





Fan My Brow with a Feather

FORM, FUNCTION, AND FASHION IN MINNESOTA

MOIRA F. HARRIS

“A woman without a fan would be almost as miserable as some other woman without a new spring bonnet.”

—ST. PAUL DAILY GLOBE, JULY 3, 1887

IN MANY HOT COUNTRIES, a breeze through the trees might stir the leaves, bringing temporary relief. When somebody long ago realized that large leaves could be plucked, handheld, and regularly wielded, the fixed fan was born. As time went on, a thicker handle replaced the natural stem, but fans continued to be made in the same flat leaf shape for centuries.

FACING, CLOCKWISE FROM TOP: Wood-handled, woven reed fan, one of three in MNHS collections from the “South Sea Islands.” Dyed ostrich plumes; ivory mounts. Brisé fan, wood laced with paper ribbon and guard sticks carved with a Chinese scene. Gauze with spangles, butterflies, and cobwebs. ABOVE: Ida Lusk Holman in her parlor with a woven fixed fan, 1894.

Eventually, three types of fans became part of the world’s response to hot weather and stuffy interiors. Woven basketry, paper, cloth, and cardboard later substituted for palm or banana leaves in fixed fans, making for a more durable and widespread accessory. Chinese fixed fans were often made of silk, which could be painted. Feather fans, the second type, are also of ancient derivation and use natural materials: plumes from ostriches, pheasants, peacocks, turkeys, geese, eagles, or even vultures. The third type, the folding fan, was invented in Japan in the seventh century by artisans inspired by the

MOIRA HARRIS (PhD, University of Minnesota) has written other articles for this magazine. Her chapters on Cameron Booth and Dewey Albinson will appear in a forthcoming book for Afton Press. Currently, she is researching the ephemera and advertising of the soap product, Sapolio.

way bats fold their wings. These fans are usually composed of a set of sticks (wooden, whalebone, ivory, ebony, or mother-of-pearl), framed at each end with a larger guard stick and all held together at the base by a rivet. The “leaf”—a semicircular piece of cloth, lace, skin, paper, or feathers that can be printed, varnished, painted, sequined, or spangled—is secured across the sticks. A folding model made with only sticks, omitting the leaf, is known as a brisé fan, from the French word for broken. The sticks are usually painted, carved, or engraved with images or scenes. A ribbon threaded through holes near the top of the sticks holds the brisé fan together.¹

Both fixed and folding fans would later take on an added function: in the midnineteenth century they become prime places to advertise. While all three types of fan could be used by a man, woman, or child, cost and availability—as well as custom—would dictate the choice. What follows is a look at fans, mostly in Minnesota, as reported in the media, depicted in art, and found in collections.

THE PALM-LEAF FAN IS, as a reporter for the *St. Paul Globe* explained in 1887, “an honest fan, posing for just what it is, an anti-caloric atmospheric agitator, and not an ornament, or a conversation cover.” It is generally plain, basic, and neither gender specific nor status related. Nevertheless, a fixed fan could be decorated, as an 1883

Mower County newspaper article told potential do-it-yourselfers: “Mix some ultra marine or Prussian blue with a little silver white paint, and make it quite thin with boiled linseed oil. Paint the fan on both sides, handle and all.” This journalist counseled that the fan could be hung on the wall if a decoration was needed.²

Feather fans were another matter entirely. Ostrich feathers have a long history of serving as objects of prestige. Camel caravans carried the plumes or carcasses of wild ostriches, captured south of the Sahara Desert, to merchants in North Africa for shipment to Europe—hence, the term “Barbary plumes.” The transformation of feathers into fans took place in European or, later, American workshops.³

The Egyptian Pharaoh Tutankhamen hunted ostriches for their black, brown, or white feathers, which were made into the royal fans later called (in Latin) *flabella*. In 1922 archaeologist Howard Carter found the handle of King Tut’s fan, painted on one side with a scene of the boy king riding in a chariot, accompanied by his faithful dog; the reverse showed his huntsmen carrying their quarry: two ostriches.⁴ The regal accoutrement appeared in Europe, as well. For centuries, until Pope John Paul II ended the practice in 1978, popes were borne to public events seated on a portable papal throne, with two *flabella* carried behind them.

Monarchs and their consorts also used ostrich-feather fans. Elizabeth I of England is supposed to have said that



Mahala Fisk Pillsbury, 1893, and her dyed ostrich-feather fan, made in 1890. The ring at bottom serves as a bracelet.



Ostrich-feather fans became especially popular among American women in the late-nineteenth century.

such a fan was the only suitable gift for a queen, and she amassed quite a collection. A portrait shows her holding one of her six-plumed ostrich-feather fans. It was an appropriate gift for a celebrity, as well. In Simon van de Passe's 1616 engraving of Pocahontas in London, she clutches a three-plumed ostrich-feather fan.⁵ By the seventeenth century, wealthy commoners as well as royals owned these luxury items. Several of Rembrandt's portraits show women holding feather fans, and in Rubens's portrait of himself with his second wife, Helena Forment, she carries an ostrich-feather fan.

Ostrich-feather fans became especially popular among American women in the late-nineteenth century. National women's magazines and Minnesota newspapers published reports of the newest fashions from Paris and London alongside advertisements for fans. Publicity about celebrity attire also influenced local fashion. St. Paul newspapers, for example, often reported that actresses Lily Langtry, Lotta Crabtree, Sarah Bernhardt and, closer to home, Mary Anderson, carried ostrich-feather fans as part of their elegant outfits. Anderson, or "Our Mary," was an American dramatic actress and a beguiling beauty. She appeared in Twin Cities theaters as early as 1878, when she starred in two plays at the Grand Opera House in St. Paul. Oscar Wilde supposedly wrote *Lady Windermere's Fan* with her in mind, but she refused the role.⁶

From the 1880s on, department stores such as Mannheim Brothers, Schuneman and Evans, and Field, Mahler, and Co. (St. Paul) and Powers (Minneapolis) advertised ostrich-feather and other types of fans, some with ebony or ivory sticks or handles. By 1887, as the *St. Paul Globe* proclaimed, there was endless variety: fans made of lace, tinted or spangled gauze, or ostrich plumes ornamented with feather flowers. Sales took place in December (for gifts) as well as during the warm summer months.⁷

Fans had become a year-round accessory. Twin Cities women who attended social events such as teas, dinners, debuts, and balls carried feather fans. In 1889 the ceremonies for newly elected Gov. William R. Merriam involved a ball and dinner for more than 4,000 at the capitol. This was a unique event, the first ball ever held as part of a Minnesota gubernatorial inauguration. As the *St. Paul Globe* wrote in its extensive coverage, "More lavish dressing has seldom if ever been indulged in by St. Paul ladies." For example, Rebecca Flandrau, wife of a prominent lawyer, wore a crème crepe de chine dress with pearl ornaments and tan suede gloves and carried a large ostrich-feather fan.⁸ This mention suggests that fans were not only appropriate elements of elegant dress but also could be as expensive as a lady's jewels.

The Harvest Home Festival, a weeklong charity event held in St. Paul's Endicott building in October 1890, in-

involved a meal, a concert, and a display of art lent by Twin Cities collectors. Local women, described by the *Globe* as the "cream of society," turned out in their finest gowns. Miss E. Noyes, for one, wore a white satin dress, long white gloves, and diamonds—and carried an ostrich-feather fan. Miss Stickney appeared in black lace with black gloves and a feather fan dyed to match. At the opening of the Metropolitan Opera House two months later, "The



Gathering plumes,
California ostrich farm

Burlesque fan dancers and carnival performers often used ostrich-feather fans to reveal and conceal as they moved seductively.

beautiful women for whom St. Paul is justly celebrated were to be seen at their best and fairest,” wrote the *St. Paul Pioneer Press*. Laura Merriam, the governor’s wife, wearing a white satin dress and tiara, carried an ostrich-feather fan. By 1895 the author of a book on the history of fans declared, “The modern fan is so associated with the art of coquetry and the paraphernalia of beauty that we scarcely realize its having a history.”⁹

French artists painted a number of portraits of elegantly dressed society women holding feather or folding fans, but similar works are rather scarce in Minnesota. In one, a 1906 portrait by Robert Koehler, Alvina Roosen of Minneapolis wears a high-necked, dark dress. To suit the elegance of her garb and the occasion, she posed with a partially open ostrich-feather fan in her lap.¹⁰

According to historian Sarah Abrevaya Stein, the booming trade in ostrich feathers halted in 1914 when World War I began. By then, plumes from wild ostriches had been replaced by feathers harvested from birds raised on South African and southern California ranches. At the same time, the market for such luxury items dwindled. In America, new laws intended to protect wildfowl affected both the ostrich trade and fashion by restricting the use of feathers. As Stein noted, if feathers represented a “cruel and unfashionable” practice, women did not want plumage on their hats and fans.¹¹ Besides, styles were changing. Ostrich feathers lost most of their decorative appeal when huge hats (needed to support the large plumes) were supplanted by more practical, smaller cloches or toques.

Fans, however, continued to be fashionable. At the 1919 wedding of Joanne Orton and James E. Towle in Minneapolis, the bride carried flowers but her maid of honor, matron of honor, and four bridesmaids wore gowns trimmed with bands of ostrich feathers, and each carried a large ostrich-feather fan, dyed to match her dress. A flame-colored ostrich-feather fan was “the last word in chic” for one transplanted St. Paulite, according to his biographer. Zelda Sayre agreed to marry F. Scott Fitzgerald after he sold his first novel, *This Side of Paradise*, to Scribner’s in 1919. Scott bought Zelda the fan and a diamond-and-platinum watch to celebrate.¹²

Well into the twentieth century, another group of customers most decidedly needed ostrich-feather fans. In the entertainment world, burlesque fan dancers and carnival performers often used these large props to reveal and conceal as they moved seductively, waving two or more fans. The most famous dancer of them all, Sally Rand, introduced her extremely successful act at the Chicago World’s Fair of 1933. The next year, American artist Walt Kuhn’s painting, *American Beauty*, portrayed a fan dancer in an odalisque pose dangling a pink ostrich-feather fan in front of her body, suggesting just how large the typical tools of a fan dancer’s art were.¹³

In Minnesota, a photograph of Ruby Bae, a dancer who posed fully dressed in front of two large fans, so shocked the administrators of the WPA’s Federal Theater Project that both the 1936 vaudeville show for which she auditioned and the entire theater project were eliminated. This hardly spelled the end of fan dancing in the state, however. As late as 1970, Rand, still dancing to the music of Chopin and Debussy, waved her pair of seven-pound ostrich-feather fans at night clubs such as Minneapolis’s Gay 90s on Hennepin Avenue.¹⁴

FOLDING FANS, THE THIRD MAJOR TYPE, came to Europe (first to Portugal) from Japan in the fifteenth century. Catherine de Medici is supposed to have brought her collection to France, along with her perfumers who made them, in the sixteenth century, introducing the new costume necessity to the French court. In subsequent years, French artists and artisans developed a very specialized product: painting, stick carving, and leaf varnishing were each handled in a different workshop. By the eighteenth century, scenes painted on folding fans often imitated the work of artists such as Jean-Antoine Watteau, François Boucher, Jean Honoré Fragonard, or Nicolas Lancret. A century later, Parisian artists including Pierre-Auguste Renoir, Berthe Morisot, and Mary Cassatt were depicting women seated in theater boxes, wearing evening gowns with deep décolleté necklines, and holding fans.¹⁵

FACING: *Fan dancer at the 1934 Minnesota State Fair*



Beginning in the nineteenth century, Duvelleroy and Alexandre were the famous names for those who sought to purchase the very best fans in Paris. But a shopper in Minneapolis could find French fans in local department stores, too, and that trend continued into the twentieth century. In 1903 Minneapolis entrepreneur Elizabeth Quinlan announced the opening of a shop, “Articles from Paris,” within her Nicollet Avenue store. Fans were among the “dainty novelties” she had found on a two-month buying trip to Europe. And in 1908, the *New York Times* declared, “Of all the accessories of evening dress, the fan is perhaps of first significance.”¹⁶

The Impressionists as well as the professionals who worked for Paris or London firms and amateurs all painted fans. The craft was “regarded as a respectable accomplishment for young women of good family,” wrote costume historians Avril Hart and Emma Taylor. American magazines like *The Delineator* and *The Art Amateur* published instructions. A series of three articles in the latter advised would-be artists to choose light, graceful, and elegant subjects that did not require much background detail: cupids, a single tree, or a garland of tea roses would be effective against satin of any color although, the writer admitted, satin “is likely to try one’s patience.” Silk or gauze in white, black, or transparent shades also could be painted.¹⁷

The folding fan had reached the West centuries before Japonisme, the term coined in the 1870s to describe the influence of Japanese art and aesthetics on Western painting. In that decade, Minneapolis interior decorator, designer, and all-around tastemaker John Scott Bradstreet began visiting Japan and importing bronzes, screens, and textiles to sell in his shop on Nicollet Avenue. His wares soon found their way into Minneapolis mansions, and his expertise in Asian art influenced various local collectors.¹⁸

But, as art historians have pointed out, the American passion for Japonisme extended beyond the realm of fine art to mass consumption of everyday objects. The “Japan craze” spread beyond elite consumers thanks to musical sources that were several steps removed from the world of ancient bronzes and screens. As an article in the *Cook County Herald* (Grand Marais) later explained, the popular fascination with things Japanese began with *The Mikado* and *Madame Butterfly*. First, the American “modist” adopted the kimono to wear at home. Later came the parasol and the fan.¹⁹

Soon after *The Mikado* premiered in London in 1885, rival companies presented it in America. Several entrepreneurs were quick to stage Gilbert and Sullivan’s comic opera in the Twin Cities, each arguing that his production was the most authentic. One even arranged for “real Japanese costumes” from the show to be displayed in Mann-



Actresses, kimonos, and fans: New York production of *The Mikado*, about 1885

heimer’s store windows. Thus, Minnesota women were well aware of the Japanese folding fan as used by Yum-Yum and her schoolgirl friends.²⁰

In the Twin Cities, as in London and New York, entrepreneurs climbed onto the bandwagon, mounting “The Japanese Village” when performances of *The Mikado* took place. They erected a small village, complete with booths where artisans wove, painted, transformed copper into cloisonné—and, at least sometimes, made fans. It was an “educational enterprise, not an ordinary show,” said J. E. Sackett of Sackett & Wiggins’ Dime Museum on St. Paul’s East Seventh Street, where the Japanese Village stood in 1886. In 1889 and 1891 the experience was repeated in the Minneapolis Industrial Exposition building, where the attraction shared the marquee with the Siege of Vera Cruz and an extensive art exhibit. Here, a fan-making woman was among the villagers.²¹

Inspired by the opera, the village, and the new decorating opportunities these experiences presented, women held *Mikado* teas or card parties where guests and hosts dressed in kimonos and clutched fans. Churches found that *Mikado*-related events helped raise funds. In St. Paul, St. James A.M.E. hosted a *Mikado* tea (guests even received



Imported fan with carved wooden guard sticks, about 1900. The front is painted with typical Japanese elements, while the vivid blue back shows yellow maple leaves.

a porcelain cup to keep), while in White Bear Lake the Presbyterian church sought funds with a similar event, but attendees dined on ice cream and cake. As decoration, fans were hung on the wall, while lanterns and parasols could be suspended from the ceiling.²²

Most Twin Cities department stores had for decades sold fans of all types for personal use by well-dressed ladies. In 1887 the *St. Paul Globe* remarked, “Japanese fans seem every year to improve . . . and are so gossamery that they yield no wind at all when worked.” Even if that seemed a bit contrary, given a fan’s original purpose, a woman commented that she waved her lace fan that stirred no air because it imparted “an appearance of luxurious picturesque life.” Perhaps it suggested exotic Japan to her.²³

For the era’s numerous *Mikado*-related social events, though, party planners needed quantities of inexpensive fans to be set behind bronzes or ceramics, placed on mantels, or hung on walls. Hostesses turned to what art historian Cynthia Brandimarte called “the Japanese novelty store.” There, fans were “among the most popular items sold. . . . the standard vehicle that women used to update their furnishings. Small fans were the most easily afforded items and could be readily incorporated into a variety of established decorating schemes.” While the wares for sale in such shops were not always made in the Far East, the men in charge were usually Asian. In the case of Dick-

inson’s, a St. Paul store on St. Peter between Fourth and Fifth Streets, the Japanese department was managed by Mr. Kusutano Tanaka, formerly of the Nippon Mercantile Company in Tokyo.²⁴

BEGINNING IN THE MIDNINETEENTH CENTURY, fixed as well as folding fans became vehicles for printed advertising. They were, as ephemera historian Maurice Rickards wrote, giveaways, essentially trade cards on a stick. Just as they did for trade cards, printers took advantage of the developments in chromolithography to make these fans colorful and attractive, thus ensuring that they would become collectible.²⁵

In the twentieth century, fixed fans were used to advertise businesses, products (such as flour), events, politicians, and celebrities, including the Dionne Quintuplets. After these children were born in rural Canada in 1934, many companies obtained permission to use their images commercially. St. Paul’s Brown & Bigelow reproduced photographs as well as paintings of the quintuplets by Andrew Loomis, a California artist, on fans as well as in calendars and many magazine advertisements for their clients. The client company’s name and the current date were prominently displayed on the fans Brown & Bigelow offered with the girls’ images.²⁶

Other advertising examples abound. The Northwestern Knitting Company of Minneapolis, later known as Munsingwear, produced fixed fans as giveaways in shops that sold their wares. Space was left on the back of the fan to insert the name of a retail outlet and its location. A cheery receptionist ready to take a telephone order for St. Paul's Minnehaha Cleaners was printed on a fixed fan by that city's Louis Dow Company. The Minneapolis Linseed Oil company (today, Valspar) advertised on a more unusual type of fan: a cockade, with two sticks that can be manipulated to turn the intricate crinkled paper inside out.²⁷

Hotels, restaurants, and cruise ships gave away fans that served as travel mementoes, some of them preserved in local collections. Minnesotans who visited Florida on winter vacations in the 1880s may have brought back a fan with images of St. Augustine's construction boom, showing the towers of the hotels Alcazar, Ponce de Leon, and Cordova rising in the old city. Other Minnesota travelers may have seen newspaper advertisements for the

Hamburg America line's all-first-class cruise ship, the S.S. *Prinzessin Victoria Luise*. Launched in 1900, it spent only six years visiting the West Indies and European waters before foundering off Jamaica in 1906. An unusual ivory moiré-patterned celluloid brisé fan shows the route of the *Victoria Luise's* journey in the West Indies. On its guard sticks are the name of the ship and the cruise.²⁸

Later travelers received a souvenir fan when they flew to Tokyo on Northwest Orient Airlines. Decades after that service was launched in 1947, the airline commissioned a Japanese woodblock artist, Kiyoshi Saito, to design an annual series of fans.

While fans could be distributed at a shop or on a ship, fixed and folding ones were most typically given away at county, state, or world's fairs. As early as the 1876 Centennial Exposition in Philadelphia, various pavilions offered them. Minnesotans brought fans home from the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. And at the New York World's Fair of 1964–65, a fixed fan was

FROM LEFT: Washburn Crosby fan, 1900–30. Its reverse, repeating the company motto, recommends reforming bad habits: "Eventually. Why Not Now?"

Rosy-cheeked six-year-old quints, 1940; fan by Brown & Bigelow. On the back, Minnesota Milk Company (St. Paul) advises: "Beat the Heat with Our Refreshing Nourishing Milk."

Minnehaha Cleaners, advertising multiple locations on the back



FROM TOP: Moiré-patterned celluloid sticks
mimic water beneath the "Westindienfahrt"
route of a Victoria Luise cruise, early 1900s

Kiyoshi Saito's woodblock print for Northwest
Orient, 1970s-80s. Passengers to Tokyo received
the fan and information about the artist.

Souvenir of the Japanese building, World's
Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893; paper
with bamboo mounts.



handed out at the Japanese pavilion. On one side was a tea-drinking maiden, while the other showed the name of its sponsor: Hakutsuru sake brewery in Kobe. The fan was printed in Tokyo.²⁹

Each year, the Minnesota State Fair offers a bonanza for the collector of fans: souvenirs from various educational displays, businesses, organizations, and politicians. Recent fair publicity has stressed the many food offerings, especially anything that can be eaten while walking. Following this popular concept of “food on a stick,” the *Minneapolis Star Tribune* booth in 2003 handed out maps printed on fans, the fair on a stick.

At political conventions today, fans frequently promote candidates or parties. But these useful and inexpensive tokens have been present at political gatherings for more than a century. When the Republicans held their national convention in Minneapolis during the summer of 1892, it was hot inside the Industrial Exposition building. The bold header, “Fans Were Blessings,” introduced one paragraph of a long page-one report in the *St. Paul Globe*: “When the delegates began to assemble last evening they found that the newspapers had put Japanese fans in their seats. This consideration was much appreciated, because the temperature was so high as to make ordinary clothing uncomfortable. The means of ventilating the hall were none too perfect. So all over the hall there was a fluttering of white, like butterflies settling on a field of clover.”³⁰

In the years before air conditioning, fans were also offered at movie theaters and churches. At funerals, black crepe or satin fans without decorations were often distributed. For regular services, fans with biblical scenes (the Last Supper, Christ at prayer in the garden of Gethsemane, or Jesus as the Good Shepherd, for example) were placed in pew racks for worshipers to use and return. The fan’s reverse side would display a commercial message from a local funeral home or insurance agency. But, as Marianna Porter noted in her study of Black church fans, the images are not always biblical; some show Martin Luther King, John and Robert Kennedy, Mahalia Jackson, or Booker T. Washington. Porter also cited a 1996 *Wall Street Journal* article reporting that the message had changed from mortuary or insurance company advertisements to words from car dealers, colleges, and hair-care concerns.³¹

Architect Louis Sullivan once wrote, “Form ever follows function.” In the world of fans, fashion came next and, after that, communication. There had long been a language of fans in Europe as well as in Asia. How one held a fan, gestured, communicated, or danced with it, and whether a folding fan remained open or closed—all of this mattered. Now, the message comes printed on the object, as the fan has transitioned from a necessity to a luxury to a universally collectible bit of ephemera. □

FROM LEFT: *Fair on a Stick*, sponsored by Luther Westside Volkswagen

Church fan, 1946; its back advertises the Minneapolis Spokesman and St. Paul Recorder newspapers.



Notes

For showing me their institutions' collections of fans, my thanks to Jean McElvain of the Goldstein Museum of Design, University of Minnesota, St. Paul; Adam Scher and Linda McShannock, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul; Nicole LaBouff, Minneapolis Institute of Arts; and Jack Kabrud, Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis. Janice Lurie of the Minneapolis Institute of Arts library shared that wonderful selection of books on fans. Professor Marianetta Porter was kind enough to send me a copy of her fascinating catalog, *Stories Told in Sunday School*. Marlin Bree shared his memories of interviewing Sally Rand for the *Minneapolis Tribune*.

1. Here and below, see Nancy Armstrong, *A Collector's History of Fans* (New York: Clarkson N. Potter, 1974); M. A. Flory, *A Book about Fans and Fan-Painting* (New York: Macmillan, 1895); Avril Hart and Emma Taylor, *Fans* (New York: Costume and Fashion Press, 1998). On the early history and types of Chinese and Japanese fans, see Julia Hutt and Hélène Alexander, *Ōgi: A History of the Japanese Fan* (London: Dauphin Publications, 1992). A charming brisé fan in the Hennepin History Museum, Minneapolis, has a Japanese scene painted on one side of its sandalwood sticks and flowers on the other. The scene shows a man poling a raft on a river; on shore, another man is drying his foot. In the distance are hills and mountains.

2. *St. Paul Daily Globe*, July 3, 1887, 13; *Mower County Transcript*, Oct. 3, 1883, 4.

3. Sarah Abrevaya Stein, *Plumes: Ostrich Feathers, Jews, and a Lost World of Global Commerce* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 120–22. See also "Ostrich Plumes and Tips," *New York Times*, Sept. 24, 1882.

4. Bertha de Vere Green, *Fans Over the Ages: A Collector's Guide* (Cranbury, NJ: A. S. Barnes and Co., 1979), 25.

5. Many later British queens owned fans that are now part of the Royal Collections. Queen Mary, who received dozens of fans as gifts when she married the future George V in 1893, expanded the collections to include photographs of women with their fans. In 1907 the engraving of Pocahontas served as the basis of a blue U.S. five-cent stamp honoring the James-ton expedition.

6. See, for example, *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Jan. 4, 1891, 12 (fashion), Mar. 31, 1878, 8 (advertisement). A New York storekeeper told a reporter that Lily Langtry's fan was "the most showy of all"; *St. Paul Globe*, Aug. 21, 1887, 18.

7. See, for example, *St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 15, 1887, 9 (Mannheimer's ad), July 31, 1887, 1 (endless variety).

8. *St. Paul Globe*, Jan. 13, 1889, 12; *Minneapolis Tribune*, Jan. 10, 1889, 1.

9. *St. Paul Globe*, Oct. 31, 1890, 2; *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, Dec. 30, 1890, 1, 4; Flory, *Book about Fans*, vi.

10. Robert Koehler, *Alvina Roosen*, oil on canvas, Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

11. Stein, *Plumes*, 20–25; on American ostrich ranches, see 128–49. The laws were the Laney Act of 1900 and the Migratory Bird Act of 1913. In 2010 the Goldstein Museum of Design, working with the University of Minnesota's Raptor Center and Bell Museum of Natural History, presented an exhibit, *Flights of Fancy: A History of Feathers in Fashion*; *StarTribune*, July 26, 2010.

12. *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1919, C1; Andrew Turnbull, *Scott Fitzgerald* (New York: Collier Books, 1988), 104.

13. Walt Kuhn, *American Beauty*, oil on canvas, Chrysler Museum of Art, Norfolk, VA.

14. Marlin Bree, "Sally Rand: One Step Ahead of Her Fans," *Minneapolis Tribune*, Picture magazine, Aug. 23, 1970, 4–7, 18; Kenneth Hendrickson, "The WPA Federal Art Projects in Minnesota, 1935–1943," *Minnesota History* 53 (Spring 1993): 172–73. The incident was a frame-up by the New Deal-hating *Minneapolis Journal*; for its story, see Dec. 10, 1935, 17.

15. Louisa Parr, "The Fan," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Aug. 1889, 402; Armstrong, *Collector's History of Fans*, 21; *A Painting in the Palm of Your Hand: 18th-Century Painted Fans from the Wendy and Emery Reves Collection*, exhibition catalog (Dallas: Dallas Museum of Art, 2007); Pamela Gerrish Nunn, "Fine Art and the Fan 1860–1930," *Journal of Design History* 17 (2004): 251–66; Mark Gerstein, "Degas's Fans," *Art Bulletin* 64 (Mar. 1982): 105–18.

Degas/Cassatt, a 2014 exhibit at the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., included some of Cassatt's paintings of women at the theater, as well as some of Degas's fan-shaped paintings. One label noted that Cassatt would not do fan-shaped paintings because she felt that painting fans was an activity for amateurs.

16. *Minneapolis Journal*, Nov. 9, 1903, 7; *New York Times*, Jan. 12, 1908.

17. Hart and Taylor, *Fans*, 108; "Fans and Fan Painting," *Art Amateur* 8 (Jan. 1883): 39.

18. Rebecca Capua, "Material Japonisme in American Art, 1876–1925," *Book and Paper Group Annual* 28 (Aug. 2009): 11; Michael Conforti, "Orientalism on the Upper Mississippi: The Work of John Scott Bradstreet," *Minneapolis Institute of Arts Bulletin* 65 (1981–82): 13, and note 30. For influence on Western art, see, for example, Claude Monet's 1876 oil, *La Japonaise* (Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), depicting his wife wearing a kimono, holding an open folding fan, and standing in front of a wall covered with Chinese fixed fans.

19. *Cook County Herald*, Aug. 24, 1907, 7.

20. Josephine Lee, *The Japan of Pure Invention: Gilbert and Sullivan's The Mikado* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 43–54. The Carleton Opera, James Duff's, Emma Abbott's, and the Goodwin companies all appeared in St. Paul between December 1885 and October 1886, while audiences in Winona, Mankato, and Worthington saw performances by the Andrews

Opera Company. *Worthington Advance*, May 13, 1886, 4; *St. Paul Daily Globe*, Dec. 31, 1885, 2, Mar. 12, 1886, 2, Oct. 8, 1886, 3.

21. *St. Paul Globe*, Feb. 28, 1886, 6, Oct. 23, 1887, 6, Aug. 13, 1889, 3, Aug. 30, 1891, 3. The 1889 Minneapolis village was a traveling show of ten "exceptionally clever workers." Visitors could watch artisans, including a fan maker, in action, while a "maiden" in a kimono served tea. For the New York village, see *Decorator and Furnisher* 7 (Jan. 1886): 116.

22. *St. Paul Globe*, Mar. 14, 1886, 9 (*Mikado*-inspired progressive euchre party), July 11, 1885, 4 (White Bear Lake event); *Western Appeal* (St. Paul), Sept. 3, 1887, 1 (St. James A.M.E. tea).

23. *St. Paul Globe*, July 31, 1887, 1.

24. Cynthia Brandimarte, "Japanese Novelty Stores," *Winterthur Portfolio* 26 (Spring 1991): 1–25 (quote, 16); *St. Paul Globe*, Dec. 6, 1885, 5 (ad).

25. Cynthia Fendel, "Novelty Fans—Fantastic, Cool & Clever Advertising!" *Ephemera News*, Winter 2007, 1, 10–19; Maurice Rickards, *The Encyclopedia of Ephemera* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 7–8.

26. Moira F. Harris, "The Appeal of a Fan," *Ephemera News*, Winter 2011, 18–19, on the Brown & Bigelow Dionnes fan pictured above. A page in Brown & Bigelow's *Art Calendars* book for salesmen is devoted to the Dionne Quintuplets contract. It suggests seeking customers at bakeries, dairies, and funeral homes, among other businesses.

27. On Munsingwear, see Susan Marks, *In the Mood for Munsingwear: Minnesota's Claim to Underwear Fame* (St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 2011). Cockade fan in author's collection.

28. Both fans belong to the Goldstein Museum of Design. For the brisé fan, see Cynthia Fendel, *Celluloid Hand Fans* (Dallas: Hand Fan Productions, 2001), 36–38.

29. Worlds' Fair fan in author's collection.

30. *St. Paul Globe*, June 10, 1892, 1, not naming the newspapers that were so considerate. Campaign fans, so prevalent today, do not seem to appear at national political conventions until after 1900.

31. Marianetta Porter, *Stories Told in Sunday School* (Ann Arbor, MI: self-published, 2013), also citing *Wall Street Journal*, May 22, 1996.

The fans and postcard on p. 139, 144 (quints), and 146 (fair) are courtesy the author; p. 145 (cruise), Goldstein Museum of Design, University of Minnesota, St. Paul. All others are in MNHS collections (photos by Jason Onerheim).



Copyright of **Minnesota History** is the property of the Minnesota Historical Society, and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or users or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission: [contact us](#).

Individuals may print or download articles for personal use.

To request permission for educational or commercial use, [contact us](#). Include the author's name and article title in the body of your message. But first--

If you think you may need permission, here are some guidelines:

Students and researchers

- You **do not** need permission to quote or paraphrase portions of an article, as long as your work falls within the fair use provision of copyright law. Using information from an article to develop an argument is fair use. Quoting brief pieces of text in an unpublished paper or thesis is fair use. Even quoting in a work to be published can be fair use, depending on the amount quoted. Read about fair use here: <http://www.copyright.gov/fls/fl102.html>
- You **should**, however, always credit the article as a source for your work.

Teachers

- You **do not** need permission to incorporate parts of an article into a lesson.
- You **do** need permission to assign an article, either by downloading multiple copies or by sending students to the online pdf. There is a small per-copy use fee for assigned reading. [Contact us](#) for more information.

About Illustrations

- **Minnesota History** credits the sources for illustrations at the end of each article. **Minnesota History** itself does not hold copyright on images and therefore cannot grant permission to reproduce them.
- For information on using illustrations owned by the Minnesota Historical Society, see [MHS Library FAQ](#).