

1893年シカゴ万国博における日本の位置

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The Japanese Position in the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893

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シカゴ万国博は、コロンブスのアメリカ大陸発見 400 周年を記念して 1893 年、シカゴで開催された。当時米国は、西欧諸国に対する文化的劣等意識からの脱却を、また、第二次産業革命を経て、世界のリーダーとして西欧諸国から認められることを切望していた。その意味で、シカゴ万国博は米国にとって願ってもない好機であった。

一方、新生国民国家としての日本は、富国強兵のスローガンのもと、急激な近代化を押し進めていた。しかし、西欧諸国に誇れる工業製品に乏しく、唯一誇れるものは、ジャポニズムとして欧米で受け入れられていた日本の美術品であった。国民国家として一応の体制が整い、美術品の力を確信していた明治政府にとってシカゴ万国博は、先進文明国の仲間入りをする格好の場であった。

シカゴ万国博会場は、欧米先進国のパビリオンが立ち並ぶホワイトシティーと、野蛮国の人、物が展示されるミッドウェイプレザンスから成り立っていた。脱亜を目論み、欧米に認められることを渴望する日本は、その文化の特質性を際立たせるため、ホワイトシティーとミッドウェイプレザンスの中間に位置する島、ウッデイドアイランドにパビリオン建設を強く求め、米国はこれを認めた。

この事実が象徴するように、19 世紀末の国際秩序の中で“半文明”と称される日本は、“半文明”を脱し、文明国の一員となるためにも、シカゴ万国博で最高の展示をする必要があった。本稿は、シカゴ万国博の本質と日本のアプローチを通して、日本近代化の姿をシカゴ万国博の中に探ってみようとするものである。

キーワード：Chicago, Exposition, 1893, Meiji, Modernization

Introduction

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 took place in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of Columbus' discovery of America. "The overall character of the World's Columbian Exposition," according to Wim de Wit, "emerged out of attitudes of cultural inferiority with which America in general, and Chicagoans in particular, were struggling during the last quarter of the nineteenth century." Although by that time it had already reached or exceeded Europe in many respects, America still felt inferior to Europe because of its shorter history and less sophisticated culture. Wit further claims that "these perceptions of inferiority and the struggle for recognition" as a world leader by European countries directly affected the design of the World's Columbian Exposition.

"[Providing] manufacturing and commercial interests with opportunities to promote the mass consumption of their products," and showing off "the nation's economic strength and artistic resources,"¹ international expositions offered unparalleled opportunities to win new international markets. The dominant theme of international expositions of the nineteenth century was industrial civilization, and the expositions themselves were a hallmark of the century.² Among these expositions the World's Columbian Exposition was crucially important to America in order to "overcome the deep-seated feeling...that America remained socially and culturally fragmented" and to show that, having accomplished industrial revolution, it had become a leading power in the world. For in the nineteenth century, as Wit states, "there was no better means of proving to the world that the United States was a real nation—a nation with a people united under one government and with a cultural tradition of its own—than a world's fair."³ Thus, the

World's Columbian Exposition was a chance for America to overcome its perceived cultural inferiority to Europe.

Meanwhile Japan, a newly-born nation state which was rapidly promoting its modernization under the slogan of "Rich Nation, Strong Army" was eager to participate in these expositions both to absorb the latest innovations from abroad and to display itself before Western countries. Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the greatest opinion leaders of the new Japan, visited the London Exposition of 1862, and noted in his essay *Seiyō Jijyo* [Conditions in the West] the significance of participating in international expositions. P.F.Kornicki translates the passage thus: "[International expositions] were opportunities for teaching and learning from each other, and they also made people familiar with the history and customs of other countries."⁴ Although Fukuzawa emphasizes the educational and peaceful aspect of expositions, his statement also suggests that Japanese leaders had already appreciated the wider economic and political meaning of taking part in international expositions. In fact, Kornicki holds, the "Meiji government...expended a considerable amount of its foreign currency reserves on participation, both to locate export markets and to demonstrate its acceptance of Western rules for the behavior of nations. The history of Japan's participation in the international exhibitions is thus highly revealing of what it meant for Japan to claim to be a 'nation.'"⁵ Both the government and Japanese leaders were well aware of the role of international exhibitions as an impetus to further Japan's modernization as well as the opportunity to show the nation before America and European countries.

Until these expositions, however, Japan had had few industrial products to show to the world because it was behind them in industriali-

zation owing to its long isolation from the world with the exception of contacts with China and Holland. During the period of isolation, however, Japan had created various kinds of art works: prints such as ukiyoe and artifacts such as pottery, porcelain, lacquer ware, textile fabric and drapery. The beauty and novelty of these products greatly appealed to American and European people and the enthusiasm for Japanese products was called Japonism. According to Neil Harris, "the Japanese exhibits at American fairs attracted particularly strong attention." This popularity was mainly because of the fact that in late nineteenth century America, unlike in Europe where a Japanese boom was springing up chiefly in the field of arts and literature, the taste for Japanese products was becoming more widespread in areas of everyday life such as clothes, gardening and ornaments as well as in arts and literature. Japonism, in fact, was something Japan was able to pride itself on to the rest of the world. More importantly, Japonism showed Japan how to have an impact on Western society. When a 48-strong Japanese diplomatic and cultural mission visited the Vienna Exposition of 1873 where Japanese items were displayed, they heard of the good reputation enjoyed by Japanese exhibits. One of the members wrote in his report that they won great fame because of their exoticism.⁶ The same was true of later expositions in Philadelphia and Paris. Consequently, they became confident that the attractiveness of Japanese art and products would help Japan to make its debut at Chicago as a developed and culturally distinctive country.

Japan, classified as one of the "half-savage" countries in the international order of the end of the nineteenth century, was especially "eager to make a good showing at Chicago"⁷ in order to rid itself of its "half-savage" status and revise the unequal treaties signed with Eng-

land, France, Holland, Russia and America before the Meiji Restoration, the dawn of Japan's modernization. As Neil Harris indicates, "[the fairs]...gave the Japanese government an unparalleled opportunity (not shared by most foreign powers) to define the kind of impression they wished Americans to possess."⁸ Japan was prepared to control its image and display itself at Chicago in the way it wanted to be looked at by Americans, utilizing the power of art and artifacts.

Thus, "exposition participation," Robert S. Schwants points out, "often carried overtones of national pride and political motivation."⁹ With few industrial products, Japan had no choice but to make use of its inherent culture, which Americans and Western people fortunately expected to be displayed in the expositions. Therefore, Japan continued to exhibit itself, emphasizing the uniqueness of its culture, while behind this culture it pursued all-out modernization in an attempt to join the ranks of the "civilized" nations. Japanese "national pride," therefore, could be maintained by displaying exquisite arts and craftwork, and the country's political objectives furthered by being recognized as a member of the comity of nations and forcing the revision of the unequal treaties. To these ends, the World's Columbian Exposition was a timely means of displaying modernized Japan, which also saw beyond the United States in terms of its exports routes.

Whereas the Americans did not expect Japan to become a Westernized country nor a mini-America, but simply to enhance the attractions of the Exposition by increasing cultural diversity, Japan, joining "the march of Western civilization," claimed membership of the comity of nations. Referring to Rydell, Yoshimi Shunya sees Japan following a direct evolutionary line from the Midway to the White City. This thesis, however, views the Columbian Exposition as a stage of unparalleled

significance on which Japan notified the Western world of its presence, prestige and sophisticated culture. Examining features of the World's Columbian Exposition and the way Japan approached it, we may find clues to the Japanese position in the Exposition.

The design of the White City, the Midway Plaisance and the Wooded Island and the Japanese position in each ground

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition opened amid great excitement on May 1st, 1893 and lasted half a year. But in effect, it already started with President Harrison's address on 24th December 1890 :

This is the golden age of American industry, American progress and American development. Wonders have been achieved in every branch of thought, and in every line of trade. We are at peace at home and abroad. It is fitting that we, as the greatest nation on the continent discovered by Christopher Columbus, should lead in the celebration of the 400th anniversary of that event, and call upon the people of the civilized world to unite with us.¹⁰

The President's speech referred to America's experiences since the end of the Civil War : the whirlwind growth of industrial capitalism, the hasty development of the Great West, a huge influx of immigrants and the abrupt growth of urban society. As a result, America had been transformed from an agricultural country into an industrial one. An enormous monopoly system had been established by the "Robber Barons," such as Andrew Carnegie, Jim Fisk, John D.Rockefeller and John P.Morgan. Despite the President's confident remarks, however, there was growing criticism of the effects of laissez-faire capitalism such as a growing gap between the classes. Protests by laborers and

farmers reached a peak in the 1890's. Although the 1890's was considered to be, as the President rejoiced, the Mauve Decade, a period of social and cultural prosperity, it was economically disastrous. 1893 saw an unprecedented depression. Railroad companies such as the Erie, the Northern Pacific, the Union Pacific and the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe went bankrupt. Strikes spread all over the United States, among which the biggest one happened at the works of the Pullman Palace Car Company in the suburbs of Chicago in 1894, after the Exposition was over. The ARU, American Railway Union, "instituted a boycott of Pullman cars and trains hauling them."¹¹ Moreover, "suddenly dividends might be cut or suspended, factories closed, banks broken, and a downward spiral might begin, ending who knew where."¹² In this situation, America needed "a little utopia" to divert its citizens' attention from the terrible conditions in which they found themselves. At such a time, when the President had to emphasize that "we [were] at peace at home and abroad," "the Columbian Exposition," William Cronon insists, "stood as a remarkably selfassured reminder that the nineteenth century was, after all, the greatest era of civilized progress the world had ever seen."¹³ America, having almost completed its industrial revolution before the turn of the century, had entirely outstripped anything that the Old World could show. So it was a golden time for America to host the international exposition, "bigger than its predecessor" and "the single most successful exposition held in America," in order to prove that America was "the greatest nation," a leading world power.

The fairground site of 633 acres, more than double that of the expositions in Philadelphia, 1876 and Paris, 1889, mainly lay in the Jackson Park along Lake Michigan. The total cost of the fair was

approximately \$28 million, twice the cost of the Paris Exposition of 1889. The number of foreign participation, 51 nations and 39 colonies,¹⁴ was also larger than for any previous exposition. The Exposition was the first in which every British and French colony participated. Some 30 million visitors enjoyed it.

The whole site was usually said to be made up of two sections, the White City and the Midway Plaisance. From the Japanese point of view, however, it consisted of three parts, the White City, the Midway Plaisance and the Wooded Island.

The White City embraced the Court of Honor and fourteen great buildings where visitors were dazzled by the glorious beauty and whiteness of each building and marvelled at the zenith of nineteenth century civilization. Midway Plaisance, a strip of land a mile long and nearly six hundred feet wide, was crowded with restaurants, entertaining facilities such as the Ferris Wheel, ethnic villages and a great number of gaily browsing people. By contrast, the Wooded Island, on which the Japanese official pavilion was situated, surrounded by the Lagoon, appeared isolated from the magnificent White City- “a little ideal world, a realization of Utopia,”¹⁵-and the lively crowded Midway Plaisance, labeled the “Royal Road of Gaiety” by the Chicago Tribune. Situated between these two, the Wooded Island attracted a lot of visitors. All three areas, each of which was distinctive in its appearance, implicitly conveyed the central conceptions of the organizers of this exposition: utopia, gaiety and isolated quietness. An examination of the implications of these concepts explains the design of the World's Columbian Exposition.

In the Court of Honour of the White City were the Columbian Fountain, the largest in the world in 1893, which symbolized the discov-

ery of the New World, and the Stature of the Republic, “the ultimate symbol of liberty.” There were fourteen great buildings, white and in the style of ancient Rome: the Administration Building, Agriculture Building, Anthropology Building, Electricity Building, Fisheries Building, Forestry Building, Horticultural Building, Machinery Hall, Manufacture and Liberal Arts Building, Mines and Mining Building, Palace of Fine Arts, Transportation Building, U.S. Government Building and Women’s Building. The Romanism, however, according to Stanley Appelbaum, was “that of the Empire, not that of the Republic, as Jefferson’s had been.” In other words, America, by that time, had almost finished expanding its territory to the West and was beginning to turn its eyes to the outside world as an “empire.” Appelbaum illustrates the idea of the White City as follows:

[T]he White City struck most viewers as something bold and new—and desirably new, not freakish. It seemed to suit the temper of the country, which was actively turning from the conquest of its own territory to imperial conquests overseas....It seemed to suit the psychological needs of the newest group of millionaires, who tended to be suave financiers rather than lusty self-made men....Some writers have said that the neat and dainty whiteness of the Exposition appealed especially to the millionaires’ ladies; others have seen the whiteness as a kind of nostalgia for the prevalent stone cladding of Paris.¹⁶

The “whiteness” presented by the White City implied both high civilization and cultural sophistication. Having striven to gain this “Whiteness,” America had at last reached its goal, and its people now appreciated gracious and refined millionaires, not vulgar parvenus. America, having created its own new culture of “the White City,” seemed to victoriously articulate its break from cultural inferiority to Europe, particularly to France which boasted of its high culture. The

use of “the classicism of the fair,” was not to bind America in “an enslavement to European traditions,”¹⁷ but to bestow American culture with dignity by accepting “Europe as the forebear.”¹⁸ In other words, by employing “classicism” which outshone that of Britain, the elaborate design of the White City showed that America was now, both in name and reality, equal to and even superior to Europe. It seemed to contemporary white Americans to be “a little ideal world, a realization of Utopia,” but was ironically criticized as “the great American white elephant” by a black newspaper and as “a white sepulcher” by Frederick Douglass and Ida Wells, who had been advocating black people’s rights for a long time.¹⁹ Thus, the magnificent White City or American society embodied a contradiction: symbolizing the nation’s new-found cultural self-confidence with regard to Europe, but implicitly ignoring the black people who had won equal rights as American citizens.

The Japanese, however, adored the White City: one delegate compared it to a soaring palace in the clouds.²⁰ Unfortunately, the appearance of the White City contained nothing Japanese, because the Japanese official building lay not in the White City but on the Wooded Island. Japan, however, rather forcibly insisted on its own presence in the Manufactures and Liberal Art Building which was “in the Corinthian style of architecture and in point of being severely classic excel[ed] most of the other large edifices.”²¹ Japan therefore did appear in the building that represented the vision of the White City, and was proud of a well-placed and sizable allotment. In fact, the Japanese official report issued by the Extraordinary Exposition Bureau tells us that though initially allotted a section among the Asian countries behind Russian, Japan successfully negotiated with America for a new spot on the corner of Columbia Avenue, next to Austria and best of all opposite

America. Columbia Avenue was lined only with civilized nations such as America, Italy, Switzerland, Denmark, Canada, Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Norway, Russia, Belgium and France. Thinking that the positions of allotments were arranged based upon the level of each country's political, military, technical or industrial development, Japan was deeply satisfied with the favorable treatment it received from America. Only America, Germany, Great Britain and France had larger allotments than Japan. Belgium and Austria were treated roughly the same as Japan, and the rest were given smaller allotments. From the Japanese perspective this meant they were lower than Japan.

The size and location of the Japanese allotment made clear that Japan ranked as one of the most important participants, and moreover, as a member of the comity of nations. The following figures in the Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition partially support the Japanese report: "The allotment of space in square feet to the leading countries was as follows: Austria, 150,000; Belgium, 120,000; Denmark, 20,000; France, 250,000; Germany, 250,000; Great Britain, 250,000; British Colonies, 100,000; Canada, 70,000; Japan, 60,000; Mexico, 61,000; Greece, 10,000; Russia, 100,000; Sweden, 40,000; Norway, 50,000; Italy, 45,000; Spain, 30,000."²² These figures, including the whole allotment of space to each country, do not exactly support the previous remarks but even so, in numerical terms Japan ranked midway among civilized countries. Thus, the White City was the place where Japan heightened its prestige, despite having no official building of its own there.

Had it not been for the other two areas of the Exposition, and in particular the Midway Plaisance, the magnificence of the White City might have been reduced, and the Exposition would have been little

different from its predecessors. The striking contrast between the vision of the White City and that of the Midway Plaisance characterized the World's Columbian Exposition.

The Midway Plaisance, which connected Jackson Park and Washington Park, entertained visitors with restaurants, bazaars, theaters, ethnic villages, an animal show and above all, the Ferris Wheel, which, Appelbaum says, was “one of the Exposition's great engineering marvels—a deliberate rival to the 1889 Eiffel Tower—one of its great emblems and one of its lasting gifts to the amusement of mankind.” He points out that “[f]or thousands of visitors, the fair meant the Midway. For the fair corporation, the Midway meant solvency.”²³ The visitors enjoyed eating and drinking, dancing, singing, buying various kinds of articles and looking at strange peoples such as Mussulmans, Cingalese, Arabs, Javanese, Soudanese, Algerians, Persians, Chinese and Japanese.²⁴ Calling it “the World as Plaything,” Julian Hawthorne, son of Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-64), concluded that “the Midway Plaisance could not take the place of the Fair; but the Fair would not be half as delightful as it is without the Plaisance. There is more of the human here than elsewhere; and the study of mankind is not only, as Pope says, the proper study of man, but it is likewise incomparably the most entertaining.”²⁵ Hawthorne seems to have discovered latent meaning to the Midway Plaisance. Others, however, have found even greater significance in the Midway Plaisance. Rydell, for example, argues:

The significance of the Midway as a bulwark of the utopian dream projected by the White City cannot be underestimated. “The Midway Plaisance”, explained correspondent Amy Leslie, “seems to be a magnet of deepest and most lasting significance”. Its greatest importance lay simply in the vivid illustration of

evolutionary principles provided by ethnological villages.²⁶

Indeed, the Midway was under the Department of Ethnology taken charge of by Frederick W. Putnam, head of Harvard's Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. From the example of the Paris fair of 1889, the Committee had learned that bazaars would contribute to the coffers and that the ethnological display would attract a lot of visitors. As a result, the Midway was supposed to bear these two purposes and yet with "an aura of scientific respectability." Putnam "intended 'the presentation of native life [to] be in every way satisfactory and creditable to the native people, and no exhibition of a degrading or derogatory character will be permitted.'"²⁷ His main intention was said to make anthropology familiar to ordinary people, using the display as a "great object lesson." The educational purpose of the display seems, however, to have been largely lost. According to Rydell, "[several visitors to the fair denied the ethnological value of the Midway, believing it was 'a sideshow pure and simple.' To others it appeared the Midway had strayed far from its ethnological origins."²⁸ The visitors, in other words, just enjoyed looking at living humans displayed, regarded them as a human show. Hawthorne cynically wrote that "[s]cientific appellations always [had] a chilling sound,"²⁹ and continued to say, "...you have before you the civilized, the half-civilized and the savage worlds to choose from—or rather, to take one after another. To my mind, the half-civilized world is the most delectable; then the savage, and finally the civilized."³⁰ Understanding the vision of the Midway whereby humans were displayed according to their level of civilization, Hawthorne ironically emphasized the entertaining elements of the Midway Plaisance.

What interested him most were "half-civilized" Japanese people

and a Japanese bazaar situated along the Madison Avenue. The Japanese were, here too, proud of the place allotted to Japan, stating that it was the best position in the Midway. Japanese served visitors green tea, oolong tea, iced tea and ice-cream in a lounge. The articles at the bazaar, attracting many visitors and selling well, contributed to the coffers of the Exposition, to which it paid twenty-five percent of the turnover for the tenant charge. In spite of the extreme commercial depression outside the fair grounds, the number of customers at the Japanese bazaar continued to increase, and more sales assistants had to be recruited. According to the Japanese official report, Japan hired more than eighty American women. A total of more than two hundred and thirty women served customers. Turnover totaled approximately \$205,013, one of the best figures of any bazaar on the Midway. Many of the visitors, the report says, came from poor remote areas in the West and had never before seen Japanese goods. They showed great curiosity to the articles, many of which they bought after receiving direct explanations from the Japanese sales staff. All the customers, ranging from rich gentlemen to poor farmers, took delight in Japanese things and Japanese hospitality, which, the report confidently states, would surely encourage foreign people to buy more Japanese goods and consequently expand the country's markets overseas.³¹ In this sense, the Midway Plaisance helped Japan to advertise itself to the world.

The report understood the purport of the establishment of the Midway: each country sells its indigenous products in its own way, while displaying its manners and peculiar customs by presenting real things, thereby contributing to the anthropological aim of the Midway. As far as selling was concerned, Japan successfully acted out its role. Regarding cultural presentation, it is doubtful whether the Japanese

exhibitors clearly understood what they should do. The report is critical of the way in which the Midway appeared to be a device to entice visitors to the Exposition with quaint and strange performances. It complains that some ugly performances and fighting among savage people defiled the Exposition. It also reports that the queerness of the Moorish Palace, the poor Javanese village, the Dahomey village, the American Indian village, the Persian dancing, the South Islanders village and the Algerian theater was beyond description.³² These criticisms seem to be based on nothing more than racial discrimination. The Japanese, in other words, looked down on the peoples displaying and selling around them.

Not only the official report but a Japanese journalist who visited the Exposition revealed these feelings of racial superiority; forty or fifty beautiful young women were displayed together at the corner of the clothes and custom's exhibit; they behaved like a geisha at a show; he wondered where they were captured. He also wrote that when visiting the Midway and mistaken for a Javanese, he felt disgraced and furiously retorted to the person who called him a Javanese that he was not a Javanese but a Japanese gentleman. He insisted that as the similar sound of Japanese and Javanese caused such a disgraceful confusion, Japan, from now on, should be called Nippon or Nihon in Roman letters in all international situations.³³ Another journalist, Tsuda Yuzo, correspondent of the Tokyo Asahi Newspaper in Chicago, reported on the Exposition in August 1893. He described in glowing terms a theatrical performance called "America" performed in the Auditorium that depicted American history and progress, as a result, illuminated the theme of the Exposition from beginning to end. He took a much less friendly attitude toward the peoples on the Midway.³⁴

Tsuda's reports reflect a common sentiment among those in direct contact with Europeans and Americans overseas. Okakura Kakuzo, who was in charge of the Oriental Section of the Boston Museum, for example, when asked "Are you a Chinese, Javanese or Japanese?," retorted, "Are you a donkey, monkey or Yankee?" From these episodes, it can be said that the Japanese were clearly trying to differentiate themselves from other peoples, especially Asian peoples, and stand out in the Midway. They seemed unaware of the curiosity with which they themselves were being observed by Westerners. Julian Hawthorne vividly pictured the sight of the Midway:

[T]he strange people themselves have escaped from their proper abiding places, and are out walking and looking, almost as much interested in you as you are in them. They are Mussulmans of all tribes, and Cingalese and Wild Arabs in their bournouses and swathed heads, and Javanese in skirts and jackets, and stately Soudanese, with their black hair braided in strings, and dirty white togas belling in the breeze; and Algerians and Persians and unspeakable bashi-bazouks, and the more familiar figures of Chinese and Japanese, and perhaps a savage Dahomeyans or two, and Numidians and Nubians from the tropical interior.³⁵

Japanese people were seen walking by Hawthorne among peoples the Japanese journalist abhorred. Both Hawthorne and the journalist, whose perspectives on the Midway were hugely different, perceived the latent vision of the Midway that not only objects but exotic races were being showcased. The journalist, however, probably excluded himself, and the Japanese, from those exotic races. Thus, there seems to have been a delicate and crucial difference between Japanese views of themselves and American views of the Japanese. The Japanese, selling their articles and displaying their manners and customs, thought that they were just contributing to the anthropological theory of the

Midway, but did not consider that their presence represented one part of the hierarchy of evolution. As P.F.Kornicki puts it, the people at the exhibition could be transformed into commodities, which were the essential components of the expositions, by being displayed commercially, if not for sale, and by offering the opportunity to view them. “[A]s items of display,” in Greenhalgh’s exciting words, “objects were seen to be less interesting than human beings, and through the medium of display, human beings were transformed into objects.”³⁶ In this sense, all the people at the Midway Plaisance were commodities displayed by America and the Japanese were no exception. With its kaleidoscope of entertainments including “evolution, ethnology, popular amusements” and complicated Japanese attitudes, the Midway, “honky-tonk sector of the fair,”³⁷ fascinated an immense number of visitors. It offered a perfect contrast to the refined beauty of the White City.

Equidistant from these two major grounds was the Wooded Island. It was neither glorious nor gay but quiet and serene. It was also in an extremely symbolic location on the fair grounds. Furthermore the Ho-o-den, the Japanese official building on the Wooded Island, was a symbolic presence in the whole design of the Exposition. Wim de Wit maintains of the Wooded Island:

The symbolic meanings that were so abundant in the formally arranged part of the fairgrounds were absent in the less formal part. Yet it was the contrast between the formality of the Court of Honor and the informality of the rest of the fair that made the message of the Court of Honor so clear. The most informal part of the fair was the Wooded Island.³⁸

His statement that “the symbolic meanings” are “so abundant” in the Court of honor, or the White City, but “absent... in the rest of the fair” may be right from American point of view. If it is completely true,

however, then the Wooded Island which, he depicts, is “the most informal part of the fair,” has no meaning at all. Indeed, to America, the Wooded Island was just “one of the most charming spots in the exposition” and the Ho-o-den was “a collection of lovely Japanese buildings,” a place where an average American couple visiting the fair with limited funds and days to spend, stopped for “a cup of Oriental tea” and relaxed “to reflect on all they [had] seen so far.”³⁹ They were just charming and lovely spots in which to enjoy the taste of the Orient and reflect the glories of the White City. In other words, it was somewhere to stop before going home.

For Japan, however, both the Wooded Island and the Ho-o-den had a seriously symbolic meaning. The Wooded Island, whose shape coincidentally resembled that of Japan, was artificially built in the middle of the Lagoon by Frederick Law Olmsted, landscape architect. He, according to Wim de Wit, strongly objected to introducing Japan's building on the landscape for fear that it should damage “the island's purpose of presenting nature as pure and peaceful.” His intention was to keep it quiet and to leave it as natural as it had been four hundred years before when Columbus landed on the continent. The fair organizers, however, accepted Japan's requirement after tenacious negotiations and eventually allowed it to erect the Ho-o-den there. Their decision immensely satisfied Japan. The Ho-o-den, a symbol of ancient Japanese culture, represented the first appearance of Japanese historical architecture in the West. It, thus, played a leading role in Japan's participation in the Exposition. The Japanese official report describes the aims of the Ho-o-den in rather arrogant terms.

The report begins by describing the purpose of an international exposition. Each country displays its indigenous products, arts and

customs, comparing them with those of other countries and competing with them, thereby enhancing its national dignity and expanding its overseas markets. Since the Meiji Restoration, Japan had introduced nearly one hundred institutions, following the examples of Western countries. Those who were ignorant of this progress, still regarded Japan as an uncivilized and childish country. Worst of all, some considered Japan to be a dependency of China. Now the World's Columbian Exposition was going to be hosted by the unified effort of both the government and the people of America, the richest and strongest nation in the world. In light of the scale and the number of foreign participants, the Exposition offered a golden opportunity for Japan to announce to the world that it was an everlasting empire of the Orient with a long and proud history. Therefore Japan should build a magnificent and graceful historical building on "the choicest location on the fair-grounds, the Wooded Isle, for its official building."⁴⁰

To this end, the report proposes, not a new style but historical style of architecture should be employed. The traditional Japanese style of architecture dated back to the Tempyo era, almost one thousand three hundred years ago, and culminated in the Fujiwara era soon later and the Ashikaga period several hundred years later. If Japan would show those who were unfamiliar with its greatness that Japanese architecture and industrial art works had already reached such a high level more than one thousand three hundred years earlier, they would be ashamed of their ignorance and would start to respect Japan. Consequently, it would be possible for Japan to strengthen its national power, to increase its national prestige, to revise the unequal treaties, and finally, to establish good relations with Western countries. In order to accomplish these purposes, the Ho-o-do or Phoenix Hall, which was

erected at Uji, near Kyoto in the middle of the eleventh century, could be an excellent model. Thus, the Ho-o-den was modeled after the Ho-o-do,⁴¹ the Phoenix Hall, which reminds us of “that magical bird that could find rebirth even in the ashes of its own funeral pyre.”⁴²

Japan discarded its old regime and was vigorously reborn like a phoenix from the turmoil of the transformation from the Shogunate reign to the Meiji Government, the modern political system founded in 1868. Chicago, on the other hand, is referred to as “the city as phoenix” by William Cronon. He observes that after the Great Fire of October 8-9, 1871, the skyscraper, “tall office building, and suburban retreats, crowded slum neighborhoods and smokebelching factories...symbolized the reborn phoenix.”⁴³ and that people who came to the World’s Columbian Exposition recognized “the reborn phoenix.” Both Chicago and Japan, which were almost at the same time destroyed by the Great Fire and unprecedented political change respectively, were reborn like two phoenixes. It is unclear whether the Meiji Government considered Chicago to be the phoenix city and consciously selected the Ho-o-do, the Phoenix Hall, for the design of its official pavilion. Even if not, this curious coincidence implies a strong tie between Japan’s participation in the Exposition and America’s hosting it. Just as America announced the completion of its rebirth from the Great Fire at the Exposition, so the Ho-o-den, Phoenix Hall, symbolized Japan’s rebirth as the phoenix country.

The Ho-o-den consisted of three separate buildings connected by wide corridors, whose interiors were decorated in the Fujiwara, Ashikaga and Tokugawa styles respectively. It was surrounded by a Japanese garden which greatly increased the beauty of the Ho-o-den. According to Wit, Olmsted insisted that if there were no building on it,

the Island would “serve as a foil to the artificial grandeur and sumptuousness of the other parts of the scenery.” Judging from a bird’s eye view of the Lagoon and the Island in the middle of the gorgeous buildings, however, the Ho-o-den, integrated into the landscape of the Wooded Island, appeared to play the role of a foil to the surrounding buildings to perfection. At the same time, it enhanced the purity and peacefulness of the scenery. A frequent visitor to the site where the Ho-o-den was being built was Frank Lloyd Wright, an architect famous for his prairie style. Wright was greatly influenced by it, and subsequently visited Japan and designed buildings employing the Japanese style of architecture. The Robie House in Chicago is one of them. The Ho-o-den which attracted Wright so much, in short, quietly but firmly asserted its presence and conveyed the value and mission of Japanese culture to the world.

There were more than forty rivals for the Wooded Island site, but America chose Japan. One reason for the choice was Japan’s undertaking to give the Ho-o-den to the city of Chicago after the fair. This, however, does not fully explain why Japan won such favorable treatment from America. The choice of Japan may well have had something to do with the role that America wished Japan to play in the Exposition as a whole.

Yoshimi Shunya offers an interesting analysis of this point. The presence of the Ho-o-den was extremely symbolic in the scene of the Chicago World’s Exposition. Amidst the world image presented by the Exposition, the white man’s utopia, the Japanese pavilion was situated halfway between the Midway and the White City. This position exactly illustrated that of Japan, “Yankees of the East,” in the hierarchy of evolution from the Midway to the White City. Trying to connect the

savages in the Midway with the zenith of civilization presented in the White City by means of a direct line of evolution, the fair directors must have found it necessary to place some intermediary between the two. From this point of view, no other nation than Japan could have been chosen.⁴⁴ On the Island, thus, both countries' intentions met. The Ho-o-den played two roles simultaneously: presenting Japan beautifully and effectively before the world, and acting as a bridge in the American vision of cultural evolution. Yoshimi emphasizes the latter role, but the former role was the one that brought success to Japan.

At the Japanese ceremony for purifying the building site for the Ho-o-den, responding to S. Teshima, Imperial Commissioner of Japan, a chairman of the Southern Park who was in charge of the Ho-o-den made an address on behalf of the people of Chicago. He said that all the buildings on the grounds were to be demolished within a certain period with two exceptions: the building for a sea disaster relief established by the United States and the Ho-o-den built by Japan, both of which were to be kept in the park. He continued that in that respect, Japan now equaled America, promising that they would maintain the exquisite hall for good and let the citizens observe it, and that as long as it existed there, good relations would obtain between the United States and the Empire of Japan. Not only Teshima but also Japanese people present there must have rejoiced at his remarks, specifically, the phrase that Japan now equaled America, which was exactly what Japan had sought since the Meiji Restoration. The official report repeatedly describes how successfully Japan presented itself as the "Great Empire of the Orient" in the Exposition. It can be seen here how earnestly Japan strove to make its debut as a modern state in the World's Columbian Exposition in the civilized world. Borrowing Cronon's words, nothing

better symbolized Japan's "resurrection and transfiguration" than the Ho-o-den on the Wooded Island, which glorified Japan's past by displaying its long history and aesthetic aspect.

Japan, thus, occupying a major space in the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building of the White City, sold a huge amount of articles well in the Midway, at the same time, remained quietly and exquisitely aloof on the Wooded Island. By sufficiently fulfilling America's expectations, Japan announced its presence and prestige peacefully but explicitly to the Western world at the apex of an equilateral triangle formed, not in geographical terms but in Japanese political image, by the White City, the Midway Plaisance and the Wooded Island.

The Japanese approach to the Exposition

The Japanese learned about the World's Columbian Exposition as early as April 1890. In June, an American official came to Japan and invited businessmen taking part in the Third National Industrial Exhibition to a meeting at a hotel in Tokyo, where he enthusiastically recommended them to take part in the World's Columbian Exposition. The Japanese decided to participate in 1891. Their response was the first among foreign countries invited and the investment of more than \$630,000, which was proposed as an urgent motion just before the closing of the session and quickly passed in the National Diet, was one of the largest sums spent on the Exposition by foreign countries. Japan's first full-scale participation in international expositions was under way.

The staff of the Extraordinary Exposition Bureau funded by national budget consisted of one president, Minister of Agriculture and Commerce, two vice presidents appointed by the emperor, councilors,

administrative officials and secretaries. It had four sections: general affairs, exhibition, transactions and treasurers. The first president was Mutsu Munemitsu, followed by Kono Toshikane, Sano Tsunetami, Goto Shojiro and Enomoto Takeaki from June of 1891 to December of 1894. They were all most important members of the Meiji Government. The vice presidents were Kuki Ryuichi, president of the Tokyo Imperial Museum, and Tateno Gozo, Commissioner to the United States. Among sixty-six councilors, there were Okakura Kakuzo, president of the Tokyo Art Academy which undertook the work of interior decoration of the Ho-o-den at Chicago, Hayashi Tadamaso who exhibited arts at the Exposition and a business tycoon Shibusawa Eiichi. Hara Takashi, who became Prime Minister in 1918, served as an administrative official. There were thirty-two examiners of art works, ten of whom were professors and assistant professors at the Tokyo Art Academy, including Okakura Kakuzo, president, Hashimoto Gaho, professor and a famous artist of Japanese painting and Takamura Koun, professor and a prominent sculptor. Three of the examiners were foreigners. Seventeen were sent to Chicago as Imperial Commissioners.

The policies adopted regarding commodities, fine arts and industrial art works are clearly laid out in the official record. The exposition was not to be a place where commodities were sold, but should offer good samples and advertisements enough to expand trade markets. Therefore prices would have to be reasonable and products explained in English. The main object of fine arts exhibition lay in having each exhibitor competing to show his artistic skill. Japanese artists therefore should not try to adapt themselves to Western tastes but show their own aesthetic sense, thereby inviting respect to their work. Only extremely fine works should be displayed. This policy shows the

unusual confidence in fine arts of the Japanese. Concerning the exhibition of industrial art works, six elements were required: refinement, application, selection of materials, manners, shape and decoration. They should be elegant, their size and weight adaptable for their use, the materials durable, the manner solid, the shape graceful enough for their use and the decoration should be modest and appropriate to the time and place they were used. As the exhibits affect the rise and fall of Japanese business trade, the exhibitors were urged to think very carefully about their displays. This shows how much Japan relied on exports of industrial art works. This firm and elaborate formation of the Bureau's structure and principles may have been an important factor in the success of Japan's participation in the Exposition, which reflected the fact that for Japan participation in the Exposition was a national project.

The first appearance of Japan in international expositions was at the London Exposition of 1862, but it was limited to a display of the collection of Sir Rutherford Alcock, the first British minister to Japan. A picture in an *Illustrated London News* of the time shows a Japanese mission to Europe who, visiting the exhibition, were looked at by the visitors. Not only the objects but Japanese people were, as a result, on display at the London Exposition. Japan appeared in Paris in 1867 for the second time in the midst of the turmoil of the Meiji Restoration. The Shogunate and two clans, Satsuma and Hizen, participated in it separately. There were disagreements among them concerning the size of the allotted sites and locations of their sections. From these troubles Japan must have learned that a unified organization for international expositions was necessary. And here, too, in a picture of "Siam and Japan"⁴⁵ corner at the 1867 Paris Exposition, we find two samurai

surrounded by Western visitors. In those days, both Japanese articles and people were strange in Western countries and were, therefore, stared at.

The first formal participation of the Meiji Government in an international exposition came at the Vienna Exposition of 1873. Gottfried Wagner, a German chemist, who spent several years in Japan, directed the display. From his direction Japan may have learned about European tastes, and as a result, the image Japan should present at subsequent expositions. The early experiences of participation in these three expositions probably made the Japanese confident of participating successfully in the biggest ever exposition, the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition of 1893. They reflected that they had joined some expositions but on a small scale because Japan was just opening itself to the world. Now, however, with the constitutional system established and businessmen much more knowledgeable of foreign countries and commerce and trade, they were ready to take part in the Exposition on a full-scale. Thus, the Japanese were planning to display in all twelve departments and the Women's section: Agriculture and Forestry, Horticulture, Live Stock, Fish and Fisheries, Mines and Mining, Machinery, Transportation, Manufactures, Electricity, Fine Arts, Liberal Arts, and Ethnology. The Japanese official report does not refer to the department of Machinery, however, according to the World's Columbian Exposition 1893 Official Catalogue, there were twelve participants in the Machinery Department displaying shuttles, tools for wood work, engraved blocks and cutting tools, prints, art books, prints and printing utensils, albums and photographic prints.

The reason Japan participated in such earnest can be found in a speech delivered to a national assembly in 1892 by Shimada Saburo, a

Diet member and journalist.⁴⁶ He referred to two previous expositions: the Philadelphia Exposition of 1876 and the Paris Exposition of 1889. While both were great events, neither was a match for the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition. The former had made Britain uncomfortable because it was a celebration of America's independence from Britain. This perhaps explained why Britain had displayed fewer commodities in spite of its huge manufacturing capacity. As for the Paris Exposition of 1889, Germany, Italy and Austria objected to it because it was a celebration of the Revolution, therefore they did not go to great efforts in displaying their articles. The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, however, Shimada insisted, should be celebrated by all humans because it was a celebration of the discovery of America. Regardless of differences in political system, and national cultures, all the world would commemorate the discovery with cheers and applause. Although America was a republic, Russian Empire, the kingdom of Great Britain, German Empire and all the nations and people should get together and celebrate the discovery, in the process making the Exposition the greatest one ever held. Shimada's idea represents the Japanese attitude toward the Exposition.

From a practical viewpoint, too, the Exposition was important to Japan. According to the official report, Americans were major customers because more than one third of Japan's exports went to America. Therefore the Exposition offered an ideal opportunity for Japan to encourage Americans to buy more Japanese products, and also rather more importantly to expand its market beyond America. Japan's consciousness of what it meant to be a powerful nation could be seen behind these attitudes.

The Japanese felt confident of their exhibits as well because the

number of prize-winners among their art works, forty-eight, was bettered only by America with 149, Britain with 132 and Germany with 121. Although “[j]udgment,” the Chicago Columbian Exposition Official Directory states, “varie[d] among Western critics concerning the intrinsic worth of [Japanese] fine arts, especially the pictorial,” America understood the value of them and allotted considerable space for them in the Fine Arts Building. Japan in turn appreciated this favorable treatment of Japanese art works by the Americans. To Western people, fine arts meant just pictures and sculptures, whereas the Japanese considered pottery, lacquer ware, textile fabric and metallic ware as well as pictures and sculptures to be fine arts. It was not until the World Columbian Exposition that the whole spectrum of Japanese art works was allowed to be displayed in the Fine Arts section instead of in the section of Manufactures. Robert S. Schwants vindicates this fact: “the Japanese commissioners took particular pride in getting Japanese works admitted for the first time to the fine arts pavilion, instead of only in crafts exhibits.”⁴⁷ Favorable American treatment of Japanese art works enhanced Japanese national pride.

The most significant department to Japan, the official report writes, was, in fact, Manufactures. The number of Japanese exhibitors of Manufactures, 2,089, far exceeds the numbers in other sections, notably 482 in Agriculture, 171 in Fine Arts and 91 in Liberal Arts. This fact tells us that Japan devoted most of its energy to this section, and conversely that what Japan could confidently display before Western people and expect to enlarge its trade market was manufactured articles.

Department H, Manufactures, constituted thirty-five groups, numbered from group 87 to group 121. The five biggest groups of Japanese

exhibitors were in silk and silk fabrics (578 exhibitors), ceramics and mosaics (243), lacquer ware (211), wood carving (182), and cloisonné ware (151). The items which made a particular impression on visitors were pottery, porcelain ware, cloisonné ware, silk fabrics, particularly habutae or fine silk fabrics, lacquer ware, above all, makie or lacquer ware decorated by gold and silver powder, ivory carving embroideries and the Yuzen process of dyed goods. These all presented “subdued elegance, the subtle and delicate taste, the symbolism of art”⁴⁸ which strongly attracted American people. The Official Directory, referring to Japanese silk and silk fabrics, gives evidence of the pride taken by Japan in its exhibits: “Silk from the cocoon, carried through all processes up to the soft draperies, is an attractive feature to visitors from all countries,” and “[i]n general Japan makes one of the most interesting and creditable displays of all foreign countries.” Japanese art and craftwork, here, too, enjoying a choice position in the Manufactures Building, thoroughly fulfilled the expectations of the Japanese government. The great number of exquisite exhibits proved Japan’s enthusiasm for the Exposition and made visitors acknowledge that “this oriental civilization had somehow managed to achieve a parity of sorts with the industrial West.”⁴⁹ In other words, Japan succeeded in announcing its modernization before Western nations and winning their recognition.

One more source of pride to the Japanese, according to Amano S., journalist for the Shikago Hakurankai Tsushin [The Chicago Exposition Report], was a monumental relief standing between the Agricultural Building and the Machinery Hall. It had four sides, on each of which Latin, English, Russian and Japanese phrases were engraved, explaining the aim of the Exposition. The Japanese phrase was beauti-

fully calligraphed and explained that in commemoration of the four hundredth anniversary of Christopher Columbus' discovery of the continent, all the peoples from the world were gathered together here in a spirit of friendship, peace and amicable competition to compare their latest products and innovations in art, arts and sciences, industry and agriculture. The reporter describes his impressions as if on behalf of all Japanese people, who would have felt the same if they could have seen the monumental relief. It was no source of wonder that Latin, English and Russian languages were on the other three faces because Latin was an old and authentic language in Europe, English was the language of the host country and Russia was a major power. But it seemed to Amano that the Japanese phrase signified something different, letting the world know that Japan was the only country in the Orient worthy of a place alongside the United States and European countries. He also read that the relief showed American friendship toward Japan and a friendship that should never be forgotten by the Japanese. Japan should maintain close relations with the friendly and yet vigorously rising country across the Pacific.

The relief, in fact, seemed to symbolize the vision of the World's Columbian Exposition. It would not be too farfetched to suggest that the Japanese character on the monument, so different from those of Latin, English and Russian languages representing the White City, played the supplementary role of symbolizing cultural diversity, which was a particularly strong feature of the Chicago Exposition. It reminds us of the bridging role of the Ho-o-den on the Wooded Island which America seemingly expected Japan to play. In sum, it was the heterogeneity of Japanese letters, Japanese culture and the heterogeneity of the Japanese presence in the Exposition that attracted Western coun-

tries. From this point of view, the monumental relief can be, indeed, regarded not only as the token of American favorable treatment of Japan but also as an embodiment of its latent expectations toward Japan.

What exactly were these American expectations? Rydell argues that “[i]n 1893 Americans’ positive attitude toward the Japanese was also demeaning and patronizing.”⁵⁰ As previously mentioned, the Americans’ favorable attitude toward Japan concerning the Wooded Island, Japanese arts’ display in the Palace of Fine Arts, an advantageous position in the Manufactures Building and the Japanese phrase on the monumental relief may have derived from a patronizing attitude. For many years, the Japanese had been trying to respond to such an attitude, for example, by “donning Western dress” at the Centennial, which caused them to be dissatisfied that “Japanese nationals at the fair had lost picturesqueness.” Consequently, they fell into “the dilemma of how to accept the prospect of Westernization crystallized [by] American attitude toward national difference generally: on the one hand, a tendency to see Americanization as a sign of progress; on the other, a desire to freeze national customs into a picturesque whole.”⁵¹ That is to say the Japanese were a victim of American arbitrariness. “As long as Japan remained a ‘Children’s Paradise,’ and the Japanese, as ‘Yankees of the East,’ showed deference to the desire of the United States,” Rydell points out, “the Japanese people could be accommodated after a fashion in the future utopia.”⁵²

Even after Japan established its position among the imperialist powers after the 1905 victory over Russia, Sakai Takutaro, Commissioner General, who was in charge of the planned Tokyo Exposition of 1917, displayed a remarkable humility at a complimentary banquet held

by The Chicago Association of Commerce: "Japan was first introduced to the West by your Commodore Perry; and since then Japan has been reared by you, and we look up to you as our elder brother."⁵³ He seemed to adore the United States calling it "our elder brother." In Japan, particularly in those days, an elder brother, next to his father, was to be reliable, thereby respected by other members of the family. Therefore, it may reveal that the Japanese were accustomed to being patronized by them. The epithets describing Japanese people such as carpenters, painters and decorators who, coming to Chicago to build the pavilion, were probably very strange and unfamiliar to Americans were rather limited. The superficial expressions projected an image of Japanese immaturity: childlike, humorous, artistic, strange, almond-eyed, gentle, modest, studious, diligent, painstaking, neat, precise etc., all of these might characterize one aspect of the Japanese but at the same time they show, as Harris discloses, that "American visitors still [cling] to their image of the Japanese as a childlike, humorous, artistic people."⁵⁴ Thus, Americans' partial image of the Japanese may have helped them to placate the Japanese.

While being patronized, it may be also true that the Japanese acquired more and more self-confidence. Harris explains these changing Japanese attitude:

The energy put by Japan into the fair argued that it was demanding more respect than the world had paid it previously. The carvings, the ivory, the porcelain and lacquer work, "all arranged faultlessly and displayed with the peculiar smiling self-confidence which marks the race," wrote Joseph and Caroline Kirkland, "seemed to say 'We belong among you; we have something to teach as well as something to learn.'"⁵⁵

Neatness and precision are, indeed, often said to be Japanese national

traits. The articles “faultlessly” arranged may have presented confidence of Japan whose “astonishing progress...in arts and civilization ... [was]one of the wonders of the age.” Joseph and Caroline Kirkland probably associated this precision with the military line of the rank and file, an association which soon turned to fact.

First impressions of Japanese people in America were, however, agreeable. When the Japanese first appeared in Manhattan in 1860, “million-footed Manhattan descend[ing] to her pavement” warmly received them with “the thunder-cracking guns.” Walter Whitman sang in *Leaves of Grass* looking at the parade of Japanese envoys in the Broadway:

Over the Western sea hither from Nippon come,
Courteous, the swart-cheek'd two-sworded envoys,
Leaning back in their open barouches, bare-headed, impassive,
Ride to-day through Manhattan.

He continues to sing,

Superb-faced Manhattan!
Comrade Americanos! to us, then at last the Orient comes.
To us, my city,
.....

To-day Our Antipodes comes.

He himself exulted to see strange but courteous Japanese people and sang that America, the land of liberty was the place where the West and East met as follows:

And you Libertad of the world!
You shall sit in the middle well-pois'd thousands and thousands of years,
As to-day from one side the nobles of Asia come to you,
As to-morrow from the other side the queen of England sends her eldest son to you.

America offers the place where “the nobles of Asia” and the “eldest son” of “the queen of England” meet with each other and appreciate

American liberty. He concludes the poem: "They shall now also march obediently eastward for your sake Libertad." In Whitman's vision, Japan seemed to be "the new empire grander," and its people obediently followed his country's liberty.⁵⁶

The Japanese Whitman witnessed, in fact, were national missionaries who came to learn how to modernize Japan. In more than three decades, having realized "keenly the importance of assimilating modern ideas and of accepting Western customs," proclaimed the Official Directory, "[carpenters, painters and decorators] have grown quite accustomed to our ways, and do not surrender their methods in favor of ours unless the superiority of the new over the old is apparent." The Japanese confidently changed their attitude from what Whitman saw to what Okuma stated:

We Japanese, standing at a point where the Eastern and Western civilizations meet, are given facilities to serve as interpreters of the Orient, and to represent the former before the Occidentals. Therefore, to harmonize the East and the West and contribute to the unification of the worlds, is an ideal part to be played by Japan.⁵⁷

The Japanese in Manhattan were invited to the meeting place of the East and the West, Whitman claimed, but now seemed to announce that they were prepared to contribute to unifying the world. The timing of Okuma's statement about two decades after the World's Columbian Exposition suggests the reasons for this transition. During these two decades, Japan had waged two wars upon China and Russia and became one of the imperialist powers. The Kirklands' observation of the Japanese at Chicago just one year before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war was not necessarily erroneous, but seemed to indicate the signs of Japan's imperialistic behavior. In other words, some people

already perceived Japan's consciousness of being a powerful nation looming large behind the neatly arranged art works. Thus, "the notion of Japan as an aesthetic vogue...derived from a fashion for Japanese prints and objects d'art" since Perry's expedition in 1853, Robert Parry writes, "was abruptly challenged by Japan's victory over China in 1895, and the Russo-Japanese war. These events reinvoked ancient European images of aggressive Asian hordes."⁵⁸ Namely, in a peaceful way but "with the peculiar smiling self-confidence," the Japanese announced: "We belong among you, we have something to teach as well as to learn." Tateno Gozo, Commissioner to the United States, insisted that "Japanese efforts would entitle them to 'full fellowship in the family of nations.'" At last the Japanese obtained the "acknowledgment of Japan's equality with the Western powers" that they had sought for so long.

Conclusion

President William McKinley declared that "[e]xpositions are the timekeepers of progress."⁵⁹ For Japan, they have been the timekeepers of its modernization because the dawn of Japan's modernization, as a matter of fact, started in 1853, only two years after the first international exposition in London. In two score years, Japan was ready to appear as a modernized nation before the civilized West. In this sense the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition was an invaluable timekeeper of Japan's modernization, and itself formed an episode in the modernization process. Commissioner General Sakai Takutarō's speech delivered on April 14, 1909, as well as the Japanese official report, underlined its timeliness:

[L]ong before you had here that exposition the Japanese government participated in an international exposition in Vienna in 1872[sic], and then also we participated in your Centennial in Philadelphia four years later. But in those days Japan and the Japanese people were not exactly as they are today, and therefore our participation in such expositions was very meagre. It was here in Chicago in 1893 that we first realized the importance of such an enterprise.⁶⁰

Japan had taken a little over twenty years following the Meiji Restoration to construct a modern national system. Having attained it, Japan urgently needed an opportunity to show its transformation to the world. The 1893 Exposition, therefore, was that opportunity.

The Chicago World's Columbian Exposition had crucial meanings both for the United States and Japan. The Americans had successfully thrown away their inferiority to Europe by attaining the heights of civilization symbolized by the White City, and by using Japan which could dwarf "Europe's boasted antiquity"⁶¹ by the exquisiteness of its fine arts. America also announced to the world that the United States had become a leading power. Seven years before the dawn of the American century, the United States proclaimed itself to be number one.

With regard to the relationship with Japan, Harris maintains that "[t]he Japanese [were] plainly the vanguard in the Occidental movement toward the Orient," because they were "the bearers of the new order and stood confronting the Chinese, representing the old," and America, according to Kamei, having "had no career as a conqueror in Asia," needed Japan's presence as "the vanguard" in order to get into Asia. The several incidences of preferable American treatment of Japan at the Exposition enabled it to establish a firm relationship with Japan. In sum, Japan was the first country which America rather than

the European Powers was the first to open, and America was regarded as a friendly nation with no threat of colonization. On the other hand, it was not long before America suddenly realized that "Japan was no longer a mere picturesque land of Orientals which it could patronize at will."⁶²

For Japan, the World's Columbian Exposition had three major meanings. First of all, Japan succeeded in "all[ying] itself with the nations of the West...especially...appeal[ing] to the United States." Utilizing American friendliness shown to Japanese fine arts, the position in the Manufactures Building, the Ho-o-den on the Island and the Japanese phrase on the monumental relief and "welcom[ing] the tributes paid their arts and manufactures," Harris says, the Japanese sent a latent message to the visitors: "I am one of you." At last Japan "joined the march of Western civilization," and ostensibly got rid of inferiority to Western countries, especially, to America.

Second, Japan retained its individuality and impressed it on the world through the aesthetic aspect of Japanese fine arts, artifacts and architecture. Harris claims that "Japan will remain Japan,...[and] would not lose its individuality." To possess its identity and show its individuality on the fair grounds, no other place was more suitable than the Wooded Island which was smaller and quiet but therefore contrasted exquisitely with the White City, appealing to the West. Not only art and craftwork but "[e]ven the grocery displays in the Manufactures Building," in Harris' words, "revealed a special touch and elegance." In sum, the beauty of Japanese fine arts and the skillfulness of Japanese people inspired to demonstrate that "[Japan] outshines the most cultivated nations of Europe in arts." It may be true that the Japanese Government excessively emphasized the aesthetic aspects of its culture,

but these aspects were what Japan could be proud of and confidently display to the West at the Exposition. By them, Japan's individuality would be retained even after Japan joined civilized nations.

The third meaning of the World's Exposition for Japan lay in the fact that the Japanese learned the imperialistic view planted secretly in the fair ground. The Japanese who were pursuing a policy of *Datsu-a-ron* (leaving Asia) were accustomed to being patronized by Americans and at the same time, disdained Asian people, as witnessed on the Midway Plaisance. The following excerpts from Sakai's speech at the banquet in Chicago in 1909 eloquently reveal what the Japanese learned from the Exposition:

Japan was first introduced to the West by your Commodore Perry; and since then Japan has been reared by you, and we look up to you as our elder brother. This international exposition in Japan is the first attempt of the kind in the whole East, not only in Japan but in the whole East. We are lacking experience and knowledge in such matters. We need kindly advice and co-operation, especially from such gentlemen as you who are actively engaged in business here in this great, wonderful city of Chicago. Therefore I again appeal to you to kindly co-operate with us and make this enterprise in the East a success,⁶³

Sakai humbly entreated America to co-operate with Japan calling it "our elder brother." His manner seemed not to ask for reciprocal collaboration so much as to beg for American help. On the other hand, referring to the reasons for hosting the international exposition in Tokyo in 1917, he stated:

We have now to protect and develop Korea. We have now to develop Formosa. We have also to develop the northern provinces of the empire, and above all we have industrial and commercial interests in southern Manchuria. We have to employ our utmost energy and our utmost intelligence for these places in order to develop our home industry and commerce.⁶⁴

He made it clear that Japan, as a suzerain of Korea, Formosa, the northern provinces of the empire and southern Manchuria, had to protect and develop them. In order to do this, of course, they had to rule over them. The Japanese implemented what they witnessed at the Exposition by lording it over other Asian nations. In fact, the Government showcased the peoples from those areas at the Fifth National Industrial Exhibition in Osaka in 1903 in almost the same way as they saw at Chicago. Even as they looked down on the other peoples displayed at the Midway Plaisance, however, the Japanese themselves were also looked at by the visitors, most of whom were Western people. The Japanese, peculiarly situated on the fair grounds and playing a seemingly passive role in the vision of the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition, secretly began to develop an imperialistic view.

More than one hundred years after having "welcomed the Columbian Exposition 'as one means of proving that [it had] attained a position worthy of the respect and confidence of other nations,'"⁶⁵ it has been decided that Japan host the 2005 World Exposition. The Bureau in charge explicitly and repeatedly presented "Asian Perspectives" as one of the major focuses of the Exposition of 2005:

Japan envisions the 2005 World Exposition as an event with particularly Asian perspectives, one rooted firmly in the traditions ancient and modern-of this dynamic region....we will seek the participation of other Asian countries from the planning stages to create an exposition that reflects Asian perspectives.⁶⁶

Japan has at last recognized itself as that Japan is one of Asian countries which it ought to have left when it began to pursue its modernization. Although the policy based on the theory of Datsu-a-ron may have been unavoidable in order to escape being colonized by European powers, Japan has now announced that it will share the

concept of the Exposition of 2005 with Asian countries.

As sketched in the World's Columbian Exposition, the purpose of Japanese modernization was, after all, to introduce and assimilate Western culture, institutions and technology. To put it simply, it means Westernization or Americanization of Japanese society and culture. However, total Westernization of Japan would have never brought a good result to the world. The world culture should be enriched by inherent and distinctive cultures of each people, in other words, their diversity or heterogeneity are indispensable. Accordingly, insofar as the Chicago World's Columbian Exposition remained a cultural fair, Japan did a satisfactory job by fulfilling a supplementary role. "Diversity however," Rydell explores, "was inseparable from the larger constellation of ideas about race, nationality, and progress that molded the fairs into ideologically coherent 'symbolic universe.'" Japan, located between the White City and the Midway Plaisance, not only provided attraction for the Exposition but learned "the larger constellation of ideas about race, nationality and progress" from it. Despite the discrepancy between America's expectation toward Japan and Japan's intentional approach to the Exposition, the demonstration of "their feats of modernization and their architectural skill" at the World's Columbian Exposition enabled Japan to emerge "as an alternative rather than a supplementary culture, worthy of understanding on its own terms."⁶⁷

Notes

- 1 Robert W. Rydell, *All the World's a Fair* (Chicago and London: Chicago University Press, 1984) : 2.
- 2 Neil Harris, "All the World a Melting Pot? Japan at American Fairs, 1876-1904," *Mutual Images: Essays in American-Japanese Relations*, ed. Irie Akira, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975) : 25. Note on Japanese Names. Throughout this thesis Japanese proper names are

- given in the traditional manner, that is, the family name first and the given name last.
- 3 Wim de Wit, "Building an Illusion : The Design of the World Columbian Exposition" *Grand Illusions Chicago's World's Fair of 1893* (Chicago : Chicago Historical Society, 1993) : 43-4.
 - 4 P.F.Kornicki, "Public Display and Changing Values Early Meiji Exhibitions and Their Precursors, " *Monumenta Nipponica* 49 : 2 (1994) : 169.
 - 5 *Ibid.*, 168.
 - 6 Kume Kunitake, *Beio Kairan Jikki 5* [True Accounts of Observation of America and Europe 5] (Tokyo : Iwanamishoten, 1982) : 43.
 - 7 Robert S.Schwants, "Japan's Cultural Foreign Policies, " *Japan's Foreign Policy 1868-1941 : A Research Guide*, ed. James William Morley (New York and London : Columbian University Press, 1974) : 161.
 - 8 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 25.
 - 9 Robert S.Schwants, *op. cit.*, 161.
 - 10 *Memorial Volume : Dedicatory and Opening Ceremony of the World's Columbian Exposition.* (Chicago : Stone, Kastler & Painter, 1893) : 53.
 - 11 Hugh Brogan, *The Penguin History of the United States of America* (London : Penguin Books, 1990) : 432.
 - 12 *Ibid.*, 397.
 - 13 William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis : Chicago and the Great West* (New York/London : W.W.Norton & Company, 1992) : 342.
 - 14 Norman Bolton & Christine Laing, *The World's Columbian Exposition.* (Washington D.C. : The Preservation Press, 1992) : 20.
 - 15 Harold M.Mayer and Richard C.Wade, *Chicago : Growth of a Metropolis.* (Chicago and London : Chicago University Press, 1969) : 196.
 - 16 Stanley Appelbaum, *The Chicago World's Fair of 1893 : A Photographic Record.* (New York : Dover Publications, 1980) : 13-4.
 - 17 *Ibid.*, 14.
 - 18 Paul Greenhalgh, *Ephemeral Vistas : The Expositions Universelles, Great Exhibitions and World's Fairs, 1851-1939* (New York : Manchester University Press, 1994) : 216.
 - 19 Robert W.Rydell, *op. cit.*, 52.
 - 20 Japan, *Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku Hokoku* [The Report Issued by

- the Extraordinary Exhibition Bureau*] (Tokyo : 1895) : 473.
- 21 The Department of Publicity and Promotions, *World's Columbian Exposition 1893 Official Catalogue*. (Chicago : W.B.Conkey, 1893) : Part III.
- 22 *Official Guide to the World's Columbian Exposition*.(Chicago : The Columbian Guide, 1893) : 15.
- 23 Stanley Appelbaum, *op. cit.*, 95.
- 24 Julian Hawthorne, "Foreign Folk at the Fair, " *Cosmopolitan Magazine* 15.(1893) : 570.
- 25 *Ibid.*, 569.
- 26 Robert W.Rydell, *op. cit.*, 64.
- 27 *Ibid.*, 63.
- 28 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 29 Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, 567.
- 30 *Ibid.*, 570.
- 31 *Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku Hokoku*, 621-3.
- 32 *Ibid.*, 634-8.
- 33 "Shikago Hakurankai Tsushin [The Chicago Exposition Report] " (Tokyo, 1893) : 268.
- 34 *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun* [*Tokyo Asahi Newspaper*] (August 6, 1893)
- 35 Julian Hawthorne, *op. cit.*, 570.
- 36 Paul Greenhalgh, *op. cit.*, 82.
- 37 Robert W.Rydell, *op. cit.*, 40-41
- 38 Wim de Wit, *op. cit.*, 93.
- 39 Norman Bolotin & Christine Laing, "A Week at the Fair" *op. cit.*, 144.
- 40 Robert W.Rydell, *op. cit.*, 48.
- 41 *Rinji Hakurankai Jimukyoku Hokoku*, 493.
- 42 William Cronon, *op. cit.*, 345.
- 43 *Ibid.*, 348.
- 44 Yoshimi Shunya, "Bunmei e no Me, Mikai e no Me [View of Civilization, View of Savage] , " *Bankokuhaku no Nihonkan* [*Japanese Pavilions in the International Expositions*] , ed. Yoshida Mitsukuni, (Tokyo : INAX, 1990) : 51.
- 45 Yoshida Mitsukuni, *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi*, 148.
- 46 Japan, *Teikokugikai Shugiin Giji Sokkiroku 5, Dai 44 Gikai, Jo, Meiji*

- 25nen [*The Minute Stenographic Records of the House of Representatives of the Imperial Diet 5, 44th Diet, the first volume, 1892*]
(Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1979) : 24.
- 47 Robert S. Schwants, *op. cit.*, 161.
- 48 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 32.
- 49 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 50 Robert W. Rydell, *op. cit.*, 51.
- 51 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 35-6.
- 52 Robert W. Rydell, *op. cit.*, 43.
- 53 *Chicago Commerce*. (April 16, 1909) : 32.
- 54 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 45.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 44.
- 56 Walter Whitman, "A Broadway Pageant," *Leaves of Grass*, (New York: Modern L., n.d.) : 194-7
- 57 Okuma Shigenobu, "Our National Mission," *Japan's Message to America: A Symposium by Representative Japanese on Japan and American-Japanese Relations*. ed. Masaoka Naoichi (Tokyo: 1914) : 4.
- 58 Robert Parry, "Japan and Western Europe," *Inagakuen no Kyoiku 5*, [*Education at Inagakuen High School*] , (Saitama: Inagakuen Sogo Kotogakko, 1989) : 156.
- 59 Robert Rydell, *op. cit.*, 4.
- 60 *Chicago Commerce* (April 16, 1909) : 31-2.
- 61 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 30.
- 62 George H. Blakeslee, *Japan and Japanese-American Relations* (New York: G.E. Stechert and Company, 1912) : ix.
- 63 *Chicago Commerce*, 5 (April 16, 1909) : 32.
- 64 *Ibid.*, 32.
- 65 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 46.
- 66 The Bureau for the 2005 World Exposition, Japan, *The 2005 World Exposition, Japan* (Japan: n.p., 1996) : 4.
- 67 Neil Harris, *op. cit.*, 46.

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