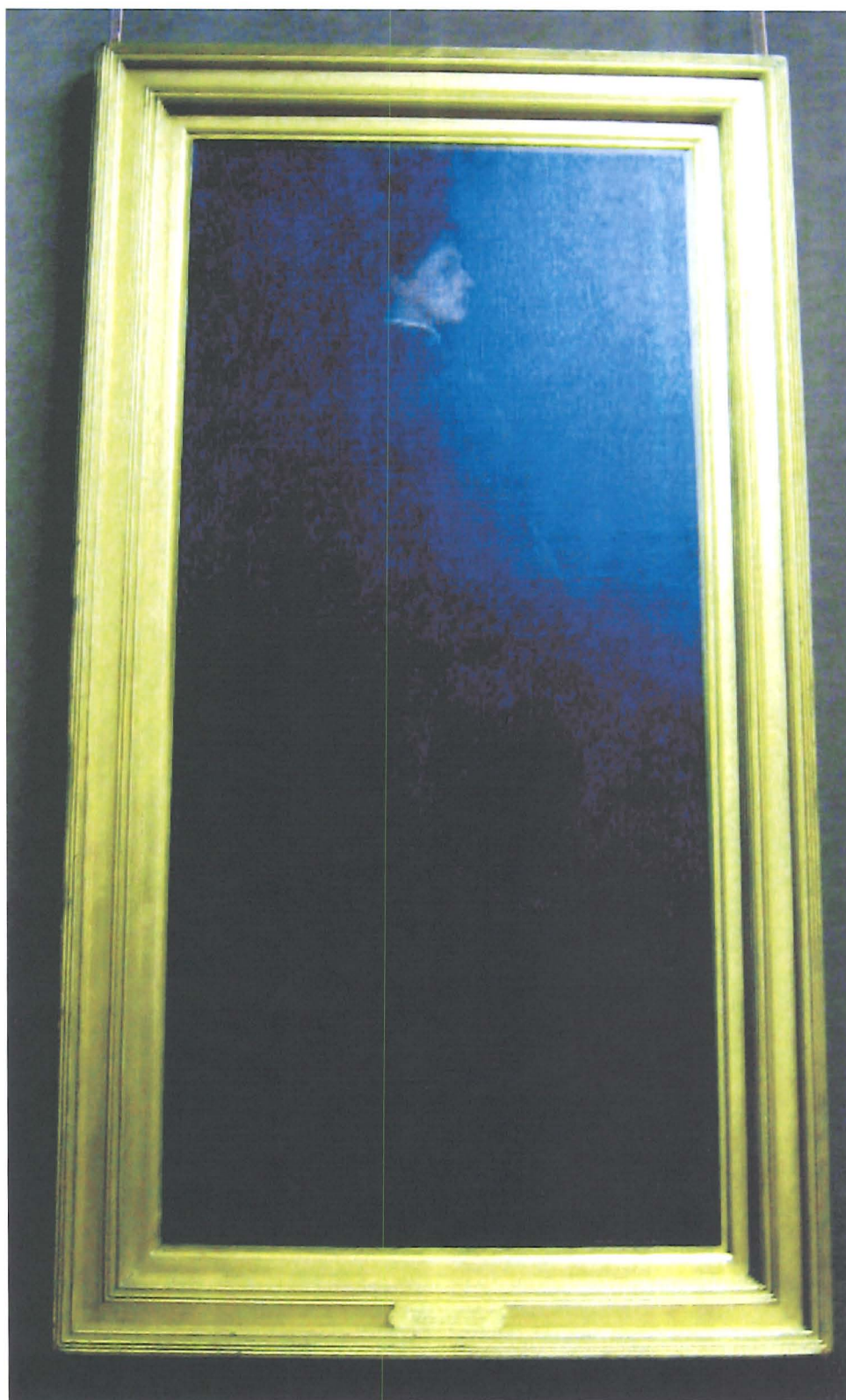


Plate 32: *Arrangement in Brown and Black: Portrait of Miss Rosa Corder* (1876, Frick, YMSM 203), [AD] $75 \frac{3}{4} \times 36 \frac{3}{8}$ (192.4 x 92.4); reeded portrait frame (c. 1882, 2nd frame), [FD] $88 \frac{5}{8} \times 49 \frac{1}{10}$ (225.11 x 124.7), [MW] $6 \frac{3}{4}$ (17.15).



Plate 33: *Yellow House, Lannion*, (lithograph, 1893, HAG, C. 67);
gesso and veneered white lithograph frame (c.1890, 1st frame), [FD] 20
 $\frac{3}{16}$ x 16 $\frac{1}{2}$ (51.28 x 41.91), [MW] 1 (2.54).



Plate 34: *Harmony in Pink and Grey: Portrait of Lady Meux* (1881-82, Frick, YMSM 229), [AD] $76 \frac{1}{4} \times 36 \frac{5}{8}$ (193.7 x 93.0); reeded portrait frame (c. 1910, 3rd frame, American), [FD] $87 \frac{9}{16} \times 48 \frac{3}{16}$ (222.4 x 122.4), [MW] $6 \frac{1}{4}$ (15.8).

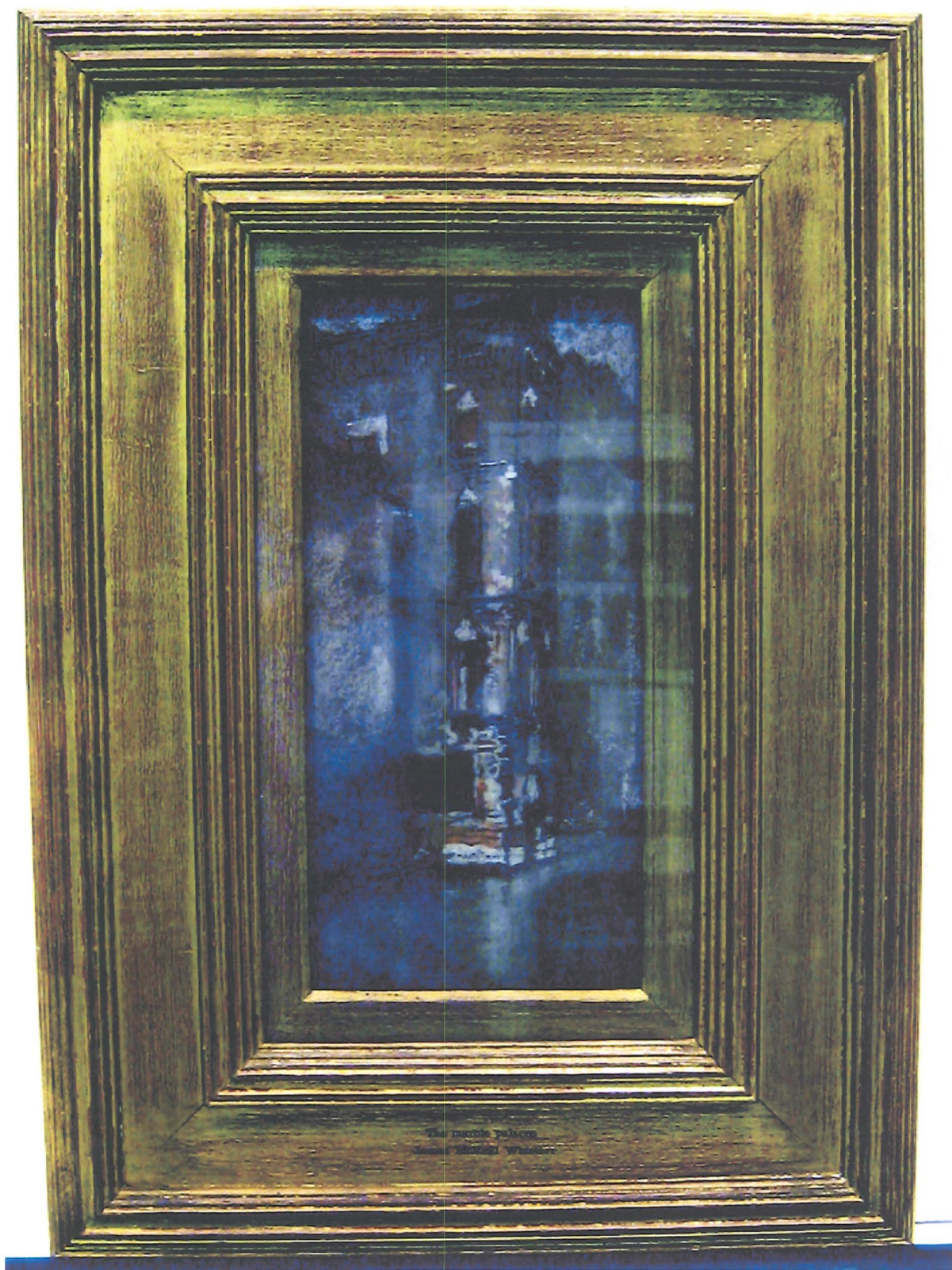


Plate 35: *The Old Marble Palace* (1880, chalk and pastel on brown paper, FGA, M. 794), [AD] $11 \frac{13}{16} \times 6 \frac{3}{16}$ (300 x 157); reeded Dowdeswell frame, with Grau paper label on verso (c. 1881, 1st frame), [FD] $20 \frac{3}{4} \times 14 \frac{5}{8}$ (52.7 x 37.1), [MW] $4 \frac{5}{8}$ (11.7).



Plate 36: *Beadstringers* (1880, chalk and pastel on brown paper, FGA, M. 788), [AD] $10 \frac{13}{16} \times 4 \frac{1}{2}$ (275 x 115); reeded Dowdeswell frame, with Grau paper label on verso (c. 1881, 1st frame), [FD] $19 \frac{1}{2} \times 13 \frac{1}{8}$ (49.5 x 33.3), [MW] $4 \frac{1}{2}$ (11.4).



Plate 37: *Chelsea in Ice* (1864, PC, YMSM 53), [AD] $17 \frac{5}{8} \times 24$ (44.7 x 61.0); flat reeded frame by F.H. Grau (1887, 2nd frame), [FD] $29 \frac{3}{4} \times 36 \frac{3}{8}$ (75.5 x 92.3), [MW] $6 \frac{1}{4}$ (15.8).



Plate 38: *The Violet Note* (1885/86, chalk and pastel on brown paper, ISGM, M.1081), [AD] $10 \frac{1}{4} \times 6 \frac{3}{4}$ (260 x 180); reeded pastel frame by F.H. Grau (1887, 1st frame), [FD] $19 \frac{5}{8} \times 15 \frac{7}{8}$ (49.8 x 40.3), [MW] $4 \frac{5}{8}$ (11.7).



Plate 39: *Crepuscule in Flesh Colour and Green: Valparaiso* (1866, Tate, YMSM 73), [AD] 23 x 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ (58.4 x 75.5); deep reeded Grau frame (1892, 2nd frame), [FD] 36 x 42 $\frac{1}{2}$ (91.4 x 107.9), [MW] 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ (16.5).

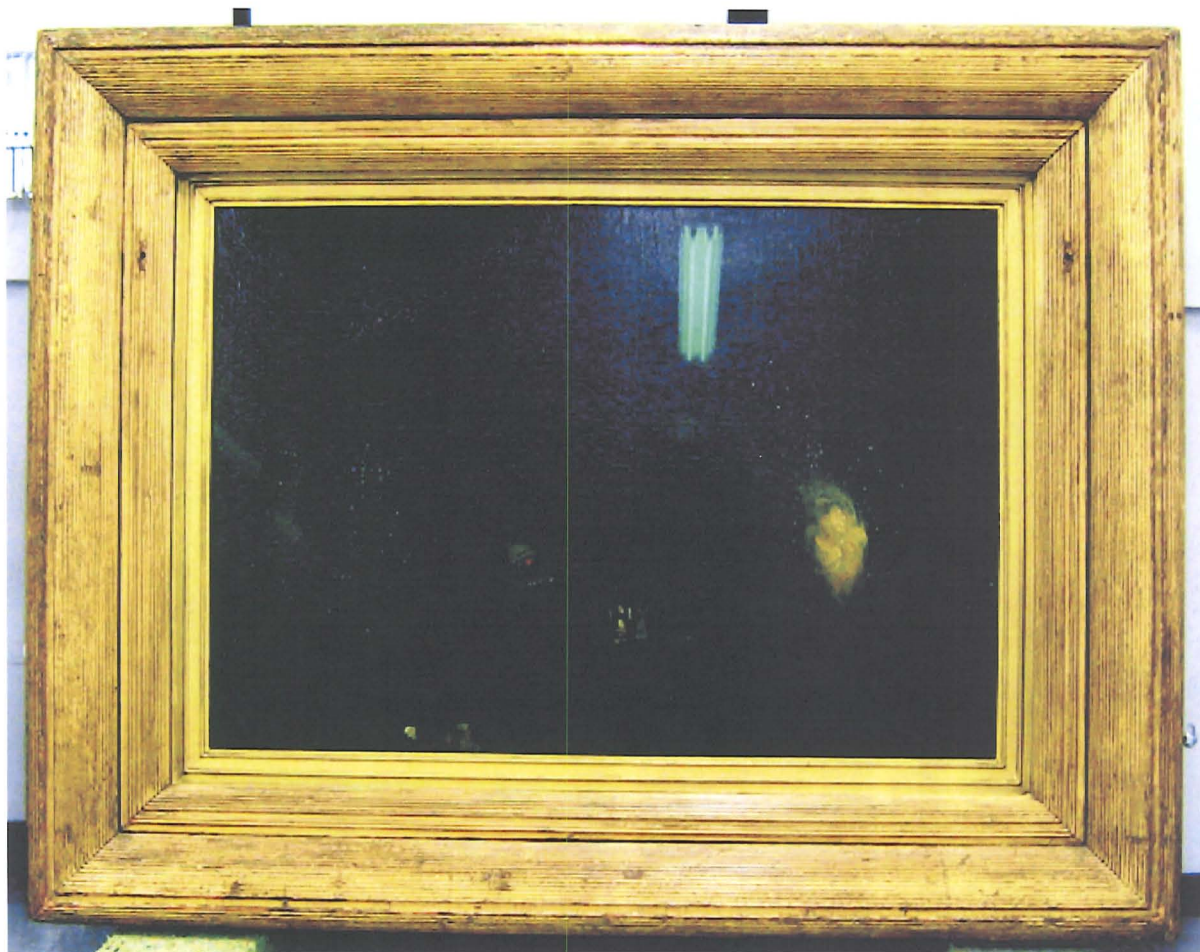


Plate 40: *Nocturne: Black and Gold - The Fire Wheel* (1872/7, Tate, YMSM 169), [AD] 21 x 29 $\frac{3}{4}$ (53.5 x 75.5); deep reeded frame made by F.H. Grau (1892, 2nd frame), [FD] 33 x 42 (83.8 x 106.6), [MW] 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ (15.8).

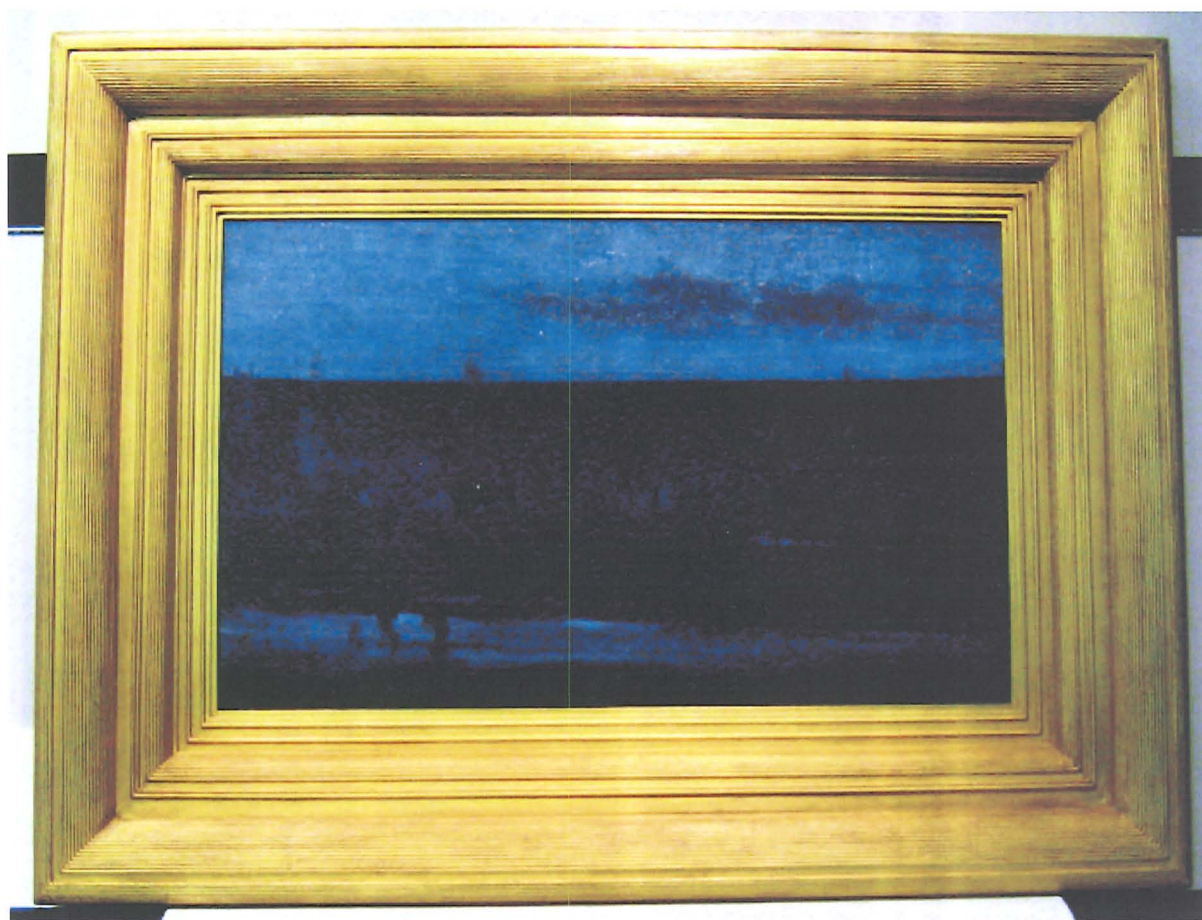


Plate 41: *Nocturne: Blue and Silver - Bognor* (1871/1876, FGA, YMSM 100), [AD] $19 \frac{3}{4} \times 33 \frac{7}{8}$ (50.3 x 86.2); deep reeded Grau-style frame made by W.C. LeBrocq (c.1900, 2nd frame, American), [FD] $33 \frac{1}{4} \times 47 \frac{1}{4}$ (84.4 x 120.0), [MW] $7 \frac{1}{8}$ (18.1).



Plate 42: *Blue and Silver: Trouville* (1865, FGA, YMSM 66), [AD] 23 $\frac{1}{4}$ x 28 $\frac{1}{2}$ (59.1 x 72.4); deep reeded frame made by F.H. Grau (1892, 2nd frame), [FD] 36 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 41 $\frac{1}{2}$ (92.7 x 105.4), [MW] 7 (17.7).

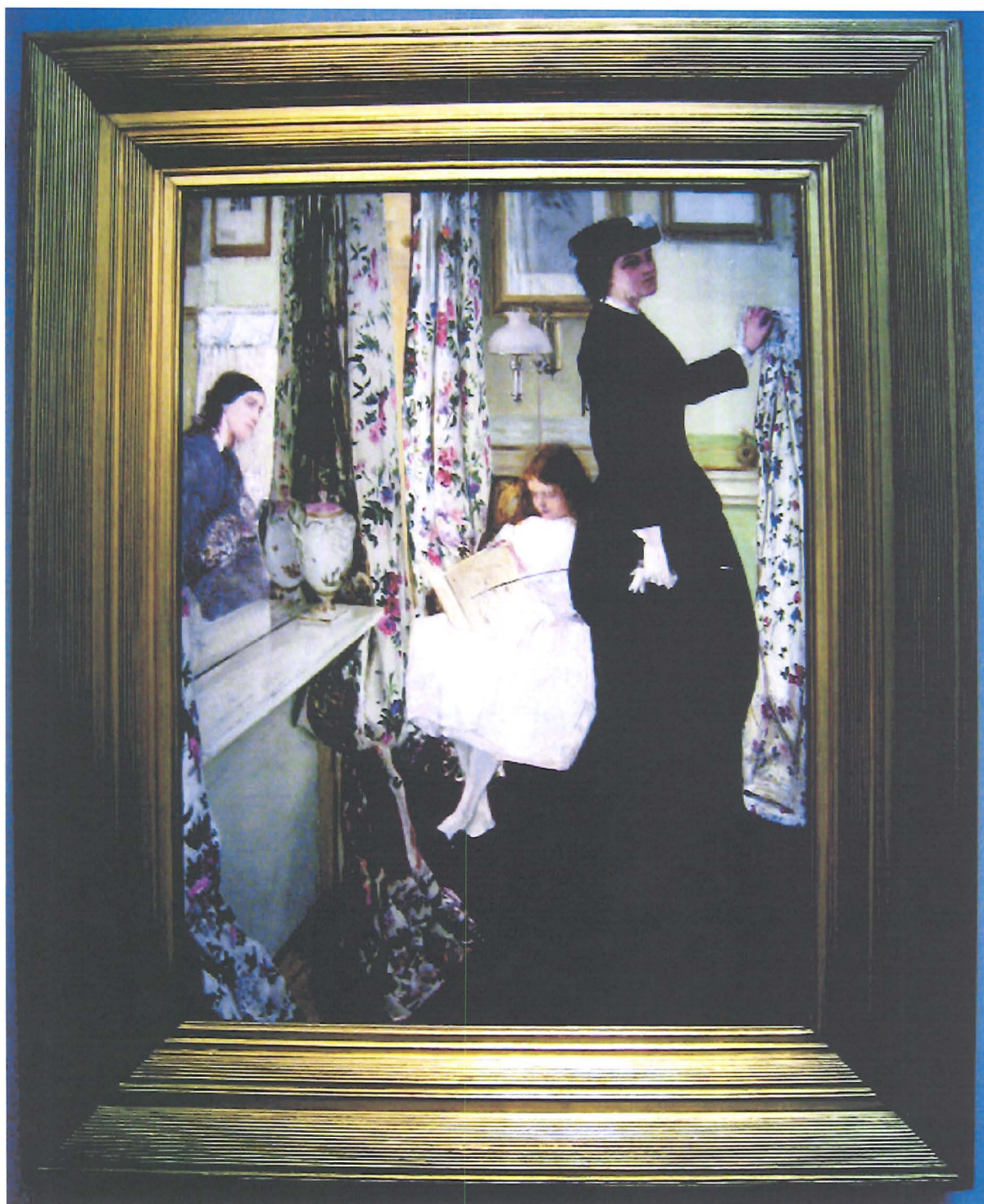


Plate 43: *Harmony in Green and Rose: The Music Room* (1860/1, FGA, YMSM 34), [AD] $37 \frac{5}{8} \times 27 \frac{1}{8}$ (95.5 x 70.8); deep reeded Grau-style frame (after 1892, 2nd frame).

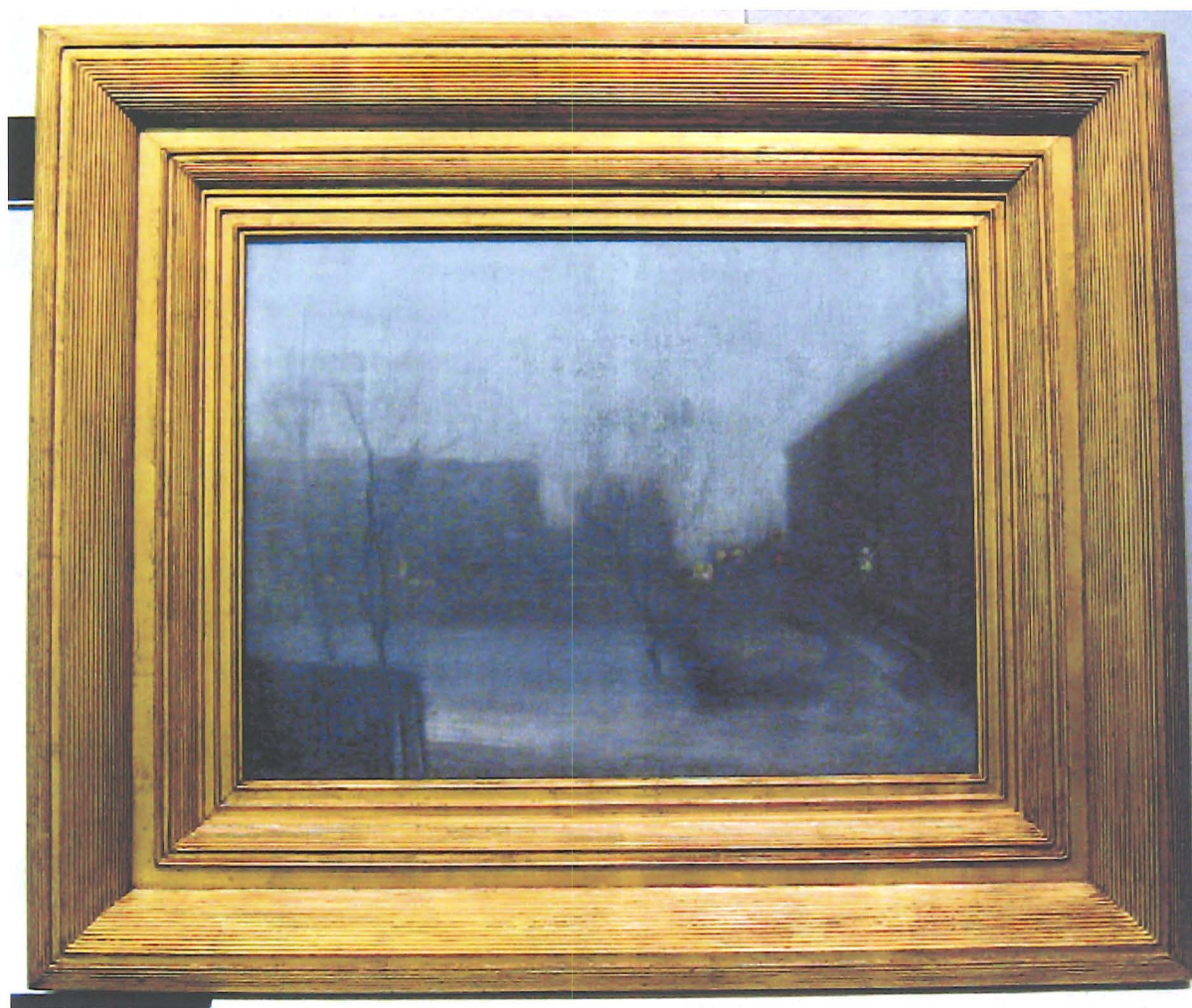


Plate 44: *Nocturne: Trafalgar Square - Snow* (1875/77, FGA, YMSM 173), [AD] $18 \frac{5}{8} \times 24 \frac{5}{8}$ (47.2 x 62.5); deep reeded frame made by F.H. Grau (1892, 2nd frame) [FD] $31 \frac{3}{8} \times 37 \frac{1}{4}$ (79.6 x 94.6), [MW] $6 \frac{5}{8}$ (16.8).



Plate 45: *Harmony in Blue and Gold: The Little Blue Girl* (1893-1903, FGA, YMSM 421), [AD] $29 \frac{3}{8} \times 19 \frac{7}{8}$ (74.7 x 50.5); deep reeded Grau-style frame with painted chequered pattern and butterfly signature (c. 1895/1903, 1st frame), [FD] $42 \frac{1}{2} \times 33$ (107.9 x 83.8), [MW] 7 (17.7).