"Have I Done Enough for Japan Today?": Japan's Colonial Villages in the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910

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Abstract

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 opened from 14 May to 29 October to celebrate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902. An interesting imperial competition was visualised with Japan's colonies and Britain's colonies. The exhibition celebrated the relationship between Britain and Japan in the interests of commerce, trade and profit for both nations. The 1910 Exhibition became Japan's introduction to the West – a showcase of all things Japanese for the British, and international market. There was a huge organisational drive behind representing the countries wares and 2,200 exhibitors participated. In this article, I will compare the Formosan and Ainu villages which were symbols of Japan's imperial dominance and consider the Irish Village in the 1910 Exhibition to uncover how the many modes of rurality, coloniality and authenticity sought to create a vision of Japanese dominance in a British Empire display.

Keywords: British Empire, colonial villages, international exhibitions, Ireland, Japan

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Introduction

> The breath-taking sweep of exhibits [...] ranged from arts and industry to agriculture and city plans, from displays of the activities of the Japanese Red Cross to the Department of War, from education and religious beliefs to the role of women, and from national government and local administration to historical tableaux and musical instruments.[1]

The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 had a serious political and commercial agenda, yet in the spirit of entertainment contained "all the hut of the fair" including the "Flip-Flap" carnival ride. The exhibition was conceived by the Japanese in the early twentieth century as a direct challenge to reductive stereotypes of Japan in Britain. Japanese businessmen, government officials and financiers desired an international display to counter prejudices of the Japanese as an inferior culture whose expertise lay in copying Western manufactures. These Japanese entrepreneurs sought to prove that Japan had a history, culture, industry, and mechanisation to rival that of Britain. For six months of the exhibition, exhibitors constructed a 'venerable civilisation and Modern Empire' over 242,700 square feet. Moving away from Japanese images of cherry blossoms and mass production, visitors in Shepherd's Bush, London saw the best of Japanese life and technology. The 1910 Exhibition opened from 14 May to 29 October to celebrate the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, signed in 1902. It lionised the relationship between Britain and Japan in the interests of commerce, trade, and profit for both nations. As Japan's introduction to the West – the display became a showcase of all things Japanese for the British, and the international market. Overall, there were 2,200 exhibitors in 1910 and it took more than two months to bring a single cargo from Japan to London: "over 14,000 miles of water".[2] The result was "a unique and complete representation [...] of what [Japan] has been in the past, what [Japan] is now, and what [Japan] is likely to become in the future".[3]

This article compares the colonial villages of both Japan and Britain in the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910 to uncover how display was used to convey the might of Empire (whether Japanese or British) and the subjugation of colonised groups (both in Japan and Britain). My

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1 Japan-British Exhibition. *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 137.

2 Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910*, 137.

3 Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910*, 134.

primary focus is Japan. First, I will consider the origins of the 1910 Exhibition to interrogate the contemporary understanding of such displays before investigating the specific exhibits that presented imperial narratives about the two countries. I will do this by analysing the colonial villages and their representation of women in particular. Finally, I will study how these exhibits were received to judge how successful they were in conveying imperial might both in London and abroad. Ireland, like Japan, had a point to prove to Britain. Ireland had been colonised by England long before the formal Act of Union in 1800. By 1910, divisions between Protestant and Catholic Ireland were gaining momentum, in government, on the streets, and in action. Irish Protestants largely sought to maintain the Union with Britain, whilst Irish Catholics tended to be of a more separatist persuasion and wanted an independent Ireland.[4] Britain used its international exhibitions to celebrate its colonial empire, to invite millions of visitors to admire the wonders of its imperial enterprise. In part, these exhibitions were used to justify continued colonial rule. It is notable that Ireland's representation as an underdeveloped rural backwater featured villages, rural industries and rolling green landscapes, since Japan sought an equal footing with Britain by demonstrating its colonised groups of the Ainu and Formosan (aboriginal people in Taiwan) residing in similar rustic villages. By presenting Ireland as in need of development, English colonial rule was seen as necessary to develop the country and bring into modernisation. Concurrently, by presenting Japan as an imperial power, their global colonising status was foregrounded.

Historically, exhibitions were grand spectacles that showcased the manufactures, industries, arts, technologies, histories, and communities of countries on an international platform for the consumption of millions of visitors. International exhibitions were mainly held in the capital cities of the world's countries, namely London, New York, Berlin, Paris, and Dublin amongst others and typically lasted for five to six months at a time.[5] In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, exhibitions possessed a significance of mythic proportions according to popular discourse. The displays were heralded as a unique, profitable, and unsurpassed forum for celebrating a country's wares, vying for increased trade, and consolidating national mores. They enabled participating countries to navigate the period's emerging globalisation by straddling the temporal spheres of past, present, and future. Organisers could highlight the supposed backwardness of the past, illuminate

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[4] Ireland was typically represented in the colonial section of British Empire Exhibitions until the 1930s when the country displayed itself alongside other Dominion nations such as Canada and Australia (the Irish Free State was founded in 1922 following the Anglo-Irish War) but the country became a fully independent republic following the passage of the Republic of Ireland Act in 1949.

[5] James E. Findling and Kimberly D. Pelle, eds., *Encyclopaedia of World's Fairs and Expositions* (Jefferson, IA: McFarland & Company, 2008).

the successes of the present, and imagine the triumphs of the future. The prolific analytical capacity of exhibitions has seen extensive research from historians, anthropologists, geographers, and museum studies professionals over the past few decades. This burgeoning scholarship identifies the importance of exhibitions in the international markets, the development of science, and identity formation.[6] More recent research by Nathan Cardon, Sadiah Qureshi and Alexander C. T. Geppert has prioritised divergence, difference, and disruption when conceptualising the expertise produced in the fairground, whether related to modernity or popular science.[7] Cardon demonstrates that classed and gendered identities operated in tandem to authenticate discourses on modernity for the American South.[8] Qureshi has shown that exhibitions were crucial grounds for the creation of racialised, scientific and imperial knowledge in nineteenth century Britain.[9] Further, Geppert argues that the historical notion of 'exhibitionary networks' enables adequate historicisation of display with its focus on an overlapping series of networks that evolved over time.[10]

Exhibitions typically contained contradictory impulses and unresolved tensions, partly due to the diversity of organisers' ambitions but also because of the inability to precisely control how visitors would respond to the exhibit, or indeed how the final display would look. In the Japan-British Exhibition and its display of the Irish and Japanese villages many conflicting factors were at play. For instance, rurality and authenticity were juxtaposed with industry and modernity within the fairground. Despite both being regarded as important narratives for a country's respective trades, they functioned in direct opposition. Relying on recognisable stereotypes of a country's own rural

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6 Early histories include: Richard D. Altick, *The Shows of London* (Harvard, MA: Belknap Press, 1978); John Allwood, *The Great Exhibitions* (London, UK: Littlehampton Book Services, 1977); Kenneth W. Luckhurst, *The Story of Exhibitions* (London, UK: Studio Publications, 1951).

7 Nathan Cardon, *A Dream of the Future: Race, Empire, and Modernity at the Atlanta and Nashville World's Fairs, 1895-1897* (Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2018); Sadiah Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade: Exhibitions, Empire and Anthropology in Nineteenth Century Britain* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Alexander C. T. Geppert, *Fleeting Cities: Imperial Expositions in Fin-De-Siècle Europe* (New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). Marta Filipova, ed., *Cultures of International Exhibitions: 1800-1940: Great Exhibitions in the Margins* (London, UK: Routledge, 2015); Lara Kriegel, "After the Exhibitionary Complex: Museum Histories and the Future of the Victorian Past," *Victorian Studies* 48 (2006): 681-704; Stephen Conn, *Museums and American Intellectual Life, 1876-1926* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Manon Niquette and William J. Buxton, "Meet Me at the Fair: Sociability and Reflexivity in Nineteenth-Century World Expositions," *Canadian Journal of Communication* 22 (1997): 81-133; Penelope Harvey, *Hybrids of Modernity: Anthropology, the Nation State and the Universal Exhibition* (London, UK: Routledge, 1996); Meg Armstrong, "A Jumble of Foreignness: The Sublime Musayums of Nineteenth-Century Fairs and Expositions," *Cultural Critique* 23 (1992-1993): 199-250.

8 Cardon, *A Dream of the Future*, 2-17.

9 Qureshi, *Peoples on Parade*, 1-12.

10 Geppert, *Fleeting Cities*, 1-15.

industries created an accessible narrative, however, exhibition's focus on the past contradicted constructions of a future modernity that was prosperous and profitable based on industry and technology. Moreover, claims to authenticity were fundamental in convincing visitors to attend the exhibitions and claims to 'reality' in the fairground continually circulated. Yet, actual events in the represented countries in the twentieth century did not feature in their exhibitions. Thereby, my research reveals the tensions between display and reality as opposed to assuming a congruence between the two.

This article relies on printed material produced by and about the 1910 Japan-British Exhibition. These range from catalogues, guidebooks, maps, and descriptive listings to reveal the machinations of fair organisers. I analyse these sources in conjunction with the periodicals, editorials, and articles printed in newspapers to complement the exhibition's display in 1910. These materials expose productive avenues to read visitors' responses, criticisms, and legacies of the displays. I also use visual sources to illustrate the significance of symbols of Japan and Ireland in the form of postcards, photographs, and paintings. Meeting minutes and exhibition committee reports offer a further layered interpretation of organisation and reception by planners, as well as visitors that is useful in my analysis. The planning stages were largely bureaucratic and so decisions relating to invitations, building plans, and exhibiting structures have a trail of printed documents. Overall, the exhibition celebrated the relationship between Britain and Japan in the interests of commerce, trade, and profit for both nations. By using the Formosan and Ainu villages to understand how symbols of Japan's imperial dominance were created, a productive (brief) comparison can be made of the Irish Village in the 1910 Exhibition to uncover how modes of rurality, coloniality and authenticity sought to create a vision of global imperial power in early twentieth century London.

"Spread Information about the New Japanese Empire": Origins & Objects of the 1910 Exhibition

Yonosuke Ian Mutsu, Commissioner of the Imperial Japanese Government to the Japanese-British Exhibition, was not alone in seeing the exhibition as an opportunity to "spread information about the new Japanese Empire and thereby win friends".[11] Mutsu applauded it as a 'successful public relations campaign'. He welcomed the opportunity to educate and expose London to Japan's

[11] Hirokichi Mutsu, ed., *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910* (Victoria, Australia: Melbourne Institute of Asian Languages and Societies, the University of Melbourne, 2001).

glory as the country 'was little known among the English masses'.[12] In a similar vein, William Coaldrake (Japan-born Australian scholar) saw the exhibition as Japan's attempt to "explain its traditional society and arts, modern industry and empire, to its most important international ally, Great Britain".[13] There were many hyperbolic claims as it was "the first time an Asian nation had participated with Britain at an exhibition on a basis of equality, as seen from posters which represented the British Lion and the Rising Sun of Japan in symbiotic harmony".[14] Particularly, its status as an "event of singular importance in the relationship between Japan and Britain" relied on the corrective it sought in popular discourse.[15] For instance, Mutsu explains that "What the man in the street has not realised in recent years, when Europe has been flooded with cheap goods from Japan, is that the Japanese have produced, and are still producing, some of the finest artistic workmanship that has ever been known".[16] The primary way this counter story would be understood was through the display of "Japanese workman" which would undermine the "hazy notion ... the home-keeping Englishman' [has] of the yellow man". These Japanese artisans would prove their ingenuity by not only displaying their work in constructing the exhibition's stalls, pavilions, and gardens but also in displaying themselves so that the "ordinary Englishman ... [will] fill up the gaps in his education [and] will have begun to think in a somewhat different way of our Far Eastern allies".[17] Here, we see the blurring of boundaries between objects on display and people on display that I will discuss later on.

In addition to the display being "the most extensive ever attempted by Japan outside her own empire", Japanese carpenters were hired and travelled from Japan to London.[18] The exhibition sought to disprove British prejudices about "so-called cheap oriental labour" which undermined the quality and purchase of Japanese-made goods. The exhibition itself reconstructed famous gateways, reproduced magnificent Japanese gardens, had displays of Japanese history and exhibits of modern warships and industrial machinery. It also contained representations of historical architecture with thirteen scale models of traditional buildings. For instance, there was a large model of temple architecture, showing the skills of traditional Japanese carpentry. Uniquely, the Palace of Fine Arts

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[12] Son (Yonosuke Ian Mutsu) wrote this preface from Tokyo in 2001 for reprinted edition. Grandfather Munemitsu Mutsu (1844-1897), known generally in Japan as -the father of Japanese diplomacy served as Foreign Minister from 1892 until his death in 1897.

[13] Mutsu, *British Press*, iv.

[14] Mutsu, *British Press*, iv.

[15] Mutsu, *British Press*, iv.

[16] "A Paper Read Before the Royal Society of Arts," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* observed on 3 June, 1910.

[17] "Britian and Japan," *Daily News*, 14 May, 1910.

[18] "For the Glory of the Rising Sun. Japanese Labourers at the Exhibition Patriotic Workers," *Daily Express*, 29 April, 1910, 48.

contained the finest works of Japanese art from all periods, including many paintings classified in Japan as "national treasures", and art taken from the Imperial household and from famous collections of individuals and monasteries, that were mainly in the possession of noblemen's families or of collectors.[19] Overall, a highly prized and specially engineered view of Japan was evoked.

Specifically, 1,800,000 yen was budgeted to host an "important and instructive" exhibition through a "Strong representation of Japan's products and manufactures, as well as of her arts, and a portrayal of the ancient and feudal Japan as well as of the Empire today".[20] The Government and private exhibits, palace of fine arts, realistic tableaux, exhibits of women's work "including lace-making, embroideries, and other specimens of needlework" created a composite picture of the literary, poetical, and artistic productions of Japan.[21] The Official Report of the Exhibition announced that the exhibition culminated "a generation of efforts to guarantee national security and international acceptance. It was conceived by the Japanese as a tool to secure western acceptance as a global power equal to the West with a sophisticated traditional culture underpinning the rise of modern industry".[22] The effort to balance the past, present and future and create a balanced image of a self-assured empire with sophisticated traditional culture and advanced modern industries abounded.

The exhibition's funding followed traditional structures and was backed by the Imperial Japanese Government and the Japanese Department of Agriculture and Commerce.[23] Further, at the official level the exhibition enjoyed the highest levels of patronage and political support, with visits by royalty, and banquets and speeches by ambassadors, politicians, and dignitaries. King Edward VII, boasted that he had: "lent a suit of Japanese armour from Windsor, formerly in the possession of George III" for display.[24] Moreover, Prince Arthur of Connaught served as Honorary President of the Exhibition, while Prince Sadanaru Fushimi was head of the Japanese Section. Further, the Duke of Norfolk was the Vice-President of the Exhibition and Lord Blyth was Chairman of the Organising Committee. The conferral of royal and imperial honours was an integral part of international relations. The departments of the Japanese government—the Imperial Household, War, Navy, Home Affairs, Finance, Communications, Education, Agriculture and Commerce, Railways, all offered exhibits. To evoke a comprehensive a display as possible, the Japanese Section related to everything

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[19] "The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910," *The Times*, 12 July, 1909.
[20] "A Unique Exhibition,"*The Times*, 24 April, 1909.
[21] "Address by Count Mutsu," *The Times*, 20 January, 1910.
[22] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910*, x.
[23] "Exhibition of the Arts, Sciences and Manufactures, Industries, and Products of Great Britain and of Japan," *The Times*, 29 March, 1909.
[24] "Some 8.35 Million Visitors," *Daily News*, 9 May, 1910.

from education, fine arts, liberal arts, mechanical engineering, electricity, civil engineering and transportation to agriculture textiles, horticulture, forests, sport, fishing, mines and metallurgy, decoration and furnishing, social economy, as well as armament.

Local prefectural authorities, public bodies, and companies, as well as various government departments prepared exhibits within the different spheres of their activities; and corporations and municipalities sent contributions, in a national effort for Japan. Japan's nationalism was tied up with its imperialist agenda in its effort to display national greatness, by reflecting a civilization that was distinct from the West. Interestingly, Japanese gardens were showcased in London, and were expertly constructed by Japanese experts who were flown over from Japan (Figure 1). The gardens boasted a lake, two hills and bridges; clothed with juniper, climbing trees, a weeping elm, an elder bush, and a maple on a mountain summit. Further, the garden had an old Japanese house, half of it built on piles rooted in the lake, next to a bridge arched over the water with a collection of wisterias, forty to fifty years old, with twisted trunks about a span and a half in girth, which were "safely conveyed from Japan".[25] The Daily Mail reported admiringly that "Within an acre you have cascades, streams, lakes, bridges, hills, rough garden patches, pergolas, groves, lawns, and a variety of strangely beautiful landscape effects".[26]

Despite the exhibition having lofty ambitions of "international unity" that would "further the cause of friendship", a journalist conceded that "An exhibition, in spite of its artificiality, its exaggerations, and its inevitable suppressions, does fill to some extent the gap in experience which only long residence in other countries can completely bridge" in order to rectify prejudices as "the Englishman fails to realize the extraordinary progress which Japan is making in every branch of industry and commerce".[27] *The Times* acknowledged that "Most of the people of [Britain] were ignorant of Japan, and much had to be done before they could pretend to have even an approximate idea of the life and methods of thought of the Japanese" in order to "help both the English and the Japanese to understand each other's character" to increase "the commercial prosperity of both countries and the uniting still closer of the bonds of fellowship which already exist between them".[28] It was hoped that by offering material for instructive contrasts the Exhibition would "lead to a larger reciprocal commerce".[29]

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[25] "The Garden of Gardens Marvel of Compressed Beauty A Wistaria Pergola," *Daily Mail*, 5 March, 1910.
[26] "The Garden of Gardens Marvel of Compressed Beauty A Wistaria Pergola."
[27] "The Next Exhibition," *Morning Post*, 12 August, 1909.
[28] "Inaugural Banquet," *The Times*, 28 July, 1909.
[29] "A Japanese Exhibition," *Globe*, 12 August, 1909; "A Japanese Exhibition," *Morning Advertiser*, 13 August, 1909.

Figure 1. Japanese Garden of Peace in the Grounds of the Exhibition, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 129. Shelf mark: 7954. ff.10. British Library.

Whilst London was offered a 'miniature representation of what Japan was from age to age and what she has now come to be' with its displays on "Japanese culture, industry and wealth", the sheer number of objects provided were gargantuan.[30] Similar to earlier British Empire Exhibitions, there was a desire to overwhelm visitors with things, things that would indicate how powerful the host country was and impress upon outsiders the grandeur and might of empire. For example, Japan not only displayed its literature, religion, military and naval organisations but also its animal life and the 'many curious fish [of] Far Eastern waters; the culture of artificial pearls; the method of fishing with cormorants; the development of Japanese vessels, from the primitive dug-out to the modern steamer; the implements used in fishing' in its historic displays.[31] The overall effect on the visitor may have been one that missed the minutiae and detail of exactly what was being shown but general awe at the scale and extent of the show itself.

Like Ireland's villages, rural industries held centre stage in the Japanese display, for instance *The Times* reported that "silk, which, from an international point of view, is Japan's most important

[30] "From Our Tokio Correspondent," *The Times*, 30 October, 1909.
[31] "From Our Tokio Correspondent."

agricultural product ... constitute[s] a highly attractive exhibit. Every process, from sweeping the egg-cards to taking the woven fabric off the loom, will be accurately displayed by means of models".[32] Further, Japanese methods of farming were also "illustrated by lay figures, so that visitors will be able to see what the life of an agriculturist involves in Japan from season to season".[33] In addition, various productions of Japan's artists and artisans--porcelain and pottery, lacquers, cloisonne, bronzes, silver carving, paper, bamboo work, fans, and a multitude of other objects were exhibited.

There were also ornate columns and pillars of Oriental design as well as Japanese temples and tea-houses.[34] One of the most talked about elements of the display were the Japanese workers, invariably discussed in much of the press of the exhibition. The workers were described as "dusky-faced little men who seem as cheerily at home as if Shepherd's Bush were a suburb of Tokio, and who go at their work like human beavers, with quiet absorption and unmistakable enjoyment".[35] The Pall Mall Gazette went on to explain that "You may watch them plodding placidly or gathered around camp-fires – and you will see them smiling".[36] This picturesque portrayal of Japanese workmen as content in their surroundings and diligently performing their own labour transferred them into symbols for the "energy and efficiency" of Japan more broadly. The people became symbiotic with Japanese industry and manufacture and as the author declared "East may be East and West may be West; but here, at any rate, the twain have met".[37] The poetic brilliance of the exhibition was a deliberate advertising strategy on the part of the exhibitors – a careful balance was held between seeing these men as being productive members of the country and the country itself (evoking the country's land, history and labour).

Further, the Japanese Commission in London gave these workmen "opportunities of seeing and learning [about Britain] on days off". For example, they visited the Zoological Gardens and encountered "the great hippopotamus, the boa-constrictor, and the tigers".[38] These men were instrumental in creating and sustaining the "Magic charm of Japan" not only in terms of the buildings that they actually produced but also in visualising messages of the country as being happy,

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[32] "From Our Tokio Correspondent."
[33] "From Our Tokio Correspondent."
[34] "Japan in London. Transforming the White City. East in the West," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 8 March, 1910.
[35] "Japan in London."
[36] "Japan in London."
[37] Surrounded by characteristically quaint stone lanterns and noble cedars in an extensive structure full of the poetry of Japanese art.
[38] "Rising Sun in the West. Features of Japan Exhibition at Shepherd's Bush," *Daily Graphic*, 24 March, 1910.

welcoming and inviting. For example, they made a reproduction of the famous Temple Gate at Nara, the ancient capital of Japan. These displayed men (of which there were 300) were crucial attributes if trade was to be fostered with Britain and maps onto Ireland's representations of Irish women in these Empire Exhibitions which I will discuss later on. Their "delicate precision and smooth rapidity" evidenced their ingenuity and industry – proving them as worthy allies and trades partners to Britain.

By offering a clear idea both of old and of new Japan it was hoped that the exhibition would stimulate trade as "Japan is a large buyer of British goods but her exports to these shores are not as large as they are to the United States".[39] Thereby, it contained an "Ever-present contrast between the old and the new in a country where ancient temples with their exquisitely carved and lacquered panels can be seen in close proximity to raw, smoking factories, resounding with the whirr of the latest machinery".[40] Further, romantic depictions of the 1910 display were typical: "charming scenic effect, for dreamy, soothing influence, for old-world romance, and for wonderful modern enterprise".[41] And it was not uncommon to have "machinery and engineering exhibits [complemented by] artistic treasures, collections of pottery, lacquer-work, jewellery, ivory, and tortoiseshell-work".[42] The effusive display of Japanese mining and metallurgy was mediated by displays of Japanese culture, for instance, whether in a performance by the Imperial Japanese military band or a dance by Japanese women.[43] Overall, the exhibition sought an "outward and very welcome token of the strong bonds of sympathy, friendship and interest which unite the Island Empires of the East and the West".[44] In the West, Britain's declining Empire had some support in the British Isles. Two Irish brothers, David and Robert Brown, of Protestant Unionist backgrounds sought to envision the success of the Union by recreating an Irish Village based on their Soap Factory, in Donaghmore, County Tyrone. They believed that the survival and expansion of Irish businesses such as theirs relied on the Union with England and used British Empire Exhibitions to push forward this narrative.

In keeping with royal tradition, the King and Queen of England with Prince Albert and Prince Arthur visited the 1910 exhibition.[45] They were treated to "an exhibition of ji-jitsu". In the Irish village, a temporary platform had been erected on which eight Irish boys and girls danced a jig, and a choir of girls sang the National Anthem. In the Uji and Ainu villages the men came forward

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[39] "Rising Sun in the West."
[40] "Anglo-Japanese Exhibition," *Morning Post*, 14 May, 1910.
[41] "Charming, Scenic Effect," *Engineering*, 20 May, 1910.
[42] "Charming Scenic Effect."
[43] "Dramatic White City Scene. Playing the Dead March," *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 May, 1910.
[44] "Anglo-Japanese Exhibition."
[45] "King and Queen. Visit to the 1910 Exhibition," *The Times*, 8 August, 1910.

to pay their homage to the king and queen. But it was noticeable that the women in each case kept in the background; nor were they persuaded to show themselves until it became known to them that her Majesty took a particular interest in their mode of life and domestic surroundings'. Again, royal conferral of support was taken as a sign of national and international success of the exhibition venture.

The exhibition also provided entertainment – a giant Flip-Flap (looping wooden roller coaster) afforded "splendid views of the metropolis" and contained a mountain railway, a Canadian toboggan, a gyroscopic Mono-Rail Car, a submarine, witching waves, scenic yachting cruises, and the French dirigible "Dreuzy". There was also a motor racing track, spiral railway, and the wiggle-woggle. The entertainment extended into the evening where the exhibition transformed into a "fairyland" with "thousands of coloured lamps, and display of fireworks in the Stadium, representing Japanese scenes, naval battles, besides a number of other distinctly new creations from the Far East". Further, forty Japanese wrestlers at the White City performed regular shows.[46] Entertainment and the sale of souvenirs such as "bronze dragon[s] five feet high, or tiny figure[s] scarcely as long as one's finger, as well as a range of screens" were crucial to the commercial profit of the Japan-British Exhibition.[47]

"A Doomed Race" or "Sons of Nippon": The Ainu, Uji, Formosan and Irish Villages in the 1910 Exhibition

The Brown brothers' Irish Village was named Ballymaclinton and had a popular appeal in the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910. The Village was first displayed at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908 and was repeatedly presented and expanded in British Empire Exhibitions of the early twentieth century – always in the colonial section of the exhibition grounds. The most important component of the village was its inhabitants; populated with over 200 "colleens" (Celtic term for Irish women) and 100 "bhoys" (Celtic term for boys). The "colleens" and "bhoys" lived in Ballymaclinton for six months at a time, as the village transformed into "[the] real ould country".[48] Irish "colleens" sold Colleen Soap, Sheila Soap and Hibernia Shaving Cream. Ballymaclinton's ten and a half acres was complete with thatched cottages, a Round Tower of old Kilcullen, a cross of Donaghmore, various

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[46] "Japanese Wrestling," *The Times*, 21 June, 1910.

[47] Percival Philips, "Treasures of 1,000 Years: Wonderful Scenes of Japan in London: First Day at the Bushido," *Daily Express*, 16 May, 1910. Cited in Mutsu, ed., *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, 67-68.

[48] "Ballymaclinton," *Wharfedale & Airedale Observer*, 28 August, 1908.

Irish monuments such as the Ogham Stone, a Galway's Fisherman's Cottage, Village Shop, a Post and Telegraph Office, a Forge, Laundry, Blarney Stone, Restaurant, Sanatorium, Village Hall, an Industrial Hall, and houses composed of "genuine colleens at work at lace, embroidery, carpets".[49] The cottages the "colleens" stayed in were built in the style of a "typical peasant's home of the olden times".[50] The desire for an authentic commercialised Irishness extended to all the buildings displayed in the Irish Village. For instance, the Donegal fisherman's cottage "[wa]s built with boulders taken from the beach of Donegal" and the "windows and doors [we]re taken from the local cottage which served as a model for th[e] structure".[51]

Like the owners of Ballymaclinton Village, the organisers of Japan's display were committed to authenticity. Japanese authorities shipped building materials, plants, stones and entire buildings that were dismantled for the voyage and reassembled in Shepherd's Bush. About 200 leading Japanese craftsmen and artists assembled and produced the extensive models of buildings, gardens and village scenes in the 1910 exhibition, there was even "Japanese carp [in a] fish pond [...] Everything ha[d] been brought from Japan".[52] In a similar way, the Irish organisers performed authenticity through public performances as well as public architecture. For instance, concerts were given "in the open air several times daily by the colleens and bhoys in costume". The *Official Guide of the Japan-British Exhibition* explains that "every item is distinctively Irish, and includes songs, dances, recitations, and selections of the harp and piccolo".[53] Whilst Ireland keenly displayed its native culture and distinctive Irish identity within the British Empire to sustain British rule, Japan eagerly asserted that its Empire was equal in status to that of Britain and so Japan exhibited its colonies with the Ainu and Formosan villages.

Similar to the esteemed position that the Irish colleens and bhoys held, the Japanese workers that were exhibited also received rapturous praise. For instance, the *Official Guide* describes the employees as "Japanese Wonder Workers". As entertainment was important to these displays, the organisers hired a Kish troupe, who were a "celebrated band of Japanese acrobats and jugglers,

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[49] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Franco-British Exhibition, London (Shepherd's Bush), 1908* (London, UK: Bemrose, 1908), 53; Mary C. Sheehan, "Issues of Cultural Representation and National Identity Explored in the Irish Village, Ballymaclinton at the Franco-British Exhibition, Shepherd's Bush, London, 1908" (MA thesis, Royal College of Art, 2000).

[50] "The Irish Village: A Typical Irish Cottage," *Irish Independent*, 11 April, 1908.

[51] The Tyrone Constitution reported that the fisherman's cottage was home to a "typical West Coast fisher family" in "Ballymaclinton. The Model Irish Village (Visit by a Paris Correspondent)," 31 July, 1908.

[52] Percival Philips, "Treasures of 1,000 Years: Wonderful Scenes of Japan in London: First Day at the Bushido," *Daily Express*, 16 May, 1910.

[53] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 103.

[to] thrill the visitor by their daring performances ... strange juggling feats, dances and songs".[54] There was also a section named "Fair Japan (Japan in Essence)". It was described as "one of the most charming" scenic settings of Japan at work and Japan at play. As in Ballymaclinton, one could observe "artisans at their various crafts" and it was stressed that they were working in London creating artistic treasures "under exactly the same conditions as in their own land".[55] Where Ireland had spinners, weaves, and dyers, Japan had ivory carvers, cloisonné workers, jewellers and potters. Fair Japan contained "open workshops, native houses, sacred shrines and places of entertainment" in a view into Japan's past, as the Irish Village was a view into Britain's colonial, rural past – a vision of the rural industries that were prominent but gave way to the industry and mechanisation of the twentieth century. Similar to Ballymaclinton, Fair Japan was "full of life – the life of the East – and the very atmosphere of that lovely country".[56]

To visualise imperial domination and industrial civilisation, Japanese rural life was compared with the modern Japanese industry and architecture displayed in the exhibition grounds. Traditional rural life in Japan emerged in the Uji Village (Figure 2), which like Ballymaclinton became a snapshot into a pre-modern way of life that had been overtaken by more recent technological advancements. Uji is a small ancient city situated between Kyoto and Nara, two of Japan's most famous historical and cultural centres. The Uji village contained "thatched houses" and depicted the "rural workers of Nippon" busy in the fields and at their cottage industries cultivating "tea and rice" as well as working in silk-weaving and cotton spinning. Like the Irish women who wore traditional peasant garb in the village, the Japanese women wore "native dress with bright handkerchiefs on their heads", and enacted domestic ritual by "washing clothes" or else "gossiping at the dainty little tea-houses".[57] Both the Uji Village and Ballymaclinton Village depicted village life as a peaceful community of contented inhabitants.

Displaying Japan's colonial conquests was part of the project to convince Britain that they were a worthy ally. There was a Formosa Hamlet on display (Figure 3) in the exhibition grounds, which was described as a "possession of Japan in every sense of the word". And Japanese control of the territory sought to "justify the Eastern Empire's claim to respect as a colonising power" as it was secured by Japan after the 1895 Chinese War. Further, "Formosa [...] is a valuable asset to the Empire [...] island's trade with Japan has more than quadrupled within the last ten years", particularly with

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[54] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 87.
[55] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 87.
[56] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 87.
[57] Hirokichi Mutsu, ed., *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, 88.

Figure 2. Uji Village, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 128.

Figure 3. Formosan Tableaux, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 127.

the development of government railways. Japan's successful colonisation of the Formosan was also evoked by displaying its people in London as "one of the fiercest and most intractable races on the globe".[58] The Formosan display epitomised Japanese prowess in the exhibition as the Official Guide explained that since the Japanese occupation of the island, these "turbulent and warlike people have become more or less amenable to the influences of civilisation". The Guide heightens the war-like tendencies of this indigenous group to make the colonisation of it by Japan seem even more remarkable. It spends time discussing the Formosan tradition of head-hunting. For example, some of the weapons owned by the troupe were displayed and "A man's position in the tribe was determined by the number of strands of hair from the scabbard of his sword, and six of these strands represented one human head" – some of the scabbards on display had "sixty to a hundred" strands of hair. These so-called "gruesome souvenirs" attested to the might of Japan in their ability to conquer these "warlike dwellers" who were residing temporarily in Shepherd's Bush in newly made native-built houses as an authentic representation of their lives in the mountain recesses of Japan. They displayed their war dances using "spear, bow, and arrow" whilst also engaging in sports. Like Ballymaclinton, a visit to this village was seen as effective in offering an education "in the manners and customs of a decidedly 'peculiar people".[59]

In the second colonial village, there was an "Ainu Home" (Figure 4). The Ainu were an indigenous people who now live mostly on Hokkaido, Japan's northernmost island, but whose lands once spanned from northern Honshu (the Japanese mainland) north to Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands (which are now a disputed part of the Russian Federation). In exhibition literature, Ainu people were described as "a race which long ago occupied the same position in respect to the Japanese as once did the Saxons to the Normans in [the British Isles]".[60] The Official Guide explained that they lived a life relying on the land to cultivate crops and provide sustenance and commerce. They slept in "native huts, bought with them from Japan" and could be seen in "woodcarving, embroidering, and household work". To highlight their peculiarity from modern Japanese men and women, the Guide stressed that the men "have long flowing hair and full beards, and the women are tattooed about the mouth and arms". They were portrayed as a simple, backward, and primitive people with a folk-lore full of "quaint symbolisms found in the records of races existing when the world was young". Again, this display strengthened Japanese development and industry as a reminder of what the country used to be and what it is now. The numerous trees and foliage visible created a composite vision

[58] Formosan here referred to aboriginal people in Taiwan.
[59] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 87.
[60] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 89.

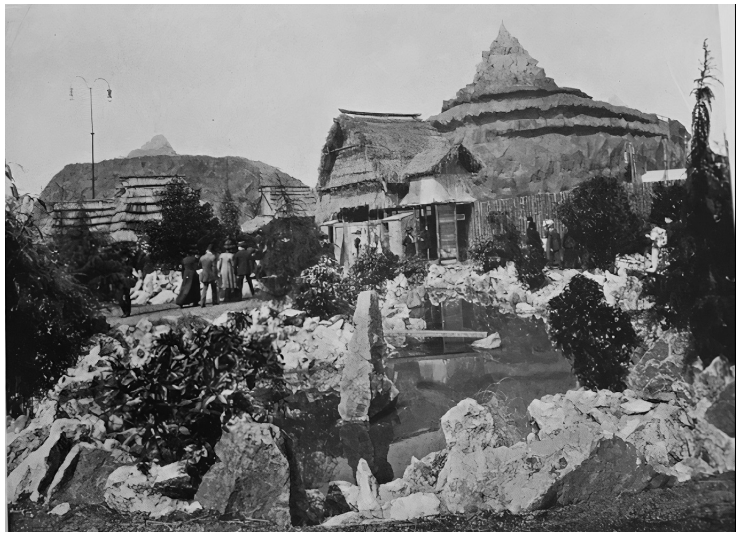

Figure 4. The Ainu Homes, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 129.

of Japanese village life. And a sixpenny entrance fee brought you within looking distance of these spectacles.

The history of the Ainu and Formosan was sensationalised to draw in visitors based on the shock and gore factors. The Official Guide exaggerated that the "head-hunters boast of a horrid past". For example, it explained that Chief Kasame, the doyen of the party, looks like a "nut-brown edition of Father Time". It described him as "a benevolent old gentleman, with long, curling whiskers, and he smiled blandly on all visitors". It continued that "his smile may have masked a cannibalistic appetite – a heritage from his great-grandfather – and that the interest with which he eyed a portly gentleman from the Midlands was probably inspired by sinister motives". The lingering cannibalistic virtue of this almost made-up character served the function of highlighting and extending the distance between this colonised group and their English visitors, as well as the modern Japanese. Further, it explained that the "Formosans are not quite ready for the public. They are muscular, rather short-tempered persons, who look on headhunting as a pastime. They have been warned that they must be on their best behaviour".[61] These colonised groups were markedly different to the "polite natives in charge of the stands in the big pavilions" demonstrating Japanese industry and modernity

[61] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Guide: Japan-British Exhibition*, 87.

who "wore fashionable clothes and spoke perfect English".[62] These Japanese workers, unlike the Formosan and Ainu "showed a fondness for kimonos and bowler hats" marking their suitability for global capitalist markets. Overall, the juxtaposition of the shops and tea-houses next to the Sandal-makers and craftsmen reinforced how "fragment[s] of modern Japan" not only included colonial conquests but also the Han Chinese (Figure 5). In this 'transformation of a London suburb into a corner of the Orient' one could "study Provincial life in Japan whilst admiring the women ... busy at their looms" on the one hand and observe mechanisation on the other.

Figure 5. Formosan Tea Plantation, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan British Exhibition 1910, at the Great White City, Shepherd's Bush, London* (Tokyo, Japan: Author, 1910), 127.

We can productively compare the treatment of women in both the Japanese and Irish displays. The Guide to the Japan-British Exhibition included many discussions on women; it notably deliberated over the ideal traits of femininity – obsequiousness being highly praised. These patriarchal opinions were visualised in the popular paintings in the Fine Art section of the 1910 exhibition. For instance, Japanese woman were indiscriminately titled "Beauty" and characteristically engaged in a non-activity, whether standing, gazing, or lounging. "A Beauty in her Bed" by Hosoda Eishi (Figure 6) depicts a Japanese woman in a long flowing nightgown standing in front of a mirror with her hair styled and a fan in her mouth. The scene is set in the privacy of her bedroom and

[62] "Britain and Japan."

Figure 6. Hosada Eishi, A Beauty in Her Bed, Tokyo, Japan, 1910, Photograph, in Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London 1910* (London, UK: Andesite Press, 1910), 137.

heightens the sense of domesticity. Sometimes the 'beauties' drawn were more active and they were seen playing or chatting. These women were portrayed for the male gaze – beautifully illustrated in splendid costume with serene expressions. Images of traditional Japanese female life circulated in the paintings with women calmly engaged in embroidery, playing board games, and drinking tea.[63]

These visual tropes are reminiscent of the portrayal of women in Ballymaclinton. In the postcard, "A Ballymaclinton Colleen" (Figure 7), a woman is dressed in traditional Irish clothing of red and green. The "colleen" has her hand on the door handle – as if she was stopped midway through entering her cottage. Like the paintings of Japanese women, there is an aura of sexual awareness – here, the "colleen" may be offering the viewer a look into the intimate space of her

[63] Japan-British Exhibition, *An Illustrated Catalogue of Japanese Old Fine Arts Displayed at the Japan-British Exhibition, London 1910* (London, UK: Andesite Press, 1910), 33.

Figure 7. A Ballymaclinton Colleen, 1908. Author's collection.

home. Scenes of domestic life are visible through the fishermen's net hung outside the cottage and baskets artfully placed on the cottage's steps. In many of the paintings in the Japanese Fine Arts section, women were painted in picturesque outfits in the private domestic space. Any observation or painting of them then was intruding on their solitude. Images of women in both the Irish and Japanese exhibitions relied on the mingling of public and private spheres with the predominantly female-only space of the exhibition grounds. The 'colleen' in the postcard makes direct eye contact with the observer as if inviting the viewer inside.

The 250 Irish women served a similar function to the "300 little Japanese men working for the honour of Japan at Shepherd's Bush" as both symbols of the country as well as evoking the country itself. This "Battalion of Japanese workers" laboured for the "glory of their native land" to demonstrate the "art, industry, civilisation of Japan". Like the Irish women, they had a typical working dress: "jacket is the Shirushi banten, a kind of blue smock fitting close to the arms and

upper body and hanging loose round the loins. Their nether garments, the momohiki, are dark blue, and fit tight to the legs from hip to toe. The little black-haired, broad-face men [wear] heelless straw sandals".[64] The minutiae of their dress were considered and accounted for as was the costume of the exhibited Irish woman. Overall, in the several Japanese villages, these workpeople were "busily engaged upon their various industries".[65] Japanese men were romanticised and infantilised like the Irish women with descriptions of "Little brown men in kimonos and bowler hat[s] [with] expansive oriental smiles" common in the popular press. These individuals were not given names or identities put praised for collective personality traits that benefited their respective nations.

Reception of the 1910 Exhibition in Britain and Abroad

The Japanese villages in the 1910 Exhibition received mixed reviews. The impressive imperial gateway with gates of carved, unpolished wood as one entered the main Japanese pavilion did not appease everyone; many Japanese migrants in Britain criticised the exhibits. For instance, a correspondent of the Mainichi Dempo newspaper complained: "the Japanese Village is a mere sketch of life of the lowest class of peasants in the northeast of Japan and is a sight which must fill [the] Japanese with nothing but displeasure and shame".[66] Historian Ayoka Hotta-Lister interprets these negative appraisals as reflecting the desire of Japanese migrants in Britain to see their home country as a modern place that resembled the "type of urban environments characteristic of London or Paris, rather than what they perceived as a low and vulgar version of Japanese street life".[67] Many of the Japanese living in Britain wanted increased professionalisation and modernisation for their country and so objected to the displayed rurality. This contrasts with the Irish who held representation of their past rural history as pleasurable, nostalgic and conducive to reviving cottage industries and tourism to the country.

The polarised opinions are understood by the fact that whilst Japan sought to prove its dominant, imperial status – Ireland possessed a general reputation as being underdeveloped with an in-between national status in the early twentieth century. Ireland was less trying to justify an existence on the global stage and more advertising the country's wares – the British had successfully

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[64] "For the Glory of the Rising Sun. Japanese Labourers at the Exhibition Patriotic Workers."
[65] "The New White City. Delights of a Great Exhibition. Wonders of Japan," *Daily Mail*, 16 May, 1910.
[66] Ayoka Hotta-Lister, *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910: Gateway to the Island Empire of the East* (London, UK: Routledge, 2013), 133.
[67] Hotta-Lister, *The Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, 142.

ruled over it for centuries. Ireland's portrayal of rurality was more likely to have stimulated tourism and investment as it was already part of the globalised United Kingdom, whereas Japan's may have hindered its future capitalist interests through a partial portrayal of its perceived past backwardness.

Moreover, the narrative of exile did not exist for Japanese migrants, as there was in the Irish case, which saw Irish display become a chance to reconnect with a lost homeland given the millions who migrated abroad. Furthermore, Ireland's display was organised by Irish entrepreneurs whereas the Japanese exhibition was orchestrated by the government. These Japanese visitors might have been expressing a disapproval of the state – exploiting its aboriginal population for its imperial expansion instead of focusing on mechanised and technological industries. An interesting duality of display and reception is evident in exhibitions of the Irish and the Japanese that was entirely dependent on national context.

Yet, visitor numbers were high. For example, 2,000 Japanese visitors attended, and the Daily Telegraph reported that "From opening hour in the morning till late ... unbroken stream of people".[68] Tourist agencies and railways companies arranged trips to the Exhibition and for those who were already visiting London, the exhibition was advertised as a key tourist attraction. In keeping with co-organised exhibitions, awards were equally divided among the Japanese and British exhibitors which came to between 5,000-6,000. The awards consisted of diplomas for grand prizes, commemorative diplomas of honour, diplomas for gold, silver, and bronze medals, and honourable mentions.[69] Specifically, the Japanese-Anglo Exhibition surpassed its famous predecessor, the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908, as by the second week in August it counted more than 170,000 visitors.[70]

"For the Glory of the Rising Sun": Concluding Remarks

Overall, 8,350,000 people visited the 1910 Exhibition and £60,000 worth of Japanese exhibits were sold. Whilst the exhibition may have been "representative of Japan in all the phases of national life", trade figures did not show any overall improvement in Japanese exports to Britain.[71] However, Hikojiro Wada, Commissioner-General of the imperial Japanese Government to the Exhibition explained that the Exhibition 'had opened up many new markets. Specifically Japanese

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[68] "From Opening Hour," *Daily Telegraph*, 2 August, 1910.
[69] "The Awards," *The Times,* 12 July, 1910.
[70] "Franco-British Record Beaten," *Daily Sketch*, 30 September, 1910.
[71] Japan-British Exhibition, *Official Report of the Japan-British Exhibition 1910*, 135.

manufacturers [learnt] what articles were most suited for export to England'.[72] For example, there was an increase in the export of kimonos to England in the months and years following the exhibition.

Whether it "strengthen[ed] the bonds of fellowship" between "eastern and western empires", is impossible to measure – similar to the Irish display, the advertising of country and culture was considered most important.[73] For organisers, an exhibition itself was enough to leave a legacy of Japan in Britain. The British press reporting on the 1910 display was largely positive, whereas, the Japanese press was overwhelmingly negative (aside from state newspapers). Similarly, the Irish Village received contradictory responses from Irishmen and women as well as the British. Comparing the Japanese village with the Irish village highlights parallels between the two countries efforts to create profit and commerce from their displays despite criticism. Indigenous ways of life materialised in the Japanese and Irish Villages despite contemporary complaints that it entrenched negative stereotypes of Japan in particular, while both exhibits also used their histories to generate interest and tourism to the country. Evidently, exhibitions interacted with a prism of prejudices, hopes, and politics that were subject to revision and criticism at all times.

Whilst it is hard to read too much into this, the Ainu's were said to have remarked upon their departure:

> We have seen so many great things not known before to us, and were astonished to see waters gushing out of the earth, vanishing and coming again to our houses. We have seen light coming out of the earth when a button was pressed down, we admired the length of the town which has no beginning and no end. We admired the cars running of themselves, the innumerable throng of people, high houses where people are living one above the others, marvellous animals. 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.[74]

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[72] "Exhibition's Value for Trade," *The Times*, 2 November, 1910.

[73] "The Closing Day," *The Times*, 29 October, 1910; Mutsu, *The British Press and the Japan-British Exhibition of 1910*, 176-177.

[74] "Ainu's Farewell. How London Impressed the Curious People," *Daily News*, 2 November, 1910.

This type of hyperbolic observation served Britain's imperial status as a benevolent nation and the Ainu as a historic community that admired Japan's advances in modern Empire. Further, the complimentary views of the Japanese workmen as possessing a "high standard of civilization" also served the Japanese interest.

Architecturally, the Japan British Exhibition of 1910 left a mark in London as the historic Kyoto gate was re-erected in Kew gardens, close to the pagoda. Further, about 500 of the three-tailed comet fish from Japan were transferred to the lake at Kew.[75] As an advertising vehicle, the organisers of the Irish village offered "a sleepy rurality, a vision free from violence, discord and threat to the English" that appealed to millions of visitors in each six-month exhibition.[76] Whilst the Irish Village was described as an "Irish Colony in London" – the romantic but static image of rural Ireland was profitable.[77] The Japanese Village faced a similar challenge. Namely, how they would exhibit Japan within the imperial platform of display in Britain without reaffirming negative racialised prejudices about their people or country whilst still creating profit and trade. The polarised reception of Japan's display and vocal criticism of the exhibition by Japanese citizens suggest it did not strike the balance between representing authenticity and profit. Many Japanese contemporaries felt that Japanese tradition in the form of its colonies was foregrounded over its modern trade and development. Yet, Japan's colonies were needed as proof for Britain to take Japan seriously as a modern imperial power. Clearly, the interests of the nation and the ambitions of its people did not always work hand in hand.

It was reported that "Two births have taken place during the exhibition, one in the Ainu village, and one in the Formosan. There have also been two marriages, one in the Irish village, and one in the Formosan village". The Daily News reported that "A gentleman from Surbiton fell in love with Miss Tanuto, a Japanese girl in the Uji village. He proposed to her in her own language, but the maiden preferred to go back to her own land".[78] The latter story testifies to the loyalty native Japanese people had to their homeland and their desire to remain in the country despite appeals to go elsewhere. This could be interpreted as Japanese propaganda, that rejected western superiority and assimilation to instead exist on their own terms.

Overall, the exhibition joined the popular side of the Exhibition with Japanese scenery, Japanese bridges, hills and rivulets, reproductions of Japanese shrines and temples, the life and characteristic

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[75] "Japan's Gift to Britain. Relics of the Exhibition Worth 50,000," *Daily Express*, 4 November, 1910.
[76] Paul Greenhalgh, "Art, Politics and Society at the Franco-British Exhibition of 1908," *Art History* 8 (1985): 440.
[77] "Irish Colony in London," *Tyrone Courier*, 26 August, 1909.
[78] "Japanese Packing Up. Exhibition Visited by over 8 Million People," *Daily News*, 2 November, 1910.

habits of the people, and large coloured photographs, stereoscopic views, wax-work figures, and tableaux whilst enhancing its trade and reputation in London and more internationally.[79] Japan's display of power and prowess embodied the pseudo-internationalist demonstrations of power that we have now come to expect in Olympic games and vast international events – these exhibitions formed the training ground for global expressions of national political agendas. In the display of "Japan in London" which became a "microcosm of Japan, the Britain of the Pacific" – for six months, a new international trade order was evoked.[80] And whilst it may not have created "a permanent friendship between the two allied nations, the island empires of the east and west" it did offer opportunities for a two way "alliance of commerce".[81] As "British manufacturers ... complaini[ed] that the Japanese are making careful inquiries into our methods, with a view to becoming trade rivals", competition remained at the heart of global commerce in the early twentieth century.[82] And Japan's attempt at competing in the realm of industrial enterprise, commerce and finance, statesmanship, and government relied on its successful portrayal as "a strong but Pacific nation", which it partially achieved in 1910.[83]

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[79] "Japan as an Industrial Nation," *British Trade Journal*, 1 August, 1910.
[80] "Exhibition in London," *Review of Review*, 15 August, 1910.
[81] "Commissioner's Welcome," *Daily Telegraph,* 15 February, 1910.
[82] "Imitative Japan. Advantage Taken of British Traders," *Standard,* 20 July, 1910.
[83] "The Progress of Japan," *The Times*, 19 July, 1910.

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「今天我為日本做足了嗎？」1910年日英博覽會裡的日本殖民村的呈現

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摘要

從1910年5月14日開幕到10月29日閉幕的日英博覽會，是為了慶祝在1902年所簽訂的日英同盟而舉辦的盛會。在這個博覽會中，我們見識到兩個帝國藉由展覽各自殖民地所呈現出的有趣視覺競爭。這個展覽除了慶祝兩國在商業和貿易利益的共榮之外，更是一個把日本介紹給西方社會的大好機會，將日本行銷到英國和國際市場。此次的博覽會有賴一個強大的組織在推動展覽品和整合2,200個參賽者。本文以日本帝國勢力下的臺灣村和阿伊努村與愛爾蘭村相比較，來呈現出鄉村（rurality）、殖民（coloniality）和所謂本色（authenticity）的多重樣貌。藉此，本文企圖探討在英國帝國的展示場域下，被展覽出的日本帝國面貌究竟為何。

關鍵詞：大英帝國、殖民村、國際博覽會、愛爾蘭、日本

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