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History Thesis

“Born into the Purple,”
American Perceptions of the Japanese at the Lewis and Clark Exposition and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition
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Timeline

1851-Portland is incorporated
1853-Commodore Perry sails into Edo Bay, Japan
1854-Treaty is signed between the United States and Japan opening Japan to trade
1869-Seattle is incorporated
1882-Congress passes the Chinese Exclusion Act placing a ten year moratorium on Chinese immigration.
1885-Anti-Chinese riots in Tacoma
1886-Anti-Chinese riots in Seattle
January 6, 1893-The Great Northern Railway is completed with Seattle as its Terminus
May to October 1893-World’s Columbian Exposition is held in Chicago
1895-Dan McAllen, a dry goods merchant in Portland, suggests that Portland should hold a world’s fair.
1896-Japanese Steamship Company opens a route to Seattle
1903-Japan-National Industrial Exposition is held in Osaka, Japan
1904-Beginning of the Russo-Japanese War
April 30, 1904-December 1, 1904-Louisiana Purchase Exposition is held in St. Louis.
1905-Asiatic Exclusion League is founded in San Francisco
May 27, 1905-May 28, 1905-Battle of Tsushima is fought
June 1, 1905 to October 15, 1905-The LCE is held
August, 31, 1905-Japan Day at the LCE
September 5, 1905-Treaty of Portsmouth is signed between Russia and Japan ending the Russo-Japanese War
1906-The AYPE Exposition Company is founded
1907-The Gentleman’s Agreement between Japan and the United States. The United States would not impose formal restrictions on Japanese immigration, but Japan would prevent any immigration to the United States.
September 7, 1907-Anti-asian riots held in Vancouver, British Columbia
September 22, 1907-Planned date for Anti-Japanese protest, but armed Japanese deter protestors from gathering
June 1, 1909 to October 15, 1909-The AYPE is held
September 4, 1909-Japan Day is held at the AYPE
1924-Congress passes the Immigration Act of 1924 formally excluding Japanese immigration to the United States
Abstract

The year 1905 marked the beginning of a change in the relationship between Japan and the United States. The Battle of Tsushima demonstrated to the world that Japan was a great power in its own right. For those on the West Coast of the United States, specifically in Portland, Oregon and Seattle, Washington, this view was not immediate. Two events, the Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition of 1905 in Portland and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition of 1909 in Seattle provide a lens to look at how American perceptions of Japan changed from 1905 to 1909. The fairs, as events organized by the political and business elite of the two cities, capture how the establishments of both metropolises sought Japanese trade to secure their city’s position as the preeminent port of the Pacific Northwest. The two fairs were very similar in the martial, industrial, and racial symbolism used to portray American dominance in the Pacific. In part this was to be expected. The Seattle fair relied heavily on the administrators who organized the Lewis and Clark Exposition. All of this was done while trying to fit Japan into the paradigm of a white dominated racial hierarchy. The more paternal attitude of the Lewis and Clark Exposition towards Japan gave way in 1909 to Japan’s efforts to be viewed increasingly as an equal to the United States. Indeed, although the narratives of the two fairs remained largely the same, the change in the size and complexity of the Japanese exhibit between the two fairs marked a major difference between the two expositions. This came at a time when sentiments outside the exposition gates were turning decidedly against Japanese immigrants. Since 1905, organized labor re-awoke the fear of yellow peril, this time substituting Japanese immigrants for Chinese laborers. They feared that cheap Japanese labor would decrease the wages for white laborers and force them into an “Oriental” standard of living. During 1905 these fears were largely limited to the laboring class. In 1909 as Japan continued to assert its power in the Pacific and East Asia, fears of Japanese power began to circulate among the middle class and even some of the
establishment leaders. They saw the trade of the Pacific Northwest becoming too dependent on Japanese trade. At the fairs the Japanese exhibitors attempted to build a trading relationship with the Pacific Northwest while assuaging fears of Japanese aggression. Their focus on traditional items of Japan appealed to Americans’ sense of the exotic and depicted Japanese trade as complimentary not competitive with American trade.
Introduction: Fairs of Empire

One could be forgiven for thinking that a great naval procession was held in the provincial city of Portland, Oregon the night of August 31, 1905 at the Lewis and Clark Exposition. Fireworks lit the sky, giving the columns of floats, resembling battleships, an even more martial air. This celebration, however, did not recall some past military glory. It was a celebration of Japan’s relationship to the Pacific Northwest after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905. On one of the foremost “battleships” a statue of Commodore Perry stood next to a representation of the Japanese emperor. Business leaders in Portland who relied on the trans-Pacific trade were eagerly looking forward to the resumption of commerce with Japan after its hiatus during the war.

The watchful Commodore was a symbol of what Portland’s business establishment thought of Japan, a nation in a state of progress, but dependent on American goods. Four years later on September 4, 1909 in Seattle, Washington another Japan Day took place at another exposition. At the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYPE) there was little trace of the paternalism exhibited in Portland. The climactic conclusion of the day’s events was a mock battle where Japanese naval forces assaulted a model of Port Arthur. The emphasis on Japan’s military strength identified the island nation as a great power the equal of any other. These two different portrayals of Japan represent a change in how the Japanese exhibited themselves at expositions as well as how they were perceived by Americans.

Why did perceptions of Japan change from 1905 to 1910 in the Pacific Northwest? How did they do so? The orthodox answer focuses on the growing unease of organized labor with Japanese immigrants who had taken the place of the excluded Chinese as cheap workers.¹ Yet

Roger Daniels argues that although anti-Japanese attitudes originated along class lines, eventually anti-Japanese sentiment became widespread without regard to social position.²

Two unique events held in the first decade of the twentieth century aid in understanding how Japan was perceived in the Pacific Northwest: the Lewis and Clark Exposition (LCE) of 1905, held in Portland, Oregon, and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition (AYPE) of 1909, in Seattle. By looking at these two world’s fairs, this thesis argues that the Japanese used the ideology of an American commercial empire to try and assuage fears towards Japanese expansion that was growing on the Pacific slope. Japanese exhibitors sought to demonstrate that trade with Japan was complimentary, not competing with the U.S. either industrially or in terms of Pacific ambitions.

At first while studying these fairs I sought to examine the difference between the AYPE and the LCE. What became striking was not their difference, but their similarity. Except for size, the LCE had 2,544,000³ whereas the AYPE had 3,740,551 in total attendance;⁴ the fairs largely followed the same pattern. They emphasized the same themes and the same products. The major difference was, in fact, the space given to Japan at both expositions. Where they had half the floor space of the Oriental Palace at the LCE, Japanese exhibitors had their own specially built hall at the AYPE. The similarity in the narratives for both fairs, however, is expected when looking at the administrators of the fairs. Many organizers from the LCE were brought to Seattle to assist in planning and running the AYPE.

The LCE, the first of the two expositions, opened in Portland only four days after the historic Battle of Tsushima and provides an opportunity to study American perceptions of Japan

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during a fair that celebrated Oregon’s role in an American empire. The Seattle AYPE fair was
more distant from the shock of Japan’s victory than the LCE. Did the middle and upper class of
Portland and Seattle still see Japan as an ally and proxy of the United States, protecting
American interests in China and the Philippines? Or had it now become a rival? The fairs also
provide context to analyze the effects of the Japanese exclusion movement that had taken root in
San Francisco in 1905.  

Why Expositions?

The Expositions were both universal and exclusive. As Robert Rydell argues in All the
World’s a Fair, fairs were devices used by political and business elites to relieve national anxiety
and reinforce collective identity. The expositions were open to all who wanted to participate.
Fair organizers asked countries from around the world to send exhibits. At the LCE participants
included the British Empire, France, Italy, Russia, Austria-Hungry, Turkey, Qajar Iran, and of
course China and Japan. But the expositions were exclusive in terms of the meanings they
conveyed to their audience. Japan exhibited in an environment where fair organizers used
language and symbols familiar to American fairgoers. Organizers could craft images of
American supremacy far more effectively than Japan could develop a message of parity with the
U.S. In the case of the Pacific Northwest, an imperial American identity reflected what many
establishment figures saw as a promising future in the Pacific.

There were three broad concepts that contributed to the American ideology of empire at
both the AYPE and the LCE, concepts that Japan was forced to contend with in order to establish
its own imperial legitimacy. The most obvious was the possession of military power. The second
was industrial strength, tied closely to the conquest and control of nature. Underlying both was

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5 Daniels, 19.
race, which holds the most significance in how the Japanese were portrayed at the fair and the
growth of exclusionist sentiments on the West Coast.

Understanding the racial politics of the expositions is critical to understanding the unique
situation of the Japanese. Through skilled exhibition that drew on the changing dynamics
between the great powers in the Pacific, as well as Japanese traditions and America’s own
imperial mythology, Japanese exhibitors escaped the static racism that defined other races at the
LCE and AYPE.

The Japanese emerged as an exception to the racial hierarchy. Unlike the Igorotes or other
“lower” races such as Native Americans and Africans, the Japanese were able to transcend the
label of “oriental” and to a degree control how they were portrayed at the expositions. Races
considered subordinate were represented through static ethnographic displays that remained the
same from exposition to exposition.

In developing the imperial ideology that permeated the expositions, organizers made them
unique social spaces. Expositions suspended traditional norms of social conduct to create a
staged authenticity. For fairgoers who took the exhibits at face value, the fair was simply
ethnographic reassurance of the superiority of white Western European and American
civilization atop the racial hierarchy. More observant fairgoers, like Julian Hawthorne, the son
of Nathaniel Hawthorne, were concerned that the mixing of entertainment and educational
exhibits made the “world as plaything.”

Exhibits that blended education and entertainment, critics feared, trivialized different cultures by reducing an educational event to a source of
amusement. For fair organizers the historical “authenticity” of the exhibits and concessions gave
stature and authority to the fair and increased attendance. When “authentic” Filipino tribesmen

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7 Rydell, 64.
8 Fair organizers are those individuals in the LCE and AYPE companies that were responsible for planning the expositions. Not included are the various sideshow and concession organizers who contracted with the exposition companies.
began to dress in American styles of clothing, for example, exposition organizers instructed them to change back to their tribal attire.

Newspaper articles, even the exposition magazine for the LCE, *The Lewis and Clark Journal*, noted that Filipinos at the fair adopted American mores only to have organizers frantically have them change back to what administrators considered authentic; “Chomigma and Antonio, it was discovered, have fallen easily into American manners. While their conventional sack suits were worn in an apparently uncomfortable manner, still, they preserved the dignity of the party and were only too willing to slip off their clothes to pose for photographs in ‘the altogether’…” The *Lewis and Clark Journal* actually reinforced the broader narrative of Igorote barbarity, by illustrating how quickly the two chiefs were willing to exchange their western attire for “breach-clout [sic] and an amiable smile.”

*The Lewis and Clark Journal* article on the Philippine exhibit demonstrated two important threads of American imperialism that recurred with the Japanese at the LCE, that the peoples of the Far East aspired to civilization but without guidance quickly fell back to their inferior state, and that attempts at adopting American behavior were only proof of the superiority of American civilization. Through the fair the U.S. justified itself in becoming a paternal mentor to its new possessions in the Philippines and Hawaii. The article in *The Lewis and Clark Journal* mentions Chief Antonio’s visit to Washington, where he “presented President Roosevelt with his bolo…when he took his leave of the Big Chief of America.” The article emphasized the paternal nature of Roosevelt and the need for empire to carry civilization into the Pacific, the very message at the heart of the LCE.

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10 The specific tribe brought to the LCE.
11 A garment that consists of cloth, hide, fur etc. that is worn tucked over a belt and between the legs.
12 “Five Filipino Villages to be on the Grounds,” 6.
13 A machete used by Filipino tribesmen.
14 “Five Filipino Villages to be on the Grounds,” 6.
By creating the image of the eastern savage coming to civilized America, *The Lewis and Clark Journal* encouraged the Filipinos to behave in ways that were contrary to American social, or culinary, mores. Filipinos were not only encouraged but mandated to perform traditional tribal ceremonies such as eating dog—a ceremony that received much attention with no less than six press releases put out by the LCE exposition company. But such conduct was not condoned beyond the exposition grounds; and in Seattle, when one of the Igorote tribesmen wandered away from the Filipino village and accidently startled a neighboring housewife, police were dispatched to bring him immediately back to the exposition grounds.\(^{15}\)

The displays of exoticism at the LCE and the AYPE demonstrated both how fairs served as protected spaces where the socially taboo was enacted and by doing so, how they presented a visual hierarchy of race. Descriptions of savagery such as dog eating and head hunting as a “pastime”\(^{16}\) built on a long tradition of fitting particular racial groups into stereotyped roles. Those roles reinforced white racial superiority and legitimatized the need for continued white supremacy.

The Old Plantation concession, an attraction where fairgoers wandered through a recreation of an antebellum plantation complete with slave quarters and African American actors, perpetuated stereotypes of the servile behavior of African Americans. This concession, like the Igorote village, remained the same throughout the St. Louis, Portland, and Seattle fairs. Although the same fairgoers did not attend each exposition, descriptions of concessions were passed on in newspapers, guides, and by the concessionaires themselves.

Even in their own day many of the minorities that the concessions “authentically” represented protested against the derogatory displays of the ethnographic villages. At the


\(^{16}\) “Five Filipino Villages to be on the Grounds,” 7.
Chicago fair of 1893 both Frederick Douglas and Ida B. Wells worked against the stereotypes inculcated by the villages. Douglas’s speech delivered at the Haitian Pavilion stressed the similarity between the American and Haitian republics. Wells worked with Douglas to write a pamphlet that detailed the legal and social constraints in the United States that continued to oppress blacks.

The official Japanese exhibit contended with the Fair Japan concession, which like the Old Plantation remained largely the same from fair to fair. Unlike the Old Plantation, Native American, and Filipino exhibits which were organized by white concessionaires and exhibitors, the Japanese controlled their official exhibits vis-à-vis the white owned Fair Japan concession. The Japanese were able to maintain elaborate displays created independently of American bias that detailed the progress and dynamicism of Japan, from the display of traditional Japanese heritage at Chicago in 1893, to the focus of the St. Louis exhibit on a huge map that detailed Japanese political and economic expansion, including the Russo-Japanese War.

The expositions were not as one-sided in their representation of ideas, peoples, and cultures as fair organizers may have liked. As Angus Lockyer, a historian of Japan-West relations, noted, organizers faced the paradox of controlling the sheer variety of attractions that were needed to entice fairgoers in the first place. Martha Clevenger notes in her comparison of several journals of St. Louis fairgoers, that despite a hegemonic idea of American expansion into the west and the racial inferiority of non-whites, individuals walked away from the Japanese exhibit with a broad

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19 Native American exhibits were almost exclusively controlled by the federal government. Official Filipino exhibits were under the control of the War Department whereas the Filipino village at both the LCE and AYPE was owned by a private white concessionaire.

20 Rydell, 48-52.
array of perceptions. Some fairgoers’ views remained unchanged; others came away with a heightened respect for Japan, while others had their prejudices reinforced.

The foreign exhibits were where the clash of ideologies was most pronounced. Sometimes the displays mirrored international developments. At St. Louis in 1904, the Russo-Japanese war was carried over into the peaceful arena of the exposition when Russia, due to the war, decided not to participate. The Japanese commissioners immediately petitioned St. Louis fair administrators to expand the already vast Japanese exhibit into the space formerly set aside for Russia.

During both the LCE and AYPE, guest nations augmented their exhibits with visits from military or diplomatic personnel. Fair administrators at the LCE unsuccessfully attempted to entice Baron Komura, the Japanese foreign minister, to visit during Japan Day on his return from Portsmouth, where the treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War was hammered out. The AYPE had more success and managed to have a squadron of Japanese warships berthed in the Puget Sound for the opening day of the fair.

The dominant orthodoxy of both the LCE and the AYPE was one of American empire. These were fairs of the imperial era and empire was everywhere. Robert Rydell believes that the AYPE and the LCE were linked by the commercial possibilities of the trans-Pacific. Both fairs incorporated trade into a view of racial empire. As Rydell notes, the physical manifestations of empire were omnipresent. Even the various streets at the AYPE were named after American colonies and their native populations. The slogan of the LCE that decorated the entrance

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22 Clevenger, 48-51.
24 Rydell, 185.
colonnade made plainly visible to every visitor the grand narrative of the exposition “Westward the Course of Empire Takes Its Way.”

Tsushima challenged the grand narrative of imperialism developed by leaders like Senator Albert Beveridge and President Theodore Roosevelt and furthered by writers like Eva Emery Dye, an Oregonian whose book *The Conquest*, a fictional account of the Lewis and Clark Expedition, was celebrated at the LCE. An oriental power had defeated a great power of Europe. Japan had undergone a stunning regimen of industrialization. Although the two powers were allies, Japan’s success in the Far East made it an emerging rival to the Pacific ambitions of the United States.

With the destruction of the Russian navy, Japan had the third largest fleet in the world after Britain and the United States. Japan could project its power to American colonies both in the Philippines and in Hawaii, where incidentally, the Japanese already comprised a fourth of the population. With naval superiority in the Far East, Japan controlled the maritime trade routes to China, routes that were vital to the elites of both Portland and Seattle. The combination of these volatile geo-political factors made it even more important for the Pacific Northwest to define Oregon and Washington within an expanding American empire.

The first chapter in this paper looks at events after Tsushima. It argues that immediately after the battle Japan was viewed favorably on the West Coast. This attitude changed, however, between 1905 and 1909 as the Japanese immigrant population in the United States increased. The second chapter examines the reasons why the expositions were held in Seattle and Portland. Portland and Seattle were vying for commercial dominance. The leaders of each saw Japan as an integral part in an American trade network and competed over Japanese investment. The third chapter examines Oregon’s delegation to the Osaka exposition of 1903. Portland leaders were trying to build a strong commercial tie to Japan that could compete with Seattle’s dominance in
transportation. The fourth chapter demonstrates how martial, industrial, and racial aspects of empire were used to compare Japan with the United States by both Japanese exhibitors and fairgoers.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{25} During the research for this thesis the author attempted to obtain diaries and letters from fairgoers. These primary sources could not be located in either the major repositories for LCE and AYPE documents.
Chapter 1: In the wake of Tsushima

On May 27th 1905, the Russian Pacific Squadron sailed into the Tsushima Straits that separate Japan from Korea. The mission to relieve Port Arthur on the Liaodong Peninsula in Manchuria had changed on route after the port’s fall in January. The fleet now had to make the treacherous journey to Vladivostok, the only remaining Russian port in East Asia that could berth it. The route chosen to reach Vladivostok took the Russians through the straits of Tsushima, perilously close to the Japanese home islands. It was here that Japanese admiral Togo Heihachiro attacked, virtually annihilating the Russian squadron while himself losing only three torpedo boats. The battle confirmed Japanese military supremacy, forcing the tsar to agree to the Portsmouth peace talks in September 1905. The battle marked the ascendancy of Japan in the arena of great power politics, formerly the exclusive domain of the European colonial powers.

The defeat of Russia, the “Colossus of the North,” also dramatically upset the traditional racial paradigm of empire set forth in the era of Rudyard Kipling’s “White Man’s Burden.” Historians Robert Rydell and Michael Hunt detail how Americans during the mid nineteenth and early twentieth centuries arranged the races of the world along a racial ladder. The hierarchy of race, ostensibly based on measurements of progress and civilization, was determined by little other than skin color. The display of Japanese military strength at Tsushima forced the great powers and the United States to re-evaluate their policies toward Japan and imperial acquisition in the Pacific. Previously the Japanese had been portrayed in newspaper articles and cartoons as a child. Japan was often referred to as “little” an “apt pupil” or a “child of civilization.” These paternalistic terms noted Japanese tenacity, but also the need for European and American

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2 Rydell, All the World’s a Fair, 64-67.
After the war Japanese influence grew dramatically in East Asia. Following Portsmouth, the Empire of the Rising Sun indirectly ruled large swathes of Manchuria and annexed Korea in 1910. Japan showed the world that a non-white race could protect itself and belligerently pursue its interests, potentially conflicting with U.S. aspirations in the Pacific.  

Interest in the Japanese victory was widespread across the United States. Newspapers from New York to Nebraska ran articles within days of the battle. On the West Coast of the United States two cities paid particular attention to the news coming from Japan. In Portland, Oregon on May 29th, 1905, *The Oregonian*’s morning edition devoted its entire front page to four articles that covered different aspects of the battle. *The Seattle Star*, ran a shorter article, but included a banner the width of the page that stated in large, bold letters: “The hour has struck for Russia; Rojestvensky’s fleet annihilated.”

As newspapers in Portland and Seattle told and retold the story of the destruction of the Russian navy in the weeks following the battle, there was no mention of “Oriental” inferiority or dismay about the coming “Yellow Peril,” the fear that immigrants from China and Japan would inundate the West Coast. Many of the articles published in the major journals of the Pacific Northwest were complimentary of the Japanese. The *Oregon Journal* matter-of-factly described the predicted Japanese victory: “The expected has happened. In the minds of most people, in America at least, it was considered almost a forgone conclusion whenever Togo and

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8 “The hour has struck for Russia; Rojestvensky’s fleet annihilated,” *The Seattle Star*, May 29, 1905.
Rojestvensky met the Russian would be practically annihilated.”¹⁹ Compared to the Journal’s articles critical of the tsar and the Russian commanders, the Seattle Star was only slightly more conciliatory towards the Russians stating that “…it has always been claimed by many who are conversant with court affairs [sic] that Nicholas has been forced against his will to prolong the war and that he never favored autocratic dominion.”¹⁰

Still, even The Seattle Star was generally disposed to the victorious Japanese with articles such as “Admiral Togo Tells the World How He Swept the Russians From the Sea”, and commenting that “The unprecedented magnitude of Togo’s victory has come with such stunning force as to turn even British [Japan’s ally] sympathy toward Russia.”¹¹ The favorable articles about Tsushima, contrary to the paradigm of racial hierarchy so closely tied to empire, illustrate how many on the Pacific Slope shared feelings of good will towards Japan in the immediate aftermath of the battle. This was a different view than the one presented from 1880 to 1900. During the Sino-Japanese War Japan was viewed as a scrappy child. “When the stolid self-conceit that has barred the progress of the Chinese nation for ages has been whipped out of its people, the door of possible progress will be opened to it. It will then be well for the powers to whom it now appeals for intervention to call little Japan off and stop the one-sided fight.”¹² Japan was a tool for the great powers to manipulate in order to force China to accept European intervention. Once Japan’s role was accomplished it could be restrained by the great powers.

The pro-Japan sentiments of the Pacific Northwest exhibited by the major newspapers in the immediate aftermath of Tsushima mitigate the general findings of Tal Tovy and Sharon

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¹⁰ “Admiral Togo Tells the World How He Swept the Russians From the Sea,” The Seattle Star, June 1, 1905.
¹² “[China; Japan; Chinese; Warfare; Modern],” The Oregonian, November 9, 1894.
Halevi in their essay “America’s First Cold War.”

Tovy and Halevi maintain that Japanese and American relations grew more contentious immediately following Tsushima, a trend that culminated in World War II. They argue that as early as 1905, Japan began to lose the support it had enjoyed from the United States since the mid nineteenth century.

Raymond Esthus in *Theodore Roosevelt and Japan* maintains that the two Pacific powers had amicable relations throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century. Instances of parochial prejudices, however, manifested themselves on the Pacific Coast during the San Francisco School Board’s 1905 attempt to segregate immigrant Japanese children from other students in the San Francisco public school system. Taken together, these sources seem to show that exclusionist sentiment gradually rose from 1905 onwards, culminating nineteen years later with the passage of the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924, which formally excluded Japanese from immigrating to the United States.

But in 1905, major Pacific Northwest newspapers ridiculed the belief that Japanese immigrants represented the second wave of “Yellow Peril.” Throughout 1905, yellow peril was almost exclusively mentioned in reference to the fears of European powers like Britain and Germany: “Rojestvensky’s defeat has revived Germany’s fear of the yellow peril in the most panic-stricken form manifested since the beginning of the war. A distinct breath of European intervention to prevent Japan reaping the full fruits of her victory is contained in the newspapers which represent German official opinion.”

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14 Tovy and Halevi, 137.
15 Tovy and Halevi, 138.
16 Esthus, 130-131.
17 The first wave being the Chinese immigration to the United States during the mid to late nineteenth century until the passage of the Chinese exclusion act in 1882.
The Oregon Journal’s article captures several distinct qualities that led many Americans to favor the Japanese at the time. As discussed by Ikura Akira, it was traditional for Americans to favor the underdog. In this instance the underdog was the Japanese David fighting the Russian Goliath. Second, European intervention violated many Americans’ sense of fairness. Unable to resolve their differences Japan and Russia had fought. Japan had proven the abler player and deserved the fruits of victory untainted by European power politics. Fear in Europe over the growing power of Japan provided Americans a way to distinguish themselves from their European cousins. The nation that upset the European balance of power in East Asia, a dynamic which had hobbled America’s trade with China, had been a protégé of the United States. Indeed in one cartoon from 1900 Uncle Sam holds a key labeled “American Diplomacy” and blocks Britain and Russia from entering the gates to China. By extension, Japan’s victory was a victory for the U.S. A robust nation, tutored by the United States, had defeated Russia, an empire mired in the decadence of continental absolutism.

But the overall positive view on the West Coast among the middle and upper class toward Japan following Tsushima did not mean that the U.S. ignored the possibility of Japanese aggression. Theodore Roosevelt’s cordial relationship with Japan did not prevent his concurrent unease at the rapid expansion of the Empire of the Rising Sun. As early as 1903, the president requested a draft of what came to be known as the Orange Plan. The plan detailed U.S. military strategy in the event of a Japanese attack. The Orange Plan was the first war plan developed by the United States in a time of peace.

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20 Hunt, 14.
21 Tovy and Halevi, 141.
Tovy and Halevi capture the complexity of U.S.-Japanese relations in the early twentieth century. On one hand there was recognition in high government circles of tensions between the U.S. and Japan over their spheres of interest in the East Pacific. On the other, between 1900 and 1910, the federal government repeatedly emphasized its cordial relations with Japan. President Roosevelt’s chastisement of exclusionists in California was meant to downplay strained relations and the potential for conflict between Japan and the States. To deter any chance of hostilities, President Roosevelt, following the motto “speak softly and carry a big stick,” demonstrated U.S. military power to Japan by making Yokohama an official stop for the Great White Fleet on its 1907-1909 cruise.

On the Pacific Coast many merchants and leading establishment\textsuperscript{22} actors encouraged positive relations with Japan in order to facilitate trade. It was not that Oregonians and Washingtonians were unaware of the “Yellow Peril” or the rumors that swirled between the great powers concerning war between the U.S. and Japan. \textit{The Oregon Journal}, one of the two major papers of Portland, Oregon, informed its readers of Kaiser Wilhelm II’s fear of a strong Asian power in the Pacific. In an article with the alarming title of “Japan and America next says Germany,”\textsuperscript{23} \textit{The Oregon Journal} detailed how German papers foretold war between Japan and America over the Philippines.

Yet articles in both the Democratic \textit{Journal} and its rival, \textit{The Oregonian}, organ of Republican business in Portland, ridiculed Yellow Peril fear mongering. In an article run on August 21, 1905 in \textit{The Oregonian}, Edwin Conger, American Ambassador to Mexico, lambasted the idea that Japan was a threat: “The idea of Japan exerting a great influence on China after the

\textsuperscript{22} The term “Establishment” is Portland historian E. Kimbark MacColl’s term to describe the leading political and business leaders of Portland. In this paper it is used in discussing the political and business elite in both Seattle and Portland. For further information consult E. Kimbark MacColl and Harry Stein, \textit{Merchants, Money, and Power: the Portland establishment, 1843-1913} (Portland, OR: Georgian Press Co., 1988).

\textsuperscript{23} “Japan and American Next says Germany,” \textit{The Oregon Journal}, May 21, 1905.
close of the war with Russia, Mr. Conger declared, is a big bugaboo, the outgrowth of another big bugaboo, the so-called ‘yellow peril.’ ‘There is no yellow peril,’ he said. ‘America has no more to fear from Japan than from any other power.’

Just days after the Battle of Tsushima on June 1, 1905, The Oregonian, in a jocular fashion, admitted that the only area where Americans had to fear the “Yellow Peril” was in baseball. A goodwill baseball game played in Portland between teams from Multnomah County and the University of Waseda at Tokyo underscored the remarkable degree of amity between Japan and Oregon.

In Washington sentiments over Yellow Peril largely mirrored those in Oregon. If anything, as The Seattle Star mentions, the only competition likely to arise between the United States, Japan, and China would be commercial. Instead of considering Japan a serious threat, The Oregon Journal article “Japan’s victory good for coast” summed up the prevailing sentiments towards the Japanese victory: “Portland business men who have for years watched the trend of oriental commerce believe Togo’s great victory and Japan’s supremacy in Manchuria and North China will result in great good, commercially, for the Pacific coast.”

As captured by The Oregon Journal, support from the West Coast for Japan was based on who would make the best business partner in the Far East. Russia had violated the Open Door policy and, some Oregonians claimed, maintained dishonest trade practices with the West Coast. “The Russian higher class is a suave, polite and ingratiating people, but deceitful and grasping,

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25 “New Yellow Peril Jap Baseball Team Puts Up an Exciting Game,” The Oregonian, June 8, 1905.
26 Multnomah County, Oregon is the county in which Portland is located.
27 “Chinese Awakening If Yellow Peril Ever comes it will be in commercial form,” The Seattle Star, November 18, 1905.
29 The Open Door policy originated as a part of U.S. foreign policy in 1899. The policy called for free access to China for the imperial powers while prohibiting control/partitioning of China by any power.
and hard to do business with. The Japanese are better, and improving all the time through their
tendency to imitate and adopt the best American and European methods.”

Maintaining the “Open Door” for the United States was vital to expanding trade with China in the midst of competing European spheres of influence. Yet, the Open Door policy itself was a tool of commercial expansion into Chinese markets by the United States. American merchants believed their business acumen would easily push out European competitors. Charles M. Harvey, editor of the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, in an article to *The Oregonian* voicing his advocacy for expansion of the Pacific trade:

> No American wants his country to get political control of any part of China, or of any section of Asia. All that he asks is that the trade of that continent be left open to all the world on equal terms, which means that the United States through its physical and social advantages—nearness in time, preponderance in population and wealth, superiority in the extent and variety of its natural resources, the primacy in the skill and general adaptability of its people, as compared with any other country—will gain the larger part of it.

Harvey’s sentiments betray a practice of commercial imperialism in East Asia. If the U.S. monopolized the Chinese trade, it would give Americans great influence over the economy of East Asia.

In the years preceding the outbreak of hostilities between Russia and Japan, U.S. trade with China almost doubled. As trade grew, the Pacific Coast states became the main source for importing and exporting goods to and from China. *The Pacific*, quoting from the magazine *Leslie’s Weekly*, emphasized the importance of the major ports on the Pacific to the trade with China; “Our imports from China have grown from $15,000,000 in 1894 to $24,000,000 in 1904. Our exports to China, $4,000,000 at the first of those years and $20,000,000 at the last…It [trade] passes through the Pacific coast’s great ports—San Francisco, Portland, and Puget

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31 Tovy and Halevi, 138.
32 “Make it a national fair,” *The Oregonian*, May 6, 1901.
Sound…” The decisive victory at Tsushima, Oregonians and Washingtonians hoped, meant the swift conclusion of the war and resumption of trade.

But the benevolent attitude toward Japan immediately following the Russo-Japanese War was not to last. As the first decade of the twentieth century progressed, fears of Yellow Peril that were once ridiculed began to draw serious attention from the press. Kornel Chung, a historian of U.S. empire and the Pacific world at Rutgers University, documents how throughout Washington and British Columbia exclusionist sentiment was on the rise after 1905. As Chung notes, labor was at the center of the exclusion movement. On January 20, 1910 The Tacoma Times published an article titled “Labor Warns Coast About the Japs.” The article detailed Frank McGowan’s leadership of an anti-Japanese protest at the California State Building Trades Council. McGowan, a labor organizer from San Francisco, the hotbed of exclusionist sentiment on the West Coast, claimed that the United States was “menaced by an insidious yellow peril emanating from Japan which first will flood the Pacific coast with cheap labor and cheaper morals…” In a departure from the generally positive attitudes towards Japan of five years previous that portrayed the Japanese as the diligent pupil of the United States, McGowan argued that the licentiousness of Japanese workers placed them opposite American civilization. Often labor movements along the Pacific Coast created a white imperial identity that cheap Asian labor threatened to destroy. McGowan’s acceptance of the need for war with Japan to protect the U.S. from Japanese immigration was, he professed, an effort to avoid being “subjugate[d] by means of migration from their [Japan’s] vast reservoirs of cheap labor and nasty morals. This is

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33 “Current Events and Comment. Timely Topics from Various Sources” The Pacific, October 5, 1905, 16-17.
35 Chung, 678.
36 “Labor Warns Coast About the Japs,” The Tacoma Times, January 20th, 1910.
37 “Labor Warns Coast About the Japs.”
38 Chung, 685.
the danger that confronts us now.”39 Although McGowan was speaking hundreds of miles away from the Puget Sound, there was precedent for laborers in Seattle and Tacoma to agree with him.

In 1885, motivated by anti-Chinese sentiments and encouraged by the Knights of Labor, a mob of white residents in Tacoma, Washington, led by the mayor, Jacob Robert Weisbach, rounded up and marched Tacoma’s Chinese population to the train station where they were transported to Portland. Just a year later, in 1886, the Knights of Labor succeeded again in capturing anti-Chinese sentiment, this time in Seattle. A mob formed and forcefully placed the resident Chinese on ships leaving Seattle. Governor Watson Squire, however, prevented the ships from leaving. Eventually two hundred Chinese left Seattle the morning after the mob forced them on to the ship. Still one hundred and fifty remained. As police escorted the Chinese back to their homes where they would wait for the next steamer, the mob began to riot and the police escorts fired into the crowd. The resulting chaos prompted President Grover Cleveland to place Seattle under martial law, dispatching federal troops to restore order.40

In September, 1907 in Bellingham, Washington leaders of the Asiatic Exclusion League attempted to organize another protest against Asian labor. This time the Japanese were exclusively targeted. The Bellingham Japanese population successfully thwarted the protestors. Feeling threatened 300 Japanese armed themselves with guns and prevented any riot from taking place.41 Whereas in 1905 Japanese manners and behavior were vaunted, in 1910 on the same page as the article about McGowan’s anti-Japanese rhetoric; The Tacoma Times ran an article titled “Japs Held for Smuggling.”42

39 “Labor Warns Coast About the Japs.”
41 Chung, 693.
Anti-Japanese attitudes were largely a continuation of Chinese exclusion. Both movements had their origins within organized labor groups that believed Japanese and Chinese immigrants threatened their labor base and the ability for American workers to maintain a living wage. Many exclusionists reported that they harbored no ill will against the nation of Japan, but simply believed that jobs in America should be for Americans.\textsuperscript{43} McGowan’s sentiments belie this claim. They reveal an extension of the animosity from Japanese immigrants to Japan.

Newspapers were vigilant for any further signs of rising anti-Japanese sentiments. In February 1909, \textit{The Tacoma Times} brought public attention to a fight between H. Namuda and Ms. Lydia Norman. According to the paper both individuals were employed at the Lincoln Hotel in Seattle when Namuda began insulting Norman. Consequently Norman had Namuda arrested. Although the judge only had Namuda pay a fine, the article emphasized the broader racial hostility emerging in Seattle, describing how “…the masculine co-laborers of Miss Norman are awaiting an opportunity to revenge themselves on ‘them Japs’ and the second battle is likely to be a sanguinary affair.”\textsuperscript{44}

In contrast to Seattle, Portland developed a reputation of tolerance towards both Japanese and Chinese immigrants. Indeed, one of the results of the anti-Chinese sentiment in Seattle during the 1880s was the growth of Portland’s own Chinatown as Chinese fled there. In contrast to the subtle escalation of hostility towards the Chinese observed in \textit{The Tacoma Times}, \textit{The Oregonian} still maligned the idea of the yellow peril.

In part \textit{The Oregonian}’s more tolerant stance toward the Chinese and then the Japanese originates from the paper’s role as the major Republican organ for Portland. Consequently the \textit{Oregonian} represented the views of the city’s business class. The paper’s attitude of tolerance


\textsuperscript{44} “Jap insults a waitress thrilling conflict then ensures” \textit{The Tacoma Times}, February 26, 1909.
derived from business leaders who saw the Chinese and the Japanese as sources of cheap labor. This perception limited the Japanese to a servile status that made the Japanese appear less threatening in terms of disturbing the racial hierarchy. In an article titled “New Supply of Labor,” The Oregonian bluntly discussed how to fill the labor shortage created by anti-Japanese and anti-Chinese sentiments; “In a great many other lines of rough work in the Pacific Northwest, this difficulty is also more noticeable than ever. The Chinese exclusion laws and the disappearance of the Japanese have left but a scanty supply of labor of the class which might be termed ‘hewers of wood and drawers of water.’” Portland’s more tolerant image was not derived from a greater sense of humanism than Seattle, but from the needs of business and the weaker strength of organized labor in Portland than in Seattle.

But The Oregonian’s pragmatic views were not shared by everyone. U.S. Senator John M. Gearin of Oregon, a Democrat, made Japanese immigration the topic of his maiden speech to the Senate. Gearin, argued that two different races could not live side by side. He saw “…the influx of Japanese cheap labor as a threatened peril to every industry and enterprise of the United States.” Like McGowan and The Tacoma Times, Gearin stressed the harm Japanese immigration would bring American commerce. Simultaneously with advocating for the gradual cessation of Japanese immigration to the United States, the senator was careful to avoid characterizing the Japanese as an inferior race; “I do not say they [Japanese] are inferior to this—they are different, that is all; and the difference is so striking, such a radical difference, that the two peoples can never become one people or become amalgamated at all.”

45 “New Supply of Labor,” The Oregonian, March 5, 1910.
46 “New Supply of Labor”
47 “Coast Viewpoint States By Gearin Japanese Get Equal Education in Separate Schools Says Senator,” The Oregonian, January 8, 1907.
48 “Coast Viewpoint States By Gearin Japanese Get Equal Education in Separate Schools Says Senator.”
Regardless of the senator’s claim, separation implied racial inferiority. Such close proximity with an inferior race could be seen as degrading white Americans. Hans Benz, Chairman of the Citizen-Farmers’ Protective League of Wapato, Washington in 1917 elaborated on the mixing of races and how it was detrimental to Americans:

> It is not a question of efficient farming methods, but of lower standards of living. The Jap will live in a tent where the white man requires a house, or a shack at least. The Jap will subsist on a ration that will not be accepted by any white man. He will wear poorer clothes, be satisfied to get along without little comforts and luxuries that are necessary in the white home, and will sacrifice amusements and recreations that go with civilized living. The real issue is whether the white farmer is to be reduced to the Oriental standard of living, or be driven out of the country by Orientals.”

The difference between Americans and Japanese advocated by Gearing, Benz and other exclusionists relied on a vocabulary that was in marked contrast to that used between 1900 and 1905. Following Tsushima the Japanese were described as “better prepared, more in earnest, more intelligent, less superstitious, more patriotic, sober [vis-à-vis their Russian opponents],” a people who were both wise and valorous. The greatest compliment that *The Oregon Journal* bestowed upon the island nation was that Japan fought for the “advancement of commerce and the uplifting of civilization in the far east.” From being seen as “Yankees of the East,” the Japanese were viewed by organized labor and the middle class as increasingly alien.

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51 “Promise of future peace in Russia’s plight,” *The Oregon Journal*, June 4, 1905.

52 “Results of Togo’s Victory,” *The Oregon Journal*, June 5, 1905.

53 Akira, 264.
Chapter 2: Portland and Seattle: Gatekeepers of the Pacific

Despite the cosmopolitan focus needed to make both the LCE and the AYPE world’s fairs, the expositions of the Pacific Northwest attempted to fit exhibits, both foreign and domestic, into a hegemonic narrative. Fairs serving as giant propaganda pieces were not limited to the United States or, for that matter, Japan. In the first exposition that the Japanese attended, the Paris Exposition Universalle of 1867, fair organizers created a Franco-centric vision of the world. From a bird’s eye view the fair resembled a giant wheel with spokes leading outward from the French pavilion. The Japanese, still largely unknown, were relegated to one of the outer spokes to emphasize their backwardness and distance from civilization located at the French core.¹ By the turn of the twentieth century, Japanese exhibitioners were well aware of the need to compete against the ideology of Portland and Seattle fair organizers. This chapter explores the hegemonic ideas pursued by fair administrators. In other words this section details the official narratives that organizers gave the expositions. Understanding the vision of the fairs is crucial not only in understanding the role exposition leaders prepared for Japan, but also how the Japanese broke that mold in both Seattle and Portland.

Competition between Portland and Seattle

On the most basic level, the expositions were born out of competition over which city would dominate the trade of the Pacific Northwest. In terms of population and manufacture the 1900 census reveals that Portland, incorporated in 1851, fourteen years before Seattle’s incorporation in 1865, maintained its lead, but just barely. The population in both cities had exploded since the 1870 census. In just thirty years Portland’s 1870 population of 8,298 grew tenfold reaching 90,426.² The increase in the value of goods produced was equally prodigious. In

1870 the combined value of goods produced in Oregon was $2,976,761. In 1900 that number increased to $46,000,587.³

Seattle’s growth was even more impressive, expanding from a small town of 1,107 in 1870 to a respectable city of 80,671 by 1900.⁴ Though not valued as high as Oregon’s products, the increase in the value of Washington’s goods from $2,851,052 in 1870 to $36,795,051 was enough to make many establishment leaders in Portland fear for their dominance over trade in the Pacific Northwest. Four of Oregon’s largest industries in 1900: railroad, fish canning, flour and grist mill products, and timber were also Washington’s top industries.

Both Portland and Seattle were natural port cities for large swaths of land. Seattle sat on the Puget Sound giving it easy access to the Pacific, British Columbia, and Western Washington. Portland, positioned at the confluence of the Columbia and Willamette Rivers, was the natural depot for farmers from the lush Willamette Valley of western Oregon and the merchants of every town along the Columbia or one of its tributaries. The question became one of transportation. The city that most effectively advertised itself as a node for shipping would attract investment, both foreign and domestic.

As with so many other frontier towns, the railroads were crucial to growth. In Oregon between 1890 and 1900 the capital investment of the railroads decreased from $2,815,997 to $725,935.⁵ In Washington, however, the railroads increased their investment from $272,195 in 1890 to $944,000 in 1900.⁶ The increased investment represents, in part, the completion of railroad tycoon James Hill’s Great Northern Railway⁷ in 1893. The line, running from St. Paul to Seattle, made Puget Sound the natural depot for goods that were shipped from the central United

⁴ Twelfth Census of the United States—1900, 1:432.
⁵ Twelfth Census of the United States—1900, 8:733.
⁶ Twelfth Census of the United States—1900, 8:924.
⁷ Today used as Amtrak’s Empire Builder line.
States to East Asia and vice versa. With this new railroad line the Emerald City became the major shipping port of the Pacific Northwest.

Seattle also extended its commercial influence on the sea. In 1896, the Japanese Steamship Company chose Seattle as the line’s only North American port.\(^8\) This was directly related to Seattle’s access to the railroads. The Japanese Steamship Company contracted exclusively with the Great Northern Railway for the shipping of goods.\(^9\) The combination of steamship and railroads gave Seattle a great advantage over Portland in distributing products coming from Asia. By 1904, a year before the Lewis and Clark Exposition, Seattle ranked favorably with other major shipping centers on the Pacific Coast. Portland, on the other hand, was beginning to lag without a regular trans-Pacific steamship line.

By 1904, the Japanese Steamship company operated 108 ships and generated revenue of 18,044,940 yen (around $9,000,000 1904 dollars).\(^{10}\) The increase in trade between Seattle and Japan made good relations with the Japanese Empire crucial to Seattle’s preeminence on the Pacific Coast. Demographically, the steamship line altered the population of Seattle. Between 1890 and 1900 the Japanese population of Washington jumped from 360 to 5,617.\(^{11}\) By 1910, a year after the AYPE, the number of Japanese living in Washington stood at 12,929.\(^{12}\) Oregon’s Japanese population, unsurprisingly, was less then Washington’s. Between 1890 and 1900 Oregon witnessed a dramatic increase in its Japanese population, but less so than Seattle,

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\(^{10}\) Hajime Hoshi, *Handbook of Japan and Japanese Exhibits at World’s Fair, St. Louis, 1904* (1904), 69.

\(^{11}\) *Twelfth Census of the United States—1900,* 1:487.

growing from 25 Japanese in 1890 to 2,501 in 1900.\textsuperscript{13} By 1910 the Japanese population in Oregon was only 3,418.\textsuperscript{14}

Despite the advantage that Seattle gained by being the terminus of both the Japanese Steamship Company and the Great Northern Railroad, the period between 1900 and 1910 was still one of competition. The Portland business establishment was not going to see their city’s preeminent position on the Pacific Coast taken away so easily. To compensate for Seattle’s advantage in trade, the LCE would, so Portland leaders’ hoped, increase investment from both Japanese and American businesses.

\textit{Attracting Investment}

“Boosterism” sums up the LCE and the AYPE’s motivations in a word. Even though both expositions were international fairs, they both heavily emphasized what their hosting states offered the nation and the world. Similar to how David Wrobel demonstrates that boosters packaged the West into “miniregions,” the products of the exposition state held pride of place at the fairs.\textsuperscript{15} In the Agricultural Building at the LCE there were exhibits that represented twenty-three of Oregon’s counties.\textsuperscript{16} At the AYPE, King, Chehalis\textsuperscript{17}, Yakima, and Spokane counties went farther and constructed their own exhibit buildings.\textsuperscript{18}

The abundance of resources displayed at the fairs fitted the Pacific Northwest into different definitions of frontier, all of which illuminated the role of Oregon and Washington in an American imperial vision. In the most traditional sense, the expositions highlighted how Portland and Seattle were situated on the geographic frontier. West was the Pacific Ocean with

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\textsuperscript{13} \textit{Twelfth Census of the United States—1900}, 1:487.
\textsuperscript{14} \textit{Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910}, 3:505.
\textsuperscript{15} David Wrobel, \textit{Promised Lands: Promotion, Memory, and the Creation of the American West} (Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 2002) 59.
\textsuperscript{17} Now Gray’s Harbor
\end{flushleft}
its boundless opportunities, and to the East a vast area of land - the inland empire of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho. The resources extracted from these vast lands would serve as the fuel of industry on the East Coast while serving as the seeds of progress on the West Coast. Establishment leaders hoped to gain a foothold for the United States in East Asia, with lumber, wheat, and fish, thus securing a spot for Portland and Seattle in a growing commercial empire.

Pacific Northwest businessmen envisioned goods from the U.S. and East Asia flowing back and forth across the main ports of the Pacific Slope. For this dream of wealth to succeed, both cities needed the resources of the East Coast. As the business leaders of Seattle and Portland already knew, transportation and infrastructure were critical to the success of trade. The expositions aimed to show that the high costs of steamships, railroads, and telegraphs were necessary investments to generate a flow of trade with East Asia. Moreover, Japan had to be seen as a friend and ally of the United States. No one would invest in trade with Asia under fear of a Japanese blockade, or more likely, as had occurred with the Russians, a suspension of the open door policy.

Neither exposition originally intended to take such a focus on the broader Pacific. This does not detract from the argument that both Portland and Seattle were fitting themselves within an imperial framework, rather, it enforces it. For Portland, the verbose title of the exposition, “The Lewis and Clark Centennial American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair,” tells the story of an expanding vision by fair organizers. Originally planned as a more local event, the scope of the exposition expanded as planners and city business leaders realized the potential trade Portland could attract from Pacific nations. At first just honoring Lewis and Clark, the fair enlarged its view to the American territories of the Pacific and then to the limitless markets of the Orient. Each addition to the title of the exposition represented the geographic extension of American influence in the form of trade with Portland as its depot.
The AYPE also grew in ambition. Originally the Seattle Establishment intended to capture the excitement generated from the Klondike gold rush by exclusively focusing on Alaska and the Yukon.\textsuperscript{19} To attract the attention needed for investment, AYPE organizers realized that they needed formal recognition as a world’s fair by the U.S. Congress. Cosmopolitanism was the answer. Seattlites displayed a global vision to Congress. The expanded vision for the exposition covered not only the Pacific Northwest, but also the territory of Alaska and the nations of, and U.S. acquisitions in, the Pacific.\textsuperscript{20} Japanese involvement at the AYPE helped Seattle build the image of a sophisticated metropolis.

What was considered cosmopolitanism was really thinly veiled exoticism. Even though Japan had increased trade with Seattle that did not place the Japanese on the same level as white Americans. As scholar Shelley Lee reveals, middle class fairgoers still considered the Japanese through a racial lens that subordinated them to an American imperial vision. In comparison with cordial feelings felt towards Japan in 1905, Lee’s findings illustrate that many Seattlites had subsumed Japanese progress back into the racial hierarchy. Japan was labeled as “the Children’s Paradise,” and the Japanese as “Yankees of the Pacific.”\textsuperscript{21} These views acknowledged Japanese dominance in Asia but subordinated them to American civilization. According to the idea of racial hierarchy, Japan was simply the most advanced of the Asiatic races; naturally it dominated those who were weaker. Contradictory phrases like those mentioned above created a paradox bound to attract fairgoers to the Japanese, not for the progress made by the empire, but because Japan was a curiosity.\textsuperscript{22} An ostensibly inferior nation that in many ways mirrored the explosive

\textsuperscript{19}Stein, 14-16.
\textsuperscript{21}Lee, 298-290.
\textsuperscript{22}Lee, 288.
growth, both commercially and territorially, of the United States, yet with a culture independent of western influence.\textsuperscript{23}

For Seattle as with Portland the fair was a commercial endeavor. To attract investment both cities needed to frame themselves in the context of a vast commercial empire that extended from the East Coast to East Asia. The opening statement of the *Official Guide of the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition* demonstrates how fair organizers interwove ideas of trade and progress with those of international brotherhood, while emphasizing the potential gain for the United States. “All expositions are educational. The extent to which this mission succeeds does not depend so much on the magnitude of the exposition as it does on the objects, the location and the general plan.”\textsuperscript{24} The following paragraph in the guide is akin to a vision statement. It explicitly states the expansive vision of the AYPE. How the fair attempted to create commercial enterprises on the Pacific Coast as well as abroad: “The Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition was designed to exploit the resources of the Pacific Coast States, Alaska and the Yukon Territory, and to make known and foster vast trade of the countries bordering on the Pacific Ocean.”\textsuperscript{25} Those countries, mainly being China, Japan, and the United States, represented a huge market, that as the pamphlet informs the fairgoer, is currently valued at “$3,746,976,000.”

The implication is that it is in the United States’ best interest to allow for the different nations of the Pacific to congregate at Seattle to foster good relations that will inevitably turn into profit: “By bringing together the interests of these countries the exposition aims to establish closer commercial relations between the United States and all Pacific countries and, while it is an


object lesson which the whole world will profit, is of paramount importance to the United States from a commercial standpoint.”

Pacific Northwest boosters unabashedly exploited the conquest of the Philippines and the annexation of Hawaii in 1898 to attract investment. These were colonies that provided a market exclusively for American goods. Furthermore, the territories of the United States, combined with the depots of Portland and Seattle, positioned the United States to exploit the Japanese market with industrial goods.

More importantly, however, access to Japan meant entry into China with its unlimited market. China, unlike Japan, was believed open to staple goods that the Northwest had in large quantities, mainly lumber, wheat, and fish. I. N. Fleischner, chairman of the press and publicity committee for the LCE, summed up the feeling towards the possibilities of trade with China: “The possibilities that are open to the United States in the Orient are aptly illustrated by the simple citation that if all the wheat west of the Mississippi River were ground into flour for the Chinese trade, the consumption per Chinaman would not exceed one flap-jack per month.”

Fleischner believed that by positioning itself as the nodal point of a great trade network, Portland benefitted immeasurably: “Portland has indeed undertaken a prodigious task, but one which it is capable of discharging with credit to itself and benefit to the entire country. The Lewis and Clark Centennial Exposition will complete the grand design of Columbus by putting Europe and Asia into communication, and that to our advantage through the heart of our country.”

But Fleischner goes even farther, revealing the imperial dimension of the fair. His call for investment is so that America can secure not a colonial empire such as Britain’s or France’s, but

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28 I. N. Fleischner, 19.
a commercial empire that leaves the United States in control of tremendous wealth without the burden of administration, a burden Americans were becoming acutely aware of as the guerilla war in the Philippines continued: “In my judgment, the Oriental field offers the United States the surest road to permanent supremacy in the commercial world, and in that day when we shall control one-third of the trade of Asia and Oceanica [sic], due recognition will be given to the impetus to American energy received at Portland in 1905.”

Sentiments mirroring Fleischner were present in the run up to the AYPE. In 1907, Frank Merrick actually chastised the United States for controlling only one-fifth of the Asian trade. Merrick, believing that the United States had advantages that no other western nation could boast about displayed ineptitude by controlling such a “small” portion of the trade:

Of this foreign Pacific trade the United States enjoys nearly one-fifth, the total being $718,000,000…When one considers that the United States enjoys positional advantage over the countries of Europe, being much nearer the countries above specified, and that in spite of this advantage our country may boast of only about one-fifth of the trade…the possibilities of an increased trans-Pacific business may be understood in a general way.

As Merrick saw it, the AYPE rectified the dearth of knowledge about the potential wealth laying in the Pacific. With U.S. domination of the Pacific, the position of Portland, for the LCE, and Seattle, for the AYPE, as the main trade depots along the Pacific coast, it was hoped, were secured.

The attention given to China was not to distract from Japan. The Land of the Rising Sun was a growing trade partner with the United States. Its relationship was different, however, in that Japan did not need the staples that the Pacific Northwest provided, but rather required valuable American machinery, shipped from Pacific ports, that would further Japan’s own industrial development. The 1904 handbook written by Hajime Hoshi, a Japanese commissioner to the exposition in St. Louis, reveals much on the trade relationship between Japan and the

29 I. N. Fleischner, 19.
United States. Hoshi, a Japanese booster of the trans-Pacific trade, first underscores the increased trade between Japan and the United States noting that from trade worth 5,000,000 yen in 1899, by 1902, only three years later, the value of trade had increased to 128,885,630.09 yen.\(^{31}\)

Despite the increased trade with Japan and China, establishment leaders, who were generally intimately associated with the expositions in both cities, were afraid that the growing trade imbalance prevented the growth of the steamship lines necessary for the United States to expand its Pacific trade. Exports were not the problem. Both Seattle and Portland were already large exporters of American goods to Japan and China. To make any trans-Pacific trip profitable, however, imports needed to be brought from China and Japan. This was a real concern to many on the coast, especially to the railroad barons who were extending their monopoly on land into the sea.

For the transportation infrastructure that was so critical to the development of the west to pay for itself, imports needed to be brought across the Pacific. An article in the *Lewis and Clark Journal*, transcribing a supposed conversation between J. N. Hill, the owner of the Great Northern Railway, with a passenger: “But what is to fill the steamers coming this way from the Orient?” and later in the article “This, indeed, was the darkest side of the problem in all Pacific Coast trading with the Orient. Fairly good cargoes to the Far East but empty ships coming back; always sea water for ballast when headed for America; exports but no imports. How was a line of steamships to pay under such conditions?”\(^{32}\)

At first this argument might seem rather specious. Hoshi’s trade data from 1902 actually shows that Japan exported to the United States 80,232,805 Yen worth of goods while importing goods only worth 48,652,830 Yen.\(^{33}\) The dialogue with Hill, however, reveals that business

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31 Hoshi, 40.
32 “Building up Import Trade with the Orient,” *The Lewis and Clark Journal* 1, no. 6, (1904) 13.
33 Hoshi, 50-53.
leaders in Seattle and Portland were not so much concerned with the nation’s demand for East Asian goods, but to which ports those goods were shipped. Although closer to Japan, where Hill’s steamships terminus was located, Portland and Seattle were bypassed by vessels which took the Suez Canal route to deliver their goods directly to ports of the East Coast:

There is no question about the demand for Oriental products in America…First, a rate must be made that will enable the Pacific Coast to compete with the route by way of the Suez Canal and New York. Secondly, business connections must be established with importers in Chicago—central point for distributing to all parts of America—since the demand for Oriental products west of the Rocky Mountains is not large enough to half fill one line of steamships…

The trade that went around the Pacific Northwest gave even more urgency to the need for Portland and Seattle to define themselves as nodes in a trade network that crossed the United States and over the Pacific to Japan and China. The expositions served as tools to illustrate to investors on the East Coast, as well as in East Asia, that instead of sailing straight from Asia to New York by way of the Suez Canal, it was more efficient to use the railways from the Pacific Coast to distribute goods across the country.

In this sense, the expositions brought businessmen together to work out mutually beneficial arrangements. Hill, for example, owned not only the railway from Seattle to St. Paul, but also a line of steamships from Seattle to Japan. By negotiating exclusive contracts with export-import companies, like the Oriental-American Company, Hill gave favorable transportation rates in exchange for exclusive use of his steamship-railway empire. Companies based in the Pacific Northwest would out-compete their East Coast competitors who imported goods through the Canal. To underscore the business sense of shipping through the Pacific Northwest, the expositions emphasized the rapidity with which wealth was generated from land that only fifty years previous was uninhabited; “When it is remembered that all this business has sprung into

34 “Building up Import Trade with the Orient,” 13.
existence from absolutely nothing a year and a half ago, the spirit of enterprise which is building up this great import trade will be appreciated.”

By 1907 the importance of the trade with East Asia was so important to Seattle that the sinking of the Dakota, one of Hill’s largest steamers on the Seattle-Japan route, represented a major loss for the Emerald City. The steamer, capable of holding 28,000 tons of cargo, shipped so much material that the railway was effectively shut down for three days for any non-vital shipments. The Seattle Star even finds a silver lining in the loss of the steamer in that now Seattle businessmen no longer had to face long delays to use the railway every time the Dakota entered port.

Although the primary focus of Portland and Seattle leaders was acquiring wealth, their desire to see the Pacific Northwest as an integral component of an American commercial empire necessarily brought their gaze to Japan. Trade with Japan not only served to increase the importance of Portland and Seattle in the trade network of the United States, but also precluded war that might potentially upset the balance of trade. By integrating Japan into a U.S. dominated trade network it was hoped to make Japan dependent on American products thus making war disastrous for the Japanese economy.

In 1907, midway between the two fairs, Edwin Maxey, a professor of international relations at the University of Nebraska, wrote: “While the dependence of Japan upon the United States is less marked in other respects [language and shared heritage], there are nevertheless a number of commodities which she is to a great degree dependent upon us…To be suddenly cut off from the American supply would therefore put the Japanese at a disadvantage…” Specifically, Maxey mentioned two products, kerosene and flower. According to Hoshi, Japan

35 “Building up Import Trade with the Orient,” 15.
36 “Loss of Dakota will Aid Local Merchants,” The Seattle Star, March 6, 1907.
imported the sizable quantities of flour worth 3,243,775 yen and kerosene worth 12,083,711 yen.\textsuperscript{38}

The language Maxey uses illustrates how after Tsushima, the importance of the United States to the Japanese economy was, at least in the minds of Americans like Maxey, reconfirmed in matters of trade. Not only were the Japanese dependent on the U.S. for kerosene and flour, but, according to Maxey, also for cotton, railroad equipment, and education for the brightest Japanese students. Although Maxey does not use racial language, he places Japan back into the traditional framework of U.S.-Japanese relations pre-Tsushima, where America was tutor and supplier to Japan. The Empire of the Rising Sun’s dependence on American trade placed Japan back into a subordinate position to the United States.

Japan back in its traditional position did not mean that exposition organizers did not want Japan to make a large display at the two expositions. Its display would simply confine itself to the traditional crafts and not threaten ideas of American superiority. As demonstrated above establishment leaders were trying to increase the imports of East Asian goods. By giving the Japanese prominent displays at the expositions, they hoped to increase American demand for Japanese products. Kimonos are just one example. Although most kimonos for American consumption were currently manufactured domestically, they were closely associated with Japanese women and culture.\textsuperscript{39} Looking at \textit{The Oregonian} and \textit{The Seattle Star}, the number of mentions of kimonos shot from only one mention in 1899 to forty-three and thirty-one mentions in 1905 for \textit{The Seattle Star} and \textit{The Oregonian} respectively. By 1909 mentions increased to 217 and 116 for the same papers.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{38} Hoshi, 51-52.
\textsuperscript{39} “Newest thing in women’s skirts” \textit{The Oregonian}, 11/17/1901.
\textsuperscript{40} These numbers are taken from a key word search for “kimono” on the Readex website for the Oregonian: http://0-infoweb.newsbank.com.catalog.multcolib.org/iw-search/we/HistArchive and the Library of Congress’ archive of historic American newspapers at http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/search/pages/.
The increase in kimono advertisements not only pointed to the increased interest in Japan, but also the growing wealth of Oregon and Washington. By 1910, Seattle had emerged as the leading metropolis of the Pacific Northwest. Portland’s population stood at 207,214,\(^4\) Seattle’s at 237,194.\(^5\) In terms of manufacture, Oregon’s products increased from $46,000,587 to $93,005,000,\(^6\) while Washington’s grew from $36,795,051 to an astonishing $220,746,000.\(^7\) In 1910, Portland accounted for more than half of Oregon’s products with an output worth $46,860,767.\(^8\) Seattle produced products worth $50,569,198.\(^9\) Although the difference was not large between Seattle and Portland, the significance was that Seattle had surpassed Portland in products and population.

The expositions were not solely responsible for the tremendous growth that occurred in the Pacific Northwest. What they do provide is insight into what the census numbers mean. They were celebrations of conquest over the wilderness, exploiting the resources of Mother Nature to feed a growing state. By recognizing the achievements of the past, the expositions looked toward the future, to expand their trade with Asia and to continue their explosive rise to prominence.

Even though Seattle became the dominant port city, the exposition years of 1905 and 1909 were ones of hope for both metropolises. The city fathers who had once fashioned settlements out of the wilderness tried to create an ideology to guide their success and bequeath a role in an empire that they had tied to the growing prosperity of their cities. Maintaining the cosmopolitan reputations of Portland and Seattle was vital to maintaining good relations with Japan, which having defeated the Russian navy, was the only foreign power that could now restrict the Pacific trade and the investment it brought to the Pacific Northwest.

\(^{5}\) Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, 3:970.
\(^{7}\) Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, 9:1286.
\(^{8}\) Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, 9:1024.
\(^{9}\) Thirteenth Census of the United States: 1910, 9:1291.
Chapter 3: Fair Japan

As much as fair organizers wanted to fit Japan into a paradigm of American superiority and commercial imperialism, the Japanese exhibitors themselves had substantial influence over how they were portrayed. American fair organizers faced a dilemma. To draw attendees, expositions needed to be exotic. Placing restrictions on what governments and other exhibitors could display also placed too much tension on agreements that were already made. Thus, fair organizers, wielding substantial power in constructing the broad narrative of the expositions through architecture, landscaping, and event planning, were relatively powerless when it came to the content of individual displays.

By the early twentieth century, Japan had a great deal of experience in exhibiting in the United States. The Mikado had sent representatives to three large American expositions: Philadelphia in 1876, Chicago in 1893, and St. Louis in 1904. Japan’s first showing at any exposition, the Paris Exposition Universalle of 1867, had taught the Japanese government the value of world’s fairs as propaganda tools. Japan had faced humiliation in 1867 when a rival faction to the Tokugawa shogunate set up an exhibit independent of the official Japanese delegation.\(^1\) Learning from their mistake of 1867, Japan had mounted large, complex, and well disciplined exhibits in the United States.

At Chicago, the Japanese largely limited their display to traditional cultural items.\(^2\) At St. Louis the Japanese exhibit took a more ambitious and imperial approach. The central component of the exhibit was a large map of Japan and its conquests showing the industrial resources of the nation. Change between what was exhibited at the Chicago and St. Louis Expositions made Japan dynamic. In contrast, many Americans saw other Asian powers, and particularly the

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\(^2\) Rydel, 48-50.
Chinese, as static, remaining with traditions that made China look weak and susceptible to foreign intervention. Changing exhibits demonstrated that the Japanese were making substantial strides toward civilization. The seriousness and importance that Japan gave to the expositions is demonstrated during the Chicago fair where they spent $630,000 on their exhibit, more than any other nation. At St. Louis, the combined space of the Japanese exhibits was 252,455 square feet, according to Hoshi three times larger than the exhibit at Chicago. At the LCE, Japan was given the largest amount of exhibit space accorded any foreign power.

Carol Ann Christ in her study of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition at St. Louis reveals how after Chicago, the Japanese adopted an imperial vocabulary easily recognized by the western imperial powers. In the fine arts exhibit at St. Louis, Japan portrayed itself as the rightful imperial power in Southeast Asia. Japan used the personal interaction between fairgoers and indigenous peoples to emphasize Japan’s civilization. Specifically, the Japanese used literature and artwork to depict themselves as the conservators and improvers of Chinese culture, taking the place of the U.S. as protectors of China against Europe.

In an even more colonial context, Japan used its official exhibit to portray the Ainu, the indigenous people of the Japanese home islands, as needing Japanese guidance to progress from barbarity to civilization. Visitors were thus encouraged to visit the Ainu village after examining the Japanese exhibit to make their own visual comparisons. The Ainu in their long beards, traditional clothing, and thatched huts presented quite a contrast with the samples of Japanese industrial prowess kept at the official Japanese exhibit. Christ reveals how the Japanese used tools similar to the U.S. in demonstrating the civilizing power of Japan on its colonial

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3 Lockyer, 63-64.
4 Rydel, 48.
5 Hoshi, 115.
7 Christ, 680.
dependents. One only had to look at the Philippine and Native American exhibits organized by the U.S. government to understand that the Japanese were legitimizing their empire in Asia in much the same way as the U.S. was legitimizing its own expansion.

**Osaka**

One of the most significant differences between the LCE and the AYPE was the effort that organizers of the LCE expended to acquire a Japanese commitment to the Centennial. The Lewis and Clark Exposition Corporation went so far as to send one of its own, Colonel Henry E. Dosch, the director of exhibits at the LCE,\(^8\) to the Osaka National Industrial Exposition of 1903. Oregon’s exhibit was the only official display from the United States at Osaka. As Dosch wrote in his final report concerning the Osaka exposition, his mission was to “establish closer commercial relations between Oregon and Japan, a point I never lost sight of at any time.”\(^9\)

Oregon merchants saw Osaka as an opportunity to compete with other powers who tried to crowd out U.S. products from East Asia, but the fair was an opportunity to attract Japanese investment in Oregon. *The Oregonian* ran an article in April 1903, during the Osaka exposition, exclaiming how the Japanese fair gave Oregon the opportunity to finally compare itself against other powers that threatened its trans-Pacific trade: “American locomotives should stand alongside of British locomotives, and as Osaka is the center of the cotton-spinning industry in Japan, American machinery for cotton mills should be exhibited with that from England.”\(^10\)

The Oregonian article is also revealing because it places the competition with England in a much broader imperial scope. Oregon was not participating in the industrial exposition solely to compete with Britain and attract Japanese investment; it was also creating relationships between

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\(^8\) Hardt, 8.


other Asian powers; “The exposition will be a great sample-room. Japan will not only be there as an exhibitor and purchaser, but China, India, Australia and other countries will be present as buyers of Western products.”

Oregon was preparing for the LCE as early as 1903. Even outside the confines of the fair, organizers were pursuing their hegemonic ideology of a commercial empire that ran throughout East Asia. British Columbia represented a potential threat to the growth of both Seattle and Portland. Dosch wrote to Henry Reed, the director of exploitation (publicity) at the LCE, with alarm about the continuous bake oven that British Columbia exhibitors had installed at its exhibit in Osaka, demonstrating the threat that Canada posed to Oregon’s important wheat export. Dosch saw the popularity of the bread oven as such a threat that his letter to Reed was marked top secret.

One of the most vocal supporters of Oregon’s Japan delegation was H.B. Miller, the American consul stationed in New Chwang, China and a native Oregonian. Miller published several articles in The Oregonian emphasizing the potential windfall of trade that both Osaka and the LCE represented. Miller, like Dosch and the fair organizers in Oregon, saw participation at Osaka as a quid pro quo. The prestige garnered to Oregon by being the only state from the United States to participate at Osaka gained support from the Japanese government to send a delegation to Portland in 1905.

Miller’s writing, to a much larger extent than Dosch’s, focus on the international prospects of Osaka. They identify Oregon’s exhibit there as just part of the broader plan to extend American influence through trade into China. Miller’s excitement led him to prepare a list of the products that Oregon’s commission should bring to display in Japan. “The following things

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11 “Exhibition at Osaka”
12 Henry Dosch to Henry Reed, April 26, 1903, Mss 1609 Box 88 file 6, (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Research Library.)
should be in the list of exhibits: Flour, lumber, moldings sash, doors, oats, barley, hay, hops, fruits of all kinds, jams, jellies, berries, salmon, vinegar, wool and woolen goods, milk and butter, pickles, canned vegetables, furniture, etc.”

These items were not as exciting as a continuous bread oven and Miller’s list shows that Oregon-based export goods were not the heavy industrial items that the United States was currently exporting to Japan, but the products that Oregon businessmen believed could be sold to China. Japan was, as Miller stated; the gateway to China, where the market for Oregon food stuff was larger than in Japan. Miller championed Oregon involvement in Osaka, expounding on the ample returns that would accrue to Oregon if the state invested in a trade relationship with Japan and other East Asian states.

In April 1902, following his first letter that described the goods Oregon needed to send to Osaka, Miller wrote another article. This piece broke down the individual markets Oregonian businessmen could access if they fostered good relations at with Japan and the other East Asian countries at Osaka. Miller’s view of the 1905 centennial was that it was only the beginning of a vibrant trade between Oregon and Asia: “The 1905 exposition is beyond question the greatest and best work in this line that could be done…it appears to me wise to look beyond 1905 in the design and execution of the exposition, as well as for the organization to perpetuate the benefits.”

Miller viewed both the Osaka and Lewis and Clark Expositions as grand educational forums where Americans had the opportunity to study the market demand of Asia. The consul believed that to make the benefits of the exposition permanent, a commission was needed whose purpose was to study the demand of the different markets of Asia so that Oregon could supply

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13 “Japan’s Great Exposition Oregon Should be well represented at their big industrial display,” The Oregonian, 3/2/1902.
the right goods for each market: “First—it must be understood that the field is large and made up of several different types...each having different tastes, habits, characteristics and wants, and to provide for them a careful study must be made of each particular group. The various markets can be roughly grouped as follows: Japan, Philippines, India, Southern China, Northern China, Russia.”\(^{15}\)

Miller’s sentiments sets forth the prize he argued was available to enterprising West Coast businessmen. The exploitation of Japan was not simply to open trade with the island nation, but rather as the key to markets up and down the East Asian coastline. Miller did not see trade as a one way street. Like Fleischner, the consul understood that the lack of imports from Asia was a serious problem to developing a healthy trade. Miller saw the expositions as a way to demonstrate to Oregonians the export demands of Asia and what Oregon, specifically Portland, had to do to meet those demands. According to Miller, manufacturing was key to Portland’s future. By supplying the needed machines of heavy manufacturing that increased the output of China, the Philippines, and Japan, Portland would benefit as raw natural resources returned to the Pacific Northwest where they were refined into complex products.

It is clear to my mind that if we are to increase our markets in these countries we must also increase our purchases from them...One of the most serious problems in Oriental trade today is return cargoes. That locality, therefore, on the Pacific Coast that creates the greatest demands for the products of these lands, that manufactures and distributes most of the things raised in these countries, will be the spot that will command the greatest Oriental trade and become the real financial and industrial center from which the trade to the Orient will spring. Manufacturing in its broadest sense, including the products of American and the Orient is the keynote to Portland’s future.\(^{16}\)

The expositions were a tool to develop a trade that had imperial implications. Like the great colonial empires of Britain and France, Miller emphasized a dependence relationship between East Asia and the Pacific Northwest. Historian Eric Hobsbawm notes how one of the defining qualities of the British and French colonial empire was their appropriation of the natural

\(^{15}\)“Oregon and the Orient”
\(^{16}\)“Oregon and the Orient”
resources of their colonies, refined in the imperial center, and then resold back to their colonial captive markets. What Miller proposed was a dependent relationship between Asia and Oregon where Portland manufactures supplied the needed products of heavy industry to nations like China and Japan in exchange for the raw materials used to produce the heavy machinery that was shipped back to Asia, all without the administrative costs of a colonial government.

The two commissioners in charge of the Oregon exhibit were Henry Dosch and Leo Friede. Dosch was one of Oregon’s most experienced exposition men. He represented the state at the fairs in Chicago 1893, Omaha 1898, Buffalo 1901, and Charleston 1901-1902. After Osaka, Dosch was commissioner to the St. Louis fair of 1904 and represented a link between the LCE and the AYPE, at both of which expositions he served as director of exhibits. While in Japan Dosch was awarded the emblem of the sacred treasure by the emperor for valuable service to the Japanese nation. This award was the highest a foreigner could receive.

Dosch writes more favorably of the Japanese than does Friede. In a letter to *The Oregonian* that he wrote during his stay at Osaka, Dosch described with admiration the respect given to the prince and the orderly method that the Japanese populace entered into the exposition, comparing the order of the Japanese to the chaos, noise and confusion of expositions in the States. Dosch admired how seriously the Japanese had taken measurements of progress and using fairs, trade shows, and expositions to educate themselves on industry and competing with the western powers.

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18 Joseph Gaston, *Portland, Oregon, its history and builders: in connection with the antecedent explorations, discoveries and movements of the pioneers that selected the site for the great city of the Pacific* (Chicago: The S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1911), 503.
19 “H.E. Dosch at Osaka Oregon man is busy with expositions work in Japan,” *The Oregonian*, March 1, 1903.
20 “Exposition in Japan Great Fair at Osaka is now open,” *The Oregonian*, 3/26/1903.
In contrast to Dosch, Leo Friede described the Japanese skill at exhibiting, but confined his observations to traditional items, sentiments echoed at the LCE. Some of Friede’s observations on the Japanese exhibits seem like subtle criticism: “The Japs are extremely adroit in duplicating most things made abroad, but of the products of the Pacific Coast he has not the material wherewith to make the same, and only requires the necessary education to learn their uses for general consumption.”

Where Dosch praises Japan, Friede places it once again into a racial paradigm. The only reason why Japan was able to put on such impressive displays of industrial ingenuity was not because of its own ability to innovate, but rather, because like children, Japanese are skilled in imitation. Without the United States the Japanese would have remained as Perry found them. Instead they were dependent upon the West to produce technological innovation that they adopted. For all the progress that Japan demonstrated, it was dependent upon western innovation and would thus always be inferior to the United States. Like Miller before him, Friede notes that although the Japanese are great builders they lack the resources to provide what the Pacific Northwest can supply. The role of the exhibit commission was to paternalistically educate the Japanese on how to use and consume the goods that Oregon could provide.

When describing how the Japanese imitate western goods, Friede’s criticism of the Japanese for their lack of creativity is building upon notions of western superiority that were manifest at expositions even in Japan itself: “But the Japanese have no originality. Even their art, which is fine, is only a duplication of something that they have seen. In fineness of work they are the genius of the age, but all they can do is copy.” Friede continues,

“They have accomplished more in the past 36 years,’ said he ‘than any other nation in the same length of time. When we consider that in the short time in which they have been making any progress they have

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21 “Received with gladness news of fair appropriation reaches Osaka,” The Oregonian, 4/4/1903.
22 “Received with gladness.”
23 “Make friends in Japan Oregon will profit from the exhibit at Osaka,” The Oregonian 4/14/1903.
build 40,000 miles of railroad, have covered the country with telegraph systems, and have built docks and other modern equipments, it is a marvel. The strangest thing of it all is that despite their advancement in other lines they do not change their mode of living. They still live in the same old tumble-down huts that they did centuries ago.  

Friede both congratulates and criticizes the Japanese. He praises their ability to modernize, but seemingly tempers that praise by demonstrating how the Japanese are dependent upon external influence and development, thus always dependent on outsiders. They are not independent and full of initiative like Western Americans.

One area where the Japanese had not received an infusion of external development was homebuilding, they still lived in their traditional abodes, that is, until Colonel Dosch, a man from the west, gave them advice on how to improve their homes, of which Friede describes the Japanese as being very grateful, “The Japanese feel much indebted to him for a suggestion that he made concerning the manner of building their houses. They started to build them with the roof fitting close to the top wall. Mr. Dosch showed them how they could put windows in near the roof and make much more light.”

Friede’s view represents a more paternal attitude towards the Japanese than Dosch. Overall both commissioners wrote favorably of the Japanese, though Dosch more so than Friede. Even Dosch, however, sometimes invoked the natural racial inferiority of the Japanese to Americans. In the following quotation Dosch, a known horticulturalist, described the blooming of Japanese flowers while trying to explain their lack of fragrance; “The only defect, even in imported roses, is little or no fragrance, the cause of which I cannot explain, not have been able to find out, but as the olfactory nerves of the far Eastern people are not developed to any marked degree, and for other reasons, perhaps best they are not.”

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24 “Make friends in Japan”
25 “Make friends in Japan”
26 “Osaka fair thrives”
This view of western superiority was not just propounded by the American-European powers, but received some support from the Japanese government itself. In a letter to The Oregonian, Dosch describes the purpose behind the invitation of the Japanese government to foreign exhibitors at what was supposed to be a domestic Japanese exposition: “…in the invitation to foreign nations, by the Department of Agriculture, under whose auspices this exhibition is held, to bring especially ‘machinery and electrical appliances, so our people may see and learn the advancement made in science.’”

The immediate aftermath of the Osaka Exposition fulfilled Miller’s call for a permanent organization for the encouragement of trade with East Asia. The reception that Oregon received at Osaka seemed to prove that Oregon and Japan were on the verge of establishing a great trade. The Oregon exhibit was so popular that Dosch converted Oregon’s exhibit at the Osaka Exhibition into a permanent display in Japan that sold goods “on sample.” The new trading company was closely linked to a Japanese appropriation for the Lewis and Clark Exposition.

Maintaining an Oregon presence in Japan was seen as an act of goodwill. The exhibits were supposed to encourage the interest of Japanese investors, who would then participate in the LCE, not only to reciprocate the gesture and display their own goods, but also to form partnerships with Oregon businesses. The goods kept on display were remarkably close to what Miller had outlined in the previous year: flour, canned salmon, salted meats, dried, canned and preserved fruits, lumber, clothing, blankets and woolen goods “and such manufactured articles as this state can supply for the Oriental trade.” At the conclusion of the Osaka Exhibition Dosch used his influence to appeal to Japanese officials for an appropriation for the LCE. “As a result [of

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29 “To handle Oregon goods”
Dosch’s work representing Oregon to the Japanese government] it is expected the Diet will make a liberal appropriation not only for transferring the St. Louis exhibit to Portland, but also for maintaining and enlarging the display at the Lewis and Clark Fair.\textsuperscript{30}

Going to Osaka was a diplomatic coup for Oregon, gaining public sympathy in Japan. In the eyes of the two Oregon commissioners, the exhibit to Osaka secured two primary goals: to lay the ground work for increased trade with Japan and to increase support for the LCE. The relationship with Japanese businesses was so cordial that Japanese merchants were willing to put up a subscription for a private Japanese exhibit at the LCE if the official government subsidy fell through. In part such good will came from the sheer extent of the Oregon exhibit; “Oregon’s showing in that foreign samples building was so extensive that the building was referred to most frequently as the ‘Oregon building’ a practice that I [Dosch] encouraged as much as possible.”\textsuperscript{31}

Dosch believed that the fair had successfully advertised the variety of goods that Oregon could offer Japan. Indeed in the immediate aftermath of Osaka, while Dosch was still in Japan, he had already gathered orders for Oregon goods that he would distribute to Portland firms once he returned to the Pacific Northwest; “Particular interest is felt in all kinds of manufactured goods, and I am sure the way has been opened to Oriental markets for Oregon products. The heavy increase in orders from Portland firms indicates this, and by a judicious handling of the trade it may easily be developed extensively.”\textsuperscript{32}

By the end of the Osaka fair, Dosch had acquired a great deal of good will for Oregon. Not only did the emperor bestow honors on Dosch, but a special honor was given to the LCE when the Lewis and Clark Exposition March was played during the review of the army at the opening ceremonies of the Osaka exposition. Perhaps not realized at the time, the use of the exposition

\textsuperscript{30} “To handle Oregon goods”
\textsuperscript{31} “Wins Japan’s Aid Colonel H. E. Dosch Successful on His Mission St. Louis Exhibit will come,” The Oregonian, 8/27/1903.
\textsuperscript{32} “Winds Japan’s Aid”
march encapsulated the ambiguous relationship between the United States and Japan that informed the Japanese displays at the AYPE and the LCE. Osaka had established Japan as a nation under the tutelage of the United States, desiring to learn about the latest innovations to forward its own industrial revolution. While adapting and imitating western ways, the Japanese were developing the tools to threaten, and in the case of Russia, destroy Western power in the Pacific. In the meantime though, Dosch’s showmanship had netted him and the Lewis and Clark Exposition Company an 800,000 yen exhibit.

While Dosch and Friede were generating excitement about the LCE in Japan, exposition organizers were not idle. Portland leaders attempted to win over Japanese diplomatic representatives in the United States as well as Japanese commissioners to St. Louis to the idea of sending the St. Louis exhibit to the LCE. Harvey Scott, the editor of The Oregonian and the president of the LCE from 1903 to 1905, was ingratiating to J. Kiuchi, the president of the St. Louis Commission and to Takashi Nakamura, the legation advocate.\textsuperscript{33} Despite Scott’s high praise of Japan, he still explicitly tied the success of Japan to maintaining good relations with Britain and the United States, “Her natural allies, or at least her well-wishers and possible protectors, are the United States and Great Britain. These nations desire that liberal ideas shall dominate trade.”\textsuperscript{34} Scott subtly advocated for a patron-client relationship between Japan and the U.S.

Portland was trying to make the LCE an international exposition. The effort to attract Japan to Portland is indicative of the competition that Portland felt with its northern neighbor. The need to establish a trading hub was integral to maintain Portland’s rapid growth. The AYPE was held during a period when Seattle was replacing Portland as the largest metropolis in the

\textsuperscript{33} “Japan Will Come High Officials Will Urge Exhibit in 1905. Give Assurances At Banquet,” The Oregonian 04/05/1903.

\textsuperscript{34} “Japan Will Come.”
Pacific Northwest. Steamship routes and a larger population of Japanese residents made it easier for Seattle to attract an official exhibit from the Japanese government. Of course the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907 also neatly divided the time between the expositions in half. In reaction to the de facto restriction of Japanese laborers in the United States, AYPE organizers worked with the Japanese Association, Seattle Japanese Chamber of Commerce, and the Japanese government to send a large exhibit. Seattle elites hoped to rehabilitate the relationship with one of the city’s largest trading partners after the fraying of relations with the exclusionist activities of 1907.35

Japanese Motivations

Japan saw its relationship with the United States as critical to maintaining a stable economy. Before the Russo-Japanese war, the United States had been Japan’s largest trading partner. Military outlays during the war had severely damaged the Japanese economy. By May of 1904 the gold reserves of Japan were below seven million pounds. Japan needed nine million pounds immediately to continue to support the army.36 Only by appealing to London and New York bankers was Japan able to get the funds required.37 After the war those Japanese who has secured the loans for Japan’s war effort saw trade with the United States as the primary way to restore stability.38 Vice-Consul Takagi, stationed in Portland, tied Osaka and the LCE together. Quoted in The Oregonian, Takagi stated, “I shall use my influence to interest my government in the Lewis and Clark Fair.” He continues, “The two expositions have inter-relations which it is hardly necessary for me to point out…I think my government will desire to be well represented

35 Lee, 288.
37 Smethurst, 71-72.
38 Smethurst, 72.
at Portland, and because Portland is a port of the Pacific Coast of the United States, a nation with which Japan is eager to build up commercial and industrial relations…”

To attract Oregon’s participation at Osaka, Vice-Consul Takagi played on the desire of establishment leaders to attract Japanese trade. “My [Takagi’s] duty here is to assist in building up those relations. Japan is an ambitious, expanding nation. Its people desire better acquaintance with your products and your industries, and I think it will profit you more intimately to know ours.”

The vice-consul declared that Osaka gave Oregon the “rare opportunity for exploiting the rapidly developing markets of the whole Far East.”

Takagi purposefully portrayed Japan as a nation still in adolescence learning from the more advanced western nations: “…for purposes of comparison or reference in the way of industrial improvement. The primary object aimed at is there by to afford the Japanese manufacturers opportunity of studying the latest products of Western invention with a view to the improvement of Japanese industries.”

Japan, Portland, and Seattle worked towards the same goal. Portland and Seattle wanted to increase imports that went through the Pacific Northwest to make round trips between the West Coast and Japan financially feasible. Japan needed to increase its trade with the United States to improve the precarious Japanese economy. The Japanese Exhibit Association made this one of its core goals. At St. Louis, it attempted to sell off the exhibit to foster business connections between American business and Japanese enterprises. “The Association also performs the function of introducing the Japanese goods into this country by furnishing merchants and other prospective buyers here with any information concerning them.” In the event that a displayed

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39 “Works for Japan Fair Vice-Consul Takagi Tells of 1903 Exposition at Osaka. Portland should be represented,” The Oregonian, 5/5/1902.
40 “Works for Japan”
41 “Works for Japan”
42 “Works for Japan”
43 Hoshi, 114.
item was no longer in stock, the exhibit association acted as intermediary between the American purchaser and the Japanese vendor back in Japan.

The number of products and Japanese businesses that the Japanese Exhibit Association could draw on was impressive. The association was chartered by the imperial government but was almost exclusively a business enterprise. According to Hoshi, the association “was organized by fifty of the leading merchants and manufacturers of Japan” representing every exhibitor of Japan, “numbering 20,000 or over” businesses.\textsuperscript{44} It was thus within the best interests of fair organizers seeking to expand Japanese trade to work with the Japanese Exhibit Association in advertising Japanese goods at the LCE and AYPE. Fair organizers sought to organize in Oregon the type of permanent exhibit that Dosch had organized for Oregon in Osaka.

In his opening preface to the handbook, Hoshi, aware of American wariness of a threat to U.S. holdings in the Pacific, assured the readers that the relationship between the United States and Japan was characterized by the “peaceful competition of trade.”\textsuperscript{45} To quell any doubts about whether this could damage the competitiveness of American goods Hoshi quoted O. P. Austin, head of the Bureau of Statistics at the Department of Commerce and Labor, saying: “...that after a careful examination of the trade of both countries now at war [Japan and Russia] he finds Japan’s products are entirely different in character from those of the United States, and in no way competitive.”\textsuperscript{46} Hoshi argued that Japanese progress is only positive for American merchants. As “The Nation awoke with a start to the realization that it was moving in the wrong direction, and turned about and dropped easily in the march of modern progress. Foreign ideas were adopted, foreign methods were imitated...With this adoption of foreign ideas came a desire for foreign

\textsuperscript{44} Hoshi, 113.
\textsuperscript{45} Hoshi, 6.
\textsuperscript{46} Hoshi, 6.
goods.” Not only was Japanese progress profitable, but even Hoshi fit Japan within the child-adult analogy for the Japan-U.S. relationship.

Vice-Consul Takagi was recalled to Japan between 1902 and 1905, replaced by Tsuneji Aiba, a steadfast supporter of the Lewis and Clark Exposition, who went so far as to write a two-page article for the *Lewis and Clark Journal* concerning Japan’s support of the fair. Oregon’s participation at Osaka figured prominently among Aiba’s reasons why the Japanese government supported an exhibit to the LCE; “The exhibition from the State of Oregon at the Osaka Fair last year, and the kind assistance given by the Oregon Commissioners on that occasion, are of dear memory to the Japanese.”

The efforts of the Lewis and Clark Company to woo Japanese dignitaries during the Osaka and St. Louis fairs were not forgotten either. The two-pronged public relations campaign from the exposition company created a view among Japanese officials of the “extreme friendliness of the people of this Coast.” Unsurprisingly, Aiba credits resource development and the desire to increase imports to the United States as among the reasons for sending an exhibit to the LCE.

Aiba is careful to bring attention to Japanese military victories while playing them down at the same time. As an ally of the West he cites Japanese cooperation with European armies during the Boxer Rebellion where “…the Boxer trouble brought her more to the world’s attention, on account of the harmonious co-operation of her army side by side with European forces.” Furthermore, Aiba credits the Russo-Japanese war as the conflict that extended awareness of Japan around the globe.

At the same time, the Vice-Consul does not want Japan to be seen as a power that threatens the peace of the Pacific. He portrays Japan as the protector of peace and civilization in the

47 Hoshi, 5.
49 Aiba, 12.
50 Aiba, 12.
Pacific, and not as the aggressor against Russia, “It may be seen from the foregoing statement that Japan has gained her fame through wars, but this is not at what she aims. She fought and is fighting for peace, civilization and her own safety. Her ambition is not for military ascendency, but supremacy in the world of commerce and industry.”

The latter part of Aiba’s statement may have been troubling to Establishment leaders who were envisioning America dominating trade in the Pacific. To assuage those fears, the Vice-Consul emphasized that the United States was also a beneficiary of the empire’s industrial growth and that it was only by learning from the United States that Japanese had attained its position as a regional power; “…the good will of her [U.S.’] people towards the Japanese, helped the development of her trade in great measure…in 1903, Japanese trade with the United States amounted to 128,998,000 yen, as against 33,830,000 yen in 1893, representing an increase of more than 281 per cent in ten years.”

Compared to Takagi and the invitation to Osaka, Aiba, while cordial, began to place Japan on a more equal footing with the western powers. While doing so, the Vice-Consul played on a theme that developed in the immediate aftermath of Tsushima, the ascendency of Japan as a superior racial power as against Slavic Russia. As Joseph Henning notes, the traditional racial hierarchy was preserved by subdividing certain races. To account for the defeat of “white” Russia against “yellow” Japan it became accepted that there were two division of the white race, the Anglo/Teutonic and the Slavic. The former was the most developed race on the hierarchy the latter was considered close to barbarism. The superior branch represented by Britain, Germany and Protestant America still maintained its dominant place in the world.

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51 Aiba, 12.  
52 Aiba, 12.  
54 Henning, 157.
Russia’s defeat was to be expected. They were a member of the Slavic branch of the white race, a race that was inferior to the Chinese and Japanese.

Tsushima was thus turned from a defeat of the racial hierarchy into a vindication of it. This method of thinking also assisted in placing the Ainu, the white skinned native people of the Japanese home islands, within the hierarchy. Japanese conquest of the Ainu became explicable as the Ainu simply originated from the Slavic branch of the white race. The accepted inferiority of the Ainu to the Japanese allowed for more versatility in how the Japanese displayed their empire. As at the St. Louis Exposition, the Japanese wanted Americans to make comparisons between the Ainu and Native Americans. Increasingly Japan began to be elevated from an “Oriental” race to a white race, culturally if not ethnically.

The Japanese saw the expositions as opportunities to advertise their advancement and accomplishments. Yes, there were the proving grounds of Tsushima and the battlefields of Manchuria, but to bring maps, industrial machinery, and weaponry from Japan to the United States would be impractical. Japan’s aims were more commercial. Hoshi’s guidebook, for example, covered topics from the structure of the imperial government to wages and the increased production of products as diverse as silk and potatoes. Hoshi’s handbook tracked American faith in the progressive era science of statistics to measure progress. The handbook used statistics to prove Japanese progress and the profits that such progress would bring.

Japanese writing on American trade before 1905 was remarkably passive. Both Takagi and Hoshi emphasized the role the United States played in spurring Japan’s industrial revolution and subsequent explosive growth. In Hoshi’s handbook, passivity became submissiveness before

55 Christ, 682-685.
57 Hoshi, 10-11.
American paternalism. It is Commodore Perry, not the Japanese people that Hoshi credited with opening Japan to commerce and the economic boom that followed.\textsuperscript{58}

\textit{Relations Outside the Expositions}

The cordial relations that developed in the business circles that enmeshed the LCE and the AYPE did not represent the sentiments of the broader populace. Kornel Chang details how anti-Japanese sentiment exploded in the Pacific Northwest from 1905 and 1907 with Seattle as the epicenter.\textsuperscript{59} Between 1905 and 1909, demographic differences among the Japanese population of the Pacific Northwest added to tensions between Japanese-Americans and exclusionists. In 1907, attempting to tone down the anti-Japanese sentiment creeping into newspapers and state legislatures, the Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest published a pamphlet titled \textit{Japanese Immigration: An Exposition of its real status}. The pamphlet illustrated how prominent exclusionist sentiment had become since Japan’s victory in 1905:

\begin{quote}
In view of the fact that the exclusion of Japanese immigrants seems to be seriously considered in certain quarters in this country, the Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest has deemed it proper to make a special investigation into the real status of Japanese immigration...This course has seemed the more advisable because the question of Japanese immigration has been talked about but indiscriminately.\textsuperscript{60}
\end{quote}

Japanese associations up and down the coast were attempting to calm Americans who were agitating against the Issei.\textsuperscript{61} Exclusionism had major diplomatic repercussions. Even if there was literature circulated by the Japanese government that played into the idea of American industrial dominance, the Japanese people would not tolerate the idea that their brethren in the United States were being discriminated against on the basis of race prejudice.\textsuperscript{62}

Much of the tension in the beginning of the exclusionist agitation was within the labor movement and similar to what had taken place in Seattle two decades before. Many in the

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{58} Hoshi, 5.  \\
\textsuperscript{59} Chang, 688.  \\
\textsuperscript{60} \textit{Japanese Immigration: An Exposition of its real status} (Seattle: the Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest, 1907), 1.  \\
\textsuperscript{61} Japanese immigrants to the United States.  \\
\textsuperscript{62} Esthus, 177;181.
\end{flushleft}
business establishments of Seattle and Portland who were involved in lumber, farming, canning, and the railroads supported Japanese immigration as a source of cheap labor. The Japanese Association of the Pacific Northwest sought out the help of chambers of commerce in major cities on the Pacific Coast to emphasize the support that the Japanese immigrant population had from the business community. At the front of its pamphlet, the Japanese Association included letters of endorsement from the chambers of commerce of Seattle and Tacoma verifying the veracity of the material within the pamphlet.⁶³

Part of the problem was American immigration restrictions. The Issei, those Japanese who immigrated to the United States, could not apply for U.S. citizenship.⁶⁴ While the Chinese were still the dominant Asian migrant population on the West Coast, the Japanese were ignored as a threat to labor. When the Chinese population began to decline and the Issei population increased, people, especially organized labor, became more aware of the Japanese. Exclusionists used the fact that the Issei could not become citizens as a tool to heighten racial animosity. During the Progressive Era this was a particularly effective tactic. In communities like Portland, where a sizable number of the population believed in the need for Americanization of immigrants, that the Japanese could never be assimilated meant that they were permanent aliens who would never share American customs, ideals, or values.⁶⁵ The lower standard of living of many Japanese migrants, like those cited by Hans Benz above, was enough to raise the ire of exclusionists. As Chang demonstrates “whiteness” became defined as against Asian immigrants. Japanese and Chinese laborers who drove down wages threatened the standard of living that defined what it

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⁶⁵ Robert D. Johnston, The Radical Middle Class: Populist Democracy and the Question of Capitalism in Progressive Era Portland, Oregon (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 230. Although Johnston does not discuss Japanese immigration, he discusses the belief among middle class Portlanders that compulsory public education was vital to Americanization. By being legally set apart, Japanese immigrants could not be mixed into the American melting pot.
meant to be a white American. The ability of the Issei to work under conditions that were not considered suitable for a white American had the effect both of demeaning the Japanese and linking to nativist sentiment that the Japanese were forcing low wages on American laborers, forcing them into a status that was beneath the civilization of the United States.

The result of the rising animosity towards Japan was the Gentlemen’s Agreement of 1907, an informal agreement by which the United States did not restrict Japanese immigration but the Japanese government agreed to prevent any further emigration to the United States. The agreement was the result of negotiations in order to avoid humiliation and the loss of prestige in both countries. For Japan, any exclusionist legislation was a slap in the face. The imperial government would have to contend with the anger of its people against the United States, Japan’s largest trade partner. The Gentleman’s agreement acknowledged racial tensions on the West Coast, but also sought to preserve peace between the two powers of the Pacific.

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66 Chang, 684-685.
67 Nomura, 50.
Chapter 4: Japanese and American Empire at the Fair

The LCE and the AYPE were steeped in imperial ideology. Fair organizers tapped into the ideology of the white man’s burden and a western imperial heritage that connected itself to Rome and Byzantium. The expositions were utopias where fairgoers could lose themselves in an optimistic vision of America’s future, in which control over nature translated into political and commercial control abroad. The imperial themes of the fair connected them to their predecessors in Philadelphia, Chicago, and St. Louis, integrating the Pacific Northwest into an imperial commercial network, a critical cog in the American machine that harvested the goods of East Asia to profit consumers back home. Any nation exhibiting at these fairs was automatically viewed within the context of the achievements of American manifest destiny.

Both fairs were organized around the same mythos: that of courageous American pioneers who crossed the great expanse of the continent to create a nation that encompassed a continent and had thriving cities on both the Atlantic and the Pacific. The Lewis and Clark Centennial was closely associated with the expedition of the Corps of Discovery. The centennial year did not mark the conclusion of the expedition, but the year that Captain Lewis and Lieutenant Clark reached the Pacific, wintering in Fort Clatsop near Warrenton and Astoria, Oregon. The fair was the celebration of American ingenuity in exploring, exploiting, and eventually conquering a vast frontier. If the St. Louis Exposition was the celebration of the addition of the Louisiana Purchase to the United States, then the Lewis and Clark Exposition was synonymous with expansion and the exploration of the largest single addition to U.S. territory.

Eva Emery Dye’s book, The Conquest, published in 1902, greatly influenced the romantic notion of imperial expansion into the frontier. The Conquest, a work of historical fiction, told the story of the Lewis and Clark Expedition and is credited, along with the publishing of the journals of the expedition by Thwaites in 1904, with restoring and elevating the expedition to the place of
an American epic. Dye, who published *The Conquest* while she lived in Oregon City just south of Portland, was invited to speak at the unveiling of the Sacagawea statue on the exposition grounds.¹ Her book, serving as the literary basis for the exposition, is infused with racial imagery and imperial ambition. The title itself celebrates the expansion of American empire and the civilizing of the Native Americans.

During the unveiling of the statue of Sacagawea, Dye noted her importance insofar as it assisted Americans in reaching the Pacific and spreading progress to the benighted races of the continent, “…she [Sacagawea pointed the way to Asia, unlocking the gates of the mountains, and giving up the key to her country…revealing the secrets of their country and giving over its trade and resources to the whites, opening the way to a higher civilization.”² Dye linked the exploration of the Oregon Territory into one single narrative of expansion into the Pacific and Asia. American imperialism in North America was connected to exploitation abroad. The Pacific and Asia, like the West Coast, were simply another frontier that needed to be conquered, exploited, and civilized.

The AYPE was unique among the American expositions in that it did not commemorate a person or historical event. The exposition was a raw celebration of expansion: “Rather the fair is an epitome of the progress of the common people, a record of the achievements of the nameless many who in the last fifty years have poured westward over the Rocky Mountains and founded a great empire on the shores of the Pacific.”³ Where the LCE focused on the prospects of empire in the Pacific that germinated with the expedition, the AYPE was a celebration of the arrival of that empire.

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² “Statue of Bird Woman Unveiled Bronze of Sacajawea Stands in Center of Plaza at Exposition,” *The Oregonian*, 7/7/1905.
The AYPE did not have to attach itself to any historical date or figure; it was itself the important date. The Seattle exposition was the culmination of the endeavors of Lewis and Clark, the pioneers, the business establishments, and the various Indian wars. Now a gateway had been established to leap into the next frontier. In contrast to fairs that celebrated past milestones, the exposition issue of *Harper’s Weekly* stated, “The fundamental purpose of the Seattle exposition is, rather, to establish a new point of departure for the future.”

The focus of the AYPE was to achieve American commercial dominance in the Pacific. Japan was included in the exposition as a minor partner to the American enterprise, incorporated into an American Pacific hegemony. Although the United States heritage was tied to Europe, its future, so the exposition organizers tried to make fairgoers believe, was connected by way of the great ports of the West Coast to the Pacific: “…There is force in the contention of the coast country that in the natural course of human destiny the Pacific…is to be the scene of the most important world movements during the centuries just now to come…its [the Pacific’s] determinative importance to the destiny of the United States, seem to be the key-note of the undertaking.” For any nation, including Japan, it was this vision of empire that needed to be contended with.

*Martial*

Weaponry was the most visual symbol of imperial power. At most expositions military displays were a large percentage of the government’s exhibit. Aside from what foreign nations chose to exhibit, it was generally the exclusive monopoly of the American Government to exhibit the machinery of war. This was true in both the AYPE and the LCE. At Portland the War Department and Navy Department both maintained large exhibits. The emphasis of the War

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5 “The Northwest’s Great Coming Exposition,”
Department on U.S. troops stationed in the Pacific, Puerto Rico, and Cuba further reinforced the colonial aspect of commercial ventures into the Pacific.\(^6\)

The government did not fail to display the newest innovations in protecting American assets before foreign nations visiting the exhibition, including a Vickers-Maxim automatic gun, 178 “portable fire arms,” a variety of ammunition from smokeless to armor piercing, ammunition fired through steel plate and—what was left of—the steel plate the ammunition was fired through.\(^7\) The Navy Department, not to be out done, included the obligatory models of warships, but also 6-pound and 1-pound shells, torpedoes and a Gatling gun.\(^8\)

The relationship between military strength and colonialism in the Pacific was made clear with the inclusion of the Philippine Exhibit under the War Department’s bailiwick. That federal exhibitors found it appropriate to group Filipino forestry, education, ethnology, fisheries, mines, manufactures, and agriculture\(^9\) under the War Department showed the connection between Pacific empire, commercial expansion, and the military power to maintain the them.

The AYPE surpassed Portland in military hardware on display. The guide to the AYPE flatly stated that the government exhibit at Seattle was 126,496 square feet compared to the 75,264 square feet in Portland. The AYPE also displayed “Models of all battleships and cruisers, model of dry-dock Dewey, guns and ordinance equipment, models of every type of gun made for the navy since its organization…During the exposition there will be stationed in Seattle harbor some of the largest type of battleships, fully rigged and ready for public inspection at all

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\(^8\) Hardt, *Official Catalogue of the Lewis & Clark Centennial*, 34.
Portland could only boast the temporary presence of the U.S.S. Chicago, Perry, and Boston.  

One of the popular features of the fairs was mock battles. There were six battles scheduled at the Lewis and Clark Exposition, three naval and three land battles. The naval battles were all re-enactments of Spanish-American war engagements at Santiago and Manila Bay. They demonstrated American military superiority over a European imperial power, just as the Japanese had done at Tsushima. One of the largest of the mock land battles, held on July 22nd, 1905 and involving 1,500 Oregon national guardsmen and regular troops, was compared by The Oregonian to Japanese actions in the Russo-Japanese War. The first sentence in the article is “The Japanese rushes at Port Arthur paled into insignificance in comparison with the brilliant charges and the military strategy of the boys in blue and brown, who yesterday fought a mimic battle on the hillside overlooking the Exposition grounds in the presence of thousands.”

The Japanese exhibit at the LCE did not display modern military equipment, in part because the exhibit was what was left over from St. Louis, restocked by Japanese merchants who had little interest in displaying war machines that were not going to fetch a reasonable price. The AYPE was a different matter. The Japanese exhibit was much more robust. The Japanese government subsidized the construction of an entire Japanese pavilion. The AYPE exhibit also had more of the traditional governmental exhibits including military displays. The exhibit itself was not extravagant, just “The works in the Imperial Arsenal at Kure are shown in the photographs and a few model ships constructed there, representing the latest style of naval

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11 Press release “ALL THE TRAIL FOR $7: Lewis and Clark Fair Visitors May See 35 Shows for that Small Amount” Mss1609 Box 90 folder 30 (Portland, OR: Oregon Historical Society Research Library).  
12 “Sham Battle Great Success Picturesque Feature for the Visitors at the Exposition Yesterday,” The Oregonian, July 7, 1905.
architecture. There are also among the exhibits three figures of seamen.” Unlike any other nation aside the United States, however, Japan had a pair of warships stationed in Seattle specifically for the opening of the exposition.

As part of the exposition Japan invited particular members of Seattle society to tour the warship Aso with Rear Admiral Ichiji. We lack sources on what Seattleites thought about the Japanese warships. By 1909, the two Japanese ships on hand for the exposition were antiquated, but having them there was still a sign both of good will and of the reach of the imperial navy. If concerns over Japanese military technology were calmed by the obsolete Aso and Soya, they were quickly revived in September 1909 when The Seattle Star ran an article titled: “Japanese scare the world with an order for largest of battleships.” The new Japanese cruiser at 36,000 tons outclassed any American or British ship on the sea. The article even had diagrams that compared the U.S.S. Delaware, America’s most advanced battleship, to the much larger hull of the Japanese warship. The article questioned what the Japanese needed the new cruiser for:

What does Japan intend to do with her big cruiser? To every nation in the world this question is formidable. Big battleships are intended to harass the war fleets of other nations, but big cruisers are build to destroy their commerce.

Against the United States possession in the Orient—the Philippines and Hawaii, predominantly Japanese in population—against our long Pacific coast line, what could Japan do with her new cruiser in time of war? That The Seattle Star connected the Japanese warship with commerce showed the concern developing along the West Coast toward Japanese ascendancy in the Pacific, a rise to power that challenged the norms of racial hierarchy. Nothing argued more persuasively that Japan was no longer anyone’s pupil than 36,000 tons of armed steel that were more than double the size of the largest American warship.

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For the most part, having the Japanese squadron in Seattle caused no social problems. The Japanese sailors were complimented by fairgoers on how studious and attentive they were to the exposition exhibits. There was one incident, however, that demonstrated growing uneasiness between the Japanese and West Coasters. Around June 8, 1909, a Japanese officer walking the grounds of the AYPE was insulted when he saw the Japanese flag flying lower than the American flag. The sailor demanded that the flag be raised to the same height of the Stars and Stripes. The officer was “…acting on his own initiative, claiming that his flag was insulted and that he wished to avoid trouble from the Jap sailors who were visiting the fair.”\(^{15}\) The officer was not only concerned that Japan was disrespected, but also wanted to avoid any negative reaction from Japanese sailors. How the article concludes is also revealing. “They [Chicago reporters who happened to be at the offending concession at the time of the incident] promptly wired the news to their papers, and it depends upon their judgment and moderation whether or not the matter will be subject for war talk in the east.”\(^{16}\) The article reflected awareness on the west coast of rising tensions with Japan and the practice on the east coast of exaggerating those tensions.

**Industrial**

The Japanese were among the largest exhibitors at both the LCE and the AYPE. According to *The Lewis and Clark Journal*, the Japanese occupied “One-half the Oriental Building.”\(^{17}\) The Oriental Building was the second most expensive of all the exhibit buildings. Out of the 50,000 square foot floor plan, Japan’s exhibit covered 25,000 square feet.\(^{18}\) Japanese exhibits heavily focused on traditional goods that emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese culture. This did not mean that the Japanese Exhibit Association did not pay close attention to how their exhibits were

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\(^{16}\) “Jap raises fine point at A.-Y.-P.”


portrayed. On the contrary, the display of traditional goods was supposed to clash with the tools of industrial progress that were displayed in the halls of agriculture and manufacture.

The Japanese were seen as a dynamic nation by many fairgoers but not nearly as advanced as the United States. The racial language of newspaper articles about the fair revealed that many Americans, despite Japan’s victory, still considered the Japanese students to the United States. “One gets a better appreciation of the status of the indefatigable little brown men in the industrial world than were possible by any other means than that of going to Japan personally. Formidable looking weapons\(^{19}\) are on display, used by the Japanese a few years ago,--a remarkable contrast to the death-dealing instruments…in the present struggle in the Far East.”\(^{20}\)

The focus on traditional items, even traditional weapons, was planned by Japanese exhibitors. Prior Japanese exhibits at St. Louis and Chicago had demonstrated how traditional versus industrial goods influenced public perception of the Japanese. The craftsmanship of many of the Japanese goods displayed at the fairs elevated the status of Japan in the eyes of Americans.\(^{21}\) As opposed to the spirit of Western industrialism, Japan created its own synthesis of civilization that was different but not necessarily inferior to that of the West. The contribution which Japan made to the world was not empire, but their ability to stand against the “blandishments and intimidations of western powers.”\(^{22}\)

The change in focus of Japan from the fine arts of Chicago to industry in St. Louis caused it to lose esteem in the eyes of fairgoers. Americans were fascinated by Japan’s massive industrial growth, but they also feared that in growing Japan would lose its special contribution to civilization.\(^{23}\)

\(^{19}\) Samurai swords
\(^{21}\) Harris, 41.
\(^{22}\) Harris, 54.
\(^{23}\) Harris, 54.
The pattern seemed a little less nuanced at Portland. Traditional Japanese trade goods were precisely what exposition organizers wanted to display in order to foster demand. The items that Japan presented were primarily: “cloisonné, silk, embroideries, cut-velvet, painted screens and bronze works.” None of these goods reached anywhere near the status of threatening to American trade in the Pacific, nor were they a 36,000 ton cruiser that could disrupt trade.

The “Fair Japan” concession, although not a part of the Japanese Exhibit Association’s display inside the Oriental Building, was often misunderstood as an official representation of Japan. The concession, although managed by a Japanese immigrant, was an American owned business that was a staple of the St. Louis, Portland, and Seattle expositions. The Oregonian reveals the extent of its belief that Japan was only capable of making non-threatening traditional items; “Here is to be seen not only the interesting Japanese themselves—Men, women and children, clad in their picturesque native costumes—but also everything that pertains to the commercial and industrial life of the Japanese nation.” In the following paragraph the newspaper revealed how limited it thought the industrial ability of Japan was when it enumerated the “industrial” products of the island nation, “In the booths are exhibited the finest silks, tapestries and other fabrics of the Japanese mills, the most beautiful chinaware to be found in the world, and the products of many other industrial plants that have given the Japanese fame and reputation.”

The limited view of Japanese industry was not completely the fault of The Oregonian. Japanese exhibitors chose traditional Japanese materials because they appealed to American fairgoers. There was little likelihood that Japan would sell industrial machinery to the United States, but there was an opportunity to increase trade by appealing to an American sense of the exotic.

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24 “Trail Shows Draw Big Crowds,” The Oregonian, 6/2/1902.
26 “Glimpses of Fair Japan at Lewis and Clark Exposition.”
Kristin Hoganson details how Americans desired exotic items. Cosey corners and oriental themed rooms were demonstrations of imperial power. Americans transplanted and controlled exotic cultures by bringing Japanese, Chinese, Middle East products into their homes. At the fairs Japan was making its culture suitable for a consumptive American population.

A comparison of the items displayed at the Japanese exhibits at the LCE and the AYPE shows how Japan’s exhibit developed the idea of an exotic and unique culture different from the West but denoting high civilization. At both expositions, Japanese exhibitors attempted to show not just how industry or force of arms had raised Japan to great power status, but how Japanese culture influenced the great cultural centers of the Belle Époque. During the LCE, one Japanese exhibitor acted as a translator for a Mr. Nagi, a specialist on Japanese art who gave courses on the influence of Japanese art on French styles of painting. The Japanese exhibit at the AYPE included kimonos. The Japanese Exhibit Handbook of the AYPE informed the fairgoer of the influence Japanese culture on western dress; “Kimono is the national style of wearing apparel of the Japanese. Besides its artistic beauty, its natural suitability has of late attracted a great deal of admiration of the world...so much so that the style makers of Western women’s dresses have come to make a large modification after the kimono style.”

Although interaction with the United States and European powers was having a revolutionary impact on Japan, the Japanese Exhibit Association illustrated that the meeting of Japan and the West was a mutual exchange, not a one way imposition. As much as Japan credited the Western powers for industrial and military technology, these categories of products were not the only definition of civilization. Art was just as important to exuding progress and status among the great powers.

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Japan displayed more than kimonos. There were a variety of items that demonstrated Japanese cultural sophistication. Unlike many other exhibits in the expositions, Japan’s cultural exhibit focused on how old and refined traditional forms of Japanese art were. Porcelain was one of the most prominent Japanese displays at the LCE. Out of 54 individual Japanese exhibitors at the Centennial, 12 of them displayed porcelain, more than any other item. At the AYPE the Japanese Exhibit Handbook gave a lengthy section to describing Japanese porcelain.

The Japanese Exhibit Association tied together the traditionalism of porcelain, the quality, and more importantly the market of Japanese porcelain, to demonstrate the potential for commerce of Japan’s unique culture. “Japan exports $3,600,000 worth of [Porcelain] goods to foreign countries. This industry, one of the oldest of industries in Japan, has seen various processes of development…New studies were made in the porcelain in Europe…Japan has attained the equal rank of art with them.”

Between 1902 and 1909 Japanese porcelain exports increased from 2,461,544 Yen (around $1,230,000) to $3,600,000 indicating the increased popularity of Japanese porcelain. That Japan was trying to take the market away from the Europeans shows not only the cultural significance Japan gave to their porcelain products, but also that Japan was competing in quality and artistry with European goods. The Japanese Exhibit Association extended the comparison between Japanese goods and European goods to carvings and bronzes. In part the Exhibit Association was trying to emphasize the difference between Japanese goods and European ones: “The art of making bronze ornaments in Japan is entirely different from that of Europe, and Japan has many independent features in every respect.” For a nation that was purposefully emulating American-European industrial and military models, the Japanese exhibits heavily...

32 Hoshi, 43.
emphasized the uniqueness of Japanese culture. Thus, Japan was the same as the West—in terms of the measurements of power—but different in terms of the culture that power protected.

Silk was prominently displayed at both the LCE and the AYPE. Japanese and Chinese silk sales had increased dramatically in the United States by the turn of the twentieth century. Raw Silk in 1902 represented one of Japan’s largest exports to the States, at 44,497,255 yen ($22,000,000). At the LCE, there were eight silk exhibits, second only to the number of porcelain exhibits. Silk took pride of place in the Japanese Exhibit Handbook at the AYPE, where among non-governmental displays, the silk exhibit received pride of place in the handbook. After 1902, the silk trade grew in importance, according to the Japanese Exhibit Association, to $60,000,000, fifty five percent of which came to the United States.

The Japanese claimed complete dominance with lacquer wares. The exhibit handbook proclaims that “The material of lacquer is produced only in China and Japan…Japan has become the foremost lacquer ware producing country, in respect of beauty of the wares and of economy of their use.” The AYPE places more emphasis on lacquer wares than at the LCE where there was only one lacquer ware exhibit valued at $101.

The Japan exhibit exuded imperialism when discussing cultural products. Japan admitted that it was introduced to both porcelain and lacquer ware through Chinese influences, but improved on both. For although lacquer ware, “production was introduced from China, the Japanese have almost monopolized the industry.” And for porcelain, “After the introduction of the enamel process from China and Korea centuries ago, the Japanese heaped improvement upon

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34 Hoshi, 49.
37 Official Catalogue of the Lewis & Clark Centennial, 121-122.
38 “Acceptance of Exhibits: Russian; Hungarian; Chinese; Philippines; Holland, Denmark; India; East India; Cairo; Unidentified,” Mss1609 Box 56 folder 3 (Portland, OR, Oregon Historical Society Research Library).
improvement on the work, and have brought the art to the present state of beauty.\textsuperscript{40} The same was true with cloisonné where the skill “was taught the Japanese by the Chinese more than one thousand years ago,” but it was only in recent years that the Japanese have improved the process by introducing a wireless cloisonné.\textsuperscript{41}

``Through such sentiments, Japan was establishing itself as the protector of not only Japanese heritage, but also the broader culture and traditions of East Asia. This belief was not new to the Japanese, but had already played a role in the St. Louis Japanese exhibit, where the Japanese used literature and artwork to depict themselves as the conservators and improvers of Chinese culture, and by extension the protectors of all of China.\textsuperscript{42} Instead of using martial language, the Japanese cloaked their imperialism in cultural legitimacy.

Playing on the vocabulary that fair organizers had developed to give the LCE and the AYPE an imperial dimension, the Japanese portrayed themselves as the imperial guarantors of China. Japan could annex Korea and have a large sphere of influence in China because it was protecting Chinese culture from European influence and even improving upon it. The ability for the Japanese to demonstrate progress on Chinese artistry and production separated the Japanese racially from the Chinese.

The emphasis on traditional Japanese goods portrayed a unique Japanese civilization that was becoming a great power while maintaining its own culture and traditions. The list of goods displayed by the Japanese in the \textit{Official Guide to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition} was not meant to illicit fear of Japanese expansionism. The silks, carpets, bronzes, embroideries,

\textsuperscript{40} Japan exhibits building: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Seattle 1909, 5.
\textsuperscript{41} Japan exhibits building: Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, Seattle 1909, 6.
\textsuperscript{42} Christ, 675-709.
cloisonné, toys, flags, antimony wares, uniforms, swords etc.\textsuperscript{43} were intended to foster respect between the two nations and inspire demand for exotic Japanese goods.

The results were good and bad. For laborers who were concerned over employment, Japanese craftsmanship was a threat to job security. For those of the upper class invested in trans-Pacific trade, the Japanese were respected as business partners, a cordial relationship necessary for the security of the Pacific trade. For the average fairgoer Japanese traditionalism was vital to maintaining their uniqueness as a civilization in their own right, but a non-threatening one.\textsuperscript{44}

But westernization, primarily related to industry and warfare, threatened to destroy what made Japan unique. When Americans began to notice the industrial progress made by Japan between the Chicago exposition of 1893 and the St. Louis exposition of 1904, many were concerned that Japanese advances in industry were destroying what made Japan unique and a non-competitor. Once Japan became active in international politics, it became just another power.\textsuperscript{45} This paradoxical thinking placed the Japanese in a difficult situation. Being seen as culturally strong but militarily weak would not stop European or American exploitation. The Russo-Japanese war already proved that whatever idea of uniqueness Japan had was not enough to stop aggression from western great powers. Yet, to industrialize meant playing into the fears of Yellow Peril and increased tensions with the U.S.

Except for a few small military displays at the LCE, exhibits were much more subdued in terms of industrial progress and imperial expansion than those displayed at St. Louis. One of the reasons was the business orientation of the exhibits. The AYP\textsuperscript{E} and the LCE exhibits tried to foster a trade relationship with the West Coast. Displaying goods that Oregonians and

\textsuperscript{43} Official Guide to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition, 54.

\textsuperscript{45} Harris, 34-35.
Washingtonians could just as easily manufacture themselves was not sound business strategy. Instead of emphasizing their martial power, it was much more prudent, like the other “exotic” nations of the fairs, to play on desires for the exotic by displaying items unique to Japan. Large increases in American trade spurred on by expositions was more than a hope. Before the war, trade between America and Japan had been growing yearly, sometimes explosively. From 1895 to 1896 Japan’s trade with Seattle had doubled. Trade tripled from 1896 to 1897, and by 1899 was already worth $8,000,000. Although nowhere near the amount of trade that silk represented between the years of 1901 and 1902, there was also a startling jump in the trade of copper. In 1901 both crude and refined copper contributed only 150 yen to exports with the United States. In 1902 that number mushroomed to 280,380 yen.

Playing to American attitudes of imperial and racial superiority was a display of Japanese humility to assuage fears of rising Japanese power. The Japanese built on the idea of dependency. Japan would not dare think of war with a nation on which it was dependent for the very tools of industry that made war possible. As Congressman George Southwick stated at the opening of the LCE:

> The first real impetus to our oriental trade was given by the Chicago exposition, which attracted representative men from the orient who came and saw our goods and products and went back home imbued with the idea that they wanted to buy them. Subsequent expositions have promoted the movement, and now this one, located at the very doors of the country nearest the orient, will fix in the mind of the far easterner the idea that if he wants the best things in the world he must come here to get them.

Japan, it was thought, needed the U.S. for heavy industrial goods. Whatever Oregon and Washington imported was not so critical. Trade data published by the Japanese Exhibit Association underscored that Japan accepted critical exports, like cotton and kerosene from the United States. Such trade data assisted in creating a vision of the U.S. leading Japan into modernity. The traditional items on display at the expositions allowed fairgoers to recall that it

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46 Lee, 281.
47 Hoshi, 49.
was only recently that Japan had risen to prominence, and largely, exposition organizers tried to convey, on the shoulders of the United States.

Items that did not hold commercial value were often valued chauvinistically. One example appeared in a special article of *The Oregonian* meant to galvanize excitement for the fair in January of 1905. Certain goods could express the Japanese “third way”\(^{49}\) of non-Western high civilization, but religious items were a sign of Japan’s antiquity that paradoxically prevented it from being a great power. “But almost as important a factor in Japanese life as the commercial side, and one which the casual visitor will miss, is the significance of the priceless relics of a former dynasty, the remains of the temples. In these worm-eaten and grotesquely-carved pieces of wood is represented the greatest opposition to the advancement of Christianity in Japan—ancestral worship.”\(^{50}\)

The article reveals the commercial quality of the fairs when it discussed negotiations for the Nikko temple to be brought to the LCE and displayed to fairgoers. “…an attempt will be made to have the famous temple of Nikko, the gem of Japanese architecture, shipped to Portland…Built of rare inlaid woods, ivory and gold, the beautiful building is worth a fabulous sum and has stood in its present location for 700 years.”\(^{51}\)

The commercial nature of the exposition went part and parcel with its imperial character. America was expanding into the Pacific to meet the demands of business for consumer goods. Traditional Japanese goods could easily be placed within a consumer paradigm. Objects that were independent of American influences in Japan were given a price and recognized, not for their cultural and emotional value, but for how much their materials were worth. The Japanese exhibit was one of the most expensive exhibits at the exposition. *The Oregonian* article claims

\(^{49}\) Harris, 35.
\(^{50}\) “Foreign Commissioners to Lewis and Clark Fair.”
\(^{51}\) “Foreign commissioners to Lewis and Clark Fair.”
the Japanese exhibit cost a total of $1,000,000, a certain exaggeration. Americans knew how much a Japanese porcelain contributed to civilization by its price tag. “Past masters in the art of porcelain decoration and lacquer work, the Japanese will make a magnificent display of this work. Single cases run in price from a few dollars into the thousands…”

As early as St. Louis, the Japanese Exhibit Association emphasized that the Japanese had not lost the connection to their traditions, culture, and artwork despite the disruptive influence of industrialization. As Hoshi notes in the handbook; “A careful inspection and critical study of the collection will prove that the Japanese artists still retain their old traditions and artistic skill.” At St. Louis, despite the exhibit in manufactures, agriculture, fine arts, education, and mines it is the display in the Palace of Varied Industries that Hoshi cites as being the most important. This was the exhibit that included the items not of factories, but of personal craftsmanship. By far the most beautiful and important exhibits of Japan at the Fair are those in the Palace of Varied Industries…The exhibits include the very finest examples of Japanese handicraft in embroidery, porcelain, Japan ware, bronze, chinaware, cloisonné, gold and silver ware, ivory, screens, jewelry, cabinets, furniture, wood carving, antimony, lacquer, etc. These articles represent the highest artistic ideals of Japanese women and are famous the world over for their beauty and excellence.

The Japanese commissioners were not unaware of the ideology of fair organizers. The Japanese Exhibit Association tried to turn stereotypes to its advantage. Instead of focusing on the industrial progress of Japan, a topic already receiving wide coverage in the press, the Japanese attempted to soften their image and make trade relations more acceptable to wary Americans.

**Landscaping and Architecture**

The exhibits were not the only measure of industrial progress among nations. The architecture and layout of the expositions were meant to symbolize the triumph of industry and human progress over the wild and unknown frontier.

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52 “Foreign commissioners to Lewis and Clark Fair.” The actual cost for the Japanese exhibit was probably between $200,000 - $400,000.
53 “Foreign commissioners to Lewis and Clark Fair.”
54 Hoshi, 117.
55 Hoshi, 117-118.
In the spirit of Dye’s *The Conquest*, statues were scattered throughout the LCE celebrating American conquest and expansion into the West. “First Steps Towards Civilization”\(^56\) depicted an exhausted Native American with his back to a younger tribesman who is pointing forward, symbolizing the vigor that lays in the future of progress and economic growth in contrast to the antiquated customs of the past.

“Hitting the Trail” was a celebration of the frontier, now giving ground to progress. Four cowboys wave their guns in the air as they gallop on their horses to an unknown destination. A souvenir book calls the statue “A striking group of sculpture, characteristic of the early days in the great Northwest. The sculptor has certainly caught the right spirit in his interpretation of the daring cowboys of the plains—a type that is rapidly disappearing and giving place to the onward march of civilization.”\(^57\)

The souvenir book emphasized the disappearing nature of Native American customs in “The Buffalo Dance.” “An exceptionally fine piece of work. The various dances of the North American Indian have been famous in history and literature since the discovery of the country, and the passing of the Indian will be remembered for centuries by their quaint customs and usages.”\(^58\)

Critical to the imperial understanding of the role of industry and trade was that people who did not use natural resources according to the western understanding of progress forfeited their sovereignty. In “The Coming of the White Man,” two haughty Native Americans look into the distance. The caption reads: “A magnificent work of art, representing the advent of civilization in the great Northwest; a message of peace and hope to the savage red man, and a token of prestige

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\(^56\) Blee, 239.


\(^58\) *Glimpses of the Lewis and Clark Exposition*, “Statuary Representing the Buffalo Dance.”
and glory for the vast territory bordering the golden Pacific.” The incongruities of a statue portraying a Native American wearing nothing but a loin cloth and a pelt next to the neo-Byzantine and Spanish Renaissance architecture of the exposition palaces gave a clear message: Americans had come to where there was nothing; they had discovered an unimproved land and had raised its inhabitants to civilization. Representations of Native American improvement under U.S. rule were displayed as successes of the civilizing tendency of American imperialism, legitimizing continued expansion.

On a larger scale, American industry had “classicized the wilderness.” The architecture of the LCE exposition buildings was uniform in a style that recalled imperial grandeur. The entrance colonnade to the exposition was made of Doric columns, the Agricultural building gilded with gold paint, with a large dome rising in the center recalled Byzantium. The foreign exhibits building was in the model of Spanish Renaissance. The Oriental building was done in a style that recalled the knave and ambulatory of a cathedral. The LCE followed an architectural pattern that was meant to convey imperial triumph over nature.

The only major building that varied from the standard neo-imperial style was the Forestry building, which, ironically, was the building that perhaps best symbolized the expansionist aspirations of the Portland establishment for the Pacific. Billed as the largest log cabin in the world, the mixture of wilderness and civilization emphasized the bounty of nature and the ability for the U.S. to exploit its resources. The ability to change the landscape and subvert nature to Man’s will gave right of expansion to those who could tame and use natural resources toward production and technological innovation.

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60 Blee, 236-237.
In keeping with the classificatory regimes critical for fair organizers to develop a hegemonic message, buildings that shared a relationship were placed close together. The Agriculture and Manufactures buildings were placed close to each other to emphasize the dependence of agriculture on industry. The Oregon, California, and Washington buildings, along with the Forestry building were grouped around the Oriental palace, conveying the economic relationship of the Pacific Slope states and East Asia, represented by the coast’s defining export, timber. “It has been a day of history-making. With the sounding of the noon chimes a new epoch dawned for the great Pacific empire. It is not the epoch of pioneering, nor of hardships, nor of toil; it is the consummation thereof, and a physical narrative of a nation’s growth.”62 From the foundations laid by the pioneers there was now a city in the wilderness, connected to an expanding empire. With the conclusion of the Russo-Japanese War, imports to Japan were skyrocketing. In the days since Tsushima, Japan had already requested $5,000,000 of new machinery.63

The architecture and layout at the AYPE differed significantly from the LCE, reflecting a more cosmopolitan outlook and emerging political realities. The AYPE was more diverse in the architectural styles of its buildings. The core exposition palaces were Beaux Arts in style. The Government Building, the Palaces of Agriculture and Manufactures as well as the European and Oriental buildings were still representative of the imperial identity at the heart of the exposition. The outer buildings were much more diverse.

The entrance to the AYPE illustrated the difference between the AYPE and the LCE. Where the entrance colonnade at the LCE was done in a style that recalled a classical Roman peristyle, the gate to the AYPE was a hybrid of Native American and Japanese architecture. While the LCE entrance colonnade bore the slogan “Westward the course of empire takes its

62 “Portland welcomes world to her great exposition,” The Oregon Journal, 6/1/1905.
63 “Order new machinery,” The Oregon Journal, June 1, 1905.
way,” the AYPE had no slogan on its entryway. Instead the gate, a Japanese tori arch held up by Native American totem poles, had the exposition medallion as the centerpiece. Inscribed were three women. The woman on the right held a train and symbolized the Pacific Northwest. Sitting in front of a dense forest, the maiden recalled the Pacific Northwest’s prize export, lumber. The woman seated in the center, dressed in white and holding gold, was Alaska connecting the woman on the left, Japan, with the Pacific Northwest. This woman, dressed in a kimono, held a steamship. The AYPE connected sea, commerce, and land.

As at the LCE, the conquest of nature was a significant theme throughout the AYPE. In forty years the city had climbed from a frontier settlement to an exposition city, earning accolades as an achievement of American conquest of the wilderness. “It is a marvelous revelation not only of possibilities but of actual accomplishments in the way of civilization, and it ought to make the Eastern visitor take a new pride in the greatness of his country as represented both by an incalculable wealth of its Western resources and by the eager sprit which has established so great an empire in the West.”64 The raw resources of Oregon and Washington—fish, timber, and wheat—could all be exploited to increase trade.

At the AYPE, Japan secured its own pavilion, one of only three foreign countries to do so, the other two being Canada and Sweden (Seattle had a large Scandinavian population). At the LCE, the inclusion of Japan in the Oriental building had placed them on par with other inferior races in the American racial lexicon: Persians, Turks, and Chinese. *The Oregon Journal* portrayed the nations gathered in the Oriental Building as school children receiving a lesson in civilization from the American teacher:

This impression [of stepping into a foreign land] is soon dispelled, however, for in the balcony the stars and stripes are gracefully draped about each column and directly over the entrance is a coat of arms of the state of Oregon, surmounted by an American eagle, the whole artistically draped in American flags. The idea one receives immediately is ‘America looking toward the orient.’…Below are the nations of the orient with

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64 Penrose, 696.
their old ideas and customs, while above, looking over the whole is America extending to these countries her civilization through the medium of education.65

The American flag draped over the hall, Japan and China surrounded by the Oregon coat of arms: the Pacific Northwest had symbolically captured the Orient. The Japanese securing a large pavilion for their exhibit at the AYPE was significant because they had escaped from the symbolism of American dominance over the Orient. As at the LCE, the Oregon, Washington, and Forestry building once again created a triangle that sat directly adjacent to the Oriental Building.66

But by 1909, one could no longer assume Japanese submission to America. The diplomatic scare of exclusion had shown that Japan had strong nationalist feelings that did not tolerate American slights. The AYPE, designed to foster trade and good relations with Japan, elevated the Empire of the Rising Sun not just as another cog in the American imperial vision, as at the LCE, but to the status of trade partner. The amalgam of Japanese and Native American architecture was thus not meant to place Japan on the colonial level of conquered Native American, but rather symbolized the connection of the Pacific Coast with Japan, and through Japan, Asia more broadly.

By having its own pavilion, the Japanese Exhibit Association asserted its superiority and uniqueness when compared to the other Asian nations. The pavilion was constructed to resemble a Japanese castle and gave the Japanese Exhibit Association more control over organizing the Japanese display. Instead of being adjacent to the exhibits of other nations, Japan exhibited in isolation, allowing its exhibits to play off and reinforce one another.

Eleven out of the twenty-four pages of the Japanese Exhibit Handbook for the AYPE are dedicated to advertising the different companies that are displaying their wares at the exposition.

66 “You’ll like Tacoma: Official Map of the AYPE Ground.”
Most of the advertisements are for the traditional items previously discussed: silks, cloisonné, porcelains, tea. The increased production in these items was no threat to the U.S. commercially or politically, as there were few American manufacturers of these goods.

The Japanese Exhibit Association could not compete with AYPE fair organizers in terms of grandeur. Organizers controlled the layout and architecture of the fair, The Japanese Exhibit Association, however, could at least show Seattleites that Japan too had fashioned industry out of wilderness. Since 1853, the year Commodore Perry had reached Japan, sixteen years before the incorporation of Seattle, Japan had fashioned itself into an industrial power and the center of an empire just as the Pacific Northwest had hewn for itself a place in an American industrial empire.

At the AYPE, Japan had more than just industrial progress to display. Alongside its pavilion, the Japanese Exhibit Association constructed the Formosan Tea House. Formosa, now Taiwan, was annexed by the Japanese in 1895. By including an exhibit from the Formosan territorial government, the Japanese were demonstrating how even its colonies aided in trade with the Pacific Northwest. Thus, even if Japanese territories expanded, it was still beneficial to the trade network based in Seattle. The advertisement for the Formosan Tea House let fair goers know that the trade of tea, especially Formosan Oolong Tea, represented a trade worth $6,500,000, ninety percent of which came to the United States. At the LCE, only Britain had enjoyed exclusive space for the displays of its colonies.

**Racial**

The expositions were imperial showcases that were framed in the language of race. Robert Rydell argues that representations of American power at the fairs relied on classificatory

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systems and patterns of spatial organization that were meant to awe visitors with an imperial vision of American civilization. Referencing the World Columbian Exposition of 1893, he demonstrates how anthropological classification was used to show white superiority over other races. Cultures considered the least civilized were farthest away from the exposition complex in the fair’s entertainment zone. As visitors moved closer to the White City, they progressed through tiers of civilization until they entered the apex of progress displayed in the exposition palaces.

Within the exposition halls ethnographical exhibits developed ideas of white superiority under the auspices of education. At the LCE, an interpretation of Japan different from the quaint “children of the flower kingdom” portrayed at the Chicago exposition began to emerge. The fair reframed the Japanese within the racial hierarchy. As noted above, the Battle of Tsushima did not break down the racial hierarchy completely, but it did split it into new subdivisions. The white race now had inferior and superior components.

One of the uses of the post-Tsushima Japanese display was only tangentially related to Japan. The Japanese victory offered a mirror to morality movements within the United States. Prohibition groups were active in both Portland and Seattle at the time of their respective fairs. The AYPE was a completely dry exposition. What had caused Russia to lose so disastrously to a nation which until then had been relatively unknown as an international power? The answer, The Oregon Journal concluded, was the discipline and morality of the Japanese sailors compared to the Russians, who suffered from the immorality that came with liberal rations of vodka, “The Japanese were better drilled, better prepared, more in earnest, more intelligent, less superstitious,

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69 Rydell, 56.
70 The name for the exposition complex at Chicago.
71 Ibid., 64-65.
72 China is generally referred to as the Flowery Kingdom. In The Oregonian and The Oregon Journal Japan is frequently called the Flowery Kingdom. It is unknown if this was simply a misconception on the part of the author of the article or a widely used name for Japan instead of China in Oregon.
more patriotic, sober... And very likely the Russians’ scant faith was kept up by liberal
imbibements of vodka. Between two such opponents there could be but one outcome of the
encounter.” Just as Henry Dosch had used the behavior of the Japanese at Osaka to reflect on
American behavior at expositions, Americans could find in the results of the Battle of Tsushima
a morality tale that translated into an imperial dynamic at the fairs.

The expositions allowed the Japanese to share in the imperial racial paradigm used to
legitimize empire. In the St. Louis exposition, the Japanese successfully used their display of
nine Ainu to connect the American conquest of the West to Japanese subjugation of the home
islands and expansion into Manchuria, Korea, and Formosa. The LCE and the AYPE provided
further opportunities to make more explicit comparisons between the Ainu and Native
Americans. Both fairs were awash in the symbolism of the conquest of the west: statuary of
Native Americans looking towards progress, Sacagawea pointing the way to the Pacific, cowboys shooting up the town.

Yet at both the LCE and AYPE, the Japanese made no mention of the Ainu comparable
to their use at St. Louis. Japan’s exhibits at the LCE and the AYPE focused on the business
aspect of its relationship with the United States. The only colonial territory that the Japanese
exhibitors displayed was Formosa. Even that focused on the benefits of trade that Formosa
provided to the United States. Similarities between the Japanese conquest of Formosa and the
American annexation of the Philippines were not emphasized as was the case at St. Louis.

The Japanese downplayed race as a factor of empire at both the LCE and AYPE, possibly
as a response to the exclusion movement emerging on the West Coast, but also from the different
utility that Japan received from the AYPE and the LCE. The fair at St. Louis was the pinnacle of

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74 Henning, 158.
75 Christ, 689-693.
the American imperial expositions. The Japanese exhibit there was meant not so much to increase trade, an unlikely prospect with inland St. Louis, but to provide an ostentatious showing of Japan’s arrival on the imperial stage. The LCE and the AYPE were much smaller and served more the pragmatic interests of increasing commerce. There was no reason for the Japanese Exhibit Association to use the racial language of empire when it would serve no purpose in increasing trade and might further ignite the racial tensions between Japanese immigrants and American labor.

After fairgoers left the official exhibits and explored the entertainment zones of the fair, they were exposed to a variety of racial stereotypes. Unlike the educational character of the main exhibit halls, the concessions on the Trail and Pay Streak sold food, souvenirs, and of course entertainment by way of fun houses, theater, or a tour through an ethnic village. Following the tradition set down at Chicago’s midway, the ethnographic villages were entertainment under the guise of education. Some of the most durable villages were the Igorote village and the Fair Japan concession, a mainstay at St. Louis, the LCE, and the AYPE.

The concessions competed against the message that the official Japanese exhibit attempted to communicate. The average fairgoer did not always know what comprised the officially sanctioned exhibit of the Japanese government. The Oregonian heightened this confusion by framing the Fair Japan concession as an actual exhibit. In The Oregonian’s portrayal, the industry of Japan consisted of “Hand-carved ivories,” the works of “native artists,” Oolong tea and the “acrobats, jugglers, tragedians, geisha girls and trained singers.” The concessions focused mostly on exoticism, with the Japanese and Chinese concessions being

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76 Rydell, 154-157.
77 “Glimpses of Fair Japan at the Lewis and Clark Exposition.”
78 “Glimpses of Fair Japan at the Lewis and Clark Exposition.”
Orientalist in character. By attempting to appear authentic, however, these concessions sustained the racial stereotypes of American imperialism.

Fair organizers were aware of the potentially offensive nature of concessions and strove to minimize racial insensitivity, at least in the eyes of the white exposition organizers. The Fair Japan concession at the LCE was managed, but not owned by a Japanese immigrant. Like many of the concessions along the Trail and Pay streak, it was owned by American businessmen who made their money going from fair to fair setting up concessions. 79

The contract that the Fair Japan concessionaire signed with the LCE administration gives insight into how it relied upon the exotic to attract fairgoers while attempting to limit any culturally offensive portrayals of the Japanese: “…[the concessionaire will not] give any entertainment, or produce any feature of Japan that would in any way cast ridicule either upon the inhabitants or institutions of said country; but that on the contrary this concession shall be so constructed and operated as to faithfully represent the Japanese people in a dignified and proper manner.” 80 The contract also reveals that it was up to the exposition organizers to deem what material constituted representing Japan in an improper manner. In the paragraphs of the contract that list the items included in the concession the phrase “typical Japanese” constantly reappears:

…right within the space aforesaid to construct and maintain a typical Japanese theatre, Tea Garden, bazaars, and such other typical Japanese features as the Director of Concessions may from time to time in writing approve; also the right to manufacture and sell in and from said bazaars various Japanese articles, souvenirs, bric-a-brac and other articles of goods, wares and merchandise typical of Japan. 81

The contract reveals that the authority over what was deemed typically Japanese was the belief of the director of concessions. Thus, the exposition organizers attempted to mitigate prejudicial

81 “Agreement between the Lewis and Clark Centennial and American Pacific Exposition and Oriental Fair and Useto Kushibiki”
representations by making the Japanese concession a display that mirrored their own notions of Japan.

The main attractions of the Fair Japan concession were the Japanese theater and the tea garden, where fairgoers were served tea by geishas that the Japanese Concession Company brought to the United States. At the LCE, *The Oregonian* heralded the Japanese theater as the exhibit that gives the Trail “its Oriental flavor.” The displays at Fair Japan portrayed Japan as home to old and exotic traditions. In contrast to the statistical display of Japanese commerce available at the official Japanese exhibit, Fair Japan had a theater where “the dainty Geisha girl will execute the sun dance, the cherry dance, the fan dance and others...From the booths surrounding the gardens, bits of carved ivory, kimonos and Japanese wares will be offered by shy, dark-skinned salesmen, while the scent of burning incense will rise from every counter.” This depiction of the Japanese fit neatly into the racial hierarchy of subordinate, passive, polite Japanese who were exotic and unique but lacked the competitiveness needed to compete with the United States.

But an incident at the AYPE reveals how close to the surface concern was over Japan’s industrial growth and imperial expansion after Tsushima. At the Fair Japan concession, a game was included that was considered demeaning not to Japan, but to the United States, “Pull Uncle Sam’s Whiskers,” where fairgoers pulled on twine strings from three busts of Uncle Sam and were awarded prizes by the numbers attached to the end of the string.

**Japan’s Day at the Fair**

August 31, 1905 was Japan Day at the LCE, which recorded the third highest turnout of any day at the fair. Even though the Japanese Exhibit Association worked closely with the LCE

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82 “Glimpses of Fair Japan at the Lewis and Clark Exposition.”
83 “Night scenes on the trail,” *The Oregonian*, 1/2/1905.
administration, Japan Day was a paternal representation of America’s relationship to the Empire of the Rising Sun. The program for the day started with the Japanese national anthem played at the exposition auditorium, followed by messages from the Japanese consuls in Portland and Seattle concluding with Japanese music. Tea and rice cakes were distributed freely to fair goers among exposition buildings flying the Japanese flag and decorated with flowers and 10,000 Japanese lanterns.85

The real show started at two o’clock in the afternoon when a three hour long fireworks display ushered in the evening ceremonies. At nine p.m. the Grand Pageant commenced. The pageant, comprising 66 boats, took place on Guild’s lake, the body of water that separated the government building from the rest of the exposition. Most of these vessels were small launches that carried exposition officials, foreign delegates, and the press. The centerpiece, however, consisted of eight large floats. The first float in the procession was a model of Admiral Togo’s flagship to commemorate Tsushima and to celebrate the peace accords that were taking place at Portsmouth. Next came “the beautiful peace float, with a large white dove holding an olive branch, while Russia and Japan are shaking hands, and Columbia stands by encouraging peace.”86

The pageant was full of symbolism. Columbia, representative of civilization and the Pacific Northwest, looked on eagerly for Russia and Japan to come to peace, so much better for trade. It was in the third float, the Mikado’s float, that the paternalism of the pageant was most apparent. “The Mikado’s float will follow, showing the gilded throne of the ruler of Japan, near which stands the figure of the American naval officer who opened the sealed doors of Japan to the outside world…and thereby paved the way for the transformation of ancient Japan into the

85 “Peace Jubilee at Exposition,” The Oregonian, 8/31/1905.
86 “Peace Jubilee at Exposition.”
busy, thrift, progressive, wonderful Japan of today. Just below the American Commodore will stand admiral Togo…and on the next step stands General Oyama.”

Even on the day dedicated to Japan, amidst the recognition for Japan’s military accomplishments, the fair emphasized that this was only possible because of American tutelage. Commodore Perry, positioned next to the emperor, was given more importance than the Japanese military leaders who so recently won the war against Russia. At the LCE, Japan’s progress was still credited to the United States. Despite Japan’s newly proven power, it was still described as the “doughty little Japanese” to the “big American brother.”

Unlike the LCE’s emphasis on peace, Japan Day at the AYPE was smaller in scale, but a more martial affair. The day was characterized by the decoration of the exposition grounds with Japanese lanterns and the distribution of souvenir flags that entitled the holder to a gift from the official Japanese exhibit. At night, the Japanese Exhibit Association put on a two hour fireworks display complete with anti-Submarine mines and model Japanese warships besieging a model of Port Arthur. The difference between the two Japan Days indicates the changing relationship between the United States and Japan. Still considered a sibling to the U.S. after Tsushima, Japan had shown by the AYPE that it was a world power that could no longer be treated as a pawn in an American trade empire. The island nation had to be respected to maintain the cordial relations necessary for a flourishing trade.

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87 “Peace Jubilee at Exposition.”
90 “Japs are preparing elaborate display,” The Seattle Star, 8/30/1909.
Conclusion

The expositions in Portland and Seattle were marketed as educational tools, imperial wonderlands, a vision of what the future held, as well as a vast cosmopolitan bazaar. Fairgoers could learn about agriculture, manufacturing, art, ethnography, and geography. For many it was the only opportunity they would have to communicate, even if artificially, with people from another culture.

But the expositions of the Pacific Northwest came at a time of transition in the Pacific. The two expositions marked Japan’s transition from victorious pupil in 1905 to a great power demanding to be treated as the equal of the U.S. in 1909. The British, Russian, and Dutch empires were giving way to the growing empires of Japan and the United States. Leaders of the Pacific Northwest’s two leading cities saw a trading relationship between Japan and the West Coast as the key to unlocking a vast market that had been so long the preserve of European powers. The expositions were the space where relations, not only between nations, but also between merchants, educators, and political actors were established. The goal was to bring “Oriental and Occidental buyers and sellers”¹ closer together. The best way to enhance commercial knowledge of one another was to display the products and make known the various needs and resources of the two regions.

The expositions necessarily had imperial and racial overtones. Japan was seen as a pupil of the United States, “She [Japan] has paid us the compliment of sending hundreds of her brightest youths to be educated in our institutions, of sending commissions to study our industrial organization…”² The commercial spirit of imperialism presented at the expositions meant to encourage good relations with Japan was subject to forces outside of the gates of the exposition grounds. Over time the animosity of labor against cheaper Japanese workers infiltrated the

¹ Merrick, 8.
² Maxey, 5-6.
middle and upper classes until David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford University, weighed in writing the pragmatic effects of excluding the Japanese, preventing “racial degradation” at the expense of losing the trade with the Orient.³

Both Japan and the Pacific Northwest were facing new frontiers. Japan was a newly minted world power with all the ambition, uncertainty, and social problems that brought. The people of the Pacific Northwest faced the Pacific. There was no more manifest destiny, no more warring against scattered Native American tribes, but rather a necessary setting forth to develop networks of trade in the realm of international politics. Both America and Japan had their own imperial symbolisms and heritages that inspired legends and created national myths, American manifest destiny as against the divine origins of the Japanese Empire.

Besides newspaper articles, we unfortunately lack the sources to analyze what individual fairgoers thought of imperialism and the Japanese exhibit at both the LCE and the AYPE. In searching the major archives of the papers for both expositions no personal diaries or letters were found that gave insight to the average fairgoers reaction to the Japanese exhibit. Speculatively, the business elites of both Portland and Seattle saw the Japanese exhibit as a potential source of great wealth. If trade was established imports and exports flowing through the respective cities would generate large revenues for the city. Similarly, in more conservative Portland with less organized labor, the exclusion sentiment was less intense than Seattle. Lumber barons, cannery owners, and large scale farmers saw Japanese immigrants as potential sources of cheap labor.

For those in the middle class who could afford the exotic bric-a-brac displayed at the fair the response to Japan may have been more nuanced. In 1905 Japan was safely within the sphere of American influence. By 1909, however, the growing belligerence of Japan towards American racism may have pushed the once neutral middle class towards taking labor’s warning of the

yellow peril more seriously. It is doubtful that this fear had a serious impact on the middle class’ consumption of the exotic. As demonstrated the advertisements for kimonos went up between 1905 and 1909. The middle class could enter the Japanese exhibit and be transported to another world where the rules of Progressive Era America were left behind. Like the Cosey Corner craze, going to the Japanese exhibit and partaking in tea and examining porcelains and silks made the middle class fairgoer feel that they were cosmopolitan, experiencing a world that many would never visit, these visitors saw the global reach of the United States commercial empire. Still, by 1908, many of the middle class and some establishment leaders questioned the wisdom of trading with Japan. Cheap labor and extremely rapid development underscored the Pacific Northwest’s dependence on the Pacific trade, but not Japan’s. With the labor market, roles were becoming reversed: with Japan as the supplier and the Northwest was the dependent.

For labor we are perhaps even more at a loss. Certainly there was discontent with Japanese immigration to the United States outside of the exposition gates. Did these feelings persist when the working class crossed the threshold into the exposition? The Japanese exhibit by itself represented no threat to the wage earner. If anything, increased trade resulted in more jobs. Looking at the Japanese exhibit the working class fairgoer may have differentiated between Japanese immigrants and Japan itself. They may have found the Japanese a curiosity: a civilized non-white race whose products were of very fine quality. If immigrants had simply remained in Japan the worker would have no problem with the Japanese. As it stood the immigrants coming to the United States were not of the better classes. They were, so the worker might believe, so used to a low standard of living that they would drive down the wage of the laborer. When Japanese and Americans were forced together they could not mix.

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4 “Immigration from Asia,” The Independent 64 (February 13, 1908), 337.
The three expositions at the beginning of the twentieth century: Osaka in Japan, the Lewis and Clark Centennial in Portland, and the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition in Seattle were celebrations of the industrial progress the American and Japanese nations had so recently achieved, as well as imperial statements where each voiced their aspirations and claims to the mantle of future empire. In hindsight, much was foreshadowed that could not be read in tea leaves.
**Appendix**

**Picture 1: Postcard of a bird’s eye view of the Lewis and Clark Exposition.** The large log cabin on the left of the main exposition complex is the Forestry Building, the building to its right is the Oriental Palace, the smaller building to the South is the Oregon building. Photo is courtesy of Columbia River Images.  


**Picture 3: (right) The seal to the Lewis and Clark Exposition.** Photo is courtesy of the University of California Press E-Books Collection <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=kt4q2nc6k3&chunk.id=pt03&toc.id=ch10&brand=ucpress>
Picture 4: The grounds of the AYPE exposition. The building marked as number 15 is the Japan building, 20 is the Forestry Building, 21 the Oregon Building, and 22 the Washington Building. Picture is courtesy of the Seattle Public Library’s Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition Digital Collection.

Picture 6: Tori arch entrance to the Alaska-Yukon-Pacific Exposition. Photo courtesy of The Burke Museum of Natural History and Culture <http://www.washington.edu/burkemuseum/ayp/>

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