The Nineteenth-Century Folding Fan:
Decorative Object to Fine Art

A Senior Honors Thesis in the Department of Art History
Sweet Briar College

by Caroline Catherine McDonald

Defended and Approved on April 25 th, 2017

4/25/17

Prof. Richard Brettell   date
The University of Texas at Dallas

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Introduction

"If we could trace the great events of history down to their minutest causes, no doubt the fan would play a very significant role."[1]

When mentioned in conversation today the folding fan is but an antiquated version of the modern air conditioning unit. Its function was its ability to cool down the hot air in front of our face. Today we mostly use machines for this purpose. However, the folding fan still exists today and is used in some cases in place of an automated fan. For example, in southern Spain, it is used in the flamenco dances, which are central to their culture.[2] More importantly, these folding fans are remnants of the extravagant tradition of this once decorative object. The folding fan was once of utmost importance to the women in European society. A discussion of the production and decoration of the folding fan is of cultural importance to the history of art, as it became an object of fine art in the nineteenth century.

According to Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language,* in 1755, the recognized definition of the folding fan was as "an instrument used by ladies to move the air and cool themselves."[3] Overtime, the fan developed other uses and meanings outside of its inherent utility. In western Europe, during its heyday in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the fan developed a specialized language which allowed a woman to communicate in ways she was unable to verbally. Both the woman and her suitor understood the cues which allowed them to

[1] "Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall, London." *The Art Journal (1875-1887)*, New Series, 4 (1878): 315.
[2] The paper folding fan exists in souvenir shops in Spain as a kitsch object representing cultural degradation.
[3] Valerie Steele, *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded*. (New York: Rizzoli Publishing, 2002), 9.

communicate appropriately. In this same manner, the fan developed many other designations which included but were not limited to: weapon, dictionary, coquettish toy, and *Chassemouche.*[4]

Although folding fans have maintained their usage as objects of utility to the present age, they have lost much of their other uses and designations since the early years of the twentieth century. There are a limited few fan makers, such as the house of Duvelleroy and Karl Lagerfeld, who still design avant-garde fans for fashion and decoration today. However, the fan is no longer a vital piece of a woman's wardrobe or a decorative piece for her cabinet. Its history as an object of such cultural importance is nevertheless significant and reveals a great deal about the cultures in which it was produced. Today the folding fan is not revered for its cultural and artistic importance, but rather relegated to a small drawer in a textile collection of museums. Its only opportunity to be unfolded may come in the shape of a fashion exhibition once every several years. This slight injustice has to do with the way we classify these folding fans, which affects how we have studied them. They have often been labeled as simply objects of decorative art. However, labeling the fan as simply a fashion trend is also problematic, because it was so much more than that. Its exhibition alongside dresses limits the ways in which we examine and study its production and design. In this case, fans are considered an accessory or afterthought to the main costume. If we are to fully appreciate their design and development, we must examine them for their cultural and artistic significance.

My goal for this undergraduate thesis will be to introduce what I believe to be this artistic and cultural importance of the folding fan in three nineteenth-century European countries: England, Spain and France. In order to do this, I will first attempt to explicate the decorative and feminine nature of the folding fan in the preceding centuries. Then, I will discuss

[4] Translated as Flycatcher.

the production of the folding fan in Paris in the nineteenth century, and how it and other factors can be cited as the impetus for its usage as a medium of fine art. Finally, I will be able to discuss how artists in the Impressionist and Postimpressionist circles used the fan as a medium of fine art, questioning both its decorative tradition and the typical manner of its production. The period in which the majority of my research falls is from the 1860's to the turn of the twentieth century, as it is during this time that the fan saw a resurgence in popularity and consequently production, after a period of decline in the early part of the century. It was also in this period, around 1870, that the shift occurred, when the folding fan became a medium of fine art in thought, design and practice.

Here I have cited 1870 as an important date because of an exhibition which took place in London at the South Kensington Museum, which sparked a competition for the best painted fan at the 1871 International Exhibition.[5] Sam Redgrave, in the catalogue for this exhibition, mentioned that the industry of *éventaillistes,* or fan makers, in nineteenth century Paris influenced the production of fans in England, which had declined.[6] At this time, European dress fans of an elaborate nature were exclusively made in Paris, and the industry in London needed reviving.[7] Imported fans from China and Japan, which had become popular, were exquisitely made and cheaper to purchase. So, in an effort to restore what was once a great industry, in 1870, the South Kensington Museum, in London held their loan fan exhibition. The exhibition brought together the best collectors and their prized fans from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This exhibition might be cited as a starting point for the shift which moved the fan from decorative object to fine art.

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[5] Sam Redgrave, "Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of Fans, 1870. (Science and Art Department, South Kensington Museum" London: Chapman and Hall, 1870), *vii*.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid.

First, however, in order to recognize the shift that took place, it is critical to grasp the public understanding of the nuances of the fan in the nineteenth century. Thus, a short history of the fan's development will be the first step in the process of this argument. This will be followed by a discussion of the folding fan's feminine and decorative nature leading up to and during the nineteenth century. It can be said that the folding fan's place in eighteenth-century European society was as an object of decorative art, decorating the house, and as an object of fashion, decorating women. However, in the second half of the nineteenth century the fan transcended these modes and became a medium of fine art.

By the early years of the nineteenth century, the folding fan was no longer a vital piece of a women's wardrobe. As a result of political turmoil and shifting fashion trends, dresses shrunk in size, and no longer had deep pockets for ladies to carry fans out with them. It is the industrial revolution, one woman's party and one man's dream which allowed the industry of fan production and the use of fans in daily life to be revived. First, the Duchesse De Berri sparked renewed interest in the fan with her eighteenth-century themed ball, in which women were all seen carrying their most elegant fans. Also, fan maker Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy's sought to bring the fan back into use and was able to fill a very unique niche by producing fans of high caliber for the queens of Europe. Duvelleroy was part of a large industry centered in Paris, which supplied fans to the rest of Western society.

In fact, "Arguably, the most lavish fans date from the second half of the nineteenth century. The artists who painted these fans were often fashionable painters who signed their work – as did the tabletiers who carved the magnificent sets of sticks and guards (montures)."[8] These elaborately decorative pieces of art were exhibited at the Salon in France and exhibitions

[8] "The History of Fans" *The Fan Museum: Greenwich, London,* https://www.thefanmuseum.org.uk/fan-history (accessed July 2015).

in England throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. For example, the fan had become so popular in Paris that the French Salon exhibited four fans in their 1859 Salon. The number of fans exhibited in the Salon steadily rose to forty-two by 1880.[9] However, it was not solely France that picked up on the trend. In England, the 1870 loan exhibition at South Kensington Museum emphasized painting by female artists. Then, an exhibition at Drapers' Hall in London in 1878, saw the collection of fans from antiquity.[10] That same year two exhibitions of Japanese art, including Japanese fans, took place in Paris during the Exposition Universelle.[11] At this same exposition in 1878, Edgar Degas alongside fellow impressionist Camille Pissarro exhibited fans. There is no doubt that the art trade with Japanese dealers, with which Degas was very involved, was a major influence on his decision to produce fans. Indeed, these were all part of the organization of exhibitions that led to article and histories, which spoke to the renewed interest in the folding fan during this time.

As I will argue, it is my belief that this association with the feminine, decorative, and the production of the fan in Paris, influenced the choices artists of the Impressionist and Post-Impressionist's circles made when fashioning their own fans. However, these artists saw fan painting as a medium of fine art. For instance, most of Degas's fans were unmounted and left without the elaborately carved or appliqued sticks that most folding fans of the time had holding them together. This fact seems to suggest that he saw his work as more than an accessory to be waved around. Alicia Cook mentioned in her thesis on these fans that she believed they required further study in order to understand their place in the canon of art.[12] For years, Degas's fan

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[9] Marc Gerstein, "Degas's Fans." *The Art Bulletin* 64, no. 1 (1982): 107.
[10] "Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 315.
[11] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 107.
[12] Alicia Mccaghren Cook, **"**Edgar Degas's fan-shaped Designs: Art, Decoration, and The Modern Women in the Late-Nineteenth-Century France." (Birmingham: The University of Alabama at Birmingham, 2009.)

mounts have been all but ignored, with the notable exception of Marc Gerstein's 1982 article.[13] This is presumably because of their connotation as craft and decorative objects despite the fact that Degas seemed to view them as examples of fine art.[14] The folding fan was used as a medium of fine art by other famed artists such as; Paul Gauguin, Jean-Louis Forain, Camille Pissarro, and Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec.

<u>The History of American Tourism and My Personal Connection to these Fans</u>

Indeed, the fan industry never caught on in America. Perhaps it was because of the long history of wealthy Americans who visited Paris and purchased fans there. Not only did they want a souvenir from their travels in France, but the quality of fans in France was much higher, which led them to desire only Parisian produced fans. For example, Mrs. Sydney Legendre, who owned Medway Plantation in South Carolina, went to Paris and brought back a fan painted by Marie Relin-Calot. Relin-Calot was a painter in Paris in the nineteenth century. In the November 14, 1876 edition of *La Presse*, she is listed as having won first prize for one of her '*éventails*' or fans, awarded the sum of 500 francs. During a previous internship, I completed at the Charleston Museum in Charleston, South Carolina, I found a particular fan on which she painted a copy of François Boucher's *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche.* ***(Fig. 1)*** Although she copied Boucher's image, she took the liberty to reverse it and designed the medallions and gold leaf that decorate the rest of the fan.

During this summer internship in 2015, I found many fans like this one which were hand painted in Paris. I inventoried the approximately 370 fans, of which some are in poor repair, that

[13] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped Designs," 105-18.
[14] Ibid., 53.

are in the collection of the Charleston Museum in Charleston, South Carolina. Many of these folding fans were collected and donated by prominent members of Charleston high society, such as Alberta Drayton, whose family owed the famed Drayton Hall. These women traveled to France and England during the summers, returning with beautiful specimens of folding fans purchased in Paris, and London. Admittedly, before the internship, I was not aware of the prominence or history of such elaborate fans. As I became fascinated with these objects, I was given several books to read. One was Nancy Armstrong's *A Collector's History of Fans*, which gave a brief history and overview of styles of fans posed as decorative pieces. However, her discussion lacked mention of the Degas fans.[15]

I began to question why the production of these folding fans was not fully discussed in the history books and online articles which summarize this important industry in paragraphs or less. Although the fan is sometimes mentioned in sources on decorative arts like Merino's discussion of the fan in the *Majesty of Spain*, most, like Frances Lichten's *Decorative Art of Victoria's Era (1950)*, completely leave out the mention of fans altogether. In addition, there is an aspect to the study of folding fans which does not fit neatly into either a discussion of decorative arts or a discussion on fashion. As such, the scholarship on folding fans is limited to several books which focus on its history, and the object itself more so than its design. Although we have accounts of the usage of folding fans in the nineteenth century, it is still difficult to grasp the full scope of their artistic influence without further unpacking the information written in exhibition catalogues, and article reviews.

Pamela Gerrish Nunn's 2004 article, "Fine Art and the Fan 1860-1930", is one of the only more recent scholarship that I have found, which considered the fan as a form of fine art.

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[15] Nancy J Armstrong, *A Collectors History of Fans*. (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 1974.)

Marc Gerstein's article, "Degas's Fans", and Alicia Cook's thesis, *Edgar Degas's fan-shaped Designs: Art, Decoration, and The Modern Women in the Late-Nineteenth-Century France,* address only Degas's fans which were only a few examples of the phenomenon to which I will refer. This phenomenon is the production of fans as objects of fine art which "threatened the dissolution of the boundaries of art, craft and design" from the 1870s to the 1920s.[16]

<u>So What: Gender and Cultural exchange.</u>

Alongside the quote, which began this introduction, S. Blondel also wrote in the preface to his *Historie des Éventails* (1875) that this study of fans that he planned to undertake will be of importance to historians, artists and antiquarians, as well as the world.[17] In addition to its obvious importance to the study of fashion and the decorative arts of the nineteenth century, the study of these fans will be most important from an art-historical perspective. One of the most surprising details of late-nineteenth-century artistic practice to an art historian is indeed the transformation of the fan into a fine art object.[18] In fact, it is the use of fan painting as a medium of fine art which formed this thesis as a document. The purpose of this document is to record the transformation of this object from its traditional feminine roots to its place within the discussion of twentieth century avant-gardism. What makes this transformation so surprising, according to art historian Pamela Gerrish Nunn, is that it had been for centuries just an element of the feminine *toilette*, commanding as much attention to the history of art as, say, buttons.[19]

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[16] Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan 1860-1930." *Journal of Design History* 17, no. 3 (2004): 254.
[17] Spire Blondel, *Historie des Éventails chez tous les peuples et à toutes les époques : et suivi de notices sur l'écaille, la nacre et l'ivoire.* (Paris: Libraire Renouard, 1875), I-IV.
[18] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 251.
[19] Ibid.

However, now it is beginning to garner more attention, as seen with Nunn's 2004 article, *Fine art and the Fan.* In fact, as recently as the fall of 2016, the Dixon Gallery and Gardens in Memphis, Tennessee, put together an exhibition and published a catalog addressing this transformation through a discussion of French nineteenth-century artist, Henri Gerard's work. They used fans from private collections, some of which I will mention in this thesis.[20]

Hopefully the discussion of these fans will not be limited to their artistic importance, but will also be examined for their importance within the historical realm of cultural exchange and feminist values in the nineteenth century. Without its obvious importance to the study of the decorative arts and nineteenth century art, there are two elements which I believe most succinctly state the importance of this thesis. Those are; the study of the devaluation of art produced by women or associated with feminine values, and the study of the increasing cultural exchange due to trade and travel in nineteenth-century Europe.

First, since women artists were limited to work with "lesser" mediums of art like decorative art, it seems fitting that many folding fans were painted by women.[21] Historically, art historians and critics have examined work by women artists who were able to produce art in the manner that male artists did and with those grand mediums. By ignoring the "lesser" arts we are ignoring a huge aspect of art produced by women. Instead one way in which we might add to the discussion of women artists is to examine mediums such as the folding fan, where we can examine the stylistic choices made by women.

In art-historical research, the decorative arts have been generally overlooked. They are inherently linked with women. They are the mediums most frequently employed by women

[20] Robert Flynn Johnson and Richard R. Brettell, In *Henri Guerard and the Phenomenon of the Artist's Fan in France, 1875-1900*, (Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 2016.)
[21] When I mention lesser mediums of art I am referring to the decorative arts, miniatures, embroidery, and similar mediums, which blended with craft.

artists or you might call them craftsmen. Also, the use of the decorative arts, were almost exclusively by women. While the men worked in the public sphere, the women worked in the private sphere of the household, where they decorated their homes with ceramics, furniture, and fans. So too, were the decorative arts situated at the bottom of the hierarchical genres of art. This ranking of art genres had initially served to prioritize religious and historical paintings by determining the most prestigious and difficult genres in which to paint. Still today, fans cannot seem to break away from association with women's decoration, craft, and ephemerality. It may be said that the fan's prior association with the decorative and femininity influenced its collection and production during the nineteenth century.

Remarks on the History of the Fan Proper[22]:

« Ce serait une histoire curieuse à écrire que celle des éventails. » [23]

As mentioned in the introduction, I believe that a key to understanding the shift of the folding fan from decorative object to the forefront of the avant-garde movement is a discussion of its development in western European society. To begin, fans have been present in many cultures for many centuries. It is important to note that the invention of a fan, which folded and opened again, was not the most basic form of a fan. Instead, the earliest forms of fixed fans were primarily leaves attached to poles. Perhaps the earliest forms of the fixed or, non-folding fan, were found in ancient Egypt, India, and China. In India palm leaves, and in Egypt papyrus

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[22] Louisa Parr, "The Fan," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* Volume 79, June to November 1889 (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishing, 1889), 402. The title the *Fan Proper* refers to the western European style folding fan of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and was coined by Louisa Parr.

[23] Blondel, *Historie des Éventails,* I. Translated it reads, "It would be a curious story to write that of the fans."

stalks, would have been used for practical purposes.[24] However, fans fashioned from feathers or leaves held many associations ranging from practical to religious in these ancient cultures. For instance, fans appeared in Egyptian frescos, on Assyrian stele, and in Etruscan tombs.[25] In these depictions the fans were used for cooling and ridding the air of mosquitos. In ancient Egypt, the fan might have had religious and ritual associations with the divine power, domination, and protection of the pharaoh in the afterlife.[26]

However, there are varied accounts as to how the fan evolved and ended up in western European society as an object of feminine decoration. Louisa Parr in a written history of the fan in *Harper's Weekly* in 1889 noted false facts about the fan, which had been circulated and may account for the historical discrepancies. Namely, she pointed out that some assertions were incorrect. For instance, when Captain Basil Hall perpetrated the myth that a certain type of fan, the punkah, was invented by officers serving in the Mysore. In fact, that type of fan was much older. We can date it back to ancient Assyria because of its presence on bas-reliefs at Koyoundjik.[27] Therefore, since the origin of the stationary fan is unclear, what appears in this history are generalities concerning the development of the fan in western European culture.[28] Most accounts list the eastern countries of Japan and China as the origin of the fan. For instance, Parr stated that the earliest form of the folding fan was found around 900-960 AD in the hands of the Japanese God of Happiness.[29] Parr and other sources cited Japan as the origin of the fan's development in Europe, because Portugal traded with Japan early on.

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[24] Ibid., 369.
[25] "Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 316.
[26] For example, fan depictions on a shield from the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV62, shows a fan depicted behind the figure of the pharaoh in the guise of a Sphinx. This image is associated with the power and divine presence of a pharaoh and thus the fans presence in this image is also indicative of this.
[27] Parr, "The Fan," 400.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Harpers weekly p. 402

Additionally, the fan did not always hold connotations of feminine leisure and decoration as it will in later European societies. As Valerie Steele noted in *The Fan: Fashion and Femininity Unfolded, "*it is important to remember that the role of fans was very different in other times and places."[30] In eastern cultures the fan was used equally by both sexes. For instance, "in traditional China, fans were regarded as works of art and played an important role as a symbol of the cultivated, literate gentleman."[31] In fact, in Japan, and other Asian countries men continued to use them. Also, one type of fan, the *Gumbai* war fan, was used as a weapon by Samurai warriors. It had iron guards and symbolized power for the wielder. [32] Not only did they have an association among contexts of war, but fans also played a role in religious ceremonies.[33] In these early religious ceremonies, the fan was decidedly an ungendered object. Known by the monkish writers of the Middle Ages as the *flabellum*[34]*,* this form of the fan found its way into Eastern Christian Eucharist ceremonies.[35] In fact, the first known instance of stationary fans in Europe was recorded in thirteenth-century cathedral and abbey records, where it was a part of the church ceremonies.[36]

It was during the thirteenth century that the fan began to find usage outside of religious contexts in Europe. Even by the thirteenth century, fans began to be used in the wardrobe of aristocratic men and women. An early trend was to wear the fans hanging from girdles around the waist. The early fans worn in this fashion were typically feathers hung from richly decorated

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[30] Steele, *The Fan,* 10.
[31] Ibid.
[32]Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 33; and Blondel, *Historie des Éventails,* 19.
[33]Steele, *The Fan,* 10.
[34]"Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 315.
[35] Octave Uzanne with illustrations by Paul Avril. *l'Éventail.* (Paris: A. Quantin, 1882), 27.
[36] Ibid. The Monks used the fan to cover the Eucharist, so that flies would not get into the bread or wine. Eventually, it took on a ceremonial aspect and was essential to the church service regardless of the presence of flies.

handles.[37] Feather fans continued to be worn around the waist in France until the seventeenth century.[38] By several accounts, use of the fan as an accessory became widespread in England in the fourteenth century, during the reign of Richard II.[39] Then, by the time Henry IV took the throne, the popularity of fans gave rise to a need for manufacturing rights. Thus, Henry IV (1367-1413) appointed the right to manufacture fans to four guilds. One of the guilds given the right to manufacture fans, or take part in the production, was the master-guilders on leather, which was founded in December 1594.[40] Eventually these guilds took over the production of the folding fan. Similarly, in France, in 1678, Louis XIV consolidated the rights of the guilds, which were responsible for the production of the fan and essentially established a single fan-maker's guild.[41]

By this time, the type of fan that was being most widely produced was not the original stationary feather fan, but a new invention: the folding fan. The folding fan was a new type of fan comprised of individual sticks threaded together with ribbon, which opened and closed for convenience. Per Jose Luis Valverde Merino in The *Majesty of Spain* the folding fan first appeared in seventh or eighth century China or Japan.[42] M.A. Flory in a history of the fan

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[37] G. Woolliscroft Rhead, *History of the Hand Fan*. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1910), 104. A later example of this type of fan can be seen in the "Darnley portrait" of Elizabeth I of England, which is now in the National Portrait Gallery in London.
[38] Parr, "The Fan," 401.
[39] M.A. Flory and Mary Cadwalader Jones, *A Book about Fans; the History of fans and fan-painting.* (New York: Macmillan and co, 1895), 19.
[40]"Description of the Fans of France." In *Reports by the Juries on the Subjects in the Thirty Classes into which the Exhibition was Divided*, (London: Spicer Brothers, Wholesale Stationers; W. Clowes and Sons, Printers; Contractors to the Royal Commission, 1851), 1490.
[41] M.A. Flory and Mary Cadwalader Jones, *A book about fans; the History of fans and fan-painting.* (New York: Macmillan and co, 1895), 38.
[42]José Luis Valverde Merino, "Chapter XVI: The Fan in the 19th Century, A Sign of social Distinction and Feminine Flirtatiousness." In *The Majesty of Spain*: *Royal Collections from the Museo de Prado and the Patrimonio Nacional* (Jackson: The Mississippi Commission for International Cultural Exchange, Inc, 2001), 170. Although, accounts very agree the folding fan was invented in Japan, they vary as to when the folding fan was first invented. As previously noted, it may have existed in 900 AD, when it was depicted in a relief of the Japanese God of Happiness. See footnote 8.

mentions an old Japanese tale that credits a grieving Japanese widow with the invention of the folding fan.[43] The invention migrated from Japan to China, and Portugal through trade during the sixteenth century.[44] From Portugal, the Italians adopted it, and therefore, French folding fan production would be born out of fans in the Italian style.

By most accounts the popularity of these new folding fans in Europe, began in the sixteenth century, and with the court of Catherine De Medici.[45] Here it would become an elaborate decorative object, with sometimes fourteen sticks, two guards, and a large hand painted mount.[46] However, the simplest form of the folding fan was one fashioned from the sticks alone, and called the brisé fan.[47] **(Fig. 2)** It is thought to have originated in China, as early as the second century AD. Its use and popularity during the Ming Dynasty sparked interest in Portuguese traders. Thus, the use of the folding fan in European aristocratic society can be attributed to the Portuguese whose trade with Asia led to its introduction during the sixteenth century.[48] Parr mentioned that Portugal brought Japanese fans to Europe as early as the fifteenth century. Regardless, we know that they were in use in Spain and Italy by the sixteenth century.

The folding fan was brought to France by the court of Catherine de Medici (1519-1589), when she married King Henry II (1519-1559). Many accounts agree that the fan became a popular wardrobe accessory in Italy during this time. At the Medici court, perfumers began making and selling circular fans with feathers and silk attached.[49] Catherine De Medici inspired

[43] Flory, *A book about fans; the History of fans and fan-painting,* 5.
[44] It is interesting to note that many popular objects of utility which will become objects of decorative art originated in the east.
[45] Steele, *The Fan,*12.
[46] Traditionally, the folding fan was made of two guards, or the most elaborately carved sticks on either end of the fan. Then, up to fourteen sticks of ivory or bone held an elaborately hand painted mount. The mount was made of kid skin or silk and painted with mythological, biblical or historical subjects.
[47] A brisé fan is one that folds, but is just fashioned from the sticks connected with a ribbon.
[48] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170.
[49]"Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 316.

many fashion trends from Italy, which became 'vogue' in France, after she became queen. Additionally, Medici inspired the production of elaborate folding fan designs as courtiers competed to win her favor. These elaborate folding fans became known in France as *éventails*. At first, it was given the designations of *esmouchoir,* later *eventour*, and eventually *eventoir.* Finally, it was in 1594, the folding fan was termed *éventail* when it was labeled on a sculpture.[50] The fan continued to be titled *éventail* until modern times. In fact, in *L'Éventail* Octave Uzanne wrote, *"Hommes et femmes portent des Éventails, écrit d'Italie le traveller Coryat; presque tous ces Éventails sont élégants et jolis."* Here Uzanne refered to Thomas Coryat who was a Jacobean traveler in Italy between 1577-1612.[51] Coryat in his *Crudities* wrote about paper fans mounted to wooden sticks, and suggested the universality of the folding fan across Europe in the seventeenth century.[52]

It is only after its introduction into European society that the fan acquired its association with the decorative arts. The causation of this was its link with the adornment or decoration of women with the fan as an accessory in their wardrobe. At the Medici court, the fan was an elaborate piece of jewelry. As production matured, it became a feminine accessory that sold for tens of thousands of francs and was owned by the queens of history.[53] For example, Queen Anne owned a fan depicting Marie Antoinette made of Pont d'alencon lace, which was exhibited at the Crown Perfumery Company in the seventeenth century.[54] We also know that Queen Elizabeth I of England owned and collected fans.[55]

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[50] Ibid.
[51] Uzanne, *l'Éventail,* 52. Translated it reads, "The traveler Coryat wrote that both men and women wear fans, and most of them are elegant and pretty."
[52] "Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 316.
[53] "Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 316.
[54] Ibid. Or needle point lace, known as 'Queens lace'.
[55] Ibid.

By the eighteenth century, its Golden Age both at court and among people, the European folding fan was an object owned exclusively by females.[56] No longer was it used by both genders as it had been in Asian cultures. Rhetoric from the newspapers of the time suggested its designation as a feminine object, but in some ways its associations were still rooted in Asian tradition. For example, in England in 1711, the *Spectator* published, "Women are armed with fans as men with swords, and sometimes do more execution with them."[57] Here the anonymous writer in this English journal equated the fan with a sword echoing the tradition of the war fans from Japan, such as the *Tessen.*[58] It also highlighted how the woman used her fan, and its role in her navigation of the public sphere.[59]

As mentioned, a fan maker's guild existed in France after 1678 when it was established by King Louis XIV. Shortly after France established one guild or corporation for fan-makers, England followed suit. The many English guilds responsible for fan production were consolidated under the charter of The Worshipful Company of Fan Makers. This charter was granted by Queen Anne, in 1709.[60] The charter limited trade of fans to members of the society in the country. This was aimed at preserving the production of the stylistically English fan. The industry in England and elsewhere in Europe thrived during the eighteenth century. In fact, the industry of folding fan production in Europe hit its peak during the eighteenth century. It was particularly lively in France, where no less than five hundred manufacturers were employed

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[56] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170.
[57] Steele, *The Fan*, 6.
[58] Despite resembling a typical folding fan, the Japanese *Tessen* war fan was made of iron spokes.
[59] See *The Decorative and Feminine Nature of the European Folding Fan.*
[60] Exhibition of Fans at the Drapers' Hall," 316. The article sites this date as the beginning of the French fan as a work of art.

during the years 1752-1753.[61] Indeed the industry in Paris was the most viable industry, suppling fans to all nations of western cultures.[62]

For those two hundred years (1600-1800), the fan saw its popularity and production wax and wane.[63] It had decades of popularity and high production and decades where it was not in vogue as a fashion accessory. Eventually, the industry of English fan production came under much duress when the trade ban on fans was lifted. This led to an increasing influx of Indian and Asian import fans, which eventually broke down the fan production industry in England. According to Parr, it was the nineteenth century, which saw the renaissance of the fan.[64] This 'renaissance of the fan' began halfway through the century and proved the most significant resurgence because at the start of the century the fan had entered the worst decline in popularity since its introduction into Europe.

As dress styles and trends shifted, the fan experienced a decline in popularity and subsequently production during the nineteenth century. The conditions of the early nineteenth-century had limited folding fan production in England, which had once housed the largest industry. The Worshipful Company of Fan Makers had gone into decline and no fan-makers remained in London.[65] By the mid-nineteenth-century, production of fans across Europe waned. Only a small industry survived in Paris. In particular, the decline of production in Paris was a result of stifled aristocratic values after the period of revolutions in France.

Additionally, as a result of political unrest, a new era of style known as Neoclassical fashion (1795-1820) became prominent throughout Europe. Neoclassical dress styles were

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[61] Redgrave, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition, iv.*
[62] M. Horace Hayes, "The French Fan Industry." *Journal of the Society for Arts*, Vol. 42, No. 2140." (November 24th 1893), 30.
[63] Rhead, *History of the Hand Fan*, 104.
[64] Parr, "The Fan," 696.
[65] Redgrave, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*, *v.*

smaller and did not usually have pockets. So, women ceased carrying large fans with them in public. A bourgeois woman's Neoclassical wardrobe, though not devoid of fans, was defined by its simplicity. Fans were used, but lack of extra fabric and pockets led to smaller *bríse* fans. Therefore, during the Napoleonic Empire (1804-1815) elaborate hand painted fans were not widely produced in France. During these years printed fans became popular, and mass production of printed fans led to over saturation. This meant that fans were no longer solely the unique prized possession of only a few upper-class women. In addition, the importation of fans from the east proved more economic and exciting than the fans produced in France. Export fans from China and Japan also became smaller in an effort to follow popular trends, and large and decorative French fans were now reserved for pieces of decoration on dressers or walls.[66]

However, there was a resurgence in French fan production, in 1830, when the Duchesse de Berri, Marie Caroline de Bourbon, held a masquerade, which brought the fan back into fashion in French Society. It was also in this year that the July Revolution of 1830 led to a reconstituted monarchy in France. The July Monarchy (1830-1848), headed by King Louis-Philippe, led to increased aristocratic values and influence in France. Another factor that led to a resurgence of French fan production, however in a different vein, was the opening of trade with Japan. In 1639, during the Edo Period of Japan (1603-1868) the influx of fans had waned because of Japan's isolationist policy, which limited trade with the west. After 1854 when Commodore Matthew Perry forced an end to isolationist policy, fans were exported from Japan to France and England in mass quantities.

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[66]"The History of Fans" *The Fan Museum: Greenwich, London*, https://www.thefanmuseum.org.uk/fan-history (accessed July 2015).

Furthermore, after the Meiji Restoration of Japan in 1868, even more fans poured into France.[67] Aurthur Baignieres, a critic for the *Gazette de Beaux Arts*, used the phrase "Une Epidemie d'éventails" to describe the phenomenon of export fans in the nineteenth century.[68] The year 1891 saw a huge influx of fans into Europe; approximately 15,724,048 folding and ridged fans left Japan with destinations in the west.[69] These fans were tailored to be sold on the western market, but reflected eastern artistic principles. Japanese export fans, which were mass produced for the French market, were typically paper and had decorations of color woodcuts on their mounts.[70] Alongside Chinese porcelain and Japanese woodblocks, these fans influenced European artists who produced similar objects.[71] These artists adopted the popular mediums of the eastern cultures and made them their own. For example, fans made of ivory and lacquer became very popular materials for French fan makers.

In addition to using similar materials, the techniques employed by some French fan makers and artists mimicked those used in the production of eastern fans. For instance, Edgar Degas used *tarashi- komi*, a Japanese painting technique where the artist added a second layer of paint before the first was dry, for several of his fans.[72] Inspired by Degas and these Japanese import fans, Camille Pissarro, Paul Gauguin and Pierre Bonnard, among others, would go on to experiment with the fan motif. In the final section of my thesis I will touch on the ways in which these artists used the fan motif to question the feminine nature of this decorative art and the destruction of its craft by commodification.[73] Today there are only a few instances of fans being

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[67] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 107.
[68] Translated it Reads, "An epidemic of fans."
[69] Dr. Alice Mackrell, *Art and Fashion: The Impact of Art on Fashion and Fashion on Art* (London: B.T. Batsford, 2005), 95.
[70] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 107.
[71] During this time, the folding fan produced in Paris was sold for much money, however it did not rival the insanely cheap but well-made import fans from Japan for popularity.
[72] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 63.
[73] See, *The Transition of the Folding Fan from Decorative Object to Fine Art*.

designed and made by artists, including the fan house of Duvelleroy, which survives to this day, producing avant-garde fans. As I conclude this brief history, I acknowledge that the scope of this thesis did not allow me to fully examine every avenue of importance to the study of the folding fan. There is much to the history of the fans, and the production of fans in different eras that I have not fully expanded upon. Additionally, for the purpose of this thesis, the import fans from Japan have not been considered in terms of objects of art themselves, but rather used as comparison for the European folding fan and fan paintings produced by artists like Edgar Degas.

<u>Feminizing the Folding Fan in Nineteenth-Century Europe</u>

Part of the complication we face today in defining the folding fan originated in the nineteenth century. During the seventeenth and eighteenth century, which can be defined as its "golden age", the folding fan enjoyed recognition as an essential accessory to a woman's wardrobe. It was a woman's accessory, mouthpiece and a decorative object to display in her home. In every form, it was a feminine object. However, as the folding fan was reintegrated into society after a period of decline in the nineteenth century, its place within aristocratic circles was questioned. Ironically, as I have noted, the fan in the east was used by both men and women. For example, the warriors of Japan used it as a weapon.[74] After its introduction into Western Europe the fan earned the designation of a strictly feminine object. For example, it was termed a woman's "scepter" by Louisa Parr in *Harper's Weekly*.[75] Angela Rosenthal, in "*Unfolding*

[74] For example, the Gumbai Fan, which was mentioned in the *Remarks on the History of the Fan Proper*.
[75] Parr, "The Fan," 398.

Gender: Women and the 'Secret' Sign Language of Fans in *Hogarth's* Work," asserted that the fan allowed women to maintain control of their bodies.[76] In this way the fan was attributed to the empowerment of women in public spaces, as they were more comfortable with their bodies, fan in hand.

In some instances, the close association of the fan with women took a detrimental turn. In fact, the fan garnered derogatory attributes associated only with women. For example, the term fan even signified female genitals. It was considered the toy of Venus, and like "*muff"* was a derogatory term for the female genitals.[77] These connotations of overt femininity were not only present but a driving force for the artistic decisions made by fan makers in the nineteenth century. For example, the Frenchman Octave Uzanne, who wrote *Le Éventail,* a history of the folding fan, termed it a "*delicious feminine trinket*."[78] This "feminine trinket" is important to the art-historical discourse of the nineteenth century despite its coquettish connotations. Additionally, M.A. Flory suggested that because the fan is so connected to coquetry it has not been written about, as much as perhaps other objects of art.[79]

In addition, the fan developed other appellations of cultural construct which cemented its association with feminine nature. Unsurprisingly, the use of folding fans has been affiliated with gender inequality and the status of women in society since its introduction into European culture. As an essential object of the female wardrobe, it became increasingly associated with the role of women in the public sphere. The folding fan witnessed the increasing mobility of women outside of the private household as the public sphere slowly opened to them in the

[76] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 33. Angela Rosenthal
[77] Steele, *The Fan,* 14. Steele references poet, John Gay's eighteenth century poem about the fan.

[78] Uzanne, *l'Éventail*; and Steele, *The Fan,* 23.
[79] Flory, *A book about fans,* v-vi.

nineteenth century. In this way, it followed women as they ventured out into the "male" domain. It became a sort of barrier or safeguard for the woman as she entered this public realm. If at a party, or out for any reason, she carried a fan with her. However, "women were not left unguided on how to carry their fans in public."[80] There was an established etiquette which was essential to a woman's manipulation of a fan in public. Intrinsically, the fan was an extension of the arm, and thus used to communicate.[81] Especially, it became a means of communication between the genders. Rosenthal defines the fan as a "means of focusing the gaze and enhancing communication."[82] Then, eventually, this communication led to the development of an unwritten language, or series of vocabularies with which the woman could relay her intentions. Furthermore, the fan has been called a "Scepter of Flirtation" because in many cases the woman would use her fan to flirt with possible suitors.[83]

The so-called "language" of the fan, which had existed in some form for centuries, was a list of social cues that women used to communicate via motions with their fans instead of spoken words. The idea that painted objects could communicate meaning might originate from the Chinese *literati* paintings, which were decorated with landscapes and calligraphy that communicated messages.[84] These were not gendered objects, but rather used by both men and women to communicate ideas. However, from the seventeenth century forward, in European societies, the folding fan developed an intense vocabulary, which both empowered the woman by enabling her to communicate and objectified her by limiting communication.

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[80] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 32.
[81] Ibid., 34.
[82] Steele, *The Fan,* 12.
[83] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170.
[84] Also, the idea might translate more fluently because of eastern influence on Folding fans. Thus, the idea of painted objects communicating messages to the viewer may have translated to the European folding fan because of its relation to Chinese culture. Or, that these two motifs of eastern origin combined.

Based on the position of movement of the fan, a woman could relay messages and intentions to her suitor. In December 1740, *The Gentleman's Magazine,* promoted "The New-Fashioned Speaking Fan," which created new expressions of conversation every day.[85] Derived by the women and their suitors, these systems of expression and communication were ever changing and variable. One system, which was seldom used, involved fans decorated with entire conversations. The questions to ask and the proper responses were penned on the mounts of these fans. Certainly, some couples followed the discussions or predetermined vocabularies passed down from mother to daughter. However, it is also not a wild leap to think that couples developed their own secret signs and symbols to communicate.[86]

There were also other systems of communication utilizing the folding fan, which were understood at the time. In fact, Steele wrote about a fan "language," which used movements to fan movements to verbalize each letter of the alphabet.[87] In this system, each movement for each letter had to be completed to spell out a word. This system was hard to use as it took a long time to communicate. Thus, a simpler fan "language" developed, which used single movements to spell out whole phrases. For example, a fan pressed to a woman's lips would designate that she was permitting the man to kiss her.[88] However, since they remained unpublished or were unique to the couple, we can only imagine the derivatives. We do know that a basic vocabulary set of the folding fan was published publicly in leaflets in London by fan maker Jules Duvelleroy, son of the French fan maker Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy. It was published midway through the

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[85] "On the New-Fashioned Fans with Motto's: An Epigram." In *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle.* vol. 10. (London: Edw. Cave, at St. John's Gate, 1740), 616.
[86] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 34.
[87] Steele, *The Fan*, 12.
[88] Ibid., 13.

nineteenth century in an effort to encourage the reintegration of the folding fan into the daily lives of the aristocratic, as it had fallen slightly out of style by that time.

With the pre-determined and now newly published vocabulary, men were further able to understand the nuances of communicating with the opposite sex. Therefore, the folding fan became central to the application of male gaze upon women and the understanding of gender roles in nineteenth century Europe.[89] Surely, artists of the nineteenth century applied their knowledge of the language of the fan when depicting women on their canvases. For example, Jacques Joseph Tissot, a French painter who moved to London, employed the fan in his depiction of social scenes featuring middle and upper class Victorian women. Fans were certainly present in the depictions of these house parties. For example, fans were a common accessory in the two paintings *Too Early* (1873) and *Hush Concert* (1875). ***(Fig. 3)*** The emphasis in these images was on wearing the right clothes and accessories and carrying out social cues correctly. Tissot was well-known for his obsession with balancing social formalities with individual nature, flirtation and attraction.[90]

Furthermore, two paintings *Les Femmes de Sport (The Amateur Circus),* 1883-85*, and L'Ambitieuse (Political Women),* 1883-85, depict women in social settings surrounded by older men glancing in their direction. ***(Fig. 4)*** In both cases, the women are holding large fans across their chest deflecting, somewhat, the gaze of a male figure. The fan in this sense becomes a barrier to block the male gaze. Perhaps the most obvious use of the fan to block the gaze of a man is that of the woman in yellow in Tissot's *The Gallery of H.M.S. Calcutta (Portsmouth),* c.

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[89] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170. According to Merino, "It was an effective means of expression for women in an age when their liberty was curtailed by the strict cannons of a repressive society." In fact, Molière, the seventeenth-century French playwright, termed it the "folding screen of modesty." Thus, women could choose to hide behind her fan or engage in conversation with the opposite gender.

[90] Nancy Rose Marshall and Malcolm Warner, *James Tissot: Victorian Life/Modern Love.* (New Haven, Connecticut: The American Federation of Arts. Yale Center for British Art. Yale University Press, September 1999), 100.

1877. ***(Fig. 5)*** Here the woman has placed the fan open against her left cheek to block the view of the man who leans out looking toward her. Additionally, there are instances in which the woman holding a fan is engaged in flirty banter with an implied man outside the painting, such as, *The Fan* (1875) and *By the Window* (1875). ***(Fig. 6)*** The wide range of women with fans, which Tissot's depicts in his paintings, may echo an eighteenth-century tradition that saw the fan as a depicter of personality. This tradition was established by the writer Joseph Addison (1672-1718) of the English magazine the *Spectator* (1710), when he wrote, "a Fan is either a Prude or Coquette according to the nature of the person who bears it."[91] In this sense each fan could show the personality traits of the woman who used it to communicate.

By examining these works by Tissot it becomes clear that women were capable of exercising emotion and communicating with men through the use of the fan. They could determine how a conversation went by how they moved their fan about. Tissot's obsessions with the unspoken "language" of folding fans did not stop with him depicting them in paintings. He also painted fans. For example, there is a fan listed, which depicts a mythological scene containing blue cupids, a nymph, and satyr.[92]

To that effect a study could be undertaken solely in regard to depictions of fans in painting, and the symbolic meaning that could be attached to them via an in-depth study of their "languages". That study could be further broken down by country or time period. A complete analysis of the relationship between the language of the fan as understood in the nineteenth century and how women and fans were depicted was outside the scope of my project. It does, however, warrant further investigation.

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[91] Steele, *The Fan*, 9.
[92] Marshall, *James Tissot: Victorian Life*, 100.

The Association of the Fan with the Decorative Arts

Having already established the fan's association with femininity, it can be understood how seamless the transition would be for it to go from an accessory for women to a decorative art. Perhaps foremost it was an object of adornment for women. The designation of women as objects to be gazed upon by men gave way to commodity culture aimed at clothing women with the decorative. In fact, scholar Frances Lichten, in a publication on the decorative arts in this period, stated that another hallmark of the Post-Centennial decoration was the lavish use of the fan as ornament.[93]

The folding fan shares many attributes with decorative arts such as vases, plates, and even furniture. Although now ironically it is usually excluded from discussions on the decorative arts of these centuries, at a very basic level it can be defined in the same way, in that it is a useful object to which artistic properties can be ascribed. Moreover, the themes depicted on fans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were considered appropriate for women, and reflected their "delicacies." During the eighteenth century, mythology, landscapes, and other popular subjects were painted in the Baroque Style. Additionally, the Spanish looked, as the French previously had, to Italian styles and found Pompeian decorations and motifs from antiquity that appealed greatly to the fan painters.[94] These mythological subjects continued to be popular during the nineteenth century, and remained so until the twentieth century when fans painted with classical subjects gave way to modern fans fit with patterns or printed with advertisements. Thus, the nineteenth-century fan decorated with cupid and other allegories was a

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[93] Frances Lichten, *Decorative Art of Victoria's Era (*New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1950), 239.
[94] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170.

vessel ready to accept and project a woman's sensibilities. For example, wedding fans commonly contained allegories of love or images of Venus's toilette. Other subjects from mythology, poetry, or allegory were particularly popular.[95] Occasionally, a religious subject appeared, although it was less popular. The scenes depicted on these folding fans reflected the ideals and artistic priorities of the aristocratic women of Europe. In tandem, they also mirrored styles and themes of the decorative arts, such as *fête galantes*, which were featured on fans as well as porcelain vases, and snuff boxes. [96]

The decorative arts were distinguished from the "superior" arts by the fact that they were objects rooted in utility, or ones that served a purpose outside of art. The tradition of decorative arts being inferior to that of painting, sculpture, and architecture was a Renaissance ideal, which by the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had morphed into a "woman's medium." Women were known as the queens of decorative art. Insofar as production was concerned, the decorative arts were aligned with the sensibilities of women, allowing them to become painters and designers of these lesser arts. As a result of the close connection between the decorative arts and women, it seems fitting that a proper hobby for a woman was indeed the painting of folding fans. Like embroidery, ultimately women decorated objects that fit her sensibilities and would be used by her. In fact, Uzanne, "modeled his vision of decorative females and female decorators on the aristocratic tradition of female crafts."[97] These crafts were considered of a lesser artistic value because they were made by women. Also, the idea of decorating women with accessories and a woman decorating her house with ornamental objects was highly connected to the burgeoning commodification of nineteenth-century France.

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[95] Flory, *A book about fans*, 74.
[96] *Fête Galantes* were scenes of courtships, usually outdoors, which were made popular by Antoine Watteau in the eighteenth century as part of what is now termed the Rococo movement.
[97] Uzanne, *l'Éventail*, 71.

Just as the decoration of the upper-class home was entrusted to the wife of a household, the creation of decorative arts was considered acceptable for the female artist. As previously mentioned, at the international exhibition in 1871 Queen Victoria offered 1,000 francs for the best painted folding fan, which was not awarded because there was not a good enough entry. The aim of the exhibition, as stated in the bulletin, was to promote women fan makers in English society. It stated that they established the competition, "as one of the means by which the suitable employment of educated women could be promoted in a direction consonant with their tastes and domestic comfort."[98] It is quite obvious the general consensus in England at the time was that women were capable of only smaller crafts. This fact speaks to a larger issue that pertains to the study of women artists in history because only recently have women been considered capable of the grand scale works of art. In fact, in a review for the 1871 competition for female fan painters at the South Kensington museum, in was written, "we have already mentioned that some of the designs were too ambitious, in character and evidently far beyond the power of the competitors to treat with anything like precision and artistic intelligence."[99] Here the anonymous writer seems to suggest that if the designs or artistic processes had been undertaken by male fan painters they would have been more successful. Although it might seem progressive that a fan competition was held for women artists, the fact that they were competing for prizes for a craft associated with the decorative and feminine nature of women shows the limitations of the competition. Thus, it maybe can be viewed as a limiting force attempting to encourage women to use a medium that agreed more with what the society viewed as sensible than grand scale canvas painting.

[98]"International Exhibition 1871," 284.
[99]"International Exhibition 1871," 284

Women as Fan Collectors

An additional element that links the folding fan to the decorative arts was the way fans were circulated among artisans and wealthy women, or how it was produced and collected. Some of the most influential women of the nineteenth century had ties deeply rooted in the circles of fan production and collection. Perhaps an aristocratic woman who was particularly influential for the resurgence of the fan industry in France was the Duchesse de Berri, Marie Caroline de Bourbon (1798-1870). She can be attributed with the resurgence of antique fan collecting, which took off during the Second Empire of France. During the July Monarchy, there was a resurgence of aristocratic values. In addition, there was a resurgence of Rococo style in the mid-nineteenth century which influenced the hand painted fans being produced in Paris and all over Europe. The Duchesse de Berri capitalized on these ideas when in mid-1830 she held a Louis XV themed party which integrated Rococo styles, and reinvigorated the upper echelons of aristocratic fashion. The guests researched the fashion of the past, dressed in eighteenth-century fashions and naturally brought along their elaborate decorative fans.[100]

This party can be considered an instigator of the renewed interest in eighteenth-century styles by the nineteenth-century bourgeoisie.[101] Throughout its usage in Western Europe the fan had followed trends, like that of the fashion of the age. In nineteenth-century Europe, women were obsessed with new and developing fashion trends. Thus, "the fascination with the new and the current meant that some items were in vogue for a short duration, such as the popularity of

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[100] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 36.
[101]Hahn, H. Hazel. *Scenes of Parisian Modernity: Culture and Consumption in the Nineteenth Century.* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.), 27. Additionally, Fashion plates such as 3.1 from *Le Moniteur de la mode,* November 25, 1852 showed women in costume for costume balls with fans.

turbans in 1837."[102] In the same way the eighteenth-century styles came back into vogue in the 1830's and did not last long, but had long-lasting effects on the folding fan.

Not only had the Duchesse de Berri's party led to a revitalized interest in eighteenth-century styles, but also to an increased interest in folding fans. This resurgence led to collecting of antique fans and the production of fans inspired by the eighteenth-century painters, like Jean-Honoré Fragonard, François Boucher and Jean-Antoine Watteau. Therefore, pastoral fans and *fête galantes* emulated the eighteenth-century decorative style that had been re-popularized. In fact, the Duchesse owned a fan that may have been painted by Boucher which had made its way from the collection of the Empress Eugénie.[103] The Empress Eugénie de Montijo (1826-1920) was also a huge collector of fans who employed the house of fan maker Alexandre many times for her court. Other queens and wealthy bourgeois women had been amassing large collections of folding fans for centuries. For example, the Queen consort of Spain (1714-1724), Isabel Farnese, collected more than 1,600 fans. Some of which she had framed and hung on her wall like paintings.[104] Furthermore, Queen María Luisa of Parma, who was Queen consort from 1788-1808, also collected and commissioned fans.[105] Truly, the art of collecting folding fans had begun much earlier, but it became quite important during the mid-nineteenth century for collectors of decorative arts to add fans to their acquisitions.

The collecting of folding fans in the nineteenth century was not reserved for aristocratic women, but women of the newly minted bourgeoisie also collected fans, though on a smaller scale. In general, the hobby of collecting, especially antiquities, was reserved for bourgeois men.

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[102] Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity,* 28.
[103]"Costume, Buttons, and Braids." *The Rothschild Archive,* https://www.rothschildarchive.org/family/family_collections/buttons (accessed January 2017)

[104] Merino, "Chapter XVI," 170.
[105] Ibid.

Collecting, which was considered part of the male domain, was not wholly approved of even when taken on by men.[106] Therefore, it was unsuitable for a woman to be involved in this pastime. Additionally, women did not usually have the three things required to become successful antiquities collectors: time, money and connections.[107] Since men were generally the breadwinners, only women of the bourgeoisie were likely to have enough money to pay their agents, the people who searched for and purchased the items on behalf of the collector. In addition, collecting was a timely affair, which usually involved travel. Women had household duties, such as overseeing the care for their young and the welfare of the house, which often precluded them from being away from home for extended periods of time. Although unusual there were some middle-class women who found the money and time to become established antiquities collectors in the nineteenth century.

Lady Charlotte (née Guest) Schreiber had both time and money, which allowed her to embark on weeks-long trips and amass one of the largest personal collections of ceramics and folding fans of the nineteenth century. When she began collecting Lady Schreiber's two eldest sons Ivor and Monty were both grown, meaning she was no longer responsible for their care. Furthermore, her sons, who were well-established antiquities collectors, inspired her to become a collector herself. As it turned out, her second husband, Charles Schreiber, was a collector as well, and they traveled around Europe together many times.[108]

Lady Charlotte was born into an aristocratic family, and her first husband Sir John Guest was a rich industrialist, whom she married at 21. Money therefore was not an issue for her.

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[106] Clarissa Campbell Orr, *Women in the Victorian Art World* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), 126.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Schreiber, Lady Charlotte with Introduction by Montague John Guest, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals: confidences of a collector of ceramics and antiques throughout Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Austria and Germany from the year 1869-1885*. Volumes 1 and 2. (London: John Lane, the Bodley Head, 1911), xxiii.

However, she was committed to researching and learning in a way that was not simply symptomatic of her privilege. For example, she learned how to manage her first husband's business.[109] After Sir John Guest passed away Lady Charlotte took over the business for a short while.[110] It was during her marriage to Sir John Guest that she developed a devotion to ceramics. That devotion led into the pastime of collecting that she developed whilst giving birth to ten children and founding six schools. She wrote "whatever I undertake I must reach an eminence in. I cannot endure anything in a second grade"[111] Thus, once she had the time, she put all of her effort into collecting ceramics. Lady Charlotte and her husband took many trips abroad in search of ceramics. During the trips, she endured many challenging incidents, including a night with no hotel, mosquitos, stoning by natives, illness, pickpockets, and long hours walking.[112] In addition, she and her husband did their research, going to museums and scouring books for information on ceramics. Then, after some years collecting ceramics, she began to collect folding fans and fan-leaves. In the latter years of her life, she also researched and collected playing cards and eventually focused on engravings so that when she donated all of her collections to the British Museum people recognized her as a credible source. She even wrote journals of the travels she took. In two volumes of her published journals, Lady Charlotte outlines her trips abroad, which took place between 1869-1884.[113]

Montague Guest, Lady Charlotte's son with her first husband John Guest, wrote in his introduction to her published journals about her trips, "She always had within her the spirit of a collector and a connoisseur."[114] Montague inferred that after seeing him and his brother return

[109] Moira Vincentelli,"Women collecting and Display." In *Women and Ceramics: Gendered Vessels.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 120.
[110] Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals,* xxiii.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Orr, *Women in the Victorian,* 138.
[113] Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals,* XXV.
[114] Ibid.

with all sorts of oddities from abroad, Charlotte wanted to add to her collection as well. At first she collected ceramics, consulting Sir Wollaston Franks, who worked at the British Museum, to ensure she had the finest collections. In fact, Franks was known to visit her house in order to help her with the catalogue of her collection at the South Kensington Museum. Indeed, most of her collections are still housed there, in what is now the Victoria and Albert Museum. She spent the last years of her life documenting the fans that she donated to the British Museum. In 1884, the South Kensington Museum received the donation of over 2,000 cataloged items. The extent to which the fans were catalogued and in such good order was impressive.

Much can be gleaned from Lady Charlotte's journals, which she so meticulously kept. For one, popularity of certain styles can be determined based on what Lady Charlotte collected even though she, "was never influenced by fashionable tastes."[115] For example, she collected Chelsea pottery which was not as popular as the blue and white import China. The collection and obsession with this mass-produced pottery type was known as Chinamania.[116] Therefore, we might deduce that Lady Charlotte was not influenced by popular taste, but rather she influenced the collection of certain styles based on her tastes.[117] Eventually, she became a leader in taste and the fashionable styles of ceramics. [118] Many collectors looked to her for what types of ceramics to collect or what was of highest stylistic value, even though she herself did not collect solely what was trendy but had her own appreciations.

Furthermore, her trips to Spain and France highlighted aspects of trade and cultural exchange between England and these countries. Through Lady Schreiber's travels we can come

[115] Vincentelli,"Women collecting and Display," 106.
[116] Just as the nineteenth century saw the mass production of folding fans it also saw the beginning of the mass production of ceramics.
[117] For example, Lady Schreiber was interested in fans with historical subjects. She had a fascination with fans depicting Marie Antionette and Louis XVI.
[118] Orr, *Women in the Victorian*, 121

to understand a bit of the culture of collecting fans in Paris at the time. By reading her journals we learn that indeed she and her husband found a particularly exquisite fan on Rue de St. Honoré in the Faubourg suburb. She had not expected to find a fan in that area of the city, which is a valuable piece of information as we examine the politics of collecting in France in the nineteenth century. It is perhaps understandable as to why Lady Charlotte would not have expected to find much on Rue de St. Honoré for it was at the western end of the Palais-Royal district. In fact, in *The Politics of Resettlement*, Philip Nord describes the commercialization running rampant on the eastern half of the district, where as the more western streets had less to offer in terms of luxury.[119] On Rue de Saint-Honoré "there were no elegant shops catering to the *bon ton*.[120] Instead, rows of wooden booths selling knick-knacks and bric-à-brac thronged the sidewalks." The buildings housed, "not bourgeois, but a teeming population of artisans-shoemakers, framers, and tailors."[121]

Furthermore, a few Spanish themed fans found in Paris show the influence of Spanish culture on French fans and vice versa. First, on August 30, 1878 in Paris, Lady Charlotte found a fan representing the Plaza Mayor in Madrid. They were passing what she deemed the, "most unpromising rubbish-shop in the Faubourg." As they walked along, "C.S. [Charles Schreiber] spied a lovely fan-paper having a representation of a procession in the Plaza Mayor of Madrid."[122] The fan depicted the nobles and their attendants: the Duque de Medina Celi, the Marquis de Tabara, and Marquis de Astorga. Lady Charlotte then commented that it was, "a

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[119] Philip G Nord, *The Politics of Resentment: Shopkeeper Protest in Nineteenth Century Paris.* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick, 2005), 216.
[120] By *bon ton*, Nord refers to the fashionable world, and so the eastern side of the shopping district is described as a bunch of, "unspeakable lodgings where the sun rarely shines, save for a shaft of light that creeps into some courtyard itself little better than a foul well into which kitchen waters have been discharged." Hénard, Robert. *La Rue Saint-Honoré.* 2 vols. (Paris, 1909), 379.
[121] Nord, *The Politics of Resentment*, 216, 219.
[122] Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals,* 195.

piece to be framed and hung up with the one we already possess."[123] Yet another fan from the Schreiber collection depicted the Bullring at Madrid by J Laurent, and was found in Paris the year prior. ***(Fig. 7)*** The left side of the fan mount showed the men and women, including a Spanish *caballero*, entering the bullring to watch the bullfight. The words, *A los Torros*, were inscribed about this section. In this section a peddler sold simple paper fans to the men and women entering the ring. On the right under the inscription *de los torres,* women and men left the bullring. Of this theme, there exist two versions of slightly different colors; both were lithographed and then hand colored.

Another aspect of Lady Charlotte's collections which provides information about the nature of fans in the nineteenth century was the artistic network which she was not only a part of, but also helped to cultivate. During her trips around Europe, Schreiber met up with a host of art dealers and collectors with whom she did business. She had a history of enlisting art dealers and collectors, in each particular city, in order to find the best works of ceramics where she traveled. In fact, she would make contact with the dealers ahead of time, so that they would begin collecting and locating pieces for her before she arrived. This way when she arrived in a particular place she would visit the specialty stores with objects previously located by a member of the elite network she maintained.[124]

Occasionally, especially in her later years, the dealers brought those objects to Lady Charlotte at her home in England. Either way, it simplified Schreiber's process of locating ceramics, and later fans, for her collection. She even employed female dealers, an example being Eva Krug from Antwerp, who frequently supplied Lady Schreiber with objects of interest. In addition, Mrs. Bloomfield Moore was said to take aristocratic ladies wishing to start collecting

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[123] Ibid., 196.
[124] Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals.*

under her wing and collected things for them. Furthermore, Lady Schreiber visited other collectors during her travels. For example, Alfred de Liesville had a collection of fans, which was broader than the Schreibers' at the time.[125] Josephine Bowes had a collection of works of art and displayed objects of "international significance."[126] Mrs. Haliburton, who was a collector of pottery, and Lady Dorothy Nevill were collectors in Lady Schreiber's circle. In fact, a few women artists, including Ellen Clacy and Maria Charretie, were in her circles as well. Also, in 1857 Lady Schreiber attended meetings of the collector's club, or fine arts club that her husband was a member of. Membership was mostly limited to men, but Lady Charlotte was granted permission to attend occasionally. The club ended in 1874 because many members died and the emphasis of many collectors had shifted from decorative to fine arts.

In conclusion, it is also worth noting that the Schreibers were in Paris during the time of the Exposition Universelle de Paris. We know that in September of 1878, Lady Schreiber went many times to the International Exhibition in Paris.[127] At this exhibition Degas exhibited his fan-painting, alongside fellow Impressionist Camille Pissarro.[128] Although, she did not mention the fans in her journals, it is not a stretch to think she would have experienced this artistic theme at the exhibition. The artists of Degas's and Pissarro's circles experimented with this medium until the turn of the century. As will be pointed out in the last section of this thesis, they questioned the values of femininity historically assigned to the fan. The inherent link of the fan and its label as a decorative art played an important role in how the fans and painted fan shape designs of the nineteenth century were accepted by critics and the public.

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[125] Ibid., 326.
[126] Orr, *Women in the Victorian,* 133.
[127] Schreiber, *Lady Charlotte Schreiber's journals.*
[128] These fans will be discussed in more detail in the fourth section entitled, *The Transition of the Fan from Decorative Object to Fine Art.*

Paris and the Fan Production Industry: Internationalism and Commodification in the Nineteenth Century

Before embarking on a discussion of fan shaped paintings and the artists who began using the medium, it is necessary to discuss the elements that were essential to the production of folding fans in the mid-nineteenth century. Its production was undeniably centered in Paris. For instance, the catalog for the 1862 International Exhibition mentioned that "Paris was the head-quarters of the industry, and that fans [were] produced there varying in value from a half-penny to £1,000 each; the total annual value being over £100,000."[129] As previously stated, Paris became a nineteenth-century hub for fashion, art, and culture in Europe. As regards the folding fan, France was able to identify itself as the center of the industry of production and the industry flourished because of the 1830 ball held by Duchesse de Berri, after a period of decline early in the century. Furthermore, women came from all over Europe and America to buy fans in Paris and these other countries sought to emulate Parisian production. From 1850-1910, an industry developed which was unique to Paris and which mapped cultural exchange and national trends in and between: France, Spain, England and The United States.

Spain, England and the United States: Nationalism versus the French Fashion influence

In the later nineteenth century a growth in fashion consciousness and mass production led to the advent of vogue items and short-lived fashion trends.[130] Fashion trends became a

[129] J.B. Waring. *Masterpieces of Industrial art and sculpture at the International Exhibition, 1862*. (London: Day and Son Publishing, 1863), Plate 240. *A Fan by P. F. V. Alexandre*.
[130] Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity,* 28.

visual language to identify women who were well traveled and fashionable. These trends dispersed across borders. As with Napoleon's campaign in Egypt, which brought Indian shawls into popular fashion in Paris, other French trends can be traced to travelers that introduced items from other countries. With folding fans, there is an interesting conundrum we face about the cultural exchange between France and Spain. That is the difficulty we face in tracking the direction of the culture exchange. Although, Spanish fans were produced as a result of the influence of French fashion, French fans were also produced under the influence of Spanish culture. Clearly, the production of fans was "a Parisian specialty." However, further inquiry into the cultural exchange between these countries, as regards the folding fan, is required. It seems obvious that the French fan makers were influenced by the culture of Spanish flamenco dancing, as scenes of this nature appeared on fan mounts. For instance, Edouard Manet and Edgar Degas highlighted this cultural beauty on their fans later in the century.

The exchange of Parisian folding fans and Hispanic flamenco culture was furthered by travelers to and from Spain. French travelers to the Iberian Peninsula propagated stereotypes about the women of Spain, specifically in regards to the folding fan. For example, the French novelist, Theophile Gautier, traveled to Spain in 1840. He took copious notes and wrote, *Tra Las Montes*, a guide to his travels. Gautier more or less invented the idea of a romantic Spain in his novel. At least, he did so, according to Mario Praz, who questioned this ideal in *Unromantic Spain.* By 1928, when Praz visited and wrote about Spain, "the legend of the picturesque Spain [was] becoming cheaper and cheaper…The essence of that country [lay] in the very antithesis of picturesqueness, namely in a grandiose, overwhelming monotony."[131]

[131] Mario Praz, *Unromantic Spain*, (London: Alfred A. Knopf. 1928), 35.

However, it was not so for travelers of the nineteenth century, who saw great exotic beauty in the country. In the English translation by Catherine Philips entitled, *A Romantic in Spain* (1926), Gautier cultivated this exotic and romantic version of Spain, which in some ways was akin to how Frenchman saw the cultures of the east. Furthermore, he noted the obvious influence of Parisian fashion trends on the women of the Iberian Peninsula. In Madrid, he wrote that there was a, "side-path bearing the name of *Paris*; this [was] the local Boulevard de Gand, the rendezvous of fashion in Madrid"[132] This showed that the Spanish considered Paris to be a hub of culture and fashion which they sought to emulate. Of fashion accessories Gautier only spoke of one which was uniquely Spanish: the mantilla. The mantilla is still essential to Spanish culture. It is also in a sense a rite of passage, as it is worn only by older women. It is a significant event when young girls have aged enough to be allowed to wear one. Gautier highly admired the Mantilla, which he described as, "The only part of the Spanish Costumes which has been persevered; the rest is in the French Style." His statement reiterated that with a few exceptions, the Spanish looked to French style as the hallmark.

Thus, the women of Spain, he assumed, took their fashion cues from Paris, where the new fashion trends debuted. He went on to write, "The fan to some extent counteracts these pretensions to Parisianism."[133] He was referring to the idea that the widespread use of the fan in Spain was not solely a response to French fashion, but rather was engrained in their culture. Indeed, the use of the fan by the women of Spain was widespread:

> A women without a fan is a thing which I have not yet seen in this happy country; I have seen some who wore satin slippers with no stockings, but they carried a fan; the fan follows them everywhere, even to church, where you

[132] Theophile Gautier and Catherine Philips, *A Romantic in Spain.* (London: Alfred A Knopf, 1926), 84.
[133] Ibid., 85.

> meet groups of women of all ages, kneeling or squatting on their heels, fervently praying and fanning themselves, and crossing themselves from time to time in the Spanish style, which is much more complicated than ours, and performed by them with a precision and rapidity worthy of Prussian Soldiers. Flirting a fan is an art totally unknown in France. Spanish Women excel in it; the fan is opened, shut and turned between their fingers so lightly and vivaciously that a prestidigitor could not do it better. Some fashionable women form collections of great value; we saw one which numbered no less than a hundred of them in different styles; there were fans of every land and every age, in ivory, tortoise-shell, sandalwood, spangles, paintings in gouache of the time of Louis XIV and Louis XV, rice paper from china or japan- nothing was missing; several of them were scattered with rubies, diamonds and other precious stones; this is a tasteful luxury and a charming craze for a pretty woman, as the fans open and close, they make a little hissing noise which is repeated more than a thousand times a minute, so that its notes pierces through the confused hum which floats over the promenade in a manner strange to the French ear. When a woman meets somebody of her acquaintance, she makes a little sign to him with her fan, and throws him, as she goes by, the word agur (adieu) which is pronounced avour.[134]

This passage reveals the importance of the fan in Spain, which then can shed light of the cultural influence between Spain and France. In some ways the Spanish took ownership over the

[134] Gautier, *A Romantic Spain,* 86.

fan, which became uniquely Spanish. Incorporated with this idea is the use of the fan as an instrument in Flamenco dancing, which begs the question: which trends influenced which? Was it the French fan fad that prompted the Spanish to carry around their fan everywhere they went? Or was it the Spanish use of the fan and Spanish culture that in turn influenced the Parisian production of fans?

In fact, "Parisian women longed for dazzling effects that evoked the exotic, yet also sought decorative and luxurious-looking items that were widely advertised."[135] Spain became the perfect target for the appropriation of exotic culture trends. Another Frenchman Alexandre Dumas, who later became famous for his literary works such as *The Count of Monte Cristo* and *The Three Musketeers*, visited Spain only six years after Gautier. Although Gautier romanticized Spain, Dumas further capitalized on the 'exotic' unknown of Spain, which captivated the French. First, he created a romantic situation by the fact that he wrote his *Adventures in Spain* in the form of letters to a mysterious "Madame" who was not named. They seemed as if they are from a suitor detailing his travels to the woman who waited for him. Second, in the manner that he spoke about the romance of Spain, he related to the readers in France an idyllic, romantic, and lust filled Spain.

It seems hard to pinpoint a cause and effect for the stylistic exchange, which surrounded the production of fans in the nineteenth century. However, it is worth noting that Spain did have their own quite inferior industry for fan production. Spain's own production of folding fans did not begin until 1802 when the first fan factory opened in Valencia.[136] Before this time fans were sent to Spain exclusively from Paris. Even after 1802, Spanish upper class women came to buy their fans in France because "the Malaga and Valencia makers [supplied] only a cheaper class."

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135 Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity*, 29.
136 Nancy J Armstrong, *A Collectors History of Fans*. (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 1974), 95.

[137] Although they did not achieve the same prestige, Spain and other countries sought to emulate the French level of production for their own fans. In a sense Spain, England, and even the United States looked to the French Industry.

England in particular saw the Parisian fan industry as the standard for fan production. For instance, Louisa Parr, writing in the November edition of *Harper's Monthly*, noted that the English had fallen behind the French in fan production.[138] What she considered to be a valuable source on fans, Natalis Roudot's *Les Objects de Parure* (1854), was not even in the library of the British Museum. That the British Museum had no copy suggested a lack of artistic and cultural importance assigned the fan by institutions of greater knowledge. However, by 1870, the South Kensington Museum had picked up on the importance of the fan in French society from International exhibitions and held its own exhibition. This exhibition, which was organized by contributor, date, and country of origin, brought together many folding fans collected and lent by contributors to be displayed. Sam Redgrave, a writer on art, stated, in the catalog for the loan fan exhibition in 1870 at the South Kensington Museum, that the fans of Paris were of utmost quality and the fan makers employed the highest quality painters. Redgrave saw that the development of this trade in England had not reached the quality of that in France.[139]

Therefore, they decided to hold a competition for fans displayed at the 1871 International exhibition to be held in Paris, where two of the most influential fan makers, Alexandre and Duvelleroy, most likely exhibited fans of grandeur. The point of this competition was cited as, "a scheme by the department of Science and Art for the Art instruction of Women."[140] In fact, Queen Victoria offered a prize for the best fan exhibited at the International Exhibition of 1871.

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[137] Eugene Rimmel, *Recollections of the Paris Exhibition of 1867.* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1868), 71.
[138] Parr, "The Fan," 398.
[139] Redgrave, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*, *viii.*
[140] Ibid., *vii.*

It seemed the goal of this competition was to entice English female painters to produce fans of an English nature that might stimulate the revival of the industry there.[141]

The Americans sought to produce their own fans, but would essentially fall short of any successful industry. In particular, when talking about the 1882 annual exhibition put on by the Decorative Arts society of New York, M.A. Flory stated, "one cannot but wonder at the prevalent indifference to fan-painting."[142] Here Flory, who had written this history of fans in 1895, referred to the lack of folding fans being produced or painted in America with the emphasis on a national decorative style in England having become prevalent in the last half of the century.[143] She continued, "American painters should follow French examples and sign many painted fans in order to usher in America's own era of fans." As soon to be discussed, the signature of either fan maker or fan painter became the most important factor in determining value of folding fans in the nineteenth century. However, at one point, the emphasis was on the national signature of a fan. In other words, the fan's innate style, which signified its country of origin, was more important than the artist's signature.

Further inquiry is required to determine why American artists did not seem to take to this trend, or in any case did not seek to find a specifically American style for fans. In the end, Americans alongside those from European countries, found Paris the hub for purchasing fans. It is because of this that so many fans ended up in the collection of the Charleston Museum where I first discovered folding fans. For example, an ancestor of Mrs. Sidney Legendre of Medway Plantation in South Carolina visited Paris during the summer and returned with souvenirs, such

[141] It's important to note that the South Kensington Competition was directed at females. This idea plays into our discussion of the detrimental association which the decorative arts, and by extension the fan, had with women crafters. Fans produced by women for this competition would be inferior to art produced by their male counterparts before they were even produced.
[142] Flory, *A book about fans*, v-vi.
[143] Ibid.

as fans. Eventually Mrs. Gertrude Sanford (Sidney) Legendre donated a fan to the textile collection at the Charleston Museum in South Carolina where it is today. The Relin-Calot fan ***(Fig.1)***, as I will term it since its value was based on who painted it, was most certainly purchased in the district of Paris where distinguished Victorian ceramics collector, Lady Charlotte Schreiber and her husband visited.[144] The painter of this fan, Marie Relin-Calot worked in Paris in the nineteenth century. In the November 14, 1876 edition of *La Presse*, she was listed as having won first prize for an *éventail*, or fan, and being awarded the sum of 500 francs.[145] During the internship I completed at the Charleston Museum, I came across this particular fan on which she painted a copy of French Rococo painter François Boucher's *The Marriage of Cupid and Psyche.* ***(Fig. 1)*** Although she copied Boucher's image, she took the liberty to reverse it and designed the medallions and gold leaf that decorate the rest of the fan.[146]

Invention and Exhibition: The Fan Industry Evolves with Industrialism

The Relin-Calot fan is an example of the type of fan produced in Paris late in the century. It represents the incomparable fan production taking place in France. As previously mentioned, the industry saw its most serious decline in the early years of the nineteenth century. However, before the decline, a major change, which freed up merchants to participate in this way occurred in 1791, when the guild system was dismantled.[147] Previously, the guilds dictated the production of fans in France. However, when the guilds were dissolved during the

[144] See, *Feminizing the Folding Fan in Nineteenth-Century Europe.*
[145] "Industrie Et Beaux-Arts : Union Centrale des Beaux-Arts" *La Presse*. 14 November 1876.
[146] It could be that reversing the image was actually a technique, such as how an artist's reverses an image in printmaking.
[147] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 86.

revolutions, the way was paved for private fan houses and painters of all stature to sell their fans. Built off the back of the disillusioned guilds, nineteenth-century fan production developed into an interconnected and widespread industry. Thus, between the revolution of 1789 and the turn of the century, the number of fan makers increased from fifty to three or four hundred.[148]

However, because of the changing fashion trends of the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth century, the fan's popularity began to wane and over two-thirds of the fan makers retired from the industry.[149] As late as 1806 the Minister of the Interior remarked that France was producing enough fans to supply all of America and most of Europe.[150] In the years that followed, the shrinkage of both industry and product represented the response of the fashion industry to political and social change. [151] Also, I will note how the perception of the value of decorative arts changed which led to the fans being featured in the French national exhibitions, international exhibitions, and fairs that would be inspired by France's initial idea of a cultural gathering to empower their national identity.

Perfect conditions of the mid-century led to the revitalization of this specialized industry of European fan production, which was centered in Paris. It is thus worth remarking upon the circumstances which surely brought about the reintegration of the folding fan in to popular society. Of course, the Duchesse de Berri's 1830 party was essential from the perspective of aristocratic fashion trends. She helped cultivate an environment, among the aristocrats, which brought back fashion ideals and styles from the eighteenth century. This included the folding

[148] M. Horace Hayes, "The French Fan Industry." *Journal of the Society for Arts*, Vol. 42, No. 2140." (November 24th 1893): 29-30. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41334056. (accessed October 2016).
[149] Hayes, "The French Fan Industry," 30.
[150] Ibid., 29.
[151] Anna Gray Bennett, *Unfolding Beauty, the art of the fan. The collection of Esther Oldham and the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston*. (Boston: Thames and Hudson 1988), 16.

fan. However, the popularity of the folding fan was also stimulated by the 1864 opening of trade with Japan.

In addition, rapid industrialization of the early nineteenth century led to inventions that made fan production easier, and the commercialization of the folding fan possible. For example, at the 1844 exhibition fan maker Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy exhibited a “grand wheel”, which he invented in order to make the process of designing and crafting the guard sticks for folding fans easier.[152] Naturally, further inventions improved upon this machine. For example, in 1859, Alphonse Baude created a technique for the production of folding fans, which sped up the process.[153] Eventually, production became more streamlined. Therefore, antique fans and fans produced specially by artists became popular items to collect. Elaborate and richly decorated fans can certainly be seen as a pushback from the mass production of paper fans which became popular in the first half of the nineteenth century.

Rapid trade caused countries to question their national identity. For the French, art and fashion became the way in which they would distinguish themselves. It would become such that “art would lift France up and make it through the age of industry.”[154] This idea would lead France to hold the first of the “modern” exhibitions, which took place in 1798.[155] In that year, France held a series of national exhibitions to encourage progress and promote production among the Parisian industries. The exhibition was to function as an effort to rebuild French national identity, and artisans had to work hard to produce fans for the exhibition as they had

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[152] M. Gustave Halphen, *Rapport sur l’Exposition Publique des produits de l’industrie Française de 1844.* (Paris : Consul général de la Sublime Porte, 1845), 325. http://catalogue.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/cb305716059. (Accessed November 2016)
[153] Avril Hart and Emma Taylor. *Fans* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 1988), 95.
[154] Davis, “Fine Clothes on the Altar,” 87.
[155] Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 96. Exhibitions were a French invention and idea, Although England held the first international exhibition. Marquis d’Aveze, Commissioner of the factories of Severes, Savonnerie and of the Gobelin.

been reduced to utter starvation during the political revolutions.[156] By 1845, Spain along with Russia, Belgium, and Portugal, had held its first national exhibition.[157] England responded in 1851 with the Great Exhibition held at the Crystal Palace in Hyde Park, London.[158] This would be the impetus for many worldwide exhibitions to follow. This exhibition displayed many fans. Fans had been first displayed at the French Salon exhibitions in 1850. From there the number of fans exhibited rose steadily. Unsurprisingly the majority of fan submissions were by women.[159] Thus, when the first international exhibition was held in France, there was already a precedent of displaying fans.

This first Exposition Universelle was held in Paris in 1855. It was a starting point for Paris's transition to a center for cultural and artistic exchange. It brought together the best artisans from countries around the world. The competing fan making firms of Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy and P.F.V. Alexandre employed artisans from many trades to finish their elaborate fans. For fans exhibited at the exhibitions in the 1860's in Paris, Alexandre employed Edouard Jean-Baptiste Moreau, Eugene Lamy, among other known artists of the time. In 1878, The Worshipful Company of Fan Makers held an exhibition at Drapers' hall.[160] This exhibition of fans saw antique fans being displayed in an exhibition dedicated solely to folding fans. The high point for displaying the folding fan in exhibitions and salons was 1879-1881, which coincided

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[156] Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 96.
[157] These exhibitions to the French National Exhibition of 1844. Held at Champs-Elyess which was the 10th of 11 national exhibitions.
[158] The Crystal Palace exhibition was a perfect event for which to produce commemorative paper fans advertising the event. The mass production of fans like these led to fan makers questioning the commodification of goods in the nineteenth century. Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 93. The 1851 international exhibition debuted the machine responsible for machine embroidery which began to be used in fashion and on fans after this date. Henry Houldsworth of Manchester can be attributed to the invention of this machine.
[159] Richard R. 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*, Robert Flynn Johnson and Richard R. Brettell (Memphis: Dixon Gallery and Gardens, 2016), 4-5
[160] Mary Gostelow, *The Fan* (Dublin: Gill and Macmillian Ltd., 1976), 103.

with display of fan shaped designs in the Impressionist exhibitions. By 1889, according to Louisa Parr's account in the November edition of *Harper's Monthly*, there had been a total of three fan exhibitions in London.[161] Thus the aristocracy and bourgeoisie who visited the exhibitions were inspired to purchase fans from Duvelleroy and other fan houses in Paris.

The fan makers who employed the artisans were part of an elaborate industry which contained up to fourteen different jobs. All of the jobs were essential to the development and production of fans at the time. In the catalogue for the 1862 International Exhibition in Paris, the division of individual parts of labor wass laid out. It read, "As regards manufacture, fans form a curious instance of the subdivision of labour: --1. The *painter* decorates the leaf; 2. The *smoother* planes the handle; 3. The *fashioner* shapes it; 4. The *finisher* polishes it; 5. The *carver*; 6. The *engraver*; 7. The *guilder*; 8. The *riveter*; The separate parts of the fan now being complete, it is finished by the woman."[162] Three more jobs were the *mounter*, who puts the parts together; the *borderer*; and the *examiner*. Additionally, the printer and the paster were two jobs that were added because of industrial printing inventions like the Koenig steam-powered printing press in 1814, which made printed fans a financially viable alternative. Fans were occasionally printed before the nineteenth century, and some were a mixture of hand painted designs and printed scenes. As the nineteenth century got underway these inventions in printing allowed for a new genre of fan, the advertisement fan. The printed fan had essentially become mass-produced in the nineteenth century. Thus, with the influx of Japanese fans and French mass-produced paper fans, specialty fans produced in the fan houses of Alexandre and Duvelleroy filled a specific niche.

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[161] Parr, "The Fan," 399.
[162] Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art*, plate 240. This point is highlighting that women are a key role in the process, and that fans are produced with the woman consumer in mind.

In 1882, the *Dickens' Dictionary of Paris* listed Alexandre and Duvelleroy as two of the main Parisian fans makers.[163] Alexandre and Duvelleroy were a unique breed of artisan, or craftsmen, who tailored their extravagant folding fans to the upper echelons of society.[164] In fact, both fan houses were known to supply fans to the Queens of Europe. For instance, we know that the Empress Eugenie of Spain was a customer of Alexandre and she commissioned several fans.[165] Also, Alexandre was said to be the court painter to both the Queen of the Netherlands, Empress Eugenie and Queen Victoria of England.[166]

There was a special title for the likes of Alexandre and Duvelleroy, as the fan maker, "the *Eventailliste* calls himself the inventor or designer and he well merits the title."[167] Both houses won prizes for the fans they exhibited at the Parisian and International Exhibitions.

The other fan maker to the queens, the fan house of Duvelleroy, was founded by Jean-Pierre Duvelleroy in 1827. The studio was originally located at 15 Rue de la Paix with a studio or workshop at 17 Passage des Panoramas. Close to the Passage des Panoramas were the, "elegant areas like the Rue de la Paix, Place du Palais Royal, Rue de Rivioli, Rue Vivienne and others" which introduced gas lighting by the 1830's, thus, making shopping in these places more accessible.[168]

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[163] Charles Dickens Jr. *Dickens Dictionary of Paris* (London: Macmillian and Co, 1882), 262. Note that Clery was the third fan maker mentioned but I did not come across enough information to list him here.

[164] Although occasionally used as accessories, such as the 1830 ball of Duchesse de Berri, most likely the fans from these houses are displayed on dressers in the home.

[165] Hart and Taylor, *Fans,* 100; and Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial Art,* plate 240.

[166] "After Franz Xaver Winterhalter (1805-73): Fan depicting 'Emperor Napoleon III and Empress Eugénie: 1855." *Royal Collection Trust*, https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection /25101/fan-depicting-emperor-napoleon-iii-and-empress-eugenie. (accessed January 2017).

[167] Redgrave, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*, *vii.* This shows the shift of how the fan maker was considered from craftsman of a trade in 18th century England to (eventalliste) artist, inventor and designer in 19th century Paris. (Duvelleroy invented wheel spin thing.) He (eventalliste) employs painters for the fan, carvers for the sticks and jewelers for the inlay. The fan is the work of many hands. The designer is the unifier. ***

[168] Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity,* 34.

Additionally, the history of the Passage des Panoramas showed just how influential Duvelleroy's fan house was. It bisected the streets Rue Saint-Marc and Boulevard Montmartre, two central streets for shopping. By the 1870's, shopping was considered an acceptable pastime for women of the bourgeoisie, who were "in search of distraction and oblivion."[169] Physical appearance had become the way in which a woman defined herself. Therefore, "outward embellishment took on a greater importance because women's publicly defined role was essentially only a physical appearance." [170] The central location of Duvelleroy's meant, "modish boutiques flocked to the *Passage,* as did the buying public. Women could purchase all their accessories and complete all their luxury shopping in one location. They went to Duvelleroy's for fans, to A la Duchesse de Courlandes' for bonbons, and to Mme. Lapostole's for straw hats, which were all nearby. The Panoramas became known as "the heart of Paris, the *Quartier* par excellence of fashion *toilette,* and feminine elegance."[171] Moreover, that area was a center for Japanese trade and influence. For example, Madame Desoye's shop on Rue de Rivioli supplied Japanese artifacts, including fans.[172]

Eventually, in 1894, the Duvelleroy fan house expanded to London.[173] Jules Duvelleroy, Jean-Pierre illegitimate son, ran the shop on Regent Street in London, where he produced folding fans painted by Gavarni, Eugene Lamy, and Gustave de Beaumont. Back in Paris, Georges Duvelleroy kept the shop at Passage de Panoramas where it cultivated the ambiance of lively shopping until around 1900 when he closed that shop and moved.[174] Until the dismantling

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[169] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 87.
[170] Ibid.
[171]Nord, *The Politics of Resentment,* 122. (Nord 122. Foot note 63- Bertaut, Le Boulevard pp108-112. And 65 Le parisien ches lui p. 44)
[172] Mackrell, *Art and Fashion,* 91. James Abbott McNeill Whistler visited this shop, and perhaps gained influence from the shop for his works containing Japanese artifacts.
[173] Nord, *The Politics of Resentment,* 221.
[174] Ibid.

of the guild system at the end of the eighteenth century, stores had only been able to sell one object based on their specialty. Now, without these restrictions, "a shirt seller might add ties, socks, canes and umbrellas to his inventory."[175] The fact that merchants were no longer limited to one specialty played a role in the mass production of fans, which led to the downfall of specialty shops which didn't adapt.[176] Therefore, as the nineteenth century ended, the Passage had seen better days. Duvelleroy's main shop had moved to Boulevard de Italiens which was north west of Avenue de l'Opera, and the Passage was no longer the place to shop for feminine luxuries. Duvelleroy had opened a storefront on Rue de la Paix and later opened one in London as well. The brand and fan house of Duvelleroy lasted into the twentieth century, and is still producing avant-garde fans today.

<u>The Advent of the Department Store and the Dissolution of the Specialty Shop: Commodification in mid-century Paris</u>

Although Duvelleroy's fan house survived and flourished during the nineteenth century, many specialty shops did not. They were under attack by the advent of new ways to shop, which made goods more accessible to the consumers. For one, magazine shopping had become popular. Women's journals promoted bourgeois culture and played a big role in French fashion. For example, in 1860, *La mode Illustree,* promoted fashion among women, spreading popular trends across France. These journals were like fashion magazines, which redefined the history of shopping and brought it into the home.

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[175] Nord, *The Politics of Resentment*, 65, 84.
[176] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 86.

The opening of the first modern department store would continue to change fan production in France because it effectively brought all goods under one roof. Most importantly, a man by the name of Aristide Boucicaut, decided in 1869, to rebuild his store *Le Bon Marche.* It was originally founded in 1852, but Boucicaut decided to open a larger "grand" version of it over a decade later. It became the first department store or *grand magasin* in Paris. It was, "the only Store specifically constructed and entirely intended for a great trade in Nouveautes."[177] Shopping at *Le Bon Marche* was a unique experience in many ways, not the least of which was its similarity in layout to the grand exhibitions. For one, the merchandise was sold at fixed prices where consumers were not charged based on what they could afford; costumers did not haggle over prices, but rather everyone paid the same price.[178] Additionally, it was free to enter and it was not expected that a shopper purchase anything. This meant more women felt comfortable coming into the shop, as they did not feel pressure to buy goods. Indeed, this system worked because women still bought the items and more women were exposed to the objects on sale than would have been if there were stipulations about entering the store. Another aspect was free returns and exchanges. Not only did this lead to more on the spot purchasing, but women felt more comfortable entering the store in the first place. Women had no reason not to buy, and buy they did. They even purchased fans at *Le Bon Marche* and other department stores. According to the Fan Museum in Greenwich, England:

> Great maisons sprang up in Paris, which had become the epicentre for the manufacture of fine quality fans. These maisons would become bywords for the creation and distribution

[177] Michael B Miller, *The Bon Marche: bourgeois culture and the department store, 1869-1920* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 20. Nouveautes were confections or a part of Women's apparel. Sold in stores where trimmings and accessories were sold.
[178] Ibid. "The Bon Marche's originality as a business venture lay in its small mark-up of price, compensated for by a high volume of sales and a rapid stock run."

> of objets de luxe, furnishing royalty and the upper echelons of polite society with fans of particular quality.[179]

As noted by Shane Adler Davis in her article "Fine Clothes on the Altar," the development of department stores and commodity culture was closely associated with the growing popularity of exhibitions.[180] Going to the exhibition and a department store was a similar affair because "the visitor went to browse and was then seduced into buying by the displays of the world's riches, creating a vison of fantasy and splendor."[181] Similarly, the window dressings of the department stores were set up to look similar to exhibitions in the way they displayed the goods like pieces of art. There was an obvious connection that "bourgeois women made with the 'art' found at the exposition and the objects at the department stores."[182] As both the industry of art (the exposition) and the industry of commerce (luxury shops) in Paris were tempting women to buy, it led to the commodification of objects of fine art. By equating the exhibitions and Grand Magasins, art was now seen as a commodity and commodities were seen as forms of art in the lives of women.

The turn of the nineteenth century saw a large increase in the tourism industry. In fact, in the early years from 1814-1848, around 30,000 Americans traveled to Paris.[183] Then, after 1830 there were several hundred thousand American and European travelers to Paris each year.[184] The 1844 exhibition saw a large influx of foreigners, and inspired new generations to travel to

[179]"The History of Fans" *The Fan Museum: Greenwich, London,* https://www.thefanmuseum.org.uk/fan-history (accessed July 2015).
[180]Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 85.
[181] Ibid.
[182]Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 82, footnote 139.
[183]Camille Peretz, "The Development of the Parisian tourist industry as described in the travel narratives of American travelers in the French capital between 1780 and 1850." (New York: Columbia University, 2003), 1.
[184]Hahn, *Scenes of Parisian Modernity,* 47.

Paris. In fact, the Grand Magasins du Louvre were built in 1855 as, "a vast arcade of luxury shops that surrounded the Hotel du Louvre, built expressly to accommodate Exposition visitors."[185] A perfect example of a foreigner visiting Paris was the one given by Davis, who mentioned the diary of Hattie Crocker of San Francisco who visited Paris In July of 1878.[186] Crocker wrote in her diary about her family's trip to Paris that year. The diary spanned from July 1878- September 1879 and detailed her visit to *Le Bon Marche* and The Grand Magasins du Louvre, which opened again in 1877 after being updated.[187] Additionally, Crocker spent time visiting the Exposition Universelle of 1878. Not only were visitors like Hattie Crocker surrounded by luxury during their trips to Paris, but now those luxuries were commodities they could purchase. Not only Americans and Europeans but, "Parisians themselves went to the Exposition Universelle and spent their days shopping in the wondrous new department stores of Paris."[188] To this effect, the exhibitions and department stores provided a unique experience in that browsing and shopping were intertwined.[189]

As the culture of shopping and fashion changed in the nineteenth century, the purchase and production of the fan changed too. Davis made the comparison between Duvelleroy's fans and paintings saying that at the 1878 exhibition women were able, "to make discoveries of works of art and delightful fantasies and to make comparisons between this or that display."[190] Also, "The display of Duvelleroy [included] unique fans, like painting, … like the most perfect

[185] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 86.
[186] American Heiress Harriet V. Crocker was born to Railroad Tycoon Charles Crocker, who founded the Central Pacific Railroad which worked on the first transcontinental railroad. After her father's death, she inherited a large sum of money and was able to purchase the Hutchinson Mansion in NYC. She eventually married millionaire and lawyer Charles B. Alexander.
[187] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 86.
[188] Ibid., 85.
[189] Ibid., 88.
[190] Ibid., 87.

specimen of modern art."[191] The oversaturation of paper fans stressed the fan houses like Duvelleroy's and enticed them to produce unique and avant-garde fans, which brought the fan closer to being appreciated as an object of fine art.

In a sense, all this work to recover the production and popularity of the fan since the early part of the century, succeeded in the short term. Eventually, after the turn of the century, it became yet another commodity whose craft was affected by mass production. The discussion has not concluded because artists from the Impressionist and Postimpressionist circles capitalized on the oversaturation of folding fans in Paris. They used the motif of the fan to further their rule breaking agendas. Thus, the uniquely Parisian fan industry would generate an international fan network of: fan makers, collectors, artists, and dealers. This network briefly united artists using the fan motif as a medium of fine art. These artists broke with the decorative and feminine traditions of the folding fan in unique ways, which will be discussed in the next section.

The Transition of the Folding Fan from Decorative Object to Fine Art

A key shift occurred in the nineteenth century, which changed the way fans were viewed in society. The transition of the fan from a tool of feminine adornment to a vehicle of avant-gardism between the 1870s and 1920s shows a variety of the trends that make this period of such great interest and importance in the history of art.[192] Alice Mackrell in *Art and Fashion* stated, "all the artistic manifestations of the time found an expression, either on the leaves of fans or in their shape and composition."[193] In the previous chapters, it was established that the fan had

[191] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 87.
[192] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 251.
[193] Mackrell, *Art and Fashion*, 95.

been inherently linked with craft, decorative arts, and feminine values. Therefore, the fan was poised to make this transition to object of fine art because of a shift in thinking that had taken place in regards to the value of the decorative arts in late-nineteenth century France.

Shane Adler Davis suggested that it was because the government of the Third Republic was interested in promoting unity after the Franco Prussian war ended in 1871. French art was its most unique and successful national identifier. Additionally, the decorative arts were “no longer deemed frivolous” but rather “imbued with the moral superiority of the French nation.”[194] Thus, decorative objects were now seen as art. No doubt there was still inequality, as decorative arts were seen as the lower arts; however, it was at least considered a form of art rather than solely craft. Marc Gerstein, in his article on the fans of Degas, echoes this thought stating that fans had become a “kind of painting and drawing worthy to be seen with the best of recent French art.”[195]

Even with the strides that had been made, the fan was not widely accepted as a medium of fine art. For example, like other decorative objects, the fan was sold over the counter at specially shops instead of hushed galleries like pieces of art.[196] Furthermore, painters who produced only fans or did not work in the mediums of fine art, were not considered capable of such grandeur. Critics of fine art did not seem to appreciate the work of fan painters. For instance, connoisseur Horace Walpole, when responding to works of art he did not favor, compared them to works done by fan painters, thus implying an insult.[197]

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[194] Davis, “Fine Clothes on the Altar,” 87.
[195] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 110.

[196] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 253.
[197] Steele, *The Fan*, 18.

The critical response to fan painting did not stop the most successful artists of the late nineteenth century from producing fan shaped gouaches and pastels.[198] The artists whom I will mention only dabbled in the decorative arts when they began to experiment with the motif or shape of a fan mount. Most were already established as painters of fine art. Through a study of these fan shaped designs we can delineate the rise of the folding fan from a "lesser" art to a medium of fine art.[199] The artists who produced these fan designs questioned where the lines between art, craft and design were drawn.[200]

Among the first to experiment with fans was Edouard Manet. From 1866-1867 Manet painted Spanish bullfighting scenes on the leaves of fans.[201] His reasons were perhaps entirely experimental and grew out of the influence of *hispangolisme*. The term *hispangolisme* referred to the French "interest in and taste for all things Spanish, which began in the 1830's and grew into a popular craze during the Second Empire following the marriage of Napoleon III to the Spanish Countess Eugenie De Montijo in 1853" [202] As mentioned previously, many French travelers, including Gautier and Dumas, made their way to Spain starting in the 1840's. A huge influence on the French travelers was the Spanish flamenco dance style. This style of dance saw women using fans as they moved about provocatively. Therefore, its "character and popularity …. made it a suitable and evocative subject for the decoration of the fan."[203] Manet was not the only artist to use the influence of Spanish dance as a subject for his fans.

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[198] Here I refer to the mostly posthumous success of the artists of the Impressionist (Edgar Degas, Jean-Louis Forain, Camille Pissarro), and Post-Impressionist (Paul Gauguin, Maurice Denis, Pierre Bonnard) circles who have achieved almost worldwide fame for their part in the advancement of principles of modern art.
[199] Note Chapter on Decorative art and the fans previous classification as a decorative art.
[200] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 254.
[201] Ibid., 253.
[202] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 105.
[203] Ibid., 106.

When Edgar Degas first experimented with the medium of folding fans, it was in response to the craze of *hispangolisme*. One of the three fans he produced during the 1860's demonstrated this point. The fan shape watercolor is titled *Danseurs et Musiciens Espangnols* and depicts a scene with Spanish dancers and a guitarist.[204]***(Fig. 8)*** Degas gifted his fans to Impressionist painters Berthe Morisot and Mary Cassatt as well as Mme. La Duchesse de Castiglione. In fact, in the painting *The Sisters* (1869) by Morisot, she juxtaposes the traditional fan from the new experimental fan shaped watercolor of Degas. ***(Fig. 9)*** In the foreground, Morisot's sister holds a traditionally mounted folding fan solemnly, while in the background the *Danseurs et Musiciens Espangnols* fan hangs on the wall. Does the expression on Moriost's face relay a sense of pride she holds over the fan shaped design hanging on her wall?

After experimenting with folding fans in the 1860's Degas waited over a decade to paint another folding fan. Of the twenty-five known fan designs by Degas, nineteen of these were produced when he revisited fan design between 1878 and 1880.[205] Gerstein set forth two main hypotheses for why Degas returned to the fan medium after ten years. The first was his need for money. His father had recently died leaving him with debts to settle, and his dealer Paul Durand-Ruel had stopped supporting him. Therefore, he may have thought that the popularity of the fan would increase sales.[206] More people were likely to purchase fans, which were cheaper and easier to make. Furthermore, fans were cheaper to produce, even than water colors, which led other artists to sell fans. The fan paintings produced by these artists were on display and were likely to catch the eye of another potential buyer. In truth women were far more likely to purchase a fan than a sketch because it had the added bonus of novelty. As noted with the fan

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[204] Ibid.
[205] Ibid., 109.
[206]Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 112.

Degas gifted to Morisot, women hung unmounted folding fans on their walls like paintings, and the appreciation of fan shaped gouaches and watercolors as elements of fine art was obvious.

Degas was certainly aware of the feminine associations of the fan when he chose the subjects for his fans; however, he chose to appeal to bourgeois women instead of upper-class women, as the fan makers Duvelleroy and Alexandre had. Furthermore, he chose a subject from his usual repertoire in order to cater as best he could to the traditional femininity of the fan as well as the public love of spectacle. He may have attempted to question what subjects were appropriate for the fan by his use of ballet dancers, in the same way that he made light of the serious nature of their profession and their peculiar place within society because of their association with prostitution.[207] The subject he chose differed widely from other fan makers at the time. His fan designs had no mythological, biblical or historical subjects. They were not governed by nature or rules of the decorative or feminine. Instead he depicted scenes of the ballet, a modern Parisian spectacle that appealed to a wider audience than the aristocracy, for which fans were typically produced.[208] For example, his *Fan Mount: Ballet Girls* depicts three dancers about to take flight. ***(Fig. 10)*** His fans of the ballet embodied the principles of entertainment for the new bourgeoisie all while questioning the femininity of the ballerinas who were often associated with prostitution.

Of Degas's most popularly used subjects, his sketches of ballet dancers were the most appropriate for his fan paintings. It can be argued that Degas attempted to capitalize on the unique and somewhat satirical situation of the ballerinas by characterizing them on his fans. In fact, Gerstein noted that there was a comic element present in his fans. One might see the

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[207]Athena Callen, *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, Meaning in the Work of Degas.* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.)
[208]Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 112.

protruding basses in Degas's *Dancer with a Double Bass* fan as phallic-like.[209] In this case, the imposing phalluses reminded the viewer of the sexual nature of the ballerinas' occupation. Furthermore, the way in which Degas caricaturized his ballerinas makes light of their tragic position at the bottom of the social food chain in nineteenth-century Paris.[210] Others artists of the time also adopted this comical element when painting fans. Artists such as Jean- Louis Forain, Henri Guerard, Jules Chéret, Toulouse-Lautrec, Henri-Gabriel Ibels, and Adolph Willette all produced fans with humorous subjects or caricatures.[211] Toulouse-Lautrec, for example, was known to have produced at least two fans. One, *Piche à la ligne,* featured a caricature of a young woman, who had just caught a fish on her fishing line.[212] Overall the scene was quite farcical in that the young woman was sexualized while completing a rather unusual task for a woman. In this scene, her breasts were exposed while she sat on the bank of a lake fishing.

Another artist mentioned by Gerstein is Jean-Louis Forain. In many ways Forain took artistic cues from Degas. Not only did he try his hand at fan painting, but he even borrowed elements of the subjects and compositions from Degas's fans. Forain painted many instances of the ballet as well. In some cases, he seemed to be copying the composition and figurative elements used to produce Degas's fans of the ballet. For example, in his *Dancer with a Rose* (1885-1890), Forain's figure of the ballerina mimicked that of Degas's in *Fan Mount: The Ballet.* ***(Fig. 11)***

Forain, however, departed from Degas in the subject matter for some of his other fans. For example, in *Ballet in a Garden* 1886, his depiction of the ballet read as more traditionally

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[209] Johnson, Robert Flynn and Richard B. Brettell, *Henri Guérard and the Phenomenon of the Artist's Fan in France, 1875-1900,* 10 August 2016- October 2016, Dixon Gallery and Gardens. (Memphis, Tennessee, 2016), 32. Catalogue Entry 14.
[210] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 112.
[211] Ibid.
[212] Steele, *The Fan,* 80.

feminine than Degas's scene because of the added element of narrative. Against a landscape backdrop, a scene played out in which a man professed his love for a ballerina alluding to a narrative that existed outside of the scene depicted here. The addition of putti makes the fan's subject mythological, distancing it from Degas's sociological approach to his depiction of the dancers. Here Forain redesigned the presence of a ballet dancer on a fan to be an appropriate show of feminine elegance and decadence.[213] Then, in Forain's *Evening at the opera*, the viewer simultaneously watched the ballet from the wings and saw the backstage area in a somewhat confusing, but also successful composition. (***Fig. 12)*** Here Forain called into question the class differences between those watching the ballet and those performing it. Ironically, the women of both classes were subject to an intrusive inspection by men of the bourgeoisie.

Another notion which Degas and Forain may have responded to when they chose the ballet as subject for their fans was Stèphane Mallarmè's comparison of it to a wing.[214] The fan had associations with the wing of bats, as per the Spanish legend of the fan's creation. The legend of the Spanish '*abanico'* stated that a fan maker had discovered the creature known as the bat, and was fascinated by the movement of its wings.[215] It was through the bats wings that the fan maker learned how to craft and fashion fans that folded in and out at the holder's bequest. Responding to these notions, Degas's may have associated the dancers on his fans with birds taking flight.[216] However, the movements of the dancers was cut short by the choices Degas made with the spatial composition of the fans.[217] The dancers do not have an open composition with which to fly through in any of his fan paintings.

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[213] Brettell, "Fans as Art," Cat. 10
[214] Ibid., 110.
[215]*Abanico* is the Spanish equivalent to *éventail*, or fan.
[216] Brettell, "Fans as Art," 110.
[217] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 114.

It can also be argued that Degas experimented with subject matter for how he could question its decorative and feminine tradition. He certainly acknowledged that the roots of the folding fan were firmly in the feminine decorative arts. Degas must have been aware of the realm of commodity he was stepping into when he attempted to sell his fan shaped designs. One might say he attempted to benefit from the market of feminine consumption. By choosing a subject that appealed to the middle class, Degas accepted the new association of his fan designs with the commodity culture of the bourgeoisie. We know that Degas viewed his fans as fine art, because of the artistic choices, which Degas chose to make in producing his fans, and how this separated his work from that of the traditional fan painter.[218] However, Degas was constantly questioning where the line between craft and fine art existed. As mentioned by Samuel Redgrave in the catalogue for the 1870 loan fan exhibition catalogue, it was understood that the mount was only part of the completed fan.[219] In this respect Degas and his followers left their fans uncompleted in traditional terms because they did not attach their fan designs to sticks nor did they have any intention to.

Alicia Cook argued in "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs" that "Degas took a giant step out of the [masculine] field of fine art…. And into the [feminine] arena of consumption and the fashionably decorative."[220] On the other hand though, it did not seem as if Degas intended feminine adornment or functionality from his fan designs. Quite the opposite, it seemed he was fighting against the feminine and decorative associations that had dictated production of the fan

[218] To clarify, a traditional fan painter chose a subject from mythology, history, or biblical stories. Additionally, the fan painter relied heavily on symmetry. Usually they painted a central motif or story and two medallions on either side. A good example is a fan which depicts the *toilette* of Venus in the center and has two putti on either side. Furthermore, the fan was not complete without its sticks and guards. Degas purposely chose to avoid symmetry and his fans lack a larger narrative subject. His painting technique also separates his fans from traditional fans. Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs", 253.
[219] Redgrave, *Catalogue of Loan Exhibition*, *vii*..
[220] Cook, "Edgar Degas's fan-shaped designs," 20.

for centuries. Degas and the other male artists experimenting with fan production were able to "break that boundary of a male entering a female territory without losing dignity."[221] This was not true for the female artist as the male artist was revered for his innovation when experimenting with a medium traditionally associated with women, but female artists were not. When female artists painted folding fans they just proved their innate femininity, while men proved their sensibility and ability to transcend natural boundaries.[222]

For example, Rosa Bonheur took a turn at fan design. In *Le Chef de St Hubert,* Bonheur employed her typical artistic realism to depict the legend of St. Hubert and the stag. **(Fig. 13)** This fan was sold in the catalogue of the 1882 sale of Mr. Robert Walker's cabinet of folding fans via Sotheby's.[223] Bonheur's fan fits stylistically with the typical folding fan produced in the mid-nineteenth century. Her composition was successful as the main figure of the stag, which St. Hubert encounters, dominated the center of the fan. A landscape of the woods unfolds in the semicircular shape of the fan. Most of the subjects painted on the fans sold in the sale of the Walker collection depicted mythologies, Chinese landscapes, marriages and biblical scenes, which were all in line with subjects depicted at the Royal Academy. Moreover, Bonheur's fan had a clear narrative that extended beyond the fan mount. Traditionally, if one was not aware of the mythology behind the image one would not understand the references painted on the fan mediums. According to M.A. Flory, "the chief source of inspiration for any painter [should] be nature."[224] In these respects, Bonheur's fan fits well within the expectations dominating academic art.

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[221] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 258.
[222] Ibid.
[223] Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge. *Catalogue of the Cabinet of Old Fans, the Property of Mr. Robert Walker, of Uffington, Berkshire. And the Marvelous Work by W. Holman Hunt: "Strayed Sheep," painted in 1852 for the late Charles Theobald Maud.* Dryden Press: J. Davy and Sons, Long Acre, London. June 8th 1882: 24.
[224] Flory, *A book about fans*, 73.

Aside from Degas's choice to produce fan paintings, which played into the commodity culture of France at the time, there were other motivations behind his experimentation with fans. The second reason Gerstein hypothesized as to why Degas decided to return to his experimentation with fans was the overwhelming influence of Japanese art on French culture. Japanese export goods had saturated the commodity market in France. According to Mackrell, the amount "of Japanese prints and objects d'art, including porcelain, lacquerware and metalwork, as well as fabrics fans and other accessories such as combs and parasols, was electrifying."[225] These Japanese export goods had even found their way into department stores. Japanese fans had been imported to Europe since at least 1862.[226] Degas was no doubt influenced by these fans and other Japanese export goods. He even adopted stylistic aspects of the Japanese fans when experimenting with his own. For one, the presence of a strong foreground was characteristically Japanese. Also, the asymmetrical compositions of the Japanese fan inspired and interested Degas. In fact, critics of the time thought that a key quality of Degas's was his "assertive sense of asymmetry." [227] Aside from his tendency to question symmetry in his compositions, this may have been a response to the traditionally symmetrical composition of the folding fan where the fan painter depicted a central scene and two medallions on either side.

Asymmetrical compositions were not a problem for Japanese fan painters. Japanese artists had no trouble using empty space in their works. [228] In Degas's *Dancer with a Double Bass,* all of the composition and movement is in the left. [229] Degas was no doubt responding to

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[225]Mackrell, *Art and Fashion,* 87-88.
[226] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 107.; and Waring, *Masterpieces of Industrial art,* plate 240.
[227] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 112.
[228] Stated by Curator Robert Flynn Johnson. Cited: Allyn Chapman. "Phenomenon of the Artist's Fan in France - Opening Lecture - Dixon Gallery and Gardens." Filmed [August 2016]. YouTube video, 55:22. Posted [August 2016]. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HyF0ZRrUuyc&t=333s
[229] Johnson, *Henri Guérard and the Phenomenon,* 32. Catalogue Entry 14.

the stylistic traditions of the Japanese import goods such as fans and folding screens. A couple of the Japanese stylistic characteristics that he adopted in his fan paintings were a denial of focus and depth in his compositions. In fact, Degas was most likely inspired by the tilted viewpoints in Japanese folding screens.[230]

Additionally, although Degas typically mixed media in his works, he may have been responding to the gold and silver on Japanese folding fans and screens. The mixture of gold, silver, India ink, and water color is therefore unsurprising. Although many artists who created fan paintings used solely gouache in the production, Degas experimented with different materials and Japanese techniques. Perhaps he came across Japanese folding fans where the artists used gold to create effervescent clouds. This may have inspired the gold he used in *Fan Mount: The Ballet.*[231] ***(Fig. 11)*** Thus, this fan design shows Degas applying Japanese stylistic and technical processes to his French subject matter.

His fellow Impressionist Camille Pissarro was also influenced by Japanese art, namely prints. Pissarro may have begun his experimentation with fan painting under the influence of Degas; however financial incentive caused him to produce more fans in the 1880's. In 1882, Pissarro was struggling financially. Under the suggestion of Durand-Ruel, Pissarro sold a few small gouache paintings and fans.[232] By this time fans had become a reputable medium for struggling painters to sell to make money quickly. Like Degas, Pissarro even gifted his fans to women in his circle. Overall, Pissarro exhibited twelve fans, of which seven were privately owned, speaking to the possibility that they were made for individuals and not widespread circulation.[233] One fan, which was originally owned by Mary Cassatt, *The Cabbage Gatherers,*

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[230] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 116.
[231] Ibid.
[232] Mackrell, *Art and Fashion,* 95.
[233] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 253.

is now located in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. ***(Fig. 14)*** Typical of Pissarro's work its subject is of a rural farm work scene. In light of the traditional feminine associations of the folding fan, we question the suitability of this type of subject for what was once a woman's accessory. Furthermore, it lacks a traditional narrative in the way that scenes on folding fans from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries depicted classical or biblical subjects. Even traditional fans from the nineteenth century depicted subjects with a clear external narrative. For example, a fan by Princess Louise Caroline Alberta, Queen Victoria's fourth daughter, won Lady Guest's prize during the fan competition at the 1871 International Exhibition. It was titled *La Bal D'amour* and contained a literal reference to Shakespeare's *Much ado about Nothing.*[234] Of the fan, the review of the International Exhibition of 1871, mentioned its subject being a skating couple on the ice.[235] The review spoke about the fan in a manner that dissected it in terms of its artistic value and properties. It praised its composition and called its tone, "silvery and pleasing."[236] Particularly, Princess Alberta's use of a clear narrative was traditional in the production of folding fans.

Christopher Lloyd in *Studies on Camille Pissarro* suggested that Pissarro's experimentation with fan painting may have coincided with his attempt to find compositional unity in his work, and therefore may have helped him do so.[237] He had worked with printmaking techniques for a time and eventually ventured to fan painting.[238] Lloyd noted that during the 1870's Pissarro experienced some difficulties with style. In the *Cabbage Gatherers,* it seems he solved some of the compositional problems by sketching outside the semi-circle on the

[234] Rhead, *History of the Hand Fan*, xiv.
[235]"International Exhibition 1871," 284.
[236] Ibid.
[237] Christopher Lloyd, *Studies on Camille Pissarro.* (Abingdon: Routledge and Kegan and Paul, 1986), 86.
[238] Ibid., 87

rectangular piece of silk. Then he only painted and framed the semi-circular section of the silk.[239] Considering the fans semi-circular nature, composition was perhaps the hardest stylistic element with which to achieve harmony. Degas and Pissarro preferred full compositional narratives, rather than patterns and designs, which were popular for other artists.[240] Furthermore, Pissarro's use of gouache, pastel and tempera for his fan painting was influenced by Degas.[241] However, his use of pastel colors in his works on canvas are now indicative of his signature.

Alongside Degas, Pissarro exhibited these fan paintings at the 1878 International exhibition. The fan was now seen as a medium of fine art and was exhibited as such by artists like Degas and Pissarro. As previously stated fans had been exhibited at French national exhibitions since 1850.[242] Therefore, at the Universal Exposition of 1878, it wasn't unprecedented for fans to be displayed. What was unique about this exhibition, however, was the inclusion of fans painted by an artist who began his career exhibiting history paintings at the Salon: Degas. Up to this point, fans exhibited at the exhibitions were produced by artisans who were fan-makers by trade such as Duvelleroy, Alexandre or Relin-Calot. For these fans, their "artistic integrity was confirmed by inclusion at the exhibition."[243] However, the completion of the folding fans transition from decorative object to fine art came in the form of fine artists using it as a medium, such as Degas. The artist viewed this not only as a medium of decorative art but also fine art. In fact, he envisioned a room dedicated solely to this experimentation with fan paintings at the fourth Impressionist Exhibition in 1879.[244] Indeed, Pissarro and Forain contributed fans to this outcome. For this exhibition, Degas, Forain and Pissarro contributed

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[239]"Fan Mount: The Cabbage Gathers." *The Met Museum.* http://www.metmuseum.org/art/ collection/ search/437315. (accessed January 2017)
[240] Ibid.
[241] Lloyd, *Studies on Camille Pissarro,* 87.
[242] For more information see, *The Industry of Fan Production in Paris, France (1800-1900).*
[243] Davis, "Fine Clothes on the Altar," 85.
[244] Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," 117.

eleven fans altogether.[245] Despite Degas's ideas, the fans were spread out among the exhibition, as there were not enough fan paintings contributed to dedicate a whole room to them.

Although the appropriation of the fan medium may have begun with Manet and Degas, it soon spread to other artists from the French Impressionist and Post-Impressionist circles. As mentioned, other artists were inspired by Degas to produce fans. Aside from Forain and Lautrec, artists including Federico Zandomeneghi and Henri Rouart produced fans. Zandomeneghi was a follower of Degas who exhibited fans at the fifth Impressionist exhibition in 1880, and Rouart was a childhood friend of Degas who showed at the eighth Impressionist exhibition in 1886.[246] Furthermore, the pioneer of Post-Impressionism, Paul Gauguin experimented with fans. Gauguin first made one in 1880, but made most of his fans in 1884 when he needed money to support his family. Over all, he produced thirty fans including one with three seated Breton women.[247] One of his fans is displayed at the Fan Museum in Greenwich, England. It is entitled *Landscape in Martinique* and has a typically flat composition. ***(Fig. 15)*** Following in Gauguin's footsteps, members of Les Nabis, a group of Post-Impressionists who studied at the Académie Julian in Paris, produced fans. Out of this group, Maurice Denis and Pierre Bonnard designed fans. In fact, Pierre Bonnard questioned the traditional values of men and women in regard to the family unit with *The Family* (1892).[248] In this fan design Bonnard depicted his sister Andrée, her son Jean, and her father-in-law, Claude-Marie Terrasse. By including Claude-Marie engaging with the child, he called into question the level of involvement men usually had in raising children.

[245] Ibid.
[246] Ibid., 108.
[247] Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 253.
[248] Colta Ives, Helen Giambruni, and Sasha M. Newman, Pierre *Bonnard, The Graphic Art.* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1989), 67. Catalogue no. 15.

This is especially interesting when one considers the previously established association the fan had with femininity.

Quite unsurprisingly, once Degas had established the fan as a medium of fine art worthy of being displayed in the Impressionist exhibitions, it underwent every variation of stylistic change in accordance with the artists of the Parisian avant garde. Furthermore, the fan paintings produced by the members of the Impressionist and Post-Impressionist circles designated the consolidation of art and design that was established stylistically in the nineteenth century.[249] It was the merging of a traditionally feminine craft with the principles of fine art that produced this phenomenon of fan painting in the latter part of the century. Only with the folding fan's decorative origin in mind can we fully understand the circumstances under which artists like Degas produced these fan shaped paintings.

Coda

Undoubtedly, this thesis was not intended to be a comprehensive study on fans. Instead, I wished to bring to your attention the phenomenon of fan shaped painting which occurred between 1870-1920 as a direct result of the transition of the fan from decorative object to fine art. This thesis began with a short history to provide background on the origin of the folding fan in European society. In fact, although entire books have been published to this effect there are still discrepancies, which perhaps could be cleared up with further study. Additionally, the establishment of the folding fan as a feminine object of decorative nature in its "golden age" requires further exploration in regard to the nuances of the fan within those societies. As I mentioned when discussing the study of the fan "language" and Tissot's paintings, every

[249]Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan," 254.

depiction of a woman with a fan might be studied in light of the information provided here. Does the way in which a woman holds her fan communicate subtle meanings which were hitherto unknown to us?

Furthermore, the industry of the fan was so widespread in nineteenth-century Paris, that further research into the large network of fan makers, collectors, and artisans would be beneficial. Also, a discussion of the influence of *Japonisme* on the production of folding fans would be helpful. More specifically, it would be of great interest to examine the import fans, lampshades, and folding screens from Japan alongside French fans for a stylistic and artistic comparison. Lastly, I have provided a brief discussion of a few artists who experimented with the medium of fan paintings in a more Avant Garde way. In particular, a study of the nature of Gerstein's "Degas's Fans" or Cook's "Edgar Degas's Fan-Shaped Designs" could be undertaken for the fans of Gauguin, Pissarro, or Denis, and how they fit within the artists' oeuvres.

Figures

Figure 1. HT 6848a. *Folding Fan.* Attributed to Marie-Relin Calot. 19th Century. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC.

Figure 2. HT 6848a. *Brisé Folding Fan.* Textile Collection. The Charleston Museum, Charleston, SC.

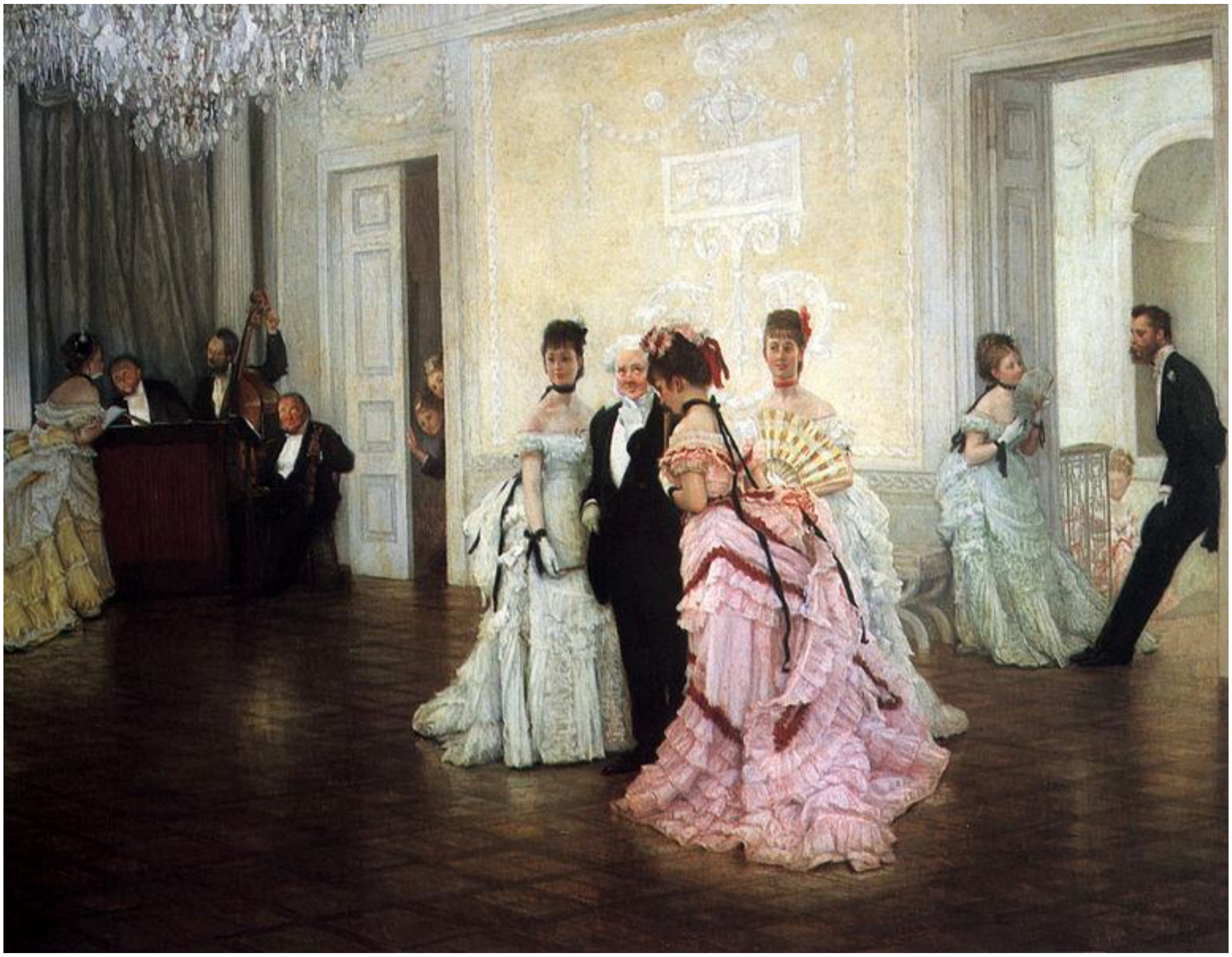

Figure 3. James Jacques Joseph Tissot, *Too Early* (1873). Oil on Canvas. Guildhall Art Gallery. Permanent Collection.

Figure 4. James Jacques Joseph Tissot, *L'Ambitieuse (Political Women)*, (1883-85) Oil on Canvas, 56 x 40 in. Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo. Gift of William M. Chase, 1909.

Figure 5. James Jacques Joseph Tissot, *The Gallery of H.M.S. Calcutta (Portsmouth)*, c. 1877. Oil on Canvas. Tate Collection. The Tate Gallery, London.

Figure 6. James Jacques Joseph Tissot, *The Fan* (1875). Oil on Canvas. Wadsworth Athenium Museum of Art. Hartford, CT.

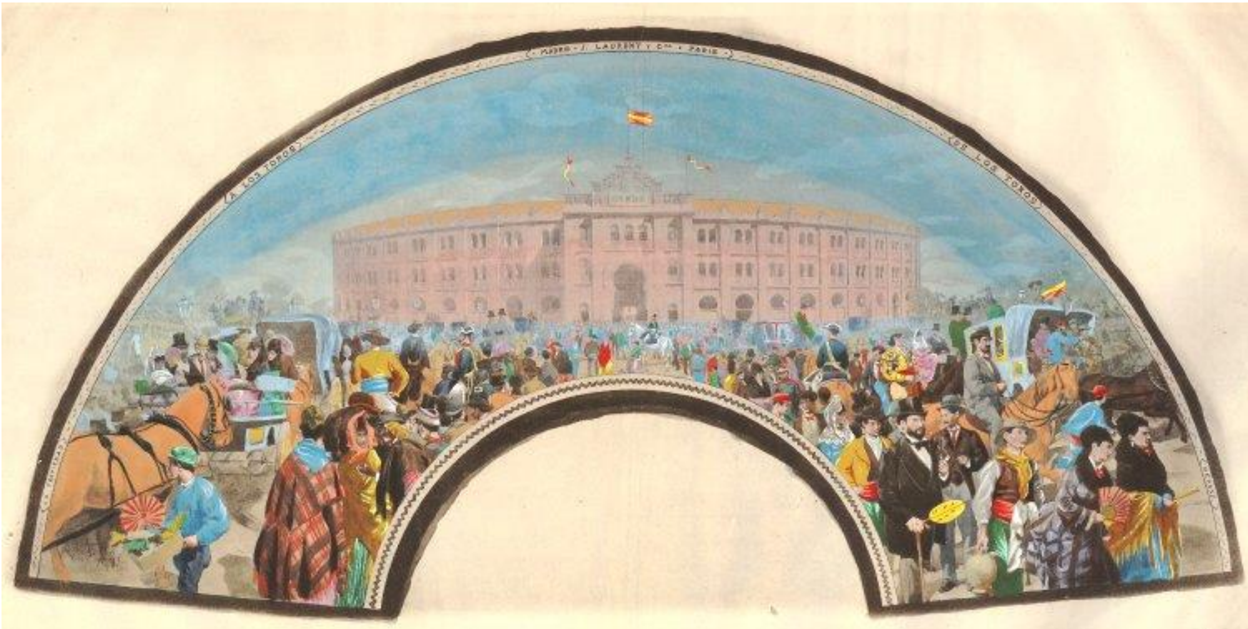

Figure 7. Museum No. 1891,0713.679. No. 299 in Lady Charlotte Schreiber's Collection. Lithographed by J. Laurent. Handcolored. 1877. The Trustees of the British Museum. The British Museum Collection. London, England.

Figure 8. Edgar Degas, *Danseurs et Musiciens Espangnols.* Fan. National Gallery of Art. Washington, D.C.

Figure 9. Berthe Morisot, *The Sisters* (1869) Oil on Canvas. National Gallery of Art Collection. Washington, DC.

Figure 10. Edgar Degas, (1879) *Fan Mount: Ballet Girls,* Watercolor, Silver, and Gold on Silk. H.O. Havemeyer collection, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection. New York, NY.

Figure 11. Edgar Degas, (1879) *Fan Mount: The Ballet,* Watercolor, India Ink, Silver, and Gold on Silk. H.O. Havemeyer collection, Bequest of Mrs. H.O. Havemeyer, 1929. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Collection. New York, NY.

Figure 12. Jean-Louis Forain, *Evening at the opera.* (1879) Gouache, Pencil and Chalk on parchment. Dixon Gallery and Gardens Museum Collection.

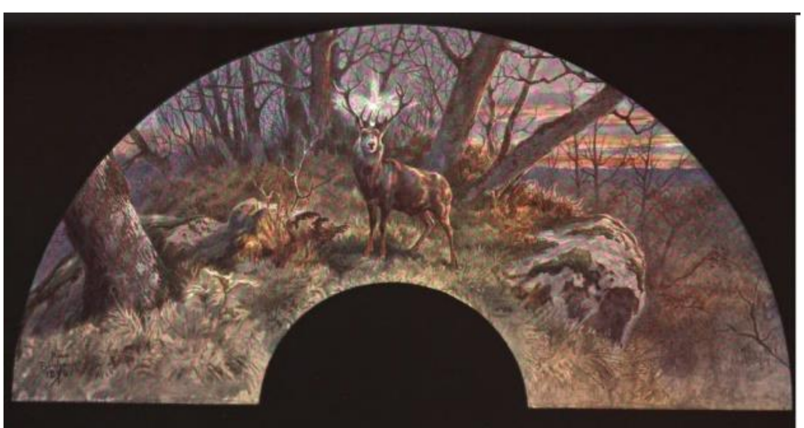

Figure 13. Rosa Bonheur, *Le Chef de St Hubert,* 1896. Found in *History of the fan* by G. Woolliscroft Rhead. Image by M. Georges Kain.

Figure 14. Camille Pissarro, *The Cabbage Gatherers*. 1878-9. Gouache on Silk
Purchase, Leonora Brenauer Bequest, in memory of her father, Joseph B. Brenauer, 1994
Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Figure 15. Paul Gauguin. *Landscape in Martinique.* 1887.Watercolor, Gouache, Pastel. The Fan Museum Trust Collection. The Fan Museum Greenwich, England.

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