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Thesis Topic

The Display of Taiwan's Aborigines in
the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910
as a Showcase of Japan's Colonial Power

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論文題目

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Abstract

The Japan-British Exhibition was held at the White City, Shepherd's Bush, London from May 14 to October 29, 1910. This exhibition was held 15 years after Japan's acquisition of Taiwan as her first colony, and it was a great opportunity for Japan to show her successful management of Taiwan to the world. In this event, while Japanese industries and cultures were widely introduced, the 'Formosan Hamlet' was reconstructed and some Taiwanese aborigines showed their life, performed their war dance, and mimicked battles in front of visitors there.

Keywords: the Japan-British Exhibition, 1910, the Formosan Hamlet

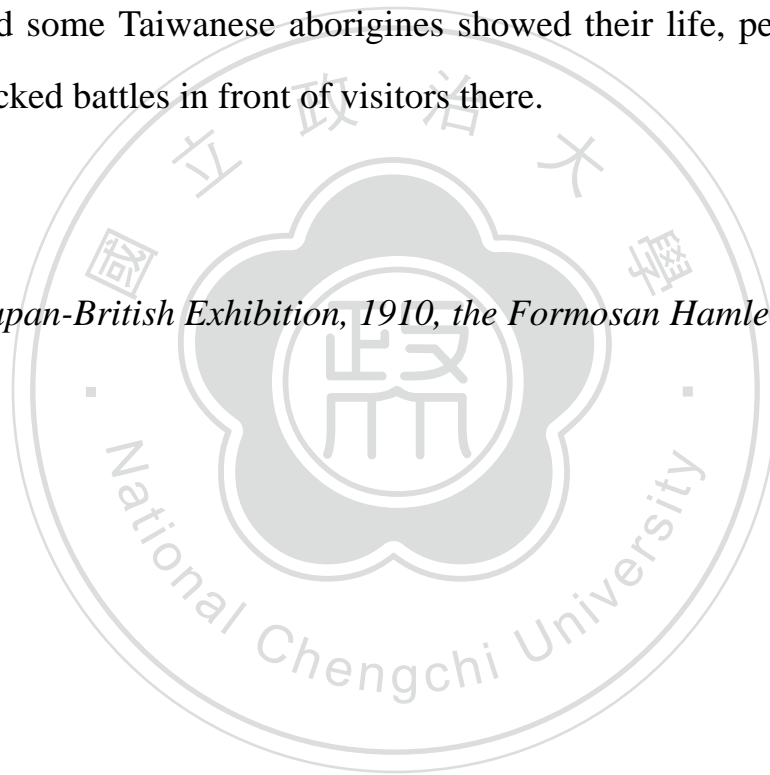
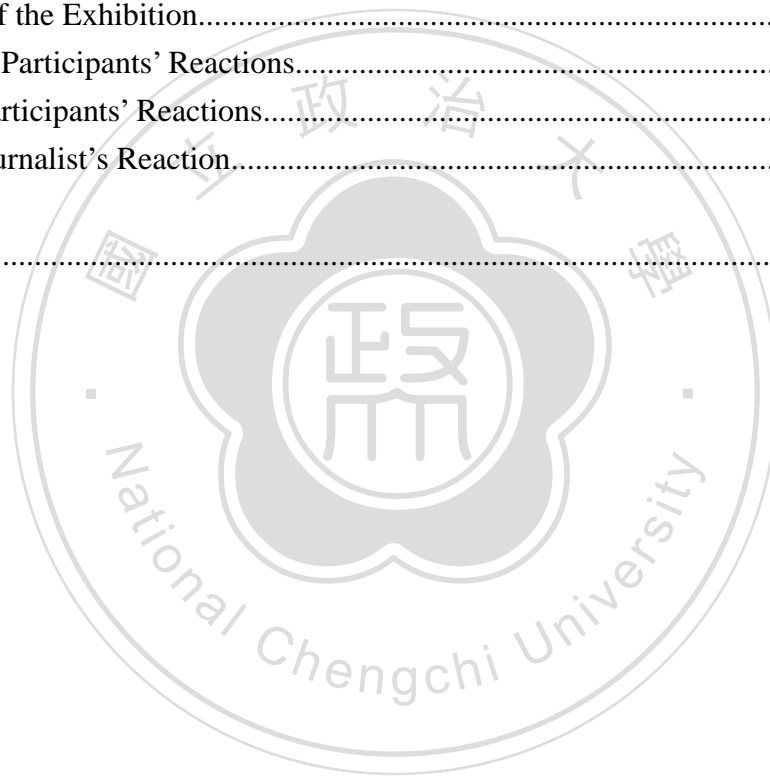


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1. Introduction

This research is intended to reveal (i) the Japanese Exhibition organizers' objectives of displaying Taiwanese aborigines in the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, which was held in the White City, Shepherd's Bush, London from May 14 to October 29, 1910.¹ This research also attempts to analyze (ii) representations of the exhibited Taiwanese aborigines in this event and (iii) different interpretations on these representations of the Japanese, the Ainus and the Taiwanese aborigines.

1.1. Academic Background: An Encounter with Colonial/Postcolonial Issues and Recognition of Colonial Impact on the Modern Society

I obtained a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Foreign Studies at Nanzan University in Nagoya, Japan in 2008. I studied at the Department of British and American Studies for four years. My four years at Nanzan can be roughly divided into two parts. For the first two years, I mainly studied English language, emphasizing such skills as listening, speaking, reading and writing. For the latter two years, I worked on my graduation thesis.

When I was a sophomore, I attended Dr. William F. Purcell's *Communication in English* class. I still remember one day in Dr. Purcell's class when he told us to collect paper advertisements or record TV commercials and bring them for the next class. As we were told, we collected some advertisements and TV commercials and

¹ Hotta-Lister, Ayako. 1999. *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910; Gateway to the Island Empire of the East*. Tokyo: Japan Library. p.3

showed them in the class without understanding Dr. Purcell's intention. Dr. Purcell, at the end, pointed out the fact that many of the advertisements and TV commercials used Caucasian models and subsequently asked us what images or impressions we had from those advertisements and TV commercials with Caucasian models. Many of us answered 'sophisticated,' 'elegant' or 'advanced.' Dr. Purcell asked us a further question why we got such positive impressions from Western countries and Caucasian people, on the other hand we had 'wild' or 'primitive' images of Africa. Dr. Purcell's question had made us recognize that we were 'mentally' colonized by the West even today although we regarded colonization as something of the past.

The questions raised by Dr. Purcell were quite novel to me, and I decided to take his course, *Literature and the British Empire* at my third and fourth years at Nanzan. During the course of the seminar, I focused on representations of Africa and African people in colonial/postcolonial literatures. For my graduation research project, I chose to analyze representations of Nigerian characters in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* as a response to Joyce Cary's *Mister Johnson*. This is because publications such as literature had had a great influence on the British creating images or ideas what Africa/Nigeria and African/Nigerian people were like to be. It was, needless to say, difficult for most of the British to visit and see their colonies, which were far away from Britain, with their own eyes. For obtaining information on their colonies, they had to rely on publications. Therefore, representations of colonies and colonized people in publications, I believed, are worth analyzing since they could control people's images of colonies and people there.

1.2. Motivation I: Why Exhibition?

Although the main focus of my research when I was an undergraduate student was representations of colonies and colonized people in ‘literature,’ this research is to emphasize that in international ‘exhibitions.’ What made me interested in exhibitions was Ino Kanori’s (伊能嘉矩) statements. Ino was a Japanese colonial bureaucrat who had been engaged in a number of investigations of Taiwanese aborigines from 1895 until around 1910.² In 1903, Ino made statements about the importance of the manner of display in the Taiwan Pavilion of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition, which is thought to be the first official pavilion of Japan’s colony, taking place in Osaka in 1903³ as follows:

...in order to achieve the purpose of the Exposition, we must, in the first place, pay attention to how to display objects. That is, in other words, our attention should be paid to displaying thousands of objects in good order. Natural and systematic explanation will facilitate visitors’ understandings of exhibited objects...Not all visitors are scholars or experts with special knowledge. Many of them are expected to be under the middle class. Therefore, we should rather put efforts into displaying objects in good and systematic order than give sophisticated and aesthetic explanations or simple and vulgar explanations to each object.⁴

² Matsuda, Kyoko. 2003. *Teikoku no Shisen: Hakurankai to Ibunkahyosho*. Tokyo: Yoshikawako Bunkan. p.91

³ Matsuda, p.55

⁴ Matsuda. p.116

From Ino's statements, he seems to have been well aware how effective visual techniques such as exhibition were to make on visitors, with or without special knowledge or understanding of meanings of the exhibits. In case of publication such as literature, they could be understood only by the literate. Accordingly, I have become interested in analyzing exhibitions which do not limit visitors' educational background.

1.3. Motivation II: Why the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910?

On April 5, 2009, Japan's public broadcaster, NHK⁵ broadcasted a TV program entitled *Japan Debut –The First-Class Nation of Asia–*,⁶ and it was broadcasted not only in Japan but also in other countries. The program was about the Japanese colonial period in Taiwan (1895-1945), and it covered major historical events and incidents occurring during this period such as Japan's invasion of Taiwan, Goto Shimpei's comprehensive administrative reforms, the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, World War I, educational policies to assimilate the Taiwanese and World War II.

One of those events and incidents, the Japan-British Exhibition was, as we have seen in the beginning of this chapter, held at the White City, Shepherd's Bush, London from May 14 to October 29, 1910. According to the TV program, the Japan-British Exhibition was held 15 years after Japan's acquisition of Taiwan as her first colony, and it was a great opportunity for Japan to show her successful management of Taiwan to the world. In this event, while Japanese industries and cultures were widely

⁵ NHK stands for Nippon Hoso Kyokai (日本放送協会), whose official English name is Japan Broadcasting Corporation. NHK is the sole national public broadcasting organization of Japan.

⁶ In Japanese, シリーズ JAPAN デビュー 第一回アジアの “一等国”

introduced, the ‘Formosan Hamlet’⁷ was reconstructed and the Taiwanese aborigines showed their life, performed their war dance, and mimicked battles in front of visitors there. NHK explained that around that time, displaying authentic native people from a colony in exhibition was quite popular in the West. Japan copied the Western method and made use of the Formosan Hamlet to show off her colonial power and prove that she had become one of the ‘first-class nations’ like the Western Great Powers.

Watching the TV program, a lot of its viewers, not only Japanese but also Taiwanese viewers, had become indignant at the content of the program saying that the program had given the viewers negative images of the Formosan Hamlet and the aboriginal participants of the Japan-British Exhibition, and made strong protests to NHK. The aboriginal people and Han-Chinese people of Taiwan who had actually answered NHK’s interview insisted that NHK had cut and twisted their answers for NHK’s convenience, depicted the Formosan Hamlet as a ‘human zoo,’ and hurt their and their ancestors’ pride although they had heard from their parents or grand parents that their experience in London was very valuable.

As a result, on October 6, 2009, 1,946 Taiwanese people including 37 aboriginal people sued NHK for the biased report. This is the second suit, and the first suit was filed on June 25, 2009. The number of the plaintiffs of the first suit was 8,389, and the total number of the plaintiffs of the first and second suits was 10,335.⁸ However, NHK has argued that they had made the program based upon thousands of archives and publications of the Governor-General of Taiwan and other official institutes.

⁷ In Japanese, 台湾土人村

⁸ *Sankei Shimbun* dated June 25, 2009

Although NHK interviewed some Han-Chinese and aboriginal people who actually experienced the Japanese colonial period, they have officially announced on their website that historical facts should be separated from people's ideas or emotions since some of the aboriginal participants must have received some money and gifts from the Japanese colonial government in return for their participation in the Japan-British Exhibition, and they might have regarded their experience in London as something positive.

This dispute between NHK and the viewers shows that there obviously exists different interpretations on the Formosan Hamlet in the Japan-British Exhibition. Then what were the objectives of the Formosan Hamlet? How was it represented in this event? Why is it interpreted differently today? I would like to find the answers to these three questions through this research.

1.4. Purpose of Research

At the end of the program, a French historian, Pascal Blanchard gave his messages to the viewers: "We need to seek a history which can be shared with others...We should not think that we are right and superior, and others are wrong and inferior. Seeing the world, you have to understand why others see Japan in different ways."

Blanchard's messages, I believe, implies that we should overcome historical recognition gaps which can be seen in many places in the world today. I also believe that the NHK issue, which has a connection with this research, or the Senkaku/Diaoyu Islands issue, is a result of serious historical recognition gaps. Therefore, in order to

overcome this gap, this research, which sees the Japan-British Exhibition and the Formosan Hamlet from different perspectives, will strive to contribute to deepen the understanding of this issue.

1.5. Hypothesis, Methodology, and Thesis Structure

I have set the hypothesis for this research as below:

Japan made use of the Formosan Hamlet in the Japan-British Exhibition to show off her colonial power to the world.

In Chapter 2, we will firstly see development of exhibition both in the West and Japan in order to see how and where the idea of displaying authentic native people in exhibition emerged. In Chapter 3, we will see how Japan incorporated the Western idea into her exhibition by analyzing a case of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition taking place in Osaka in 1903, which installed the first official Taiwan Pavilion. Finally, in Chapter 4, I will analyze (i) the Japanese Exhibition organizers' objectives of displaying the Taiwanese aborigines in the Japan-British Exhibition, (ii) representations of the exhibited Taiwanese aborigines and (iii) different interpretations on these representations of the Japanese, the Ainus and the Taiwanese aborigines.

2. Development of Exhibition

2.1. Development of Exhibition in the West

Although there are various opinions on the origin of exhibition, it is generally understood that the original style of modern exhibition was formed from the 17th century to the 18th century in Europe. In 1667, for instance, an exhibition of works of art was held in the Louvre Palace.⁹ There was a competition among artists, and evaluations were given to their works in this event. In 1760, a national art exhibition was organized under the sponsorship of the Royal Society of Arts in Great Britain, and the concept of ‘entrance ticket’ and ‘catalogue’ of exhibition was created at this time.¹⁰

According to *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku Hakurankai (Meiji Japan and International Exhibition)* written by Ito Mamiko, ‘international’ exhibition originated in an exhibition held in Paris, 1797.¹¹ Marquis d’Aveze was appointed to Commissioner of the Royal Manufactories of the Gobelins, of Sèvres and of the Savonnerie in order to restore factories after the French Revolution of 1789. In 1797, d’Aveze exhibited and sold industrial products such as tapestries, ceramics and carpets produced in the factories in the Saint-Could Castle with the objective of showing strength of national industries to French people.¹² The then Minister of Interior of France, Nicolas-Louis François de Neufchâteau had found this local exhibition organized by d’Aveze in Paris

⁹ National Diet Library. *Colum: Exhibitions before 1850*.

[Online] <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/s1/column-1.html> [Accessed March 17, 2012]

¹⁰ National Diet Library. *Colum: Exhibitions before 1850*.

[Online] <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/s1/column-1.html> [Accessed March 17, 2012]

¹¹ Ito, Mamiko. 2008. *Meiji Nihon to Bankoku Hakurankai (Meiji Japan and International Exhibitions)*. Tokyo: Yoshikawa Ko Bunkan. p. 12

¹² Ito, p.12. and National Diet Library, *Colum: Exhibitions before 1850*

highly successful, and in the following year, 1798, de Neufchâteau held the First Industrial Exposition in the Champ de Mars of Paris as a national project expecting that it would contribute to the industrial recovery of France. In this exhibition, de Neufchâteau made policies that exhibits would not be for sale and awards were to be given to prominent products, which had become one of the outstanding features of modern exhibition. By 1849, as a result of great success of the First Industrial Exposition of 1798, similar exhibitions were held 11 times by 1849 in France.¹³ With each exhibition, the number of exhibits and exhibitors, namely the scale of the exhibition, was growing larger, and duration of the exhibition was also getting longer. These exhibitions greatly stimulated promotion of national industries in France, and these successful exhibitions of France were soon followed by other national exhibitions in America and continental Europe such as Austria, Belgium, Spain and Germany.

The first international exhibition, London's Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations, was held in London in 1851.¹⁴ Although there are also various opinions on the reason why the first international exhibition was held in Great Britain, Ito analyzes the reason as follows:

As a result of great success of the First Industrial Exposition, similar exhibitions were held regularly in Paris. Subsequently to the successful industrial exhibitions in Paris, national exhibitions were held in other areas of France and other European countries. Before long,

¹³ National Diet Library. *Colum: Exhibitions before 1850*.
[Online] <http://www.ndl.go.jp/exposition/s1/column-1.html> [Accessed March 17, 2012]

¹⁴ Ito, p.1

an idea of internationalizing industrial exhibition emerged in France in the middle of the 19th century. However, those who insisted on the need of protecting domestic industries strongly opposed the idea of holding international exhibitions, and it did not come to fruition. This is because industrial exhibitions of France were originally aimed at advancement of ‘national’ industries.

In those days, the industrial power of Great Britain surpassed that of other European countries, and ‘international exhibition’ at that time, needless to say, required Great Britain’s participation. Accordingly, France could not organize an international exhibition in their own country because they did not have equal industrial power to that of Great Britain’s. In other words, the first international exhibition was held in London since Great Britain was confident in her own industrial power.¹⁵

After 1851 and into the early 20th century, major international exhibitions had been held in major cities of the West such as Paris, Vienna, Philadelphia or Chicago as Table 1 indicates.

Table 1: Major International Exhibitions
(From the late 19th century to the early 20th century)

Year	Place	Exhibition Name
1851	London	Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations
1855	Paris	Exposition Universelle

¹⁵ Ito, p.12-13

1862	London	Great London Exposition
1867	Paris	Exposition Universelle
1873	Vienna	International Exhibition
1876	Philadelphia	International Exhibition
1878	Paris	International Exhibition of Paris
1889	Paris	Exposition Universelle
1893	Chicago	World's Columbian Exposition
1900	Paris	Exposition Universelle
1904	St. Louis	Louisiana Purchase Exposition
1915	San Francisco	San Francisco Panama-Pacific International Exposition
1933	Chicago	Chicago World's Fair
1937	Paris	Paris Exhibition
1939	New York	New York World's Fair

Resource: Ito, p.1.

2.2. The Meiji Government's Understandings of the Origin of Exhibition

The Meiji government's understandings of the origin of exhibition coincided with what we have seen in the previous section, namely modern research on the origin of exhibition. Their understandings can be seen in *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran* (第五回内国勸業博覧会要覧), which is the official handbook of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition taking place in Osaka in 1903.

According to *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran*, the Meiji government recognized that the exhibition originated in the First Industrial Exposition of Paris in 1798.¹⁶ They say that the number of counties participated in the First Industrial Exposition was only 16, the number of exhibitors was also small, 110, and the

¹⁶ Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran Hensanjo. 1903. *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol. 1*. Osaka: Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran Hensanjo. p.1

duration of the Exposition was merely three days.¹⁷ The reason why the First Industrial Exposition ended up in a small-scale exhibition was, they assume, because in 1798, France was still in the vortex of the French Revolution of 1789, and Napoleon, who won many French people's trust, was not in France but in Egypt. After Napoleon seized sovereign power in France, another exhibition was held in the Louvre Palace in 1801. Napoleon understood very well that French industrial power was far behind that of Great Britain's, and he wanted to surpass Great Britain by developing the national industries of France. Following the exhibition of 1801, other exhibitions were held in France in 1802 and 1806. Furthermore, during the period from 1806 to 1849, seven exhibitions were held in France. *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran* also says that with each exhibition, the scale of the exhibitions was getting larger and the content of the exhibition itself was getting enriched. The development of exhibitions in France resulted in the Eleventh Industrial Exposition of 1849, whose exhibitors reached 4,532 people and the funds provided by the government was about 24,000 Yen.¹⁸ After that, successful industrial exhibitions were followed in Belgium, Holland, Russia in 1829 and in Great Britain, Germany and America in this order. It is also written in *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran* that although the plan of holding an international exhibition in Paris was proposed at the National Assembly in 1849, the proposal was rejected by the Chamber of Commerce. Accordingly, the first international exhibition was, at the end, held not in Paris but in London.

Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran was issued in May of 1903. Therefore, it is the fact that as of 1903, the Meiji government was well aware that exhibitions were first developed in the West, and their understandings of the origin of the exhibition and the process of how exhibitions were developed were quite accurate in

¹⁷ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol. 1*, p. 2

¹⁸ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol. 1*, p. 2

corresponding to modern research on exhibition. This fact, in other words, shows that Japan investigated and examined Western exhibitions closely.

2.3. Development of the Exhibition in Japan and Japan's Encounter with the Western-style International Exhibitions

According to Dr. Hotta-Lister, before the Meiji period (1868-1912), the idea of similar products being displayed together had already been in practice for about two hundred years in Japan. Yet those exhibitions could be accessed by a limited number of people.¹⁹ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran* also introduces the origin of exhibitions in Japan, and it says that Japan already had 'a kind of' exhibition called *Bussan Kai*²⁰ (products exhibition) or *Yakuhi Kai*²¹ (medicines exhibition) even about 100 years ago (about 200 years ago by the present observation) with the objective of promoting industries by showing products or raw materials for medicines to people.²² For example, a famous herbalist named Tamura organized *Bussan Kai* in Yushima, Edo (Tokyo) in 1757, and he held *Bussan Kai* in the following year again in another area of Edo. Another man named Hiraga Gennai organized *Bussan Kai* in Edo in 1759 and 1760, and *Yakuhi Kai* in 1762.²³ However, Dr. Hotta-Lister says that these were small-scale exhibitions of brief duration accommodating only limited circles of people, for which no entrance fees were levied.²⁴

Fukuzawa Yukichi, one of the most important Japanese figures from the end of the

¹⁹ Hotta-Lister, p.203

²⁰ In Japanese, 物産会

²¹ In Japanese, 薬品会

²² *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol. 1*, p.3

²³ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol 1*, p.3-4

²⁴ Hotta-Lister, p.203

Edo era to the Meiji period, and his colleagues visited an international exhibition in London in 1862.²⁵ This was the first time for the Japanese to visit an international exhibition. Since the concept of exhibition itself was not entirely novel to the Japanese, what impressed Fukuzawa and his colleagues greatly in the exhibition was its scale; the number of countries involved, the wide range of goods displayed, the good organization, and the favorable effects it generated for the participants' trade.²⁶ It also should be noted that there, Fukuzawa and his colleagues found that Japanese articles were exhibited at this exhibition not by the Japanese but by Rutherford Alcock, the first British minister who had had lived in Japan and collected examples of Japanese arts and crafts during his stay in Japan.



Fig. 1: Alcock's Collections of Japanese Arts and Crafts Exhibited in the Great London Exposition of 1862
Resource: *Zusetsu Bankoku Hakurankaishi: 1851-1942* Fig. 204, p.145.

Back in Japan, Fukuzawa began to write his book, *Seiyo Jijo (Conditions in the West)*. The word '*hakurankai*' was first introduced to Japan by Fukuzawa interpreting the

²⁵ Hotta-Lister, p.203

²⁶ Hotta-Lister, p.204

English words, ‘exhibition’ or ‘fair’ in *Seiyo Jijo* of 1866.²⁷ Fukuzawa’s *Seiyo Jijo*, which was a best-seller having a great influence on the general public, set out for the first time in Japan the concepts of Western-style international exhibitions and Western-style museums, stressing the importance and benefit of such institutions.²⁸

Although there are also differing opinions about when the Japanese first participated in an international exhibition, Dr. Hotta-Lister, for example, says that the Japanese first exhibited in the Exposition Universelle of 1867 in Paris.²⁹ The exhibits did not represent Japan as a whole but they were presented separately by the Tokugawa Bakufu government, who had had an official invitation from Napoleon III, and some members of the Japanese aristocracy, notably the heads of the Satsuma and Hizen Clans (present-day Kagoshima and Saga Prefectures in Kyushu respectively). Also, it was the Vienna International Exhibition of 1873 when the Meiji government officially participated in an international exhibition. From 1873 to 1910, Japan participated in 37 international exhibitions including the Japan-British Exhibition as Table 2 shows.

Table 2: Japan’s Participation in International Exhibitions from 1873-1910

	Year	Place	Exhibition Name	Expenditure (Yen)
1	1873	Vienna	International Exhibition	520,858
2	1874	London	London Annual International Exhibition	8,932
3	1875	Melbourne	Melbourne International Exhibition	2,229
4	1876	Philadelphia	International Exhibition	359,545
5	1878	Paris	International Exhibition of Paris	213,242
6	1879	Sydney	Exhibition of Sydney	29,817

²⁷ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran: Vol. 1*, p.4

²⁸ Hotta-Lister, p.204-205

²⁹ Hotta-Lister, p.206

7	1880	Melbourne	Exhibition of Melbourne	33,014
8	1880	Berlin	Berlin Fishery Exhibition	N/A
9	1881	Frankfurt	Mining Exhibition	1,500
10	1881	Atlanta	International Cotton Exhibition	N/A
11	1882	Trieste	Domestic Industrial Exhibition	415
12	1883	Antwerp	Exhibition at Antwerp	19,980
13	1883	Boston	Technical and Industrial Exhibition	10,000
14	1883	London	International Fishery Exposition	2,400
15	1883	London	London Sanitary Exhibition	24,071
16	1884	St Petersburg	Horticultural Exposition	10,000
17	1884	Edinburgh	Silver Exhibition	19,365
18	1884	New Orleans	International Industrial & Cotton Centenary Exhibition	15,500
19	1885	London	London International Exhibition of Inventions	27,517
20	1885	Nuremberg	Metal Works Exhibition	33,000
21	1885	Barcelona	International Exhibition	23,000
22	1889	Paris	International Exhibition	130,000
23	1889	Hamburg	International Commercial Exhibition	5,000
24	1890	St Petersburg	International Prison Exposition	5,314
25	1893	Chicago	Columbian World's Exposition	630,766
26	1900	Paris	Exposition Universelle	1,319,559
27	1901	Glasgow	International Exhibition	57,718
28	1902	Tongking (French Territory)	Oriental Agricultural and Technical Exhibition of Hanoi	11,900
29	1902	St Petersburg	International Fishery Exhibition	21,132
30	1904	St Louis	Louisiana Purchase Exhibition	800,000
31	1905	Liege (Belgium)	Liege Exhibition	40,000
32	1905	Hudson (US)	Hudson Exhibition	34,484
33	1905	Milan	International Exhibition Milan	N/A
34	1907	James Town (US)	International Exhibition	12,768
35	1908	St Petersburg	International Decorative Fine Arts and Household Furniture	19,624
36	1909	Seattle	Alaska Yukon Pacific Exhibition	100,000
37	1910	London	Japan-British Exhibition	2,080,000

Resource: Hotta-Lister, p.221-222

2.4. Native Peoples in Western International Exhibition

Here, I would like to raise the question of when did the display of authentic native people from colonies emerged in exhibitions?

Parezo and Fowler state in their work, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair* that the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, which was held in St. Louis, Missouri, from May to December 1904 in order to commemorate the United States' 1803 purchase of the Louisiana Territory from France, has all the standard features of major international exhibitions held during the late 19th century to the early 20th century.³⁰ In the following sections, therefore, emergence of native peoples in international exhibitions is to be analyzed by looking at the outstanding features of the Louisiana Purchase Exposition.

2.4.1. Features of Major International Expositions held from 1851 to 1915

From 1851, the year that the first international exhibition, London's Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of All Nations was held, until 1915, international exhibitions sprang up like mushrooms to celebrate the heyday of European and American industrialism and imperialism. Especially European international exhibitions held from the late 19th century to the early 20th century, highlighted their industrial, financial, technical, intellectual, social and scientific 'progress,' their ability to extract raw materials from their colonies, and their success in 'civilizing' their colonial subjects. Also, major international exhibitions held during this period came to have

³⁰ Parezo, J., Nancy. Fowler, D., Don. 2007. *Anthropology Goes to the Fair. The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press., p.4

standard features as follows:³¹

- (i) The display of industrial machinery, mining technology, trade goods and agricultural products in gigantic pavilions
- (ii) Cultural exhibits, sculpture, painting, music and other fine arts
- (iii) The establishment of permanent public institutions initially funded by exhibition corporation profits and gifts from private donors such as the Memorial Hall in Philadelphia or the U.S. National Museum in Washington
- (iv) Government funding as direct subsidies or supplemental monies to aid exhibition corporations (e.g. The United States did not take total financial responsibility for any exhibition but partly provided financial support.)
- (v) International congresses as part of exhibition (e.g. The 1878 Paris Exposition had the 1878 Paris congresses and that led to international copyright laws, the international postal union and international adoption of the Braille system.)
- (vi) Extramural entertainment including ‘exotic’ peoples
- (vii) Official ‘living exhibits’ organized, funded and managed by the exhibition companies³²

2.4.2 Unofficial Entertainment: ‘Exotic People’

The sixth feature was entertainment performed outside of the official exhibitions. As international exhibitions had been held in world’s trade centers for many centuries, dancers, musicians, actors, circuses, jugglers, food vendors, thieves, prostitutes, hawkers or con artists gathered in those cities, and subsequently gathered at or near

³¹ Parezo and Fowler, p.1-4

³² Parezo and Fowler, p.4

exhibitions and performed unofficial outside-the-gate sideshows including displaying people, billed as ‘savages’ from Africa or Polynesian. These unofficial sideshows were a ‘public nuisance’ for exhibition officials in terms of public-health and crime-control. Therefore, in order to cope with the problem of unauthorized entertainment, Paris’s 1867 international exhibition, for example, developed a huge amusement park with international restaurants. It was installed and operated by the City of Paris and arranged around the exhibition hall. In 1893, Chicago organizers created the Midway Plaisance, a ‘pleasure area,’ which had the great two-hundred-and-fifty-foot-tall Ferris wheel. Also, it presented dozens of ‘authentic’ people from Africa, the Pacific, Arctic, Middle East and Far East and the Streets of Cairo, where the women performed belly dance seriatim, ten hours a day, six days a week, attracted tens of thousands of onlookers. As a result, the Streets of Cairo grossed eight hundred and eighty thousand dollars, which was more than the Ferris wheel. Exhibition organizers found that exotic people could be lucrative.³³

2.4.3. Official ‘Living Exhibits’: Civilization vs. Primitiveness

The seventh feature was the official ‘living exhibit’ which was organized, funded and managed by the exhibition companies. According to Parezo and Fowler, at the beginning of the golden age of international exhibitions, static exhibits were popular and living ‘exotic’ people came later. For example, the 1855 Paris Fair had static exhibits from French colonies and they focused on ‘primitive’ material culture, stressing ‘cultural differences, especially exoticism.’ Later, although there was an attempt to obtain federal sponsorship to exhibit American Indians in Philadelphia, congress balked due to the huge cost. In 1883, the Dutch government underwrote

³³ Parezo and Fowler, p. 5-6

model villages inhabited by ‘Natives’ from its colonies in the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. Subsequently, at the 1900 Paris Fair, Britain and Belgium erected officially sponsored live and static colonial exhibits, grouped together under the ‘Moral and Material Work of Colonization’ stressed the ‘White Man’s Burden’ to civilize the rest of the world ³⁴.

2.4.4. Lucrative Entertainment and Political Propaganda

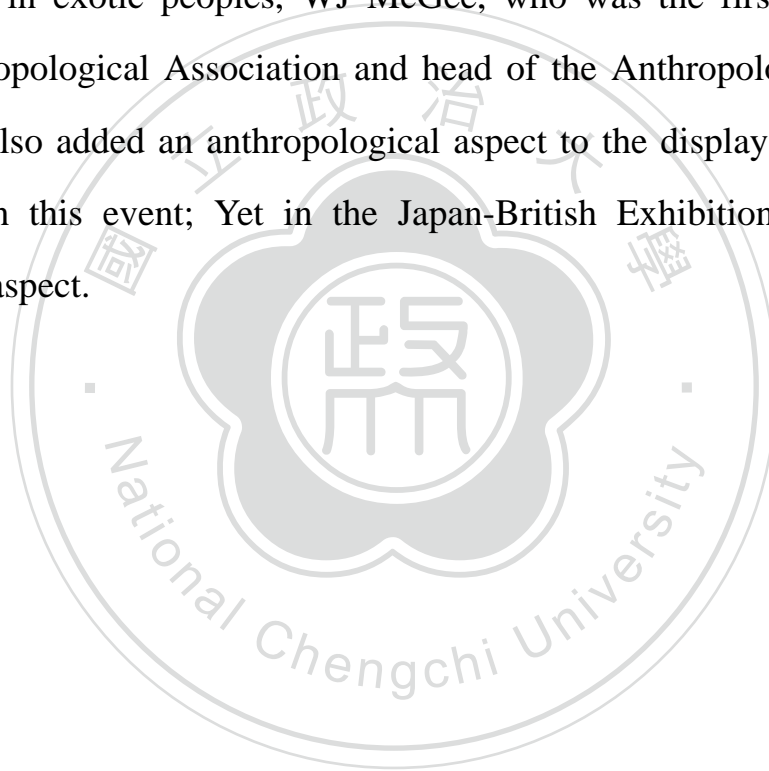
As seen before, exhibits of ‘native peoples’ had two aspects: one was the sideshow attractions presented by individual entrepreneurs, and the other was official exhibits of subjugated indigenous peoples sponsored and represented by their colonialist masters. After 1883, colonial powers officially exhibited their subjected peoples under the guise of educational endeavors to demonstrate how much better off Natives were under the benevolent care of their imperialist overlords. Private entrepreneurs unofficially exhibited their subjected peoples, especially those of color, as ethnic-racial stereotypes in order to make money. The difference between unofficial and official exhibits was that government agencies were consciously promulgating propaganda to justify colonialism and forced acculturation policies. However, both the official and the unofficial exhibitions used the same stereotypes—benighted ‘primitives’ who could only be raised to civilization by ‘enlightened’ benevolent white men³⁵.

³⁴ Parezo and Fowler, p.6-7

³⁵ Parezo and Fowler. p.7

2.4.5. Anthropological Aspect

Although the Louisiana Purchase Exposition organizers noticed that exotic people were major draws and therefore money-makers, they did not want ‘merely’ an exotic sideshow. They wanted their exotic peoples to be interpreted in a modern ‘scientific’ manner and their exhibition to be ‘a vast museum of anthropology and ethnology, of man and his works.’ Therefore, they brought in an anthropologist, a reputed scientific expert in exotic peoples, WJ McGee, who was the first president of the American Anthropological Association and head of the Anthropology Department.³⁶ The organizers also added an anthropological aspect to the display of native peoples from colonies in this event; Yet in the Japan-British Exhibition do not have an anthropological aspect.



³⁶ Parezo and Fowler. p.9

3. The Fifth National Industrial Exposition

In the previous chapter, we have seen the emergence of native peoples from colonies in Western exhibitions and some their aspects. In this chapter, we will see how Japan incorporated Western ideas, namely the display of authentic native people, into her exhibitions by analyzing the case of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition taking place in Osaka in 1903.

3.1. The Importance of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition

The Fifth National Industrial Exposition should be, I believe, referred to due to the following three reasons:

- (i) The Fifth National Industrial Exposition had, in fact, an aspect of an international exhibition although the concept of National Industrial Exposition was originally intended to be a domestic exhibition.
- (ii) It was held in 1903, after Japan acquired Taiwan as her first colony as a result of her victory in the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895).
- (iii) It officially installed an independent Taiwan Pavilion inside the Exposition site and unofficially installed a pavilion called *Gakujutsu Jinruikan* (Academic Humankind Pavilion), which exhibited the Ainu, Taiwan aborigines, Chinese and Korean people, outside of the Exposition site.

3.2. National Industrial Exposition

National Industrial Exposition was held five times during the period of 1877 to 1903.³⁷ The concept of National Industrial Exposition was first proposed by the Secretary of Interior (内務卿), Okubo Toshimichi based upon a policy of the Meiji Government for promoting new industries in Japan.³⁸ Therefore, the Exposition organizers highlighted industrial and economic aspects of the Exposition aiming at providing both visitors and exhibitors with technical knowledge and information. In addition, it should be noted that the organizers wanted to limit the Exposition to a ‘domestic’ one. This is because the Meiji government wanted to achieve their economic policy by excluding foreign products from the Japanese market in order to protect the domestic market and by encouraging new industries in Japan without relying on foreign products or technologies. Also, as a result of the Meiji government’s resistance to the unequal treaties of 1858, which were concluded with the Great Powers (America, the Great Britain, France, Russia and Holland), the Meiji government did not allow foreigners to travel to Japan during that period.³⁹ That means the Exposition visitors and exhibitors were also limited to the Japanese.

Table 3:

The National Industrial Exposition

	First	Second	Third	Fourth	Fifth
Year	1877	1881	1890	1895	1903

³⁷ Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. 1904. *The Official Report of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition: Vol. 1.* p.8

³⁸ Matsuda p.16

³⁹ Matsuda, p.16

Place	Ueno, Tokyo	Ueno, Tokyo	Ueno, Tokyo	Okazaki, Kyoto	Tennoji, Osaka
Site area (tsubo)	29,807	43,300	40,000	50,558	114,017
The Number of Visitors	454,168	822,395	1,023,693	1,136,695	5,305,209
The Number of Exhibitors	16,174	31,239	77,432	73,781	130,416
The Number of Exhibits	84,352	331,169	167,066	169,098	276,713

*1 tsubo(坪) = about 3.3 m²

In fact, the First, Second, Third and Fourth National Industrial Expositions were literally ‘national,’ namely ‘domestic,’ exhibitions having some limitations indicated in the previous paragraph. However, contrasting those four exhibitions, the Fifth National Industrial Exposition shifted its style from ‘national’ to ‘international.’

3.3. The Fifth National Industrial Exposition as an International Exhibition

The Fifth National Industrial Exposition was held in the present-day area of Tennoji Park (天王寺公園), Osaka from March 1 to July 31, 1903.⁴⁰ Although, the First, Second, Third and Fourth National Industrial Expositions did not allow foreigners to visit and exhibit in the Expositions, the Fifth National Industrial Exposition accepted a large number of foreign visitors and exhibitors.

Paying attention to The Number of Visitors indicated in Table 3, the total number of visitors is about 5.3 million. According to the official record, about 8,600 of them were Chinese and Korean and about 14,000 of the total were from the West and other

⁴⁰ Matsuda, p.16

foreign countries.⁴¹ A large number of foreign visitors to the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was a result of the government's active promotion of the Exposition. The Meiji government prepared about 4,000 English invitation letters and 4,200 Chinese invitation letters and those letters were delivered to foreign dignitaries through foreign consuls or ministers.⁴² Also, in order to accept foreign visitors and travelers, *Kihinkai* (Welcome Society) established its branch in Osaka with the objective of arranging accommodations, interpreters or tour guides for foreign visitors/travelers. Especially, it can be assumed that the Meiji government placed great emphasis on Chinese and Korean visitors. The local political and business leaders of Osaka set up *Shinkan Kyokai* (清韓協會) (Association for Chinese and Korean Visitors) and the association built two accommodations: one is named *Shinjin* (清賓) for Chinese guests and the other *Kanjin* (韓賓) for Korean guests, which allowed them to stay incurring only the actual costs of food and beverages.⁴³

The organizers not only allowed foreigners to visit the Exposition but also allowed them to exhibit the Exposition for the first time in the 25-year history of National Industrial Exposition.⁴⁴ The foreign exhibits from the Great Britain, America, France, Germany, Russia, Austria, Holland, Portugal, Italy, Korea, China, Turkey, Hawaii, Canada, Australia, Brazil, British India, and Dutch India (18 countries/areas in total), were gathered and displayed in *Sankokan* (参考館) (Reference Museum), which was officially erected by the Meiji government. However, since a lot of foreign countries

⁴¹ Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. 1904. *The Official Report of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition: Vol. 2.* p.96~112

⁴² Matsuda, p. 48

⁴³ Matsuda, p. 49

⁴⁴ Matsuda, p.17

intended to increase the amount of export to Japan through the Fifth National Industrial Exposition, the number of exhibits which foreign exhibitors applied to the Exposition organizers was too large to exhibit only in *Sankokan*. Accordingly, Canada, America, Austria and Germany erected their own pavilions with their own funds so that they could display their exhibits sufficiently. In this connection, those pavilions (six in total) were attached to *Sankokan* but each of them was independent. The site area of *Sankokan* (including the six pavilions erected by foreign countries) was the second largest amongst the pavilions and facilities in the Exposition site.

In addition, it ought to be noted that the Taiwan Pavilion was also installed in the Exposition but it was erected separately from *Sankokan* or the six other Western pavilions. The Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was the first colonial pavilion in the Japan's exhibition history.

3.4. Time Background of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition

Next, I will consider why the National Industrial Exposition shifted its style from national to international in 1903.

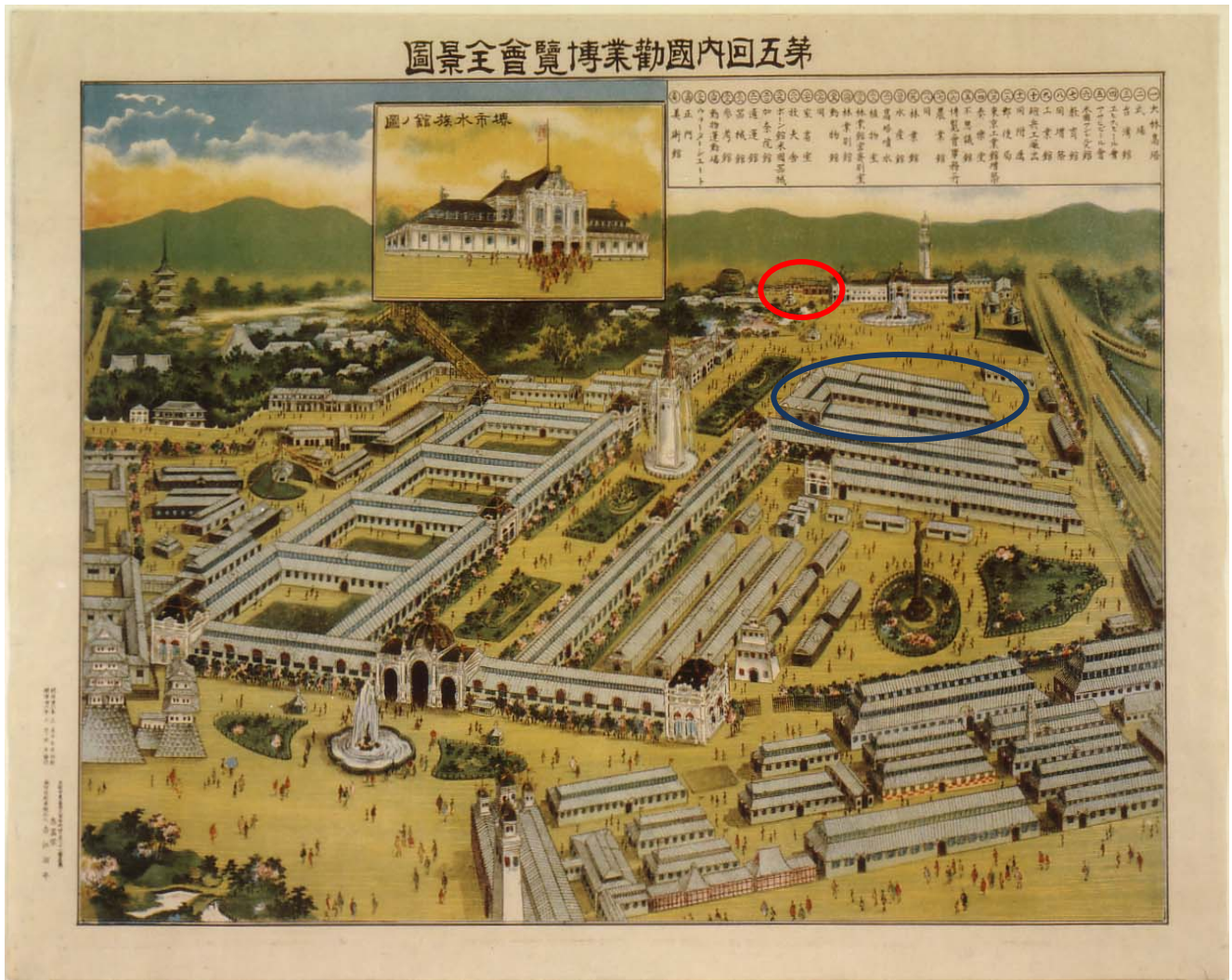


Fig. 2: A panoramic view of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition⁴⁵

Resource: The electric library of Sakai Municipal Library⁴⁶

Noguchi Katsuichi, a Japanese politician of the Meiji period, made a statement about the Exposition in his book, *The Fifth National Industrial Exposition* as follows:

The Exhibition is a tool to enhance the glory of the Empire. As one of the world's Empires, our exhibition should be that of the world's

⁴⁵ The blue circle in Fig. 1 shows *Sankokan* and the red circle the Taiwan Pavilion. *Sankokan* and the Taiwan Pavilion were erected separately from each other and it is clear that the roles of the Taiwan Pavilion were different from that of other foreign pavilions.

⁴⁶ *The Fifth National Industrial Exposition*. Sakai Municipal Library. [Online] http://www.lib-sakai.jp/kyoudo/kyo_digi/sakaikoutoohama/kyo_digi_14l.htm [Accessed March 15, 2012]

Empire's. The Fifth National Industrial Exposition, which is to be held in Osaka at this time, will be the first exhibition held after the name of the Empire of Japan was known throughout the world as a result of our victory in the Sino-Japanese War. Therefore, this Exposition will show our status as that Empire and the progress of our intellects and technologies.⁴⁷

Noguchi's viewpoint coincides with that of the Meiji government. The preface of *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran (The Official Handbook of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition)* says that Japan had made remarkable progress during those eight years (from 1895, when the Fourth National Industrial Exposition was held, to 1903, the year that the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was held).⁴⁸ The "progress" in the preface means two different kinds of progress: one is the progress of Japan's national strength (国力) and the other is the progress of national prestige (国威). In the preface, the rapid growth of Japan's national strength is highlighted by showing the actual figures of increased government expenditure, international trade value and capitalization value of national banks.⁴⁹ Also, the preface emphasizes that national prestige was greatly boosted as a result of three incidents: Japan's victory over the Sino-Japanese War, Japan's participation in the International Expenditure to relieve the Legations in Peking from the Boxer Rising and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, which the preface says resulted in Japan establishing herself equal status to that of the Great Powers'.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Noguchi p.1

⁴⁸ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran, Preface* p.1

⁴⁹ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran, Preface* p.1

⁵⁰ *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Yoran*, p.2

3.5. Economic and Colonial Intentions of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition

The Japanese government was confident that Japan established her own status as one of the Great Powers experiencing three major historical incidents. The outstanding features of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition as an international exhibition seem to be closely correlated with Japan's pride of becoming the Empire of Japan.

As indicated in the section of this chapter entitled *The Fifth National Industrial Exposition as an International Exhibition*, the Japanese government in those days made endeavors to attract many foreign people to the Exposition by sending a large number of invitation letters written in English or Chinese to foreign dignitaries and organizing new local associations/societies in order to arrange accommodations, interpreters or tour guides for foreign visitors/travelers. It was also mentioned that new accommodation, *Shinhin* (清賓) and *Kanhin* (韓賓) had been built only for Chinese and Korean guests. From these facts, it is obvious that the Japanese government held China and Korea to be very important.

There were two specific reasons why the Japanese government made much account of China and Korea: one is economic and the other political. Through the Fifth National Industrial Exposition, the Japanese government aimed at expanding trade in the neighboring countries such as China and Korea, both of which the Japanese government regarded as important trading partners. While the Fifth National Industrial Exposition had the economic intention to expand trade in the East Asia, it also had a political intention to show Japan's civilization to the Chinese and the Korean. The Official Report of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition says that Japan's

standard of civilization is far beyond that of China and Korea and many Chinese and Korean people do not know what the exhibitions are to be like.⁵¹

Moreover, the Taiwan Pavilion seems to have played an important role to show the newly established status of Japan as one of the Great Powers. The following is a citation from an article posted on the local paper, *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* dated March 7, 1903.

Many people believe that the Fifth National Industrial Exposition will become a great opportunity to make the greatness of the expanding Empire of Japan after Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War well known throughout the world and they look forward to the Fifth National Industrial Exposition very much. However, it will be the Taiwan Pavilion that shows most clearly what we acquired as a result of our great victory over the Sino-Japanese War.....I strongly believe that we can proudly introduce the Taiwan Pavilion to foreign visitors without any hesitation. It is remarkable that the Fifth National Domestic Exposition will install the Taiwan Pavilion.⁵²

From the above-captioned article, the Taiwan Pavilion was placed as a showcase of Japan's colonial power.

3.6. Proposal of the Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition

⁵¹ Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. 1904. *The Official Report of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition: Vol. 2*. p.139-141

⁵² *Osaka Mainichi Shimbun* dated March 7, 1903.

Who first proposed installing the Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition? The regulations for the Fifth National Industrial Exposition were publicly announced in *Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Kisoku (The Regulations of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition)* in an Announcement by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, No. 41 dated April 18, 1901.⁵³ In this announcement, there is no account in connection with the Taiwan Pavilion. However, in the following year, it was publicly announced that the Taiwan Pavilion would be constructed in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition in an Announcement by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, No. 185 dated October 14, 1902.⁵⁴ The reason why the construction of the Taiwan Pavilion was announced belatedly can be seen in an article entitled *The Fifth National Industrial Exposition and Taiwan* posted in *Taiwan Kyokai Kaiho (News Letter of the Taiwan Association)*⁵⁵, No. 40 issued in January of 1902.

Since the Fifth National Industrial Exposition of the following year will be the first exhibition after Japan acquired Taiwan, the Exposition will be the sole and best opportunity to introduce Taiwan to Japan. Therefore, the Governor-General of Taiwan had a plan to erect an independent pavilion called the Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition and display all exhibits relating to Taiwan in this pavilion aiming at making people in Japan understand Taiwanese

⁵³ Ito, p.106

⁵⁴ Daigokai Naikoku Kangyo Hakurankai Jimu Hokoku Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. 1904. *The Official Report of the Fifth National Industrial Exposition.*, Vol.1 p.26

⁵⁵ The Taiwan Association (台湾協会) was organized in Taiwan in April of 1898 mainly by Japanese government officials staying in Taiwan. The Association was established in order to develop Taiwan, promote industries of Taiwan and providing Japanese emigrants or Japanese entrepreneurs with assistant etc. One of their major activities was to issue *News Letter of the Taiwan Association* to introduce Taiwan affairs to Japan.

affairs. However, this plan was aborted due to a shortage of funds.....Although the plan to construct the Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was aborted, the authorities are now planning to construct another building for Taiwan and they have already started designing the building and the budget is to be submitted to the present session of the Diet. If the Diet is not indifferent to the development and management of Taiwan, the budget is expected to be passed and accordingly the Governor-General of Taiwan will start to construct the building of Taiwan.⁵⁶

According to this magazine article, it was the Governor-General of Taiwan that proposed building the Taiwan Pavilion in the Fifth National Industrial Exposition. However, the proposal by the Governor-General of Taiwan was not realized owing to a shortage of funds. The article also reveals that the Governor-General was very enthusiastic about the construction of the Taiwan Pavilion.

Ito says that it is assumed that the idea of arranging the Taiwan pavilion in the exposition originated from the 1900 Paris fair. In *Taiwan Kyokai Kaiho*, a magazine published by Taiwan Society, published on April and May of 1901, Hitomi Kazutaro's lecture on pavilions of European colonies erected in the 1900 Paris fair was posted. According to this fact, Ito says that Taiwan Society focused on pavilion of colonies in European expositions.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ The Taiwan Association. 1902. *Taiwan Kyokai Kaiho (News Letter of the Taiwan Association)*, No. 41. p.46

⁵⁷ Ito, p. 108

4. The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910

This chapter highlights the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, particularly the exhibited Taiwanese aborigines in this event. Firstly, I will observe the background and the outset of the Japan-British Exhibition in order to reveal its objectives and characteristics. Secondly, I will analyze representations of the Taiwanese aborigines, namely what the Exhibition organizers wanted to represent through display of the Taiwanese aborigines. Thirdly, I will look at three different reactions toward the exhibited aboriginal people from viewpoints of the Japanese, the Ainus and the Formosans.

4.1. Background of the Japan-British Exhibition: Proposed ‘Grand Exposition in Tokyo’ after Japan’s Victory in the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905)

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Japan’s relations with the Great Powers had started to become more complex due to her emergence as a power. As we have seen in the previous chapter, as of 1903 when the Fifth National Industrial Exposition was held, Japan had experienced three important incidents: Japan’s victory in the Sino-Japanese War, Japan’s participation in the International Expenditure to relieve the Legations in Peking from the Boxer Rising, and the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, all of which the Japanese government also believed resulted in Japan establishing her equal status to that of the Great Powers’. During the period from 1904 to 1910, Japan experienced another important incident. It was the Russo-Japanese War (February 8, 1904-September 5, 1905)⁵⁸.

⁵⁸ Jukes, Geoffrey. *The Russo-Japanese War 1904-1905*. 2002. Oxford: Osprey Publishing. p.14-15

On June 17, 1905, in the midst of the Russo-Japanese War, the Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Kiyoura Keigo laid a proposal of holding an international exhibition before the Cabinet expecting Japan's victory over the Russo-Japanese War. In November of 1905, after the War, Kiyoura made three proposals regarding organization of an international exhibition to the Prime Minister, Katsura Taro: (i) postponing the Sixth National Industrial Exposition which was to be held in 1907, (ii) setting up the Investigation Committee called '*Hakurankai Kaisetsu Chosa Inukai* (博覧会開設調査委員会)' in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce to decide scale of the exhibition, and (iii) incorporating necessary costs for the Investigation Committee into budget for the next fiscal year.⁵⁹ Although Kiyoura wanted to organize an international exhibition after the Russo-Japanese War, he had not yet determined to hold an entirely international exhibition in order to commemorate Japan's victory, or a domestic exhibition as a national festival, or a partly international exhibition considering the national finance at that time and how much Japan was impoverished after the Russo-Japanese War. Therefore, Kiyoura believed that it was necessary to postpone the Sixth National Industrial Exposition, establish the Investigation Committee to conduct an investigation concerning exhibitions, and decide the scale of the exhibition which would suit the situation of Japan at that time. In response to Kiyoura's proposals, the Cabinet approved cancelation of the Sixth National Industrial Exposition and establishment of the Investigation Committee on December 27, 1905,⁶⁰ and publicly announced indefinite

⁵⁹ 国立公文書館所蔵「公文類聚」(第29編明治38年卷18産業門・博覧会共進会)1905年11月桂太郎首相宛清浦奎吾農商務省大臣建議「次回に開設せらるべき博覧会の組織及設備等に付調査を為すの要あるを以て其費用を要することとす」

⁶⁰ 国立公文書館所蔵「公文類聚」(第29編明治38年卷18産業門・博覧会共進会)1905年11月桂太郎首相宛清浦奎吾農商務省大臣建議「次回に開設せらるべき博覧会の組織及設備等に付調査を為すの要あるを以て其費用を要することとす」所収1905年12月15日付法制局作成文書

postponement of the Sixth National Industrial Exposition in Imperial Ordinance No. 284 dated December 28, 1905. Here it should be noted that it was not only Kiyoura but also about other 100 Japanese politicians submitted a proposal of holding an international exhibition after the Russo-Japanese War to the Cabinet.⁶¹

On June 14, 1906, the Investigation Committee was established in the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. The Committee consisted of Wada Hikojiro, the Undersecretary of Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce as a chairman, and Morimoto and Takeuchi, who were one of 'about 100 politicians' laid a proposal of holding an international exhibition before the Cabinet, some officials of Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and members of *Kizokuin* (the House of Peers) as committee members. They started to discuss the scale of the exhibition and made three proposals as below:

- (i) Holding an entirely international exhibition but Japan providing participating nations with necessary facilities such as exhibition halls
- (ii) Holding a partly international exhibition: exhibiting foreign craft works and machinery in *Kogeikan* (Craft Works Museum) or *Kikaikan* (Machinery Museum) erected by the Japanese government and exhibiting Asian products in *Toyokan* (Oriental Museum). Other foreign products except for craft works and machinery should be exhibited in facilities constructed at foreign exhibitors' costs. In case it is difficult for foreign exhibitors to build exhibition halls at their costs, they are allowed to exhibit their products in *Gaikokukan* (Foreign Museum).
- (iii) Holding a purely national exhibition: exhibiting goods produced in Asia in *Toyokan* (Oriental Museum) and exhibiting products from other foreign countries in

⁶¹ Ito, p.163

Gaikokukan (Foreign Museum) as referential materials.⁶²

After the discussion in the Investigation Committee, they concluded that they should hold a ‘partly’ international exhibition, namely the second proposal shown above was adopted. The Cabinet, on December 21, 1906, decided to organize an exhibition named *Nippon Dai-hakurankai* (日本大博覧会), whose scale would be between that of international exhibition and National Industrial Exposition, in Tokyo.⁶³ However, after this Cabinet decision, Morimoto, who had once laid a proposal of holding an international exhibition after the Russo-Japanese War before the Cabinet along with Kiyoura and had been one of the members of the Investigation Committee, submitted a proposal of organizing an international exhibition to the Cabinet again and Morimoto’s proposal was discussed in the Committee of the Lower House on February 7, 1907.⁶⁴ After some twists and turns, it was officially announced in Imperial Ordinate No. 102 that *Nippon Dai-hakurankai* would take place in Tokyo from April 1, 1912 to October 31, 1912.

On April 24, 1907, after this official announcement, the Foreign Minister at that time, Hayashi Tadasu informed foreign ambassadors and ministers to Japan and Japanese ambassadors to foreign countries of the official decision of holding *Nippon Dai-hakurankai* in 1912. At that time, *Nippon Dai-hakurankai* was translated as Grand Exposition in Tokyo and given the explanation that the Exposition would accept participation of foreign people and foreign governments and it would be virtually an

⁶² 「博覧会に関する調査書類内閣の件（1）」

⁶³ 「公文類聚」（第30編明治39年第15巻産業二博覧会共進会）「次回に開設すへき博覧会に関する件を決定す」中、1907年2月27日付西園寺公望首相宛松岡康毅農商務大臣書翰「次回開設すへき博覧会に関する件」

⁶⁴ 「帝国議会衆議院委員会議録43」, p.111

international exhibition even in terms of scale although the name did not include 'international exhibition.'⁶⁵ On August 2, 1907, the establishment of Grand Exposition Committee, whose original Japanese name was *Nippon Dai-hakurankai Jimukyoku* (日本大博覧会事務局), in Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce was publicly announced in Notice of Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce No. 183. The Committee had Prince Fushimi Sadanaru as a president, Count Kaneko Kentaro as a chairman and Wada Hikojiro as a secretary general of the Office. Kaneko, in particular, was well experienced in international exhibitions. He had visited some major international exhibitions such as International Exhibition taking place in Philadelphia in 1876, International Exhibition of 1889 in Paris and Louisiana Purchase Exposition in St. Louis in 1904.⁶⁶ Kaneko was one of Honorary Councilors of Columbian World's Exposition of 1893 and participated in preparations for Exposition Universelle of Paris in 1900.⁶⁷

Although preparations for Grand Exposition in Tokyo seemed to be going well, on September 2, 1908, it was announced in Imperial Ordinance No. 207 that the Grand Exposition in Tokyo was to be postponed until 1916. They explained the reason of this postponement as it would be difficult to construct necessary facilities for the Exposition such as transportation facilities by 1912. Accordingly, if the Grand Exposition of Tokyo was to be held in 1916, when would be the 50th year of the reign of Emperor, the Japanese government expected that they would complete preparations for all the necessary facilities by that time. Ito analyzes that this postponement of the Grand Exposition in Tokyo was due to the regime change from the first Saionji

⁶⁵ 「外務省記録」「日本大博覧会開設一件」中、1907年4月8日付秘雑第225号附「日本大博覧会に関する設計の要領」

⁶⁶ Hotta·Lister, p.41-42

⁶⁷ Ito, p.169

Cabinet to the second Katsura Cabinet on July 14, 1908, accordingly changes of government policies.⁶⁸ However, just about one month after the official announcement of the postponement of Grand Exposition in Tokyo in Imperial Ordinance No. 207 dated September 2, 1908, the Cabinet, on October 16, 1908, made a decision to hold the Japan-British Exhibition in London.⁶⁹

4.2. The Japanese Initiator of the Japan British Exhibition, Komura Jutaro and the British Initiator, Imre Kiralfy

As both the Japanese and British official reports of the Exhibition indicate, it was an entrepreneur, Imre Kiralfy who first proposed holding the Japan-British Exhibition. Imre Kiralfy (1845-1919), a Hungarian Jewish émigré, had already become one of the most prominent exhibition organizers in Britain by the turn of the century.⁷⁰ By the time of the Japan-British Exhibition, Kiralfy had already organized a number of exhibitions on a purely commercial basis in America or Britain. The records suggest that he had been involved in organizing exhibitions since the 1880s and started to produce spectacles based upon imperial themes, which was his specialty, from 1890s.⁷¹ In 1895, Kiralfy established the London Exhibition Ltd., purchased lots in London and organized successful exhibitions having an imperial feature such as the Empire of India Exhibition at Earls Court in London in 1895 or the Greater Britain Exhibition of 1899.⁷² ‘Kiralfy’s ideas had outgrown their halls, and he began to erect his own great pleasure ground at Shepherd’s Bush.’⁷³ Kiralfy, in 1903, purchased a

⁶⁸ Ito, p. 171

⁶⁹ Ito, p. 172

⁷⁰ Hotta-Lister, p. 39

⁷¹ Hotta-Lister, p. 39

⁷² Ito, p. 173

⁷³ MacKenzie, John. 1986. *Imperialism and Popular Culture*. Manchester and Dover: Manchester University Press. p.104-105

24-acre land in Shepherd's Bush, which came to be called the 'White City,' and organized the Franco-British Exhibition there in 1908. After the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908, Kiralfy planned to hold another exhibition in the White City. It was the Japan-British Exhibition. What made Kiralfy decide to organize the Japan-British Exhibition was, as Dr. Hotta-Lister analyzes, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902 and the emergence of Japan as a power especially after 1905. Inspired by these, Kiralfy was struck with an idea of holding an exhibition to commemorate the closer relations between Britain and Japan as the Entente Cordiale had inspired him to promote the Franco-British Exhibition.⁷⁴

Kiralfy proposed his scheme of organizing a Japanese exhibition to Japan as early as 1902. He informed his plan of Count Hayashi Tadasu, the then minister in London soon after the Anglo-Japanese Alliance was concluded. However, Hayashi turned down Kiralfy's proposal since he was well aware of Kiralfy's ambivalent role and uncertain reputation and doubted if Kiralfy was planning to hold mere entertainment under the name of 'exhibition.' Dr. Hotta-Lister analyzes Kiralfy as follows:

Although he was prominent in organizing exhibitions, quite often embodying patriotic themes emphasizing imperialism and glorifying the British Empire, he seems to have been always regarded in Edwardian Britain, his adopted country, as a showman whose interest lay solely in money-making, cynically using patriotic themes for this purpose, and so, coupled perhaps with his ambivalent personality, he seems not to have commanded much respect or trust. He did not, therefore, receive any Royal

⁷⁴ Hotta-Lister, p.38-39

decoration or honor, which would have been the order of the day and might have been expected for a dignitary of his prominence.⁷⁵

According to the official report of the Japan-British Exhibition, Kiralfy approached Count Mutsu Hirokichi, the First Secretary of the Imperial Japanese Embassy, in 1906 and laid a proposal of the Japan-British Exhibition before Mutsu.⁷⁶ Komura Jutaro, who served as ambassador to Great Britain from 1906 to 1908, was greatly interested in Kiralfy's proposal and asked the Foreign Minister, Hayashi Tadasu in Tokyo to consider his idea explaining that the proposed Japan-British Exhibition would be beneficial not only to the relations between Britain and Japan but also to make the upcoming Grand Exposition in Tokyo known throughout the world.⁷⁷ Hayashi, who once was approached and proposed the idea by Kiralfy in 1902 when he was the minister in London, was still suspicious if Kiralfy was planning to represent Japan or Japanese culture as spectacles in the Exhibition.⁷⁸ Komura replied to Hayashi that the exhibition proposed this time would be totally different from those organized by Kiralfy at Earl's Court. One of the exhibitions organized by Kiralfy at Earl's Court was, for example, 1907 Earl's Court Exhibition, which installed the *Japan Village* represented as entertainment. Therefore, Komura emphasized that the proposed exhibition this time would be free from characteristics as entertainment or a spectacle. Komura also reported to Hayashi that Kiralfy said that he would make arrangements to hold an Anglo-Japanese exhibition if our government wished although Kiralfy first proposed organizing a Japanese exhibition.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ Hotta-Lister, p.40

⁷⁶ The Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p.5

⁷⁷ 「外務省記録」 「明治41年英京倫敦に於て日英博覧会開設一件」 中 「日英博覧会の計画に関する件」

⁷⁸ Op. cit. 「日英博覧会計画の内容確認に関し訓令の件」

⁷⁹ Op. cit. 「日英博覧会に関し回答の件」

Komura's keen interest in an Anglo-Japanese exhibition was because he wanted to alleviate anti-Japanese sentiment in Britain which arose around 1907, when Japan's power was expanding in the Far East, particularly into Manchuria. Komura strongly believed that Japan needed British support or cooperation to revise the commercial treaty with Britain, renew the Anglo-Japanese alliance and annex Korea. Meanwhile, in Tokyo, the Second Katsura Cabinet was formed on July 14, 1908. Accordingly, Komura was appointed as the Foreign Minister and returned to Japan in August of 1908. In the Cabinet meeting on October 16, 1908, Komura made a statement that the Imperial Japanese Government regarded the Anglo-Japanese Alliance as the core of their foreign policy. Therefore, Komura also stated that it would be very important to promote friendly relationships between Japanese and British peoples in order to strengthen Japan-British relations and the Japan-British Exhibition would be the best way to achieve this objective.⁸⁰ On the same day, the Cabinet officially decided to hold the Japan-British Exhibition in response to Komura's statements.

Taking these facts into consideration, Komura Jutarō, the Foreign Minister of the Imperial Japanese Government, was the main initiator of the Japan-British Exhibition on the Japanese side. On March 6, 1909, the Budget Committee approved a budget of 1.8 million yen for the Japan-British Exhibition saying that the event would be necessary to maintain and develop diplomatic and industrial relations between Japan and Britain.⁸¹ Meanwhile, the British government's attitude toward the Exhibition was cold. The Foreign Minister, Grey rejected a request of British sponsorship to the Exhibition made by ambassador to Britain, Kato, explaining that the British

⁸⁰ Op. cit. 「日英博覧会開設賛同に関し閣議決定書」

⁸¹ 「帝国議会衆議院委員会議録50」, p.167

government had never provided sponsorship with exhibitions before.⁸² Therefore, in fact, Imre Kiralfy, an exhibition organizer from the private sector, was the main initiator of the Japan-British Exhibition on the British side. Kiralfy was Commissioner-General at all the exhibitions held in the White City before the First World War: the Franco-British Exhibition (1908), the Imperial International Exhibition (1909), the Japan-British Exhibition (1910), the Coronation Exhibition (1911), the Latin-British Exhibition (1912), and the Anglo-American Exposition (1914).⁸³

4.3. Objectives of the Japan-British Exhibition

Oura, the Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, announced in the Budget Committee meeting on March 4, 1909 that the Japan-British Exhibition was aiming at promoting commerce and strengthening friendly relations between Japan and Britain.⁸⁴ As seen in the previous section, Komura's objective was to alleviate the anti-Japanese feelings in Britain through the Exhibition. However, the project of the Japan-British Exhibition was under the authority of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce. Therefore, another objective of promoting trade between Japan and Britain was added to Komura's original goal. In addition, Undersecretary of Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, Oshikawa proposed not only erecting Japanese-style garden and tea houses but also exhibiting traditional and historical objects, art objects and educational objects in the Exhibition in order to make Japan and Japanese culture more known to British people.⁸⁵

⁸² Op. cit. 「日英博覧会に関し英国外務大臣と会談報告の件」

⁸³ Hotta-Lister, p.40

⁸⁴ 「帝国議会衆議院委員会議録 4 9」, p.163

⁸⁵ 「帝国議会衆議院委員会議録 4 9」, p.165

4.4. Objects Exhibited in the Japan-British Exhibition: Position of the Taiwanese Aborigines in the Exhibition

The Japan-British Exhibition was held in the White City, Shepherd's Bush, London from May 14 to October 29, 1910.

Before the Exhibition, *Nichiei Hakurankai Jimukyoku* (the Japan-British Exhibition Committee) made a list of categories of objects which were to be exhibited in the Exhibition: Education, Art, Machinery, Electricity, Construction and Transportation, Agriculture, Horticulture, Forestry, Fishery, Restaurants, Mining, Metallurgy, Decoration and Furniture, Fabrics, Chemical Industry, Miscellaneous Industry, Economics, Colonies, Military etc.⁸⁶ Actual objects both on the Japanese side and British side and where they were exhibited in the site are shown in Table 4 and Table 5.

Table 4: Objects of the Japanese Side

Location	Content
Exhibition Hall No. 2	Japan's industry
Exhibition Hall No. 2A	Japan's horticulture
Exhibition Hall No. 3	Japan's sceneries
Exhibition Hall No. 12	Japan's history
Exhibition Hall No. 13	Japan's fabrics
(A part of) Exhibition Hall No. 21	Japan's natural resources
Exhibition Hall No. 23 (Oriental Palace/東洋館)	Japan's territories (colonies)

⁸⁶ 「日英大博覧会」太陽臨時増刊第16巻9号, p.2-5

Exhibition Hall No. 24	Exhibits of the Japanese government
Exhibition Hall No. 36	Formosan tea house
Exhibition Hall No. 47	Japanese art, education, mountains
Others outside of Exhibition Halls	Japanese garden with Japanese tea house

Table 5: Objects of the British Side

Location	Content
Exhibition Hall No. 7	Exhibits of government's agencies of Britain, Hall of Science
Exhibition Hall No. 8	Exhibits of London City Council
Exhibition Hall No. 14	British culture
Exhibition Hall No. 19	Precious metals and jewelries
Exhibition Hall No. 28	Music instruments
Exhibition Hall No. 48	Transportation
Exhibition Hall No. 49	Machinery
Exhibition Hall No. 51	New Zealand Pavilion

Resource: A Map of the Exhibition Site (Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition)

In the site, there were three facilities in relation to Taiwan: (i) the Exhibition Hall No. 23, which was also called *Toyo-kan* (the Oriental Palace) and installed pavilions of Formosa, Korea, Manchuria and Guandong area, (ii) the Formosan Tea House and (iii) the Formosan Hamlet inhabited by the Taiwanese aborigines. According to a map of the Exhibition site attached to the official report of the Japan-British Exhibition, the Exhibition site consisted of six parts: (a) *Nihon-gawa Chinretsu-kan* (日本側陳列館), which means Japan's official facilities under the sponsorship of the Japanese government, (b) British facilities called *Eikoku-gawa Chinretsu-Kan* (英国側陳列館),

(c) areas for sideshows and other buildings (餘興場其他建築物), (d) areas for sideshows of Japan (日本餘興場), (e) gardens and (f) ponds. As the official map shown in the following page suggests, the Oriental Palace (an area indicated with a black circle in the map) and the Formosa Tea House (an area with a blue circle) were regarded as the Japan's official facilities (日本側陳列館). However, the Formosan Hamlet (an area circled with red) was located in the area categorized as (c), namely areas for sideshows and other buildings (餘興場其他建築物). Also, the details of the Formosan Hamlet is introduced in Chapter 17 of the official report of the Japan-British Exhibition, which is entitled *Nippon Yokyo* (日本餘興) meaning Japanese sideshows.

4.5. The Formosan Hamlet as One of Eight Unofficial Sideshows

Chapter 17 of the official report says that the authorities were not directly involved in the sideshows. However, it continues, they should take one chapter for the sideshows since the authorities were, in fact, indirectly involved in organization and management of the sideshows.⁸⁷

⁸⁷ The Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p. 866

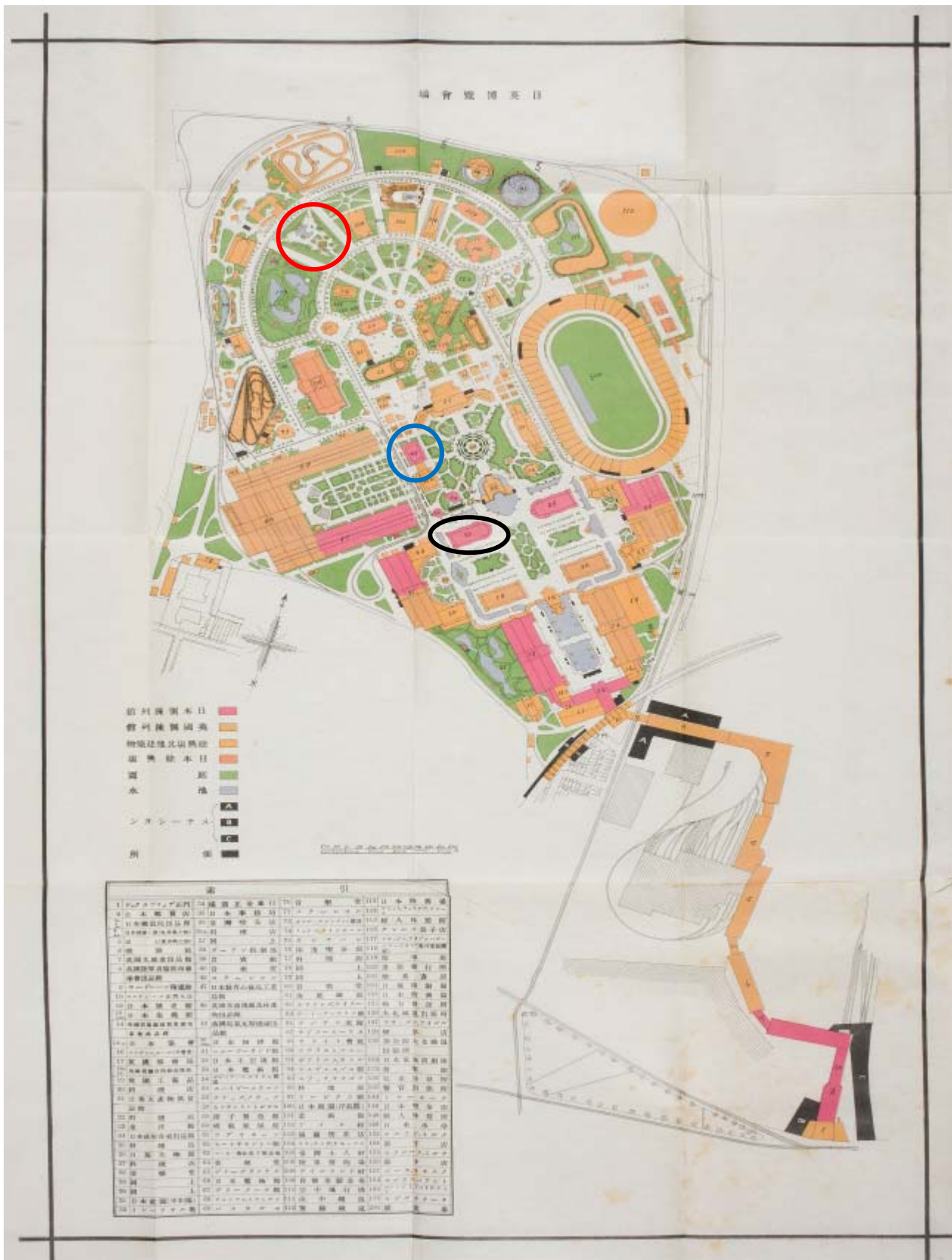


Fig. 3: An Official Map of the Japan-British Exhibition
 Resource: Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition

According to the first contract regarding the Japan-British Exhibition signed by the Japanese government and Kiralfy on March 31, 1909, the Japanese authorities merely obtained rights to reject or approve proposed sideshows for the Japan-British Exhibition and parties concerned were to organize sideshows.⁸⁸ Later, Kiralfy persuaded Kato, ambassador to Britain, that the upcoming Japan-British Exhibition should have 'attractions' such as sideshows. On August 24, 1909, Kato informed Tokyo of Kiralfy's opinion saying that the total number of visitors would be one important criterion to judge whether or not the Exhibition was successful, and sideshows would contribute to attract many kinds of visitors. Oura, Minister of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, agreed to the opinion, and Count Hirokichi Mutsu in London, Commissioner of the Japan-British Exhibition, proposed establishing a kind of syndicate, in other words, an organization in charge of management of sideshows.⁸⁹ As a result, *Syndicate* was set up with 50,000-pound financial support provided by the Japanese government. Here it should be also noted that the Japanese government provided the British ambassador to Japan with another 5,000 pounds as mortgage or travel expenses of Japanese entertainers. A British man named Julian Hicks was appointed as a British representative of *Syndicate*, and Hicks was engaged in negotiating and making agreements with entertainers and parties concerned. Kushibiki, who was well experienced in sideshows, for example, *Japanese Garden* and *Japanese Village*, and in exhibitions held in America or Europe. He and Fujiwara were also appointed as Japanese representatives of *Syndicate*.⁹⁰

Hicks arrived at Tokyo on December 14, 1909. He visited the Japan-British

⁸⁸ Op. cit. p.866

⁸⁹ 「外務省記録」 「明治41年英京倫敦に於て日英博覧会開設一件」 中 「日英博覧会経営方針に関する在英大使の意見に関し回答の件」

⁹⁰ The Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p. 867-869

Exhibition Committee on December 16, 1909, and started to discuss attractions for the Exhibition. They concluded that they should have eight sideshows: (i) performance of making Japanese traditional items in Japanese-style houses erected in the Exhibition site, (ii) panoramic model of Japanese rural district, (iii) the Ainu Village, (iv) the Formosan Hamlet, (v) Japanese theatrical performance (later cancelled), (vi) water-tricks, magic and music performance etc., (vii) moving picture and (viii) equestrianism (later cancelled).⁹¹

The Formosan Hamlet was obviously placed as one of the sideshows in this event. Dr. Miyatake, a professor of Hokkaido University, points out that there are few records or materials left in connection with the exhibited aboriginal people in the Japan-British Exhibition. This is because, he analyzes, the aborigines were expected to play roles as entertainer and money-maker who would attract visitors' interest and curiosity while the Oriental Palace implied educational and ideological intention to justify the Japan's colonialism.⁹²

4.6. The Taiwan Aboriginal Participants Arrived

The records suggest that *Syndicate* requested the Japan-British Exhibition Committee for assistance in relation to the Formosan Hamlet and the Ainu Village, and the Committee made necessary arrangements for these two attractions.⁹³ On February 21, 1910, Oshima, Civil Administrative General of the Governor General of Taiwan (台灣總督府民政長官), and Julian Hicks signed a contract to make 24 Taiwan aboriginal

⁹¹ The Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p. 867

⁹² Miyatake, Kimio. 2005. *The Yellow Masked Oedipus : Ainu and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*. Hokkaido: Hokkaido University. p.29.

⁹³ The Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p. 869-872

people from some villages⁹⁴ participate in the Japan-British Exhibition. On the same day, two Japanese policemen named Ishikawa and Itakura took those 24 aboriginal people from Koshun (恒春), which is the present area of Pingtung County, to Moji (門司) in Fukuoka Prefecture (福岡) of Kyushu (九州) by ship. *Asahi Simbun* (朝日新聞) dated February 22, 1909 reported that the 24 Taiwan aboriginal people, who arrived at Moji on February 21, 1906, wore necklaces made with many silver coins linked together and headbands decorated with nails of animals and feathers. Their hairs were disheveled, and had some silver coins inside. They changed ships at Moji shivering with cold. The paper also reported that those aborigines from Taiwan liked meals served in the ship very much, but some of them ate too much and had loose bowels as a result.⁹⁵ On February 26, 1910, they left Moji for London.⁹⁶

4.7. Representations of Formosa in the Exhibition

As noted in *Objects Exhibited in the Japan-British Exhibition: Position of the Taiwanese Aborigines in the Exhibition* of this chapter, there were three facilities relating to Taiwan: (i) the Exhibition Hall No. 23 so called *Toyo-kan* (the Oriental Palace), (ii) the Formosan Tea House, and (iii) the Formosan Hamlet inhabited by the Taiwanese aborigines. In this section, representations of Formosa in the Oriental Palace and the Formosan Hamlet are to be discussed. Moreover, interpretations of Formosa given by the British press in response to the representations are also to be analyzed.

⁹⁴ The number of village is recorded differently in historical documents; sometimes two, sometimes seven.

⁹⁵ *Asahi Simbun* dated February 22, 1910

⁹⁶ According to the official report, the date when the Taiwan aboriginal people left Moji was indicated February 16, 1910. However, this is, I believe, the mistake.

4.7.1. Formosa in the Oriental Palace and the Formosan Hamlet

The Oriental Palace, which was one of the Japan's official facilities under the sponsorship of the Japanese government, consisted of exhibition halls for Taiwan, Korea, Manchuria, and the Guangdong area. The Taiwan pavilion occupied half of the Oriental Palace and illustrated the resources, education, and different industries newly developed in Taiwan under Japanese colonization.⁹⁷ The official report gives an account of the Taiwan Pavilion as below:

Close to the entrance, on one side of the passage, the natives were depicted by means of tableaux in their primitive state in the wild country, while on the other side the Formosan people shown by a similar method peacefully engaged in work on a tea plantation, thus demonstrating their progress since coming under the influence of Japan, in contrast to their former primitive state.



Fig. 4: The Formosan people engaged in work on a tea plantation

Resource: Ito, p. 184



Fig. 5: The Display of Formosan Life

Resource: Ito, p. 184

⁹⁷ Kikuchi, Yuko. 2007. *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan*. Honolulu: University Hawaii Press. p. 205

The Taiwanese aboriginal participants were, strictly speaking, the Paiwan tribe. The Formosan Hamlet had 12 Paiwan houses, two of which were actually erected by the Paiwan people. The Paiwan participants lived in those reconstructed houses with their traditional items such as spears and swords during their stay in London.

The British official report of the Japan-British Exhibition gives explanations to the Formosan Hamlet as follows:

.....[the Formosan Hamlet] was inhabited by specimens of ‘one of the fiercest and most intractable races on the globe,’ as a well-known traveler described the natives of Formosa. That was, of course, before the Japanese occupation of the island in 1895. These warlike dwellers of the mountain recesses of Formosa resided in their own peculiar native-built houses, and were seen at their occupations and sports. Their war dances were thrilling, while their mimic battles proclaimed them to be adept in the use of the spear, the bow, and the arrow. ⁹⁸

4.7.2. Representations of Formosa in the Japanese Press

Here is an interesting news article published by the Japanese press, which introduced the Japan’s first colony as follows:

The island of Formosa, or Taiwan as we call it, came into our possession in 1895 as a fruit of the Chinese War. The turbulent and unruly character of the inhabitants had long rendered the administration of the island an arduous task under the Chinese rule,

⁹⁸ The official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition, p. 284

and it was not without misgivings that Japan assumed her sway over the possession. This apprehension has been fully verified and Japan's initial efforts as a colonizing power have had much to contend with, especially owing to the treacherous and often deadly climate as well as to the savage aborigines who inhabit more than one-half of the entire area of the island. The latter are divided into nine different tribes, all more or less ethnologically akin to the Malay race, the population numbering altogether some 100,000. Broadly speaking, they are classes into the Northern and Southern tribes, the former being more fierce and intractable than the latter, one of their favourite pursuits being that of head hunting! Indeed the almost insurmountable difficulties have been so great that at one time the new possession seemed to be regarded in the light of a white elephant. However, the numerous impediments and obstacles have been vigorously grappled with and gradually overcome to such effect that to-day we may safely regard Formosa not only as having wholly ceased to be a burden to the home government, but as one of the most valuable assets of the Empire. The revenue is so much augmented that since some years ago the island has been independent of the subsidy from the Central Treasury. The trade with Japan proper has more than quadrupled within the last ten years, the mileage of the Government railways in the island having also increased in more than the same proportion in that space of time; the agricultural products as well as the mineral and marine resources are being likewise exploited to the best advantage. The Government of Formosa is therefore glad of this opportunity to give their British friends some idea of the work they have accomplished and of their future prospects. With this end in view they have secured over one-half of the entire space of a commodious building in the White City, and the interest of the exhibits will be enhanced by the presence of a life-like and full-sized model of an aboriginal village.⁹⁹

⁹⁹ Mutsu, Hirokichi. 2001. *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*. The

Taking these representations of the Taiwan Pavilion and the Formosan Hamlet into consideration, the organizers wanted to highlight the contrast generated as a result of the Japan's successful management of Taiwan: past versus present and primitive versus civilized, in other words, that Japan had successfully rendered Taiwan as a profitable island though it used to be an undeveloped virgin island before Japan's invasion in 1895. Therefore, in this exhibition, the Taiwan pavilion was placed as present in response to the Formosan Hamlet as past.

4.8. Why Paiwan?

There is no academic research, historical record or news article which indicates the specific reason why the 24 Paiwan people living in Koshun (恒春) area were chosen as participants of the Japan-British Exhibition. This section, therefore, attempts to seek some possible reasons from two different perspectives.

4.8.1. Respectable People as Appropriate Participants

According to Dr. Miyatake's *The Yellow-Masked Oedipus: Ainu and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, Ainu participants were respectable people with high social status in their society who could behave 'appropriately' on such an international stage, and could be recommended as participants by the Japanese government with confidence.¹⁰⁰

For example, one of the Ainu participants named Kaizawa Kenji (貝沢賢治) seems to be the first Ainu that served in the Army and fought during the Russo-Japanese War as

University of Melbourne: Melbourne. p. 201-201

¹⁰⁰ Miyatake, p. 32-33

a Japanese soldier.¹⁰¹ Also, memoirs of a son of another Ainu participant, Kaizawa Zensuke (貝沢善助) were recorded in 1983. The son of Kaizawa Zensuke is, at the same time, a nephew of Kaizawa Sue (貝沢すえ), and a grandson of Kaizawa Shiranhenō (貝沢シランヘノ) and Kaizawa Anretoku (貝沢あんれとく). He remembers that his *Ekashi*, meaning ‘grandfather’ in Ainu language, could speak Japanese and write some *Katakana* (片仮名), one sort of Japanese letters, although there was no school in the local village when *Ekashi* was a child. He assumes that *Ekashi* learned from his friends who knew how to write Japanese. *Ekashi* had become a prominent person owning many horses and 70 percent of the whole land of Nibutani (二風谷) area, which was located in southern Hokkaido. He also says that when his father, Kaizawa Zensuke (貝沢善助) was 10 years-old, Britain contacted the Office of Biratori village (平取村の戸長役場) and asked them to find some appropriate Ainu people as participants of the Japan-British Exhibition. The headman (戸長) of Biratori village visited Shiranhenō’s house and directly asked him to go to London as a participant.¹⁰² The participants who took part in the Japan-British Exhibition are listed in Table 6.

Table 6:

List of the Ainu Participants

Passport No.	Age	Name	Address
150494	55 years and 2 months	門別 シノツテカン	北海道日高国沙流郡門別村

¹⁰¹ Miyatake, p. 42-43

¹⁰² Miyatake, p. 47

Monbetsu Shinotsutekan			
150487	55 years and 2 months	門別 めかつとけ	Same as above
Monbetsu Nukatsutoke			
150496	62 years and 2 months	平村 カナカトク Hiramura Kanakatoku	北海道日高国沙流郡平取村
150488	47 years and 2 months	貝沢 シランヘノ Kaizawa Shiranheno	北海道日高国沙流郡二風谷村
150489	42 years and 2 months	貝沢 あんれとく Kaizawa Anretoku	Same as above
150490	17 years and 2 months	貝沢 すえ Kaizawa Sue	Same as above
150491	8 years and 10 months	貝沢 善助 Kaizawa Zensuke	Same as above
150492	24 years and 7 months	貝沢 賢治 Kaizawa Kenji	Same as above
150493	29 years and 2 months	貝沢 らたらしの Kaizawa Ratarashino	Same as above
150495	1 year and 8 months	貝沢 忠吉 Kaizawa Tadayoshi	Same as above

Resource: The Yellow-Masked Oedipus: Ainu and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910, p. 33-34

The memoirs were supported by an article of *Asahi Shimbun* dated February 13, 1910. The article reported that one of the Ainu participants, Kaizawa Shiranheno had four to five servants in his house and owned 40 to 50 horses. Shiranheno was with his wife, Anretoku, his daughter, Sue, and his son, Zensuke, who was in the third year of

elementary school and already could write Japanese characters (漢字). Shiranhenō himself said that he was willing to go to London because the headman of Biratori village requested him to do so saying that Shiranhenō had taken very good care of people in the village.¹⁰³

Looking at the case of the Ainu participants, the Japanese government wanted respectable aborigines who would listen to them and could behave appropriately in the international event, which was very important for them. Therefore, the Paiwan people also can be thought to have been respectable enough to be recommended as appropriate participants by the Japanese government.

4.8.2. Tourism for Taiwanese Aborigines as One of Riban-Seisaku (理蕃政策)

However, another perspective which is completely different from the one indicated in the previous section can be given to the reason why the Paiwan people were chosen as participants.

While several articles and books described the Ainu participants as respectable people, the Paiwan people were not reported in the same way. For example, an article entitled *Ainu in London/Politest People on Earth Have a Rude Reception, "Heaven" at the Docks* posted on *The Daily News* dated April 16, 1910 introduced polite behavior of the Ainu participants when they arrived at London, and emphasized that the Taiwanese aborigines were quite different from the Ainu although they came to London by the same ship. Another article in *Daily Express* dated May 16, 1910

¹⁰³ 「渡英のアイヌ」

described the Paiwan participants as follows:

The Formosans are not quite ready for the public. They are muscular, rather short-tempered persons, who look on headhunting as a pastime. They are trying to make their enclosure as homelike as possible, but they chafe somewhat under the restrictions of an effete civilization which prevent a man from indulging in an illegitimate hobby. They have been warned that they must be on their best behaviour.¹⁰⁴

If these articles should be true, why were ‘rather short-tempered headhunters’ appointed as participants of this international event?

The Paiwan people’s participation in the Japan-British Exhibition is recorded in a section with a caption of *Banjin no Kanko* (蕃人の観光), meaning ‘tourism for Taiwanese aborigines,’ of Suzuki Sakutarō’s *Taiwan no Banzoku Kenkyū* (台湾の蕃族研究) in 1932. This section explains how important it is for Taiwanese aborigines to have contact with the outside world in order to civilize them, and tourism is one of the most effective ways to achieve this. It continues that when Chang Chaolian (張兆連) was a governor of Taiwan, Chang took some aborigines from two villages to Changhua, Tainan, Taipei, Amoy, Guangdong, and Shanghai for sightseeing in 1883. The aborigines were astonished at the resplendent cities and countless people living there, and after returning to Taiwan, they told the villagers what they had seen and warned them not to kill foreigners since foreigners were too many to wipe out. Later,

¹⁰⁴ *Muscular Formosans, Treasures of 1,000 Years: Wonderful Scenes of Japan in London First Day at the BUSHIDO* By Percival Phillips Daily Express dated May 16, 1910

only aboriginal people from those two villages had become obedient. From this fact, the Japanese colonial government expected that taking influential persons among the tribe or from villages to Japan or foreign advanced cities for sightseeing would be effective for aborigines to lose their rebellious spirits. They thought that if leaders of the local aboriginal villages saw how advanced Japan was, they would know rebellion against Japan were useless and tell the villagers not to do that and the villagers must listen to their leaders. In addition, leaders' absence due to their trip to foreign cities would prevent other people left behind to rise in rebellion, though this is my personal analysis. In fact, the Japanese colonial government adopted tourism for aboriginal people as one of their management policies toward Formosan aborigines so called Riban-seisaku (理蕃政策), and had arranged travels to Japan nine times and to Britain once during the period from 1897 to 1929.¹⁰⁵ A number of Japanese papers picked up the curious tourists from Formosa, and they used terms '勢力者' or '頭目,' meaning influential person or leader, when they introduced the Formosan tourists. From this description, it is obvious that the Japanese colonial government chose aboriginal leaders on purpose.

This section of *Taiwan no Banzoku Kenkyu* (台湾の蕃族研究) introduces several successful cases which had resulted in making aborigines obedient through tourism, and one of the 'successful cases' was the Paiwan people's participation in the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. Although the reason why they were chosen as participants is not written, another successful case of 50 Atayal people traveling to Japan (Kyoto, Nagoya, Osaka, Hiroshima, and Kyushu etc.) in 1912 is recorded with

¹⁰⁵ Suzuki, Sakutarō. 1977. *Taiwan no Banzoku Kenkyu (Research on Taiwan Aborigines)*. Tokyo: Seishi sha. p. 374-375.

the reason. It was because “there was a sign of rebellion among the Atayals living in Otayama (大田山) area.”¹⁰⁶

From these records, it can be also considered that the authorities obtained information that there was a possibility for aboriginal people living in Koshun (恒春) to rise in rebellion, and they arranged travels to Britain for some of those aborigines in order to prevent the potential rebellion.

4.9. Aftermath of the Exhibition

In the last section of this chapter, three different reactions to the Native Villages and the Japan-British Exhibition are to be seen from viewpoints of the Formosans, the Ainus, and the Japanese. These different reactions seem to have lead to the current different interpretations on the Japan-British Exhibition.

4.9.1. The Paiwan Participants' Reactions

Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo (台湾日日新報) dated September 29, 1912 introduces a pattern of the Paiwan people's life in the Formosan Hamlet. They woke up at six in the morning, and had breakfast at eight, lunch at noon, and dinner at seven in the evening. Their meals in the Hamlet were rice, millet, sweet potato, and meat, and they had whiskey before going to bed. On weekends, they were given more whiskey than that of weekdays. They had to work in the Hamlet from eleven in the morning to ten twenty at night. The newspaper also reports that some of the Paiwan

¹⁰⁶ Suzuki, p. 380

participants became weary of this routine work, and they wanted to go back to Taiwan. Therefore, Japanese supervisors sometimes had difficulties trying to soothe them.

Although the Paiwan participants seem to have been tired of the same routine of their life in the Hamlet, many news articles and historical records note that they enjoyed and accepted British culture while in London. One of the participants said that he was astonished to find a British man and a British woman walking on a street holding their each other's hands. Some started to study English saying that English was easier than Japanese, and others requested the Japanese supervisors to buy clothes, socks, and shoes for them since wearing no clothe on their feet was very embarrassing.¹⁰⁷

When the Paiwan participants returned to Taiwan in June of 1911, the first word they spoke to the press was 'good morning' in English. They were all 'westernized' with socks, shoes, trousers or jackets.¹⁰⁸ The Paiwan people were invited to the official residence of the then Governor-General of Taiwan, Sakuma. Sakuma expressed his thanks for their participation in the Japan-British Exhibition, and provided some gifts with them. One of the Paiwan people was asked how his stay in London had been by Sakuma, and told Sakuma that he had been amazed at the magnificent town, sophisticated industrial and commercial products, grand machinery and facilities, and frequent comings and goings of man and horse. This Paiwan participant also added that the advancement of London was more than that of Taipei by a hundredfold.¹⁰⁹

In the following year, 1912, a British man named William Price visited and stayed in

¹⁰⁷ *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo* (台湾日日新報) dated January 8, 1911

¹⁰⁸ *Taiwan Nichinichi Shimpo* (台湾日日新報) dated January 8, 1911

¹⁰⁹ Suzuki, p. 377

some aboriginal villages of Ako (阿緱), Taitou (臺東), and Karen-ko (花連港) to collect plants and animals from May 10 to June 4, 1912. When Price came to Ako, which is the present area of Pingtung, the Paiwan participants visited the local police station of Koshifutsu (高士佛蕃務官史駐在所), and offered to welcome Price in return for the British people's hospitality and kindness during their stay at London. The authorities informed this offer from the Paiwan people to Price, and he accepted it. Price visited Koshifutsu village on June 1, 1912. The Paiwan people invited him to an office room of the local police station, and had a dinner party for him. There, a Paiwan man named Teipo Salongai (テイポ・サロンガイ) stood up, and made a welcome speech. Salongai stated that his thoughts before and after visiting Britain had become totally different. He had realized that no other people were more primitive than them, and that there was a need to get rid of their old customs. To achieve this, they should emphasize more on education. By furnishing their descendants with adequate education and opportunities to study in Britain and civilizing them, he hoped that their living standard would reach the same level with that of advanced foreign cities in the near future. The Paiwan people spoke to Price in English throughout the night.¹¹⁰

No article or document indicating the Paiwan participants' opposing sentiment against the Japan's colonial intention or role of the Formosan Hamlet as a sideshow has been found. It should also be noted that few articles were directly related to the Paiwan people's reactions to the Formosan Hamlet while several articles illustrated that they were greatly astonished at the British advancement, and accepted British culture. This is because they may not have known the Japanese organizers' intention, not have

¹¹⁰ Suzuki, p. 377

understood their expected roles in this Exhibition, or simply have not been interested in such matters though it was true that they were greatly influenced and inspired by British culture.

In the meanwhile, in connection with *Tourism for Taiwanese Aborigines as One of Riban-Seisaku* (理蕃政策) of this chapter, the Japanese colonial government's intention to prevent the potential rebellion by the Paiwan leaders' participation in the Japan-British Exhibition had ended up in failure. A literary work of Nakamura Kokyo, *From the Aboriginal Lands* consists of letters written by *Watashi* (the Japanese first person singular pronoun: e.g. 'I'), who is the main character of this story, to his friend. *Watashi* traveled to aboriginal villages of southern Taiwan, and reported what he had seen there to the friend in his letters. 'I' interviewed a Paiwan man named Tebo Sadogai (テボ・サドガイ), who was one of the participants of the Exhibition and stayed in London for about a half year, and asked him about his impressions through an interpreter. Sadogai, sometimes used simple English, answered that he had been astonished to see how rich and advanced London was and he had wanted to call his family in Taiwan to London and live there with his family forever. However, about six months after this interview, 'I,' who was already back in Tokyo, shuddered to read a news article to report that several aboriginal groups in Koshun (恒春) had risen in rebellion, attacking some local police stations, killing the policemen, their families and local construction workers, headhunting local mailmen, destroying telegraph poles, and cutting electric wires. 'I' was also shocked to find that some policemen who had guided him when he had traveled to Koshun were also killed by the aborigines.¹¹¹

¹¹¹ Yamaguchi, Mamoru. 2003. *Kouza Taiwan Bungaku (A Lecture on Taiwanese Literature)*. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankokai. p. 66-67

4.9.2. The Ainu Participants' Reactions

Like the Paiwan participants, the Ainu people also seem to have had quite positive impressions on the Japan-British Exhibition. For instance, when they left London in November of 1910, they made comments on the Japan-British Exhibition as follows:

...we are sorry that we have to leave. We have seen so many things not known before to us, and were astonished to see waters gushing out of the earth, vanishing and coming again to our houses. (A reference to the water supply.) We have seen light running up a mountain before our eyes. We admired the length of the town which had no beginning and no end. ...But most of all we were astonished and captivated by the kindness of the people of England, and still more by the kind and tender heart of the English women. For this we feel more grateful than for anything we admired, and when we return to our country we shall tell our people of this rich country of the Women of the Good Heart, that the tale might be transmitted to our children and grand-children.

Also, a baby of Kaizawa Kenji (具沢賢治), who is thought to be the first Ainu that fought during the Russo-Japanese War as a Japanese soldier, was born during the Japan-British Exhibition. Kaizawa named this baby 英博, which means 'British Exhibition.'¹¹²

¹¹² Miyatake, p. 49 and Mutsu, p. 179

4.9.3. Japanese Journalist's Reaction

Hasegawa Nyozeikan (November 30, 1875 - November 11, 1969), who was a journalist and social critic in the Taisho and Showa periods, was sent to London by the Japanese press, *Asahi Shimbun* and examined the Japan-British Exhibition closely. Dr. Hotta-Lister states: 'He (Nyozeikan) was a distinguished journalist who was well fitted to the task: his education had been nurtured by English literature under the tuition of Tsubouchi Shoyo...he was greatly influenced by British liberal and democratic ideas and hence, throughout of his life, he was known as a thinker and journalist of English School. Yet he was not totally Westernized: he had great admiration for the Eastern cultures including Chinese philosophy and *Monyoshu* (the ten thousand poems, compiled between the end of the seventh century and the middle of the eighth century) and *Kojiki* (the annals of ancient affairs, compiled around 712). He published a number of works and was praised as 'A man of great integrity and intelligence, and courage, unafraid to voice his views even during the time when freedom of expression was virtually non-existent...His perception of the Exhibition was generally the same as other fellow Japanese travelers and residents in Britain...' ¹¹³

He recorded his perceptions of the Japan-British Exhibition in *Obei Yuran-ki* (欧米遊覽記), and had made some comments on the Ainu Village and the Formosan Hamlet as below:

"I viewed the showing of the Ainus and the Formosan, with visitors looking at these

¹¹³ Hotta-Lister, p. 145

people as if they were rare animals in a zoo, as matters of humanitarian and moral concern. The Caucasian aside, we Japanese should not be willing to organize this kind of entertainment.”¹¹⁴



¹¹⁴ Asahi Shimbun Journalists. 1910. *Obei Yuran-ki: Dainikai Sekai Isshu*. Osaka: Asahi Shimbun. p.552-553

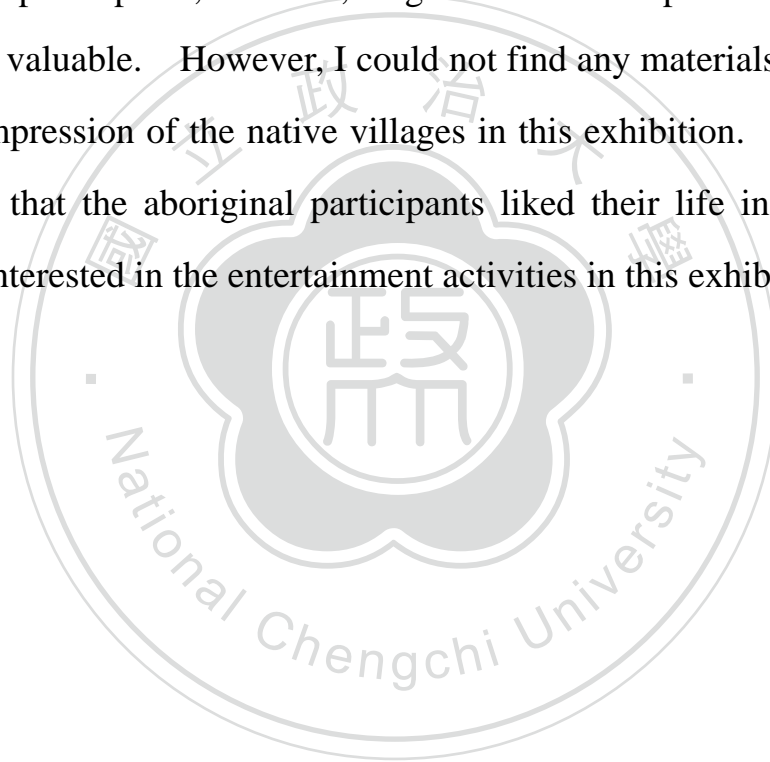
5. Conclusion

As I mentioned in *Introduction*, what I would like to reveal through this research are (i) the Japanese Exhibition organizers' objectives of displaying Taiwanese aborigines in the Japan-British Exhibition, (ii) representations of the exhibited Taiwanese aborigines in this event and (iii) different interpretations on these representations of the Japanese, the Ainus and the Taiwanese aborigines. By examining the exhibition and its background, I have concluded as follows:

- (i) Both the Japanese and British initiators of the exhibition placed the Formosan Hamlet as one of the sideshows in this event. However, the Formosan Hamlet also had a colonial aspect since the Japanese government at that time started to have a confidence as one of the Great Powers after experiencing the four important historical incidents: Japan's victory in the Sino-Japanese War, her participation in the International Expenditure to relieve the Legations in Peking from the Boxer Rising, the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, and her victory in the Russo-Japanese War.
- (ii) In this event, the aboriginal people of Taiwan were introduced that they used to be "one of the fiercest and most intractable races on the globe" before the Japan's acquisition of Taiwan. On the other hand, the Taiwanese people peacefully working on a tea plantation could be seen in the Taiwan Pavilion. Based upon these representations of Formosa in this exhibition, the organizers seem to have wanted to highlight the contrast generated as a result of the Japan's successful management of Taiwan: past versus present and primitive versus civilized, in other words, that Japan had successfully rendered Taiwan as

a profitable island though it used to be an undeveloped virgin island before Japan's invasion in 1895. Therefore, in this exhibition, the Taiwan pavilion was placed as present in response to the Formosan Hamlet as past.

- (iii) The different interpretations on the Formosan Hamlet of today are a result of the different reactions of the Taiwan aboriginal participants, the Ainu participants and the Japanese journalist at that time. Although the Japanese journalist criticized the native villages as matters of humanitarian and moral concern, the aboriginal participants, in fact, regarded their experience in London as something valuable. However, I could not find any materials which show their positive impression of the native villages in this exhibition. Therefore, I have concluded that the aboriginal participants liked their life in London but they were not interested in the entertainment activities in this exhibition.



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