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The Artists of the Walter Crane Fan: Gender and Performance in 1895

Caroline Haller
Lindenwood University

THE ARTISTS OF THE WALTER CRANE FAN: GENDER AND PERFOMANCE IN 1895

by

Caroline Haller

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Caroline Catherine Haller 4/29/22
Author

Dr. Trenton Olsen 4/29/22
Committee chair

Dr. James Hutson 4/29/22
Committee member

Professor. Kelly Scheffer 4/29/22
Committee member

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ABSTRACT

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Thesis Directed by: Dr. Trenton Olsen, Associate Professor of Art History

The curiosity of the Walter Crane Fan, an autograph fan created in 1895, is that despite featuring forty signatures of famed artists, writers, musicians and public figures, it has received little critical examination. The re-discovery of the Walter Crane Fan when it came to auction, prompted its inclusion in *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900* exhibition originally held at the Victoria and Albert Museum in London in 2011. Then, the Crane Fan was the focus of Robyne Calvert's essay "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society" in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald.* However, to date, no scholarship has examined the fan within the socio-cultural context of 1895. This thesis does so by offering a unique dissection of the artist's medallions featured on the fan, including connecting a previously undiscovered source to Walford Graham Robertson's addition to the Crane Fan. This thesis highlights the performative nature of the autograph fan, by comparing the Crane Fan with Constance Wilde's autograph book of 1894. During the year the Crane Fan was completed, Oscar Wilde was arrested on grounds of gross indecency. Following his arrest, Wilde's performance of feminine characteristics, particularly his decorative dressing style, was labeled as problematic. Thus, this thesis considers the reaction to Wilde's arrest and the signatures of James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent on the Crane Fan. This thesis concludes that Whistler and Sargent used the fan as a vehicle for the performance of gender and sexuality. Operating with this in mind, this thesis argues that Whistler and Sargent questioned sexuality, gender roles, and acceptable behavior for the bohemian artist and English dandy. Overall, the thesis operates as an example of how a nineteenth century autograph fan can be examined as an object of socio-cultural importance.

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Introduction

The painted sticks of the "Walter Crane Autograph Fan" (Figure 1, Figure 2) unfurl like the plumage of a peacock.[1] Signed with dates between January and November of 1895, the Crane Fan not only features the signatures of forty artists, musicians, writers, and public figures, but also bears twenty-four sketches or small paintings on the individual fan blades completed by various artists. In addition to their signatures, the signatories left vignettes representing themselves and their art, music, or written work. Autograph fans were commonly assembled by ladies of the bourgeoisie in fin-de-siecle England. One of the contributors to the fan was English artist and illustrator Walter Crane (1845-1915), for whom the Crane Fan is named. Crane most likely provided the final addition to the work, which encompasses the peacock feathers painted around the base and the two guard sticks on the ends. The topic under investigation in this thesis is the Crane Fan's significance and the creation of a folding autograph fan within the socio-cultural context of 1895 in which it was produced.

When the folding fan was invented, the fan did not carry feminine or decorative connotations. In fact, the folding fan was originally used in religious ceremonies or for functional purposes. The folding fan originated in China or Japan perhaps as early as the second century AD.[2] In Japan, the folding fan was closely linked to the Japanese War fan, the *Tessen*, which was wielded by men.[3] As early as the fifteenth century, Portuguese traders brought the folding fan

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[1] The fan has been referred to as the "Fan of Lady X" and the "Crane Fan." For this thesis, Crane Fan is utilized to denote this first and foremost fan.

[2] M.A. Flory and Mary Cadwalader Jones, *A book about fans; the History of fans and fan-painting* (New York: Macmillan and co, 1895), 5.

[3] Despite resembling a typical folding fan, the Japanese *Tessen* war fan was made of iron spokes.

back with them to Europe. In Spain and Italy, the folding was in use in court by the sixteenth century. The folding fan made its way to France via the court of Catherine de Medici (1519-1589) after her marriage to King Henry II (1519-1559).[4] It was at the Medici court where the vogue for folding fans reached an apex.[5]

The eighteenth century was the Golden Age of the folding fan. By this time, folding fans in Europe were owned and used exclusively by women. The folding fan was no longer wielded by all genders as it had been early in Asian cultures. Discourse surrounding the folding fan designated it a solely feminine object. For example, in 1711, in England, the *Spectator* published, "Women [are] armed with fans as men with swords, and sometimes do more execution with them."[6] The reference hints at the militaristic origins of the fan but classifies it as a woman's weapon. "On the New-Fashioned Fans with Motto's, An Epigram" listed specific fan movements which suggested certain statements such as "come flirt with me." Articles, like the one in the *Spectator,* established a specific language of the fan in which women could communicate to potential suitors without speaking. Thus, the woman's voice was replaced by that of the fan. The language used when describing the fan suggested that women lacked individual agency and that the fan acted as a conduit for them in social settings. The fan's language did so through the gendering and animating of the fan itself.[7] The fan allowed women a

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[4] Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded* (New York: Rizzoli Publishing, 2002), 12.

[5] Folding fans were specially crafted for the Queen and elaborately decorated with precious metals and the finest jewels.

[6] Steele, *The Fan,* 6.

[7] "On the New-Fashioned Fans with Motto's, An Epigram." In *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle,* Volume 10 (London: Edw. Cave, at St. John's Gate, 1740), 616.

voice in the foreign realm of the public, acting as their conduit or weapon. In fact, many scholars of nineteenth century art have noted that an open fan could be read as evidence that its owner was open to sexual advances. For instance, scholar Erin Edgington claims, in her discussion of impressionist artist Mary Cassatt's (1844-1926) *The Loge* (1882), that Cassatt's recognizes "the fan's potential to generate a sexual charge."[8] As proof to this point, Edgington references scholar Mary Elizabeth Boone's discussion of Cassatt's Spanish paintings, where Boone foregrounds the fan's ability to define and hold sexual charge.[9] Thus, the folding fan could be and was a sexually charged object.

For over two hundred years, the popularity and production of the folding fan in Europe waxed and waned.[10] However, it was the nineteenth century, which saw the renaissance of the fan.[11] In the early nineteenth century, the European fan had lost favor as the Empire Style disseminated across Europe. The Empire Style gowns were simple, inspired by neoclassical values and ancient Greek aesthetics. Given the limitations of the stylistic influence, there was little room for accessories. Nonetheless, the Duchesse de Berri (1798-1870) held a masquerade in 1830 that inspired a resurgence of the fan in French society. As a staple of the nineteenth-century middle- and upper-class ladies' wardrobe, the decoration of the fan also became a

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[8] Erin E. Edgington, *Fashioned Texts and Painted Books: Nineteenth-Century French Fan Poetry.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina, 2017.)

[9] Mary Elizabeth Boone, *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1914.* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 99-100.

[10] G. Woolliscroft Rhead, *History of the Hand Fan* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1910), 104.

[11] Louisa Parr, "The Fan," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Volume 79, June to November 1889, (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1889), 407

pastime for women. The fan became synonymous with craft or the decorative arts. Midway through the century the fan adapted new artistic associations. Male artists of the avant-garde in the latter half of the nineteenth century used the fan as a medium of fine art. Indeed, artists like Edgar Degas (1834-1917), Camille Pissarro (1830-1903), Jacques Joseph Tissot (1836-1902), and Paul Gauguin (1848-1903) began to use the fan mount as an artistic medium.[12] They painted scenes across fan mounts, which the artists then framed. Therefore, despite the fan's association with decorative art and craft, male artists of the avant-garde utilized the fan in ways that aligned with their artistic sensibilities.

As mentioned above, the autograph fan originated in Eastern cultures, but it became a popular pastime of ladies of status in nineteenth-century England. Wollinscroft Rhead credits Lady Laura Alma-Tadema (1871-1909) with reviving the Eastern tradition of autograph fans in London.[13] Alma Tadema's fan (c.1889) contains signatures from artists including George Du Maurier (1834-1896) and musicians including Charles Halle (1819-1895). An image of the Lady Alma-Tadema fan was published in *Harper's Weekly* Volume 79 in 1889 (Figure 3).[14] Alma-Tadema, Du Maurier, and Halle were all contributors to the Crane Fan. Wollinscraft takes much of his information from *Harper's Weekly*'s publication on the fan, written by Louisa Parr. Parr also mentions the fan of a Mrs. Arthur Lewis (1844-1924). The Lewis Fan also shares a few

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[12] Malcom Warner and Nancy Rose Marshall, *James Tissot: Victorian Life, Modern Love* (Yale University Press, 1999), 101. For more information on the history, associations, and transition of the folding fan to medium of fine art, please reference Caroline Catherine McDonald, "*Nineteenth Century Folding Fan:* Decorative Object to Fine Art" (Virginia, Sweet Briar College, 2017).

[13] Woolliscroft Rhead. *History of the Hand Fan*, 285.

[14] Parr, "The Fan," 407.

signatories with the Crane Fan including Colin Hunter (1841-1904) and Frank Dicksee (1853-1928). Another signatory to the Mrs. Arthur Lewis fan is artist Adrian Stokes (1854-1935), who alongside his wife Marianne (1855-1927) formed an autograph fan featured in a biography of the two by author Magdalen Evans (Figure 4).[15] The Stokes Fan, formed sometime between 1889 and 1893 illustrates the tradition of garnering signatures from famous musicians. Parr also notes that many autograph fans contain signatures, and often musical bars from the top musicians of the day. For instance, Joseph Joachim (1831-1907) added his signature to autograph fans from the 1890s.[16] Parr allows that although the front of an autograph fan was often reserved for artists and the back for musicians, some fans like Alma-Tadema's mix the order.[17]

Autograph fans and autograph books were similar in the way in which they were formed. Typically, a lady of royal or bourgeois status would collect signatures of famous celebrities or intellectuals as they came to visit. The Irish writer Constance Wilde (1858-1898), wife of acclaimed poet and playwright Oscar Wilde (1854-1900), collected signatures in one such book. We know that the book was completed by 1894 because it was mentioned in the magazine *To-Day* in November.[18] In the case of an autograph fan, the owner of the fan would send out blank fan sticks and request signatures. Autograph fans proliferated in London's Central Boroughs of Kensington and Chelsea in the late nineteenth century. The tradition of the autograph fan was

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[15] Magdalen Evans, *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes*. (United Kingdom: Sansom, 2009), 58.

[16] Parr, "The Fan," 407.

[17] Ibid., 398.

[18] Jillian M. Hess, "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England." Nineteenth Century Gender Studies, Issue 15.1 (Spring 2019): 1-18.

adopted from China and Japan. George Wollinscroft Rhead (1855-1920), writing in 1910, discusses the Chinese poetic origins of the autograph or inscribed fan as a profession of love. He references several Chinese autograph fans that had sold at auction in London in 1866.[19] Likewise, Rhead noted that in Japan, the autograph fans "were passed around, exchanged, and carried away as souvenirs of a friendly and interesting occasion."[20] In London, the autograph fan became a status symbol for the ladies of the Holland Park and St. John's Wood areas. Rhead records those autograph fans were typically owned by "the few fortunate ladies who [were] happy in the possession of a circle of artistic friends."[21] In the case of the Victorian elite, the autograph fan was similar to an autograph book.[22] In the case of autograph books, artists, musicians, writers, politicians, or celebrities signed a book when they visited prominent members of society who collected signatures for status. As time went on, artists began to affix medallions, poets left vignettes, and musicians scribbled a line of music aside their signatures.

Likely many autograph fans were formed by ladies of rank who asked the artists, musicians, and poets in their artistic circles to sign their own personal fans. In this case, the scheme was pride and a desire to own the signatures of those closest to them or that they were able to meet. However, like autographs today, the autograph fan could be procured specifically to auction off to the highest bidder. In several cases, they were produced to raise money for charity. In Scottish journalist Walter Armstrong's segment, *A Fan to Be Coveted* in the Art

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[19] Woolliscroft Rhead. *History of the Hand Fan,* 285.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Parr, "The Fan," 407.

Journal published in 1889, we learn of a fan that was raffled at the Silver Fete at the Danish Exhibition during the summer of 1888 (Figure 5). Mrs. Emma Du Maurier (1841-1915) was tasked with putting together the autograph fan for charity.[23] The fan, which cost Mrs. Du Maurier only a shilling or two to make, sold one hundred tickets at a Guinea each, proving very lucrative.[24]

Armstrong's discussion of the Silver Fete Fan reveals the level of artistic importance he assigned to the fan. Armstrong wrote that what Mrs. Du Maurier accomplished "was nothing less than to create a little gallery in miniature, in which a hint should be given of what twenty, less one, of our best-known artists, painters and draughtsman, are doing in this fifty-first year of Victoria."[25] After a brief discussion of the artists and their contributions, Armstrong concluded, with a strong sentiment, the artistic importance of a fan like this. Armstrong wrote, "What a fascinating little museum might be got together for our dependents if a fan like this was painted, say, every five years! What changes of fashion in art, or rather in artists, it would record!"[26] Armstrong pled for the artists to carry out his charge to create more fans like this every five years, or so. True to his prediction, autograph fans like this continued to be produced.

Another fan was created and owned by Mrs. Lillian Henschel (1860-1901), wife to Sir Isidor George Henschel (1850-1934), famed baritone singer and conductor. Mrs. Henschel was also involved in the Silver Fete auction, where she procured signatures and photographs from a

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[23] Walter Armstrong, "A Fan to Be Coveted." *The Art Journal*. London: J.S. Virtue and Company Ltd (1889): 22-23.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Ibid.

Professor Huxley to sell.[27] Mrs. Henschel's personal autograph fan was signed by Oliver Wendell Holmes.[28] She had written to ask for his signature on her fan. Holmes responded to her inquiry for his signature with the following letter. "My Dear Mrs. Henschel- It delights me if I can in any way, please you who have lent so much happiness to the air we breathe. I only fear that you will find it hard to get a cool breath from a fan which holds the names of so many warm friends."[29] Of this response, George Henschel noted in his *Musings and Memories of a Musician* (1918) that Holmes's "personal observation greatly enhanced the value of a mere signature."[30] In the same account, Henschel discussed the popularity of autograph fans like the Silver Fete Fan and Crane Fan: "In the early 'eighties there prevailed among ladies a sort of craze for 'autograph fans,' i.e. fans of sandalwood, each rib of which was intended for the signature of a famous man or woman."[31] Henschel also referred to Holmes as a victim. The rampant terminology framing the unsuspecting male celebrity as a victim to the solicitation of autographs by the 'crazed' female is a gender dynamic examined later in this thesis.

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[27] Professor Huxley likely refers to the President of the British Association for the Advancement of Science. It is unclear if she participated in the Silver Fete fan, a different fan, or simply another job altogether.
George Henschel, *Musings And Memories Of A Musician*. (United States: Da Capo Press, 1979), 377.

[28] Possibly this is the same fan signed by John Singer Sargent and Arthur Sullivan.
Sir Arthur Sullivan, *Presenting in Word & Song, Score & Deed, The Life and Work of Sir Arthur Sullivan, Composer for Victorian England, From "Onward, Christian Soldiers" to Gilbert & Sullivan Opera*. (Compiled by Reginald Allen. David R. Godine Publisher, Boston, MA, 1975) 138.

[29] Henschel, *Musings And Memories Of A Musician*. 378.

[30] Ibid., 377.

[31] Ibid.

Women were not the only procurers of such artifacts. In fact, on more than one occasion it was the device of a male figure who gathered the signatures of his comrades on a fan. One example is a set of five "art fans" put together in 1896 by Mr. Alexander Blumenstiel (1843-1905) with design help by Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta (1841-1920).[32] Including Madrazo, several more figures overlap between Blumenstiel's fans and the Crane Fan. Mr. George A Kessler (1863-1920) purchased the art fans and maintained them at the time they were written about in the *Collector and Art Critic* in 1906.[33] It does not seem as if these "art fans" were ever meant to be utilized and further serve to prove a major point to this thesis, which is the perceived artistic importance of the fan medium by the artists that participated in the production of similar fans. Additionally, there are two fans at the Linley Sambourne house at 18 Stafford Terrace in London formed by Linley Sambourne (1844 -1910) himself. Of even more importance, the Sambourne fans shed light on a method of autograph fan assembly. There are records held in the collections of the Linley Sambourne house which suggest that Sambourne wrote to each artist individually and requested a signature for his "collection" in the form of a fan.[34] One might expect to find some reference in some personal archive of correspondences between one of the 39 collaborators and the owner of the Crane Fan. Yet to date, no such reference has been discovered. Surprisingly, even James Abbott McNeill Whistler (1843-1903) is silent regarding

[32] David C. Preyer, "The George A. Kessler 'Art Fans'." *The Collector and Art Critic*, Vol 4, No. 6 (April 1906): 169-174.

[33] Ibid.

[34] "The Sambourne Family Archives." The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: the Leighton House, the Sambourne House. March 27th, 2022, Search Results (rbkc.gov.uk)

the formation of the Crane Fan and there is no mention of it in the digitized archives of his correspondences.[35]

When the Crane Fan came up for auction in 2010, its rediscovery sparked an interest in the object as an element of cultural importance. Robyne Erica Calvert wrote about the Crane Fan in "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society" after the fan was rediscovered in the twenty-first century.[36] Calvert, for her part, cleverly reveals the importance of the fan and notes that further study is imperative. This thesis adds that further study in areas of artistic and theoretical analysis. The person responsible for the creation of the Crane Fan has yet to be determined. Simon Toll in his book *Frank Dicksee: 1853-1928; His Art and Life* claims the fan belonged to Lady Jean Palmer (d.1909), but this connection is tenuous.[37] This thesis will shed further light on the potential circumstances surrounding the fan's creation. Although no attribution of patronage is suggested, the arguments presented in this thesis function regardless of the fan's owner.

The Crane Fan was exhibited in the 2012 exhibition *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*, which took place April 2011-June 2012 at The Victoria and Albert

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[35] *The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903*, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855-1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari.
On-line edition, University of Glasgow.
http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence

[36] Robyne Erica Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald,* eds. Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock, and Grischka Petri (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2010), 33-41.

[37] Simon Toll. *Frank Dicksee: 1853-1928; His Art and Life.* (United Kingdom: ACC Art Books, 2016), 102.

Museum, Musée d'Orsay, and The Young Museum in San Francisco.[38] The curators of this exhibition associated it with the Aesthetic Movement on the basis that many of its artists were major players in the movement. However, in this thesis, the fan is examined through a wider lens, which allows it to be considered outside of the Aesthetic Movement. By 1895, the year of the fan's completion, the Aesthetic Movement was dying. The 1890's had taken a toll on the Aesthetic Movement in more ways than one. In his *Time Was,* the fan's youngest contributor, Walford Graham Robertson (1866-1948), noted that he saw the nineties as the end of an era in more than just the literal sense. Robert Browning (1812-1889) and William Morris (1834-1896) passed away in 1889 and 1896 respectively. Sir Frederic Leighton (1830-1896) died that same year following his contribution to the fan, and Sir Edward Coley Burne-Jones (1833-1898) died in 1898. Their deaths "severed" a link to the so-called "glory days."[39] Robertson had expressed his sadness that he was not producing art during the "glory days."[40] A discovery, presented in this thesis, regarding Robertson's addition to the fan further proves this point and gives important background on the formation of the Crane Fan. However, as much as Robertson tried, he could not be a big player in the Aesthetic Movement or produce work worthy of the early days of the Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood.

However, there was another important event of the year which heavily influenced the artists on the Crane Fan. Oscar Wilde's arrest in 1895 caused a public reaction against the

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[38] Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr, *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900* (United Kingdom: Harry N. Abrams), 2011.

[39] Walford Graham Robertson, *Time was: The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson*. (United Kingdom: H. Hamilton, 1933), 276.

[40] Walford Graham Robertson, *Time was: The Reminiscences of W. Graham Robertson*. (United Kingdom: H. Hamilton, 1933), 276.

bohemian lifestyle. Since homosexual relationships were outlawed in Britain in 1855, artists sought to distance themselves from Wilde's reputation and sought to prove that being an artist did not automatically imply homosexuality. Therefore, the Crane Fan invites an interesting case study which reveals artistic and socio-cultural themes present in the works of the artists around its creation year of 1895. The treatment here is the first to investigate the chronology of the Crane Fan well as a discussion of relevant works from the artistic oeuvres of the contributors to the Crane Fan. This thesis is the first scholarly publication to explicate an in-depth chronology of the fan and the first to point out the artistic sources for many of the Crane Fan drawings.

Intriguingly, the Crane Fan features two unique signatures of two artists who did not participate as often in the formation of these autograph fans. They are the signatures of James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent (1856-1925).[41] Whistler painted at least one other fan, *Design for a Fan* (Figure 6). However, Whistler's *Design for a Fan* represents a different type of artistic production. The painted section of the fan was never mounted on sticks, suggesting that it was not intended for use but rather display. In this case, Whistler's experimentation with the fan shape is much like Edgar Degas's experimentation with the fan as a

[41] There is at least one other fan that Whistler signed. The fan was formed and owned by Lady Isabella Gregory. In the case of this fan, Whistler only left his signature not a drawing. Sargent was said to have signed a fan for Mrs. George Henschel.

Sir. Arthur Sullivan, *Presenting in Word & Song, Score & Deed, The Life and Work of Sir Arthur Sullivan, Composer for Victorian England, From "Onward, Christian Soldiers" to Gilbert & Sullivan Opera*. Compiled by Reginald Allen. David R. Godine Publisher, Boston, MA, 1975.

found object.[42] Sargent's addition of the peacock on the Crane Fan can be seen as a support for male artistic types performing feminine gender traits through dress, such as Oscar Wilde, in the wake of Wilde's arrest.

The current argument establishes the signing of the Crane Fan as a performance and questions the established normative functions of gender within Victorian London. It outlines how the artists James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent utilized and reversed the sexually charged nature of the fan as an object of feminine agency and how their reactions to the trial and conviction of Oscar Wilde in 1895 can be further understood through the Crane Fan. Whistler chose the butterfly copulating on the pansy with the addition of the scorpion stinger for his personification. In doing so, Whistler challenged the ability to be both the dominator and the dominated as well as the acceptable nature of performing these gender specific roles. Sargent, in a similar way, identified with the peacock. The peacock, which had been the talisman of the Aesthetic Movement, held two purposes as it applied to the female sensibility of beauty while also referring to the dominating male sexual performance. Thus, both signatures can be read as attempts to comment on acceptable gender performance and reversal following Wilde's arrest.

[42] It should be clarified that the Crane Fan was also not intended for use but rather display. However, the ability of the Crane fan to be folded with each stick retaining its full artistic composition, suggests that the artists could not escape the association of the fan with its functional origin.

Literature Review

Relatively little scholarship has been produced regarding the nineteenth-century folding fan. This is due, in large part, to the historical marginalization of the decorative arts or crafts. Nineteenth-Century journal articles about the creation of and usage of the fan appeared in *The Art Journal, Punch, Sketch* and *The Art Amateur.* For instance, in 1883, in an article entitled "Fans and Fan Painting" in *The Art Amateur,* the process of artistically creating a folding fan is explained as a craft that anyone with instructions can master.[43] Further situating the fan as a decorative object was the rhetoric that linked the fan to the woman. Louisa Parr in her article "The Fan" from an 1889 edition of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* designated it a woman's 'scepter.'[44] There are a few examples of books written about the fan: for instance, Octave Uzanne's *L'Eventail* (1882), M.A Flory and Mary Cadwalader Jones's, *A Book about Fans; The History of Fans and Fan Painting* (1895) and G. Woolliscroft Rhead's *History of the Hand Fan* (1912).[45] In more recent years, several works including Nancy J. Armstrong's *A Collection History of Fans* (1974) and Spire Blondel's *Historie des Eventails Chez tous les peuples et a toutes les epoques: et suivi de notices sur l'ecaille, la nacre et l'ivoire* (1988) further illuminate details of the popularity of nineteenth-century folding fans.

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[43] "Fans and Fan Painting." *The Art Amateur* 8, no.2 (1883): 39. http://jstor.org/stable/25627815.

[44] Parr, "The Fan," 398.

[45] Octave Uzanne, Illustrations by Paul Avril. *L'Eventail*. (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882).

It should be noted that although there are ample sources which to some degree mention the history of the fan, there are only a few which note its usage by artists of the avant-garde in the last half of the nineteenth century. One notable source is Marc Gerstein's 1982 article "Degas's Fans," which focuses on Edgar Degas's experimentation with the composition of the folding fan as a medium.[46] As Gerstein notes, Degas experimented with the fan in much the same way that he experimented with found objects. Degas had treated the fan shape as a medium to be mastered. His compositions reflect this. Rather than painting a square canvas and taking a fan shaped bit out, he adapted his fan paintings to the shape itself. For instance, in *Fan Mount: Ballet Girls*, Degas challenges the fan shape by flattening the composition and cutting off the figures of the three dancers (Figure 7). Two of the dancers chat among themselves, but the third leans forward to fly across the remainder of the fan plane. The cluster of dancers in the bottom right of the fan mount does not consider traditional folding fan mount decoration nor acknowledge correct perspective. The background does not recede properly, but rather the scene seems observed from above. Degas's scene seems uniquely designed for this fan mount and reflects his experimentation with composition.

From Gerstein's acknowledgement and discussion of Degas's fans evolved the thesis for Pamula Gerrish Nunn's article, "Fine Art and the Fan 1860-1930," which was published in the *Journal of Design History* in 2004.[47] Nunn's thesis, born from Gerstein's early research, was that the fan experienced a "transformation from a tool of feminine adornment to a vehicle for avant-

[46] Marc Gerstein, "Degas's Fans." *The Art Bulletin* 64, no.1 (1982):105-18.

[47] Nunn at the time wrote from the University of Canterbury in New Zealand.

gardism between the 1870s and 1920s."[48] In fact, Nunn concludes with the notion that the fan was a good example that the boundaries between craft, design and fine art and between the feminine and masculine were dissolving. However, as Nunn notes, parallel to this development, the fan was also experiencing degradation through mass commodification and production. Elements which Nunn used to link the fan to the avant-garde movement included the interest in Japonisme, the arts and crafts movement, and the rise of abstraction. Nunn wrote that, for the artists, the move was opportunistic, but also iconoclastic in that it questioned the systems which defined fine art.[49] She noted that the fan was a "key force [in the] commodification of creativity," but also the "shifting territory of masculinity and femininity."[50] This was due to the notion that the male artists of the avant-garde could easily transcend the boundaries which kept women artists static in the decorative and craft arts. The decorative arts were typically reserved for female artists and referred to feminine sensibilities. Furthermore, the gender associations were questioned by the way in which men could enter the domestic female realm of "applied art of craft." Male artists could place their mark upon it and remain artists. The same fan, when painted by a woman artist, remained a craft. A large section of Nunn's discussion focused on Charles Condor (1868-1909), an English-Australian artist who pushed the boundaries of modernity. Naturally, a discussion could be undertaken of each artist who participated in the fan medium and to what degree they relied on or questioned the fan's decorative origins.

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[48] Pamela Gerrish Nunn. "Fine Art and the Fan 1860-1930." *Journal of Design History 17*, no.3 (2004): 251.

[49] Ibid., 253.

[50] Ibid., 251.

Nunn's research prompted renewed scholarly interest in the fan. Her argument for the artistic importance of the fan proved the sounding board for the current argument within this thesis. Ultimately, the fan functioned as a new medium of fine art, in which artists questioned the boundaries of what was possible. Particularly, the fan played an acute role within the Aesthetic Movement. The artists of the English Avant-Garde who sought to surround themselves with beauty in the form of aesthetic perfection utilized the fan as a motif, symbol, and medium for artistic production, display, and coordination. In the years since Gerstein's and Nunn's publications, fans from the French Avant-Garde have been displayed in exhibitions. Artists like Degas, mounted and framed their fan paintings as they would other works of art. In 2016, the Dixon Gallery and Gardens held the exhibition *Henri Guerard and the Phenomenon of the Artist's Fan in France, 1875-1900.* For his part in the catalogue, Richard Brettell contributed the essay "Fans as Art: Unfolding Beauty in the Late Nineteenth Century."[51] In his essay, Brettell opens the discussion to feature those artists of the post-impressionist movement such as Paul Gauguin, whose interest in Japan and Spain further influenced the modern folding fan. Gauguin transferred elements from a landscape by Paul Cézanne (1839-1906) to a fan mount in much the same way that he transferred Degas dancers into crude wooden reliefs during the same period.[52] This notion highlights that Gauguin saw the potential in the fan mount as a medium to reflect his artistic ambitions.

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[51] Richard J Brettell, "Fans as Art: Unfolding Beauty in the Late Nineteenth Century" in *Henri Guerard and the Phenomenon of the Artist's Fan in France, 1875-1900,* eds. Robert Flynn Johnson and Richard R. Brettell. (Memphis: Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 2016), 7.

[52] Ibid.

This thesis, however, deals with a specific phenomenon: the autograph fan. This phenomenon was mentioned in many early journals and monographs. For example, G. Woolliscroft Rhead's *History of the Fan* features a short discussion on autograph fans. Woolliscroft Rhead mentions the fan of Mrs. Arthur Lewis featuring signatures by the Sir Lawrence Alma-Tadema (1836-1912) and Mrs. Laura Alma-Tadema (1852-1909), Sir John Everett Millais (1829-1896), Frank Dicksee, and Colin Hunter. All of these aforementioned artists also signed the Crane Fan.[53] This fan owned by Mrs. Arthur Lewis and another fan formed by Lady Alma-Tadema were sketched in *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in August 1889.[54] The Linley Sambourne house at 18 Stafford Terrace in London is in possession of two such fans; one labeled the bedroom fan, and one featured over the piano. Between 1889 and 1893, husband and wife duo Adrian and Marianne Stokes formed an autograph fan featured in Magdalen Evans's *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes*.[55] Therefore, there were at least four autograph fans from the latter half of the nineteenth century. These all serve as evidence that the Victorian Avant-Garde participated frequently in the formation of these fans.

The "Walter Crane Fan", or alternatively the "Fan of Lady X", sticks out for a few reasons as an example of an autograph fan that overlaps with fine art.[56] The fan was sold at

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[53] Woolliscroft Rhead, *History of the Hand Fan,* 285-286.

[54]Robyne Erica Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald,* Edited by Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri, 33-41. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2010), 38.

[55] Evans, *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes,* 58.

[56] The appellation Lady X came from the owner of the Fan Steve Banks Fine Arts, who until recently ran a website dedicated to the identification of the owner of the Crane fan.

Sotheby's in 1910, under the entry *Catalogue of A Magnificent Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, the Property of a Gentleman.*[57] Shortly thereafter, in 1911, a drawing of the fan and the list of its contributing artists was published in *The Sketch* (Figure 8).[58] After 1911, the fan's whereabouts were largely unknown until recently. The fan was discussed briefly in David Park Curry's exhibition catalogue for "James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art" in 1984.[59] At the time, its whereabouts were unknown. However, Curry, responding to pictures of the fan from 1911, noted that "The artist made a pun upon the object decorated, for his little dancer holds a fan as well as embellishes one."[60] More recently, it was discussed in detail in a chapter by Robyne Erica Calvert in an edited volume, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society" in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald.*[61] When Calvert wrote her article, the fan was in the hands of Steve Banks Fine Arts, San Francisco, California. In the article, Calvert discusses the basic details known about the fan and makes inferences about the creation of the fan. Then, in her 2012 PhD thesis *Fashioning the Artist: Victorian Dress in Britain, 1848-1900*, she mentions the Crane Fan and that she had expected it to play a larger role

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[57] Wilkinson & Hodge Sotheby (now Sotheby's), *Catalogue of A Magnificent Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, the Property of a Gentleman* (sale date Wednesday 4 May 1910), 47.

[58] *The Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality*, Volume 73 (January- April 1911): 218.

[59] David Park Curry, "James McNeill Whistler at the Freer Gallery of Art." (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1984), 207.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Robyne Erica Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society" in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald*, eds. Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2010): 33-41.

in her research and mentions her on-going search for its mysterious owner. Calvert has identified an area within art history that has been largely ignored, that is the fan and specifically the autograph fan.

When the Crane Fan first resurfaced in the twentieth century, a large question surrounding the fan focused on its provenance and the identity of its patron. As noted above, the fan's origins are mostly unknown. There are clues which could suggest different formers or owners of the fan. However, the fan is known as the Walter Crane Fan because he signed the guards and bottom of the fan and may have been instrumental in the process of the fan's creation. There is an ongoing search for the mysterious "Lady X" or "Lady of Exalted Rank" from the Sotheby's sale in 1910.[62] The lady to which the catalogue refers was noted to be deceased.[63] By February of 1911, the fan was on display at Leicester Galleries owned by Messers. Ernest Brown and Philips.[64] Calvert has suggested that Lady X was responsible for forming the fan. But, as in the case of the Silver Fete Fan, it could have been created and sold to Lady X. In fact, a newly discovered source alludes to the fan's creation as part of an auction for charity.[65]

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[62] Sotheby, *Catalogue of A Magnificent Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, the Property of a Gentleman*, 47.

[63] The catalogue does not specify that it was direct from Lady X's hands to the Sotheby's sale. In fact, the sale suggests it was from a gentleman's collection. Either the man was her husband, or the fan had passed through a few hands before it came up for auction in 1910.

[64] *The Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality*, Volume 73 (January- April 1911): 218.

[65] Marion Harry Spielmann, "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson" in *The Magazine of Art* (United Kingdom: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1900), 80.

Although speculations behind the identity of Lady X abound, one theory has recently come to light. In 2016, Simon Toll proposed an owner for the Crane Fan. In his book *Frank Dicksee: 1853-1928; His Art and Life,* he suggested that the owner and original former of the fan was Lady Jean Palmer (née Craig), wife to Sir Walter Palmer (1858-1910), founder of Palmer Biscuits Co.[66] Toll's suggestion that Lady Jean Palmer was the owner could be the case.[67] For one, Lady Palmer died in 1909, so not only does she fit the Sotheby's catalogue description of a previously deceased lady of rank, but she also had connections to many signatories of the fan. One example is Countess Feodora Georgina Maud von Gleichen (1861-1922) because she signed the Crane Fan. Countess Gleichen's only public statue, her Diana Fountain in Hyde Park, once belonged to the Palmers and sat in their garden at Frognal, Ascot, Berkshire until 1906. Thus, Toll suggested that Palmer was the owner of the Crane Fan because she died in 1909 and had connections to the artists on the fan. However, Calvert has disrupted Toll's finding by suggesting that his published reasons could just as easily associate the fan with any other woman of 'exalted' rank that participated in the same social circles.[68]

Toll writes that Frank Dicksee had been commissioned to sketch a fan in 1895, which he decorated with the face from his *Magic Crystal* of 1894 (Figure 9).[69] Dicksee's sketch on the Crane Fan certainly seems to reference the main female figure in the Magic Crystal (Figure 10). Though it is also worth noting that Dicksee was a frequent contributor to autograph fans and his

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[66] Simon Toll. *Frank Dicksee: 1853-1928; His Art and Life.* (United Kingdom: ACC Art Books, 2016).

[67] Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," 36.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Toll, *Frank Dicksee: 1853-1928; His Art and Life,* 102.

signature is found on most of the fans mentioned in this thesis. However, this thesis makes no attempt to correctly identify the owner of the fan. At this point, until further evidence arises, a clear attribution of its former or the Lady of Exalted Rank who owned the Crane Fan during the Sotheby's sale in 1910 would be speculation. All this said, up to this point, no one has conducted a focused study exclusively on the Crane Fan's artistic vignettes.

Following Calvert's article, the Crane Fan was featured in its first modern exhibition *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*.[70] The exhibition was held between April 2011-June 2012 at The Victoria and Albert Museum in London, UK; Musée d'Orsay, Paris and The Young Museum, San Francisco respectively. The catalogue contains essays contextualizing the artists of the Aesthetic Movement. Most of the artists featured on the fan were heavily involved with the Aesthetic Movement. Additionally, the nature of the object itself leans heavily into aesthetic principles of decoration merging with craft. Though, as mentioned in the introduction, the fan's inclusion within this exhibition should not limit a discussion of this fan to the parameters of aestheticism. While the thesis of these catalog entries examines the use of the fan by those in the Arts and Crafts Movement, this thesis argues that the Crane Fan's inclusion within this dialog limits an understanding of the nuances of performance and gender identity as they were being questioned in late nineteenth century London.

It is at this juncture that this thesis contributes a comprehensive study of this autograph fan. To do so, background on the contributors and their artistic practice is essential. For further reference, this thesis utilizes primary biographies such as *Time Was* by W. Graham Robertson

[70] Stephen Calloway and Lynn Federle Orr. *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900*. (United Kingdom: Harry N. Abrams, 2011).

and *An Artist's Reminiscences* by Walter Crane.[71] These sources contribute to the understanding of personal motivation and the timeline of the fan's production. Additionally, this thesis unveils a recently uncovered a new reference to the fan from an article in the 1900 edition of *The Magazine of Art.* The article written by Marion Harry Spielmann was entitled "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson" and references the circumstances surrounding the creation of the Crane Fan.[72] Spielmann declares the fan the origins of Robertson's compositional design for a later painting, *The Queen of Samothrace* (Figure 11). Up until now, this article has not been associated with the Crane Fan. This thesis is the first scholarship to uncover this source and link it to the Crane Fan.

The remainder of this thesis focuses on two of the signatures and the accompanying sketches on the Crane Fan. Those signatures are that of James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent. This thesis attempts to establish the performative nature of the autograph fan via comparison with the autograph book of Constance Wilde. In "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England," Hess successfully establishes the performative nature of the signatures left in Wilde's book.[73] Furthermore, Hess reveals that Oscar Wilde negates his own gender in his poem left for Constance. With the understanding that the artist could use the autograph as a performance, this

[71] Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*. (United Kingdom: Macmillan, 1907).

[72] Spielmann, "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson," 74-81.

[73] Jillian M. Hess "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England." Nineteenth Century Gender Studies, Issue 15.1 (Spring 2019): 1-18.

thesis unpacks the specific dynamic of the bohemian artist navigating the boundary of acceptable gender performance.

Whistler's watercolor sketch contributed to the Crane Fan has another later iteration in a small sketch he gifted to Charles Lang Freer (1854-1919) in 1899 (Figure 12).[74] Margaret F. Macdonald wrote about Whistler's *Sketch for a Fan* in her Catalogue Raisonné of his etchings.[75] The sketch appears to be a woman dancing and holding a fan. It is accompanied by Whistler's famous butterfly signature. Whistler's butterfly signature has been discussed in association with sexual sadism due to the addition of the butterfly copulating on the pansy with the addition of a scorpion stinger. Laurie Schneider has focused on Whistler's signature before in an article entitled "Butterfly or Scorpion: A Note on the Iconography of Whistler's Signatures."[76] Schneider's discussion hinges on the unconscious connection to Whistler's effeminate nature and bisexual sadism.

More recently, Alison Syme's book *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art* contextualizes John Singer Sargent's portrayal of flora and its relation to sexuality.[77] Syme claims that Whistler and Sargent were primary examples in a group

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[74] Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," 36.

[75] Margaret F. MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné*. (New Haven: Yale University Print, 1995).

[76] Laurie Schneider, "Butterfly or Scorpion: A note on the Iconography of Whistler's Signatures." *Notes in the History of Art 2*, no. 2 (Winter 1983): 26-29.

[77] Alison Mairi Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art.* (United States: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010).

of what she terms "invert artists" who identified as either pollinators or plants and sometimes both. These artists, she claims, "mobilized the ideas of cross-fertilization and the hermaphroditic sexuality of flowers to 'naturalize' sexual inversion."[78] In other words, these artists were the vanguard of reversing the natural order of gender performance in their paintings from the fin-de-siècle. Syme references nineteenth century practice of botany, gynecology, literature, and visual culture in order to formulate her thesis. This argument extends to Whistler's art and in particular, Whistler's identification with the butterfly. According to both Schneider and Syme, the butterfly and flower signature in Whistler's work underscores his bisexual fantasy.[79] Though Schneider might characterize this 'visual sadism' as an unconscious reaction at this point in his career, Whistler had internalized himself as the 'butterfly broken on the wheel' and sought to control public characterizations of himself as the eccentric artist.

As Anna Gruetzner Robins notes in *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and his Impressionist Followers*, "Whistler was a brilliant self-publicist, who capitalized on his public image as a modern artist."[80] Part of how he did this was through specific branding techniques. This can be observed for instance in Whistler's disdain over his characterization in George Du Maurier's popular serial novel *Trilby*, which was first published in 1894. At first, *Trilby* included a character based off of Whistler named Joe Sibley. Whistler was frustrated that he was characterized as a lazy art student and threatened to sue Du Maurier over the character. Du

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[78] Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art*, 12.

[79] Ibid., 67.

[80] Anna Gruetzner Robins. *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and his Impressionist Followers*. (United Kingdom: Yale University Press for the Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2007), 1.

Maurier removed Sibley from *Trilby*.[81] This serves as evidence that Whistler sought to craft a very specific public image where his actions were intentional, and he worked hard for his artistic practice. Thus, his addition of the butterfly signature on the Crane fan can be considered a carefully crafted branding move.

John Singer Sargent's inclusion of the peacock feather on his blade promotes the connection between the male artist's acceptable performance of feminine traits and Sargent's private life. Although historically, Sargent's work has been examined for the ways in which he remained aloof from the avant-garde scene, scholars have begun to examine his work for elements of his own sensualism and sexuality. Trevor Fairbrother, in *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist,* argues that "sensuality [was] a major force in his creative life."[82] Fairbrother also argues for the notion that Sargent's watercolors contained an unbridled sensuality.[83] This opposes the typical reading of his works as that they hide any display of his own sexuality. Scholars, like Fairbrother, have recently argued that Sargent's watercolors do reveal his sexuality. Sargent did not begin exhibiting his watercolors in mass until 1905 when a solo exhibition of his watercolors took place in London at the Carfax Gallery.[84] If Sargent's earlier watercolors allowed him to experiment artistically without criticism, they offer a more intimate view of Sargent's sensuality.

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[81]Marvin J. Taylor. *Reading Wilde: Querying Spaces*. (New York: NYU Press, 1995), 46.

[82] Trevor J. Fairbrother and John Singer Sargent, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*. (Seattle: Seattle Art Museum, 2000), 15.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid., 148.

Sargent's watercolor peacock feather on the Crane Fan is no exception. It allows Sargent to sexually identify through the peacock. Fairbrother's final chapter "Unraveling the Paradoxes" seeks to reconcile Sargent's typically guarded personality with his flamboyant art. In other words, he examines the dichotomy of Sargent's public and personal personas, and his academic and progressive inclinations which were often at war with each other.[85] Fairbrother argues "that a fuller awareness of the strengths and weaknesses of Sargent's temperament can clarify the seeming disconnectedness between his bravura art and a reticent public image."[86] The peacock feather on the Crane fan offers insight into Sargent's mentality as one who participated in an artistic lifestyle without shedding his masculinity. As many of the public assumed that artists, musicians, and writers were homosexuals, Sargent worked very hard to assert his dominance as an artist who did not forego the heteronormative characteristics of his gender. In nature, the male peacock is flamboyant and decorative; it also performs its role for the female. Thus, for the aesthetic male artist, it became the perfect symbol. Sargent used this association with the peacock to argue for their ability to dress provocatively and decoratively without threat to his sexuality.

Ultimately, this thesis acts as a case study of artists' reactions to cross gender performance following the arrest of Oscar Wilde in 1895. This thesis exhibits one way in which autograph fans from this period might be dissected: as products of socio-cultural importance. It does so through a close study of relative artistic and cultural output by the artists represented on the fan around the time of 1895. By first revealing biographical data, including an unpublished reference to the fan which

[85] Fairbrother, *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 18.

[86] Ibid., 15

sheds light on the conditions of its creation, this thesis offers the following conclusions. James Abbott McNeill Whistler's and John Singer Sargent's motivations reveal their attempts to contend with the gendered connotations of the fan considering their own performative tendencies. In fact, as this thesis will argue, both Whistler and Sargent reverse this sexually charged nature of the feminine fan. The erect plumage of the peacock tail spread wide open allows for the Crane Fan to function as the empowerment of their own tendencies toward gender performance following the arrest of Oscar Wilde.

Artistic, Musical, and Societal Entanglements: The Crane Fan and Connections

This primary section of the thesis tracks the signatures on the Crane Fan by date, in an attempt to trace the chronology of the formation of the fan. As there are some signatures without dates and with little information regarding the fan's formation, these following statements are made utilizing references about the featured artists, musicians, writers, and celebrities in or around 1895. After this discussion, the thesis turns to focus solely on the blades decorated by the artists. In several cases, the source material for the artists' sketches on the Crane Fan has been located. Certain blades are exact replicas of works in the artistic oeuvres of the signatories of the Crane Fan, while others bear resemblance to works produced around the time. In Whistler's case, the sketch on the Crane Fan fits within the scheme of his 1880s-1890s pastel and chalk figure sketches from his studio. Uniquely, this thesis contributes a previously unpublished source which references the Crane Fan and links it to a work within the oeuvre of Walford Graham Robertson.

As Calvert mentions in her initial discussion of the Crane Fan, a rudimentary examination of the fan exposes a unique web of artistic entanglements in Victorian London. In fact, an in-depth discussion of the fan provides information regarding the artists and their relationships to their oeuvres and to the oeuvres of the other artists. The Crane Fan's ultimate destination was likely the parlor of Lady X's home. However, as Lady X was of exalted rank there is no telling who might have glanced upon the fan. No doubt the artists of the Crane Fan were aware, many having already participated in similar fans, that visitors of nobility and high society would view the Crane Fan. It doesn't seem unlikely to suggest that the artists understood that the fan would be viewed by many. Thus, regardless of the identity of the owner of the fan, the artists represented themselves with the understanding that their work would be on display for the Victorian elite. In so doing, their signatures and sketches reveal something of their attempts to

curate a public persona. Furthermore, in many cases we can draw parallels between the artistic oeuvres of the signatories and their additions on the fan.

The following analysis operates under the understanding that the fan was circulated intact as suggested by Calvert.[87] Connected by ribbon midway through each stick, the empty wooden sticks were passed around or accompanied the owner as they were painted and signed. One point to support this is a set of glass-plate negatives held in Whistler's collection at the University of Glasgow. (Figure 14) Calvert notes that the existence of the negatives "[supports] the notion of it being circulated intact, since it was photographed this way at about its halfway point, with its original fastener and ribbon thread."[88] It also puts the Crane Fan in Whistler's possession in or around July 1895.

The contributors to the Crane Fan shared experiences with each other and with many of the potential fan owners. Many of them lived near each other and worked together on a daily basis, attending club meetings and parties together. The artists shared models and the musicians played at the same venues. Sir Frederic Leighton, President of the Royal Academy in 1895, was acquainted with many of the artists from the academy and the Aesthetic Movement's Avant-Gardists. At the beginning of January, Leighton became the first to sign and date the fan.[89] Leighton's medallion on the Crane Fan is a classically inspired profile of a woman encircled by a laurel wreath. Leighton lived in Holland Park, a prestigious and highly sought-after area of London. The area was rife with nobility, wealth, and artistic patronage.

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[87] Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," 39.

[88] Ibid.

[89] Several of the signatures are undated, therefore, we cannot be sure that he was the first to sign it. However, he is the first to sign the fan and leave a date.

Whistler himself lived in Chelsea, but he and Du Maurier benefited from their connections to the communities in Holland Park, and Kensington. For instance, Whistler received commissions from Alexander Ionides (1833-1900) and George Cavfry.[90] George F. Watts (1817-1904) established a career working for the wealthy in Holland Park and lived on Melbury Road. Some of the Crane Fan's artists worked on the design and completion of the houses at Holland Park. For instance, Walter Crane added the finishing touches to Phillip Webb's (1831-1915) project for the Ionides who renovated 1 Holland Park during the 1860s.[91] Crane was involved in the decoration of the home. Crane and his wife Mary (née Andrews) (1846-1914) lived nearby at 13 Holland Street from 1892 until her death in 1914 and his in 1915. Sir Edward Burne-Jones lived at 41 Kensington Square. Sir William Blake Richmond (1842-1921) was likely in the Holland Park area in April 1895, when he signed the fan.

As somewhat of a lynchpin for the Holland Park group, Leighton's influence on the Crane fan can be charted, particularly in regard to the musicians who were included on the fan. For instance, as writer Caroline Dakers noted, Leighton possessed an enthusiasm for music and showed it by affiliating himself with the world-class performers of the day, including, the violinists Joseph Joachim and Wilma Norman-Neruda and conductor and pianist Charles Halle.[92] Leighton was well connected to the imminent musicians of the time and held music parties at his Holland Park address. Frequent attendees included Charles and Wilma Halle (1838-1911),

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[90] Peter Jeffreys, *Reframing Decadence: C. P. Cavafy's Imaginary Portraits*. (United States: Cornell University Press, 2015), 4.

[91] Caroline Dakers, *The Holland Park circle: artists and Victorian society.* (London: Yale University Press, 1999), 108-109

[92] Ibid., 136.

Joseph Joachim, and George Henschel. The Halles lived nearby at 1 South Villas Campden Hill, and George Henschel lived at Bedford Gardens on Campden Hill.[93] Evidently, the Crane fan spent the first few months of the year migrating around Holland Park and Campden Hill area of Victorian London. After Leighton, the next dated signatory to the Crane fan was composer Ignacy Paderewski (1860-1941) on February 7th, 1895. Charles and Wilma Halle completed their signatures on the 8th of March. Leighton held his last musical party at Holland Park in March 1895, nine months before his death. At this occasion, Joseph Joachim was in attendance illustrating his acquaintance with Leighton at the time he signed the Crane Fan in March.[94] Joachim would perform at Crystal Palace in London only two days after signing the fan on the 28th of March, further proof that the fan remained in London at the time.[95] Musician Andre Messager (1833-1929) signed May 7th.

From January to May of 1895, several artists in the area signed the fan. First, Philip Burne-Jones (1861-1926) left a date of February and his father Edward signed in March. The fan as an experimental medium was not new to Edward Burne-Jones. In fact, Burne-Jones had worked out his *Passing of Venus* (1881) in watercolor on a fan, according to his son Philip Burne-Jones.[96] Thus, it is not unprecedented to suppose that Burne-Jones's fan sketch is the first iteration of a painting. Lawrence Alma-Tadema signed the fan on March 16th, followed by his

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[93] Dakers, *The Holland Park circle: artists and Victorian society*, 195.

[94] Ibid., 298.

[95] *Musical News: A Weekly Journal of Music* Volume 8 (January to June 1895): 264.

[96] Philip, Burne-Jones, "Notes on Some Unfinished Works of Sir Edward Burne-Jones, Bt." In *The Magazine of Art*. United Kingdom: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1900, 164.

wife two days later. Laura Alma-Tadema's sketch is a recreation of her *Fireside Fancies* exhibited at the 1893 Fine Arts Palace Exhibition (Figure 15).[97] George Boughton (1833-1905) signed on the 31st of March. Boughton was in London at least by March 9th, 1895.[98] On April 5th, it was John Collier's (1850-1934) turn to sign the fan. John Collier's addition represents a woman very similar to a figure in his *The Redemption of Tauhauser* of (1893), as well as *The Laboratory* of (1895), (Figures 16 and 17). William Blake Richmond signed it on April 23rd. In May, Sir John Everett Millais (1829-1896) signed the fan and left a little medallion, which is a detail from his *Little Speedwell's Darling Blue* of 1892 (Figure 18). On May 6th, Millais spoke at the academy banquet.[99] All this suggests that the fan made its way around the artists in London from January to May. After May 7th, there are no dated signatures on the fan again until July.

The fan, like at least four of its signatories, spent July in Paris. Whistler signs Paris-July at the base of his fan stick. At first glance, Whistler's choice of the medallion on the Crane Fan seems the most confounding. Any speculation may fall short of unraveling Whistler's true motivations. His monochrome medallion depicts a dancing nude figure with a fan. The pleated folds of the characters fan are more visible in the nearly identical *Design for Decorated Fan* that Whistler gave Charles Lang Freer in 1899 (Figure 6). The Freer sketch suggests importance in one of two ways. First, Whistler practiced his sketch for the fan before signing and painting the

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[97] Charles M. Kurtz, *Official Illustrations from the Art Gallery of the World's Columbian Exposition.* Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1893, 232.

[98] *Harper's Weekly, A Journal of Civilization* 39, no. 1994 (Saturday March 9, 1895): 228.

[99] John Everett Millais and Millais, John Guille. *The Life and Letters of Sir John Everett Millais, President of the Royal Academy*. (United Kingdom: Methuen, 1899), 259.

actual fan. Second, if the sketch is a reproduction done for Charles Lang Freer, then Freer clearly thought it impressive enough to obtain a copy. The watercolor aligns with Whistler's multi-media experiments from this period. Robins suggests that "Whistler understood, Sickert said in 1885, that the watercolour was a 'vehicle exquisitely suited to the dainty and fleeting nature of the impressions conveyed."[100] Moreover, Whistler's watercolor sketch exhibits his experimentation with capturing the impression of the moment and his form of modernism.

Whistler's sketch for the Crane Fan bears resemblance to works on paper being produced during this time. For instance, the charcoal and pastel known as *A Fortune Teller; A Nude Lying on a Sofa* resembles the setting and composition of the fan sketch (Figure 19).[101] Most specifically, the position of the model in *A Fortune Teller* suggests Whistler's inspiration for the fan sketch. Prolific Whistler scholar Margaret MacDonald dates *A Fortune Teller* to 1890-1891. In this sketch, the nude model reclines awkwardly on the sofa; her right leg is draped over it. Her left leg is closer to a right angle, and she is poised on the tips of her toes holding her between the sofa and the floor. She is not conceivably relaxed. It is not feasible that she could hold this pose and be relaxed as is implied. The sofa, which might only manifest in a slightly darker red stain in the watercolor sketch given to Freer, is nonexistent on the Crane Fan version. On the arm of the sofa in *Fortune Teller*, Whistler left his butterfly signature. The signature seems to land in just the same location on the Crane Fan, if the image is reversed. Further similarities are found in the pose of the model. In *Fortune Teller*, the model's upper body hunches over an object which blends into the background. Though her shoulders are more relaxed than the dancing figure on

[100] Robins, *A fragile modernism: Whistler and his impressionist followers*, 130.

[101] MacDonald, *James McNeill Whistler: Drawings, Pastels, and Watercolours: A Catalogue Raisonné*, Cat. No 1275.

the Crane Fan, the *Fortune Teller's* crescent shaped torso foreshadows the exaggerated figure on the Crane Fan.

Despite being called a dancing fawn in the Sotheby's catalogue of 1910, the watercolor on the fan represents a nude dancing with a fan.[102] Though the legs of the *Fortune Teller* line up with those on the Crane Fan, the dancer on the fan is far more hunched. Her back is curved in a crescent shape exaggerating an element of whimsiness. This might explain the attribution of a dancing fawn, as the figure's proportions and movement do not seem to line up with any naturally devised female. The pose itself seems contrived and composited from a number of these sketches. For instance, Whistler sketched Rose Pettigrew crouched over next to flowers on at least one occasion. *Rose et Argent: Fleurs de Printemps* shows a similar position wherein Whistler grapples with how to depict her exaggerated back curve (Figure 20). The figure in the Crane Fan sketch is less anatomically sound and bears resemblance to a more organic, less static pose from this watercolor.

With his sketches and watercolors of the nude, Whistler seemed more occupied with aesthetic value than the subject matter itself. As Robins noted during this period, "aesthetic concerns of colour and form took precedence over the subject of his picture."[103] Overall, Whistler seemed concerned with practicing the pose of the model as well as an aesthetic value added through the experimentation with color. More to the point of comparison is the red cap which the model in *Fortune Teller* wears over her hair. The model for the *Fortune Teller* was likely Rose Pettigrew sisters. Since the compositions are similar, this might suggest that the

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[102] Sotheby, *Catalogue of A Magnificent Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, the Property of a Gentleman*, 47.

[103] Robins, *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and his Impressionist Followers*, 123.

figure on the Crane Fan is also Rose Pettigrew. However, this is not the first time Whistler's nude models wear a similar cap or fan. The cap and fan were often featured together in his 1890's works on paper. For instance, *Modèle Drape* from 1885 dons a red cap, holds a fan, and likely wears the same cloak that is piled on the couch next to the fortune teller (Figure 21).

Whistler's studio was filled with props, particularly exoticized decorative pieces such as a fan and cloak. In *The Arabian,* a nude model reclines on the same couch with the same cloak (Figure 22). Here, Whistler experimented with a warm, red based color palette. In another image, *Blue and Violet: Lapis Lazuli,* a nude model lies on the same couch with the same cloak. In this image however, Whistler saturated the image with blue tones. Intriguingly, the colorful red and white dots on the nude's fan find iterations on the Crane Fan sketch when examining a glass negative of the fan (Figure 14). This image is part of a set of glass negatives of the Crane fan. They were taken by Whistler most likely in July 1895, when the fan was in production.

Among the considerations of color, tone, form, and subject matter, Whistler also dealt with composition on a unique medium. In his *Design for a Fan,* Whistler's figures float off of the surface (Figure 6). Though the sketch has an established horizon line and background, the figures are not convincingly situated as they lean forward or backward as if in motion. This motion does not align with the background and shows the influence of Japanese prints on Whistler's art. In the fan sketch, Whistler created no background in which the figure might conceivably sit or rest. The awkward pose of the figure is made even more whimsical by the seeming implausibility that a figure might be able to stand in the position. Not only was Whistler working with the unique medium of the fan mount, but now he was only allowed one rounded stick in which to place his figure. The figure's body shape echoes the enclosure of the circle around it as if confined, or as if Whistler himself felt confined by the small and awkward space

in which to leave his artistic "likeness." Whistler, underneath his *Nude with a Fan* watercolor, left his "long-suffering butterfly broken on the wheel" as he had left in Constance Wilde's autograph book.[104] On the Crane Fan, his signature of a butterfly copulating on a pansy is completed with a barbed-tailed stinger ending with the words *Paris July.* The tone and informality of his dating suggest a familiarity with the fan owner. Additionally, Whistler was seemingly in control of the fan during the summer of 1895 when he took the glass plate negative images and rearranged the order of the sticks.[105] Each glass negative in the Hunterian Collection at the University of Glasgow, shows a different order of the fan sticks. In order to achieve this, the ribbon must have been removed and replaced after the order of the sticks was arranged for each photo.

Also in July, Jacques Joseph Tissot signed the Crane Fan using the French *Juillet* to date his entry. Between 1894-1895, Tissot's *The Life of Christ* series was on display in Paris. James Jacques Tissot's sketch on the Crane Fan belongs to his *Life of Christ* series, for which he was garnering acclaim during that year. Tissot began his career painting genre scenes of well-dressed women participating in leisurely activities. However, he experienced a personal conversion and began to represent religious scenes. His series, *The Life of Christ,* featured 350 watercolor scenes from the New Testament. They had first been shown in 1894 and were massively popular. The black and white hijab certainly bears resemblance to the head covering worn by the Virgin in *Blessed Virgin in Old Age* (Figure 23). Calvert suggests that Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta and Georges Jules Victor Clairin (1843-1919) signed the fan in July as well. Although she does

[104] "Mrs. Oscar Wilde at Home." *To-day* V, no.55 (24 November 1894): 93-94

[105] Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," 33-41.

not elaborate, the assumption seems to be based on the idea that the pair were more likely to have signed the fan in Paris rather than London. This makes sense as Madrazo and Clairin lived and worked in Paris.[106] Madrazo and Clairin were likely on friendly terms. They had both worked alongside Spanish painter Mariano Fortuny y Marsal (1838-1874) at his house in Granada in 1872.[107]

Once again, after these signatures, the fan does not receive a dated signature until September. George Du Maurier and John Singer Sargent sign the fan in September of 1895. During the summer of 1895, Sargent was in America; first he was in Boston working on his famed mural for the Boston Public Library. Then, he spent time at the Biltmore Estate to paint a portrait of Mr. George Vanderbilt. By the autumn, he had returned to England.[108] All this suggests the fan had returned to London by September when he added his signature. In October, the fan received several more signatures. Edward Onslow Ford (1852-1923) and Arthur Sullivan (1842-1900) signed sometime in October. In the case of Onslow Ford's signature, he painted a small version of his acclaimed statue *Applause* from 1893 (Figure 24). Underneath this, he left an inscription of hieroglyphics from a song of a harpist found on the walls of an ancient Egyptian tomb. Other signatories in October included Charles Villiers Stanford (1852-1924) who signed on October 1st, and Sir Alexander Campbell MacKenzie (1847-1935), who signed on October

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[106] "Catalogue of Paintings from the Salon and the Champ de Mars, with Other Celebrated Works." *Cosmopolitan*. United States: Hearst Corporation, 1895.

[107] Boone, *Vistas de España: American Views of Art and Life in Spain, 1860-1914.* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), 79.

[108] William A. Coffin "Sargent and His Painting: With Special Reference to his decorations in the Boston Public Library." In *The Century Magazine*, Volume 52, no.2, June 1896: 163- 178.

16th. MacKenzie served as a member of the Royal Academy of Music and was knighted in 1895. He had played concerts frequently with the Halles and Joachim.[109] Stanford and MacKenzie were both members of the "Parry Group."[110] The Parry Group was named after their association with Charles Hubert Parry (1848-1918). Parry's addition to the Crane fan could conceivably be placed somewhere close to these two additions; although he left no date and his signature is not present on the Whistler negatives from the summer.

On October 18th, 1895, Kate Perugini (1839-1929), daughter of Charles Dickens (1812-1870), signed the fan. Perugini's second marriage was to Charles (Carlo) Edward Perugini (1839-1918), an Italian born painter. Kate Perugini painted with her husband in their Kensington studio and sent pictures to the Royal academy.[111] Charles Edward's signature is interestingly absent from the fan. Another lesser-known artist named Marcus Stone (1840-1921), was connected to Perugini from her childhood friends. Stone and Charles Dickens had been close friends and neighbor and their children grew up playing together.[112] Artist Colin Hunter was also a neighbor. Hunter was the fourth to commission a house on Melbury Road in Kensington, which was near the residence of Marcus Stone. Colin Hunter's Medallion is a miniature version of his *A Fishing Boat Off the Coast* which was painted for the Alma-Tademas to be displayed at

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[109] Sir Alexander Campbell Mackenzie, *A Musician's Narrative,* (London: Cassell and Company, LTD, 1927), 92.

[110] John F. Porte, *Sir Charles V. Stanford,* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & co, Ltd., 1921), 14.

[111] Dakers, *The Holland Park circle: artists and Victorian society,* 221.

[112] Ibid., 159.

17 Grove End Road in St. John's wood (Figure 25).[113] Hunter's production of this painting may have been underway at the time he contributed the sketch on the fan, or he may have worked out the composition for the painting on the fan stick.

Walford Graham Robertson signed the Crane fan on October 24th. The subject for Robertson's sketch was difficult to track down. Buried in an old 1900 edition of *The Magazine of Art* was a small anecdote regarding this medallion and the fan. Marion Harry Spielmann, critic and editor, wrote in his discussion of Robertson:

> "One of the most successful of the artist's pictures, yet belonging to a period already disavowed, or, at least, to a style at present quite recanted, is the decorative "Queen of Samothrace," which grew out of a little round sketch made upon a rib of a fan painted on by several artists for charity purposes. This was in 1896 when, also, "Mrs. George Alexander" was seen at the Grafton Gallery and the little "Beauty and the Beast" picture at the New."[114]

The whereabouts of *The Queen of Samothrace* are currently unknown. However, an image from the article in *The Magazine of Art* shows the picture in its final, albeit black and white form (Figure 11). Immediately, the similarities between *The Queen of Samothrace* and Graham's medallion on the Crane Fan are evident. Both women sit on a throne with a crown atop their heads. Their dresses share pattern details. In Speilmann's discussion of Robertson, he writes that the painting belongs to a "period already disavowed."[115] This period that Robertson had already

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[113] "The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art: Colin Hunter A.R.A (1841-1904) A Fishing Boat off the Coast, Lot 276," Christie's Auction House, 18 Feb 2003, Accessed March 28, 2022. https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-4051954?ldp_breadcrumb=back&intObjectID=4051954&from=salessummary&lid=1

[114] Spielmann, "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson," 80.

[115] Spielmann, "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson," 80.

abandoned was a preoccupation with the Pre-Raphaelites and the principles they had established. Robertson's desire to resituate himself within the early Aesthetic Movement is evident in his usage of a poem by Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837-1909). Poet and critic, Swinburne had partnered with Pre-Raphaelites, Millias, and Dante Gabriel Rossetti (1828-1882) in the early days of the burgeoning Aesthetic Movement.

Robertson's painting the *Queen of Samothrace* interpreted Swinburne's 1866 *Masque of Queen Bersabe: A Miracle Play*; the character Chrysothemis recites:

I am the Queen of Samothrace
God, Making Roses, made my face
As a rose filled up full with red.
My prows made sharp the straightened seas
From Pontus to that Chersonese
Whereon the ebbed Asian stream is shed.
My hair was as sweet scent that drips:
Love's breath begun about my lips
Kindled the lips of people dead.[116]

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The first two lines seem to be Robertson's inspiration, as he crowns the queen with roses.

On the same day as Robertson, novelist Walter Besant (1836-1901) signed the Crane fan. Besant shares his stick with an Irish historian William Edward Hartpole Lecky (1838-1903). Lecky's signature is dated October 31st. Besant was knighted by Queen Victoria (1819 -1901) in the summer of 1895. His addition to the stick is a poetic line, « mieux est de ris que de larmes

[116] Algernon Charles Swinburne, *The Poems of Algernon Charles Swinburne*. Ed. Richard Henry Stoddard. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1884), 498.

écrire ».[117] This excerpt from a poem was written by François Rabelais (1494-1553. Artist James Dromgole Linton (1840-1916) and artist Charles Edward Halle (1846-1914) signed the fan in November making the last two dated signatures. J.D. Linton's addition to the fan could be a small detail of *The Page* (Figure 26). However, it could also be reference to another painting. C.E. Halle sketched a young girl holding the book *In Fairy Land* on her lap (Figure 27). *In Fairy Land* took place in an Elf-world invented by poet William Allingham (1824-1889) and illustrated by illustrator, Richard Doyle (1824-1883) in 1870. In Halle's painting, the book is splayed out on the young girl's lap featuring an actual illustration from the book. [118]

The following signatories left no dates, and we are left to speculate when their signatures may have been left. As Calvert did, this thesis operates under the assumption that the fan was completed during the year 1895. Other artists or musicians on the fan with no date included in their signature are Countress Feodora Gleichen, Frank Dicksee, Lewis Morris (1883- 1907), and Opera singer Sir Charles Santley (1834-1922). Perhaps the strangest addition to the fan is the signature of Lord Russell of Killowen (1832-1900). Killowen served as Lord Chief Justice of England from 11 July 1894 to 10 August 1900. Though his inclusion might seem strange as the only politician, he was well connected in the artistic and musical circles painted on the fan. John Singer Sargent painted his portrait in 1899 and again in 1902. He shared history with other *Punch* magazine members Arthur Sullivan and Linley Sambourne.[119] Perhaps more interesting

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[117] Translation: Better to laugh than to write tears.

[118] Moses Purnell Handy. *World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: Official Catalogue* (United States: W. B. Conkey Company, 1893), 114.

[119] Marion Harry Speilmann, *The History of "Punch"* (United Kingdom: Cassell and Company, 1895), 67.

than the inclusion of Lord Killowen then is the exclusion of Sambourne. Sambourne was equally connected and his absence from the Crane fan is notable.

The titular addition to the fan was Walter Crane's painting on the base and guards of the fan. Crane left the peacock feathers on the base of the fan and is responsible for the two guards, or end pieces of the fan where he signed his caricature of a crane with a paint brush. We know from the Whistler glass-negatives that Crane's addition did not take place until at least after these photos as it is not present.[120] However, we have no further information dating Crane's signatures, though conjuncture suggests his was the final decoration added to bring the fan together. We are left to wonder just how much Crane was involved in the creation of the fan, or if his addition even took place in 1895. His signature might have taken place any time before 1910 as it existed when the fan was sold at Sotheby's. In volume 73 of the 1911 edition of *The Sketch*, it reads, "The fan, which was made by Walter Crane" was signed by all the aforementioned contributors.[121] Although this and the fact that Crane contributed the outer guards seems to establish him as the fan's creator, we cannot be sure of his role in the process.

When asked to sign the fan and paint a small token of their artistic success, the artists chose works that they identified as successful or representational of themselves. Certainly, this concept in and of itself could prove to be a promising field of discussion. One could discuss the nature of how the selection of these artistic sources reflects the self-identity of the artist.

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[120] The negatives show Whistler and Tissot's signatures which occurred in July and as pointed out above, the negatives were taken in July as well, probably under the auspice of Whistler. As Crane's signature was not featured on the fan in the glass-negatives it most likely was added after July.

[121] *The Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality*, Volume 73 (January- April 1911): 218.

Armstrong called an autograph fan a "fascinating little museum."[122] Thus, the Crane Fan acts as a curated record of the year 1895 in artistic terms. As the artists grappled with what pieces to exhibit, so too did they decide just how to represent themselves in a fan 'museum.' For Whistler and Sargent, this presentation of their inner selves reacted directly to gender norms in 1895.

The Performative Nature of Collecting Autographs: Comparing Constance Wilde's Autograph Book with the Walter Crane Fan

George Henschel's explanation of the craze of autograph fans in the last decades of the nineteenth century highlights an important concept of gender and performance. Nineteenth-

[122] Armstrong, "A Fan to Be Coveted." 22.

Century rhetoric surrounding the formation of autograph books and fans establishes it as a feminine pastime and casts this pastime in a negative light. In fact, British barrister Alexander Meyrick Broadley (1847-1916), when referring to the Crane Fan, called the musicians targets of women, or the "fair sex."[123] In other words, the women accosted the musicians for their autograph. The use of the word target underscores the negative and aggressive nature of women collecting the signature of male celebrities on a fan. Not only does this establish the fan as a feminine object, but it also ascribes precarious properties to fans and the practice of autograph collecting. This was not the first time fans were referred to as feminine weapons. As noted in the introduction, the idea of women using fans as men used swords was perpetrated as early as 1711 in England by the *Spectator* magazine.[124]

Equating the fan with a weapon turns what might have been a passive object into an active one that allows women to manipulate it for their use. Thus, the fan became inherently linked to feminine agency. This association became unstable during the fin-de-siecle because male aesthetes were appropriating feminine objects such as the fan, to decorate their interiors. This is indicative of larger trends in which the aesthetes appropriated the home or interior as an artistic space.[125] What once was a solely feminine space, the realm of women decorating their

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[123] Alexander Meyrick Broadley, *Chats on Autographs*, (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1910), 257-259.
By calling musicians a target of the fair sex, Broadley, furthers the metaphor of the fan as a weapon within the arsenal.

[124] "Women [were] armed with fans as men with swords, and sometimes do more execution with them."
Steele, *The Fan,* 6.

[125] Calloway and Orr. *The Cult of Beauty: The Aesthetic Movement 1860-1900,* 12.

homes, now was open to men. The male artist could enter, manipulate, and retreat, all while maintaining a modicum of their reputation.[126] Certainly, painting a fan references this male crossover into female territory. The male artist was able to make his mark upon the fan without jeopardizing his masculinity.[127]

Typically, the woman of the Victorian bourgeoisie curated or cultivated a home interior to her liking. Analogous with the domestic home was the garden. As a private, secluded area, it was equated with the interior and the feminine realm.[128] An important metaphor compares autograph fans and books with carefully curated gardens extending the understanding of the gendered nature of collecting autographs. In "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England," Jillian Hess correlates the autograph 'album' with a carefully curated garden.[129] In order to establish the album as a garden, Hess quotes Charles Lamb's (1775-1834) 1830 book, *Album Verses with a few Others,* which

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[126] The separation of the spheres had taken place in Europe for centuries. However, an ideology of domesticity was enforced on women, wherein up until the 1890's husbands, or fathers could physically restrain women to their interior. domestic sphere, or the realm of the interior, was associated with feminine values as women oversaw keeping the home. The exterior realm or the business realm outside the home was labeled for men only. Women of the bourgeoisie were seldom allowed to enter the exterior realm, and never without an escort of men.
Nancy Fix Anderson, "Family" in *Victorian Britain: An Encyclopedia.* (United Kingdom: Routledge, 2011), 287.

[127] The autograph album, or autograph fan, occupied a unique space in the semi-public, and semi-private, arena of the lady's parlor.
Hess, "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England," 4.

[128] Ibid., 3.

[129] Hess, "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England," 3.

begins “An Album is a Garden.”[130] Hess notes, “Charles Lamb’s reference to the album as ‘a garden’ suggests, the flower had been a symbol for collections of poetry that came to be associated with the lady’s album, by way of medieval florilegia.”[131] However, when unraveling this metaphor further, there are rhetorical qualifiers for the fan which allude to the same narrative that played out on the pages of the autograph book. If the pages of this autograph folio are “leaves,” then this bears resemblance to the terminology of the fan. A completed fan mount is often referred to as the fan “leaf” and the pieces that hold the mount are “sticks.” Further symbolically and semiotically linking the fan to the garden are the outer sticks known as “guards.” The guards functioned to protect the fan leaf when it was closed, but guard, as a qualifier, could also hint to the private and guarded nature of the garden, or interior, and thus extend to the fan. In the case of autograph fans, the involved parties perform their respective gender roles as either the hunter or the hunted. Women of the bourgeoisie were the hunter or the gardener, while the musicians and celebrates were the hunted or the flower.

Furthermore, the artist, signing their autograph, was able to perform the version of themselves most fitted for view in the house of the Victorian Elite. This was certainly the case, as Hess notes, with Constance Wilde’s autograph album. Hess asserts, “Writing in an album such as Constance’s was nothing if not a performance — a highly manicured representation of a public self in a more private setting. Given a page, each contributor made it his or her own. For this reason, the album provides an illuminating view into fin-de-siècle life that paralleled its

[130] Ibid.

[131] Ibid., 8.

literary and artistic production."[132] Many of the same contributors to the Crane Fan participated in the formation of Constance Wilde's book. As one will note by examining the autograph fans mentioned here, many of the signatories were frequent contributors to autograph fans and albums. Most importantly, many of the names are ones that feature in the list of the contributors to the Crane Fan helpfully laid out by Calvert in her discussion of the fan (Figure 13). Certainly, this case can be made for the significance of the Crane Fan as an important and illuminating source of fin-de-siècle life.

According to Hess, in Constance Wilde's autograph book, Oscar Wilde's signature avoids any gendered statements or connotations. Wilde left this in his wife's book: *"I can write no stately proem, As a prelude to my lay, From a poet to a poem, – This is all I say. Yet if of these fallen petals, One to you seems fair, Love will waft it, till it settles, On your hair., And when wind and winter harden, all the loveless land, It will whisper of the garden, You will understand. -Oscar Wilde June '86"* (Figure 28). Oscar does not identify himself as Constance's husband, nor give any title or qualifiers to the sentences which would suggest that a male is writing the poem about a female. Therefore, as Hess notes, Wilde's entry "obscures gender entirely."[133] Hess calls Wilde an androgenous aesthete who is "devoid of gender."[134] Similarly, Walter Crane's page reads *"From your book I take a leaf, By your leave to leave or take: Art is long, though, life be brief, Yet on this page my mark I'll make. -Walter Crane, His mark, Feb: 27 1887"* (Figure 29). Crane questions his ownership of his signature and the ownership of his

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[132] Hess, "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England," 2.

[133] Ibid., 7.

[134] Ibid.

gender. If Constance Wilde's autograph album is a performance, then the Crane Fan is equally a performance, perhaps even more so. The fan entries are not hidden behind other pages but rather on full, simultaneous display. The signatures in both the Wilde book and the Crane Fan can be read as a performance. The argument here is that the fan blades can be read as spaces of performance for the contributing artists. Wilde's and Crane's signatures are examples of a trend during the fin-de-siecle, in which artists and poets performed reversal of established gender traits through their work.

Additionally, Whistler left the same signature on the Crane Fan that he had in Constance Wilde's book.[135] Whistler's butterfly signature questioned acceptable gender performance in that Whistler identified with both masculine and feminine signifiers (Figure 30). In an article regarding the context of Whistler's signature, Schneider notes a connection to Whistler's effeminate nature and bisexual sadism.[136] Whistler's signature expressed both the butterfly copulating with the pansy, or divergently the masculine and the feminine forms, as well as the violent nature of the scorpion sting to represent sadism. The sentiment was simplified by Syme in her book *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art*, when she noted that Whistler's subjects could often be defined as either flowers or pollinators. Syme notes, "Whistler's sitters were often flowers or pollinators; When painting and cross-fertilizing these delicate and ephemeral creatures, the artist was prone to whipping and

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[135] "Mrs. Oscar Wilde at Home." *To-day* V, no.55 (24 November 1894): 94.

[136] Laurie Schneider, "Butterfly or Scorpion: A note on the Iconography of Whistler's Signatures." *Notes in the History of Art 2*, no. 2 (Winter 1983): 26-29.

vampirism in particular."[137] Whistler's signature displays both the pollinator, the butterfly, and the pollinated, the pansy. The scorpion tail is the sadistic addition. The stinger's origin is said to have come from an instance when Whistler impaled a scorpion on an etching needle and watched it flail.[138] This performance of both gender roles in his signature meant Whistler was treading a fine line between acceptability and transgression. This was particularly dangerous when Whistler left the signature on the Crane Fan in 1895. Whistler moved in the same circles as Oscar Wilde, who was arrested in 1895. Wilde's arrest put his circle of friends and admirers on high alert. Many attempted to distance themselves from Wilde, Whistler particularly, for fear of tainted reputations. A large enough display of feminine gender qualifiers by male artists would have signaled homosexuality. Thus, an examination of Wilde's trial and the subsequent response to his conviction is necessary to fully understand the cultural context in which the Crane Fan was produced.

Oscar Wilde's Trial

[137] Syme, *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art*, 196.

[138] Ibid.

Wilde's influence was widespread, but 1895 changed this. In February of 1895, the Marquess of Queensbury left the famed calling card with "For Oscar Wilde, posing sodomite" inscribed on it. Though Wilde was urged to drop the matter, he accused and sued the Marquess for libel. In return, Wilde was accused of gross indecency in a court of law. The trial against the Marquess left Wilde bankrupt. Wilde's loss of money added to the difficulty in defending himself against the accusations of sodomy, as he didn't have the proper resources to afford good defense. After Wilde, as a figurehead of the aesthetes, definer, and adapter of dandyism was arrested, ornamental attire became dangerous. Wilde epitomized the bohemian artist. Mainstream audiences often expected writers, artists, and those in their circles to be homosexual.[139] As such, men within these professions had to tread a very thin line in order to stay within acceptable limits of male gender performance.

As this thesis has established, many of the artists, writers, and musicians had decades long associations with the Wilde family. Therefore, they had to be cautious in the year following Wilde's trial. Wilde's trial on charges of gross indecency took part though most of April and May, leading to his ultimate conviction of gross indecency on the 25th of May.[140] He was sentenced to two years of hard labor. Following this, the writer of *The Picture of Dorian Gray* was never the same. After Wilde's arrest and conviction, he fell from prominence as a leader of the Aesthetic Movement. Other adherents in the movement dispersed out of fear of being likewise implicated as homosexuals. Additionally, Wilde's arrest had devastating effects for

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[139] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 97.

[140] Under the Criminal Law Amendment Act of 1885 homosexual acts were made illegal in Britain. Under Section 11 of the statue "gross indecency" was defined as any homosexual act apart from sodomy.

some of the Crane Fan contributors. Although he was knighted in 1895, poet Lewis Morris was passed over for poet laureate due to his association with Wilde.[141] Morris inscribed the Crane fan with the words "Who hath this, he hath all things, having naught; Who hath it not, hath nothing, having all."[142] The last two lines suggest that material things do not signify happiness or success and the statement becomes increasingly poignant when considered in the aftermath of Wilde's loss of his estate and possessions as well as his reputation.

Whistler was acquainted with Wilde but had shifted his alliances away from aestheticism prior to Wilde's arrest. Wilde's trial and subsequent arrest placed Whistler on edge as he feared for his own reputation. Whistler, who was a dedicated husband to his beloved Beatrix 'Trixie' Whistler (1857-1896) wanted to disassociate with Wilde and his followers to avoid any accusations of homosexuality. Immediately following the news of the trial, Whistler wrote to publisher William Heinemann (1863-1920) to inquire what the reaction would be following Wilde's arrest. He asked, "What of Oscar? - and what of those who are left! - for I hear there has been a general bolting of everybody! - and that London is left to the few without sin."[143] This

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[141] As an aside this lends an example of how association with Wilde would have affected the careers of his circle.
William F. Halloran, Life and Letters of William Sharp and "Fiona MacLeod".: volume 3 1900-1905. United Kingdom: Open Book Publishers, 2020.

[142] The poem can be read in its entirety in Thomas Bayne's *The Poetry of Lewis Morris* published in Frazier Magazine 1880. Thomas Bayne, "The Poetry of Lewis Morris" in *Frazier's Magazine*. New Series Volume XXII. Spottiswood and Co, London; United Kingdom, July 1880, 59.

[143] Whistler to William Heinemann, [May/June 1895?], GUL MS Whistler H185; GUW 02084, (2022-03-27)."
The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855-1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari.
On-line edition, University of Glasgow.

statement not only speaks to the reaction of Wilde's supporters, but also foregrounds Whistler's understanding that those followers represented a 'sinful' crowd.

Whistler was initially unsure how Wilde's arrest might affect his career and the careers and livelihoods of Wilde's circle. In August of 1895, he wrote to Lady Archibald Campbell (1845-1923), a friend:

> "Dear me! what a lot of things have happened! and how few of the old bad lot, that pervaded London, left to tell the tale! Amazing! I hear that when the large indecent poet was withdrawn from circulation, such was the terror of the treadmill that town absolutely emptied itself and Piccadilly in its desertion Might have been a street in one of the cities of the Plains after Jehovah had wiped up the place! -
> Certainly, There passed through here, flights of Ronnies ~~Gowers~~ and other Peers & persons of notorious sentiment with flocks of frightened "Percies, Cissies, Hughies and Gussies" all fluttering in unsympathizing Paris, ~~on the~~ where the sense of the ridiculous is too great for anything but contempt for ~~anything like~~ either criminal ~~or~~ his ~~punishment conduct~~ practices, his surroundings or his punishment. The whole matter is impossible here. It would die of derision. In France ridicule kills. In England no one is ridiculous. So, I suppose that when Oscar reappears, he will give lectures and be solemnly listened to!"[144]

Whistler's correspondence foregrounded the notion that Wilde would not be taken seriously again following his imprisonment. Moreover, it suggested that Wilde would never be the influence for popular society that he had been.

Whistler made his intent to avoid Wilde clear after Wilde was released from prison in a letter to Rosalind Birnie Philip (1873-1958). On July 27, 1897, Whistler wrote to his sister-in-law, "At the further part of the town they may still be possible rooms I mean or even in the outskirting villiages though you must keep clear of the one where they say Oscar has hidden

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http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence

[144] "Whistler to Janey Sevilla Campbell, [8/15] August 1895, GUL MS Whistler C20; GUW 00519, (2022-03-27.)"
The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855-1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari.
On-line edition, University of Glasgow.
http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence

himself!"[145] Whistler warns Rosalind not to associate, or even come physically close to Wilde's location, for fear of association. The idea was spread that Wilde had taken too many liberties with the freedoms allotted the bohemians within a rigid, often stuffy, Victorian society. The thought that Wilde's indiscretion would complicate matters for others that worked in similar circles was evident in Whistler's notes. Truly, those in the circles of the Crane Fan were at particular risk of a detrimental societal backlash against their personalities, avant-garde artistic styles, and eccentricities. In particular, John Singer Sargent's addition to the Crane fan reflects this precarious situation and responds to the gender performance shortly after Wilde's arrest.

Oscar Wilde and Sexual Upheaval: Performing Identity through Costume

[145] "Whistler to Rosalind Birnie Philip, [26 July 1897], GUL MS Whistler P352; GUW 04712, (2022-03-27.)"
The Correspondence of James McNeill Whistler, 1855-1903, edited by Margaret F. MacDonald, Patricia de Montfort and Nigel Thorp; including *The Correspondence of Anna McNeill Whistler, 1855-1880*, edited by Georgia Toutziari.
On-line edition, University of Glasgow.
http://www.whistler.arts.gla.ac.uk/correspondence

Most eloquent in his discussion of the performance of identity and Wilde's influence on gender performance in the fin-de-siecle is Trevor Fairbrother when conceptualizing John Singer Sargent's art. Fairbrother notes that at the heart of nineteenth-century aestheticism was the concept of identity as a performance.[146] Most specifically, Fairbrother notes that the Wilde household "sat at the vanguard of new expressions of gender and sexuality – most explicitly expressed in *The Woman's World*, to which Constance contributed several articles on fashion."[147] As Fairbrother claims, Oscar Wilde is a key example in understanding how the performance of identity manifested within bourgeoisie fashion in the late nineteenth century. As gender is a performance, one either perfectly performs or denies elements of their respective gender. In general, men and women of the bourgeois in the late nineteenth-century performed gender through the costume which they wore. The decorative function of bourgeoisie men had been reduced "to that of a 'frame' or dark border used 'to isolate and separate women's dresses'." [148] Whereas women decorated themselves, in much the same way one might decorate an interior, with colorful fabrics and accessories like the fan, men served as a backdrop to accentuate women. However, in the 1860's, aestheticism had shifted dress ideals for male artists. Robins writes, "when the demands made by their increasingly professional status required most male artists to act as gentleman… the new art, Aestheticism questioned normative masculine behavior and adopted what was perceived to be feminine style." [149] Aesthetic male artists wore

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[146] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 154.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes*. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

[149] Robins, *A Fragile Modernism: Whistler and his Impressionist Followers*, 123.

untraditional fabrics and questioned the relative boundaries of gender as performed through dress. These artists had to tread a fine line between acceptable acts and accusations of homosexuality. [150]

Wilde was at the center of discussions surrounding two typologies of males who dressed in a feminine manner, which emerged in the last half of the nineteenth century. These typologies were the English dandy and the bohemian artist. Both typologies were important conceptions for gender performance and identity. Wilde perfectly defined the bohemian artist. Kaplan and Stowell wrote that, though he initially [eschewed] the costume of the bohemian artist, "a half a decade later, as a writer of society plays, [Wilde] had himself adopted the uniform."[151] This uniform that Kaplan and Stowell refer to is a form of decorative dress and adornment which was out of the ordinary for men in Victorian England. The stereotypical concept of the bohemian artist/aesthete was understood and perpetrated in popular media in both subversive and overt manners. One example is the popular Franco-British cartoonist for *Punch*, George Du Maurier. Du Maurier's *Trilby*, the highly successful serial novel which ran from January through August of 1894 in *Harper's Monthly* magazine, is the source for his sketch on the Crane Fan.[152] The

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[150] Upchurch refers to a homosexual subculture in existence from the 18th century in Britain. However, many scholars have focused their discussion of the development of homosexuality in the 1870s, when a handful of legal cases set precedence for the Criminal Law Act Amendment of 1885 where homosexuality was made illegal.
Charles Upchurch. *Before Wilde: Sex Between Men in Britain's Age of Reform*. United Kingdom: University of California Press, 2013, 5

[151] Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes*. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

[152] It was published in book form on 8th September 1895 and sold 200,000 copies in the United States alone.

same month that *Trilby* was published in book form, Du Maurier signed the Crane Fan. His addition of a sketch of a woman's head in profile with "Trilby" scribbled underneath leaves no doubt as to what he meant to represent of himself on the fan.

Trilby doesn't only function as an example of the perpetrated typographies present in nineteenth century Britain, it also serves to accentuate the fluidity of gender performance within the aesthetic circle. Dennis Denisoff in his *Aestheticism and Sexual Parody 1840-1940* outlines his understanding for Du Maurier's attempt to condition public acceptance to a fluid and less defined role in which cross-over between normative functions of gender display were acceptable. Denisoff writes, "although frequently reinforcing heterosexual/homosexual, male/female, and masculine/feminine binary paradigms, Trilby has its central male character display diverse traits based on sexuality, gender, ethnicity, genius, and artistic genre, each of which carries a fluctuating weight within the character's identity." [153] According to Denisoff, Du Maurier is suggesting that artists and aesthetes, who have both a conventional outlook as well as an interest in the arts have to balance the feminine traits which they perform. Any one performance of these traits did not equal a sin, however a combination of too many demonized the artist. More specifically, Du Maurier argued for an allowance within the range of acceptable feminine traits as performed by the male artists within the bohemian circles. This was a key factor for the aesthetic movement, where artists like Rossetti, Burne-Jones, and Crane himself focused their energy on decorating their homes. The interior, a once solely feminine space, was now infiltrated by male artists claiming that their academic pursuits for beauty gave them a superior

[153] Dennis Denisoff, *Aestheticism and Sexual Parody 1840-1940.* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 72.

understanding of the aesthetic. The aesthete typography included a certain style of dress, once considered feminine.

Additionally, Wilde is often credited with the creation of the dandy. For instance, Wilde's characters wore decorative attire and adorned themselves in frivolous accessories. Kaplan and Stowell note that Wilde's dandies, "operating almost entirely through ties, waistcoats, and those all-important buttonholes," taunted "his sober gentleman with 'frivolous' options to late Victorian earnestness."[154] Dandies, like Wilde's Dorian Gray, dressed outside of the typical male costume, but did not push the boundaries into unacceptable gender performance. Furthermore, "Wilde (like his stage dandies) revealed his virtuosity by working within limitations."[155] Wilde himself dressed in a decorative manner, adorning himself with patterned clothing and accessories, but operated within acceptable gender limitations. Therefore, he had avoided repercussions for his performance of feminine gender markers, that is, until his arrest in 1895.

That same year, Sargent painted a portrait of artist Walford Graham Robertson (Figure 31). Scholars have defined Robertson's portrait as an image of the quintessential dandy.[156] A dandy was a man, typically of wealth and status, that had forsaken typical qualities of masculine behavior. Some, scholars have claimed that his portrait is a bold statement about the homosexuals of the day and their contribution to style. In the portrait, a man of some 28 years resembles a 12-year-old boy. Fairbrother notes that this painting represents the London dandy,

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[154] Joel H. Kaplan and Sheila Stowell, *Theatre and Fashion: Oscar Wilde to the Suffragettes*. (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 6.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Jongwoo Jeremy Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1868-1918*: *Royal Academicians and Masculinities* (United Kingdom: Ashgate, 2012), 135.

and by the turn of the century, critics saw men like Robertson as the weakness of London society.[157] Critics responded, in part to the frivolity Robertson's portrait implied. Historian Jongwoo Jeremy Kim in his *Painted Men in Britain, 1868-1918*: *Royal Academicians and Masculinities* relayed the story of the creation of this portrait.[158] During the sitting, Robertson complained of being uncomfortable in the coat in the London summer heat, to which Sargent responded, "But the coat is the picture… you must wear it."[159] This notion of the weak man, too weak to deal with minor discomfort within a lavish lifestyle, was also linked to the frailness of Robertson and the way in which the coat wraps around Robertson's frail body. Syme identified Sargent's aggressive possession of, or domination over his sitters, as a sexually charged gesture, claiming Sargent's painting was an "act of hand-pollination."[160] In assuming the role of the dandified aesthete, Robertson became the pollinated and Sargent the pollinator, reversing the gendered roles in which the pollinated flower should be female. Furthermore, Sargent acting as the pollinator and dominator of the scene revealed his own homoerotic tendencies.[161]

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[157] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 164.

[158] Kim, *Painted Men in Britain, 1868-1918*: *Royal Academicians and Masculinities,*135.

[159] Ibid.

[160] Syme. *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art,* 18.

[161] In 1906, artist Paul Thiriat would illustrate Dorian Gray's portrait with similarities to Sargent's portrait of Robertson further connecting Wilde's dandies with Sargent's portrait of Robertson.
Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist,* 164.

Interestingly, the portrait of Robertson only went on display at the Royal Academy during the Spring of 1895, in the middle of Wilde's trial for gross indecency.[162] Fairbrother notes that the portrait's subtlety kept Sargent from experiencing much blowback. Critics simply wrote the portrait off as an image of an "expose of dandies and 'sensitively artistic' men."[163] However, Syme's argument for Sargent's role as the sadistic pollinator over Robertson argues for Sargent's outward homoeroticism enacted upon Robertson's body. Syme claims that, alongside his small and frail body, the whiteness of Robertson's pale skin suggests a delicacy which is rarely found within the portraits of Sargent's female sitters.[164] Sargent's domination over Robertson, most cunningly found in the symbolic compression of the coat, suggests a bold decision on Sargent's part. This is in contrast to the married Whistler, who feared repercussions due to simple friendly associations with Wilde. The perennial bachelor, Sargent, displayed his acts of homoerotic domination in the Royal Academy. The same year, a time that was particularly dangerous to show any signs of homosexual tendencies, Sargent utilized the peacock feather on the Crane Fan to symbolize his support for a reversal of gender performance, without losing his masculine ability to dominate.

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[162] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 164.

[163] Ibid.

[164] Syme. *A Touch of Blossom: John Singer Sargent and the Queer Flora of Fin-de-siècle Art,* 211.

The Symbolic Nature of the Peacock Feather

At this juncture, the importance of the peacock as a symbol of domination and the reversal of established gender norms in fin-de-siècle England is introduced. Fairbrother compares Robertson's portrait with that of Sargent's portrait of *Madame X* from 1884. (Figure 32) *Madame X* is a portrait of Madame Pierre Gautreau (1859-1915). Fairbrother notes that, "Madame Gautreau is thus a pathological 'peacock woman,' and Mr. Robertson is an effete, dandified aesthete."[165] Fairbrother doesn't specify what he means by pathological peacock woman, but the reference likely refers to the fact that Gautreau's portrait famously became a display of sexuality due to a drooping shoulder strap.[166] It garnered scandal because Gautreau, who was married, performed a wanton display of sexuality.

This leads to the assertion that a male peacock represents someone who displayed sexuality in a nontraditional way or outside of societal norms. Fairbrother identifies a male peacock as someone who dressed outside of the dark and traditional garb reserved for men. Or in other words, a male peacock was a flamboyant and aesthetic leaning performer of feminine gender qualities. The example given by Fairbrother is Dr. Samuel Jean Pozzi. His portrait, *Dr. Pozzi at Home*, was painted by Sargent in 1881. (Figure 33) Pozzi was a French surgeon and gynecologist who was progressive in his practices. Furthermore, Fairbrother's association of Dr. Samuel Pozzi with a peacock displays his understanding of the peacock as one who dresses in flamboyant and colorful clothes.

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[165] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 83.

[166] Sargent famously repainted the strap to sit securely on Madame Gautreau's shoulder after criticism during the 1884 Salon.

The peacock was a talisman for the Aesthetic Movement, but it also provided the perfect marker for the gentleman to perform feminine gender traits without threatening his masculinity. Operating off of Darwin's understanding of sexual selection from his 1871 *The Decent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*, Laurence Shafe established the peacock as an ornament of sexual attractions in the nineteenth century.[167] The male peacock's decadence was imperative to the act of mating, but it did not threaten the male's dominance within the species. Darwin established the peacock in relation to its sexual prowess on the basis of aestheticism.[168] Shafe notes that the peacock feather shared the ability to reference the feminine sensibility of beauty while also acknowledging the dominance of male sexual performance. Shafe stated succinctly, "While beauty was interpreted in various ways in the final decades of the nineteenth century, the peacock became a reference point for discussions on creation, evolution, and the aesthete's taste for decadent refinement without allusion to divinity or scientific rationale."[169] Ironically, the male peacock's usage of his tail in the pursuit of mating could be used as a supporting point to the claim that male artists could be concerned with aesthetic beauty without forfeiting any divinely ordained and scientifically necessary authority over female peahens.

According to Fairbrother, Sargent placed much importance on clothes and accessories to interpret the characters of his sitters who wore them. Fairbrother notes that Sargent's works "teach us how to read the surfaces that people present to the world through the visual language of

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[167] Laurence Shafe, "Why is the Peacock's Tail So Beautiful?" in Darwin and Theories of Aesthetic and Cultural History, ed. Sabine Flach, Barbara Jean Larson (England: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2013), 38.

[168] Charles Darwin, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex.* (London: J. Murray, 1871).

[169] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 37.

their clothes and gestures."[170] Sargent's studio was filled with all kinds of props, costumes, objects, and ephemera.[171] Additionally, costuming and theatricality are essential elements to an examination of the sensual within Sargent's work. Particularly, it seems Sargent used clothes and props to encode sexual meaning within his portraits. Thus, the clothes and props allow the sitter to adequately perform their identity based on markers. When a sitter did not perform their gender with perfection it often came down to an article of clothing or accessory. For W. Graham Robertson, that accessory was the coat and the cane, which established him as a dandy pushing boundaries of acceptable sexual performance for a male of the bourgeoisie class. For Madame X, her dress strap placed her outside of acceptable identity performance for her class. Sargent's use of the fan was no exception and he understood that the encoded iconography of the fan allowed for it to represent a woman's agency. The fan, imbued with female sexual agency, allowed the female sitter to perform her gender. Thus, he used the fan to allude to female sexuality and operate as a performance of gender norms within a boundary of acceptable means.

No more than a year after signing the Crane Fan, Sargent painted a portrait of actress Ada Rehan (1859-1916) (Figure 34). In his portrait, Ms. *Ada Rehan,* from 1894-5, Sargent poses Rehan against a Baroque tapestry, juxtaposing her with a historical subject, which alludes to her status as a modern woman who engaged in social arenas outside of the domestic interior. Sargent achieves this ephemeral moment by painting Rehan in an ethereal and noble manner. First, he bathes Rehan's figure in light, her silvery gown reflects the bright light from outside of the canvas. Thus, he gives her a characteristic of the unattainable, creating an ethereal character of

[170] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 83.

[171] Ibid., 81.

grace. The white feather plumes of her fan spread out wide. They are on display for the viewer and mimic the wisps of her gray hair. The ostrich feather held similar associations with the exotic as the peacock fan. The canvas's white highlights are typical of Sargent's paintings. These highlights lead the viewer's eye in a zig-zag pattern from right to left, ending in the bottom right corner with the unending train of her dress. He juxtaposes her regal stature with elements of sexuality, all the while questioning her accessibility. Indeed, one might read her lowcut gown and open fan as sexual openness. However, Rehan at 38, when the portrait was completed, takes control of her own sexual agency through the fan. Her sensual grasp of the fan's soft feathers invites a sexualized gaze; however, the fan is upturned in a peculiar manner. Rehan takes full control of her sexuality, which is on display, as it often was on the stage.

By juxtaposing the manner of the fan in Rehan's portrait with that of another portrait, it becomes clear that Sargent manipulated the fan, allowing it to define sexual agency, openness, and range of gender performance. In Sargent's *Ena and Betty, Daughters of Asher and Mrs. Wertheimer, 1901,* Betty's open fan is typically read to mean sexual openness. (Figure 35) Fairbrother interprets Betty's gesture with her fan as one of openness to the viewer.[172] Betty extends her arm out and down, bringing the fan ever so close to the edge of the canvas. The viewer might easily pluck the fan right from Betty's hand, and her inviting gaze and the soft stance of her body offers no resistance. Opposite to Betty, Rehan's apathetic gaze and strong stance allows for the sexualization of the male gaze, but not easy domination. Additionally, the fan is upturned and the way her hand caresses the feather plumes of the fan invited the viewer to

[172] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 67.

imagine its soft texture, but also, to note her possession over it. Thus, Rehan acknowledges that her sexuality is on display but is also unattainable for the viewer.

When adding his signature to the Crane Fan, Sargent understood that it could represent sexual agency as well as the gendered past of the fan. He took his signature as a form of gender performance. Sargent's choice of medium and subject matter for his fan signature highlights his rogue use of gender and sexual performance. In September 1895, after many of the artists had already left their marks, John Singer Sargent chose to paint a peacock feather in watercolor. Fairbrother makes a point to introduce Fairfield Porter's 1956 argument that Sargent's minor works, to which he refers to his oil sketches and watercolors, are where his true abilities show themselves. Porter suggested that in these "less important" works, Sargent was able to express himself without the weight of seriousness, which led to a level of light and feeling unrivaled in his portraits.[173] In effect, we can read Sargent's watercolors as more indicative of his intimate feelings. The loose strokes associate watercolors with sexual impulse and a closer understanding of his innermost impulses. According to Fairbrother, Sargent's sensuality reached its peak when he was depicting male models in watercolor. He was "more absorbed and inspired when drawing male models," which he did more often, sometimes using male models to represent female characters.[174] Fairbrother goes so far as to say that in Sargent's depictions of female models there is a lack of eroticism.[175]

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[173] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 15.

[174] Barbara Dayer Gallati, "Sargent in London, 1889 -1913" in *Sargent Portraits of Artists and Friends*. Ormond, Richard, and Elaine Kilmurry. (National Portrait Gallery, London: United Kingdom, 2015), 104.

[175] Fairbrother. *John Singer Sargent: The Sensualist*, 104.

Just as Whistler had established himself as the butterfly with the barbed tail, copulating on the pansy in an act of sexual domination, Sargent also asserts his dominance by equating himself with the peacock. (Figure 36 and Figure 37) Sargent's deflection of sexual identity through objects can be seen as one of dual motivation. As this thesis has established, identification with the peacock allowed the aesthetes to enter the realm of the feminine interior and decorative arts. Similarly, identifying with the peacock allowed Sargent to make a specific statement of support for homosexuals in the complex time following Wilde's arrest. Sargent's signature on the Crane Fan did not take place until September, after Wilde's arrest, during a stint in London. In her discussion on Sargent's London years, Barbara Dayer Gallati claims that Sargent felt most comfortable participating in the events of Mary Hunter's celebrity circle. Hunter, a woman of the bourgeoisie was somewhat of a celebrity collector. Hunter held weekend parties at Hill Hall in Essex for artists, musicians, and celebrities.[176] Hunter's home parties included many homosexuals, particularly Hunter's sister Ethel was homosexual.[177] Gallati, notes that Sargent was more comfortable but does not go so far as to suggest that Sargent himself was homosexual. Gallati writes, "it is simply enough to say that Sargent was comfortable in an atmosphere of sexual permissiveness during an exceptionally reactionary period following the Oscar Wilde Trials, which had turned even Wilde's staunchest admires against him."[178] The artist as a sensual and sexual being chose the peacock because it allowed him to subvert the established gender rules, entering the feminine realm and returning unscathed.

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[176] Barbara Dayer Gallati, "Sargent in London, 1889 -1913", 125.

[177] Lesbianism was surprisingly not illegal in Britain at this time.

[178] Gallati, "Sargent in London, 1889 -1913," 126.

Aesthetic artists decorated fans and represented fans in their paintings with the understanding of the sexually charged nature and performative nature of the fan. They allowed for it to function as empowerment of their own tendencies. Sargent accepted the sexually charged nature of the fan and reversed it while asserting distance from the typologies perpetrated by the public, such as the dandy or the bohemian aesthete artist. Ultimately, Sargent, performing upon the Crane Fan as the peacock, dominated the artistic realm in which he partook. The lavish sensualist hid his true colors, only to reveal them in the privately owned but publicly displayed Crane Fan. His aptly timed performance can be read as supporting the communities Wilde had frequented in the months following his arrest in 1895.

Conclusion

This thesis has attempted to marry an understanding of the robust and largely untapped well of information on the autograph fan with an in-depth case study of the Walter Crane Fan. This thesis has traced the chronology of the fan while in production and illuminated some of the ample pockets of association that exist between the signatories of the fan. Exploring all of these associations and connections would be nearly impossible and was certainly outside of the scope of this thesis. Regardless, this thesis has attempted to explicate the known connections which may have played a part in how the fan was circulated as it was being signed, and who was chosen to sign it. With unrestricted resources a further study of the additions of Raimundo de Madrazo y Garreta and Georges Clairin would likely prove interesting. Their signatures are confounding as they were artists who lived and worked in France and outside of the traditional aesthetic circles of the Holland Park area. Perhaps their signatures came about in a happenstance way, as they were in the presence of Whistler and Tissot when they signed their sticks in Paris in July 1895. Arguably, even more interesting is the exclusion of some important figures, like Linley Sambourne who is known to have devised several similar autograph fans.[179]

This thesis has not attempted to pinpoint an owner responsible for formation of the Crane fan and has noted that to date no information can confirm or deny any of the proposed owners. What is known is that women of the bourgeoisie formed these fans, and a woman of exalted rank owned it prior to the 1910 Sotheby's sale.[180] As Calvert noted, perhaps in some archive there

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[179] The Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea: the Leighton House, the Sambourne House. "The Sambourne Family Archives." March 27th, 2022, Search Results (rbkc.gov.uk)

[180] Sotheby (now Sotheby's), *Catalogue of A Magnificent Collection of Autograph Letters and Historical Documents, the Property of a Gentleman,* 47.

exists a letter or note from one of the artists on the fan which reads, … "today I signed the fan for lady x…" and perhaps this will unlock a new understanding for the fan's creation.[181] At present, this thesis concludes that whomever its owner, the fan spoke to many of the underlying artistic, cultural, and political challenges facing the artists as they awaited the uncertain turn of the century and advent of modern technology.

One of those important cultural changes was the death of the Aesthetic Movement and a grappling with acceptable levels of gender performance for the bohemian artist after the arrest of Oscar Wilde in 1895. The signing of the Crane Fan was underway during 1895, but two signatures of importance took place after Wilde's arrest. The signatures are those of James Abbott McNeill Whistler and John Singer Sargent. Whistler responded to Wilde's arrest in a cautious manner, citing that he intended to distance himself from Wilde and his followers. However, his signature of a butterfly copulating on a pansy and ending with a scorpion stinger, is often read as a reversal of normative gender performance as one cannot be both the feminine and masculine character.

This thesis noted that Sargent had utilized the fan in the production of his portraits in order to present female sexuality to the viewer. Additionally, the fan allowed the female sitter to perform her gender roles within an acceptable range. With this understanding, this thesis concludes that Sargent utilized the peacock feather on the Crane Fan as a show of his support for an acceptable range of gender performance within society at the fin-de-siecle. Sargent understood that the male peacock, as nature's creature of sexuality, could be aesthetically valued and still retain its masculinity. Walter Crane, who also left peacocks feathers on the Crane Fan, seemed preoccupied with their aesthetic value over any charged sexuality. On several occasions,

[181] Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," 41.

in his *An Artists Reminiscences,* he refers to peacocks on the basis of their aesthetic value or for its inherent association to the fan shape and function.[182] For instance, he wrote that they made a good decorative background.[183] On one occasion he wrote, upon visiting the new office of W. J. Linton that he, "could see the cock bird spread his gorgeous Byzantine half-dome of feathers in the neighboring yard, before his unemotional spouse."[184] This sentiment effectively negates a sexual nature, at least a heterosexual one with the mention of the female peahen being unresponsive to the peacock's display. To understand the implications of sexuality and gender performance upon the Crane Fan, or any similar fan, we must first acknowledge the artistic importance of a specimen like the autograph fan. In so doing, we should seek to rectify the marginalization of mediums typically deemed to be "lesser" due to an association with the feminine or craft.

[182] Walter Crane, *The Claims of Decorative Art.* (United Kingdom: Lawrence and Bullen, 1892), 25.

[183] Walter Crane, *An Artist's Reminiscences*. (United Kingdom: Macmillan, 1907), 200.

[184] Ibid., 57-58.

Figures

Figure 1. *Walter Crane Fan. (recto)* c.1895. Walter Crane with contributions from many other artists. Painted wood. Private Collection.

Figure 2. *Walter Crane Fan. (verso)* c.1895. Walter Crane with contributions from many other artists. Painted wood. Private Collection.

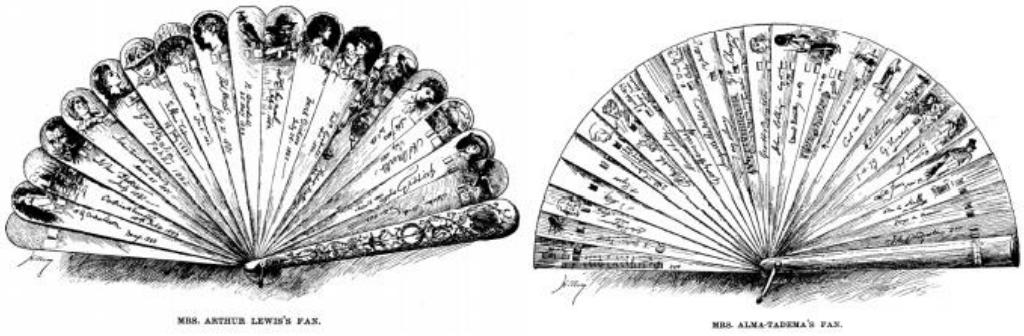

Fig. 6.5 Illustrations of Kate Lewis' and Laura Alma-Tadema's autograph fans, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, August 1889

Figure 3. *Fan of Lady Alma-Tadema*. Robyne Erica Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald*, Edited by Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri, 33-41. (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2010). Fig. 6.5

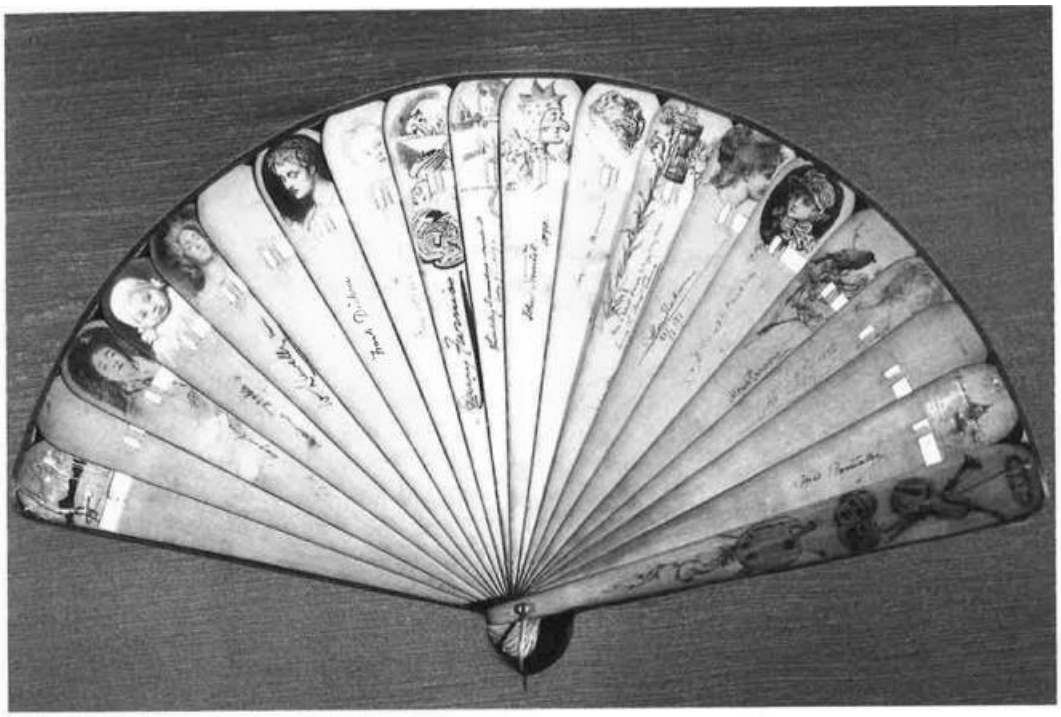

Figure 4. *Fan of Marianne Stokes.* Magdalen Evans, *Utmost Fidelity: The Painting Lives of Marianne and Adrian Stokes*. (United Kingdom: Sansom, 2009), 58.

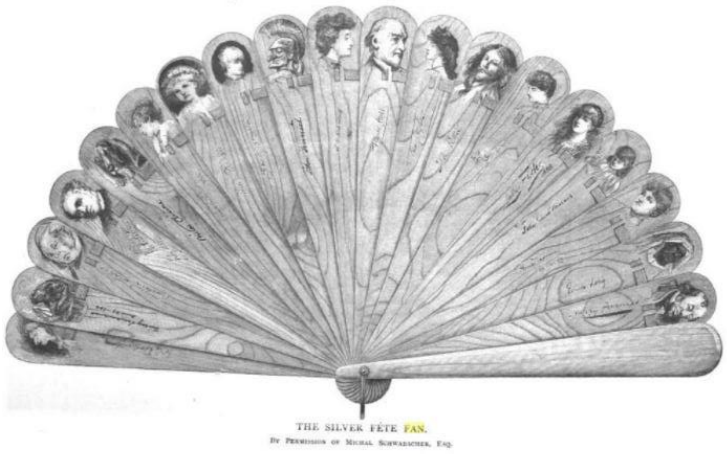

Figure 5. *Silver Fete Fan*. Walter Armstrong. "A Fan to Be Coveted." *The Art Journal*. London: J.S. Virtue and Company Ltd (1889): 22-23.

Figure 6. *Design for a Fan*. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. c. 1870. watercolor, gouache, and pencil on paper. 17.5 x 49.5 cm. Private Collection.

Figure 7: *Fan Mount: Ballet Girls*. Edgar Degas. 1879. Watercolor, silver, and gold on silk. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, NY.

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THE LITERARY LOUNGER

A COMEDY IN RESOLVED DISCORDS.*

THE resolved discords of Mr. North's comedy are delicate, silvery-coloured things just edged at their extreme petal-tips with a flush of passion. For one reason, it is played out entirely among well-bred people, the people who hate the loud pedal and scenes. Though it resolves itself into the vexed question of woman's relation to man, of her function dependent or independent of him in the social fabric, Mr. North is far too gallant a friend of hers to wear a Shavian mantle when he goes seeking her, nor does he look for her in the parlours of Ibsen. Coming to his book from an afternoon with Princess Bariatinsky's Norn is like passing to seventeenth-century chamber music from the shrieks of the Valkyrie.

Griselda was impatient of her life. She had, as she admitted, everything a girl could want to make her happy—" indulgent parents, charming friends, all the clothes she needed, a constant round of social engagements, travel in the autumn, and so on, and so on; but she asked herself for what she had been brought up. There was only one answer: to marry well. And after that? To marry her daughters well. . . . It was only of late years that women had begun to assert themselves openly, to prove to men that they would do without them. Fiction was full of it, plays were full of it, the newspapers were full of it. . . . 'Oh, I feel like a squirrel in a revolving cage—round and round the old treadmill, endless, futile. A girl in my position must not this, must not that — always that precious position! And what is it, after all? The daughter of a rather successful professional man, who worked his own way, whose son must work his own way; but his daughter may not even excel in the thing she loves best in the world, because there is no need—because she must do well for herself." These reflections were the result of a small incident. Her mother at the theatre one evening had sat between herself and a young man who had accompanied them, with deliberate intent to separate them. The ruse, so obvious and embarrassing, to Griselda's girlish mind so vulgar, had served to dot the "i's" and cross the "t's" in the futility of her world.

went for the sister's hand which should break the gilded bars of her cage. Griselda envied her everything—her work and her world, and Delicia, too sweet and subtle for vote-grabbing or any like crudity, longed to free and mould Griselda. Like other theorists, other theorists, there came a moment when she found herself constrained to desert magnificent ironclads of theories for a plough beckoned Griselda on to conscious, self-reliant womanhood, how that gesture drooped with Griselda's defection, and how Griselda pulled herself together only to find Delicia irretrievably sunk in the slough of matrimony. Mr. North sets forth, and he does it with an easy and graceful wit as almost to veil the construction and scholarship behind. But they are there, very evident for those who take pleasure in them.

Griselda's case is not the average one, for she has real talent as instrumentalist and composer. Long before that day of rebellion which preluded the wander-year she had played admirably, and had had ambitions to play better. When she returned to her chastened family — and what delightful comedy Mr. North finds in that upper-middle-class Kensington menage!—it is to appear publicly in London as a pianist. As composer also, for her lover, whose patience was like unto her ancient namesake's, heard her give an encore which no one recognised, nor "dared any critic ask his brother, lest his abysmal ignorance should stand revealed." But Jack found again, through its lovely originality, one memorable night in Richmond Park, when, like a lame Apollo, he had given chase through green alcoves till fragrant night hung among the trees. He caught his Daphne as stars came out, and bore her home, engaged, but woke next morning to find the elusive creature fled on a longer journey than the District Railway offered. This was the concerto that eventually played him to victory. Once during their early acquaintance Griselda had left him on the doorstep of a restaurant

AUTOGRAPHED BY MANY CELEBRITIES—A MUCH-SIGNED, MUCH-PRIZED FAN.

The fan, which was made by Walter Crane and is to be seen at the Leicester Galleries, bears autographs and drawings of George du Maurier, Frank Dicksee, R.A., Cosmo Gordon, C. E. Hallé, E. Onslow Ford, R.A., Hon. John Collier, Sir W. B. Richmond, R.A., Sir J. D. Millais, P.R.A., Sir E. Burne-Jones, Marcus Stone, R.A., Lord Leighton, P.R.A., Lady Alma-Tadema, Sir Philip Burne-Jones, T. Graham Robertson, J. S. Sargent, R.A., George Boughton, R.A., Kate Perugini, Sir J. D. Linton, P.R.I., Charles Santley, Sir Charles Hallé, A. Menager, Sir A. C. Mackenzie, I. J. Paderewski, Sir C. Villiers Stanford, Lady Hallé, Edward Lloyd, J. Jachson, Sir Herbert Parry; verses by Sir Lewis Morris; and autographs of W. Leitch, Sir Walter Besant, and Lord Russell of Killowen.

*Reproduced by Courtesy of Messrs. Ernest Brown and Phillips, Leicester Galleries, Leicester Square.

Figure 8: *The Walter Crane Fan (Recto)*. Snapshot from The Sketch: A Journal of Art and Actuality, Volume 73 1911 Jan-April, 218.

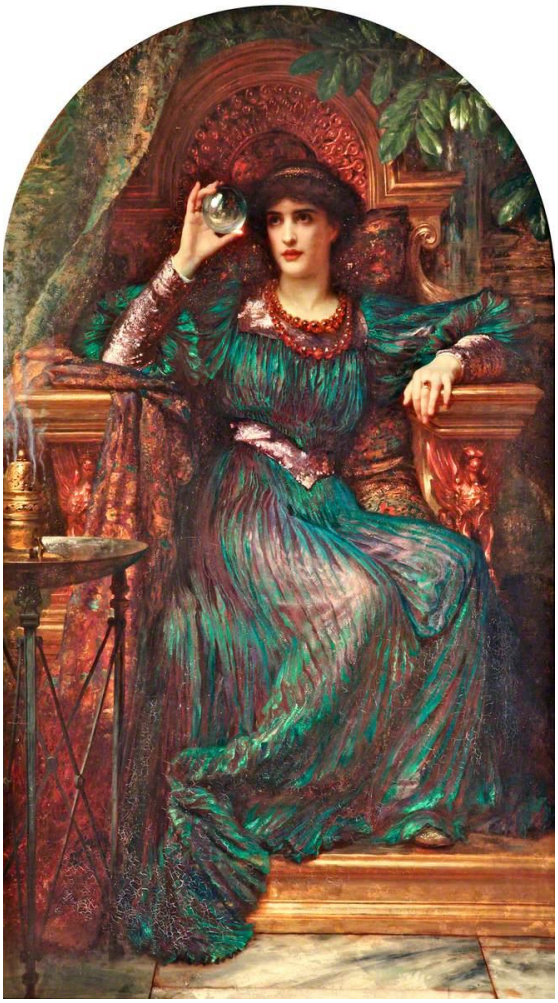


Figure 9. *Magic Crystal*. Frank Dicksee, 1894. Oil on Canvas. Lady Lever Art Gallery. Wirral, England.

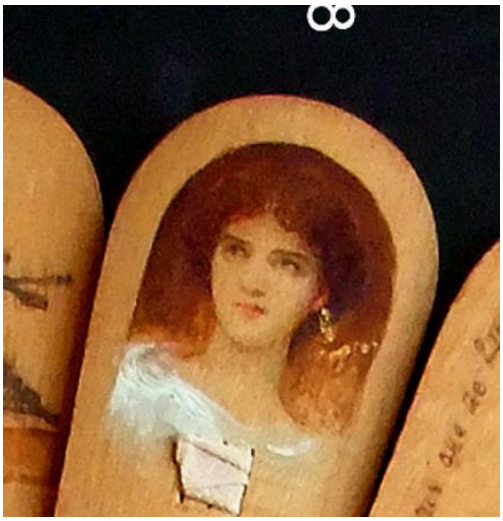


Figure 10. Detail of Recto 18. Frank Dicksee. Detail from *the Walter Crane fan*. c.1895. Walter Crane with contributions from many other artists. Painted wood. Private Collection.

Figure 11. The Queen of Samothrace. (Printed version in Spielmann, Marion Harry. "Our Rising Artists: Mr. W. Graham Robertson." In *The Magazine of Art*. United Kingdom: Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1900.) W. Graham Robertson.

Figure 12. *Design for Decorated Fan*. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. 1895. watercolor and graphite on paper. 17.6 x 11.2 cm. National Museum of Asian Art, United States.

Stick	Recto	Date	Verso	Verso
1	Walter Crane	n.d. (1895)	Arthur Sullivan	Oct 1895
2	George Boughton	31st March 1895	Charles Santley	n.d. (1895)
3	John Singer Sargent	Sept. 29 1895	Kate Perugini	18th Oct 1895
4	W. Graham Robertson	October 24th 1895	Charles Hallé	8 March 1895
5	Lawrence Alma-Tadema	16 March 1895	André Messager	May. 7. 1895
6	J. M. Whistler	July (1895)	J. D. Linton	Nov 95
7	Laura Alma-Tadema	18.3.95	Alexander MacKenzie	Oct. 16th 1895
8	Frederick Leighton	January 1895	Ignacy Paderewski	Febr. the 7th 1895
9	Marcus Stone	1895	Phillip Burne-Jones	Feb. 1895
10	Edward Burne-Jones	March 1895	Raimundo Madrazo	1895 (prob July)
11	John Everett Millais	May 1st 1895	James Tissot	Julliet 1895
12	W. B. Richmond	Apr 23 1895	George Clairin	1895 (prob July)
13	John Collier	April 5th 1895	Charles Stanford	Oct. 1 1895
14	E. Onslow Ford	Oct. 1895	Lewis Morris	n.d. (1895)
15	C. E. Hallé	Nov 7th 1895	Colin Hunter	n.d. (1895)
16	Feodora Gleichen	n.d. (1895)	Wilma Hallé	8 March 1895
17	Walter Besant / W. E. H. Lecky	Oct 24 1895 / Oct 31st 1895	Edward Lloyd	March 26 1895
18	Frank Dicksee	1895	Joseph Joachim	2.8. Marz. 1895
19	Lord Russell of Killowen	n.d. (1895)	Charles Hubert Parry	n.d. (1895)
20	George DuMaurier	Sep. 1895	Walter Crane	n.d. (1895)

Figure 13. List of Contributors to the Crane Fan. Robyne Erica Calvert, "An Artistic Fan in Victorian Society," in *Connecting Whistler: Essays in Honour of Margaret F. Macdonald*, Edited by Erma Hermens, Joanna Meacock and Grischka Petri (Detroit: Detroit Institute of the Arts, 2010), 37

Figure 14. *PH2_24b*. James McNeill Whistler, Glass Negative, Permission granted by the Hunterian Collections at the University of Glasgow, Glasgow, Scotland.

Figure 15. *Fireside Fancies*. Lady Alma Tadema Kurtz, Charles M., *Official Illustrations from the Art Gallery of the World's Columbian Exposition.* Philadelphia: George Barrie, 1893.

Figure 16. *The Laboratory*. John Collier, 1895. Oil on Canvas. Private Collection.

Figure 17. *The Redemption of Tauhauser*. John Collier. 1893. Private Collection.

Figure 18. *Little Speedwell's Darling Blue*. John Everett Millais. 1892. Oil on Canvas. Lady Lever Art Gallery. Wirral, England.

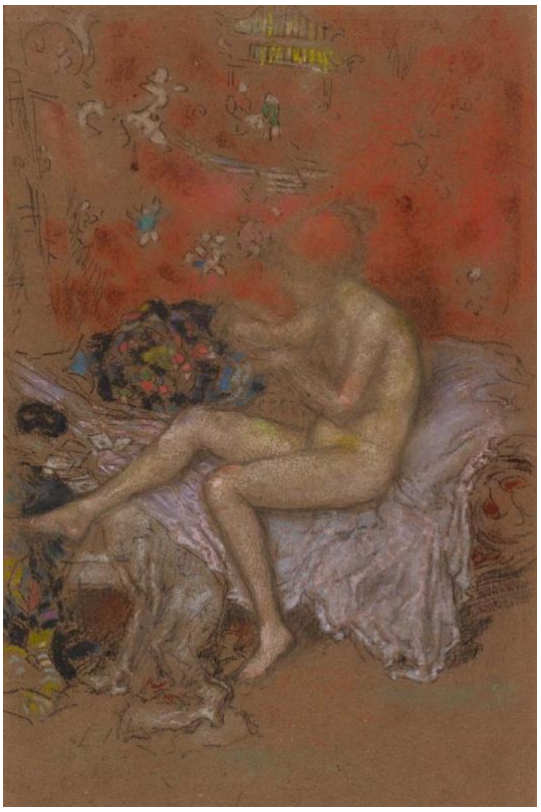


Figure 19. *A Fortune Teller; A Nude Lying on a Sofa*. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. c. 1890-2. Charcoal and Pastel on Brown Wove Paper. 11 3/16 x 7 3/16" (277 x 183 mm). GLAHA 46150. The Hunterian Collections, University of Glasgow. Glasgow, Scotland.

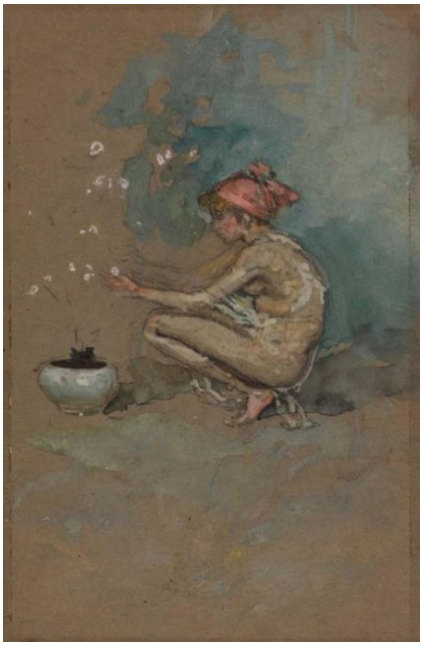


Figure 20. *Rose et Argent: Fleurs de Printemps,* James Abbott McNeill Whistler. 1893. Chalk and Gouache. 10 15/16 x 7 1/4" (278 x 184 mm). GLAHA 46194 The Hunterian Collections, University of Glasgow. Glasgow, Scotland.

Figure 21. *Modéle Drapé,* James Abbott McNeill Whistler. 1885. Pastel and Pencil on Brown Wove Paper. 10 1/4 x 7 1/16" (260 x 183 mm). The Burrell Collections. Glasgow, Scotland.

Figure 22. *The Arabian.* James Abbott McNeill Whistler. c. 1890-2. Chalk and Pastel on Wove Paper. 7 ½ x 11 ¼" (181 x 278 mm) GLAHA 46149. The Hunterian, University of Glasgow.

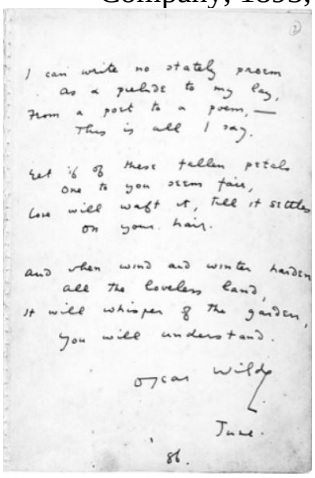
Figure 23: *Blessed Virgin in Old Age (La Sainte Vierge Agée).* James Jacques Joseph Tissot. 1886-1894. Opaque Watercolor over Graphite on Gray Wove Paper. Brooklyn Museum, New York, United States.

Figure 24. *Applause*. E. Onslow Ford. 1893. Bronze, Silver, Enamel and Semi-Precious stones. Tate UK. London, England.

Figure 25. *A Fishing Boat Off of the Coast.* Colin Hunter. "The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art: Colin Hunter A.R.A (1841-1904) A Fishing Boat off the Coast, Lot 276," Christie's Auction House, 18 Feb 2003, Accessed March 28, 2022. https://www.christies.com/lot/lot-4051954?ldp_breadcrumb=back&intObjectID=4051954&from=salessummary&lid=1

Figure 26. *The Page*. James Dromgole Linton. « The Forbes Collection of Victorian Pictures and Works of Art: Sir James Dromgole Linton. H. R. S. W. (1840-1916) the Page Lot 71," Christie's Auction House, 18 Feb 2003, Accessed March 28, 2022. Sir James Dromgole Linton, H.R.S.W. (1840-1916) (christies.com)

Figure 27. *In Fairy Land*. Charles Edward Halle. 1891. Handy, Moses Purnell. *World's Columbian Exposition, 1893: Official Catalogue.* United States: W. B. Conkey Company, 1893, 114.


I can write no stately poem
as a prelude to my lay,
From a poet to a poem,—
This is all I say.

Yet if of these fallen petals
one to you seem fair,
Love will waft it, till it settles
on your hair.

And when wind and winter harden
all the loveless land,
it will whisper of the garden,
you will understand.

Oscar Wilde

June.
81.

Figure 28. Wilde's signature page in Constance Wilde's Autograph Book. 1894. Jillian M. Hess "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England." Nineteenth Century Gender Studies, Issue 15.1 (Spring 2019): 1-18.

Figure 3: Walter Crane's Page

From your book I take a leaf,
By your leave to leave or take:
Art is long, though, life be brief,
Yet on this page my mark I'll make.

Walter Crane
His mark
Feb: 27 1887

Figure 29. Crane's signature page in Constance Wilde's Autograph Book. 1894. Jillian M. Hess "Dans l'album de Madame Constance Wilde: Female Sociality and the Lady's Album in Fin-de-Siècle England." Nineteenth Century Gender Studies, Issue 15.1 (Spring 2019): 1-18.

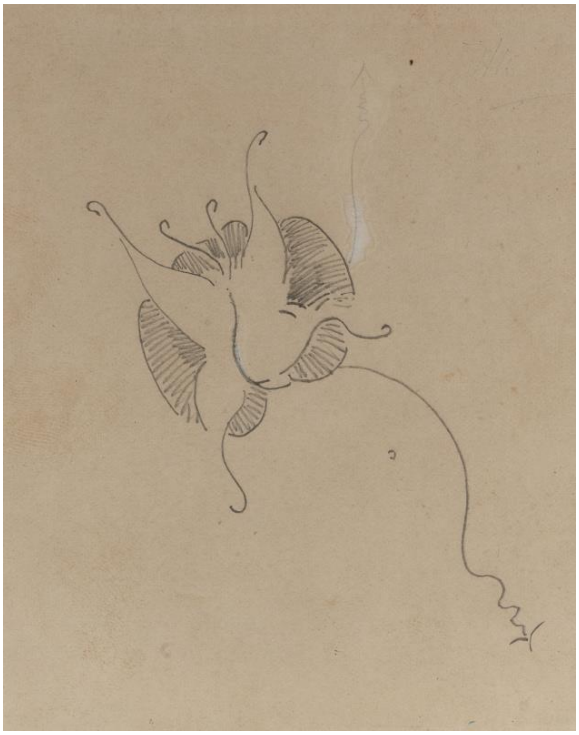


Figure 30. *Butterfly*. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. 1890. Pencil on Buff Card. 4 9/16 x 4 1/8- 4 7/16" (116 x 104-113 mm). F. 1905.326. Freer Gallery of Art. Washington, DC.

Figure 31. *Walford Graham Robertson.* John Singer Sargent. 1894. Oil on Canvas. 230.5 x 118.7. Tate Gallery, London, UK.

Figure 32. *Madame X (Gautreu).* John Singer Sargent. 1881. Oil on Canvas. 208.6 x 190.9 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York City, New York.

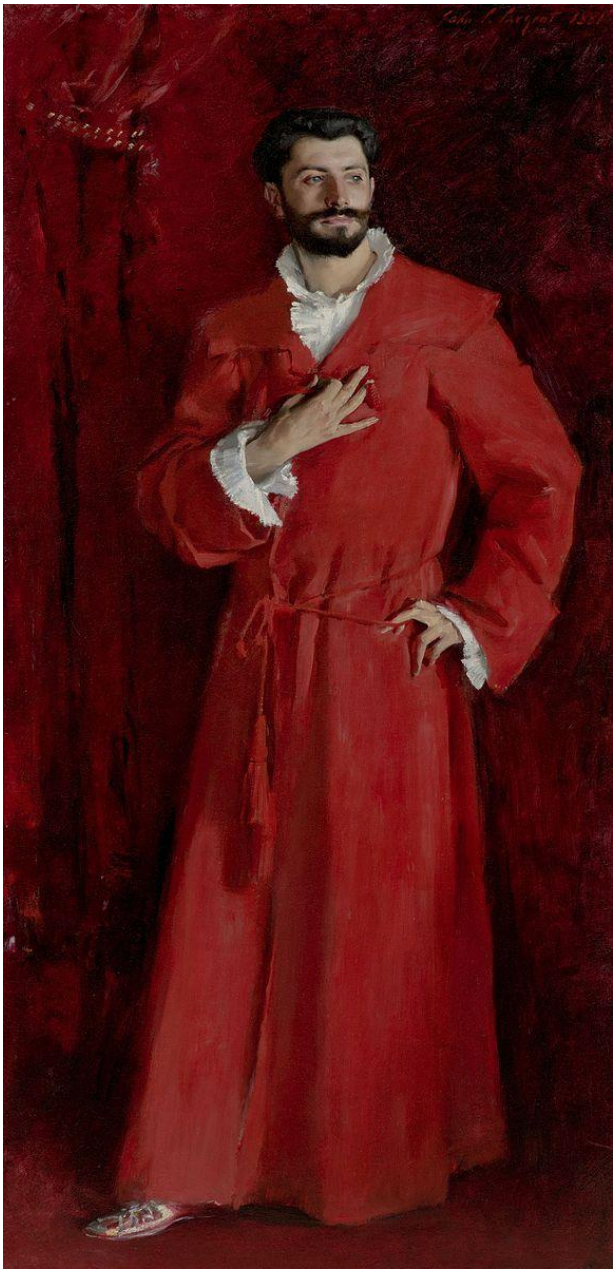


Figure 33. *Dr. Samuel Pozzi at Home*. John Singer Sargent. 1895. Oil on Canvas. 201.6 x 102.2 cm. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York City, New York.

Figure 34. *Ada Rehan*. John Singer Sargent. 1894-95. Oil on Canvas. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. New York City, New York.

Figure 35. *Ena and Betty, Daughters of Asher and Mrs. Wertheimer*. John Singer Sargent. 1901. Oil on Canvas. The Tate Gallery. London, UK.

Figure 36. *Detail of Recto 6* from *the Walter Crane Fan*. James Abbott McNeill Whistler. Detail from the Walter Crane fan. c.1895. Walter Crane with contributions from many other artists. Painted wood. Private Collection.

Figure 37. *Detail of Recto 3* from *the Walter Crane Fan*. John Singer Sargent. Detail from the Walter Crane fan. c.1895. Walter Crane with contributions from many other artists. Painted wood. Private Collection.

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