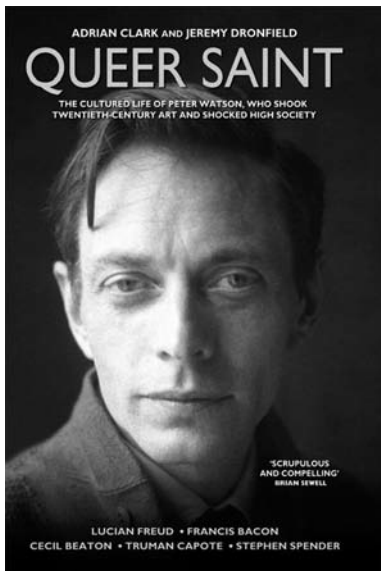


The art collection of Peter Watson (1908–1956)

Adrian Clark



The co-author of a new biography of Peter Watson identifies the works of art in his collection: Adrian Clark and Jeremy Dronfield, Peter Watson, *Queer Saint. The cultured life of Peter Watson who shook 20th-century art and shocked high society*, John Blake Publishing Ltd, pp415, £25 ISBN 978-1784186005

Peter Watson (1908–1956) was of considerable cultural significance in the mid-20th-century art

world. He was on the Board of the London Gallery in the 1930s¹ at a time when it was one of the leading Surrealist galleries in London. He paid for the publication of *Horizon* (Pl 2) throughout its life 1940–1950.² As its art editor he was actively involved in promoting the work of young British artists, including Francis Bacon, Robert Colquhoun, John Craxton, Lucian Freud, Eduardo Paolozzi and Ceri Richards; and also the work of other modern artists, such as Balthus, Klee, Lam, Matta and Miró, whose work did not get a lot of exposure in England in print at the time. He persuaded some distinguished writers on art to contribute, such as Kenneth Clark, Douglas Cooper, Clement Greenberg, Philip Hendy, Robin Ironside, Robert Melville (see Pl 1), Herbert Read and John Rothenstein; he even got contributions from artists themselves, such as de Chirico, John Piper, Graham Sutherland, Michael Rothenstein and Ben Nicholson. Although he wrote little original work himself for *Horizon*, he contributed a piece on Miró in 1941 (see Pl 2) and a piece on Craxton and Sutherland,³ as well as translating a number of contributions from authors writing in French.

As *Horizon* declined during the second half of the 1940s, as Cyril Connolly grew bored with having to edit it and not having time for his own writing, Watson turned his attention to helping the newly formed Institute of Contemporary Arts in London. He was involved in it almost from the beginning, being brought in by Roland Penrose and Herbert Read to assist with money and ideas. Once it started to establish itself in the late 1940s, Watson encouraged it to exhibit some of his favourite artists who had already been covered in *Horizon*. Francis Bacon got his first ever retrospective at the ICA,⁴ Wifredo Lam got a show,⁵ as did Matta⁶ and Paolozzi.⁷

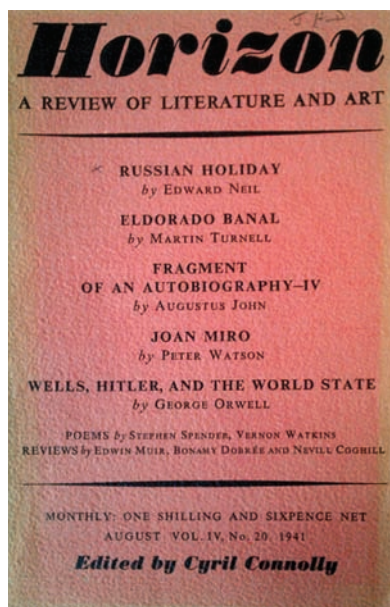
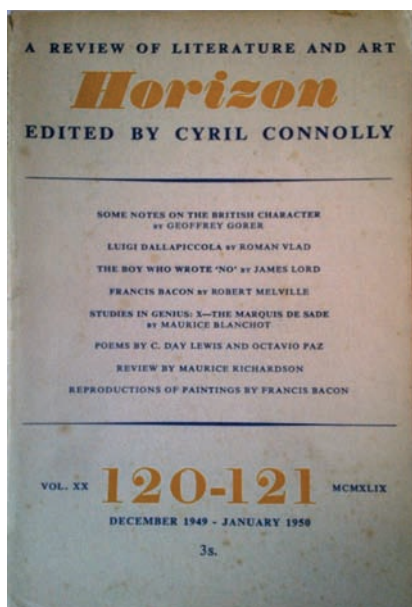
From early in the 1930s through to his death in 1956, Watson collected, and occasionally sold, a wide variety of modern English and foreign art.⁸ This study begins the process of analysing Watson's significant art collection, both in London and in Paris before the War, the details of which have not previ-

ously been assembled.⁹ Generally speaking, he only collected the work of non-British artists until the War, when circumstances forced him to live in London for a prolonged period and he became familiar with the contemporary British art world.

The Russian émigré artist Pavel Tchelitchev was one of the first artists whose works Watson began to collect, buying a picture by him at an exhibition in London as early as July 1932¹⁰ (when Watson was twenty-three).¹¹ Then in February and March 1933 Watson bought pictures by him from Tooth's in London.¹² Having lived in Paris for considerable periods in the second half of the 1930s and got to know the contemporary French art scene, Watson left Paris for London at the start of the War and subsequently dispatched to America for safekeeping Picasso's *La Femme Lisant* of 1934.¹³ The picture came under the control of his boyfriend Denham Fouts.¹⁴ According to Isherwood's thinly veiled fictional account,¹⁵ Fouts sold the picture to someone he met at a party for \$9,500.¹⁶ Watson took with him few, if any, pictures from Paris to London and he left a Romanian friend, Sherban Sidery, to look after his empty flat at 44 rue du Bac in the VII^e arrondissement. Sidery was to prove no match for the ruthless German war machine.

The Einsatzstab Reichsleiter Rosenberg (ERR) was set up in 1940 to seize Jewish art collections.¹⁷ Objects located in Paris were gathered together, mostly at the Jeu de Paume in the Tuileries, and catalogued. Many pre-20th-century pictures were allocated to Goering or to Hitler for their own personal collections;¹⁸ other pictures were exchanged, sold or marked down for destruction if they were felt to be too 'degenerate'. Many seized works of art were valuable, but not wanted by the German authorities, and various European art dealers exchanged pictures in their possession, such as works by Dürer, Rubens, Rembrandt and Cranach, for the Impressionists and modern art which the Germans did not want to keep.¹⁹

The activities of the ERR were, inevitably in view of the tremendous value of the art involved, a murky business. Not long after they had plundered the major collections of distinguished wealthy Jewish families such as the Rothschilds, they arrived at 44 rue du Bac, the flat of the absent, non-Jewish Englishman, Peter Watson, probably on the basis of a tip-off from friendly voices in the Paris art world, who had sold the pictures to Watson in the first place, or from Sherban Sidery. They even knew that there were other pictures belonging to Watson stored for safekeeping in the vaults of the Banque Nationale pour le Commerce et l'Industrie. First, on 2 December 1940, the Devisenschutzkommando (DSK)²⁰ raided the bank²¹ and took the pictures belonging to Watson and then, on 9 December, the ERR raided the flat. Twenty pictures were listed,²² including three Klees, a Gris, a Miró, two works by Max Ernst, a Picasso, a Tanguy and a Brion Gysin.²³ A group of pictures reached the main depository at the Jeu de Paume on 28 January 1941. Some works were subsequently marked for destruction and some were said to have been destroyed; towards the end of the German occupation of Paris others were put on a train bound for Germany, which, owing to extensive delaying tactics deployed by the French Resistance,



was still sitting in a siding outside a Paris railway station when the Allies liberated the city in August 1944.²⁴

After the War, Watson tried to recover his property. Many pictures probably circulated back into the hands of the French art market and on to private collections around the world, where they would be virtually impossible to find. Watson compiled a list²⁵ of the pictures he remembered having before the War, differing extensively from the list compiled by the ERR. Those pictures found on the train were restituted at the end of 1945, but were of little value, except an oil by Gris (*Le Lad*)²⁶ and a picture by Klee. Subsequently, a picture by Fernandez was returned.²⁷ From time to time, Watson wrote to the French authorities asking if anything else had been found.

One of the extraordinary people in uniform at the end of the War, trying to discover whether valuable looted art works had found their way to Switzerland, was the irascible, occasionally preposterous, and always combatively controversial art collector Douglas Cooper.²⁸ Cooper was commissioned by the Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives Branch of the relevant Allied authority to rummage about among the secretive and closed Swiss art world to see whether he could locate stolen art, and he identified in the Kunstmuseum in Basle a picture by Salvador Dalí which he called 'La Côte', which had been owned by Watson but had not been listed by the ERR; and yet it had left the flat, presumably through Sidery, and passed via two art dealers whom Watson knew well, and who would have known that the picture belonged to him, and ended up in the collection of a major Swiss art gallery.²⁹

Cooper assumed that the Dalí had been taken by the Nazis. It was not listed in the official ERR records, but the DSK list noted works by Dalí.³⁰ Presumably some stolen works failed to find their way into the official ERR system and were traded outside that system for somebody's benefit. Alternatively it is possible that Sherban Sidery had disposed of some of the pictures before the Germans got there and that he managed to persuade the DSK that some of the pictures they found in the bank vault belonged to him and not to Watson.³¹ The trail showed that the picture had come into the possession of the Parisian art dealers, Renou et Colle.³² Watson was a friend of Pierre Colle,³³ and became highly suspicious of him when he learnt the fate of his Dalí. The picture had then been sold to another friend of Watson,

1, 2, 3 Issues of *Horizon*, supported by Peter Watson
 Pl 1 1949–50, including essay by Robert Melville on Francis Bacon
 Pl 2 1941, including essay by Watson on Joan Miró
 Pl 3 1945, the French issue of

Albert Skira,³⁴ who sold it to a gallery in Zurich and from there the picture had reached the Kunstmuseum.³⁵ Skira only narrowly avoided serious post-War repercussions with the Allied authorities for trading in looted art because Watson withdrew his allegations against him.³⁶

On 5 April 1947 Watson wrote to the French authorities in a state of some excitement. While passing the Paris shop of the picture dealer, V. Raykis,³⁷ he had spotted in the window a picture by Rouault called *Les Faubourgs*, which he had bought in 1936 from the dealer Joseph Hersel.³⁸ He got this picture back. There were other interesting pictures that Watson said had been in the flat but which the ERR did not record as being seized and which were clearly part of the DSK haul: a picture called *Pêche et verre* of 1926 by Braque; the de Chirico picture *Melanconia* of 1914, which he had bought at Zwemmer in London in June 1937, together with *Souche et Colonnade* by the same artist; three works by Rouault, one of which was the one he spotted in Raykis' shop; and three works by Dalí, listed as *Deux personnages (scène exotique)*, of 1934, *Personnages sur le désert* of 1934 and *Perspectives* of 1937.³⁹

Dalí was one of the artists whose pictures Watson had collected extensively before the War.⁴⁰ In addition to *Perspectives* and the pictures on his Paris list, he owned *Apparition de ma cousine Carolinette sur la plage de Rosas* (1934); the *Court ouest de l'île des morts* of 1934;⁴¹ and a picture of 1934, *The moment of transition*.⁴² It is likely that he owned the famous *Soft construction with Boiled Beans* of 1936.⁴³ (He may have later acquired *Erotic Beach* of 1950, which the artist subsequently said he had painted specifically for him.)⁴⁴

When Watson and Cyril Connolly arrived at the empty flat in July 1945, scattered pawnbrokers' tickets suggested what Sidery might have been doing with those contents of the flat not taken by the ERR. Watson was able to buy back one of the pictures by de Chirico from his friend, the French artist Christian Bérard (1902–1949), who had presumably acquired

it via Sidery. After the War Watson repopulated the flat in Paris with at least some pictures.⁴⁵ The English artist Michael Wishart (1928–1996) noted a picture by Tchelitchev there.⁴⁶ Also, Watson's friend, Nancy Cunard, writing in the *Burlington Magazine* in July 1945⁴⁷ about the preservation of France's national art treasures during the War, mentioned that Watson owned in his Paris flat a fine picture by Bérard.

When considering the pictures that Watson owned in England, it is appropriate to start with mention of Watson's great admirer, Cecil Beaton,⁴⁸ who claimed in his diaries⁴⁹ that he had introduced Watson to art. Beaton provides a glimpse of what he saw in Watson's house in Shepherd's Close in Mayfair in the early 1930s and, in what is the earliest mention of pictures owned by Watson, he said he saw works by Bérard, Dalí, Renoir and Derain.

During the war, the young Scottish painters Colquhoun and Macbryde⁵⁰ came to stay with Watson in his flat at 10 Palace Gate in London W8, Macbryde in November 1940 and Colquhoun in February 1941. In a letter to his old art-school teacher, Ian Fleming, Macbryde noted⁵¹ 'two excellent Chris Woods... one of Ben Nicholson's latest landscapes, a good Max Ernst, a good Henry Moore, a J. Tunnard, a Joan Miró, a Graham Sutherland, a Maxwell⁵²... a bronze head by Renoir, a Duncan Grant,⁵³ a good Soutine'.

The most useful list of Watson's paintings comes from the Hanover Gallery ledgers.⁵⁴ After Watson died in 1956,⁵⁵ his works of art passed to Norman Fowler, who disposed of some of the pictures over a fairly short period. There is a list of 29 pictures in the ledgers of pictures that the gallery bought from Fowler and sold on, including five works by Lucian Freud. A pen and ink *Man in a Jersey* of 1947/1948 was bought by the gallery from Fowler for £80 and sold on 8 March 1958 for £100, when the buyer was the artist himself. An oil on canvas portrait of Watson⁵⁶ was bought for £15 on 9 July 1958 and sold for £25 to Bill Lieberman,⁵⁷ a curator at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. A highly finished drawing of Watson (June 1945) cost the Hanover £40 and was sold to the Victoria & Albert Museum for £60 on 30 October 1958. Two less interesting Freuds were either brought in later by Fowler for sale or else took a very long time to sell. We also know from the Lefevre sale ledgers⁵⁸ that Watson bought Freud's *Oil-bound Puffin* for 13 guineas on 1 December 1944. This picture, from October 1944, was a pen & ink drawing with crayon. It sold at Bonhams in London on 29 May 2013 for £385,250.⁵⁹

Other works by English artists included two Sutherlands: *Two Standing Forms* of about 1950, sold on 29 April 1958 for £45 (having cost £30); and the major *Damp Tree Roots* of 1939, bought from Fowler for £300 and sold on 3 March 1959 to that great English collector, and the most important of Francis Bacon's early collectors, Jimmy Bomford,⁶⁰ for £500. There were three works by Piper and a *Head* by Reg Butler. Otherwise the works were by foreign artists: a Nolde water-colour; a *Composition* by Matta, for which they paid Fowler £400 and which they sold for £500; seven works by André Masson, most of which were sold for quite low prices, except a picture of 1941 *Le Coq et la rose*, which went for £300 in February 1961 and a 1949 oil on canvas *Le bain des hommes*, for which they paid £350 and which they managed to sell for £750 in February 1960.⁶¹ Two pictures by Jankel Adler, *Girl and Cat* and *Still Life with Bird*, were sold to Hecht in 1958. The Surrealist poet David Gascoyne (1916–2001), a great friend of Watson, had noted an Adler in the flat Watson briefly occupied in Berkeley Square in 1940. There was also a picture by Fernandez in 1959, which may have been the work recov-

ered for Watson by the French authorities after the War, sold for just under £300. Two works by Tal Coat fetched £320 and £450. There was an Alexander Calder gouache of 1946, which sold for £100, and two unsold works.

These sales may have represented what Fowler regarded as the tail-end of the collection. (He sold separately Braque's *Reclining Female Nude* in November 1956.) A more significant group of Watson's art was displayed at the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh in 1957 as 'The Peter Watson Collection', on loan from Fowler. All the works appear to have been subsequently sold by Fowler at some point. The details of the show in an article in the *Carnegie Magazine* for February 1957⁶² hint at the riches that Watson still had when he died. For example, there is a photograph of a Gris collage of 1914 and mention of another Gris figure-piece of 1926. Another collage was by Henri Laurens and by the same artist were a large drawing and a small cast of a female figure. Other sculptures included a Picasso *Cock*, a piece by the Italian sculptor Marino Marini and two Giacometti bronzes (a small bust and a painted female figure), together with examples of Mexican and African sculpture. There were works by Henry Moore, Rodin, Renoir, de Staël⁶³ and Jacques Lipchitz; drawings by Picasso, Léger and Braque; and big oils by Dubuffet and Giacometti. There was the well-known portrait of Watson as a young man wearing armour by Pavel Tchelitchev and there was a picture called *Deux Têtes* by Picasso. Quite out of character, but often noted by visitors to his flat in Palace Gate, was an oil by Nicolas Poussin, probably *Paysage avec dieu-fleuve*.⁶⁴

The records of the Lefevre Gallery⁶⁵ contain letters to and from Watson from September 1937 to October 1948, usually from gallery director Duncan Macdonald (who died in 1948), which are intriguing.

We have seen how Watson claimed to have lost two de Chiricos from the Paris flat during the War and it would seem that there were others in London. In 1936 he had lent to the International Surrealist Exhibition in London de Chirico's *The Prophet*. On 30 September 1937 Lefevre wrote to him asking him to bring in 'the other de Chirico'. Shortly afterwards, Watson asks them to send both his de Chiricos to the Matisse Gallery in New York,⁶⁶ presumably so that they could be sold. Watson seems regularly to have sold pictures, partly no doubt because he always lived in small houses or flats and would have had no room to display an expanding collection.

In January 1938 the gallery returned to him Dalí's *The moment of transition*, which he had lent for an exhibition. In November 1938, Watson tried to agree terms for the sale of Renoir's *Woman and Child*, a painting eventually sold in America for £1,000, which is what Lefevre told him he had originally paid for it.⁶⁷ Watson asked them to keep the money in dollars in an American bank account. Watson was an inveterate traveller and there were to be many grumbles from him after the War about the difficulties of moving his money around between England, France and America, because of tight exchange control restrictions.

At the end of 1939 the gallery delivered to him in Berkeley Square a Sutherland that he had bought and later a Ben Nicholson. In January 1940 Watson bought for £20 from a Lefevre show called 'Art of Today' a landscape by Nicholson, *Halse Town, Cornwall, Version 1* (which may be the picture noted by Robert Macbryde at Palace Gate in February 1941). Then came another sale, this time of *Flower Piece* by Derain, again sold in New York. In the middle of 1942, the gallery noted that he already owned a Renoir bronze, *Coco* (also noted by Macbryde), and that he might be interested in buy-

ing from them Renoir's *Buste de Claude*. The same letter also noted that he had sold a picture by Matthew Smith.⁶⁸ In January 1943 he asked if he could swap his Frances Hodgkins still-life for a landscape: 'I do not think I would like to live with a still life. I would rather wait until a landscape came along. I hope this will not be too annoying for you.'

In February 1943 Macdonald asked Watson to bring in a Derain and his Soutine (mentioned by Macbryde, but so far unidentified)⁶⁹ and subsequently asked whether *Horizon* could cover their French exhibition, while also thanking him for the loan of a picture by the French Cubist Roger de la Fresnaye. Nothing if not commercial, the gallery thought it appropriate to remind Watson to settle the sum of 7 guineas that he owed for a Julian Trevelyan drawing.

There were then some exchanges in 1944 about the Italian-born painter Corrado Cagli, who was serving in the US Army as a corporal (one of the pictures seized from the Paris flat was by Cagli). On 6 June 1944, the Lefevre ledgers record that Watson bought a *Mother & Child* drawing for 7 guineas. There are also mentions of the gallery selling a Braque for him. More importantly, there are fascinating discussions between them about works by Picasso. Lefevre during 1944 were altering a frame for a Picasso that Watson had bought and also discussing with him the possible purchase by him of Picasso's *L'Arlequin*. It is impossible to tell exactly which Picasso pictures were involved. The ledgers show that Watson bought Picasso's *Le Journal* on 12 November 1943 for £1,200. On 18 July 1944 Macdonald mentions Picasso's *Deux Têtes* and this may well be the one illustrated in the catalogue of the 1957 show at the Carnegie Institute. On the same date Watson said he wanted to return a Picasso in exchange for 'the smaller head', commenting, 'I really much prefer that picture as I consider he has gone a bit too far in the one I have!' The next letter, on 24 July, suggested that it was *L'Arlequin* which Watson had turned against, as Macdonald asked him to return it. The return of the Picasso meant that the gallery now owed him some money, as its cost had been £900. Watson had paid with a cheque for £800 and a part-exchange of a picture by the French naïve painter Camille Bombois valued at £100. (It is interesting to note that Watson's taste occasionally extended to the naïve, and in 1954 he lent a picture by the French naïve painter André Bauchant to the ICA exhibition 'Sunday Painters'.) Macdonald offered to make up the difference by selling Watson a Renoir or a Rouault and perhaps this is what happened, as the gallery cheque when sent was for £450, implying that a picture or two made up the difference. In April 1945 the gallery thanked Watson for the loan of two Picassos for their School of Paris exhibition. One was referred to as a *Head* of 1926. The Soutine was also mentioned as needing to come in for a small repair.

Roland, Browse and Delbanco was not a gallery that Watson dealt with very often. In the surviving gallery records,⁷⁰ there are only two references to his buying things there. On 8 October 1948 he bought a Henry Moore *Family Group* for £126, which is perhaps the group shown on the cover of the Carnegie Institute magazine. Then on 7 May 1953 he bought a Rodin statue *Polyphème* for £288. The major piece of sculpture that Watson owned by Henry Moore was *Reclining Woman* (1930), in green Hornton stone (National Gallery of Canada). He probably acquired this piece direct from the artist and it was in Watson's possession by 1944, when it was mentioned by Herbert Read as being owned by him. It remained in Watson's possession until his death, although at some point he lent it to the architect Ernö Goldfinger for his garden at 2 Willow Road in Hampstead. Alan Jarvis, the director of the National Gallery of Canada, approached Watson in

1955 with a view to buying the piece. Watson did not sell then, but following his death in 1956 Jarvis was able to persuade Fowler to sell it to him for £2,000.⁷¹ Watson also bought a bronze cast of the maquette for *Reclining Figure No. 4* of 1952 from the Leicester Galleries⁷² in May 1954.⁷³

Watson owned other pictures by Gris apart from *Le Lad*, which vanished from the rue du Bac. He owned the major work *Tasse, verres et bouteilles (le journal)* of 1914, which he lent in 1948 to the ICA exhibition of '40 years of Modern Art'⁷⁴ (and which is probably the picture shown at the Carnegie Institute). This was sold by Fowler to the Knoedler Gallery in New York and later sold at Christie's in London in June 1999 for £3 million. He also owned *L'Arlequin Assis* of 1923, which was originally for sale through the Galerie Simon in Paris, which may be where he bought it. It was recorded⁷⁵ as being sold in Geneva on 10 March 1951, presumably by Watson.

Klee is another artist whose work Watson favoured, and he visited him with Stephen Spender before the War⁷⁶ in Berne shortly before the artist's death. He lent *Quaking Chapel* ('Bebende Kapelle') of 1924 to the ICA exhibition referred to above. This is not obviously one of the pictures seized by the Germans, although it might be. It is now on loan to the Hamburg Kunsthalle. Spender commented, 'I remember him [Watson] saying to me once about Paul Klee, that there was something that painters like Klee did which had never been done before, and this was to paint interior light shining outwards.'

There was a picture by Balthus in the *Horizon* offices at 53 Bedford Square, London, in 1948/1949, almost certainly bought by Watson.⁷⁷ The Balthus catalogue raisonné⁷⁸ records one picture of 1940, *Le Cerisier* (no. 128), as being owned by Cyril Connolly in 1956 (the year of Watson's death). It had been exhibited in Paris in late 1946 and, if this is the same picture, Watson may well have bought it then.⁷⁹ One of the accompanying illustrations was of a picture that was almost certainly the same one, *Les Cerisiers* of 1940. When *Horizon* closed down in 1950, its effects were stored away and it may be that Connolly decided that he owned some of them after Watson's death.

Dubuffet was another example of an artist favoured by Watson to the extent that the ICA held an exhibition of his paintings, drawings and sculptures from 29 March–30 April 1955, when the catalogue text by Georges Limbour was translated by Watson. Watson lent two works to the exhibition: *Vaches au pré* of 1954 (an oil on canvas), and *Le Montreur de statuettes*, a work on paper.⁸⁰ We know from the Carnegie exhibition that Watson still owned a Dubuffet oil at the time of his death, and we also know from a letter from him to the French critic Michel Leiris (1901–1990), from the period 1954–1956,⁸¹ that Watson had a Dubuffet charcoal stolen from his flat in London.

Apart from the pictures by Max Ernst that vanished in Paris, we also know from Macbryde that Watson had at least one work by Ernst in Palace Gate during the War. In John Craxton's archives⁸² there is an invoice for £148 from the Redfern Gallery addressed to Watson and dated 9 August 1940 for a picture by Ernst, *La Forêt*.⁸³

Watson had his portrait painted by Giacometti in Paris in 1953.⁸⁴ The Carnegie show had two Giacometti bronzes and a large oil and there was a sculpture by Giacometti of four walking people on a plinth in the *Horizon* offices at Bedford Square.⁸⁵ The original plaster for this was executed in Paris in 1948 and an edition of six was cast in 1949. Watson acquired number 3 and the provenance shows the next owner as Cyril Connolly. Presumably, as with the picture by Balthus, Connolly chose to regard works in *Horizon*'s offices as

belonging to himself, either after the journal ceased publication in 1950 or when Watson died in 1956.

Macbryde mentions the existence of a picture by Joan Miró in Palace Gate in February 1941, an artist whose work Watson was particularly keen on, and he wrote an article on him for *Horizon*.⁸⁶

For the ICA exhibition '40,000 years of Modern Art' in 1948 Watson lent a large watercolour of 1946 by his Cuban Surrealist friend, Wifredo Lam, *Annunciation*, and a small bronze sculpture by Jacques Lipchitz also of 1946, *Pegasus* (which may have been the work by Lipchitz that was later to be seen at the Carnegie Institute). Apart from the work by Matta sold by Fowler to the Hanover Gallery, Watson also owned another picture, *L'Exampleur*, of 1949, which was offered for sale by Sotheby's in New York in 2010 with an estimate of \$400,000–600,000 and with a provenance of Watson followed by Roland Penrose.⁸⁷

Turning to the works of other British artists that he owned, some mystery surrounds Watson's ownership of a picture by Francis Bacon. According to Alley's catalogue raisonné,⁸⁸ Watson owned no. 73, *Study of the Human Head* of 1953. Watson was asked to lend a Bacon to the exhibition put on by the Arts Council as part of the Festival of Britain in 1951 called 'British Painting 1925–1950'. This exhibition was divided into two parts and the curator of the first part, David Baxandall, asked Watson if he would lend his Bacon, which Watson refused.⁸⁹ The first thing to note here is the date, which long precedes the work referred to in the catalogue raisonné. Watson may have owned an earlier Bacon⁹⁰ and then made the mistake of returning the picture to the artist for 'retouching'. In Andrew Sinclair's biography of Bacon⁹¹ he says that this is what happened and that the artist destroyed the picture. (This story is corroborated by Watson's Surrealist friend, Toni del Renzio, talking many years later to the Director of the ICA, Dorothy Morland.)⁹²

Apart from Freud and Bacon, we have seen that Fowler disposed of two Sutherlands through the Hanover Gallery. The best-known work that Watson owned by Sutherland was *Entrance to a Lane* now in the Tate.⁹³ The picture had been bought by Watson from the Leicester Galleries in 1940 and John Rothenstein persuaded Watson to sell it to the Tate in 1953 for £600. Another well-known Sutherland picture that he owned was *Gorse on a sea wall*, which was still in Norman Fowler's possession when Douglas Cooper came to write his book on Sutherland in 1961.⁹⁴ Various other less well-known works were listed in Douglas Cooper's book as being in Fowler's possession.

Watson was very friendly with and supportive towards John Craxton. The major picture that he owned and later gave back to the artist was Craxton's *Poet in Landscape*. We know Watson owned this because in 1948 he paid for the publication of a small book on Craxton's work, with text by Geoffrey Grigson, which listed various pictures as being owned by Watson.⁹⁵ In 1948 Craxton painted a very large picture dedicated to Watson, *Pastoral for PW*.⁹⁶ On their trip to Pembrokeshire together in 1943, Watson, Craxton and Sutherland had experienced beautiful weather and Watson had triggered Craxton's interest in going to Greece by comparing the light and the sparse Welsh landscape to that of Greece. Subsequently visiting Greece after the War, Craxton had taken to painting goats, and this picture includes them. After Watson died, Craxton painted *Elegiac Figure (in memory of Peter Watson)* in 1959. Watson also owned a version of Craxton's first Greek landscape, from 1946, *Hotel by the Sea*,

together with *Aldbolt Mill*⁹⁷ and a *Grey Goat* painted in the later 1940s.⁹⁸

John Banting was a great friend of Watson's friend, Brian Howard, and Watson owned a picture of 1935 by him, *His Royal Highness*, which was also lent to the ICA exhibition '40 years of Modern Art' in 1948. There are tantalising references over the years to Watson owning pictures by John Piper and, for example, in the Penguin Modern Painters book on John Piper of 1944⁹⁹ there was a picture reproduced, *Ruined Cottage* of 1940, that Watson owned. We have seen that three works were sold by Fowler (Watson also owned at least one picture by Gerald Wilde).¹⁰⁰

As mentioned by Macbryde, Watson owned a picture by the Scottish artist John Maxwell whose *Bird Bath* came up for sale with a Watson provenance at Christie's in October 1999. Watson clearly had some interest in him, as Keith Vaughan in his journals¹⁰¹ records hearing Watson during the early years of the War talking to David Gascoyne about Maxwell's work. Watson bought *Bird Bath* in 1940. In May 1942 an article appeared in *Horizon* on 'Scottish Paintings' by John Tonge, and Maxwell was mentioned and a picture of his was illustrated.

Robert Bühler painted Watson's portrait. It is not known if Watson ever owned it or where it now is. He did own a picture by John Tunnard, *Man and Woman*, a work of 1940 that Watson bought in June of that year (and which is probably the picture seen by Macbryde).¹⁰² In another example of Watson's buying works by friends, Michael Wishart records his gratitude for Watson's purchase of a large work of his early in his career. Watson also owned at least three pictures by Christopher Wood, *The Rug Seller*, *Treboul*, *Dancers Conversing* of 1926¹⁰³ and an unidentified *Flower Painting*, which he told Craxton in September 1941 that he had sold at the Redfern. The first picture was either bought by the Redfern from Watson or they sold it on his behalf on 14 October 1948 for £850. It is not known if Watson ever actually bought a picture by Robert Colquhoun, but he was given a 'small painting' by the artist in thanks for letting him and Macbryde stay in Watson's flat in Palace Gate.¹⁰⁴

As regards modern English sculpture, we have seen mention of Moore and Reg Butler. Watson also owned a work by Barbara Hepworth, *Sculpture with Colour (Deep Blue and Red)* of 1940, a version of which is in the Tate.¹⁰⁵ Watson bought a sculpture by Eduardo Paolozzi in the 1950s.¹⁰⁶

The breadth of Watson's collections of modern art is notable. His taste was up to date, although rarely straying into abstract work. As he wrote to Nic Calas in late 1947: 'The new wave of abstractionism in painting is to me a great bore. Painting will die without images; patterns and syrup tones of colour are not enough.' In this attitude he was fully aligned with most English art critics of the time. His collections should perhaps be thought of as simply one aspect of his association with the art world and with artists. He developed a keen eye for important works by important artists but he also took great pleasure, particularly in the case of young British artists, in helping them financially in a more immediate way than simply buying their pictures. It is better to regard him as a patron rather than simply as a collector. Simply as a collector, his role would be less important than that of one or two other contemporaries, such as Roland Penrose. Writing Penrose's obituary many years later, Robert Melville, a frequent contributor to *Horizon*, said: 'I think Peter Watson had a sharper sense of quality in painting than Roland, but although half his collection was stolen from his Paris flat

during the German occupation, it could never have compared with Roland's.'

The contrasting fortunes of Watson's collections in Paris and in London, followed by the nature of their dispersal after his death, and the absence of any personal files, makes it difficult to recreate the extent of his collections in precise detail. More work will reveal more information; it may even be that some of the pictures allegedly destroyed by the Germans eventually resurface in the art market.

- 1 He was a friend of Roland Penrose, who appointed him to the London Gallery board. The London Gallery, under the guidance of the Belgian Surrealist, Edouard Mesens, began in 1938 to publish an important Bulletin and there is considerable overlap between the contributions to that and to *Horizon*.
- 2 For *Horizon* generally, see Michael Shelden: *Friends of Promise. Cyril Connolly and the world of Horizon*, London 1989. Watson had been approached by his American friends, Charles Henri Ford and Parker Tyler, to support their new publishing venture in the States, which became the Surrealist journal, *View*, but had ended up bowing to the persuasions of Cyril Connolly after he had returned to London from Paris at the beginning of the War. As well as the overlap with the London Gallery Bulletin, there is another layer of overlap between the art contributors to *View* and to *Horizon* which could fruitfully be explored.
- 3 This appeared in a special edition of *Horizon* called 'La Littérature Anglaise depuis la Guerre' published after the War (illustrated above in the main text, Pl 3) in 1945. Watson's piece was written in French, with the title 'Note sur deux peintres Anglais'. He treated himself to four full-page colour reproductions to illustrate his piece, two on the work of each artist.
- 4 20 January–19 February 1955. Watson translated the essay in the catalogue from the French of Max Clarac-Sérou of the Galerie Dragon in Paris. Watson had already, at an ICA meeting on 6 November 1951, proposed that an exhibition should behold of modern realists such as Balthus, Freud and Bacon (TGA 955/1/12/1). Watson also ensured that Bacon's work received one of its earliest serious pieces of critical coverage with an article in the very last edition of *Horizon* by Robert Melville in December 1949, vol XX, nos. 120-121, pp419-423.
- 5 April 1952. He got an article in *Horizon* by Pierre Loeb (translated by Watson) 'Wilfredo Lam' (*sic*) in April 1946, vol XIII, no. 76, pp265-268.
- 6 16 January–15 February 1951. His coverage in *Horizon* came in a piece by Pierre Mabilie (again translated by Watson) in September 1949, Vol XX, No 117, pp184-190.
- 7 4 May–4 June 1955. He also got an article in *Horizon*, by Robert Melville, (XVI, 92, September 1947, pp212-213).
- 8 In a letter to Cecil Beaton of March 1931, Watson commented on the work of a 'marvellous Indian painter' that he had seen in Santa Fe. (See the Beaton archive in St John's College, Cambridge, PCB A1/553/16.) This is the earliest record we have of Watson showing an active interest in an artist's work. In 1935, Watson wrote to Beaton again about a painter he found interesting, the 15th-century German, Konrad Witz. Although he said he 'craved' a picture by Witz, it is not thought that he actually acquired one and, as we can see, his taste in art did not evolve in that direction. See PCB A1/553/47.
- 9 What follows has been pieced together from gallery records, sales catalogues, exhibition catalogues, catalogues raisonnés, and letters. Watson had kept records of his purchases in Paris, but they had vanished by the end of the War and whatever he kept in London vanished after his death. The analysis in this article is therefore inevitably provisional and in the nature of work in progress as more information is recovered.
- 10 Edith Sitwell informed the artist about Watson's purchase in a letter dated 20 July 1932: Yale, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library, YCAL, MSS 318. At some point Watson became personally friendly with the artist.
- 11 Yale University Art Gallery owns a curious drawing by Tchelitchev, *Peter Watson holding a portrait of Peter Watson* of 1933. An interesting study could be made comparing the art-buying characteristics at this stage of Peter Watson and another Etonian contemporary, Edward James. They both gravitated towards Tchelitchev and Salvador Dalí, for example, buying a number of works by each (more in the case of Edward James).
- 12 University of Texas at Austin, Harry Ransom Humanities Research Center, Dame Edith Sitwell Collection TXRC06-A5.
- 13 Bought in London from Rosenberg and Helft sometime between 1937 and 1939 and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, Accession Number 1996.403.1. The picture was lent to the Museum of Modern Art in New York for their exhibition '*Picasso – Forty Years of his Art*', from 15 November 1939–7 January 1940. Watson had already bought Picasso's *Minotaurmachia* No. 12 from Zwemmer's in London for £21 on 6 June 1936 (Zwemmer Account Book 1935–37; TGA 992/4/3).
- 14 9 May 1914–16 December 1948.
- 15 Christopher Isherwood: *Down there on a visit*, London 1962, p338. Fouts is hardly disguised at all under the name of 'Paul'.
- 16 The provenance information on the Met website gives the price as \$12,500 and the date of acquisition as 28 November 1945.
- 17 www.errproject.org/jeudepaume.
- 18 Goering apparently travelled to Paris twenty times during 1941 and 1942 to oversee the allocation. Hitler's agents collected pictures intended for his planned Führermuseum in Linz in Austria.
- 19 It seems very unlikely, against this background, whatever the statements made in the ERR records, that many, if any, stolen pictures were ever destroyed by the Germans: by exchanging them they gained valuable hard currency.
- 20 This was a looting unit of SS soldiers operating from 1940 in Belgium, France and the Netherlands. One of its favourite activities was inspecting bank safe-deposit boxes and confiscating the contents.
- 21 The Devisenschutzkommando Frankreich archives in the Centre Historique des Archives Nationales, Paris, record (at AJ40/1036) that the raid took place on 2 December and that 34 pictures were seized belonging to Peter Watson, together with 15 allegedly owned by Sidery. These included 2 pictures by Dalí, 3 by Braque, 3 by Picasso and 3 by de Chirico.
- 22 www.errproject.org/jeudepaume/card_search.php?Query=peter+watson. The German records survive in Koblenz. Work goes on in sorting out the accuracy of the records. A pair of pictures by Dalí has recently been added to Watson's list, for example, and it is not clear how many pictures there were by Cagli. I should like to acknowledge the considerable help given to me by Marc Masurovsky with regard to interpreting the ERR processes and records.
- 23 It is safe to say that a picture by Brion Gysin would not have met with Nazi approval. Born in 1916, he had come to Paris in 1934. He was a good friend of Watson's friends, Fouts and the Greek Surrealist writer Nic Calas. Another picture was by the eccentric English artist Sir Francis Rose. Two other pictures were by the extraordinary Russian-born German artist Walter Spies (1895–1942), one of which sold at Christie's in Hong Kong on 6 July 2003 for \$816,298.
- 24 The indomitable Rose Valland listed the following 13 works belonging to Watson still at the Jeu de Paume on 10 March 1942: Ernst (3), Gysin (1), Klee (3), Masson (1), Gris (1), Tanguy (1), Campigli (1), Spies (1) and Miró (1). See the Site Rose Valland at the Musées Nationaux Récupération.
- 25 The list is in the archives of the Ministère des Affaires étrangères et européennes in La Courneuve in Paris.
- 26 This was sold at Christie's in London on 5 December 1978 for £35,000.
- 27 On 3 July 1946. This picture had not been on the ERR list. It is not clear who this artist was, although perhaps it was the Spanish Surrealist Eugenio Fernandez Granell (1912–2001). He was in Paris when the War broke out and was friendly with Watson's friends, Benjamin Péret and Wifredo Lam. On the other hand, it may have been the French artist Louis Fernandez (1900–1973). Suggestive of this is the fact that *Horizon* reproduced a picture by him; Watson chose all such illustrations.
- 28 1911–1984. His Wartime rank was Squadron Leader. He was a British art historian, critic and collector, of some personal wealth (although his wealth was considerably less than Watson's, who lived extremely comfortably off the income from a £1 million trust fund).
- 29 London, National Archives, 'Investigations into looted works of art and their whereabouts in Switzerland' by Douglas Cooper, T209/25/1.
- 30 The Watson ERR list has a number of queries relating to the identity of certain Dalí pictures.
- 31 Sidery may have been helped in this regard by the fact that, just over a week before the pictures had been seized, Romania had formally joined the War on the German side (on 23 November), and so the Germans may have felt obliged to let him have 'his' pictures back.
- 32 Of 164 rue du Faubourg St-Honoré. The gallery was open from approximately 1935–1948.
- 33 Pierre Colle opened a gallery in Paris in 1930 and went into partnership with Maurice Renou in 1935. His portrait was painted by Watson's friend, Christian Bérard, in 1931 and by Balthus in 1936. Watson seems to have met him in March 1934 on board the SS Ile de France, travelling from Plymouth to New York. He died in 1948 at the age of 39.
- 34 1903–1973. Swiss publisher. Renou et Colle and Albert Skira do not come out of the post-War investigations into the looting of art very well. See lootedart.com. The Art Looting Intelligence Unit (ALIU) Reports pick up both names on their 'red flag' lists. Of Renou et Colle, the notes state: 'Firm of art dealers who handled looted art, notably from the Paul Rosenberg Collection. Contact of Gurlitt and Skira.' The Gurlitt referred to is Hildebrand Gurlitt (1895–1956), who was a German art dealer and art historian who traded in 'degenerate' art for the Nazis. His son, Cornelius, has been in the news since the German tax authorities raided his flat in Schwabing, Munich, on 28 February 2012 and seized 1,406 art works. More works were subsequently found in his home in Salzburg. It would be interesting if any of Watson's pictures turn up in the Gurlitt collection, which is now intended for the Kunstmuseum in Berne. About Skira, the ALIU Report states: 'Suspected strongly of having smuggled additional objects into Switzerland through diplomatic channels (possibly South American) and illicit border activity. Purchased from Renou et Colle.... Etc.'
- 35 After the War the picture was the subject of an out-of-court settlement. There is confusion as to which Dalí picture Cooper was referring to, as he

- used an unofficial title for the picture. In fact he had found *Perspectives* of 1936, which showed a beach scene and which is still at the Kunstmuseum in Basle, on loan from the Emanuel Hoffmann Foundation.
- 36 In a letter of 5 April 1946 the British Legation at Berne wrote as follows to the US Legation in Berne: 'The Economic Warfare Department have deduced from Watson's withdrawal of allegations concerning the Dali, that his word is not reliable and that, consequently, it would be dangerous to rely solely on his original accusations against Skira'. There are extensive surviving records relating to this one picture: in the Bundesarchiv in Koblenz in Germany (B323/290); in the United States National Archives (NARA, RG84, Entry 3221, Box 8, Safehaven Subject Files 'Looted Pictures'; and RG84 Entry 3223, Box 90, Safehaven Name Files); and in the United States Federal Archives (E 4320(B) 1987/187, Vol 78; E2001 (E) 1967/113, Vol 442; and E7160-07, 1968/54, Vol 1087).
- 37 At 13 rue de l'Abbaye.
- 38 Of rue de la Boétie.
- 39 Actually of 1936. Watson's use of titles for his pictures cannot be matched to the *Catalogue Raisonné*.
- 40 Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation, *Catàleg Raonat de Pintures (1910–1951)*, Figueres 2007.
- 41 Sold at Bonhams in London on 19 October 2004 for just under £800,000.
- 42 Now in the Langen Foundation in Neuss in Germany. Not listed in the *Catalogue Raisonné* as having a Watson provenance, but referred to as such in the Lefevre Gallery archives.
- 43 Now in the Philadelphia Museum of Art.
- 44 According to the artist's contribution to the catalogue for an exhibition in Rotterdam at the Museum Boijmans Van Beuningen, 21 November 1970–10 January 1971.
- 45 Although Watson himself did not use the flat much after the War as it was occupied by Denham Fouts. The landlord, the socialite Comte Etienne de Beaumont, eventually repossessed it in 1948.
- 46 Michael Wishart: *High Diver. An autobiography*, London 1978, p54.
- 47 Nancy Cunard, 'The triumph of the treasures of France', *Burlington Magazine*, LXXXVII (July 1945), pp168–173.
- 48 A good introduction to the complex relationship of Peter Watson and Cecil Beaton is contained in Hugo Vickers, *Cecil Beaton*, New York 1985. Beaton and Watson met in Vienna in the summer of 1930.
- 49 I have used the original diaries in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge. Many extracts have been published over the years.
- 50 Robert Colquhoun (1914–1962) and Robert Macbryde (1913–1966). See Adrian Clark, 'The Reputation and Achievement of Robert Colquhoun. A reassessment', *The British Art Journal*, III, 3 (2002), pp75–83.
- 51 In a letter of February 1941. These letters are in the collection of the Scottish National Gallery of Modern Art in Edinburgh with reference A21.4. I am grateful to the senior curator, Patrick Elliott, for providing me with copies of these letters.
- 52 This was the Scottish artist John Maxwell.
- 53 This may be Grant's 'Edward Wolfe sketching' which Watson donated to the Duke of Gloucester's Red Cross and St John Fund's 'Exhibition of Contemporary Paintings' held at 15 Old Bond Street, which were sold at Christie's on 9 October 1942. I am grateful to Rebecca Daniels for providing me with this information by email on 1 April 2014.
- 54 London, Tate Archives, TGA 863.
- 55 He drowned in his bath at his flat in 53 Rutland Gate, London, SW7. There is speculation that he was murdered by his young American boyfriend, Norman Fowler, who inherited a substantial amount of his estate and quickly moved to the British Virgin Islands to spend his inheritance.
- 56 Presumably the well-known picture painted by the very young Freud in 1941 and now in a private collection. In a letter from Watson to Freud on Watson's birthday (14 September) in 1941, Watson sends some money and asks when the portrait is to be finished. I am grateful to Diana Rawstron of the Freud Estate for providing me with a copy of this letter.
- 57 1924–2005. He had a distinguished career at MOMA.
- 58 TGA 200211, Box 219.
- 59 A Freud drawing of Watson wearing a fur hat from 1941 is illustrated in *Lucian Freud on Paper*, introduction by Sebastian Smee, London 2008. It is not known if Watson ever owned the picture.
- 60 1896–1979. Stockbroker then farmer. He was an extremely important patron and collector. His accumulation of a large collection of pictures by Francis Bacon preceded that of the Sainsburys.
- 61 This is probably the picture sold at Sotheby's in London on 2 December 1992 for £10,000.
- 62 By Gordon Bailey Washburn, pp49–54.
- 63 This was probably the picture Watson bought from Tooth's on 20 November 1954, *Nature Morte, palette rose*. TGA 20106/4/3.
- 64 It has been subsequently established that what was probably Watson's picture had been separated from its other half at some point in its life. Thierry Bajou, 'Deux Tableaux de Nicolas Poussin pour un: Vénus et Adonis dans un paysage avec un dieu-fleuve et des chiens qui se désaltèrent ou les vicissitudes d'un tableau', *Artibus et Historiae*, vol 20, no. 39 (1999), pp113–125.
- 65 TGA 200211.
- 66 Pierre Matisse (son of the artist) had opened his gallery in New York in November 1931.
- 67 The gallery wrote to him on 2 October 1939 to say that the picture had been sold.
- 68 In November 1950 he mentioned in a letter to John Craxton that he had just sold his Matthew Smith nudes. London, Craxton archives.
- 69 There is no mention of any picture with a Watson provenance in Maurice Tuchman, Esti Dunow, Klaus Perls, *Chaim Soutine (1893-1943) Catalogue Raisonné*, Cologne 1993.
- 70 TGA 975.
- 71 National Gallery of Canada, *Annual Bulletin*, 1 (1977–1978), 'Henry Moore's Reclining Woman' by Alan G Wilkinson.
- 72 It is frustrating that the Leicester Galleries' archives exist but are unavailable to scholars. It can be assumed that they would contain at least some Watson transactions.
- 73 Email to the author 2 June 2011 from Michael Phipps, Librarian and Archivist, The Henry Moore Foundation.
- 74 This picture is now owned by American collector Leonard A Lauder, and is part of the astonishing group of pictures pledged by him to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in 2013.
- 75 On the website of Duhamel Fine Art in 2010.
- 76 Stephen Spender, 'Pictures in Switzerland', *New Statesman and Nation*, 24 June 1939.
- 77 Watson's friend, Anne Dunn, formerly the wife of Michael Wishart, referred to this picture in conversation with the author in 2011.
- 78 Virginie Monnier and Jean Clair, *Balthus: Catalogue Raisonné of the Complete Works*, New York 2000.
- 79 *Horizon* published an article by Robin Ironside on Balthus in April 1948.
- 80 I am grateful to the Fondation Dubuffet for their help with those references in a letter to me of 23 January 2014.
- 81 Paris, Bibliothèque Littéraire Jacques Doucet, MS MS 45102.
- 82 Private archive in the possession of the artist's estate.
- 83 It has proved to be impossible to identify this work, although various well-known versions exist in public galleries around the world, such as in the Guggenheim Collection. Watson owned at least one other picture by Ernst. In December 1952 he lent Ernst's *Portrait of Marie-Berthe* to the ICA for its Ernst retrospective.
- 84 It is not known whether Watson owned the picture, which is now in the Museum of Modern Art in New York, number 466 1978. It was given to MOMA by Pierre Matisse. According to an email to the author of 10 February 2014 from MOMA, the picture was previously owned by Patricia Kane Matisse, who acquired it from Roland Penrose. A drawing for the portrait came up for sale at Sotheby's in London in June 2008 with an estimate of £70–100,000.
- 85 In 1995 Christie's in New York sold a Giacometti bronze called 'La Place II', which may well have been the same one.
- 86 Peter Watson, 'Joan Mirò', *Horizon*, August 1941, pp131–132.
- 87 There is reference to Watson buying a picture by Matta in an undated letter to Nic Calas from the late 1940s. Watson grumbled about a Matta show he had seen in Paris: 'Didn't like the pictures there much. Sort of H.G. Wells 'Men from Mars' in very dingy colours, altho' I got a nice chalk drawing from him which looked like a crucifixion.' Athens, Nordic Library, Nic Calas papers.
- 88 John Rothenstein and Ronald Alley, *Francis Bacon*, London 1964.
- 89 In a letter dated 11 March 1951, London, Victoria & Albert Museum Archives, ACGB, 121/14-16.
- 90 Watson commented on Bacon in an undated letter to Nic Calas, datable to 1954-6, 'Yes, I do think Bacon an interesting painter. If you lived here, you would see he is one of the only people. There are not more than two or three in any case. His hallucinations are expressed by a real painter – perhaps a kind of contemporary Fuseli; but certainly something.' Bacon's work has occasionally been compared with that of Fuseli. It would be interesting to see where Watson's views fit in the chronology of this comparison.
- 91 Andrew Sinclair, *Francis Bacon. His life and violent times* London 1993, p90.
- 92 TGA 955/1.
- 93 NO 6190.
- 94 Douglas Cooper, *The work of Graham Sutherland*, London 1961.
- 95 Geoffrey Grigson, *John Craxton*, London 1948.
- 96 Now in the Tate, TO3838. It was purchased from the artist in 1984. The information which follows is taken from the notes on the painting on the Tate website.
- 97 This was the home of EQ Nicholson, artist wife of Kit Nicholson.
- 98 This picture was sold at Christie's on 17 November 2011 for £34,850.
- 99 John Betjeman, *John Piper*, London 1944.
- 100 Watson was not always complimentary about Piper's work. In a letter to John Craxton in December 1948 he wrote that he had seen 'the newest Piper corpses at Leicester [Galleries]'. London, Craxton archives. The reference to his owning work by Gerald Wilde is in the Tate Archives, TGA 955/1/12/72.
- 101 TGA 20081/7/1/10.
- 102 I am grateful to Professor Brian Whitton who provided this information to me by email dated 1 August 2011.
- 103 This drawing was sold at Christie's, South Kensington, on 11 June 1996, lot 29. It realised £2,530.
- 104 SNGMA A21.4.
- 105 London, Tate Gallery, T03133.
- 106 London, British Library, Archival Sound Recordings C466/17.