Yuki OOi

World's Fair of 1893: Faces of Modernization in the Contact Zone

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century, many changes were taking place in China. At that time, the government of the Qing dynasty was struggling to modernise the nation in order to survive, while Chinese people on American soil were also struggling with modernisation. Chinese who lived in the United States maintained transnational relations with their homeland and cared about this relationship, but at the same time they had begun to settle into American society. Because of their experiences living in a Western country, it can be assumed that their idea of modernization was influenced by the United States and thus was somewhat different from that of those Chinese who remained in their homeland.

This chapter will focus on what this modernization meant, not to people in China, but to the overseas Chinese living in the United States. There are two issues we shall explore in this chapter. One is how the new identity of Chinese residents in the US as Chinese became evident in the United States as they were simultaneously becoming American. 'Chinese' here means a national identity in the context of China and an ethnic identity in the context of the United States. It was not until the late nineteenth century that an awareness of having a 'Chinese' identity began to emerge among the Chinese living in America. Before this period, other types of identity such as clan or birthplace were stronger among Chinese in the US, as will be discussed later in this paper. In addition, this chapter will also examine what Chinese immigrants in the US thought about modernization while being influenced by American modernization. As a case in point, I will examine the World's Fair held in Chicago in 1893, and hence focus on Chinese residents in the Chicago area, because the Fair, which was planned as a celebration of modernization, created and served as a contact zone where American and Chinese ways of modernity encountered each other. In order to explore these two points fully, the chapter begins by giving some background on the situation in China at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century and how this situation affected the modernization and the national identity of Chinese in China. After that, the focus will turn to Chinese immigrants in America and the Chicago World's Fair.

China at the turn of the nineteenth century

At the turn of the century, the Chinese empire was weakened by internal wars such as the Taiping Rebellion (1851-1864) and the Boxer Uprising (1898-1900) and the wars with Britain, France and Japan in the mid- to late-nineteenth century. The Chinese empire was on the verge of being divided into smaller parts by imperialist forces, such as Britain, Japan, France, Russia, Germany, Austria, Italy and the United States. The Boxer Uprising turned out to be the final blow delivered to the Qing government. The Boxer rebels, many of whom were peasants, declared themselves anti-foreign and anti-imperialist. With this excuse, they assaulted and murdered foreigners and Chinese Christians living in Beijing. The Empress Dowager proved ineffective in protecting the people against the insurgency. Realising this, an International Relief Force of eight countries was organized and besieged the capital to protect their own nationals. Fearing them and the possibility of dismemberment of the country, the Empress Dowager finally conceded that the Qing dynasty could not keep its soil closed to foreign countries and maintain the status quo, which meant that the country required reforms in all areas, but in particular in education, the military and the constitution. By modernizing these national institutions, the government sought to avoid being colonized.

It was during this period that the national border was clearly determined. In addition, the people started to identify themselves nationally as Chinese, rather than identifying themselves locally (Yoshizawa 2003). As for the national border, the Qing government regarded borders as expandable; with the emperor at the center of the empire, territory could expand depending on how virtuous in a Confucian sense the emperor was. That is, the more virtuous he became the greater the areas that his domain could govern. In this belief system, which originated from Confucianism, the Qing government formed loosely connected networks with its surrounding nations through the practice of accepting tribute. Any group, in principle, could join the network as long as they appreciated the emperor's virtue and paid tribute. In other words, the center was established where the Emperor

2018.04.20 11:24:18 5,764 words *CCC 7.3 1B - OOI Yuki, World's Fair of 1893, Faces of Modernization in the Contact Zone UK 5,760.doc*

resided, whereas the periphery of the empire was ambiguous, because the empire constituted the aforementioned open-ended networks. At the turn of the century, however, territorial skirmishes and Japan's attempts to invade Korea and Taiwan forced the government to determine a national border (Mogi 1994). Now China had to claim its own border, and this meant the periphery could not be ambiguous any longer. The determination of its national border was a significant change in China at this time of modernization.

In addition to this development related to the physical awareness of China, the mental awareness, the consciousness of being 'Chinese' or the collective identity of being 'Chinese', emerged around this time, too (Yoshizawa 2003). This raises the question, why did people in China not think of themselves as Chinese before? Earlier studies have pointed out two reasons. First, it has been argued that, traditionally, people identified themselves with the place from which they originated. This strong connection to the local level even applied to emigrants living in other countries; they organized themselves for mutual help along the lines of where they came from or according to their clan. The second reason why they did not earlier identify themselves as Chinese was that the Qing government did not establish the nationality law until 1910. This nationality law literally gave nationality to the Chinese people. Before this, there was no official nationality. What accentuated the identity of being Chinese at that time was a nationwide boycott movement of American products in 1905, which first developed in Guangdong Province and spread to other areas such as Shanghai and Tianjin (Kikuchi 2005; Yoshizawa 2003). Guangdong was the original home of many of the Chinese who emigrated to the United States in the nineteenth century; more than 90 per cent of them came from the Pearl River Delta area. The boycott was mobilized as a protest against discrimination in the United States against Chinese immigrants, which I will discuss in more detail later. In order to organize this widespread movement, people gradually developed their new identity beyond region into a trans-regional consciousness, namely, the identity of being Chinese. This transformation was significant, since in China emigrants who had left the country to go abroad were deemed 'traitors', who had discarded their motherland (Yen 1985). In the course of the boycott, however, those who joined it regarded the emigrants as their fellow countrymen. In this way, the national identity emerged in addition to the local identity in China.

These two developments, the emergence of a clear-cut national border and the establishment of a national identity, constituted necessary steps in becoming a modern nation-state, as Benedict Anderson discussed in his book, *The Imagined Community* (1991). Therefore, it can be said that the Qing dynasty attempted to mold itself into a modern nation-state while actually carrying out reforms of the pre-existing state structure.

World's Columbian Exposition of 1893, Chicago

Modernization was an issue not only for the Chinese in China, but also for the Chinese abroad. In 1893, Chicago, a city in the midwestern United States, welcomed approximately 27.5 million visitors to the World's Fair. It was the third such fair held in America, coming after those that took place in New York (1853) and Philadelphia (1876). The Fair was designed to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the 'discovery of the New World' by Columbus, as well as the progress and modernization of America since that time. Thus, the Fair was called the 'World's Columbian Exposition.' In the initial preparation stage, four cities had launched a bid to host the Fair; in addition to Chicago, New York, Washington DC and St. Louis in Missouri vied to host the exposition. To win this competition, Chicagoans began to organize themselves as early as 1889. Among the four candidate cities, many people expected New York to win. However, thanks to an internal feud among New York statesmen, Chicago won the bid at the US Congress in 1890. There was yet another reason why the city was chosen. *The Chicago Tribune*, a local newspaper, pointed out the insularity and provincialism of New York, which failed to recognize and did not pay enough attention to the fact that there were cities and other Americans living in the West beyond the Allegheny Mountains (25 February 1890). Therefore, the *Tribune* expected that choosing Chicago would make Eastern states recognize that cities and people in the midwestern or the western US were also cultivated and modernized (Lederer II 1972; Parmet 1972).

In 1893, after more than two years of preparation, the Fair finally opened on May 1st, and lasted until October 23rd. The venue was divided into two parts, the White City and the Midway Plaisance. The White City was designed to show American progress and how civilized the nation had become. For this purpose, the newest technologies and sciences were exhibited in buildings for 'Manufactures and Liberal Arts', 'Machinery', and 'Agriculture'. Several of these exhibition buildings were advertised as being huge. For example, the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building was the largest building in the world then, three times bigger than St.

Peter's Basilica in Rome. In addition, the architects involved designed the buildings to be white, emulating those of ancient Rome. They believed that the Fair should represent the pure ideal of this ancient civilization (Doenecke 1973). In sum, visitors were to find at the venue of the White City an eclecticism of ancient and new civilizations.

The Midway Plaisance was conceptualized differently. This exhibition ground was planned by the Fair's Department of Ethnology and Archaeology, headed by Professor Frederic Ward Putnam of Harvard University. He decided that the Midway exhibits had to have anthropological value, which was new and thus entertaining to the American people. Among the Midway exhibits were, for example, villages of the Javanese, Native Americans, and Samoan and Dahomeyan cultures. Japanese and Chinese exhibits were also housed there. In other words, the Midway was a living museum of various people, which entertained visitors from all over the world. Interestingly, exhibits such as the Irish Village, Japanese Bazaar and German Village were placed closer to the White City, whereas the space allotted to China was far from the civilized precincts of the White City. It was reported that the exhibits of the Midway were organized along an evolutionary line (*Chicago Tribune*, 1 November 1893), proceeding from least to most civilized; the closer the participant countries' exhibition spot to the White City, the more civilized they were regarded by the American public and the expo organizers. In sum, the Midway Plaisance represented 'barbarian' cultures, while the White City embodied 'civilization' (Rydell 1984; Bederman 1996). Therefore, the Fair was a 'contact zone' (Pratt 1992) between the uncivilized and the civilized.

Chinese exhibits at the Fair —

Declining or accepting the offer to join

As mentioned above, there was a Chinese exhibit on the Midway Plaisance. However, this Chinese exhibit was not constructed by the government of China, but by Chinese Chicagoans. Although the Qing government had been officially invited to the Fair with the mantra 'All the World is here!', the government had wavered as to whether or not to accept the invitation, changing its decision several times and finally refusing. The reason given was the discriminatory immigration policies of the United States toward Chinese immigrants (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 December 1891). The Qing government cited a series of policies; by the time the plan for the Fair was made public, the US Federal Government had already implemented several discriminatory policies, beginning with the prohibition of naturalisation in 1870. Five years later, Chinese women were restricted from entering the United States under the Page Law (1875). In 1882, the notorious Chinese Exclusion Law was implemented, which forbade the new entry onto American soil of Chinese laborers for the next ten years, except for those who fell within an exempt class of applicants.[1] This act became known as the first American law prohibiting immigration based on ethnicity. The Scott Act of 1888 prohibited the re-entry of Chinese laborers who had lived in the US and were temporarily outside of America. What infuriated the Qing government most seems to have been the Geary Act, approved on May 5, 1892, which resulted in a worsening of US-China relations. This act initially appeared on the agenda of the US Congress with a view to extending the Chinese Exclusion Law for another ten years. One of its features was that it required even the Chinese who legally resided in America to apply for a residential certificate and carry it at all times. The act stipulated that any resident found without the certificate would be automatically regarded as an illegal immigrant and therefore be deported without due process of law. Therefore, the Chinese residents had to carry the certificate any time and anywhere they went. In this way, the residential certificate worked as an internal passport. The underlying intention of this new law was that the government wanted to distinguish illegal from legal immigrants. Newspapers reported numerous attempts at illegal immigration (*Chicago Tribune*, 10 September 1892; 16, 26 April 1893; *New York Times*, 20 April 1893; 2 May 1893; Lee 2002, 2003).[2] The government anticipated that

[1] The exempt class comprised teachers, students, government officials, merchants, travelers, their families, and/or their servants, who were not subject to the Chinese Exclusion laws.

[2] Correspondence exchanged among custom officers, who were in charge of the matter of Chinese immigration, also showed that the officers tried to locate and to expel Chinese illegal migrants. Some of these migrants came to the United States with false documents that claimed that the holder of the paper belonged to the exempt class. Others first arrived in Canada or Mexico and then were smuggled into America. This correspondence is stored at branches of the United States National Archives and Records Administration.

once the Geary act was enforced, it would be easier to find and to deport illegal Chinese immigrants. The Chinese were the only ethnic group on which the US government imposed this measure. It is easy to imagine that the Geary Act infuriated not only the Chinese residents in the US, but even the Chinese government, which had been demanding improved treatment of Chinese immigrants in the US based on bilateral treaties, such as the Burlingame Treaty of 1868, which guaranteed free bilateral migration and the Angell Treaty of 1880, with which the US government promised to provide adequate protection for Chinese immigrants. The series of racist immigration policies accounted for the Qing government's mounting rage, and as a way to protest and to save face, the Chinese government decided not to participate in the Fair.

Despite their government's stance, Chinese immigrants in Chicago wanted to have their exhibit at the World's Fair. Just like the Chinese government, they were very critical of the discriminatory immigration laws, but at the same time, they also lamented the Qing government's decision. They were afraid that they would lose the opportunity to properly present themselves to American society. The Chinese residents wanted to have a respectable and correct representation of the Chinese and China. They also wanted to correct the prejudices European Americans had against the Chinese such as the stereotypes that they were morally corrupt (addicted to opium and prostitutes) and agents of infectious diseases. Thus, they regretted that the Chinese government failed to join the Fair and decided to join on their own initiative and initiate a building project. This was made possible by donations from three Chinese Chicagoans: Gee Woo Chan, Hong Sing and Wong Fee. Chan worked as a doctor, while Sing and Fee were merchants. Thanks to them, the Temple of China, the Chinese Theater, and a garden, cafe´ and bazaar were constructed at the Fair. The local newspaper *The Chinese American,* published by the Chinese immigrant Wong Chin Foo praised these residents: 'The wealth of these three bright gentlemen were [sic] combined to give their country the first-class representation before the nations of the earth' (24 June 1893). This is how the Chinese exhibits came into existence.

Displaying 'China'

In examining the significance of the Chinese exhibits for the Chinese Chicagoans, there are three key points. First of all, the Fair attracted many Chinese immigrants from other parts of the United States to Chicago. They flocked to Chicago not just to enjoy the Fair, but also to seek employment. Many found jobs in laundry services or restaurants. To serve these Chinese labourers' daily lives, new businesses like grocery stores and curio shops opened (Lin 1997). As a result, the Chinese population grew, as did Chicago's Chinatown. The first Chinatown had appeared in the south part of downtown Chicago, on Clark and Van Buren Streets, earlier in the 1880s, as a result of the anti-Chinese sentiment in California, which had caused some Chinese to flee to Chicago. Thus, the growth of Chicago Chinatown in the 1880s was a consequence of the eastward migration from California (Moy 1995), while the Fair caused growth in the 1890s. Even though the Chinese community became bigger, the number of women was extremely small. This was due to the Page Law of 1875, the Chinese Exclusion laws, as well as the 'sojourner mentality' of Chinese culture, in which sons were sent to other countries as guest workers and their wives were expected to take care of parents-in-law at home in China. In 1880, only three out of 209 Chinese in Chicago were female, less than 1.5 per cent. By 1890, even though the female population had increased, the ratio was still imbalanced: 31 out of 1,503 or approximately 2 per cent were women. Chinatown was regarded as a bachelor society where prostitution was widespread and Chinatown became known as a vice district. This caused prejudices against the Chinese.

The second way in which the Fair was significant for Chinese Chicagoans was that the Fair provided them with an opportunity to gain recognition from American society, by representing China 'correctly' and not in a way that was prejudiced or distorted by American society. Some residents even affirmed that showing that they were good Chinese and that China was respectable was a way to obtain social recognition as good Americans and facilitate their assimilation into American society. Despite the prejudice and discrimination against them, they tried to become good Americans by being good Chinese.

Curiously, even though the Qing government and the Chinese Americans in Chicago shared the aim of saving face for China and Chinese subjects, their actions were in opposition. We assume that this was because the Chinese in Chicago were not only Chinese; they sought to be and needed to be Chinese and American at the same time. As long as they lived in the United States, they could not turn their back on America, but had to engage with it. Therefore, it is fair to say that the Chinese Chicagoans sought recognition by providing a 'correct' representation at the Fair, not only in order to show that China and Chinese people were respectable, but also to prove that they could become good Americans.

It is worth noting that Chinese people cared about both China and the entire Chinese community of Chicago. Chinese Americans, like Chinese in general, held a strong local or clan identity. They had established several associations for mutual help. The Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (or the Chinese Six Companies), an organization based on one's place of origin in China, was the most well known and influential among them. It had started in San Francisco in the mid-nineteenth century and later spread to other regions. In Chicago, the immigrants were divided mainly along the lines of their clans. It was reported that there were 14 factions in Chinatown around the time of the World's Fair; all of them were under the influence of the Six Companies (*Chicago Tribune*, 17 May 1893). The strongest among them was the Moy family, which intentionally instigated and agitated internal discord in order to dominate Chinatown. They even had secret relations with the police and investigators, and made them raid their rival clans on trumped-up charges. *The Chicago Tribune* depicted these skirmishes as 'clan wars'. However, through preparation for the World's Fair and with the chance to represent China as a whole, the residents forged a group identity of being Chinese, which was more inclusive than the fractious local identities.

The emergence of a 'Chinese' consciousness does not mean that the dividing lines according to clan disappeared suddenly: actually, vested interests in mounting the exhibition created a new source of conflict between the Moy and the Wong, the second most influential clan. This 'war' was exacerbated by a competitive bid to establish a Chinese exhibition at the World's Columbian Fair. Despite the efforts of the Moy clan, a company run by a Wong clan member named Wong Kee (Khe) was appointed to mount the exhibition. This defeat cemented the Moy clan's determination to ruin the Wongs and their allies (*Chicago Tribune*, 7 April 1893). The conflict intensified, aggravated by a near fatal assault on a Northwestern University student and Wong clan member named Wong Aloy. On the night of March 29 1893, Wong Aloy came to Chicago from Evanston and was attacked in Chinatown. Although he survived, he was for a while in a comatose state (*Chicago Tribune* 7, 12, 13, 16, 29 April 1893). Two Moy clan members were accused of this attempted murder in court. The clan conflict continued.

Nevertheless, the World's Fair exhorted the residents to be aware that they were 'Chinese', a more overarching identity than a clan identity. Therefore, it can be said that the Fair provided them with an opportunity to acquire a Chinese identity in the process of becoming Chinese Americans. Although the dividing line by clan was still there, they now had a new identity of 'Chinese American', which would be able to consolidate all the clans. In other words, this was the emergence of a national identity in the context of China, and the sprout of an ethnic identity in the context of American society.

Last, but not least, the third significance of the Fair to Chinese Chicagoans was that it provided a contact zone between Chinese and Americans. Usually, the Chinese residents' lives were pretty much confined to Chinatown, and it was difficult for outsiders to visit this area (Light 1974) because it was believed to be 'a vice district', which was reported in newspapers such as the *Chicago Tribune*. American prejudices held that the Chinese were addicted to opium and prostitution (as there were few Chinese women; in fact, there were brothels staffed by Chinese in Chinatown for both Chinese and white men). Chinatown was associated with filth, depravity and danger, which were thought to be a threat to Christian civilization. It is true that some white people visited Chinatown and that most of them came for gambling, opium or prostitution. Due to this and the anti-Chinese prejudices of some Americans, the residential area for Chinese immigrants had the reputation of being a den of vice. Therefore, there were few opportunities for white Americans and Chinese to have direct contact.

Against this background, the Fair provided opportunities for the Chinese to show 'China' in a way they preferred, and also to do so directly to the general American public. They did this by building and exhibiting a temple, a theater, and a Chinese residence. In addition, they presented Chinese people dressed in magnificent traditional clothes. They also tried to introduce how to enjoy Chinese theater to the American public and some news papers such as the *Tribune* announced these activities (*Chicago Tribune*, 16, 26 April, 24 September 1893). In this sense, the fairground allowed the Chinese people to 'show' and be seen.

The World's Fair as contact zone

The relation between showing and being seen was, however, asymmetrical, because the Chinese Exhibits were placed on the Midway Plaisance, the field of 'the uncivilized,' while the civilization of America was represented in the White City. Such a space, where asymmetrical encounters take place, can be called 'a contact zone,' as initially suggested by anthropologist Mary Louise Pratt. She explained that such a zone is 'the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict' (Pratt 1992: 6). As examples, Pratt depicted European adventurers and naturalists encountering 'the uncivilized' in Africa and South America. In this contact zone, European conquerors contextualized the cultures of Africans or South Americans in the European context and attributed inferiority to them. In other words, through their encounter with African or Southern American tribes, Europeans gained confirmation of their supremacy and the degree to which they were civilized. In the case of the World's Fair, even though the Chinese residents intended to introduce 'the finest part of Chinese civilization' to the American people, they were placed in the Midway Plaisance, the venue of 'the uncivilized,' in contrast to the White City, the venue of the 'civilized.'

In this sense, we can say that a contact zone is a sphere within which Orientalism, in the sense of Edward Said's usage, works, meaning that a certain group of people constructed "the inferior and exotic others" to secure and be assured of their superiority. At the Chicago World's Fair, a similar Orientalism was at play: the Midway Plaisance contrasted with the White City, through which "white" America reaffirmed its supremacy, supported by civilization and modernization, while trying to place 'the exotic others', such as the Chinese, Japanese, Javanese, Africans and native Americans, in their proper place, the field of the 'uncivilized.' Why, then, did American society need such a confirmation of its supremacy? The reason is that America was losing confidence in its own supremacy and its future due to the financial panics of the 1890s, the rapid industrialization in cities such as Chicago, the high incidence of labor strikes, and the growth of 'new' immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe. All of these factors put a question mark next to the assumed national cohesion of America. In addition, at the time the historian Frederic Jackson Turner had declared that the United States had exhausted its frontier, that is, 'the existence of an area of free land, its continuous recession, and the advance of American settlement westward' (Turner 1893: 199), which had served as a safety valve for American development. In a sense, America was suffering an identity crisis (Bramen 1994; 2000). That is why the White City alone was insufficient; something else was needed to satiate America's need for a confirmation of its supremacy, that is, the Midway Plaisance as the arena of the subjugated. In this way, with the Fair as a contact zone, Orientalism was at work.

However, it should be noted that the Chinese Chicagoans were never resigned to silence and subjugation as 'uncivilized inferior barbarians.' This becomes clearer by looking behind the scenes at the World's Fair. There was resistance from the Chicago Chinese against the American society, which marginalized them. The acknowledgment and discussion of such resistance are missing in Mary Pratt's original idea of the contact zone. In the 1890s, Chinese Chicagoans began to mobilize themselves to claim their rights as citizens of the United States. Led by a Chinese person, Wong Chin Foo, an organization called the 'Chinese Equal Rights League' was established in 1892. Its primary purpose was political: gaining rights to naturalization, voting and citizenship. The group also developed an anti-discrimination law movement. Severely criticizing America, Wong pointed out that America could be neither fully modernized nor civilized as long as the United States retained discriminatory laws against Chinese immigrants. Citing former President Lincoln, Wong condemned American society for failing to embody Lincoln's ideals. He attributed the source of this discrimination to Christianity. Later, he and his organization would actually turn to Confucianism as a code of conduct to correct the 'evils' of Christianity. Wong believed that the modernization of America could be fully realized by being corrected by Confucianism. That is, the intermingling of American and Chinese ideas could make modernization and civilization perfect. In this way, the group used the logic of modernization and civilization to make a case to rid America of discrimination. In other words, if America ever wished to be fully modernized and civilized, it had to end discriminatory immigration laws. By relating the issue of modernization to the issue of discrimination against Chinese immigrants, the Chinese Equal Rights League criticized America.

In addition to demanding that America be completely modernized and civilized, Wong and his organization also strongly advocated for modernization to be taken up by Chinese immigrants and China. According to the group, this meant abolishing the habits of opium smoking and gambling. It also meant cutting the characteristic queue, adopting Western dress and speaking English. All of them Wong called 'Americanization.' As for China,

the group expressed strong support for revolution and the overthrow of the Qing dynasty. Later, they became ardent supporters of Sun Yat Sen and claimed to have connections to him. They maintained that China should be modernized and become a republic. The group believed that through modernization of the Chinese immigrants as well as China, the Chinese could gain a respectable place in American society.

Conclusion

Thus far, the paper discussed the significance of the World's Columbian Exposition to Chinese Chicagoans on three levels, that is, the formation of community, social recognition and the establishment of a contact zone. What the Fair meant to Chinese residents of Chicago in terms of their own identity and orientation toward modernization was also mentioned. The emergence of identity and the discourse of modernization were closely linked to the discriminatory immigration laws in place in America at that time and the incipient identity of being Chinese American and their ideas about modernization were influenced by the concept of equality, an idea borrowed from American civilization. In this regard, there is a difference with the concept of modernization that prevailed in China at that time.

The Chinese Chicagoans struggled with different faces of modernization. One of them was the 'modernization' that American society imposed on them, which granted 'supremacy' to white America, while degrading the Chinese to 'inferior barbarian' status. Another face was the 'modernization' that the Chinese government promoted in order to avoid being colonized. The Chinese immigrants, living in the dual contexts of America and China, were thus caught between two nations. As Chinese and Americans, they chose to mount an exhibition at the Fair, unlike the Qing government, which rejected participation in the Fair. Such a duality, that is, belonging to both China and the United States, was recognized in Chinese Chicagoans' decision to establish the Chinese Exhibition as Chinese American. In this sense, the World's Columbian Exposition was not only a contact zone for the subjugator and the subjugated, but also the contact zone where Chinese and American identities intermingled.

References

Primary sources

National Archives and Records Administration, Great Lake Region, Chicago, Illinois, Records of Immigration and Naturalization Service. RG. 85 Correspondence of the Chinese Division.

Newspapers

Chicago Tribune Chinese American New York Times

Secondary sources

Anderson, Benedict (1991), *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, New York, Verso.

Bederman, Gail (1996), *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the U.S., 1880-1917*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Bramen, Carrie Tirado (1994), 'An Innocent Way Out': The Literature and Politics of Cultural Pluralism, 1880-1925, PhD. diss., , Stanford University.

— (2000), 'The Urban Picturesque and the Spectacle of Americanization', *American Quarterly* 52 (3): 444-477.

Cawelti, John G. (1968), 'America on Display' in Jaher, Frederic Cople (ed.), *The Age of Industrialism in America: Essays in Social Structure and Cultural Values*, 317-363, New York: The Free Press.

Doenecke, Justus D. (1973), 'Myths, Machines and Markets: The Columbian Exposition of 1893', *Journal of Popular Culture*, VI(3): 535-549.

Kikuchi, Hideaki (2005), *Last Emperor to Kindai Chugoku: Shin-matsu Chuka-minkoku*, Tokyo: Kodansha.

Lederer II, Francis L. (1972), 'Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The Chicago Campaign', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 65: 382-394.

Lee, Erika (2002), 'Enforcing the Borders: Chinese Exclusion along the U.S. Borders with Canada and Mexico, 1882-1924', *Journal of American History*, 89: 54-86.

—(2003), *At America's Gate: Chinese Immigration during the Exclusion Era, 1882-1942*. Durham: University of North Carolina Press.

Light, Ivan (1974), 'From Vice District to Tourist Attraction: The Moral Career of American Chinatowns, 1880-1940', *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 43 (3): 367-394.

Lin, Tsai-lun (1997), 'Image of an Ethnic Community: Chicago's Chinatown', MA thesis, University of Illinois.

Mogi, Toshio (1994), 'Shinmatsu ni okeru 'Chugoku' no soshutsu to nihon', *Chugoku-Shakai to Bunka*, 9: 251-265.

Moy, Susan (1995), 'Chinese in Chicago: The First Hundred Years' in Holli, Melvin G. and Peter d'Alroy Jones (eds.), *Ethnic Chicago: A Multicultural Portrait*, 378-408, William B. Eerdmans Publishing.

Parmet, Robert D. (1972), 'Competition for the World's Columbian Exposition: The New York Campaign', *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 65: 365-381.

Pratt, Mary-Louise (1992), *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, New York: Routledge.

Rydell, Robert W. (1984), *All the World's Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Said, Edward W. (1979), *Orientalism*, New York: Vintage.

Turner, Frederic Jackson (1893), 'The Significance of the Frontier in American History', *The Annual Report of American Historical Association for 1893:*197-227.

Yen, Ching-Hwang (1985), *Coolies and Mandarins*, Singapore: Singapore University Press.

Yoshizawa, Seiichiro (2003), *Aikoku shugi no sozo: Nashonarisum kara kindai Chugoku o miru*, Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten.

This article has first appeared as a chapter of *From Early Tang Court Debates to China's Peaceful Rise*, Publications Series, Vol VII, edited by Friederike Assandri and Dora Martins, and published by the International Institute of Asian Studies, Leiden. It is reproduced here with gratitude by special permission of the author and the Publishers.

大井由紀 **OOI Yuki** is assistant professor at Nanzan University (Japan). Her work on migration, globalization, and civil society has been published in journals including the *International Journal of Japanese Sociology* and the *Japanese Sociological Review*.

2018.04.20 11:24:18 5,764 words *CCC 7.3 1B - OOI Yuki, World's Fair of 1893, Faces of Modernization in the Contact Zone UK 5,760.doc*