
The Streets of London

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"Chelsea [was] practically owned by James McNeill Whistler.

There were his little shops, his rag shops, his green-grocer shops, and his sweet shops; in fact, so nearly was it all his, that after a time he sternly forbade other painters to work there at all."

MORTIMER MENPES, 1902

Whistler spent over forty years of his life in London, which (despite being frequently at odds with the British art establishment) he considered "the only city of the world fit to live" in.¹¹ He passed a great deal of time wandering the streets of London's distinctive neighborhoods, either alone or in the company of fellow artists, always carrying a pencil, brush, etching needle, or lithographic crayon at the ready. Whistler's interest in street scenes was long-standing, fostered by the works of past artists whom he admired, as well as by his own compulsion to record the seemingly insignificant vignettes that caught his attention. He found London to be a city of many moods and milieus, and, for all intents and purposes, he invented a set of representational strategies for depicting its varied aspects. Tradition held that street scenes were either essentially portraits of the human types that populated the city (as in the work of the eighteenth-century graphic artists William Hogarth and George Cruikshank) or topographical studies (seen in portfolios such as those by seventeenth-century printmaker Wenceslaus Hollar and, in the nineteenth century, lithographers like William Shotter Boys). Whistler aimed at neither of these goals, but in some sense he achieved both. He combined documentary and interpretive impulses, infusing the established conventions of genre painting and printmaking with the new perspectives offered by Aestheticism and photography.

Whistler arrived in Paris in 1855, an aspiring young artist open to the influence of Realism, with its goal of revealing inequitable social conditions and the often sordid details of everyday life among the poor. He took this vision to London in 1859, perhaps bearing in



FIGURE 41
Street in Chelsea,
1880/87
(cat. no. 57).

mind Charles Meryon's recent etchings of Paris and Gustave Doré's depictions of London slums. Seeking out the working-class, slightly disreputable East End, Whistler undertook to document this part of the city before it was destroyed in the course of constructing the Thames Embankment (see figs. 19–20).

As Whistler encountered other artists and new places, his adherence to Realism loosened. In Venice from 1879 to 1880, he responded to the exotic, atmospheric locale, devising new ways of depicting urban scenes and becoming interested in compositions based on shapes and the effect of light and water upon them. When Whistler returned to London in the autumn of 1880, he took a new look at his favorite city, perceiving formal patterns rather than hierarchies of class. The streets of London were the raw material for his experiments in testing the possibilities of different media: two etchings of Maunder's Fish Shop in Chelsea (figs. 42 and 55) vary greatly from one another, and from a lithograph of the same shop (fig. 49). Whistler's almost instinctive sensitivity to the idiosyncratic qualities of each medium is especially striking since, for the shopfronts, he almost always adopted the same frontal viewpoint and horizontal format. The goods sold inside the shops were of little interest to him—the establishments of butchers (see fig. 57) and

fishmongers were as appealing as sweetshops and fruit stalls. He was attracted to the facades as patterns, their flat surfaces animated by textured materials, reflective windows, and mysterious interiors.

Figures also play a role in the shopfront compositions—fleeting suggested with only a few lines, their features blurred by movement, shadow, or the more insistent edges of the architectural backdrop. The effect is not unlike that deliberately achieved by the Impressionists or inadvertently by photographers, in that an attempt has been made to capture an instant. For Whistler this was only part of the challenge. He wanted to observe a motif such

FIGURE 42
The Fish Shop,
Busy Chelsea, 1884/86
(cat. no. 62).

OPPOSITE PAGE
FIGURE 40
Chelsea Rags, 1888
(cat. no. 50).



as a shopfront in numerous subtle variations, portraying the transitory aspects of changing light and passing figures as well as the permanence of its structure and materials. In this effort his own choice of materials was crucial.

In small oil paintings and in watercolors, Whistler made use of the entire panel or sheet, creating adjacent rather than overlapping patches or puddles of color, so that the overall effect—as in *Street in Chelsea* (fig. 41)—is balanced and geometric, the shapes of the windows and doors duplicating the rectangular form of the wood panel on which it is painted.

Whistler composed his etchings slightly differently, often using the negative space of the blank paper as a pictorial element. The

intimacy of Whistler's etchings of London street scenes is partly an effect of their small size—he made them on small copper plates (four to seven inches long) that he could easily carry about in his pocket. The etchings require extremely close scrutiny on the part of the viewer, because representational conventions such as linear perspective, which serve to establish convincing and logical recession into space, are either disrupted or entirely absent. Small hatching lines are used throughout, both for areas of shadows and for figures and details, transforming texture into pure pattern. Although Whistler did not entirely reject traditional chiaroscuro for some elements (he juxtaposed dark interiors against sun-bleached facades and awnings), he treated other areas more arbitrarily. In *The Fish Shop, Busy Chelsea* (fig. 42), for example, selected patches of brickwork are carefully defined while other expanses of wall remain blank. Light-colored figures drawn with fine lines stand beside dark figures surrounded by white space—though logically inconsistent, the composition is nonetheless spatially coherent. As a final touch, Whistler's butterfly signature



FIGURE 43
*Study of Rags in a
Shop Window*, 1887/95
(cat. no. 63).

FIGURE 44
A Chelsea Street,
1883/86 (cat. no. 58).



adorns the upper left portion of the composition, fluttering between two windows, its wings delineated with the same hatched lines that represent scattered bricks and shadows.

Whistler's etched scenes of London shopfronts are full of energetic, bustling movement, an animation resulting both from the quality of line and the narrative content. *The Fish Shop, Busy Chelsea* is busy in two senses of the word—full of activity and full of detail. The darkened interior of the fish shop itself is not only a focus of human activity; it is also the fulcrum of a carefully balanced composition, in which figures are illuminated either by the light within or the sun without to create a lively pattern of positive and negative space.

Lithographs of shopfronts (see fig. 40) combine the linearity of etchings or pen-and-ink drawings (see fig. 43) with the patchwork of paintings (see fig. 44). After an eight-year hiatus from lithography, Whistler returned to the medium in 1887, and it was London street scenes that he chose to depict. In these lithographs of the late 1880s and early 1890s, he applied the lessons he had learned from working in other media in London, Paris, and Venice.

Lithographic drawings on transfer paper could represent a first visual response to a scene, selective and animated (see fig. 45). As T. R. Way recalled, the artist “found he could quite conveniently take a little packet of transfer paper about with him, and draw on the spot from nature, just as he was in the habit of making his drawings upon the copperplate.”¹²

These lithographs are among Whistler's most experimental and radically cropped compositions. *Chelsea Shops* (fig. 46), for example, displays something of the minimalism of his paintings of similar scenes while retaining a level of detail typically found in his etchings.



FIGURE 45
Gaiety Stage Door,
1879 and 1887
(cat. no. 45).

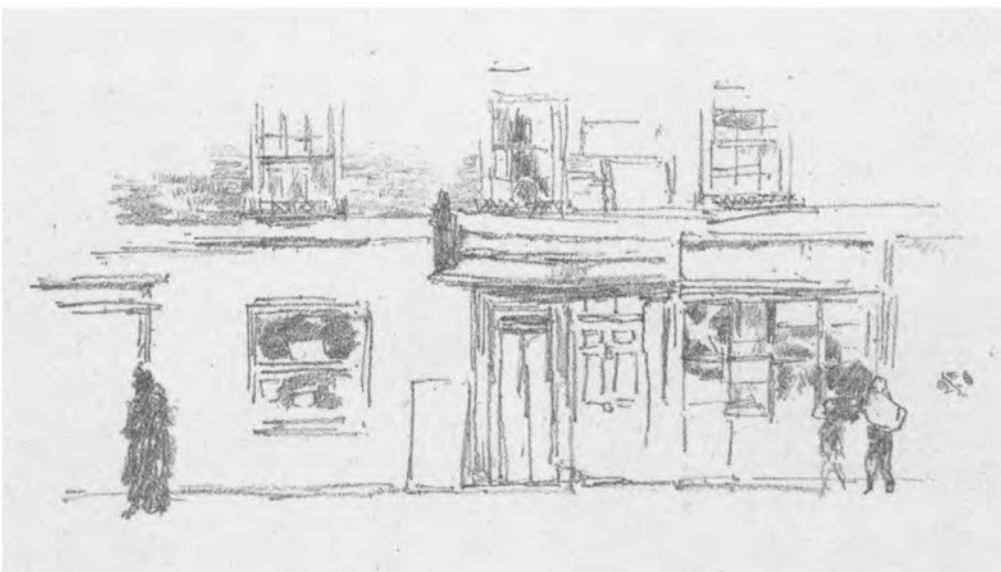


FIGURE 46
Chelsea Shops, 1888
(cat. no. 47).



FIGURE 47
St. Anne's, Soho, 1896
 (cat. no. 54).

FIGURE 48
St. Anne's, Soho,
 c. 1890. Royal
 Commission on
 Historical Monuments
 (England)/Crown
 Copyright.



Interestingly, he did not aim for symmetry and balance in the lithograph, choosing to elaborate the ground floor much more carefully than the upper storey, and placing the most complex facade elements not in the center but on the right.

In many ways Whistler's lithographs of London street scenes seem to reject the descriptive tenets of topographical printmaking and also of documentary photography. Yet the preservationist element in Whistler's practice should not be ignored. His attention was caught by small details of crumbling architecture or of daily routine that might easily be overlooked and not missed until they had disappeared. In the lithograph *Churchyard* (fig. 51) and a closely related sketch (fig. 52), he juxtaposed the old, listing headstones in front of St. Bartholomew's Church with the doorways and windows of the seventeenth-century buildings.

Although there is little evidence that Whistler used documentary photographs as literal models for his lithographs, he was attuned to their expressive capacities, which often resulted from heightened contrasts between light and dark and from exaggerated perspectival recession. A photograph, commissioned by the Society for the Protection of Old London, of the Church of St. Anne in Soho (fig. 48) and Whistler's roughly contemporary lithograph of the same subject (fig. 47) both feature an expanse of unmodulated white sky, traced over with patterns of leafless tree branches; in each image the church is seen from an angle that gives a sense of the edifice's bulky mass and unusual tower. Yet Whistler disposed his seated figures directly in front of the church so as to leave the courtyard in front of it entirely empty save for his butterfly signature. Figures, trees, and tower are compressed into a single picture plane in the middle ground, a strategy that empha-

sizes the organic, layered nature of these old structures and the growth of historic neighborhoods over time.

Whistler's instinct was also preservationist in the sense that he sought to capture the essence of his own perceptual activity. As records of an individual's view of London—sometimes elusively fragmentary, sometimes elaborately detailed—these images tell us much about the late nineteenth-century experience of the city. They convey a certain sense of nostalgia for the slightly ramshackle architecture of an earlier era and for the professions that were disappearing with the progress of industrialization. Nonetheless, Whistler's methods of depiction were modern. The artist's evident interest in showing the contrast between inside and outside was tied to the more ambitious aim of grappling with the representation of time, understood both as a series of moments and as a duration.

Indeed Whistler provided a new way of seeing the city, and he was imitated by the artists whom he referred to as his “followers,” among them Mortimer Menpes, Theodore Roussel, and Walter Sickert. Menpes even declared: “Nowhere in England could you find better material for pictures than in Chelsea [see figs. 46 and 50], . . . [which was] practically owned by James McNeill Whistler. There were his little shops, his rag shops, his green-grocer shops, and his sweet shops; in fact, so nearly was it all his, that after a time he sternly forbade other painters to work there at all.”¹³ (BS)



FIGURE 49

*Maunder's Fish Shop,
Chelsea, 1890
(cat. no. 52).*

FIGURE 50

*Chelsea Shop,
1897/1900 (cat. no. 64).*



FIGURE 51
Churchyard, 1887
(cat. no. 46).

FIGURE 52
St. Bartholomew's,
1887 (cat. no. 61).

45. *Gaiety Stage Door, 1879 and 1887* (fig. 45)

(C 14; W 10)
Transfer lithograph, printed on cream chine, mounted on off-white plate paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly
123 x 195 mm (image); 182 x 226 mm (chine); 374 x 478 mm (plate paper)
Mansfield-Whittemore-Crown Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, 40.1984

46. *Churchyard, 1887* (fig. 51)

(C 21; W 17)
Transfer lithograph, printed on cream laid paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly
210 x 173 mm (image);
309 x 200 mm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1917.550

47. *Chelsea Shops, 1888* (fig. 46)

(C 24; W 20)
Transfer lithograph, printed on ivory laid paper, second of two states; signed in graphite with butterfly
95 x 195 mm (image);
203 x 310 mm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1917.553

48. *Drury Lane Rags, 1888*

(C 25; W 21)
Transfer lithograph, printed on ivory laid paper, only state
147 x 160 mm (image);
323 x 207 mm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago, Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1917.554

49. *Drury Lane Rags, 1888*

(fig. 56)
(C 25; W 21)
Transfer lithograph, printed on cream laid paper, mounted on off-white plate paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly, and hand colored with blue, yellow, bright yellow-green, orange, light brown, and gray pencils
147 x 160 mm (image); 308 x 205 mm (sheet); 387 x 261 mm (plate paper)
National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Rosenwald Collection, 1943.3.8681



**50. *Chelsea Rags*, 1888 (fig. 40)**

(C 26; W 22)

Transfer lithograph, printed on tan laid paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly

180 x 159 mm (image);

310 x 238 mm (sheet)

The Art Institute of Chicago, Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1917.555

51. *The Tyresmith*, 1890

(C 36; W 27)

Transfer lithograph, printed on cream laid paper, only state

170 x 175 mm (image);

307 x 206 mm (sheet)

Mansfield-Whittemore-Crown Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, 59.1984

52. *Maunder's Fish Shop, Chelsea*, 1890 (fig. 49)

(C 37; W 28)

Transfer lithograph, printed on cream laid paper, second of two states; signed in graphite with butterfly

190 x 170 mm (image); 329 x 233 mm (sheet)

Mansfield-Whittemore-Crown Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, 60.1984

53. *Gatti's*, 1890 (fig. 54)

(C 38; W 34)

Transfer lithograph, printed on ivory laid paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly

173 x 133 mm (image);

367 x 240 mm (sheet)

The Art Institute of Chicago, Bryan Lathrop Collection, 1917.564

54. *St. Anne's, Soho*, 1896 (fig. 47)

(C 162; W 126)

Transfer lithograph, printed on ivory laid paper, only state; signed in graphite with butterfly

192 x 134 mm (image);

302 x 189 mm (sheet)

Mansfield-Whittemore-Crown Collection, The Art Institute of Chicago, 135.1984

FIGURE 53

Beefsteak Club, c. 1887
(cat. no. 60).

FIGURE 54

Gatti's, 1890
(cat. no. 53).





FIGURE 55
Little Maunder's,
1886/87 (cat. no. 59).

FIGURE 56
Drury Lane Rags, 1888
(cat. no. 49).

55. *The Butcher's Dog*, 1896
(fig. 57)
(C 166; W 128)
Transfer lithograph, printed
on ivory laid paper, fourth
of four states; signed in graphite
with butterfly
183 x 131 mm (image);
298 x 211 mm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago,
Bryan Lathrop Collection,
1917.653

56. *St. Giles-in-the-Fields*, 1896
(C 167; W 129)
Transfer lithograph, printed on
cream laid paper, only state;
signed in graphite with butterfly
217 x 142 mm (image);
278 x 193 mm (sheet)
The Art Institute of Chicago,
Bryan Lathrop Collection,
1917.654

57. *Street in Chelsea*, 1880/87
(fig. 41)
(YMSM 290)
Oil on panel
13.3 x 23.5 cm
Stanford University Museum
of Art, Committee for Art
Acquisitions Fund, 1976.271

58. *A Chelsea Street*, 1883/86
(fig. 44)
(M 953)
Watercolor, with touches of
gouache, over traces of graphite,
on white wove paper
126 x 217 mm
Yale Center for British Art,
New Haven, Conn., Paul
Mellon Collection, B1993.30.125
Chicago only

59. *Little Maunder's*, 1886/87
(fig. 55)
(K 279)
Etching, printed on blued laid
paper, only state; signed in
graphite with butterfly on tab
83 x 51 mm (trimmed to
plate mark)
National Gallery of Art,
Washington, D.C., Rosenwald
Collection, 1949.5.273



60. *Beefsteak Club*, c. 1887**(fig. 53)**

(M 1158)

Pen and brown ink on tan laid paper

97 x 150 mm

Hunterian Art Gallery,
University of Glasgow, 46127**61. *St. Bartholomew's*, 1887****(fig. 52)**

(M 1144)

Graphite on cream wove paper,
page 57 from sketchbook

75 x 119 mm

Hunterian Art Gallery,
University of Glasgow, Birnie
Philip Bequest, 46116**62. *The Fish Shop, Busy Chelsea*,
1884/86 (fig. 42)**

(K 264)

Etching, printed on ivory laid
paper, first of two states; signed
in graphite with butterfly
on tab141 x 216 mm (trimmed to plate
mark)The Art Institute of Chicago,
Clarence Buckingham
Collection, 1938.1883**63. *Study of Rags in a Shop
Window*, 1887/95 (fig. 43)**

(M 1586)

Pen and black ink, over traces of
graphite, on cream wove paper
225 x 298 mmStanford University Museum
of Art, Committee for Art
Acquisitions Fund, 1975.1

FIGURE 57

The Butcher's Dog,
1896 (cat. no. 55).**64. *Chelsea Shop*, 1897/1900****(fig. 50)**

(M 1510)

Watercolor on cream
wove paper

126 x 212 mm

The Art Institute of Chicago,
Walter S. Brewster Collection,
1933.210

Notes

DRUICK, pp. 8–19.

1. For more on the printmaking revivals, see Douglas W. Druick and Peter Kort Zegers, *La Pierre parle: Lithography in France, 1848–1900*, exh. cat. (Ottawa, 1981); and Kemille S. Moore, “The Revival of Artistic Lithography in England, 1890–1913” (Ph.D. diss., University of Washington, 1990).

2. See Douglas W. Druick and Peter Kort Zegers, “Degas and the Printed Image, 1856–1914,” in Sue Welsh Reed and Barbara Stern Shapiro, *Edgar Degas: The Painter as Printmaker*, exh. cat. (Boston, 1984), p. xx.

3. Quoted in Douglas W. Druick and Michael Hoog, *Fantini-Latour*, exh. cat. (Ottawa, 1983), p. 138.

4. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Joseph Pennell, Nov. 8, 1894, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Pennell Collection; quoted in The Art Institute of Chicago, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2, *Correspondence and Technical Studies*, ed. Martha Tedeschi (Chicago, 1998), p. 238.

5. Druick and Zegers (note 1), p. 91.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid.

8. F. W., “Mr. Whistler’s Lithographs,” *Academy*, no. 818 (Jan. 7, 1888), p. 16. For information about lifetime exhibitions of Whistler’s lithographs and critical responses to them, see Kevin Sharp, comp., “Marketing the Lithographs: A Selective Chronology of Exhibitions, Publications, and Sales,” in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 4), pp. 232–77.

9. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to D. C. Thomson, Aug. 30, 1894, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Pennell Collection; and letter from James McNeill Whistler to Ernest Brown, Sept. 3, 1894, Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, LB9/25. Both quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 4), pp. 253–54.

10. For more on the market for artists’ prints, see Martha Tedeschi, “Whistler and the English Print Market,” *Print Quarterly* 14, 1 (1997), pp. 15–41.

11. Philippe Burty, preface to *Exposition de peintres-graveurs*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1889).

12. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Marcus Huish, Nov. 17, 1895, Glasgow University Library, Department of Special Collections, LB3/38; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 4), p. 262.

13. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, Sept. 22, 1894, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, The New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 4), p. 255.

14. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, Mar. 14, 1895, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, The New York Public Library, Manuscripts and Archives Division, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 4), p. 266.

15. Letter from Stéphane Mallarmé to James McNeill Whistler, [Nov. 5, 1892], in Carl Paul Barbier, ed., *Correspondance Mallarmé-Whistler* (Paris, 1964), p. 88, no. 107.

16. Whistler seems to have felt, as did Fantin, that “my drawings are my lithographs”; see Druick and Zegers (note 1), p. 92.

17. T. R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler, the Artist* (London, 1912), p. 125.

TEDESCHI and SALVESEN, pp. 22–124.

1. James McNeill Whistler, quoted in Margaret F. MacDonald, “Maud Franklin,” in *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination*, *Studies in the History of Art*, vol. 19, ed. Ruth Fine (Washington, D.C., 1987), p. 25.

2. John White Alexander, quoted in Elizabeth Robins Pennell and Joseph Pennell, *The Whistler Journal* (Philadelphia, 1921), pp. 164–65; see also MacDonald (note 1), p. 16.

3. MacDonald (note 1), pp. 20–21.

4. Nathaniel Hawthorne, quoted in Katharine A. Lochnan, *The Etchings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1984), pp. 79–80.

5. James McNeill Whistler, letter published in the *World*, May 22, 1878.

6. John Ruskin, “Letter 79: Life Guards of New Life,” *Fors Clavigera* 7 (July 1877), in *The Works of John Ruskin*, eds. E. T. Cook and Alexander Wedderburn, vol. 29 (London, 1907), p. 160.

7. T. R. Way, *Mr. Whistler’s Lithographs: The Catalogue*, 2d ed. (London and New York, 1905), p. 23, no. 7.

8. James McNeill Whistler, under cross-examination in *Whistler v. Ruskin*, quoted in Linda Merrill, *A Pot of Paint: Aesthetics on Trial in Whistler v. Ruskin* (Washington, D.C., and London, 1992), p. 148.

9. James McNeill Whistler, *Mr. Whistler’s Ten O’Clock* (London, 1885), pp. 13–14.

10. T. R. Way, *Memories of James McNeill Whistler: The Artist* (London and New York, 1912), p. 19.

11. James McNeill Whistler, quoted in Lochnan (note 4), p. 222.

12. Way (note 10), p. 88.

13. Mortimer Menpes, *World Pictures* (London, 1902), p. 7.

14. Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours. A Catalogue Raisonné* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1995), pp. 584–86, nos. 1624–27.

15. Eadweard Muybridge, *Animal Locomotion*, 16 vols. (Philadelphia, 1877). These volumes contain 781 plates. Whistler’s name and the names of other subscribers were published by Muybridge in the 1891 printing of the *Prospectus and Catalogue of Prints*. For further information on subscribers, see Robert Bartlett Haas, *Muybridge: Man in Motion* (Berkeley, Calif., and Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 157–58.

16. Marcus B. Huish, *Greek Terra-Cotta Statuettes* (London, 1900).

17. Whistler (note 9), p. 6.

18. In a letter to collector George Lucas, Cassatt herself mentioned her amusing encounter with Whistler at the gallery. Letter from Mary Cassatt to George A. Lucas, [July] 1891, George A.

- Lucas Collection, Baltimore Museum of Art; quoted in Barbara Stern Shapiro, review of *Cassatt and Her Circle: Selected Letters*, ed. Nancy Mowll Mathews, *Print Collector's Newsletter* 16, 1 (Mar.–Apr. 1985), p. 28.
19. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to D. C. Thomson, probably July 1893, Pennell Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; quoted in Richard Dormont, Margaret F. MacDonald et al., *James McNeill Whistler*, exh. cat. (London, 1994), p. 234, no. 152.
20. Way (note 10), p. 92.
21. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, Sept. 20, 1893, Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Art Institute of Chicago, The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2, *Correspondence and Technical Studies*, ed. Martha Tedeschi (Chicago, 1998), p. 62, letter 45.
22. On the life and art of Beatrix (christened Beatrice) Whistler, see Margaret F. MacDonald, *Beatrice Whistler: Artist and Designer*, exh. cat. (Glasgow, 1997).
23. For a detailed description of the interior of the Whistlers' home at 110, rue du Bac, see Deanna Marohn Bendix, *Diabolical Designs: Paintings, Interiors, and Exhibitions of James McNeill Whistler* (Washington, D.C., and London, 1995), pp. 185–200.
24. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, [Oct. 1, 1894], Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 124, letter 125.
25. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to J. J. Cowan, Apr. 4, 1896; quoted in Kate Donnelly and Nigel Thorp, *Whistlers and Further Family* (Glasgow, 1980), p. 5.
26. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Charles Lang Freer, Apr. 2, 1897, Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
27. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, Nov. 21, [1893], Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 72, letter 58.
28. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Thomas Way, [Aug. 22, 1894], Pennell Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 114, letter 109.
29. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Thomas Way, [Sept. 14, 1894], Pennell Collection, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 119, letter 118.
30. R. A. M. Stevenson, "Whistler," *Pall Mall Gazette*, Dec. 11, 1895, p. 3.
31. "Art and Mr. Whistler," *Art Journal* 46 (Dec. 1894), p. 358.
32. James McNeill Whistler, quoted in Andrew McLaren Young et al., *The Paintings of James McNeill Whistler* (New Haven, Conn., and London, 1980), vol. 1, p. 170, no. 378.
33. Théodore Duret, *Histoire de J. McN. Whistler et de son oeuvre* (Paris, 1904), p. 94. *Arrangement in Flesh Color and Black: Portrait of Théodore Duret* is now in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.
34. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, [July 15, 1894], Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 103, letter 93.
35. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to D. C. Thomson, July 20, 1894, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., Pennell Collection; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 250.
36. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, Mar. 14, 1895, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 266.
37. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, [Sept. 27, 1895], Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 135, letter 141.
38. This proof, in its original mount, is now in the Freer Gallery of Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
39. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to T. R. Way, [Sept. 25, 1895], Freer Gallery of Art Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.; reprinted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 134, letter 140.
40. G. P. Jacob-Hood, *With Brush and Pencil* (London, 1925), p. 46; also quoted in MacDonald (note 22), p. 17.
41. Way (note 10), pp. 125–26.
42. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, early Apr. 1896, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 267.
43. T. R. Way, "Whistler's Lithographs," *Print-Collector's Quarterly* 3, 3 (Oct. 1913), p. 290.
44. Letter from Théodore Duret to James McNeill Whistler, Sept. 29, 1900; quoted in Margaret F. MacDonald and Joy Newton, "Correspondance Duret-Whistler," *Gazette des beaux-arts*, 6th pér., 60 (Nov. 1987), p. 160.
45. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, Mar. 25, 1896, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 267.
46. The Art Institute of Chicago, *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 1, *A Catalogue Raisonné*, eds. Harriet K. Stratis and Martha Tedeschi (Chicago, 1998), p. 451, no. 159.
47. Letter from James McNeill Whistler to Edward G. Kennedy, around May 10, 1896, Edward Guthrie Kennedy Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations; quoted in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), p. 268.
48. For a full account of the extraordinary relationship between Whistler and the Ways, see Nicholas Smale, "Whistler, Way, and Wellington Street," and the Whistler-Way Correspondence, in *The Lithographs of James McNeill Whistler*, vol. 2 (note 21), pp. 8–27, 32–155.