

# Whistler in America: An Album of Early Drawings

NANCY DORFMAN PRESSLY

*Researcher, The Paul Mellon Center for British Art and British Studies, New Haven  
Formerly Cataloguer of American Paintings, Drawings, and Decorative Arts,  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art*

THE ALBUM of early sketches by James Whistler recently acquired by The Metropolitan Museum of Art forms the largest known group of independent drawings executed by him before he left for Paris in early September of 1855. It was originally owned by Thomas Winans of Baltimore and remained in the possession of his descendants until it was presented to the Museum. This assembled album contains sixty-one sketches, including the earliest surviving drawing by Whistler and several works from Pomfret and West Point, with the majority dating from the period after his dismissal from the military academy in June of 1854. The album also includes seven fragments from the Coast Survey Plate No. 1 and twelve of the thirteen impressions from Whistler's first set of etchings, entitled *Douze Eaux*

*Fortes d'après Nature*, or otherwise known as the "French" set, which were attached at a later date.<sup>1</sup> This group of works, published here for the first time, affords an excellent opportunity for reassessing Whistler's life and career in America.<sup>2</sup> The drawings provide a fresh perspective on his youthful oeuvre as a whole and reveal much new information about his early style and his sources.<sup>3</sup>

Whistler was born on July 10, 1834, in Lowell, Massachusetts, the son of George Washington Whistler, an 1819 graduate of West Point, and Anna McNeill, his second wife. In the summer of 1842 Major Whistler accepted an appointment as consulting engineer of the Russian railroad to be built between St. Petersburg and Moscow. He departed for Russia, leaving his family in

1. A brief descriptive note on the album and journal is contained in Appendix A, at the end of the text. A complete catalogue of the individual sketches and etchings has been placed on file in the Department of American Paintings and Sculpture and in the main catalogue at The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

2. Aside from the numerous reminiscences published in the decade following Whistler's death in 1903, little has been written about the artist's early career in America since the Pennells's *Life of Whistler*, which, while enormously helpful, did not discuss at any length the problem of his early style. The only other study is

an article by John Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work in America 1834-1855," *Art Quarterly* 29 (1966) pp. 46-59. It follows the Pennell text fairly closely, and except for the addition of information from letters in the Birnie-Philip Collection, University of Glasgow, and an interesting concluding discussion on the reasons why Whistler chose to study in Paris, contributes little new to Whistler studies.

3. A list of all the known works executed by Whistler before he left for Paris is included in Appendix B.

4

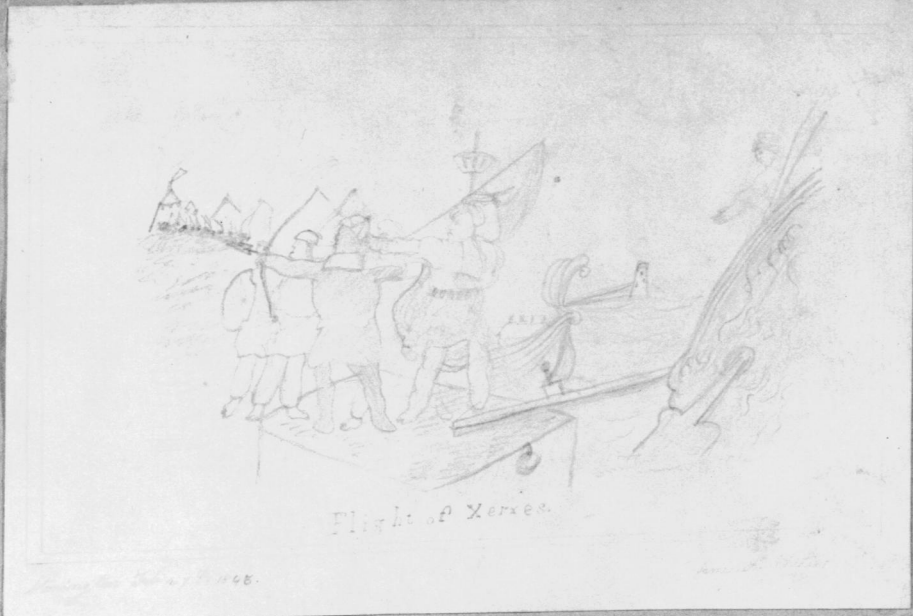


FIGURE 1

Flight of Xerxes, pencil; Gladiator, pen and ink; Man with Cigar, pen and ink; Man and Woman at Table, pen and ink; fragments from Coast Survey Plate No. 1, etching. Album page 4, by James McNeill Whistler. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, gift of Margaret C. Buell, Helen L. King, and Sybil A. Walk, 1970.121.10-15

Stonington, Connecticut, with his brother-in-law, Dr. George F. Palmer.<sup>4</sup> The earliest known sketch by Whistler dates from this period and is in the Museum album (Figure 1, top).<sup>5</sup> It was copied possibly from a reproduction in a school book or a work in his uncle's library and is carefully enclosed in a penciled frame. Although proudly signed "James A. Whistler" and dated "Stonington Feb. 27th 1843," this awkward and childish drawing entitled *Flight of Xerxes* suggests no precocity or particular promise.

The family joined Major Whistler in St. Petersburg in the late summer of 1843. It was here that Whistler was to receive his initial formal training as an artist, and where, for the first time, he was able to view at the Imperial galleries and palaces and the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts major collections of painting, drawing, and sculpture.<sup>6</sup> There survives from his first year in Russia

a pencil sketch of his aunt Alicia, the half sister of his mother, who had come to visit the family in St. Petersburg in July of 1844.<sup>7</sup> Although done in the tentative manner of a child with unsure lines and a limited grasp of volumetric form, it effectively and not unaffectionately captures the spirit of an old maiden aunt.

Whistler was entered into the drawing class at the Imperial Academy in April 1845, under the instruction of Alexander Ossipovich Karitsky.<sup>8</sup> A pen-and-ink sketch of a fallen gladiator or warrior in the Metropolitan's album (Figure 1, center) is closely related to two small drawings in a Russian sketchbook, c. 1846-1848, that were probably drawn from plaster casts of classical works, a great number of which existed at the academy.<sup>9</sup> The Museum sketch with its more fluid and delicate drawing was probably executed in Pomfret c. 1850-1851 or later and was perhaps copied from an earlier St. Petersburg work.

Whistler and his family spent the summer of 1847 in England, during which time his half sister Deborah married Francis Seymour Haden, a highly successful surgeon who was later to become a distinguished etcher.<sup>10</sup> The family returned to England the following summer, and it was decided that for reasons of his health James should remain in London with the Hadens. The young and impressionable Whistler was

4. Dr. Palmer's wife, Kate, was Mrs. Whistler's sister. Their relationship was a close one, and it was to Kate that Anna addressed the lengthy diary that she kept during the Russian years. This diary is now in the Manuscript Division of The New York Public Library.

5. The Pennells illustrate a sketch of a duck that Whistler was supposed to have done at the age of four and mention seeing other pencil drawings done at this same time. All of these were owned by a Mrs. Livermore, but their present whereabouts is unknown and the dating cannot be verified. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 10.

6. Some of the places mentioned in Mrs. Whistler's diary that the family visited are the Winter Palace, the Catherine Palace, the New Palace, and the gardens at Peterhoff. She also mentions in her diary for May 2, 1846, having seen on several occasions the *Triennial Exhibition* of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts "because we like the boys to become familiar with the subjects of the Modern Artists." A. J. Bloor, "Whistler's Boyhood," *The Critic* 43 (1903) p. 253. On his way to England in the summer of 1847 Whistler visited Mr. Fluke's gallery in Lübeck, Germany. Letter to Major Whistler from James dated June 21, 1847, in the University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection, B.P. II Res. 1/4. This collection will hereafter be referred to as B.P. II.

7. Reproduced in A. J. Bloor, "The Beginnings of James McNeill Whistler," *The Critic* 48 (1906) p. 132. See Appendix B, no. 2.

8. Kate R. McDiarmid, "Whistler's Mother, Her Life, Letters and Journals" (manuscript in the collection of the University of Glasgow, 1936) p. 160.

9. These two drawings are located on pp. 58 and 59 of the Russian sketchbook presented to the University of Glasgow as part of the Joseph Revillon Bequest in 1955. The sketchbook contains sixty-eight pages of drawings, almost all of which are by Whistler. See Appendix B, no. 6. In a letter to Elsie Celeste Hutton dated October 30, 1950, Revillon mentions a pencil sketch of a girl's head that he said was obviously copied from a plaster cast done at "an art school in Russia" and had Whistler's name written in Russian characters over his signature. The drawing was formerly owned by Miss Hutton, but its present whereabouts is not known. A Xerox copy of this letter is in the archives of the American Paintings Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Joseph Revillon was the grandson of George W. Whistler, the artist's half brother.

10. Although Haden had executed several etchings during a trip to Italy in 1843-1844, it wasn't until the late 1850s, in part stimulated by his deep interest in Rembrandt and by Whistler's successful early attempts in the medium, that he seriously devoted himself to the arts.



**FIGURE 2**  
 The Margrave, the Prince[ss?] and the Hermit,  
 by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil.  
 The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.36

greatly influenced by his talented and self-assured brother-in-law, who took him to various museums and galleries. Haden also probably accompanied Whistler when he attended Charles R. Leslie's lectures on the history of British painting at the Royal Academy.<sup>11</sup> Whistler later acknowledged their continued friendship by dedicating his first set of etchings "A mon viel ami Seymour Haden."<sup>12</sup> He was also befriended by the artist Sir William Boxall, who had been commissioned by Major Whistler in 1847 to paint a portrait of James.<sup>13</sup> Judging from Whistler's letters, his resolve to be an artist dates from this period.<sup>14</sup> While in England, he saw, probably for the first time, *Punch* and *The Illustrated London News* with their designs in the caricatural mode of Cruikshank and Hablot K. Browne (Phiz),<sup>15</sup> a style that was subsequently to have some influence on his early work. Although numerous drawings are mentioned in his letters, only one known sketch, Annie, survives from this period.<sup>16</sup>

Mrs. Whistler returned to America with her two sons in August 1849 to settle in Pomfret, Connecticut, after the untimely death of her husband in May. Only one work in the Museum album, a delicate and expertly drawn map of the Western Hemisphere, dated 1851

(acc. no. 1970.121.62), can be definitely assigned to the Pomfret years, 1849–1851. Whistler apparently excelled at making maps in geography class, and one other to survive, now in the Library of Congress, is of the northeastern states with West Point clearly indicated.<sup>17</sup> A second drawing in the album, set in a monastery and tentatively identified by the verso inscription as *The Margrave, the Prince[ss?]* and the Hermit (Figure 2), probably also dates from Pomfret. The figure at the left with downcast eyes and feathered cap is identical to a brooding youth standing in the interior of a Gothic church in another sketch executed at this time.<sup>18</sup>

11. One of the collections Whistler saw was that of The Vernon Gallery in London. Leslie's lectures included discussions on Reynolds, Stothard, Bewick's woodcuts, West, and Hogarth's prints. Letter to his mother dated March 17–20, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/52.

12. After the French set was first printed in Paris in November 1858, Whistler went to London and lived with the Hadens during the winter of 1858–1859 before taking a studio on Newman Street the following spring. While Haden was extremely generous to his brother-in-law, they were both arrogant personalities, and during Whistler's first several years in London an antagonism grew between them. This seems to have been based in great part on Haden's deep disapproval of Whistler's long liaison with Jo Heffernan, and even after Jo had left the artist's home, he would not allow his wife, Deborah, to dine where Jo had once lived. In the spring of 1867, while in Paris, Whistler pushed Haden through a plate-glass shop window. Not surprisingly, Haden never spoke to him again.

13. Boxall took Whistler to Hampton Court to see the Raphael cartoons and gave him a copy of Mrs. Jameson's *Memoirs of the Early Italian Painters and the Progress of Painting in Italy*. B.P. II Res. 1/52. Boxall's painting of Whistler was exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1849 and is now in the collection of the University of Glasgow.

14. Letter to his father dated January 26, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/46. Although his parents sent him drawing instruments and paints and praised his sketches, they were not enthusiastic about his early choice of profession. His father wrote that a taste in the fine arts should be encouraged as long as it wasn't too poetical, and his mother's response to his choice was that he should follow his father and become an architect or engineer and save his drawing for hours of leisure. Letters dated Thursday 22, 1849, and March 16, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/44 and 1/51 respectively.

15. See letters to the artist from his mother dated August 23, 1849, November 9, 1851, and December 15, 1852, B.P. II Res. 1/56, 1/71, and 1/87.

16. For a discussion of this drawing see Appendix B, no. 8. Annie was the first child of Deborah and Seymour Haden.

17. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 28; Library of Congress, acc. no. 360106; see Appendix B, no. 10.

18. This is one of the seven drawings that, as of 1924, were in the possession of the widow of Rev. E. L. Hyde, who was a fellow student of Whistler's at the Christ Church Hall School in Pomfret. A photostatic copy of the drawings in the size of the originals was enclosed in a letter to Joseph Pennell dated August 26, 1924, from

Although this period is poorly represented in the Museum album, there fortunately still survives a group of twenty-seven drawings that Whistler gave to Samuel Hammond, a younger classmate of his at the Christ Church Hall School in Pomfret.<sup>19</sup> These diversified and versatile drawings indicate the artist's familiarity with nineteenth-century book illustrations and prepare one for the more accomplished works of a few years later in the Museum album. They include amusing caricatures, such as the soldier being shot out of a cannon, and a group of pen-and-ink illustrations after books Whistler was reading, among which are the sketches entitled *Old Casper Southey*, *Counsel of War*, and *Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!* (Figure 3) and one inscribed with lines from the play *The Lost Lord*. In addition, there are several delicate watercolors also depicting literary subjects and a few elegant pen-and-ink designs, all executed in a sentimental and brooding romantic style, quite distinct from the humorous or descriptive character of the other designs.

The Pomfret sketches as a whole are problematic as to subject and specific stylistic sources, in part because of Whistler's independent method of drawing even at this early age. Two of the sketches depict Mr. Frampton, the old, fat, "umpling" gentleman-companion of Frank Fairlegh in the novel by the same name, published in 1850 in London with thirty illustrations engraved on steel by George Cruikshank. We know from

his mother's letters that Whistler possessed a copy of the book, which he later gave to a Mrs. Gellibrand.<sup>20</sup> One sketch simply depicts Mr. Frampton; the other illustrates an episode in the novel in which Fairlegh comes to the rescue of Mr. Frampton, who, pummeling one of his attackers with his umbrella, is unaware of the second ruffian about to hit him with a wooden club.<sup>21</sup> Cruikshank quite literally depicts the scene where Fairlegh has subdued the second assailant with the stick, only to find Mr. Frampton being robbed by his first attacker.<sup>22</sup> Although he may have been stimulated by Cruikshank's choice of episode, Whistler in no way follows his illustration and, in fact, does not even accurately follow the text, confusing Mr. Frampton's two attackers. The only resemblance to the Cruikshank engraving is in the stump of the tree. This imaginative independence continued in Whistler's later illustrations to Dickens and W. H. Ainsworth, whose work in almost every edition contained engravings by Cruikshank or Phiz to which he could have referred.

The descriptive style of drawing in the group of pen-and-ink illustrations that includes the Frampton sketches is difficult to isolate. Perhaps the closest affinity is with Felix Darley's designs for Washington Irving's *Knickerbocker's History of New York* and *Tales of a Traveller*,<sup>23</sup> although it also suggests an appreciation of French illustrations, in particular the style of Tony Johannot. Most important for the future, the Pomfret

FIGURE 3

Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Mason Hammond, Cambridge, Massachusetts



Mary E. Hyde, Mrs. Hyde's niece. Also mentioned in the letter were two watercolors, one of a priest, owned by Miss Hyde, and one of a small head, owned by her sister. Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Box 231. The present whereabouts of these drawings is not known. See Appendix B, no. 11.

19. These drawings are now in the possession of his grandson, Mason Hammond. They were apparently found in an envelope after Samuel Hammond's death, c. 1896, and were framed by his son, also named Samuel Hammond, who exhibited them for the first time at *The Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Mr. J. McNeill Whistler*, held at the Copley Society, Boston, in 1904, no. 170. Five of the sketches mentioned below are illustrated in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 28, while the remainder of the drawings have never before been reproduced or discussed. See Appendix B, nos. 13–39.

20. Letter from Mrs. Whistler to James dated August 6, 1851, B.P. II Res. 1/64.

21. Frank E. Smedley, *Frank Fairlegh or Scenes from the Life of a Private Pupil* (London, 1850) pp. 241–242.

22. Smedley, *Fairlegh*, illustrated opposite p. 242.

23. Both of these novels were written under pseudonyms: Geoffrey Crayon, Gent., *Tales of a Traveller* (New York, 1850) and Diedrich Knickerbocker, *A History of New York* (New York, 1850).

drawings demonstrate that by 1851 Whistler had already looked at engravings after the French artist Gavarni, for there exists a tiny sketch of a figure taken directly from his series *Les Débardeurs*.<sup>24</sup>

Admitted to West Point on July 1, 1851, Whistler entered the academy, following the precedent of his father and half brother George. He was by temperament unfit for the regimentation of military life, and the long list of 218 demerits from January to June 1854, which hastened his dismissal, testifies to his indifference to the disciplinary code.<sup>25</sup> The stories of his escapades, pranks, and drinking binges are legendary, and years later he was still remembered for his gaiety, charm, and devilish wit.<sup>26</sup> Throughout this period he continued to draw prolifically. There are humorous and satirical scenes from cadet life, for example, *One of the Board* and *The Admiration of the Furloughmen*,<sup>27</sup> and spirited illustrations to the novels and plays that he was reading, including works by Victor Hugo, Thackeray, Dickens, Dumas, and Sir Walter Scott.<sup>28</sup> One of his more mannered compositions is the cover design for the sheet music of the *Song of the Graduate*, 1852, and there is also a vignette of an encampment drawn on wood and engraved with a penknife that served as a decoration for an 1852 West Point dance card.<sup>29</sup>

Whistler also made drawings after genre and religious prints, such as *Milkmaids*, *A Man Dispensing*



FIGURE 4  
Two Lovers and an Old Woman, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

FIGURE 5  
Albanian, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Mason Hammond, Cambridge, Massachusetts

24. This sketch was also among the seven owned by Mrs. E. L. Hyde as of 1924. Gavarni was to prove most influential in determining Whistler's early style of drawing in the years immediately following his departure from West Point. A further discussion on *Les Débardeurs* and Gavarni follows on pp. 139–144 below.

25. Whistler's demerits were almost always for minor offenses such as being late for roll call and meals, shoes not blackened, inattention, coat out of order in the drawing academy, and long hair. A list of his demerits is on file at the United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.

26. For a more detailed discussion of Whistler's life at West Point see Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 30–38, and II, pp. 305–313. His behavior obviously caused his mother great embarrassment, and after a trip to Baltimore in May 1854 she admonishingly wrote him that his revelry and popularity at the academy had been won at the expense of the good opinion of their friends. Letter dated May 29, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/99.

27. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 116. See Appendix B, nos. 52, 49.

28. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 36, and II, pp. 307–308, 312.

29. Reproduced in Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work," p. 50, fig. 4; the vignette for the dance card is reproduced and discussed in Ida Clifton Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," *The Century Magazine* 79 (1910) pp. 740–741. See Appendix B, nos. 45, 46.



Alms, and Seated Monk;<sup>30</sup> the prints were provided as standard objects of study in the drawing classes of Robert W. Weir, an instructor and later professor in drawing at West Point from 1834 to 1876.<sup>31</sup> During his three years at the academy, Whistler remained at the head of his class in drawing, and there is every reason to assume that Weir was aware of his pupil's obvious abilities. It seems that Weir allowed him to visit his studio, containing numerous paintings and an important collection of drawings and engravings, and also gave him occasional access to his extensive library.<sup>32</sup> A drawing in the Museum album, Christ and Two Disciples on the Road to Emmaus (acc. no. 1970.121.41), may have been inspired by this experience.<sup>33</sup>

Because of Whistler's eclectic manner of working, the drawings executed at West Point are difficult to date precisely, although some sense of a development in style can be discerned. The four frames of On Post in Camp and a companion work, Asleep on the Post, would seem to date from the beginning half of his first year at the academy.<sup>34</sup> The drawing is tentative and crude and the whole conception of body structure awkward and poorly understood. The five small sketches in the souvenir album of Archie Gracie, now in the Freer Gallery, probably date from the end of the first year, c. June 1852.<sup>35</sup> The precise and narrative style of drawing, while more advanced than that of the Pomfret sketches, still reflects the same illustrator's use of numerous fine lines and close cross-hatching. The deli-

cate and sweet faces of the young woman and man in Two Lovers and an Old Woman (Figure 4) are drawn in a sentimental style similar to that of the Albanian (Figure 5) or the boy and girl in the sailboat of the Hammond sketches.

Within a short period of time, Whistler's style began to evolve, leading to more forceful and playfully satiric caricatures, such as Merit It's [*sic*] Own Reward and Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels,<sup>36</sup> which probably date from the late summer of 1852, and more animated illustrations drawn with quick exaggerated strokes, such as Sam Weller and Mary Fold a Carpet and The Valentine from Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*.<sup>37</sup> During the last half of this year, Whistler was experimenting with a whole range of styles, moving at will from the illustrative mode of the Dickens drawings to the elegant and graceful sketch in the Museum album of Dress Parade (Figure 6), or from the impulsive contours of Sketches of Russian Soldiers<sup>38</sup> to the play with light values in the manner of old-master drawing seen in three of the sketches in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery (Figure 7).<sup>39</sup> These three drawings can be dated to the summer of 1852 as they belonged to the daughter of a West Point chemistry professor, Maria "Kitty" Bailey, who was killed in a ship disaster in late July of that year. Two of the sketches set in a gloomy dungeon interior combine the sentiment of the Gothic horror romance with a competent mastering of a Rembrandtesque use of deep black shadows and blazing light to define dra-

30. Milkmaids and A Man Dispensing Alms are reproduced in Sandberg, "Whistler's Early Work," p. 50, fig. 3, and p. 49, fig. 2. Seated Monk is reproduced as Monk Reading in Frank M. Bristol, "The Earliest Portrait of Whistler," *The Critic* 44 (1904) p. 232. These works are discussed in a letter from Colonel Larned, Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 32. See Appendix B, nos. 61–63.

31. Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 31–32. For Weir's "Outline of Instruction in Drawing 1839" see Irene Weir, *Robert W. Weir, Artist* (New York, 1947) pp. 66–67.

32. John Ross Key notes that he remembered hearing at the time that Weir had declared that "Whistler with only the most ordinary industry would make a name as an artist." John Ross Key, "Recollections of Whistler while in the Office of the United States Coast Survey," *The Century Magazine* 75 (1908) p. 928. In a letter to James dated July 29–31, 1854, his mother asked him if he had accepted Weir's invitation to visit his studio. B.P. II Res. 1/101. For a description of Professor Weir's studio see Dorothy Weir Young, *The Life and Letters of J. Alden Weir* (New Haven, 1960) pp. 5–6. An abbreviated list of the contents of Weir's collection at the time of his death is in Weir, *Robert W. Weir*, pp. 117–118.

33. A West Point dating of this drawing would seem to be con-

firmed by a related pen-and-ink sketch of Christ and two figures on the verso of the Museum sketch acc. no. 1970.121.16, there being two sketches of cadets on the same sheet.

34. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 120 and opposite p. 36, respectively. See Appendix B, nos. 43, 44.

35. Archie Gracie was a classmate of the artist's at West Point. The sketches are scattered throughout the souvenir album, which opens with the Graduation Song of 1852. Another drawing in the album, Group of Figures at West Point, has been attributed to Whistler. It is done in a more advanced style than the other sketches, and, if by him, was added at a later date. See Appendix B, no. 47.

36. Reproduced in Gustave Kobbe, "Whistler at West Point," *Chapbook* 8 (1898) pp. 441, 440. See Appendix B, nos. 50, 48.

37. Reproduced in Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," pp. 738, 737. See Appendix B, nos. 58, 57.

38. Reproduced in Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," p. 741. See Appendix B, no. 60.

39. Reproduced in Susan Clayton, "Kitty's Whistlers in the Beaverbrook Collection," *Atlantic Advocate* 50 (1959) pp. 40, 41, 45. See Appendix B, nos. 64–67.

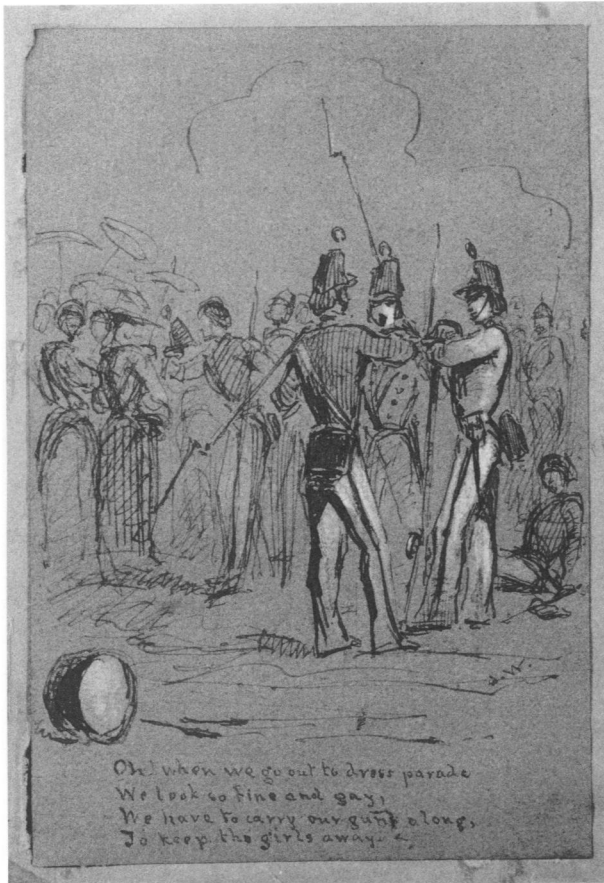
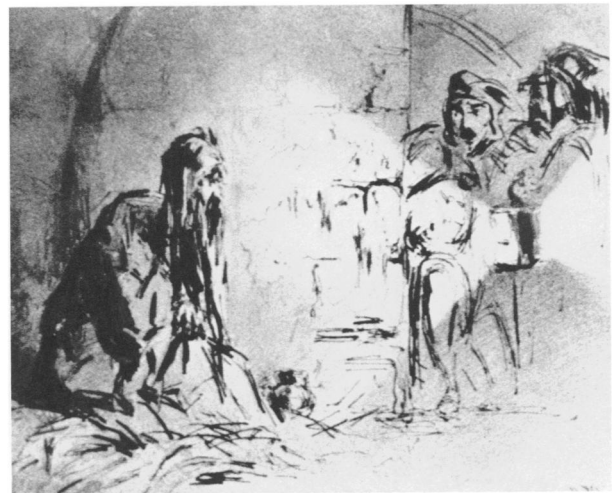


FIGURE 6

Dress Parade, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil, Chinese white. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.18

FIGURE 7

Prison Scene with an Old Man, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Collection of the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada



matically form and space. A pencil drawing in the Museum album, *Oil Night* (Figure 8),<sup>40</sup> inscribed "West Point, Nov. 1852," displays a sketchy handling of the human form through a generalized, abstract shading and broken silhouettes, while a small pen-and-ink sketch, *The Guard Tents* (acc. no. 1970.121.68), reveals an economy of means that hints at Whistler's mature style. A third work in the album, of a *Girl with Parasol and Cadet* (Figure 9), can be dated among the latest of the West Point sketches, c. 1854, and more closely resembles in style the ensuing works executed in Baltimore.

After his dismissal from the academy on June 16, 1854, Whistler made every endeavor to be reinstated. He wrote to Jefferson Davis, then secretary of war, from Washington on July 1 petitioning to be reexamined by the Academic Board at West Point, but his petition was refused and all other efforts failed.<sup>41</sup> During the summer, Whistler traveled frequently, visiting Stonington, New York, Baltimore, and Washington, but in

September he appears to have settled down in Baltimore and been fairly well ensconced in the luxurious home of Thomas Winans.<sup>42</sup> His half brother George, who had married Winans's sister in June, lived directly across the street, and his younger brother Willie was employed at the Winans Locomotive Works, where

40. There is another sketch of a drinking scene, entitled *Christmas Comes but Once a Year*, reproduced in T. Wilson, "Whistler at West Point," *The Book Buyer* 17 (1898) p. 113. See Appendix B, no. 54.

41. A holograph copy of Whistler's petition, which includes the comments of Jefferson Davis and Brevet-Colonel Robert E. Lee, Commandant of the Academy, is in the Birnie-Philip Collection, University of Glasgow.

42. According to entries in the George A. Lucas diaries at the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore, Maryland, dated June 29, 1854, and July 25, 1854, which were seen with the kind permission of Lillian M. C. Randall, Whistler was in New York City on these dates. A letter from his mother to one of his admirers dated September 2, 1854, mentions that he had been in Stonington and had left two weeks earlier on a second trip to Washington. His mother had apparently opened his mail and was trying to discourage the young lady's interest. B.P. II Res. 1/102.



George was a partner. His mother moved to Baltimore by the end of October, shortly before Whistler left for Washington on November 6 to work in the Coast Survey Office, after Winans and George had attempted without success to interest him in working with them.<sup>43</sup>

It was during this period that Thomas Winans, the first owner of the Metropolitan Museum's album of sketches, assumed an active supportive role assisting the then somewhat confused and restless artist. Although scarcely mentioned in the literature on Whistler, the Winans association with the artist's family was, in fact, a fairly close one and extended over a considerable period of time. It had been on Major Whistler's recommendation that the Winanses were first called to Russia to build the locomotives and rolling stock for the railroad to be constructed between Moscow and St. Petersburg. Thomas Winans had been sent in place of his father and remained in Russia for some eight years, marrying there Celeste Revillon, of Russian-

FIGURE 8  
Oil Night, by James McNeill Whistler. Pencil, charcoal. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.35



Italian descent.<sup>44</sup> Returning to Baltimore in the early 1850s with a personal fortune estimated at two million dollars, Winans built a magnificent mansion, which he named Alexandroffsky after the Russian town where he had lived.<sup>45</sup>

The American community in St. Petersburg and Alexandroffsky tended to remain close and insular, and the Winanses' friendship with Whistler's mother, established there, continued in the United States.<sup>46</sup> Anna was a guest at Alexandroffsky Villa in May 1853 and

FIGURE 9  
Girl with Parasol and Cadet, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.39



43. Contrary to what has been previously surmised, there is little evidence to suggest that Whistler was ever actually employed at the locomotive works. Frederick Miles, who was apprenticed there at the time, was probably most accurate when he described the artist as simply "loitering in his peculiar *bizarre* way about the drawing office and shops and at my desk in Tom Winans' home." Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 40.

44. His father, Ross Winans, was an inventive genius responsible for such inventions as the friction wheel, cigar steamer, light-wheel coach, and steam gun. Extensive information on Ross Winans and the Winans family is on file in the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. Thomas Winans was joined in the Russian town of Alexandroffsky by the firm of Andrew Eastwick and Joseph Harrison of Philadelphia and by his younger brother William Louis Winans, who was a frequent visitor in the Whistler household.

45. The mansion was luxuriously furnished and the gardens adorned with classical sculpture. Tradition has it that Winans's neighbors were offended by the nude figures in the gardens, and, outraged, he built a wall around his entire property sufficiently high that no one could ever see in again.

46. For mention of her friendship with the Winans family see letters to James dated January 8 and May 10, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/41 and 1/54, among others.

visited with the Winanses again during another trip to Baltimore in the fall of that year.<sup>47</sup> By the time of this first visit Thomas Winans had already begun to take a personal interest in James and Willie, for Anna writes “Jemie” that she “thanked Mr. Tho. Winans for his attention and friendship towards my Boys, he could not have felt the force of the remark as I did *painfully* that Jemie would always have to be taken care of.”<sup>48</sup> She returned to Baltimore in May 1854, on the occasion of George’s imminent marriage to Julia Winans, although she did not stay for the actual wedding on June 1. Her letters from this trip reveal that she strongly disapproved of the Winanses’ luxurious style of life at Alexandroffsky, and she seemed extremely uncomfortable about remaining there.<sup>49</sup>

Whistler, on the contrary, delighted in the luxuries and amenities of the household.<sup>50</sup> Thomas Winans appears to have been rather fond of James and sympathetic to his artistic inclinations, an interest and enthusiasm apparently not shared by his father, “old” Ross Winans. Thomas’s daily journal from the years 1854–1855 records numerous small loans to Whistler including money for paints and brushes.<sup>51</sup> During the period that the artist was in Washington at the Coast Survey Office and in the months after he resigned in February 1855, Winans continued to be concerned about his well-being. In April of 1855 Winans wrote

47. See letters to Whistler from his mother dated 27, 1854 (probably April), and November 16, 1853, B.P. II Res. 1/98 and 1/91.

48. Letter to Whistler from his mother dated November 16, 1853, B.P. II Res. 1/91.

49. First suggested in a letter to Whistler before her trip to Baltimore dated 27, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/98, and discussed at length when she returned to Scarsdale after the visit. Letter to Whistler dated May 29, 1854, B.P. II Res. 1/99. Her excuse for not staying on for the wedding was that she felt her health could not withstand the excitement.

50. Anna moved to 176 Preston Street, Baltimore, at the end of October 1854. On October 30 she sent a note to her son at Alexandroffsky accusing him of having preferred the luxury of the Winanses’ home to that of his own and to having succumbed to pleasure and indolence. She told him to pack his bags and come to where she was living. B.P. II Res. 1/108.

51. The Winanses’ daily journals are in the collection of the Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore. The following notations appear in Thomas Winans’s journal for 1854: “July 14 Jas Whistler 35.00,” which was subsequently crossed out with notation “to be charged to G. W.”; “Nov. 6 10.00, Jas. Whistler he left to take service at Washington.” The following entries were made in the journal for 1855: “March 14 went to Washington 10.00 G. Whistler 5.00” (this trip was probably to see James); “April 21 J.

to him inviting him to come back and stay at Alexandroffsky, an offer that was to be readily accepted:

Dear Jemie—

You have been long enough in Washington. . . . bring on your *easel* & brushes & I will find you a face to paint here, that, will ease your pocket & give you practice— & perhaps fame. . . .<sup>52</sup>

He became, then, Whistler’s first patron, and their relationship as such continued until at least 1867. That the artist’s mother recognized Winans’s role as patron is evident from a letter to James on his twenty-first birthday in which she requested his first painting, a portrait of his cousin Annie Dennys:

Remember I claim Annie Dennys as your first assay, if your Patron wants it & you *think the major* would not be offended, copy it for Mr T Winans, but tell him I expect him not to interfere with my claim to that one.<sup>53</sup>

The painting was greatly admired for its competence, and there seems to have been considerable dispute about its ownership, for Anna petulantly wrote a few weeks later:

*Be sure* to bring me Annies likeness I have associations with it which entitle me to it. T Winans as a rich man may secure your more successful efforts, but I should not value the Art, as I do *your first attempt. he shall not have that!*<sup>54</sup>

Whistler 50.00”; “May 15 5.25 paints and brushes for Jas. Whistler”; “July 30 Loaned Jas A. Whistler for 6 months 450.00 have his note for the amt— George W. Whistler will settle it.” A letter to Whistler from his mother, probably written in late March 1855 while she was at Alexandroffsky, mentions that Winans was surprised that Whistler hadn’t written to him. She complains that he should have promptly acknowledged Winans’s favor. This “favor” would appear to be associated with Winans’s March 14 trip to Washington. B.P. II Res. 1/119.

52. B.P. II Res. 9/2. All quotations from the letters in the Birnie-Philip Collection are printed here by permission of the University of Glasgow and may not be reproduced without the university’s consent.

53. Letter to Whistler dated July 11, 1855, B.P. II Res. 1/127. The present whereabouts of this painting is not known. In a letter to Whistler in Baltimore dated May 3, 1855, Frank Hunt, a Washington friend, mentions that Mrs. Larned thought the painting among the most lovely she had seen, B.P. II Res. 11/1. The portrait is mentioned in Mrs. Whistler’s letters to James while he was still in Washington. Letter dated April 24, 1855, B.P. II Res. 1/126, and an earlier letter dated 1855 in which she mentions Winans’s great interest in the painting, B.P. II Res. 1/120.

54. Letter to Whistler dated July 25, 1855, from his mother in Stonington, B.P. II Res. 1/128.

On July 30, 1855, before leaving Baltimore for New York and Paris, Whistler was released from the guardianship of his brother George, and the estate was settled in full by a sum of \$5000, which George was given power of attorney to manage.<sup>55</sup> In a note dated two days later, Whistler wrote out an I O U “in favor of Thomas Winans” for the amount of \$450.<sup>56</sup> The following year Winans sent him an additional \$150,<sup>57</sup> and the flow of money continued over a period of about twelve years. Once Whistler was more firmly established, Winans would often deposit a sum of money in the artist’s account toward some future purchase of a painting.<sup>58</sup> Apparently by early 1867 Winans was losing patience with his friend’s continued money difficulties, and Whistler wrote him to explain the period of experimentation of the preceding two years and its importance for his artistic integrity. He closed the letter with the inevitable: “Here my dear Mr. Winans is the story of the whole business—and if you are not tired of helping me as well you might be, and will trust me with another loan, Five hundred pounds. . . .”<sup>59</sup> Winans, whose wife had died in 1861, wrote Whistler on April 6, 1867, explaining perhaps why, despite his interest and prolonged assistance, he made so few purchases of Whistler’s paintings:

My dear Jemmy . . . I now write to say that I am not collecting pictures to any extent, and in the unsettled state in which I am living, would not know what disposition to make of so many pictures if I had them. . . .<sup>60</sup>

In the same letter he goes on to say, however, that he will select a sea piece when he sees him next and encloses a 200-pound loan from which the picture could be deducted. Later that year Winans purchased Wapping, which was exhibited at the *Exposition Universelle* in Paris in 1867, and there is no surviving record of any further contact after this date, although presumably some desultory correspondence must have been maintained.

The majority of the sketches in the Museum album date from Whistler’s first stay with Thomas Winans during the fall of 1854 until the time he left Baltimore on August 1, 1855. They cover a wide range of subjects and document a significant development in his style. There are several literary illustrations that as a group closely relate to his early oeuvre, and one, inscribed “Sir John Chester” (Figure 10), from Dickens’s *Barnaby*



FIGURE 10  
Sir John Chester,  
by James Mc-  
Neill Whistler.  
Pencil, pen and  
ink. The Metro-  
politan Museum  
of Art, 1970.  
121.29

55. The documents of release from guardianship and of power of attorney were part of the Joseph Revillon Bequest to the University of Glasgow, Rev. 1955 W/9 and W/10, hereafter referred to as Rev. 1955. Although there has been a great deal of discrepancy in the Whistler literature as to when the artist actually departed for Paris, it can be securely established that he left New York at the beginning of September 1855. A letter to his mother dated October 10, 1855, from the Hadens’ home at 62 Sloane Street, mentions that he has been away for more than a month. B.P. II Res. 1/129. A memorandum from his brother, Dr. William Whistler, given to the Pennells and dated September 29, 1902, states that Whistler left America in September 1855. Library of Congress, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Box 303. According to Whistler’s passport he arrived in Le Havre, France, on November 2, 1855, after having spent about a month in London. B.P. II 1. By November 5, 1855, he had already received an entrance card for morning classes in the *École Impériale et Spécial de Dessins*. B.P. II 36/33.

56. Rev. 1955 W/117.

57. Rev. 1955 W/113. The Winans journal notes this as a loan of July 30, but Whistler’s I O U is dated August 1.

58. Thomas Winans was in Europe for an extended stay in 1862. Whistler probably saw him in June, and a letter from Winans dated August 25 mentions that he has placed a 50-pound deposit in Whistler’s account toward purchase of a painting if he gets back to England early enough. B.P. II Res. 9/4.

59. Rev. 1955 W/188: typescript and photograph of Whistler’s letter to Winans.

60. Letter to Whistler dated April 6, 1867, B.P. II Res. 9/5. In addition to the album of sketches, several etchings, and the painting Wapping, Thomas Winans also owned the painting *The Fishwife* with a preliminary pen-and-ink sketch, now in the possession of Sybil A. Walk, which was done possibly in America or during his first years in Paris. He also possessed a portrait of himself painted in Baltimore; the present whereabouts of this portrait is not known.

*Rudge*, may even date as early as 1852. The sentimental and delicate style of this pencil drawing suggests that it is from the West Point period and was touched up with pen and ink at a later date, perhaps when the album was assembled. Sir John Chester, who had already interfered unscrupulously with the affairs of his son Edward, is shown ordering him to “return to this roof no more . . . and go to the devil, at my expressed desire.”<sup>61</sup> *Barnaby Rudge* was first published in book form in 1841 with illustrations by George Cattermore and Hablot K. Browne, and Whistler, in his choice of Edward’s costume and pained expression, followed fairly closely Browne’s engraving of a related scene from this same episode.<sup>62</sup> A second Dickens illustration is the small pen-and-ink sketch of Captain Cuttle emphatically gesturing with his hooked hand (acc. no. 1970.121.54). Derived from *Dombey and Son*, it resembles the frontispiece to an edition published by Harper and Brothers in 1852 with numerous illustrations after Phiz and can be roughly dated c. 1854–1855.<sup>63</sup>

The sketch *Sir Piercie Shafton Sings* (Figure 11) captures an amusing passage from Sir Walter Scott’s *The Monastery*, where at the Family Glendinning meal Sir Piercie with eyes half shut sang “without mercey or remorse” until when finished “looking round he discovered that the greater part of his audience had, in the meanwhile, yielded to the charms of repose.”<sup>64</sup> Although the fine lines of the drawing and the slightly sentimental narration of the scene relate it to the West Point works, the confident and sketchy handling of the figures, which are drawn with great facility, suggests that it was executed during the fall of 1854. A more accomplished illustration is the pen-and-ink drawing Jack Shephard [sic], Edgeworth Bess and Pol (Figure 12), dated 1855, which was probably inspired by W. H. Ainsworth’s novel *Jack Sheppard: A Romance*, published in 1839 with extensive illustrations by Cruikshank.<sup>65</sup> Sheppard’s remarkable escapes from Newgate Prison and his notorious escapades, which ended with his death on the gallows in 1724, had made him something of a romantic hero.<sup>66</sup> Whistler’s sketch, completely independent of Cruikshank’s rather melodramatic designs, depicts an exuberant Sheppard with arms round his preceptor in crime, Edgeworth Bess, and her friend Mrs. Pol Maggot. Although the drawing may specifically refer to their merry first meeting in a tavern or to their victorious celebration after Sheppard escaped



FIGURE 11  
*Sir Piercie Shafton Sings*, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.56

from the condemned cell with their cunning assistance, it is, more likely, simply a sympathetic portrait of this roguish group of social outcasts. There are a few other drawings of unidentified subjects in the album apparently inspired by literary sources, among which are Mr. Feathersanall Lodger (Figure 21), Then Sir—I, am the King of Spain!!! (Figure 13, upper left), and a scene of flirtation in a church (acc. no. 1970.121.16).

61. Charles Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge: A Tale of the Riots of 'Eighty* (London, 1841) p. 120.

62. Dickens, *Barnaby Rudge*, p. 118.

63. Charles Dickens, *Dealings with the Firm of Dombey and Son* (New York, 1852). In the frontispiece by Phiz, Captain Cuttle is depicted without a hat.

64. Sir Walter Scott, *The Monastery* (Edinburgh, 1820) II, p. 200.

65. W. Harrison Ainsworth, *Jack Sheppard: A Romance* (London, 1839).

66. Sheppard’s portrait was painted by Sir John Thornhill; a pantomime, *Harlequin Sheppard*, was produced at Drury Lane, a place he used to frequent; Daniel Defoe wrote a narrative about him in 1724; and there were several dramatizations of Ainsworth’s novel after it was published in 1839.

One other illustration to Dickens that should be mentioned is a watercolor in the Freer Gallery entitled *The Cobbler: Sam Weller's Lodgings in the Fleet Prison, from Pickwick Papers*.<sup>67</sup> Executed during Whistler's employment at the Coast Survey Office, it was described by a colleague, John Ross Key, as the only work he had seen him make during this period that could be called a picture.<sup>68</sup>

The etching fragments from the Coast Survey Plate No. 1 (K.1)<sup>69</sup> included in the album are of special importance as they are almost certainly unique surviving impressions printed at the Coast Survey Office from Whistler's first experimental plate. They are on a heavy, almost cardboardlike paper not normally used

FIGURE 12

Jack Shephard, Edgeworth Bess and Pol, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.30



for printing and differ from any other known impression. John Ross Key, who was witness to this first venture in etching, later purchased the discarded plate, which he had discovered among scraps of paper in the engraving department.<sup>70</sup> He kept the plate for some forty years, and all other surviving impressions can be traced to those he had taken from the plate or to standard printings from the years between its sale (c. 1897) and its ultimate purchase by Charles L. Freer (1913).<sup>71</sup> All of the Key impressions were probably printed on the same onion-skin-like paper of the only known example, now in the Avery Collection of The New York Public Library, which bears the notation "obtained . . . from Key."<sup>72</sup>

The Museum's fragments are from the upper portion of the plate and include the center scene of part of Boston Harbor signed on the plate "JW" and a series of heads and a vignette of a young girl and old woman from the corners.<sup>73</sup> The heads, particularly the group of three in the upper left corner (Figure 1, lower right), are closely related in manner of execution to many of the sketches in the album. The rounded female face at

67. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 36. Dated c. 1850 by the Freer Gallery and the Pennells. See Appendix B, no. 79.

68. Key, "Recollections," p. 929.

69. Reproduced in Edward G. Kennedy, *The Etched Work of Whistler* (New York, 1910) Plates, I. The number used by Kennedy will hereafter be given following the title of each etching mentioned.

70. Key, "Recollections," p. 931. For full discussion of Whistler's stay in the Coast Survey Office see Key's article. While employed there he also contributed to a second plate, *Anacapa Island*, which includes his name along with those of other engravers. Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 44.

71. In a letter to Charles L. Freer dated February 15, 1896, Key wrote: "I have never had more than 25 or 30 taken and the plate has never been out of my possession. I sent a few copies years ago to S. P. Avery, N. Y. (3 or 4)." Folder 289, Reference Library, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington. Key sold the plate to Keppel & Co., and it was later bought by a Mr. Hellman. Letter dated November 13, 1906, from FitzRoy Carington to the Pennells, Pennell-Whistler Collection, Library of Congress, Washington. The plate was listed in the exhibition catalogue *Paintings, Drawings, Etchings and Lithographs; Memorial Exhibition of the Works of the late James McNeill Whistler*, International Society of Sculptors, Painters and Gravers, New Gallery, London, 1904, p. 46, no. 401, as lent by W. Heineman, Esq.

72. Given to The New York Public Library in 1901. Notation in full reads: "Avery obtained impression from Key who owned plate for 40 years and sold it to Keppel."

73. The entire plate is reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 44.



**FIGURE 13**

Then Sir—I, am the King of Spain!!!, pen and ink; Cavalier, pen and ink; Girl with Hat, pen and ink; Man Playing Mandolin, pen and ink. Portion of album page 14, by James McNeill Whistler. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.63-66

the left in this group closely resembles the face of the model in Artist's Studio (Figure 32), though in reverse, while the center figure is conceived in a manner similar to that of Man Playing Mandolin (Figure 13, lower right). The evocative device of shaded eyes and brow seen in the third figure appears in a number of the sketches and is employed in an exaggerated manner in

Jack Shephard, Edgeworth Bess and Pol. This sensitive use of light and dark is most obviously derived from seventeenth-century Dutch prototypes. What may have been in the Beaverbrook drawings only a casual interest in the Rembrandtesque play with light and rich black shadows seems to have deepened and broadened considerably in the post-West Point period. Both

in technique and subject such drawings as *Two Men Drinking* (Figure 14), *Man Playing Mandolin*, *Man Playing Guitar* (Figure 15), *Cavalier* (Figure 13, upper right), and a verso sketch of a man in a wide-brimmed hat (acc. no. 1970.121.27) suggest a more serious consideration of the Dutch School, an interest that was carried over to the Parisian years, as is most obviously demonstrated by the early etching *The Dutchman Holding A Glass* (K.4). What becomes apparent in the late drawings in the album is that Whistler was experimenting with the rather novel combination of a baroque use of shadow and the subtle and detailed cross-hatching of Dutch prints with the then more powerful influence on his work of the spirited and caricatural mode of drawing best exemplified in French illustrations.

Whether inspired by such illustrated French books as *Le Diable à Paris* and *Oeuvres Choisies de Gavarni*<sup>74</sup> or by a fresh look at *Punch* and the studies of morals and manners based on French prototypes in *Harper's Monthly Magazine*,<sup>75</sup> a dramatic change and development did occur in Whistler's style from the sketches and illustrations of the West Point period to the latest drawings in the album. The conceptual character of his work moved away from the narrative and sentimental designs of fictitious subjects and the descriptive and almost cutely humorous scenes of West Point life toward a more satirically humorous but realistic depiction of the human figure conceived in a caricatural style.

74. *Le Diable à Paris: Paris et Les Parisiens*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1845–1846); M. P. J. Stahl, ed., *Oeuvres Choisies de Gavarni*, 4 vols. (Paris, 1846–1848). The original lithographic designs for these and similar French books that Whistler could have seen were engraved on wood by various craftsmen and then printed in the books. It was the graphic technique and lines of the wood engraving rather than the lithograph that influenced Whistler, and most likely his only familiarity with Gavarni and any other of the major French illustrators was through the engravings after their work. Whistler could have seen some of these publications at Alexandroffsky, for Winans apparently had an extensive library. An advertisement of the auction to be held at the mansion on November 5, 1925, when it was being dismantled, lists among the contents of the collection “a large lot of Classics, novels and Histories in the French language, some of them in very beautiful bindings.” Winans clippings file, Maryland Historical Society.

75. In most issues of *Harper's Monthly Magazine* there was an illustrated section entitled “Life in Paris: People and their Principles.” The caricatures of Cruikshank and those by other artists that appeared in *Punch*, as well, were frequently characterized by an extravagance of gesture and an emphasis on the grotesque not normally found in French illustrations.



FIGURE 14  
*Two Men Drinking*, by James McNeill Whistler.  
Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
1970.121.22



FIGURE 15  
*Man Playing Guitar*, by James McNeill Whistler.  
Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art,  
1970.121.26

Drawing less from his imagination, he began to look more carefully around him, catching a moment of unguarded behavior or simply the amusing attitudes of people in everyday situations. This whole attitude of viewing is most closely aligned with the caricature of manners popular in French illustrations and especially seen in the work of Henri Monnier, Bertall, and Gavarni.

Once again Whistler did not copy specific figures created by these artists. Rather, he was influenced by

their mode of seeing, which he absorbed and made his own. What he learned most especially from someone like Gavarni, and to a lesser degree Bertall, was the use of contour and line to indicate character and mood, as expressed in the position of the body, the twist of a limb, the turn of a head, or a grimace on the face. He was also influenced by certain conventions of representation, such as the building up of shadows and backgrounds with rich blacks and spiraling lines (Figure 16), a stylistic mannerism particularly favored by Bertall (Figure 17),<sup>76</sup> but also seen in the works of Gavarni, and used more statically in numerous *Punch* illustrations. Also appearing for the first time in the late drawings in the album was a preference for a zigzagging and spiraling cross-hatching combined with liquid black shadows to develop volume and give an expressive animation to



FIGURE 16  
May 18th (55), by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink over pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.38

the forms. Although Whistler could have learned this graphic device from English illustrations or from the American Felix Darley, it is more likely that he was attracted by the particularly spirited manner with which it was employed to heighten caricatural effect in the engravings after Monnier and Gavarni.

Other resemblances to French illustrations can be seen in certain attitudes, such as the spread legs slightly balanced backward in *Olol C'lo* (Figure 18) and *Man with Walking Stick* (Figure 19), which recall Gavarni's illustrations of Réélu and that of *Le Rhétoricien* (Figure 20) in volume II of *Le Diable à Paris*.<sup>77</sup> The slightly caricatural expression and gestures of the young man in the sketch *Mr. Feathersanall Lodger* (Figure 21) are closely paralleled in a design by Gavarni for "Hommes et Femmes de Plume" in the same volume of *Le Diable*

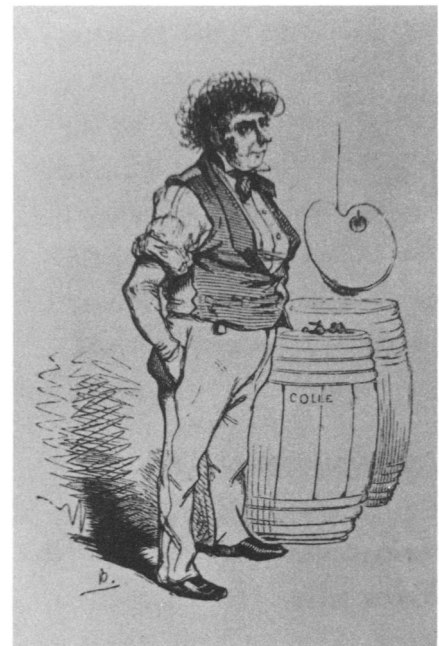


FIGURE 17  
Untitled wood engraving, by Bertall. Printed in *Le Diable à Paris*, I

76. Printed in *Le Diable*, I, p. 62.

77. Engraved by Pierre Levielle and printed in *Les Français Peints par Eux-Mêmes* (Paris, 1840–1842) II, opposite p. 241; engraved by Charles Tamisier and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 26 and 27.





**FIGURE 18**  
Olol C'lo, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.55



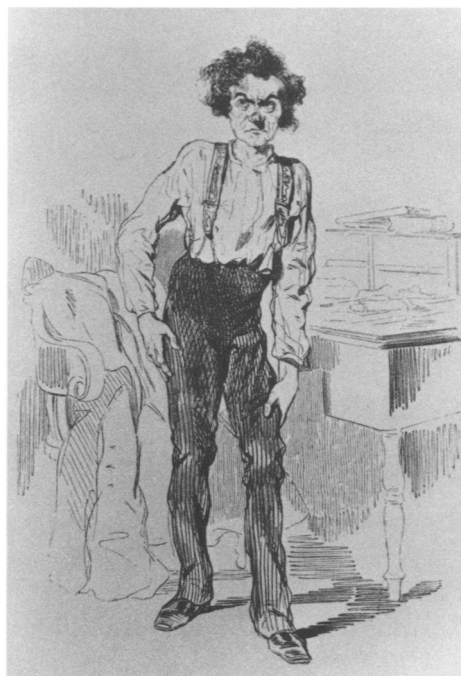
**FIGURE 19**  
Man with Walking Stick, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.5



**FIGURE 20**  
Le Rhétoricien, by Gavarni. Wood engraving of an original lithograph. From *Le Diable à Paris*, II



**FIGURE 21**  
Mr. Feathersanall  
Lodger, by James  
McNeill Whistler.  
Pen and ink, pencil.  
The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art,  
1970.121.60



**FIGURE 22**  
Ardeur, Ardeur. . .,  
by Gavarni. Wood  
engraving of an  
original lithograph.  
From *Le Diable à  
Paris*, II



FIGURE 23  
Pour Boire, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.46



FIGURE 24  
Untitled wood engraving, by Honoré Daumier. From *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle*

(Figure 22).<sup>78</sup> The Whistler figure inscribed with the French “pour boire” (Figure 23) is very similar in conception to a caricature by Daumier in *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Figure 24) and to several Gavarni designs.<sup>79</sup> The exaggerated momentary posture and amusing twist of legs in Ross Winans Playing Violin (Figure 36) have counterparts in a sketch of two young men from Gavarni’s *Les Etudiants de Paris*.<sup>80</sup> Also, the caricature of Mrs. Tiffany (Figure 25) and Girl with Parasol (Figure 26) reflect a satirically humorous vision of the comedy of manners similar to that of Gavarni’s *Ma Cadette* (Figure 27) and *La Panthère* (Figure 28).<sup>81</sup> The choice of individuals as subjects in *Taxes* (acc. no. 1970.121.61), *Woman Carrying Basket* (acc. no. 1970.121.31), and *Terrible Disaster! Loss of the Arctic!!* (acc. no. 1970.121.43) also brings to mind numerous French prototypes.<sup>82</sup>

One of the more finished and skillful drawings in the

FIGURE 25  
Mrs. Tiffany, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.50



album (Figure 29) was inspired by Gavarni’s *Les Débardeurs*, a series of some sixty-six designs depicting the loves and lives of a group of bohemian figures whose fancy dress resembled the working apparel of the dockhand.<sup>83</sup> The costume, shoes, and hat of Whistler’s jubilant figure and Gavarni’s *débardeuse* are identical, al-

78. Engraved by Bara and Gérard and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 34 and 35.

79. Printed in *Le Prisme: Encyclopédie Morale du Dix-neuvième Siècle* (Paris, 1841) p. 96. A similar Gavarni design with the subtitle “Monseigneur, C’est Moi Qui . . .” was engraved by Le Blanc and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 10 and 11.

80. Engraved by Henri Désiré Porret and printed in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choisies*, III (1847) from *Les Etudiants de Paris*, with the subtitle “O l’amour d’une femme! O ineffable chose!”

81. *Ma Cadette* engraved by Antoine Alphée Piaud and printed in *Le Diable*, II, between pp. 328 and 329. *La Panthère* printed in M. Louis Huart, *Muséum Parisien* (Paris, 1841) p. 19.

82. This last drawing documents a terrible maritime disaster, the sinking of the steamship *Arctic* with a loss of over 320 lives. On Wednesday, October 11, 1854, *The New York Herald*, which the newsboy holds up in Whistler’s sketch, was the first newspaper to carry word of the tragedy, thirteen days after the fatal collision. See Alexander Crosby Brown, *Women and Children Lost: The Loss of the Steamship “Arctic”* (London, 1961).

83. The first of the lithographs for *Les Débardeurs* was published on January 17, 1840, and most of the designs appeared in the periodical *Le Charivari* during the next few years. Several were also printed in books, such as *Le Diable*, and wood engravings after the entire series were published in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choisies*, IV (1848).

FIGURE 26  
Girl with Parasol, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.48

FIGURE 28 La Panthère, by Gavarni.  
Wood engraving. From *Muséum Parisien*

FIGURE 27  
Detail of Ma Cadette, by Gavarni. Wood engraving of an original  
lithograph. From *Le Diable à Paris, II*



FIGURE 29  
Vive les Débardeurs!!, by  
James McNeill Whistler. Pen  
and ink. The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, 1970.121.34



FIGURE 30  
Après le Débardeur la Fin du  
Monde!, by Gavarni. Wood engraving  
of an original lithograph. From  
*Le Diable à Paris, I*



FIGURE 31  
Standard Bearer, by James McNeill Whistler.  
Lithograph. Courtesy of the Library of Congress,  
Washington, D.C.



FIGURE 32  
Artist's Studio, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen  
and ink, pencil, Chinese white. The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art, 1970.121.57

though none of Gavarni's figures are posed precisely in the manner of the Whistler drawing. The most closely related example is a design from "En Carnival" published in *Le Diable à Paris* with the inscription "Après le débardeur, la fin du monde!" (Figure 30).<sup>84</sup> One figure lies on the ground, wine glass by his side, while a female *débardeuse* gestures uninhibitedly with arms outspread. Whistler's witty retort to this design would seem to be the "Vive les Debardeures [*sic*]!" inscribed beneath his drawing. The particularly close cross-hatching of the velvet pantaloons in his sketch more closely resembles that on another of Gavarni's *débardeur* figures.<sup>85</sup>

84. Engraved by Louis Henri Brevière and printed in *Le Diable*, I, between pp. 164 and 165.

85. Engraved by Paul Constant Soyer and printed in Stahl, *Oeuvres Choisies*, IV, from *Les Débardeurs* with the inscription "Ah C'a! décidément Caroline est folle du petit Anglais."

86. Some of Gavarni's most famous lithographic series are *Les Etudiants de Paris*, *La Vie de Jeune Homme*, *Les Lorettes*, and *Le Carnival à Paris*. Gavarni held a strong appeal for Whistler,

The bohemian world of the Latin Quarter depicted in several of Gavarni's most important series of lithographs would have immensely appealed to Whistler before he left the States.<sup>86</sup> Since Whistler was convinced of his choice of profession and already circulating in a quasi-bohemian group in Washington, the amusing and tantalizing escapades of Gavarni's independent youth could only have reaffirmed his decision to study in Paris.

It would appear that all the drawings in the album date from before Whistler left Baltimore for Paris, even though, not surprisingly, there are strong links between some of the sketches and the few drawings that survive

who continued to sketch "Les Gens de Paris" in the manner of this French artist during his first years in Paris. Henry Oulevey remembered him as "always drawing, in the manner of Gavarni, the people and the scenes of the *Quartier*," and the drawings that Whistler's fiery mistress Fumette had torn up in a moment of jealousy while he was living in Rue Saint-Sulpice were said to have been Gavarni-like. Pennell, *Life*, I, pp. 56–57.

from his first years in France.<sup>87</sup> The main stylistic evidence supporting this contention is provided by the lithograph *Standard Bearer* (Figure 31), which, according to the verso annotation, was executed in Baltimore on July 17, 1855.<sup>88</sup> Its swirling, rich black lines and spiraling, zigzagging cross-hatching combined with a Rembrandtesque use of lights and darks are more closely paralleled in the latest of the Museum's sketches than in anything that follows from his stay in Paris.

The only drawing that might present some problem as to a post-August 1855 date is *Artist's Studio* (Figure 32), a sketch of a studio interior with four figures. While it may be the most complex and successful sketch in the album, the style of drawing does not differ notably from that of the other later works. There are, however, two larger, closely related, tondo drawings of studio interiors in the collections of The Art Institute of Chicago (Figure 33) and the Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Figure 34)<sup>89</sup> that were undoubtedly executed in Paris, as the Freer work is inscribed: "J. Whistler / Au 5<sup>ime</sup> No. 7 / Rue Galeres / Quartier Latin." There is also an early Parisian etching of an artist's studio (Figure 35), probably done shortly after he arrived, which is entitled on the plate *Au Sixième* (K.3) in a script identical to that used by Whistler in inscribing many of the Museum's sketches. But these evocative works are more accomplished studies and are conceived with a romantic and brooding intensity that is only barely suggested in the more casual Museum

sketch. The subject of the artist's studio and "la vie de bohème" was extremely popular in early nineteenth-century art and, as we have seen, would have appealed to Whistler before he left for Paris. It is quite possible, then, that the Museum's sketch could have been done shortly before his departure as a preliminary working out of a theme he later developed in the more fully realized Freer and Chicago drawings and *Au Sixième*.

There are a few other sketches in the album that thematically look forward to the more proficient works of the next several years. The sketch *Ross Winans Playing Violin* (Figure 36) anticipates the drawing *Seymour Haden Playing Cello*, c. 1858–1859 (Figure 37), and the etching *Ross Winans* (K.88), c. 1860.<sup>90</sup> While the Museum sketch is still an amusing study bordering on caricature, the Haden drawing is poetically realized, relying more on the strong contrast of light and dark than on vivacity of gesture and angularity of contour. In addition, the theme of a woman reading at a table seen in *Man and Woman at Table* (Figure 1, bottom) occurs in the etchings *Reading by Lamplight* (K.32) and *The Music Room* (K.33), c. 1858–1859;<sup>91</sup> and the subject of women under parasols seen in two of the Museum drawings appears in the etching *En Plein Soleil* (K.15) from the French set and in numerous other compositions.

Given the fact that the etching fragments from the *Coast Survey Plate No. 1* glued to pages 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, and 8 are attached in such a manner as to be an integral part of the page arrangement, the album could not

87. Four pen-and-ink drawings of bohemian types executed by Whistler c. 1856–1858 are reproduced in the sale catalogue of Sotheby and Co., London, December 15, 1971, lot 1. Although more realistic in conception and relying less on caricatural style, they do reveal an interesting continuity with the late Baltimore sketches. One of the drawings, of a seated man and young woman, resembles a pencil drawing in the Freer Gallery of two figures, a girl seated and a man on the ground at her left, c. 1858 (acc. no. 98.166), and is also somewhat similar to a sketch in the Metropolitan's album, *Woman with Young Man Resting at her Feet* (acc. no. 1970.121.28), which is more in the style of Greuze.

88. *Standard Bearer* was acquired by the Library of Congress, Washington, D.C., in 1938. It had been in the possession of Mrs. John Sylvester of Augusta, Georgia, who had found it in a scrapbook of sketches by friends of her step-father, Frank B. Mayer. See A. Hyatt Mayor, "An Early Whistler Lithograph," *The Print Collector's Quarterly* 24 (1937) pp. 305–307.

89. The Freer Gallery drawing, *An Artist in His Studio*, acc. no. 06.104, is done in pen and ink and pencil and measures 9¼ inches in diameter. There is no reference in the Whistler literature

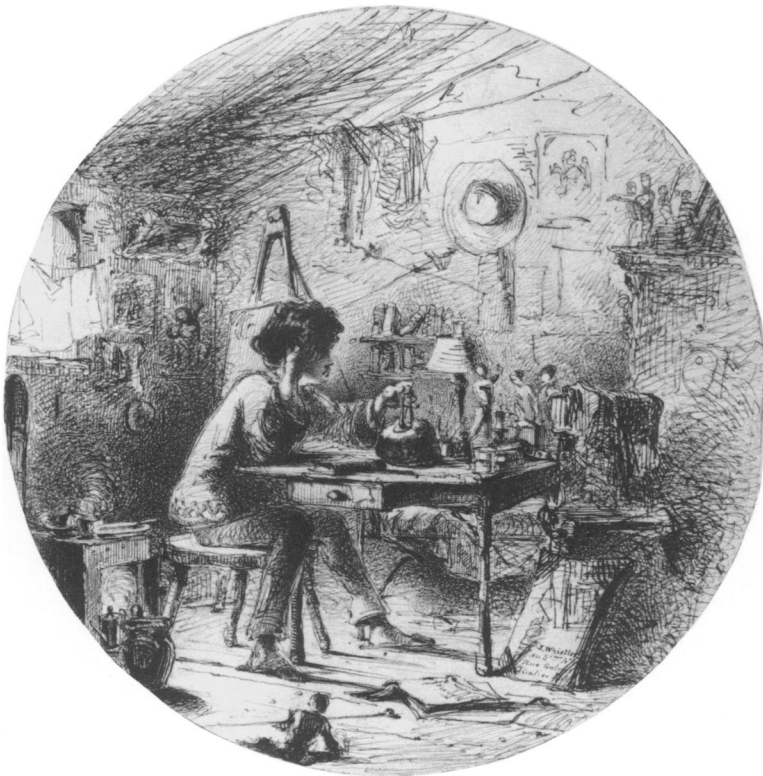
to the artist's living on Rue Galères, and it is not among the addresses mentioned by Oulevey. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 54. The Art Institute of Chicago drawing, *A Scene from Bohemian life*, acc. no. 56.350, is executed in pen and ink over pencil and measures 9¾ inches in diameter.

90. The pen-and-ink drawing of Seymour Haden is in the Freer Gallery, acc. no. 98.160; it is 7¼ inches high and 4¼ inches wide. The etching of Ross Winans shows him with an accordion in his hands and violin by his side. Reproduced in Kennedy, *Whistler*, Plates, I. The Ross Winans portrayed both in the etching and in the Museum sketch is almost certainly Thomas Winans's younger brother, although he is represented somewhat differently, in great part due to the change in Whistler's style. "Old" Ross Winans, their father, was quite stout, and photographs of him from the 1860s in the collection of the University of Glasgow show him with a thick white beard.

91. Reproduced in Kennedy, *Whistler*, Plates, I. Another pen-and-ink drawing of a man and woman seated at a table with a lamp occurs on the verso of the Museum sketch acc. no. 1970.121.18.



**FIGURE 33**  
A Scene from Bohemian Life, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. Courtesy of The Art Institute of Chicago



**FIGURE 34**  
An Artist in his Studio, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



**FIGURE 35**  
Au Sixième, by James McNeill Whistler. Etching. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.

have been put together earlier than the period of the artist's service at the Coast Survey Office, from November 6, 1854, to late February 1855. It would seem logical to conclude, then, that the album was assembled in America before Whistler embarked for Europe and, since it was owned by Thomas Winans, that it was put together at Alexandroffsky, probably by Whistler himself, during his residence there between late April 1855 and August 1 of the same year, when he left Baltimore for New York and Paris. This conclusion is supported by a note in an unknown hand on the left margin

of a letter dated October 30, 1950, from Joseph Revillon to Elsie Celeste Hutton, a former owner of the album, which reads, "Whistler made the skbk when he was at Alexandroffsky with Thomas Winans."<sup>92</sup> It is further substantiated by the observation that at least three of the four inscriptions on the album pages would seem to be in Whistler's hand, although it is difficult to say with absolute certainty because of the variability of his

<sup>92</sup>. A Xerox copy of the letter is in the archives of the American Paintings Department, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.

FIGURE 36

Ross Winans Playing Violin, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink, pencil. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1970.121.2



FIGURE 37

Seymour Haden Playing Cello, by James McNeill Whistler. Pen and ink. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.



handwriting.<sup>93</sup> The sketches were placed in the album somewhat haphazardly with no attempt at following a chronological development or thematic ordering, a lackadaisical approach consistent with the artist's capricious nature.

This would not have been the first sketchbook Whistler assembled, for as early as 1848 he wrote his father in St. Petersburg that he was sending him a scrapbook of drawings he had made.<sup>94</sup> The Museum album, which includes at least two drawings of members of the Winans family, may very well have been assembled at the suggestion of Thomas Winans after he had collected a group of the many sketches the prolific Whistler would have executed while living at Alexandroffsky. One can only surmise from where the earlier sketches came. Judging from her letters, Whistler's mother was a frequent visitor to the Winans home while she was living in Baltimore, from October 1854 until late the following spring, and George, now Winans's brother-in-law, lived next door. Grateful for his assistance to James, they may have contributed a few of the drawings they had saved, or these early works may have been among those that Whistler himself had kept.

The etchings from the French set, attached at a later date, possibly by Winans, follow the sketches in the album.<sup>95</sup> They are exceptionally fine impressions and would seem to belong to the edition issued by Whistler

in 1859 at 62 Sloane Street, London.<sup>96</sup> A letter to Seymour Haden from Thomas Winans, dated June 20, 1859, enclosing 63 pounds sterling, acknowledges receipt of a set of etchings, almost certainly the Museum impressions, which, he wrote, "are considered very fine, doing Jemmy great credit, I hope he will get up another set."<sup>97</sup> The etchings remain an integral part of the album, for the mode of vision and drawing first suggested in many of the sketches, c. 1854-1855, became fully realized in the finest of these prints.

The album is a major addition to early Whistler scholarship, revealing the inventiveness and exuberance of the artist's early style, the range of his experimentation in an illustrative genre, and the extent of his knowledge of European art. It documents an essential link in his stylistic and iconographic development between the West Point sketches and the early Parisian works, thus making his early oeuvre, as a whole, more comprehensible and meaningful. Moreover, the confident and subtle use of line in such sketches as *Artist's Studio* and *Vive les Debardeures!!* contributes an important new dimension to the aesthetic quality of Whistler's youthful achievement. The drawings confirm that before he had left for Paris Whistler had demonstrated sufficient talent and promise to have won the support not only of a sympathetic patron but of his family as well.

#### ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to thank John K. Howat, Curator of American Paintings and Sculpture at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for generously suggesting that I write this article and for his careful reading of the manuscript. I would also like to thank Professor Andrew McLaren Young and Mrs. Margaret MacDonald of the University of Glasgow for their extremely useful and gracious assistance and interest in the

problem of early Whistler. In addition thanks should be mentioned to two other members of the Metropolitan Museum staff, Merritt Safford, Conservator of Drawings, and Weston Naef, Assistant Curator of Prints.

#### FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCE

Elizabeth J. and Joseph Pennell, *The Life of James McNeill Whistler* (London, 1908) 2 vols.

93. P. 1 of the album is inscribed in ink "R.W.!" beneath the sketch of Ross Winans Playing Violin; p. 2 is inscribed in pencil "T.W.'s family" (acc. no. 1970.121.3), possibly not in Whistler's hand; p. 5 is inscribed in ink "After Dinner" beneath a sketch possibly of Ross Winans (acc. no. 1970.121.17); and p. 8 is inscribed in ink "pour boire."

94. Letter to his father dated March 17-20, 1849, B.P. II Res. 1/52.

95. The drawings were glued to the first eighteen pages of the album and were then immediately followed on the next twelve pages by the set of etchings. In two instances the title glued be-

neath the etching is incorrect, and one impression from the French set, *The Kitchen*, was not included in the album.

96. The French set, printed by Delâtre, was first issued in Paris in early November 1858. Seymour Haden apparently supervised the sale of this first printing, and in 1859 Whistler reissued the set of etchings as "Twelve etchings from Nature, by James Abbott Whistler. London: Published by J. A. Whistler, at No. 62 Sloane Street." The majority of the impressions were printed on a wheat-colored paper.

97. B.P. II Res. 9/3.



## Appendix A

THE ALBUM, along with a four-page journal written by Whistler after he left West Point, was the generous gift of Margaret C. Buell, Helen L. King, and Sybil A. Walk. The album was bequeathed by Thomas Winans to his daughter, Celeste Marguerite Hutton, and upon her death was given to her daughter, Elsie Celeste Hutton. She, in turn, left it to her three nieces, the donors of the album. Upon its arrival at The Metropolitan Museum of Art, the album included some one hundred sheets, the first thirty of which contained the sketches and etchings. The remainder of the pages were blank except for four drawings by another hand on pages near the end and on the last sheet. Almost all of the first thirty pages were numbered consecutively in black ink in the upper right corner. The sheet size of the album is  $10\frac{1}{8} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$  inches. The album has subsequently been dismembered, and all the pages containing Whistler's work have been taken out and the sketches and etchings removed. After restoration the contents were remounted on rag-board backings, the original sequence and placement in the album being retained.

The individual sketches are on various kinds of paper ranging from blue-lined writing paper to thin cardboard, and almost every sketch is on an irregularly cut sheet. The accession numbers for the sketches and etch-

ings by Whistler are 1970.121.1-80, and the sketches by another hand are numbered 1970.121.81-84.

The four-page daily journal (acc. nos. 1970.121.85-88) was written by Whistler shortly after his departure from West Point. It was found in an old studio at Alexandroffsky by Elsie Celeste Hutton while she was clearing out the mansion before it was sold in 1925. On the front page of the journal is a pen-and-ink sketch of a figure in a monk's cowl, possibly Whistler himself, under which is inscribed: "Nulla dies sine linea."\* The following three pages contain an amusing discourse on the writing of a diary, mention of his "brief but brilliant career as a military man" with "three years of fun, folly and cadetship," and a witty lament for his love "the belle of the point," who had "large languishing deep black eyes" and "such beautiful, *really* beautiful rich red lips." The diary, which also contains three other drawings interspersed with the text, does not seem to have gone any further than this entertaining introduction.

\* This well-known adage of Apelles comes from Pliny's *Naturalis Historiae* 35. 84. It was debated by theoreticians and used by artists down through the ages and would have been a particularly appropriate motto for a daily journal and sketchbook.

## Appendix B

THE PURPOSE of this Appendix is to provide a working list of all the known works executed by Whistler before he left for Paris that have so far come to the attention of the author, excluding those in the Metropolitan Museum album. The sketches are grouped chronologically by period but are not dated precisely within each grouping. Measurements are given in inches with the height first.

1. Duck  
Coll.: Mrs. Livermore as of 1908; present whereabouts unknown.
2. Aunt Alicia  
Pencil.  $4\frac{5}{8} \times 3\frac{11}{16}$ . Signed and dated (bottom right): James. To Aunt Kate.— / 1844.  
Coll.: Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, gift of Miss Mary E. Dreier, from the estate of her sister Katherine S. Dreier, 1953.

- Wrongly identified as of Aunt Kate in the annotation by Katherine Dreier on the back of the frame. Bloor, "Beginnings of Whistler," p. 132, also says it is of Aunt Kate, but Emma Palmer, who gave the sketch to Katherine Dreier, and the Pennells, *Life*, I, p. 9, identify the subject as Aunt Alicia, who, without question, it is. It may be the same drawing mentioned in a letter to Whistler in New York from his mother dated April 9, 1850, in which she asks him to bring home the sketch of Aunt Alicia if he finds it among their papers sent back from Russia. B.P. II Res. 1/58.
3. Sketches inside back cover of *Recueil des principaux homographes et homonymes français*, 2nd ed. (St. Petersburg, 1840)  
Pen and ink. Sheet size (double):  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{15}{16}$ .  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.
  4. Sketches inside front and back cover of *Russian Grammar Book*  
Pen and ink, pencil. Sheet size:  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.
  5. Sketches inside front cover of Noel and Chapel, *Abrégé de la Grammaire Française* (St. Petersburg, 1840)  
Pencil, pen and ink. Sheet size:  $7\frac{3}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection.
  6. Russian sketchbook  
Sixty-eight pages of sketches, almost all by Whistler, in pencil, pen and ink. Sheet size:  $6\frac{5}{8} \times 8\frac{3}{8}$ . C. 1845-1848. The sketches range from full-page compositions with several figures to small overlapping drawings filling up entire sheets and obviously added over a period of time. They revealingly indicate the type of subject that appealed to Whistler at an early age. Included are sketches of biblical subjects and scenes from ancient history, as well as portraits and drawings from plaster casts.  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.
  7. Valentine—sketch of a young man and girl with verse by Whistler's mother beneath  
Watercolor.  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ .  
Coll.: James McNeill Whistler Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Sherman Lurie, New York.  
The valentine was drawn for Whistler's cousin Emma Palmer and probably dates from the Russian period, c. 1846-1848.
  8. Annie  
Pencil.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 1\frac{1}{4}$ . Inscribed (across bottom): Mon Niece! . . .; annotated (on verso in ink): Uncle Jim Fecit / 1848—.  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.  
This sketch, which obviously has been touched up, may be the one referred to in a letter to his father in which Whistler writes that he did a drawing of the baby Annie that Seymour finished for him. B.P. II. Res. 1/52.
  9. Mother and Child  
Pen and ink, Chinese white. Tondo, diameter:  $2\frac{7}{8} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ .  
Signed (lower right): J. W.  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Joseph Revillon Bequest, 1955.  
Dates from either shortly before he left England or from Pomfret, c. 1849-1850.
  10. Map of northeastern states  
Pencil, pen and ink, watercolor.  $4\frac{15}{16} \times 6$ . Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. C. 1849-1851.  
Coll.: Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
  11. Seven sketches executed at Pomfret belonging to Mrs. Hyde as of 1924 (see note 18).  
As they are only known through a photostatic copy of the originals, they will be identified below only by subject.
    - a. The Smugglers' Cave
    - b. Head of a girl
    - c. Head of a man
    - d. Head of a man
    - e. Interior of church with brooding figure  
Signed (lower right): J.A.W.
    - f. Fishing [?]
    - g. Le Débardeur  
Signed (lower right): J.W.
  12. A Fire at Pomfret  
Watercolor.  $5\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{11}{16}$ . C. 1850.  
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (05.333).  
Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 36.
- Nos. 13-39 are drawings executed at Pomfret, Connecticut, that are now in the possession of Mason Hammond. All dimensions are sight.*
13. Old Casper Southey  
Pen and ink.  $2\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ . Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (across bottom): Old Casper . . . Southey.
  14. Mr. Frampton  
Pen and ink.  $3\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{7}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W.
  15. Mr. Frampton Uses His Umbrella!!  
Pen and ink.  $4\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{4}$ . Inscribed (across bottom): Mr. Frampton uses his umbrella!!
  16. Figures feasting at table  
Pen and ink.  $2\frac{7}{8} \times 5$ .
  17. What I Once Was  
Pen and ink.  $4\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{7}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): "What I once was" / The Lost Lord. Act. III / "Hadst thou seen me in my glory!"
  18. Counsel of War  
Pen and ink.  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): Counsel of War.

- This is probably the first example in Whistler's work of a lifelong fascination with nocturnal lighting. The lantern with its arc of light appears again in the sketches listed below as nos. 64–66, and in a verso drawing in the Metropolitan Museum album, acc. no. 1970.121.18.
19. Sketches of two men smoking, girl skipping  
Pen and ink on blue paper.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ .
  20. Albanian  
Pen and ink.  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ . Inscribed (bottom, right of center): Albanian.
  21. Three-quarter-length profile portrait of young woman  
Pencil.  $7 \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ .
  22. Fidelis in the Arbour  
Watercolor, pencil.  $6\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$ . Inscribed (in brown watercolor, lower left): Fidelis in the Arbour.
  23. An Officer Attacked by Brigands  
Collage silhouettes on white paper, ink.  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ . Inscribed (in ink across bottom): An officer attacked by Brigands in a dense wood.
  24. May Morning Preparations  
Pen and ink, wash.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{4}$ . Signed (lower left): W. Inscribed (bottom): May Morning Preparations.
  25. Chatty and Jola  
Watercolor, wash over pencil.  $4\frac{5}{8} \times 4\frac{5}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (lower left): Chatty and Jola.
  26. Woman by harp with dog  
Watercolor, pencil.  $4\frac{11}{16} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ .  
Similar in theme and mood to no. 40.
  27. Boy and girl in sailboat  
Pencil, pen and ink, wash.  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{7}{16}$ .
  28. Artist seen from rear, painting  
Watercolor.  $4\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ .
  29. Russian figure in long cloak with pipe  
Pen and ink, pencil.  $5 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W.
  30. Soldier being shot out of cannon  
Pencil, colored wash.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ .
  31. Two figures, one seated, one playing flute  
Pencil.  $3 \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ .
  32. Two soldiers  
Watercolor, ink.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ . Inscribed (bottom center): Shoulder browns [?].
  33. Scene outdoors with several figures  
Pen and ink.  $1\frac{5}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ .
  34. Monk  
Pen and ink.  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): Sack cloth without; and a good sack within.
  35. Soldier  
Watercolor.  $4 \times 2\frac{1}{2}$ .
  36. Figure seated at table  
Pencil.  $2\frac{3}{4} \times 4$ .
  37. Man pulling dog's tail  
Pencil.  $3\frac{3}{4} \times 2\frac{11}{16}$ .
  38. Man riding horse  
Pen and ink.  $3\frac{1}{4} \times 3\frac{3}{4}$ .
  39. Night scene: man on horse  
Watercolor, brown wash.  $2 \times 1\frac{3}{4}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W.
  40. Standing figure of a woman in profile with a dog in front of her  
Pen and ink, slight wash.  $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W.  
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (04.453).  
Probably dates from Pomfret, c. 1850–1851. Similar to no. 23 and to the woman in the Metropolitan Museum drawing *The Margrave, the Prince[ss?]* and the Hermit.
  41. St. Augustine and Other Figures  
Pen and ink, pencil.  $6\frac{11}{16} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$ . Signed (at right, below center): J.W. Inscribed (beneath sketch at right): St. Augustine.  
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (05.334).  
Possibly dates from Pomfret and is similar in conception to no. 34. Probably the same drawing shown at *The Memorial Exhibition of the Works of Mr. J. McNeill Whistler*, Copley Society, Boston, 1904, p. 122, no. 124, entitled *Benedictine Monks* and lent by Mrs. W. McNeill Whistler.
  42. Light at the Door  
Sepia wash.  
Coll.: Mrs. Louise Chandler Moulton as of 1904, when it was exhibited at *The Memorial Exhibition . . .*, Boston, 1904, p. 21, no. 169. Present whereabouts not known.
  43. On Post in Camp  
Pen and ink. Four separate drawings framed together with matting:  $25\frac{3}{8} \times 28\frac{3}{4}$ .  
a. Inscribed (bottom center): First Half Hour.  
b. Inscribed (bottom): Second half hour.  
c. Inscribed (bottom center): Third half hour.  
d. Inscribed (bottom): Last half hour!  
All four frames are inscribed at top: On Post in Camp.  
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point, New York.
  44. Asleep on the Post  
Pen and ink, wash. Sight:  $12\frac{7}{8} \times c. 15\frac{1}{2}$ ; with matting:  $14\frac{3}{8} \times 17\frac{1}{2}$ . Signed (lower right): Compliments of / J.A.W.

- Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point.  
This drawing along with *On Post in Camp* was given by Whistler to Mrs. Baird, wife of Absalom Baird, Assistant Professor of Mathematics, United States Military Academy, 1853–1859. The drawings were kept in her scrapbook until presented to the academy by her son, Captain William Baird, in 1907.
45. Cover design for the *Song of the Graduate*, 1852  
Lithograph. Whistler executed the original design, but the drawing of the actual lithograph was almost certainly not done by him.  
An impression is in the Rosenwald Collection, Jenkintown, Pennsylvania.
46. Vignette for a dance card, 1852  
Drawn on wood and engraved with a penknife.
47. Album of Archie Gracie  
C. 1852.  
Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (o8.10A–E).  
a. The Game of Chess  
Pen and ink.  $1\frac{1}{8} \times 3\frac{3}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. Inscribed (on album page below drawing): The Game of Chess.  
b. A la Yankee  
Pen and ink. Oval.  $1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ . Inscribed (top): "A la Yankee." One of two sketches on album page.  
c. An Outside  
Pen and ink. Oval:  $1\frac{1}{8} \times 1\frac{1}{16}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (at left): An Outside. One of two sketches on album page.  
d. Group of Figures at West Point  
Attributed to Whistler. Pencil, ink.  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . C. 1852–1854.  
e. Two Lovers and an Old Woman  
Pen and ink.  $2\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{16}$ .  
The face of the old woman is nearly identical to that of the chaperone in the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum album of a flirtation scene in a church interior, acc. no. 1970.121.16.  
f. The Corkscrew  
Pen and ink. Sketch on album page. Sheet size:  $8\frac{1}{16} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$ . Signed (right of center): J.W. Inscribed (bottom center): The Corkscrew.
48. Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels  
Pen and ink.  $6\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{8}$ . Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (bottom): Position of a Soldier: Annihilation of the Bowels. Later annotation in pencil by another hand: J. McN. Whistler / 1852.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.
49. The Admiration of the Furloughmen  
Pen and ink.  $4\frac{1}{16} \times 4\frac{1}{4}$ . Signed (lower right): J.W. Inscribed (across bottom): The Admiration of the Furloughmen. Later annotation by another hand (in pencil, lower right): Whistler.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.
50. Merit It's Own Reward  
Pen and ink, wash.  $6\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$ . Signed (lower left): J.W. Inscribed (bottom center): Merit it's own Reward. / or / The best man leads off the Squad. Later annotation by another hand (in pencil, lower right): J. McN. Whistler / 1852.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.
51. Sketches on the upper half of the back of a prospectus for Racine College  
Pen and ink. Sheet size:  $9\frac{3}{4} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$ .  
a. At top: Three Cadets  
Inscribed (at left): Cadet Whistler / and other members of / the 21st look on!  
b. Below: Willie Whistler and Camarades  
Inscribed (below): Willie Whistler and "Camarades" on their way to / Chapel after putting on the Canockls.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.  
Lower half of sheet contains sketches done at a later date and signed with butterfly signature. Sketch a is very similar in style and in the positioning of the figures to no. 50. The prospectus announces the second session to begin on January 5, 1853. The president of the college was Rev. Roswell Park, former head of the Christ Church Hall School, which Whistler attended in Pomfret.
52. One of the Board  
Pen and ink. Inscribed (at bottom): One of the Board.  
Coll.: Thomas Childs, Esq., as of 1908.
53. Title page from school book, with sketches  
Coll.: Thomas Childs, Esq., as of 1908.  
Reproduced in Pennell, *Life*, I, opposite p. 34.
54. Christmas Comes but Once a Year  
Present whereabouts unknown.  
Drinking scene in cadet barracks.
55. Sketches in Cadet Peyton H. Colquitt's algebra book, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York, 1852  
Sheet size:  $9\frac{3}{8} \times 7\frac{13}{16}$ .  
Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Bequest.  
a. Boning and Not Boning  
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink. Inscribed (below upper sketch): Boning; and (below lower sketch): Not Boning.  
b. Oriental figure, chemistry experiment, and other sketches  
End paper: Pen and ink, wash.  
c. Oriental figure and other sketches  
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink.  
d. Soldier  
End paper: Pencil, pen and ink, wash. Inscribed (right of sketch): Will ye plaze to step on / the tail av me Coat? Inscribed elsewhere on the sheet: U.S. Military Academy / May 17.th 1852.  
e. Cloister interior(?) with two monks  
P. 41. Pen and ink, wash.

Nos. 56–60 were in the possession of Mrs. Cornelia Taylor Long, Winston-Salem, North Carolina, as of 1936. Their present whereabouts is not known. The sketches originally belonged to William Robertson Boggs, who was adjunct of the Corps of Cadets at West Point while Whistler was there. They are all reproduced in Hinshaw, "Whistler's First Drawings," pp. 736–741.

56. Plebs "Policing" the Camp and A Caged Cadet  
Pen and ink.
57. The Valentine  
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom center): The Valentine. Suggested, along with no. 58, by Dickens's *Pickwick Papers*.
58. Sam Weller and Mary Fold a Carpet  
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom center): Sam Weller and Mary Fold a carpet.
59. Sketches of a West Point drummer and a cadet playing a flute, and numerous drawings of babies  
Pen and ink.
60. Sketches of Russian Soldiers  
Pen and ink. Inscribed (bottom left): Russian Dragoon.
61. Milkmaids  
Watercolor. 18 × 25. C. 1852–1854.  
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point.  
Probably touched up by Robert W. Weir.
62. A Man Dispensing Alms  
Pen and ink. 30 × 22. C. 1853.  
Coll.: United States Military Academy, West Point, gift of Col. Larned along with Milkmaids.  
This sketch, drawn after an unidentified print, was also probably touched up by Weir. A drawing of the identical scene by George Cattermole, dated 1864 and entitled "The Unknown" Dispensing Alms from *I Promessi Sposi*, was sold at Christie's, London, July 13, 1971, no. 274.
63. Seated Monk  
Watercolor and gouache. 11 $\frac{7}{8}$  × 15 $\frac{3}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J. Whistler. Inscribed on verso: Presented to Cadet A. K. Leigh by his affectionate room-mate / Cadet James A. Whistler.  
Coll.: City Art Museum of St. Louis, gift of W. R. Bixby, 1923.  
Bristol, "The Earliest Portrait," p. 232, believes this to be a portrait of Whistler. Col. Larned disputes this contention and identifies it as a copy of an old print used by Weir in his drawing classes. Pennell, *Life*, I, p. 32.

Nos. 64–67, four drawings in the Beaverbrook Art Gallery, Fredericton, New Brunswick, Canada (59–278–81), drawn in an album originally belonging to Maria "Kitty" Bailey, daughter of Jacob Whitman Bailey, Professor of Chemistry at West Point.

64. Prison Scene with an Old Man  
Pen and ink. 5 × 6. Signed (bottom right): J Whistler.
65. Prison Scene  
Pen and ink. 5 × 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Signed (bottom right): J. [Whistler?].
66. Girl with a Lamp  
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  × 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ . Signed (bottom right): J.W.
67. Head of a Man  
Pen and ink. 2 × 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ .
68. Man with Hat  
Pencil. 7 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 6 $\frac{1}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J. Whistler.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.  
Found in 1933 along with no. 69 by Lillian McNeill Palmer in a trunk under the eaves of the Palmer home-  
stead in Stonington, Connecticut. Probably dates c. 1852–1854.
69. Cemetery, Stonington, Connecticut  
Pen and ink, pencil, on black-bordered stationery. Sheet size: 4 $\frac{3}{8}$  × 7 $\frac{1}{8}$ . Signed (lower right): J W.  
Coll.: Library of Congress.  
According to Miss Palmer the scene depicted is the cemetery in which Whistler's father is buried.
- Nos. 70–74, five drawings in *The Art Institute of Chicago*, probably dating from the West Point period. These have not been seen by the author.
70. Recto: young cadet or soldier in fanciful hussar uniform; verso: head and man in a top hat  
Recto: pen and ink over pencil; verso: pencil. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ . (34.680.)
71. Lancer  
Pen and ink. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{7}{8}$ . (27.5881.)
72. Soldier with Lance and Fur Cap  
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ . (27.5878.)
73. Policeman and Citizen  
Pen and ink. 3 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ . (27.5879.)
74. Gendarme  
Pencil, pen and ink. 5 $\frac{1}{8}$  × 2 $\frac{3}{8}$ . (27.5880.)

75. Four sketches in a journal written sometime between July 1854 and July 1855  
 Pen and ink. Sheet size:  $8\frac{1}{8} \times 11\frac{1}{8}$ .  
 Coll.: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1970.121.85-87.  
 a. Figure in monk's cowl, possibly Whistler  
 Inscribed (below): "Nulla dies sine linea."  
 b. Two sketches of an old man whom Whistler imagines reading the journal many years hence  
 c. Whistler changing his cadet clothes for a new Plebe's attire
76. P. B. S. in Amos Palmer's Shop  
 Pen and ink on blue lined paper.  $6 \times 7\frac{3}{4}$ . Inscribed and dated (bottom right): P. B. S. in Amos Palmer's Shop—Sept. 29th/54.  
 Coll.: University of Glasgow, Birnie-Philip Collection, B.P. II Res. 11/6.
77. Eleven sketches in letter to "Paul" in Stonington written from the Winans home in Baltimore, late October, 1854  
 Pen and ink. Sheet size:  $13\frac{3}{8} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$ .  
 Coll.: Library of Congress.
78. Portrait of John Ross Key  
 Pastel, crayon, and chalk.  $20\frac{1}{4} \times 12\frac{1}{4}$ . C. late 1854.  
 Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (08.200).
79. The Cobbler: Sam Weller's Lodgings in the Fleet Prison  
 Watercolor.  $4\frac{1}{8} \times 5\frac{7}{8}$ . C. late 1854.  
 Coll.: Freer Gallery of Art (05.332).
80. Coast Survey Plate No. 1  
 Etching: Plate size:  $5\frac{3}{8} \times 10\frac{3}{8}$ . Signed (at left below sketch of Boston Harbor at top): JW.  
 Coll.: Plate is in the Freer Gallery of Art.
81. Standard Bearer  
 Lithograph. Plate line:  $8 \times 5\frac{5}{8}$ . Signed on stone (lower left): J. Whistler. Annotated on verso (in pencil, center): J. Whistler, fecit / Baltimore. 1855. 17 July / to / Frank B. Mayer.; and (in pencil, lower left): FM from J. Whistler / Balto. July 17, 1855—.  
 Coll.: Unique impression, Library of Congress.  
 Annotations by Frank B. Mayer.