

the Tapes were among the first Chinese to test the social limits imposed by exclusion. There were few others in their position and few, if any, role models to follow.

At the turn of the century, the younger children appeared to be doing well. Emily seems to have been self-sufficient and even-tempered. She enjoyed dancing (Frank taught her the popular dances) and was a serious student of the violin. Gertrude, the little darling, had been least influenced by Chinatown's ways and, as is evident in Mary's photographs of her, was her mother's finest accomplishment. Although she was still only ten years old, her parents could imagine a rosy future for her.

But from the parents' point of view, the two oldest children were falling short. Frank struggled constantly to live up to his father's expectations. Though spoiled, he also had a certain fearlessness, which perhaps grew from his desire to impress Joseph. In December 1898, while fighting a fire with the Peralta Volunteer Fire Company in south Berkeley, he fell through the building's roof into a burning room below and was "rescued with difficulty." He sustained serious injury to one leg and arm. Was Joseph proud of his son's heroism, or did he think that Frank had been reckless? Frank's stealing from his father's customers may have been, in part, a young man's rebellion, but his behavior must have both worried and angered Joseph.

The lawsuit that had won Mamie the right to go to school had taught her to question authority. Now she appeared merely willful. Despite her parents' objections, she was seeing a boy from Chinatown whose future seemed unpromising at best. Had Joseph sued the school board, stood up to Miss Hurley and that pig Moulder, and brought her up as Caucasian, "except in features," so that she could marry a mere servant boy?

7. TWO MARRIAGES

HERMAN LOWE, the object of Mamie's affection, was also a Chinese American. He was born as Lo You Huen (Lü Yaouxuan) in San Francisco's Chinatown in 1875, in his parents' home, a room on the third floor above the Tuck Wo butcher and grocery shop at the corner of Jackson Street and Fish Alley. The alley, lined with fishmongers, poultry dealers, gambling houses, and opium shops, was "one of the most malodorous spots in Chinatown." His father, Lo Kwai (Lü Guai), had worked for many years in San Francisco as a cook, peddler, and laborer before he could afford to send for his wife, Lau Shee. Lau Shee gave birth to her son in the Chinese way, attended by a midwife and two other women from the neighborhood.

Lo You Huen and his younger sister went to the Baptist mission school on Clay Street, the only primary school located in central Chinatown. His parents were not Christians, but Lo Kwai may have spoken about the children's schooling to someone at the Gospel Temple, a block away on Jackson Street, or Lau Shee, who was herself illiterate, may have broached the subject with one of the female missionary workers who visited the tenements. Anna Vrooman, mother of the Chinese immigration interpreter John Gardner, was known

to visit families in Fish Alley. Lo You Huen's teachers Anglicized his name to Herman Lowe.

When Herman finished the eighth grade, his teacher helped him find work as a domestic servant in a white household. Although he did not formally continue in school, one of the Baptist teachers, Miss Martha Ames, tutored him privately at the mission house on Waverly Place. In this way, he became known at the mission and more broadly among the missionaries, which in turn gave him connections to Euro-Americans who hired him for various kinds of work, from domestic service to odd jobs. It was also probably by spending time in mission circles that he met Mamie Tape in the early 1890s.

We do not know why Joseph thought that Herman Lowe was an unsuitable mate for Mamie, but it is not difficult to imagine that he disapproved of Herman's lowly status. Although Herman had gone as far in school as had Joseph's own son, Frank, he was from a poor family. It was certainly possible for a son to go further than his parents (after all, Joseph Tape was a self-made man), but there was no indication that Herman had any ambition or that he would rise above the mass of Chinese laborers, despite his Christian education.

In 1894, Herman went to Guatemala, most likely as a servant to a Euro-American engaged in some kind of business there, perhaps farming or agricultural export. Did Joseph arrange to have Herman sent away? Or did Herman simply pursue an opportunity, even if it meant leaving Mamie behind?

Although Joseph's opposition seemed to doom the relationship, Mamie was in love with Herman, and she waited patiently for him to return. He came back three years later, in 1897, and secured a job as a sewing machine operator in a Chinatown shirt factory. Much to Joseph's consternation, he and Mamie renewed their relationship right away. Their separation had only intensified their desire for each other. Mamie did not want to lose Herman again. She determined that she would marry him, even if it meant going against her parents' wishes.

Mamie left no record as to why she loved Herman so much that she was willing to defy her parents. Perhaps the characteristics Mamie experienced as loving and gentle in Herman were the same ones that her father read as dull and passive. Clearly, Mamie imagined a satisfying life with Herman, living in Chinatown and being part of a social circle of American-born Chinese mostly clustered around the Protestant missions. Easy access to mission social life would have been especially important to Mamie, for whom life in Berkeley had often been isolating.

On September 8, 1897, Mamie and Herman were married at the Alameda County courthouse in downtown Oakland by the county clerk. Reverend Charles Hobart of Oakland's First Baptist Church served as witness. Afterward, Mamie sent word to Joseph and Mary of her elopement. It would be another year before they spoke.

Mamie and Herman moved first to a mostly white area on Clay Street, well outside the boundaries of Chinatown, around the corner from the home of the Baptist minister Reverend J. B. Hartwell and Miss Ames, Herman's former teacher. Soon, however, they moved closer to Chinatown, to a little rear cottage on Prospect Place, an alley a half block from Clay Avenue, where the Tapes had recently lived. There were several families with children on the street, including Chong and Martha Yee, a mixed Chinese-white couple with five children who had come to San Francisco by way of Illinois, and an Irish American family, the Shays, with two boys. Mamie and Herman started their own family: a son, Harold, was born in 1898. Mamie's relationship with her parents began to thaw, especially with her mother, whom she had made a grandmother.

The young couple remained active in mission church circles. Herman participated in a music program for children, perhaps coaching a singing group or a band, and sang in mission benefit performances. Mamie befriended girls at the Protestant mission home for women, run by Miss Donaldina Cameron for the Women's Occidental Board of Foreign Missions, which was half a block away from the

Lowes' home. Since the time of Mary Tape's informal rescue in 1868, "rescue" had become a major missionary activity. Cameron and others, accompanied by police officers, staged dramatic raids at Chinese brothels, after which the police turned over rescued "slave girls" to the mission home. Other women, living as prostitutes, sent word to the missionaries, requesting rescue in order to marry. At the mission home, the women entered a program of rehabilitation in accord with Christian and Victorian principles of purity, piety, and domesticity. The mission also raised girls who were orphans or had been left by parents unable to care for them. Marriage was the usual goal, whether to an existing suitor or a marriage arranged by the missionaries to a Chinese-Christian man. Rescue was thus one method of addressing the severe sex imbalance of the Chinese population—in the late nineteenth century, there were twenty-two men for every woman—for both men desiring a wife and women seeking alternatives to sexual exploitation.

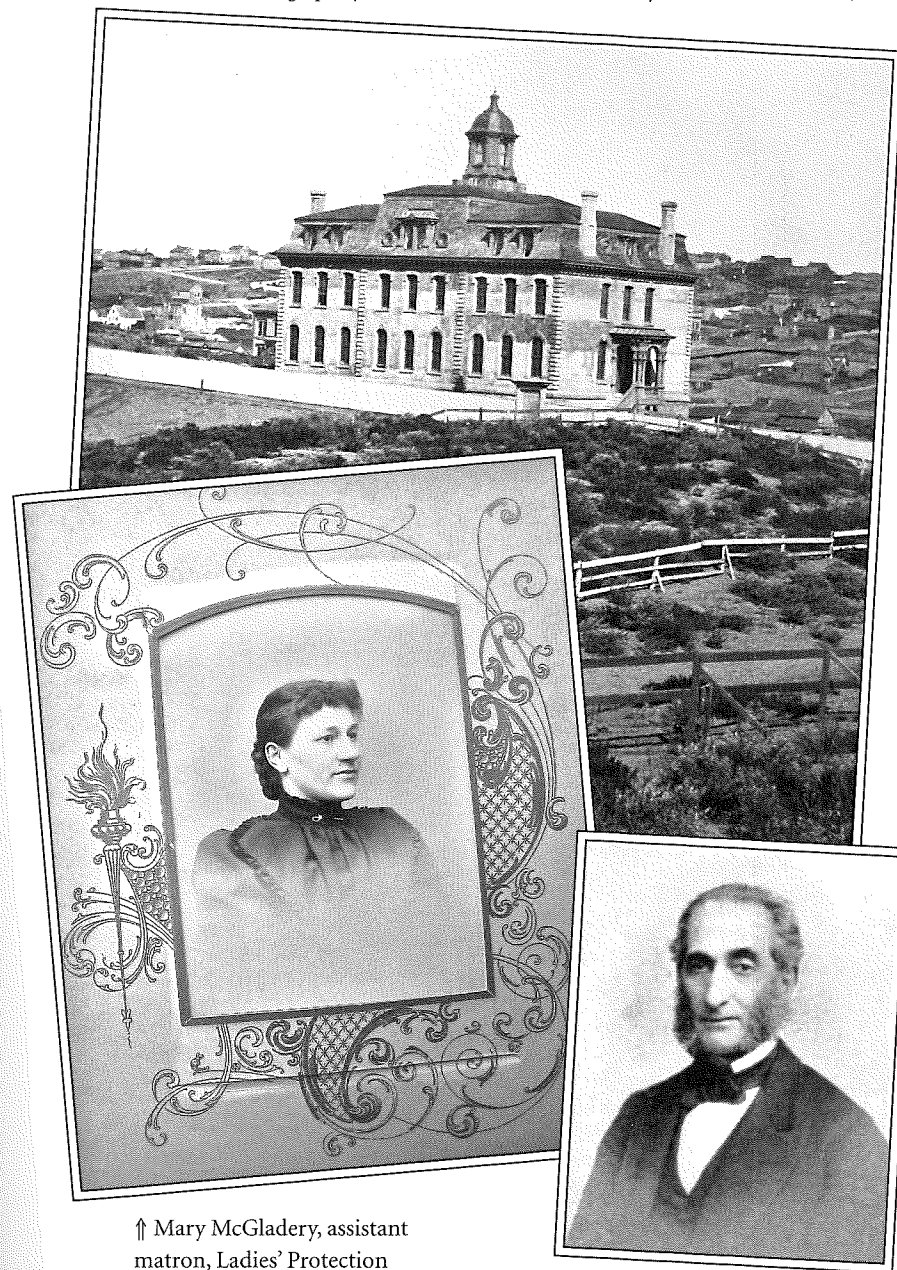
Mamie became close friends with Miss Cameron's assistant and interpreter, Wu Teen Fook (Wu Tianfu), who was eight years old when Miss Cameron rescued her. Her story was often told to illustrate the cruelties of child servitude and the beneficence of Christian rescue and conversion. In fact, her story could have been Mary Tape's. One newspaper wrote:

After years of famine and bad debts, little Tien Fu went with her father to the port city of Shanghai, ostensibly to visit Grandma, but found herself locked aboard a ship, sold into domestic child slavery in America. The "little tyke" was sometimes sent on scurrying errands to shops near the gambling den where she was the "chore girl." Her bruises, dark and swollen, drew attention and word got to "The Home," as Cameron Home was then called. Rescue workers with police aid discovered her, after strenuous search, under a bed, behind trunks.

At the home, health and strength were restored to Tien as she proved to be a strong-willed, determined young girl

↓ The Ladies' Protection and Relief Society home for abandoned children (c. 1860), where Mary Tape was the only Chinese child resident.

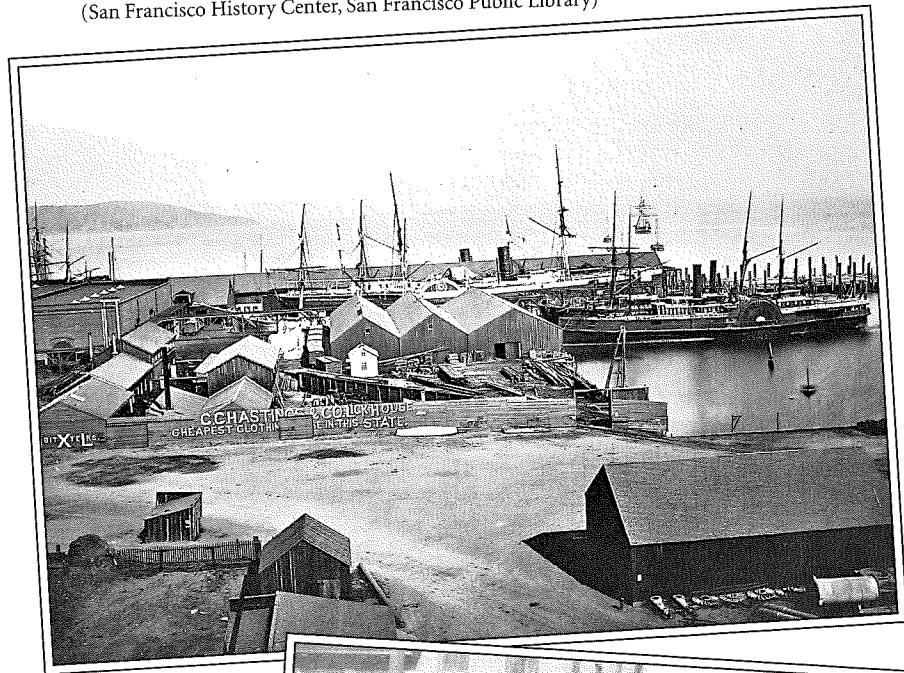
Photograph by Lawrence & Houseworth. (Society of California Pioneers)



↑ Mary McGladery, assistant matron, Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, who raised Mary Tape, 1869–1875.
(Jack Kim collection)

↑ Reverend Augustus W. Loomis, Presbyterian Chinese mission, San Francisco, in the 1860s and 1870s.
(reprinted from Ira Condit, *The Chinaman as We See Him*, 1900)

⇓ Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf, San Francisco, c. 1875.
(San Francisco History Center, San Francisco Public Library)

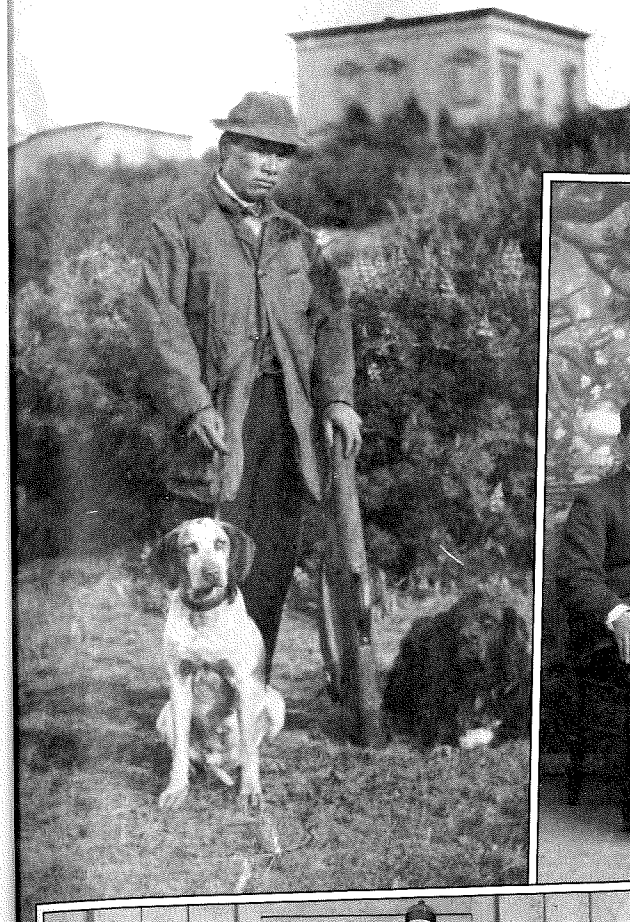


⇒ Dupont and Sacramento streets, heart of the Chinese quarter, San Francisco, 1895. Joseph Tape's express office is in the second building on the left, with the horse and wagon in front. (Bancroft Library, 1905.17500V29:56-Alb)



⇐ Chinese garden farm near the Tapes' home in the Cow Hollow, San Francisco, c. 1885.
(California Historical Society, FN12616/CHS2009.110.tif)

⇐ Joseph Tape with his hunting rifle and bird dogs, San Francisco, c. 1880.
(Jack Kim collection)



↑ The Tape family, 1884.
Left to right: Joseph, Emily, Mamie, Frank, Mary. (Jack Kim collection)



↑ Chinese Primary School students, c. 1890. Mamie is in the center of the second row, and Frank is to her right. Photograph by Isaiah Taber. (Bancroft Library, 1905.17500V29:119-Alb)

In the early 1890s, the Tape children's playmates were either African American or white, rarely Chinese. Photographs by Mary Tape. (Jack Kim collection)



↑ Gertrude (right) with Mabel Marriot.

← Little Gertrude with Mamie (back to camera) and an unidentified friend.



↑ Gertrude Tape (left) and an unidentified girl on Clay Avenue, behind the Chinese Presbyterian Church, San Francisco, 1894.

⇒ Frank Tape as a "modern señorita," Berkeley, c. 1895. (Jack Kim collection)

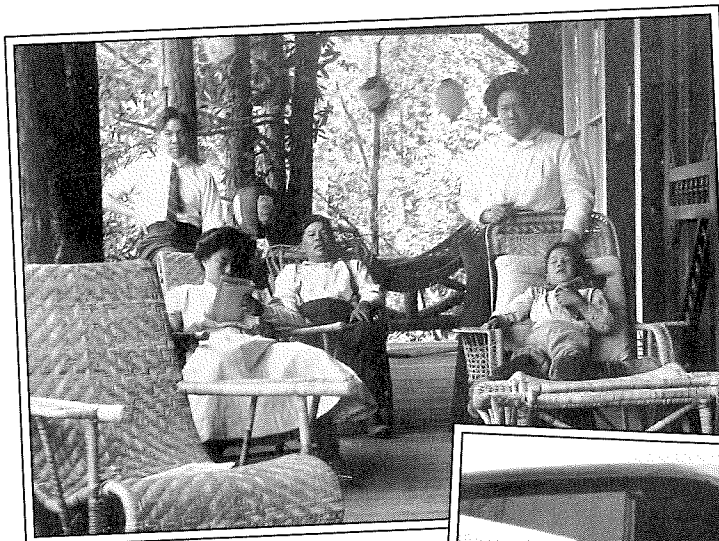


↑ Sisters Mamie (left), Emily (right), and Gertrude, Berkeley, c. 1895. (Jack Kim collection)



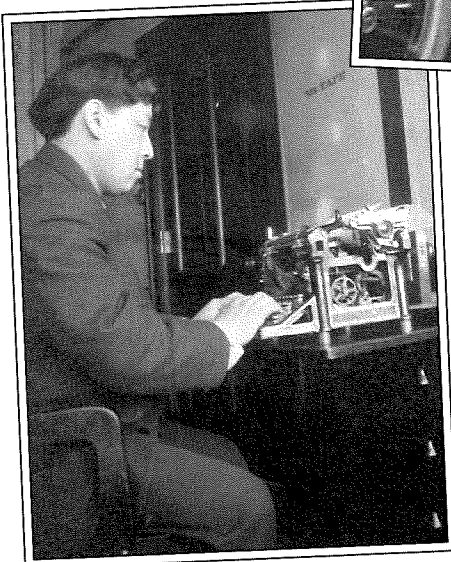
↓ The Tape home at 2123 Russell Street, Berkeley, c. 1895. Photograph by Mary Tape.



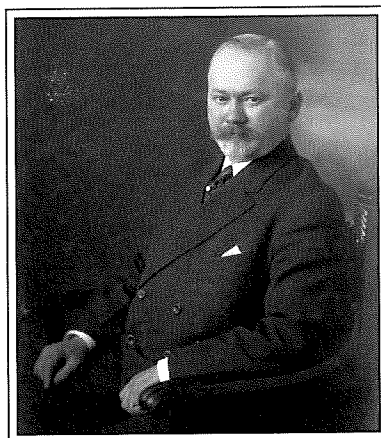


⇐ Tape summer home, Camp Meeker, near the Russian River in Sonoma County, c. 1905. Joseph (in rocker), Gertrude (reading), Robert Park (on rail), Emily Park and son Frank. Photograph by Mary Tape. (Jack Kim collection)

⇒ Emily Tape and her husband, Robert Park, court interpreter and civil rights leader, Berkeley, early 1910s. (Jack Kim collection)



↑ Frank at his father's office at the Pacific Mail Steamship Company wharf, late 1890s. (Jack Kim collection)



↑ John Endicott Gardner Jr., Chinese interpreter and inspector, San Francisco. (courtesy of Susan Briggs)

↓ The Chinese Village on the midway, St. Louis World's Fair, 1904, which employed Frank Tape and Mamie Tape's husband, Herman Lowe. (Special Collections, St. Louis Public Library)



⇐ Children of Chinese American merchants in the Chinese Village, costumed to appear as though they were from China. Mamie's children: Harold, front row, right; Emily, front row, third from right. (Special Collections, St. Louis Public Library)

... Her determination to liberate her people, her skill in both Chinese and English, her strong will, her devotion to Christ, the church, and Miss Cameron, made her a rock on which others would be able to depend as they began to rebuild life.

Miss Cameron described Wu Tianfu as “dear elder daughter” to the other girls. She was director of the nursery and rose to become “supervisor of all girls,” a position of considerable authority. She accompanied Cameron on rescue missions in town and in the mining districts and served as her interpreter in court.

It is not surprising that Wu Tianfu and Mamie Lowe, both young, strong-willed, and determined English-speaking women, became friends. Wu Tianfu also brought some of the older teenage girls at the home to visit Mamie’s house and play with her baby boy. Yet even as Mamie found friendship and sociability among rescue home women, her mother continued to keep her own experience of servitude and rescue hidden behind an orphan narrative.

For Mamie, it seems this was a happy time. She had a family and friends of her own. Living on Prospect Place, she marveled at the sight of cable car tracks and a water line being laid through Chinatown, signs of modern city living that had been slow to penetrate the community. At the turn of the century, San Francisco was prosperous and cosmopolitan, dubbed by elites as the “Paris on the Pacific,” but Chinatown was still reviled as a crowded and dirty slum. Although Chinatown was just a mile or two from the city center—from its new City Hall, with its magnificent copper dome; its grand hotels and European opera; and its new park, named after the Golden Gate and conceived by Frederick Law Olmsted, who had also designed New York City’s Central Park—it was also a world away. If the city was improving Chinatown’s infrastructure, it was not because San Franciscans cared about Chinatown, but because the community was located between the downtown business district and the new white, middle-class neighborhoods to the west.

Indeed, for most San Franciscans, Chinatown was a blighted area



↑ San Francisco burning after the earthquake of 1906, as seen from Berkeley’s Southern Pacific freight yard, one block from the Tapes’ home. (Berkeley Architectural Heritage Association)



↑ “On the Ruins,” Chinatown, April 1906. Photograph by Arnold Genthe.
(California Historical Society, FN-01859/CHS2009.109.tif)

that was increasingly out of sync with the city's sense of progress. Racial tensions flared in the spring of 1900, when the autopsy of a body of a Chinese man found in the basement of a hotel determined that the man had died of bubonic plague. Officials believed that the disease had been brought to San Francisco by Chinese on board a ship that had arrived from Hong Kong. Scientists had recently identified the plague bacillus, but it was not yet understood how the disease was transmitted. Many believed that infection was spread through food or open wounds. Although some suspected that rats were involved, it was not yet understood that fleas carried the disease from rats to humans. San Francisco's response to this one case of plague was guided by racism and politics. The board of supervisors quarantined all of Chinatown, blockading its perimeter with police and allowing only whites to pass. Anti-Chinese nativists seized on the issue as an opportunity to call for evacuating and then razing Chinatown. "Clear the foul spot from San Francisco and give the debris to the flames," editorialized the *Daily Morning Call*. At the same time, fearing that news of a plague epidemic would damage San Francisco's commerce, city officials denied that there was any health crisis at all. Residents of Chinatown protested the quarantine and then, after it was lifted, refused to cooperate in an effort to inoculate every Chinese person, suspecting that the measure was a cruel plot to kill them.

The Lowes, perhaps hoping that things would eventually return to normal, stuck it out through the crisis. Like many other Chinatown residents, they may have believed that Chinatown was experiencing a racially motivated panic, not a serious threat to public health. But there were other cases of plague, and if they were cautious, Mamie and her young son may have stayed indoors for much of the time, especially because Mamie was now pregnant with her second child. By the end of the year, twenty-two people had died from the disease, nearly all of them Chinese.

When the Lowes' baby girl was born in February 1901, the health and political crises had eased. Mamie named her Emily Gertrude,

after her two sisters. Mary came to see her new grandchild right away. Perhaps she carried a message of reconciliation and asked Mamie to move her family to Berkeley, to be closer to the family. Mamie may have demurred: Herman's parents lived in Chinatown, and according to custom, she had entered her husband's family upon their marriage. But Mamie and Herman decided to move when city health officials and Chinese huiguan leaders announced that they had agreed on a plan to sanitize Chinatown. The plan involved exterminating rats, cementing over basements, disinfecting houses, and demolishing buildings deemed beyond repair. That spring, more than 1,200 houses and 14,000 rooms were scoured and disinfected.

Mamie and Herman, who were modern in their sensibilities, would not have opposed these sanitary measures on principle, but the scale of the undertaking may have overwhelmed the young family's sense of security and comfort, especially with a new baby in the house. In March, just a few weeks before the sanitation drive commenced, the Lowes moved to the East Bay. Joseph bought them a house on Whitney Street, about half a mile south of Russell and just over the town line in Oakland. It was one of three identical raised-basement Victorians on a newly developed block and cost \$1,500. The house had a bay front, a high stoop, and a small front porch. It seemed like a good place to raise a family.

It was, in fact, a busy time for both family building and house building. Later that year, in November, Emily Tape married Robert Leon Park, an up-and-coming leader of the second generation in Chinatown. If Joseph had had reservations about Herman Lowe, he most certainly approved of Robert Park. Perhaps Joseph had once suggested Robert to Mamie as a marriage partner: he and Mamie were the same age, and his advocacy for civil rights seemed a perfect match for the girl who had forced open California's public schools to Chinese pupils. But if that had been Joseph's plan, it was not to be. Mamie loved Herman. Robert Park married the second daughter.

Robert's Chinese name was Leon Quai Park (Liang Guibo). Like

Herman Lowe, he was born to a family of modest means in Chinatown, the second son of Leon Tin and Niu Shee, who lived above an herbalist on Dupont Street. The entrance to their home was in the rear, on Bartlett Place, which was notorious for its concentration of brothels and "female boarding" quarters. Joseph Tape knew Leon Tin, who was also a teamster. Their children knew each other from the Chinese Primary School and the Presbyterian mission church. Like the Tape children, the Leons were Americanized: they had Anglicized their names, and Robert was known around Chinatown as the "boy without a queue." Robert was exceptionally bright; he was the first Chinese to graduate from San Francisco's Lowell High School and among the first to attend the University of California.

In the mid-1890s, Robert was part of a group of young men engaged in a new brand of politics in Chinatown. These young men talked about forming a new kind of organization, one unlike the district and clan associations or the secret societies that dominated Chinatown's social landscape. Their goal was to achieve full and equal citizenship rights for Chinese Americans. Park's associates included Frank Fook, an interpreter and clerk for a Euro-American lawyer, and Ng Goon, a graduate of the University of California who had inherited property in San Francisco, San Jose, and Los Angeles. A future leader of the group would write that these men were the "young turks" who sought to "throw off some of the old-world handicaps of extreme conservatism to accelerate their assimilation to the American way of life."

In 1895, they formed a fraternal order called the "Rising Sun Parlor No. 1" and applied to join the Native Sons of the Golden West, California's preeminent fraternal organization. This was a bold move, for the Native Sons' bylaws stipulated that membership was for white males, and the organization was known for its support of Chinese exclusion. A few members of the Native Sons of the Golden West, however, felt that the Rising Sun parlor (branch) should be admitted. C. C. Higgins, a druggist and past master of the San Francisco

parlor, and a colleague, "Doc" Richards, coached the Chinese group in writing their bylaws. Higgins and Richards also taught them the "side degrees," or fraternal initiation rituals, such as drinking a quart of warm salt water. According to Higgins, "The Rising Sun boys enjoy this kind of sport."

Most members of the Native Sons of the Golden West viewed the admission of a native Chinese parlor as racial anathema and voted it down. Their petition rejected, the Chinese Americans formed a kind of ethnic shadow group called the Native Sons of the Golden State, with bylaws allowing membership only to American citizens of Chinese descent. Adapting their rules to Western moral conventions, the group declared that no "highbinders" (members of tongs, the secret Chinese brotherhood societies that controlled the vice trades) or opium users would be admitted. Members pledged loyalty to the United States and fraternity to one another.

The Native Sons of the Golden State was not the first Chinese American civil rights organization. In the Northeast, the peripatetic civil rights advocate Wong Chin Foo (Huang Qingfu) formed the Chinese Equal Rights League and published a bilingual broadside, the *Chinese American* (*Huamei xinbao*), in 1892. Wong's immediate purpose was to fight the Geary Act, passed that year, which required all Chinese to register with the U.S. government and carry a certificate of identity at all times. Wong's broader political agenda promoted citizenship and civil rights for Chinese in America but made no concession to assimilation as a goal. He wore flowing Mandarin robes for public lectures on Chinese philosophy titled "Why Am I a Heathen?" Neither the group nor its publication survived for more than a few years. In the end, there was not a large enough population of native-born Chinese Americans in the East to sustain an organization that had citizenship rights at its center. In California, however, the Native Sons of the Golden State estimated that there were 20,000 native-born Chinese. Reverend Ira Condit of the Chinese Presbyterian Church wrote at the turn of the century that 400 Chinese

Americans—the children of immigrant Chinese born in the United States—had reached maturity; that 150 were literate and thus eligible to vote; and that 80 were actually exercising the franchise.

When Robert married Emily, he was president of the Native Sons of the Golden State. He was also active in the Sam Yup Association (Sanyi huiguan), which, with its concentration of merchants who had originally come from the three counties outside Guangzhou, was one of the most powerful huiguan of the Chinese Six Companies. As a leader in two important civic organizations, one Chinese American and one traditionally Chinese, Park occupied an unusually influential position. He was no doubt active in the pressing issues of civil rights and discrimination—most recently, the fight against City Hall's quarantine of Chinatown during the plague. Robert also worked as an interpreter in the Hall of Justice, San Francisco's criminal court, and was managing editor of the *Chinese World* (*Shejie ribao*), which entailed translating articles from the mainstream English-language newspapers into Chinese.

In appearance, Robert and Emily were somewhat incongruous as a couple. They were the same height, about five feet two inches, but he was small in stature, and she had a large frame. A photograph taken of Emily at age twenty-one, on the eve of her wedding, shows a buxom young woman who carries herself well. She is dressed in a dark suit and has a luxurious feather boa draped over her shoulders. Her hair is piled on top of her head, and her hat, adorned with flowers and plumes that match her boa, adds six inches to her height. She looks quite handsome, a testament to her parents' wealth and social standing.

The *Daily Morning Call* described the wedding as "picturesque" and found it remarkable that both Robert and Emily were native-born Chinese Americans who followed American customs. It noted that Robert had studied at the University of California and that Emily was an accomplished violinist. Her trousseau included "richly

embroidered kimonos and other dainty articles of feminine apparel, which are the work of the bride's skillful fingers."

The wedding was held at the Tape family home, where the garden was decorated with Chinese lanterns. The bride wore a gown of mousseline de soie, a bolero jacket of Battenberg lace made with gold thread, and a long, heavily embroidered tulle veil. Reverend Ira Condit—who had assisted Reverend Loomis at Joseph and Mary's wedding back in 1875—led the ceremony under a wedding bell made of pink and white chrysanthemums. Sixty guests attended, including "prominent Americans" from both sides of the bay. Edward Park (Liang Jin) served as best man for his brother; Emily's bridesmaid was Florence Chan, a girlhood friend from the Protestant mission home in San Francisco. A supper was served in the large basement, where the walls were covered with white canvas and decorated with American flags, flowers, ribbons, and tiny electric lights.

Emily and Robert moved into a new house at 2133 Russell Street in Berkeley, just down the block from Joseph and Mary. Unlike the elder Tapes and Mamie and Herman, whose houses were built by developers, the Parks hired an architect to design theirs. It was a one-story cottage with a windowed corner turret and was charming in a way not evident in the vernacular housing going up in the area. Mary painted a large still life for Emily's house—larger than her usual canvases—a vase brimming with chrysanthemums, her favorite flowers. Emily would live in that house for the rest of her life.

In 1902, Emily gave birth to a son, whom she named Frank, following the Tape siblings' practice of naming their children after one another. Joseph arranged a position for Robert with the Southern Pacific Railroad, probably in the passenger department as an assistant agent. The commissions Robert earned selling steamship and train tickets supplemented his income from court interpreting and the newspaper. During the summer, Emily and her family accompanied her parents and younger sister, Gertrude, on extended vacations at Camp Meeker, near the Russian River in Sonoma County.

Joseph and Mary were pleased that Emily had married well, was settling into a comfortable middle-class life, and was living close at hand, part of the extended household. But they continued to fret about their two oldest children. Frank, more interested in spending money than in earning it, had not yet settled down. Although Joseph and Mary had made amends with Mamie, one senses a rift that never fully healed. Herman apparently had no interest in working in one of Joseph's various sinecures at the Southern Pacific, preferring employment in a sewing factory instead. Like Mamie, he jealously guarded his independence. The couple's participation in Chinese mission church circles also may have irritated Joseph, who saw the church as a means to other ends, not an end in itself.

In 1904, Joseph devised a plan for Mamie's family and Frank to attend the St. Louis World's Fair, where Frank and Herman could work in the fair's Chinese Village. Joseph cannily understood that by sending his son and daughter away, he might ultimately draw them closer to him. Indeed, in St. Louis they would not only experience a major international event as a family. Frank and Herman would also find careers as immigrant interpreters, setting them on the path that Joseph had pioneered: the path of a broker in the immigrant trade, the best path for success for their generation.

8. THE CHINESE VILLAGE

IN EARLY 1904, Frank and Herman traveled with Mamie and the two children to the fair—formally known as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition—and stayed for the duration, about nine months. The men worked for the Hong Tai Company, organized by San Francisco Chinese merchants to run concessions in the Chinese Village, located on the fair's midway. The village included curio shops, a restaurant and teahouse, a temple, magic and juggling acts, games, artisan demonstrations, and a theater. The men were among some one hundred Chinese Americans from San Francisco employed by the village. The family went under the "fair conditions," which is to say that the company paid all their expenses.

The Chinese Village at St. Louis was the fourth to be staged on a midway at an American world's fair. The first had been at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893, followed by Atlanta's Cotton States and International Exposition in 1895 and Omaha's Trans-Mississippi Exposition in 1898. These villages were not official exhibits sponsored by China, but entrepreneurial projects organized by Chinese Americans.

In fact, before 1904 China did not have an official national exhibit at any international exposition. Throughout the 1890s, the imperial