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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

RETHINKING ALTERNATIVE CONTACT IN NATIVE AMERICAN AND CHINESE ENCOUNTERS: JUXTAPOSITION IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY US NEWSPAPERS

CARI M. CARPENTER AND K. HYOEJIN YOON

On June 27, 1836, a report appeared in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, describing various US military engagements with the Seminoles under “Eneah-Marthla” (also known as Neamathla or Neah Emarthla) on the Georgia border. Of one skirmish of a scouting party it is reported that “nothing could have exceeded the bravery of this little band, who, though compelled to retreat, disputed every inch of ground, and sent many a tawny savage to his last account.”⁷¹ This article appeared in the column next to an announcement for Afong Moy, the “Chinese Lady,” and her performance at Peale’s Museum in Philadelphia. At this time Afong Moy and American Indians not only shared the representational space of the newspaper, but also that of the New York stage. According to George Odell’s *Annals of the American Theater*, on June 19, 1835, “a party of indians [sic] was to dance and hold a council, and the Chinese Lady was there ‘as usual’” (1928, 42–43). In June 1836, Afong Moy took the stage again, followed by “some Tuscarora and Winnebago Indians, including five warriors, a squaw and a papoose, made even livelier some nights in December” (106–107). In April 1837, at the Lyceum, “an Indian’ . . . lecture[d] on Wars and Treaties with Whites and Indians; apparently he had done it before.” That same week, Afong Moy made an appearance at the Brooklyn Institute, “richly dressed in Chinese Costume” (86).

The fact that Afong Moy and Indians were contemporary players on the New York stage challenges a traditional notion of encounter: while they did not

interact directly, they nevertheless shared a space in the cultural milieu and in the public's sense of their shared status as amusements and curiosities. Through the media of newspaper reportage, commentary, notices, and advertising, Asian subjects and artifacts were continually juxtaposed to Native American history and personalities in ways that go beyond face-to-face contact, physical contiguity, or historical interaction. These juxtapositions reflect the short slide between war and "amusements"; yet when we focus in on the figure of Black Hawk, a "real" Indian, we can discern a tendency in colonial discourse to pull even the most disparate groups of "others" into common patterns of representation. It is instructive to compare newspaper representations of Black Hawk with those of Afong Moy, as their representation shares common features of several interrelated and overlapping rhetorical modes that reflect the preoccupations of colonial journalism: anthropometric examinations, aggrandizing representations, and discourses of the "savage."

Four decades later on October 2, 1879, the Nevada newspaper *Silver State* ran an article describing an opium den that had been discovered and then reassembled in a judge's office for the purposes of prosecution. In effect, the prosecutors were staging the den, a staging that was replicated verbally in the newspaper itself. The reporter writes with an obvious tone of disgust: "The whole outfit has a dirty appearance, causing people who have examined it to wonder how anybody not utterly debased can enter the filthy dens and indulge in a smoke from pipes which have undoubtedly been used by leprous Chinese, and run the risk of contracting contagious disease." The article demonstrates a conflation of criminality, race, and disease which is epitomized in the phrase "leprous Chinese," as well as a common fear among whites of encountering marginalized people. This item immediately precedes an article of equal length about Old Winnemucca, the father of Northern Paiute activist and author Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins. The piece about Old Winnemucca, a description of his awed reception by a group from the east, ends with the sentence: "He gallantly extended his hand to the ladies, but taxed the gentlemen a cigar for the honor, and for this privilege received a half dozen Havanas made by Chinese in Chicago." Although Winnemucca receives far better treatment than the Chinese in this representation, he too is an object of the dominant gaze. "Bedecked with brass and feathers," he is ostensibly distinguished from the "gentlemen" he meets. His receipt of the Chinese-made cigars is a gesture that subtly links the two populations. The juxtaposition of criminal, diseased Chinese and the gallant gentleman Indian in the late 1800s newspaper suggests an implicit comparison between the two populations.²

We would like to begin this special issue of *College Literature* by considering how the space that Chinese and American Indians shared on the newspaper page can be likened to their shared space in the American nineteenth century. In other words, their proximity in newsprint is not a coincidence, but a reminder of their symbolic and literal relationships, which has been underexamined in scholarship of nineteenth-century US history and literature. An analysis of the rhetorical and historic encounters between the two, centering on the figures

of Afong Moy and Sarah Winnemucca, can serve as a helpful counterpoint to the presumed dominant/minority binary that privileges whiteness. In this way, we seek to elaborate upon Paul Lai and Lindsey Smith's (2011) concept of "alternative contact": the move beyond the settler-indigenous binary to a more fruitful consideration of other forms of contact. A foundational encounter that defines our understanding of the history and culture of the United States and the New World in general, "first contact"—or the encounter between Anglos and indigenous populations—has characterized much of previous scholarship. However, as Lai and Smith, Jodi Byrd (2011), and others have argued, first contact assumes the primacy and supremacy of white Europeans. One way to "decenter the vertical interactions of colonizer and colonized," Byrd suggests in *The Transit of Empire*, is to focus on the "horizontal struggles among peoples with competing claims to historical oppressions" (xxxiv). Of course, such horizontal encounters are themselves often fraught with inequalities and tensions. Daniel Liestman delineates a range of interactions in his study of the "horizontal inter-ethnic relations" between Chinese and American Indians (1999, 328).

The idea of exploring Native/Asian encounters for this special issue was sparked by a panel of the same title at the Modern Languages Association convention in 2012, which was co-sponsored by the American Indian Literatures and Asian American Literature Divisions. However, initially it seemed to us there were more reasons *not* to compare Afong Moy and Sarah Winnemucca: namely, the time difference between them and the strikingly different political goals of Asians and Native Americans. As Lai and Smith write,

the guiding assumptions and critical questions of the fields are drastically different; in fact, they often directly contradict each other. For example, while Asian American studies explores how the US racial state has excluded Asians in its immigration policies and withheld citizenship, Native American studies argues for the sovereignty of Indigenous tribes such that they might negotiate with the United States as independent and separate nations. Asian American studies seeks recognition within the United States—even if it is critical of the nation-state as a neoliberal, imperialist entity—while Native American studies attempts to establish more self-determination for Native Americans in distancing them from US rule and the US settler state. (Lai and Smith 2011, 407)

However, James H. Cox and Paul Lai organized the Native/Asian Encounters panel to challenge the panelists to explore "American Indian and Asian American cross-racial representations, overlapping histories, tensions, or collaborations" and to "theoriz[e] comparative racializations or critiqu[e] ethnic studies formations" (Cox and Lai 2011). Following the work on Asian-Latino/a relationships (Guevarra 2011), Afro-Asian connections (Prashad 1999), and Native Asian relations (Byrd 2011, Lim 2006), as well as the work in transnational studies in of the Pacific (Wilson 2006), trans-indigeneity (Allen 2012), and transnational Asian American studies, we seek to elaborate the possibilities of horizontal encounters.

The horizontal relationships depicted in newspapers in the 1800s are, by their very mode of production, constructed within the terms of dominant narratives

about national identity. While our approach to alternative contact through such texts does not necessarily exceed the frames established by dominant cultural narratives, we use juxtaposition as a hermeneutic of alternative contact *within* the archives.³ While the comparison of different groups and traditions is not itself an innovation, we propose to make explicit the methodology central to juxtaposition. We take the concept of juxtaposition from the work of Walter Benjamin, who develops these ideas in terms of photography and film in his “Work of Art” essay, in terms of the newspaper in the essay “The Storyteller” and in various forms throughout the Arcades Project.⁴ Graham MacPhee discusses Benjamin’s conception of a hermeneutic of juxtaposition—wrought with the introduction of the picture puzzle as a new visual technology—in which “the frame itself emerges from the contingent juxtapositions of meaning and image” (2004, 88). The hermeneutic of juxtaposition allows us to arrange and test different meanings that occur when put side by side and to clear the space for subaltern voices perceived to be silent or foreclosed to peek through the cracks, between the lines of reportage and representation. We bring Chinese and Native Americans into the same frame in a way that allows us to expose and make evident the assumptions and operations of the foundational narratives of white supremacy and Manifest Destiny.

Lisa King’s analysis in this issue of Honolulu’s Bishop Museum employs a somewhat similar methodology to examine the layered histories and interactions of Native Hawaiians and immigrant Asians in Hawai‘i. The Hawaiian Hall of the museum juxtaposes two exhibits: one that narrates the history of the native Hawaiians whose government was unlawfully overthrown by the US in the late nineteenth century and one of the history of Asian immigrants. Yet King cautions us that simply juxtaposing multicultural narratives creates the danger of positing “parallel narratives of oppression . . . rather than finding ways to dismantle the systems that created that oppression” (47). Keeping these words in mind, we see the exploration of Native-Asian encounters not simply as the contest for competing claims to oppressions but as a start to understanding the complexity and the varied stagings of horizontal and vertical encounters.

In this spirit, we offer in this introductory essay two different approaches to juxtaposition as a method for exploring alternative contact in nineteenth-century newspapers. The first juxtaposes the tropes used in representations of Afong Moy and Black Hawk in the 1830s. The second examines Sarah Winnemucca’s rhetoric and interaction with the Chinese at the end of the nineteenth century. We aim to demonstrate the flexibility of juxtaposition and the ways it can be used to analyze direct rhetorical and historical contact, as in the case of Winnemucca speaking about the Chinese in her speeches, which both mobilize existing discourses and resist them. At the same time, this methodology affords a way to look at representations of Chinese and Native Americans that brings to light the array of meanings that can be seen to reify and undermine dominant narratives.

INDIAN GUESTS AND THE CHINESE LADY

Before the increase in Asian immigration in the middle of the nineteenth century, Anglo-Americans primarily encountered East Asia through idyllic representations of “oriental” pagodas and gardens on their china plates, tea services, and lacquerware (Haddad 2007; Tchen 1991). Newspapers regularly printed the observations of missionaries and traders about quotidian events like Chinese weddings and dinner parties and their reflections on the dress and manners of Chinese, with a special level of curiosity exhibited for Chinese women (Tiffany 1849; Barrow 1805; Pinckney 1830; Williams 1835). Afong Moy, the first documented Chinese woman in the US, was in this context quite a sensation. She was brought to New York in 1834 and it is thought she was first put on display as a living advertisement for a shipment of Chinese goods (Haddad 2006). She was presented as the “Chinese Lady” and touted as a high-class figure in ways that resonated with early nineteenth-century aspirations to respectability and entry into “good society” (Yoon 2013; Haltunen 1982; Bushman 1993). Moy went on to perform at Scudder’s American Museum (later Barnum’s American Museum) and other venues in New York, and then in other major cities, including Peale’s Museum in Philadelphia and venues in Boston, Baltimore, and Washington, DC. One source notes that she travelled as far south as Pensacola and Mobile and even to Havana, Cuba (*Public Ledger*, April 14, 1836). Her “performance” was primarily a presentation of her “Chinese-ness”: she sang and spoke in Chinese, showed off her much-talked-about small bound feet and demonstrated how one could walk on them; others suggest she may have shown off the use of chopsticks (Moy 1993; Moon 2005; Lee 1999; Wu 2008; Yung 1995). In all cases, she was dressed in a traditional Chinese costume of sumptuous silk and in some cases surrounded by luxury Chinese goods.⁵

Depictions of Afong Moy are examples of the popular view of the Chinese as both racial other and the synecdoche of high-class civilization. Robert Bogdan’s (1990) delineation of the exoticizing and aggrandizing impulses reflected in the styles of display used by freak shows in the nineteenth century provides a useful framework for exploring American ambivalence towards both American Indians and Chinese.

According to Bogdan, the “exotic mode” emphasized the inferiority of the person on display. The “aggrandized mode,” on the other hand, “emphasized how, with the exception of the particular physical, mental, or behavioral condition, the freak was an upstanding, high-status person with talents of a conventional and socially prestigious nature” (1990, 108). The model of civilization against which subjects are defined on this scale remains uninterrogated. However, reading the relative aggrandizement and the modes of representation in newspaper depictions can make visible what is assumed to be civilized and who and what is deemed worthy of recuperating. Using Bogdan’s terms, Moy is exoticized and aggrandized at the same time. This creates an opportunity to put the contradictory terms of civilization side by side. Moreover, when we look at newspaper depictions of

Black Hawk, we see the recurrence of this dual representation of exoticization and aggrandizement.

Juxtaposing Moy and Black Hawk does not so much fashion a horizontal encounter as make explicit the ways they are already brought into contact by and within the narrative frame of the newspapers and popular perceptions. This does not mean, however, that their relationships to each other are completely overdetermined or that the relationships between each group and the dominant subject are monolithic. We propose that juxtaposition as a hermeneutic of alternative contact can reveal the instability and multiplicity of representations even as they seem to be intended, in the early 1800s, to group Chinese and Native Americans into the same category of “other.” Moreover, a close analysis of these representations reveals a consistent narrative impulse to aggrandize the “other,” but not only in order to raise them up to pre-set standards. The aggrandizements in early nineteenth-century representations unintentionally show an underlying insecurity about the status and power of American civilization.

Two articles edited by Mordecai M. Noah that originally appeared in the *New York Star* emphasize the aggrandized mode of representation.⁶ These articles construct Moy as a valued guest and confer on her the authority to make judgments about her hosts like her contemporary, English writer Frances Trollope.⁷ In later articles, Moy is noted to have learned to converse in English and is described offering observations about her travels. A reporter from the *New York Journal of Commerce* relates Moy’s view on footbinding: “an absurd cruelty of fashion by the way, which we understand she says, does not appear to her at all the more strange than some of the fashions she notices in the ladies who visit her” (reprinted in the *Eastern Argus*, January 16, 1835).⁸ While this is one of the few records of Moy’s own views, her remark showcases a rhetorical move which juxtaposes Western fashion with bound feet. This serves the dual function of estranging the familiar habit of Western corsets, for example, and of normalizing the strangeness of the Chinese custom. Moy equalizes the two examples in this moment, raising up the assumed inferiority of Chinese culture and bringing down the assumed superiority of the Western. In her riposte is an implicit critique that further reinforces the anxiety and self-consciousness on the part of Americans about how they appear to Moy. She becomes a mirror for self-reflection for the newly emergent American middle class, which has to contend with China as not only a venerable and advanced civilization, but the source of so many of the luxury items many Westerners associated with old-world gentility. Indeed, chinoiserie, embraced by European aristocrats, was tremendously popular among the American landed gentry (Tchen 1991; Wu 2008; Yonan 2004). Noah writes that he is eager “to show [Afong Moy] that we are not so uncivilized and such barbarous vandals as she perhaps had been taught to believe by the great patriarch of her country, *Con-fu-chee* [Confucius]” (*Norfolk Advertiser*, November 15, 1834). He is chagrined by his own company and their “multiple bows, and attitudes, and gesticulations” of excessive politeness, which he finds “ludicrous”

(*Baltimore Gazette*, November 22, 1834) in comparison to her taciturn grace and “imperturbable composure” (*Norfolk Advertiser*, November 15, 1834).

Like the Chinese, American Indians had long been a focus of American cultural representations (Jones 1988; Fleming 1965; Mielke 2008). In the 1830s and 1840s, Indians’ virtual presence on the stage, played by white actors, was made real in speeches and performances by members of various American Indian tribes. The most celebrated “real” Indian of that time was the Sauk leader Black Hawk. In 1833, he and his companions were taken across the country from St. Louis, Missouri, to Washington, DC, in a kind of Roman triumph—the defeated enemy paraded among the masses in a spectacle of victory. The *New York Journal of Commerce* remarks that the company’s travels must surely have reinforced the lesson “that [American Indians] have very little chance of subduing the United States” and that any such attempts would inevitably result “in their defeat and greater depression” (*Albany Argus*, June 18, 1833).

Yet, newspaper accounts reveal an ironic twist to President Jackson’s plan to humiliate his “captives” and assert US military superiority. In its June 18, 1833, issue, the *Albany Argus* compiled accounts from several newspapers, including the *New York Journal of Commerce*, the *Philadelphia National Gazette*, and the *US Gazette*: the headline announces without irony the arrival of “Indian Guests.” Like Moy, the American Indians are considered outsiders, visiting foreigners, without regard to their indigeneity; yet, as such, the article casts them in terms that belie their proclaimed defeat. Black Hawk is described as a “celebrated personage” who was greeted with cheers from the crowd. He is “the hero of the wilderness,” and he and his other “distinguished Indian Chiefs,” including Black Hawk’s son, are likened to “fashionable society.” The *New York Standard* added that “several women were so indelicate as to salute young Black Hawk with a kiss” (*Albany Argus*, June 28, 1833).⁹ The fervor they inspired in the crowds provoked a strident response from the *Evening Post*, which criticizes the unbridled enthusiasm of whites that threatened to undermine the lesson intended for the “wretched Indian” to “restran [*sic*] his sanguinary disposition” (reprinted in the *Albany Argus*, June 21, 1833). The reporter for the *Post* opines that “it would really be well if his reception by the Whites . . . had a little more of the decent gravity or stoical indifference which the savages themselves exhibit on all occasions.” The valorization of Black Hawk’s stoical and more dignified nature is launched as a critique of whites’ less civilized behavior.¹⁰

In such newspaper representations of Black Hawk and Afong Moy, we see again and again the emergence of a latent critique of whites failing to live up to their own civilizational standards, in contrast to the Indian chief and the Chinese woman who appear more “civilized” than they do. By juxtaposing the newspaper representations of Black Hawk and Afong Moy, we can discern the recurrence of such contradictory representations of the “civilized” (white Americans), which makes apparent the promiscuous character of what is deemed “civilized”: the term can be used as a judgment that functions at once to denigrate non-white “others” and to discipline whites.

Herbert W. Simon's (1980) approach to rhetorical genres helps to articulate the concept of recurrence as a way, as Shirley Wilson Logan explains, to "consider individual speakers and the occasions surrounding particular rhetorical acts . . . with an eye toward the features of that act that are shared by other rhetorical acts arising from similar but not identical rhetorical situations" (Logan 1999, xiv). Logan proposes the identification of

common practices across rhetorical acts that were molded and constrained by prevailing conventions and traditions. . . . One could argue that it is more useful to focus on distinctive features across common rhetorical situations than on features common among speakers who share the same ethnic origins and are identified as members of the same racialized group. (Logan 1999, xiv)

In this sense, nineteenth-century newspaper accounts of "others" as a rhetorical genre share common practices that persist across different contexts. And in the newspaper accounts of Afong Moy and Black Hawk, we can trace the recurrence of rhetorical modes that, according to David Spurr, make up a "repertoire for colonial discourse, a range of tropes, conceptual categories, and logical operations available for purposes of representations" (1993, 3).¹¹

In the early 1830s, there are few if any known accounts of Indians and Chinese meeting. However, the 1830s provide insight into how Indians and Chinese were viewed before they were so regularly staged in opposition to each other in the later part of the century. The juxtapositions of Black Hawk and Afong Moy provide an opportunity to engage the historical archives of early nineteenth-century newspapers as a field of encounter and contact, a stage upon which white, Chinese, and Native actors were animated for and with each other and the reading public. Encounter in a broad sense encompasses people confronting unexpected representations and images of one another. Indeed, even when real people interact with each other in the flesh, they are encountering representations of each other—ideas and ideologies that mediate any physical meeting. Here we can see Edward Said's "contrapuntal ensembles" at play—the idea that cultural identities are formed and exist in an "array of opposites, negatives, opposition" (1994, 52).¹² A "contrapuntal reading," according to Nina Morgan, is "a form of connection, a logic that . . . brings complex, diverse, and even antithetical issues and questions together in a moment of examination and interpretation" (2012, 1). Morgan reads Said's concept in terms of a methodology that, in Said's words, aims "to think through and interpret together experiences that are discrepant, each with its particular agenda and pace of development, its own internal formations, its internal coherence and system of external relationships" (quoted in Morgan 2012, 1).¹³ With this in mind, we look at the multiple experiences that are brought together. White Americans confronted representations of American Indians and Chinese and, through encounter and opposition to these groups, produced their cohesion as an identity group. However, at the same time, American Indians and Chinese also formed their identities, not only in relation to the white settlers but also in relation to each other. Figurative and actual encounters, and

the players' interpretation of them, are reflected in the literary and journalistic representations of both groups.

Admittedly, there is a tension inherent in this kind of analysis. Scholarship in a range of fields, including Asian-American studies, feminist studies, American Indian studies, and nineteenth-century American history and culture, has rightly critiqued analyses of representation that discount or undermine actual historical figures and their agency. For example, Asian Americanist and feminist historian Shirley Hune has called for centering Chinese-American women as "agents of social change who negotiate complex power structures and create new cultural formations within a set of constraints" (2007, 168). For Hune, this methodology reframes and complicates the history of Chinese American women to provide for "a more robust, complicated, and nuanced interpretation of Chinese American women as family members, workers, or community activists"—not passive objects of history—"whose lives comprise resistance, oppression, and ambiguities" (168–69). Given what we have discovered in the archives to date, Moy is not easily seen as an agent of social change; we don't know of her life in the traditional frames of gendered agency: home, community, labor. Even the context of her labor is an exception: she was a performer and, more obviously, an object, an exhibit. Perhaps this status has resulted in scholars' limited engagement with her, which has tended not to venture beyond frequent and brief mentions of her as an example of how Asian Americans were thought of as human curiosities suitable for display and objectification (Kang 2003; Lee 1999; Ling 1998; Hune 2007; Yung 1995). Yet despite the frequency with which she appears in the scholarship, she is handled more or less as a historical footnote. Bringing Moy out of the footnotes and into the spotlight can provide an important counterbalance to the narratives of American empire building and national identity formation and provide a nuanced understanding of how representations of China and the Chinese complicated an early American racial landscape.¹⁴

Representations of Moy may not significantly challenge notions about the traditional spheres of Chinese-American women's lives or American womanhood, as Hune and others would like to see. Indeed, studies of Moy may risk reinforcing the perspective of the white male newspaper reporters and editors. However, despite her unique circumstances, Moy is a part of the fabric of a particular set of social relations during the early nineteenth century. She may provide us at least with a more complicated picture of the ideological landscape and the interests that animated the merchants, newspaper editors, performers, managers of human curiosities, and consumers. To that end, this analysis is an attempt at what Tani Barlow calls an "interrogative history" (1998, 130–32)—a project not about recuperating an individual voice or constructing a history of agency within traditionally gendered social contexts, but rather an attempt to reconstruct a more complete picture of the constellation of categories of people and social practices that worked in relation to one another during this period. Such a constellation illuminates that narrative of colonial identity at a time when the United States was poised at the beginnings of its imperialist expansion, in which

Asia played a significant global economic role, and during a consolidation of the racial discourse of Anglo-Saxon superiority (Horsman 1981).

By the same token, the focus on newspaper representations of Black Hawk is not intended to elide his agency or voice. Even his autobiography, published by newspaper editor John Barton Patterson in 1833, is fraught with issues of translation, framing, and audience (Scheckel 1998; Wallace 1994; Schmitz 1992).¹⁵ With this delicate balance, our analysis is not meant to privilege the settler view of American Indians and Chinese, but to reveal the instability and contradictions embedded in these representations that ultimately destabilize and speak back to their presumed narrative authority. Newspapers, because of their function as organs of commercial and political interests, have a particular relationship to the contradictions of democracy and empire. Juxtaposition as a hermeneutics of alternative contact further highlights these contradictions by revealing moments of recurrence that lay bare the arbitrary and interested nature of dominant representations. This way of reading alternative contact is not meant to displace horizontal interactions on their own terms. Rather, it is an attempt to draw the dominant culture more squarely into the frame of analysis alongside the “others” it seeks to represent and to resist the tendency to preserve its framing gaze.

Black Hawk is acclaimed as a civilized man in “citizens’ dress,” waving his hat and bowing “a la mode de President” (*Albany Argus*, June 18, 1833). The *Emancipator* offers a generally more positive view, but one that is not at odds with other contemporary representations that subscribe to what Spurr (1993) calls anthropometric measures of physical characteristics and what Haltunen describes as nineteenth-century interpretations of complexion and countenance as reflections of personal respectability (1982, 57, 88-89):

We have seldom seen a more interesting person than Black Hawk. He appears to be about 70 years of age, shakes hands cordially with all who offer him the hand; His countenance is perfectly mild and placid, and his whole appearance is that of great respectability—so much so that he commands universal respect.

On Wednesday, a great crowd of ladies visited the room. The conduct of the Indians was most respectable and proper. They seemed pleased with the attention, and one of them very handsomely [*sic*] took a pair of ear rings from his ears and presented them to a lady who amused the company by playing on the piano, the music of which appeared to delight Black Hawk junior, who is a most elegant fellow, six feet in height and a perfect form (*Emancipator*, June 22, 1833).¹⁶

Other representations of Black Hawk explore how his nobility can raise him up. In “Address to Black Hawk” which first appeared in the *New York Standard*, poet Edward Sanford writes of Black Hawk: “But even though prostrate, / ’tis a noble thing, / Though crownless, powerless, ‘every inch a king.’” The poem continues, wistfully, to channel Black Hawk’s nobility toward ultimately civilizing him into “good society”:

Give us thy hand, old nobleman of nature,
Proud leader of the forest aristocracy;

The best of blood flows from thy every feature,
 And thy curled lip speaks scorn for our democracy,
 Thou wearest thy titles on that god-like brow;
 Let him who doubts them, meet thine Eagle eye;
 He'll quall beneath its glance, and disavow
 All question of thy noble family;
 For thou may'st here become, with strict propriety,
 A leader in our city good society. (*Albany Argus*, June 21, 1833)

Such aggrandizements are echoed a few years later in newspaper accounts of Afong Moy; pains are taken to establish her as a “lady” who behaves appropriately. The *Commercial Advertiser* presents her as a “princess of the ‘Celestial Empire’”; she is “pleasing in her appearance and manner,” comporting herself with “ease, grace and propriety.” The richness of the whole setting is also established in reference to the “spacious and fashionable mansion.” She is described “seated on a throne of rich and costly materials” in a costume of “ladies of her rank, in the emporium of China” who spend several hours at their toilette (reprinted in *Connecticut Courant*, November 24, 1834). Even though he had been invited to a “special interview,” it wasn’t until his second visit that the reporter for the *New York Star* “had the honor at last to be recognized by her ladyship” (reprinted in *Baltimore Gazette*, November 22, 1834). Such practices reinforce rituals of class distinction, and the reporter seems impressed when, at last, he is acknowledged by her during his visit. He remarks, “Many was the significant look which indicated that the marked notice we had received from Miss Moy, was coveted by others. But it is not every barbarian, however *distingue*, that can hope from a daughter of the celestial empire, such distinguished courtesies” (emphasis in original).¹⁷

In the representations of both Black Hawk and Afong Moy, discussions of their celebrity and nobility are countered with racializing and hierarchizing colonial discourse that combines elements of anthropometric examination and the discourse of the “savage.” For example, the article “Miss Afong Moy the Chinese Lady,” appearing originally in the *New York Commercial Advertiser* and reprinted in the *New Hampshire Patriot*, dramatizes the tensions embodied in Afong Moy: “Her ladyship has been imported expressly as a ‘lioness,’ for exhibition. The feet of the Chinese are fair, are the points of beauty, as the calf of the leg is with the belles of Africa” (*New Hampshire Patriot*, November 24, 1834).¹⁸ The juxtaposition of Chinese women’s bound feet and African women’s calves in the public’s imagination reduces them to body parts. And while this representation “lionizes” her, the pun also associates her with the animal. The emphasis on the anatomy of the feet and her physiology, in general, inscribes Moy through “the measurement of body parts commonly practiced by nineteenth-century researchers” (Spurr 1993, 22). Descriptions of Afong Moy’s physical stature—in measurements and evaluations of physical appearance—read like a catalog description of a figurine, suggesting her status as a kind of commodity: Moy “possesses a pleasing countenance, is 19 years old, four feet ten inches in

height, and her feet, including her shoes, are but four inches in length" (*New Hampshire Patriot*, November 24, 1834).¹⁹ Such descriptions enact the systematic analysis that according to Spurr comprises the journalist's gaze, "quantifying and spatializing, noting color and texture" (1993, 23). Reports note that her "skin is slightly tinged with copper," though one can see "that 'roses are blooming' beneath it" (*Connecticut Courant*, November 24, 1834). According to the *Star*,

her head has a profusion of jet black hair . . . her forehead high and protuberant, and her face round and full, with two languishing black eyes placed with peculiar obliquity of the outer angle, which characterizes the Mongolian [*sic*] variety of the human race, from which this people are descended. (reprinted in the *Norfolk Advertiser*, November 15, 1834)

Finally, the analytic gaze "pass[es] an aesthetic judgment" on the body's role as object (Spurr 1993, 23): "Her person is small, but well-proportioned" (*Connecticut Courant*, November 24, 1834). In the *Star's* assessment, she is even "robust" and "her features are pleasing" (*Norfolk Advertiser*, November 15, 1834).

Black Hawk and his companions were subjected to similar evaluations, for while he was cast as a respectable gentleman, he was at the same time—as the reporter from *Philadelphia National Gazette* describes—like a "panther," whose teeth are stained with the blood of its prey, the "Lord of the lion heart and eagle eye" (*Albany Argus*, June 18, 1833). In "Address to Black Hawk," Black Hawk is an "old forest lion, caught and caged at last." The poet considers, with some sentimentality, how Black Hawk must be sobered by the technological and cultural superiority of whites—cannons, steamboats, railroad locomotion, museums, and indeed plays, where stage actors dressed as Indians "mimic tyrants of the stage" and "pass in a moment from a king to clown." To the poet, Black Hawk is a "caged bird," and though he used to be "the crowned warrior of the west / The victor of a hundred forest wars," he is now "led like a walking bear about the town / A new caught monster" subjected to "the sport and mockery of the rabble rout" (*Albany Argus*, June 21, 1833).

Situated in a room to receive guests, the demeanors and every expression of Black Hawk and his companions are scrutinized. The article "Black Hawk," first published in the *Philadelphia Gazette*, describes Black Hawk as

regarding with calm complacency the tumultuous throng around him. He has a *pyramidal* forehead like Sir Walter Scott's; and there seems a slumbering fire in his eye, which betokens great mental power and decision. His companions sat near him, with features strongly marked, and wearing on their painted lips an expression very like that of scorn. The manner of all these natives of the western wilds is majestic and serene. (*Albany Argus*, June 18, 1833; emphasis in original)

In typical anthropometric style, physical features are called out, like his forehead, eyes, lips. The *Gazette* goes further, describing young Black Hawk as "a masterpiece of his race." The *Albany Argus* similarly calls him "a superb specimen of the physical man" (June 25, 1833, 2). The "Address to Black Hawk" reiterates this theme: "There's beauty on thy brow old chief! the high / and manly beauty

of the Roman mould, / and the keen flashing of thy full dark eye" (*Albany Argus*, June 21, 1833).

The use of the term "specimen"—echoed later in Moy's description as "a specimen of oriental magnificence" (*New York Commercial Advertiser*, Nov 15 1834; reprinted in *New Hampshire Patriot*, Nov 24, 1834)—is especially rich as it conveys multiple concepts of synecdoche and catachresis current in the nineteenth century. Black Hawk's son and Afong Moy are representative figures of larger ideas and modes of categorizing of people. Moreover, they are cast as objects of study in the emerging quasi-science of race. The exotic framing of Black Hawk's company and Moy as racialized specimens—emphasizing presumably innate, biological differences that evince inferiority—is ambivalently balanced by their portrayal as civilized guests. This aggrandized mode mobilizes notions of class and high culture to invest the "freak," in Bogdan's formulation, with positive cultural connotations. Indeed, China at the time was viewed as having an *excess* of civilization to the point of decadence (Tchen 1991, xxi). Therefore, Moy is presented in contradictory ways as both the racialized and inferior "specimen" and the exoticized, elite "lady," who is distinguished from so-called "freaks" and cultural exhibits but also from other foreign visitors. In the aggrandized mode, she is not simply an inferior "other" but a symbol of national and consumer economic aspirations, and as such her representations reflect the tensions and negotiations elicited by the conflict of national discourses that would tout both her racial inferiority as well as her cultural superiority. In the case of Black Hawk, the noble savage discourse that would uplift the Indian to a more "civilized" being also constructs him as a racial specimen, base and animal-like. Yet the purportedly more "natural" state of Indians arms them with insights that cut through the trappings and rituals of culture. Black Hawk, though a captive "savage," has his own power of judgment:

The Indians know little of the arts and appliances of civilization, but are stern judges of men, and their notions concerning their White brethren are not likely to be much elevated by "the stupid starers and the loud huzzas" that greet them at every turn. (*Albany Argus*, June 28, 1833)

The aggrandized frame thus works in a paradoxical way. It is meant to uplift the "other" above their "natural," "savage," and inferior state. At the same time, it works to emphasize the discordance of, say, a Bushman in a British officer's uniform, an example Bogdan provides that juxtaposes two photographs of the same African man, in one photograph wearing tribal, warrior garb and in the other a British officer's uniform (1988, 113). This particular image illustrates the complexity of a Western aggrandizing perspective, suggesting that the elevation of the "savage" does not serve simply to "civilize" him. Rather, it makes acute the differences between the "savage" and the "civilized": instead of disguising the freak, it emphasizes the *freak in disguise* by highlighting the incongruity of the "savage" and the "civilized" dress. Yet if the gesture of aggrandizement seeks to naturalize the scale of judgment that ascribes superiority and inferiority, "civilization" and "savagery," it also introduces permutations and recalibrations

whose very complications and convolutions implicitly destabilize the self-evidence of that scale. Aggrandizement, in this case, questions the power of Western civilization to truly contain and control this indigenous figure.

Viewing Moy through the aggrandized frame constructed by Noah, it is possible to entertain several ways in which she may have been perceived. For some, she successfully fulfilled her role as an upstanding, high-status, and prestigious person to be admired—a representative or synecdoche of the venerable and economically powerful China. For others, her appeal may have been precisely the novelty of seeing the “savage” in disguise, the barbaric, heathen world of China approximating Western high-class affectations, and the pleasure perhaps in seeing the failure of the performance, assuring that they will never truly succeed in assimilating (Homi Bhabha’s concept of mimicry). For yet others, there may have been something more threatening than entertaining in seeing the power and legitimacy granted Chinese or Native American figures in their appropriation of the customs of Anglo-American civilization. While Moy wore Chinese dress, her reception of guests in a parlor recalls the habits of Western domestic performance (McClintock 1995, 219; Haltunen 1982, 101–11). This aspect of her performance might stimulate fear that the barbarian would appropriate and redefine Western civilized rituals: they would no longer be merely an act or a guise but, rather, these markers of civilization would be transformed by the performer. And indeed, with the influx of Chinese goods and attendant practices like tea-drinking, collecting European chinoiserie, etc., Chinese culture was in fact reshaping Anglo-American upper-class culture as well as middle-class domestic life (Tchen 1991, 64; Haddad 2007, 80; Kuo 1930).

These representations of Black Hawk and Moy present their own complications, as they can be read both “straight” and ironically. The readings interact with each other to create a textured set of meanings that reflect truths, anxieties, projections, and the slippages in socially sanctioned meanings. If, for example, we take at face value Noah’s comment about proving to Moy that (Anglo-) Americans are not barbarians, we can discern a certain amount of self-consciousness and anxiety, that undermines the authoritative and distant gaze of the colonial journalist. If the power of surveillance relies on the concealment of the body of the observer (Spurr 1993), then, by placing his own image within the frame, Noah exposes the dominant culture’s anxiety about its own purported sophistication. To dominant subjects, Moy is supposed to serve as a mirror of their positive self-regard. Instead, her impassivity only highlights their own ridiculous behavior, sparking their fear of appearing barbaric in comparison. Alternatively, we could read this comment ironically and see Noah mobilizing a critique of China’s reputed decadence and decay, due to its excess of civilization, and projecting it onto the luxury of the high-class exhibit. This might be a mockery of China’s purported superiority, its arrogance and haughtiness reflected in the exhibit. Both cases reflect attendant anxieties embedded in discourses of civilization, status, and superiority. The ironic reading would reveal dissent in the larger cultural discourse that valorizes Chinese culture in the ways that the

original exhibit proprietors obviously hoped. Nevertheless, the irony also attests to the anxiety that Americans actually might admire and feel inferior to the Chinese even as they strove to establish themselves above them. Hyperbolizing an ironic American-as-barbarian theme for journalistic and marketing effect reveals a deeper, subconscious cultural anxiety that parallels early American attempts to overcome a sense of “provincial inferiority” in comparison to more cosmopolitan societies in Europe (Bushman 179) and, as Karen Sanchez-Eppler argues, the cosmopolitan culture of China (2007, 306).²⁰ A similar effect is at work in the accounts of Black Hawk that are as critical of the sympathetic white audience as they are of Indian “savagery.” Ironically, such criticisms valorize Indian stoicism and refer to it as a standard of comportment to which whites themselves have failed to live up, and which they fear would call down Indian judgment on their stupidity and mawkishness.

While analyzing the juxtaposition of different valuations of Moy and Black Hawk, we can further discern on the pages of contemporary newspapers the encounter between Anglo-American self-image and otherness. Newspaper representations reflect the dominant settler perspective, which reminds us that even as we seek to explore the interactions of non-dominant groups “on their own terms,” we cannot ignore state power or the mediating influence of the political, economic, and social contexts of horizontal interactions (Lee and Shibusawa 2005). Scheckel (1998) asserts that “Black Hawk, as spectacle, served as a “mirror in which Americans could see a positive reflection of themselves and the meaning of their history” (108–109). However, it is our contention that the mirror *also* reflected back self-images that were less positive.

In the cases of Afong Moy and Sarah Winnemucca, recurrence is not only something deployed by the newspapers but is among the strategies that texture the rhetorical situations of each figure. Such strategies do not necessarily belong to any particular speaker but become part of the tapestry of the culture represented by newspaper discourse. So we can also speak of when and how Moy or Winnemucca are subject to or deploy rhetorical strategies that recur—along with the recurrence of tropes in a landscape in which they are imbricated as both subjects and objects—in contexts that construct them as particular kinds of beings within common patterns across seemingly distinct boundaries of history, politics, nationality, and race. In the following section, we explore how juxtaposition works in the representation of Sarah Winnemucca and of Chinese people in the late nineteenth century, alongside Winnemucca’s own attempts to speak back to those representations.

LATER ENCOUNTERS: SARAH WINNEMUCCA AND THE CHINESE

By mid-century, popular representations of the Chinese had become more venomous, a shift in perspective that historians attribute to their increased presence among and interactions with white Americans, the transnational movement of labor, and the economic repercussions of China’s loss in the Opium

Wars (Ruskola 2005; Hung 2003). Chinese laborers did not immigrate to the US in large numbers until the California Gold Rush in 1849. Most of the encounters between Asian (and other) immigrants and indigenous populations at this time were mediated by colonial exigencies and were largely designed to create division and competition among laborers.²¹ In the postbellum era, American Indians and Chinese were juxtaposed with surprising regularity, often staged in opposition to each other. A popular song “Big Long John, a Chinaman” published in 1874 described an Indian scalping Big Long John and cutting off his queue. Robert G. Lee reads the song as “an opportunity to bring the ‘savage’ Indian back into the narrative of race relations,” with the Native American “welcomed as the tormentor of . . . [the] superfluous [Asian] presence” (1999, 40–41). Indians and Chinese were constructed, that is, as enemies.

Relationships between the Chinese and white communities were no less tense, however. Edwin J. McAllister (2007) has argued that late-nineteenth-century novels and short stories by white authors frequently portray a fear of the Chinese who threaten to give whites a dose of their own medicine, crowding them out or enervating them with disease, as whites themselves had done to Native Americans. That whites’ view of the Chinese was shaped by their own relationship to indigenous populations is just one indication of the real and imagined links between all three populations. Sarah Winnemucca was positioned in a unique way amid these relationships and the rhetoric that sustained them. Considering both Winnemucca’s relations with the Chinese and popular representations of the link between these populations thus gives us a new perspective on their mutually constituted identities.

In the final decades of the nineteenth century, Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins confronted a prominent media culture on the West Coast in which the newspaper served a key function. As John Coward demonstrates, a combination of changes created more streamlined representations of American Indians than those in the antebellum press, despite a significant increase in the number of news outlets. Reporters were often influenced by the dominant culture’s assumptions regarding racial hierarchy and faith in the United States’ manifest destiny. While the telegraph allowed for brief, recent Indian news from the West, which typically decontextualized violence and allowed for editors’ biased speculation, newly formed associated presses had an “unchallenged ability to portray Indians in conventional ways in hundreds of papers every day” (Coward 1999, 17). Most non-Native newspapers supported dominant cultural beliefs and effaced or obscured alternative ones, resulting in a “fundamental lack of understanding of native people and their cultures” (Coward 1999, 160).²²

As with Moy, Winnemucca was often aggrandized as an elite or exotic figure. The *San Francisco Chronicle* of November 1879 describes Winnemucca Hopkins as a “Civilized Indian Woman” who had come to the city to lecture, protected by army officers who would “see her safe through this wilderness of civilization, our city.” In this interesting turn of phrase, she is represented as more civilized than the city itself. Like Moy decades earlier, she is thus figured as the quintessential

“lady.” Interviewed in a hotel suite, the article offers a particularly compelling example of this treatment as it situates her in a complex position as both a hostess and a guest, two positions that ascribe to her a certain gentility. The article begins by announcing that the city of San Francisco “will be honored in giving entertainment to a genuine princess,” but as soon as the reporter arrives at her hotel, she seems to be the one in charge of the entertainment: in a conventional nineteenth-century manner, he sends up his calling card, which she accepts. The setting seems important here: it is obviously an upscale hotel, with a parlor-like setting for greeting guests that allows her to engage in the kind of genteel domestic ritual that would confer respectable social status at the time. Upon reaching her room, “the reporter was warmly welcomed by a resolute shake of a small, soft hand, and in spite of his protests was seated in the softest chair in the room, from which the Princess herself had just risen.” This description constructs her as a genteel lady who is nonetheless in charge of the interaction. She moves from the “softest chair”—a kind of throne—and offers it to him in a gesture of hospitality. Her “small, soft hand” is appropriately feminine, though the “resolute shake” suggests an authority becoming of a more masculine figure. Part of her appeal, it seems, is her androgyny: she is both the deferent hostess and the authoritative host, a combination that invokes differently gendered registers of gentility.

Such representations suggest that Winnemucca was subject to journalistic techniques similar to those used in the earlier part of the century to describe Afong Moy and Black Hawk. While the regional, political, and historical exigencies differ, we can see the recurring interest in anthropometric details, dress, and countenance as the writer comments on her appearance:

She compares favorably with other women. She is of medium height, apparently about thirty years of age; broad-shouldered and straight. Her features are regular and expressive. Her prevailing expressions are resoluteness and courage, mingled with good nature. Her movements are quick, but womanly and soft withal, her manners quiet and very self-possessed. (*San Francisco Chronicle*, November 14, 1879)

Contradictions of these various representations occasionally converge in what Carla Peterson has described in another context as an “empowering oddness” (quoted in Brooks 2006, 6). As an article in the *Daily Alta California* notes, “Sarah’s manner of speaking is most decidedly odd, and because of its oddity, attractive.” These words invoke both the aggrandizement and exoticism that permeated representations of Moy, suggesting a similar insecurity in the white spectator about Winnemucca’s comparable civility.

Such aggrandizement and exoticism existed alongside a more disparaging representation of the Native American or Chinese prostitute. Mixed with accusations of drunkenness, rumors about Winnemucca’s alleged sexual impropriety were used to associate her with the vilified Chinese and to undermine the authority she enjoyed in her lectures and in newspaper representations. Powerful white men of the so-called “Indian Ring,” an ostensibly sympathetic Indian reform organization based in the eastern United States, used this

particular representation to discredit Winnemucca's accusations against Indian agents. These representations most often took the form of letters sent to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in Washington, DC, particularly in the months surrounding her visit to the capital in January 1880. A letter from discharged soldier Thomas O'Keefe is typical; he writes that

in consideration of a bottle of whiskey and \$5 I had illicit intercourse with the said Sarah Winnemucca; that between November 1st and December 20th 1878 the said Sarah Winnemucca sent me notes to meet her for the purpose of having intercourse with her; that in consideration of whiskey furnished her I had intercourse with the said Sarah Winnemucca between the dates specified; that she lived in open prostitution with John Gum, an enlisted man of Co. "K" 1st Cavalry; that her reputation for veracity among citizens and soldiers is bad, the general impression being that she could be bought for a bottle of whiskey. (Quoted in *The Case of Sarah Winnemucca* 2007, 118)

Agent William Rinehart, her most vocal enemy, declared that "one of my white employees saw her in bed with an Indian man in the mess house" (*The Case* 2007, 125). That Rinehart makes note of the employee's whiteness suggests his desire to give a sense of validity to the employee's testimony: it was a white man's—and therefore an ostensibly trustworthy—account of her liaison. Many reporters used Winnemucca's alleged promiscuity to manufacture a rather degrading image: the *Reno Crescent* of February 1873, for example, refutes more complimentary portraits, describing "a woman calling herself Sarah Winnemucca, and representing herself a Piute princess of the blood royal; but who is in reality a common Indian strumpet." Moreover, Winnemucca is accused by W. W. Johnson of being "addicted to the vices of drunkenness, gambling and common prostitution" (*The Case* 121). As biographer Sally Zanjani notes, while Winnemucca is known to have drunk alcohol and gambled on occasion, these charges of prostitution were completely without merit, a conclusion Zanjani reaches in part because the local newspapers, which delighted in reporting every detail—good and bad—about Winnemucca, never mentioned such activity (2001, 207).

The March 1875 article "Indian Rows" from the *Humboldt Register* reports a fight between Winnemucca and a woman known as "Snake River Sal" who had also challenged her reputation: "Of course the Princess could not, or would not, submit to such defamation of character, and her royal blood boiled in her veins; which was heated to a high degree by an overdose of the elixir of life known as China brandy" (*Humboldt Register*, March 19, 1875). This line is significant not least for its account of the rather "unladylike" degree to which Winnemucca would defend her status as a lady. Here, the aggrandized representation of her as a princess and lady is used against her. Her purported behavior is made even more scandalous by associating her with *China* brandy, a cheap and largely unpalatable product.

As these examples illustrate, accusations of Winnemucca's sexual impropriety were often linked to substance abuse, a link also made in representations of Chinese women.²³ Western reporters wanted to show the "true" Winnemucca as

distinguished from the benign portrait of her rendered by Eastern newspapers. As an Idaho newspaper claimed in 1878, “The truth about Sarah Winnemucca is, that she is a drunken strumpet” (*Idaho Avalanche*, July 27, 1878). She was frequently described as drinking before, after, and even during lectures. When she threatened a reporter for suggesting in print that she had been drunk, the newspaper responded, “A drunken savage, who threatens to take the life’s blood of a white person, should be given to understand that there is such a thing as a jail in the community” (*Silver State*, February 16, 1880). In this instance, claims of drunkenness—in this case directly linked to “savagery”—serve as a weapon to discredit her.²⁴ These negative representations of Winnemucca are recurrences of the discourse of the “leprous Chinese” in their opium dens, described in our opening section, and the characterization of Chinese women as prostitutes. These contemporary notions were promulgated by the Act to Prevent the Kidnapping and Importation of Mongolian, Chinese, and Japanese Females, for Criminal and Demoralizing Purposes, which assumed all Asian women settlers were prostitutes (Lape 2000, 92) and further legitimated by the Page Act in 1875, which barred the entry of prostitutes. In practice, the Page Act limited the immigration of all Asian women.

Again, sex and drugs are commingled to project a doubly corrupt and sinful figure. Christopher Corbett notes that late-nineteenth-century newspapers made frequent mention of Chinese women who abused opium. He references an article in the *Virginia Evening Chronicle* of September 11, 1875, describing a Chinese woman who attempted suicide by taking opium (2010, 115). And as Edwin J. McAllister reminds us, the link between Chinese “invasion” and drug use is also suggested by the fact that the US signed a treaty with China barring the importation of opium on the same day that the Chinese Exclusion Act was passed (2007, 149). This further elides the irony that the British Empire introduced opium grown in western-controlled plantations in South Asia and the Middle East to China, with the US later joining in on the lucrative trade. Further, the American Federation of Labor, in arguing for the Exclusion Act of 1882, accused the Chinese of bringing “nothing but filth, vice and disease” (quoted in Saxton 1971, 271) to the Pacific coast region. Seen as especially potent contaminants, Chinese prostitutes in San Francisco were said to carry a more dangerous form of venereal disease (McAllister 2007, 148).

Recurring journalistic patterns of representation link Native and Chinese women through suggestions of sameness, a kind of consolidation of an othered female subject into one mold. Juxtapositions provided by newspapers also suggest other relationships, like the conflict described earlier in Long John Chinaman, or in the case of an article in the *Humboldt Register* of March 1875 that linked Native and Chinese communities in explicit terms. Describing Chinese “venders [*sic*] of whisky” who sell to Indians and risk the ensuing bedlam, the article comments: “We may expect to see both of China towns in flames at any time; and we could not blame the Indians either. The Chinese know better than to give them liquor; but if they will persist in so doing they will certainly suffer by it; even if the

Whites are endangered, also" (*Humboldt Register*, March 19, 1875). Here American Indians, Chinese, and whites are all linked by the threat of alcohol abuse and its commensurate violence, although not in equivalent ways. Like a parent admonishing an older child, the reporter claims that the Chinese "know better than to give" American Indians alcohol, presumably because Indians cannot help but suffer its effects.

While the previous discussion juxtaposes the images, rhetoric, and ideologies that bring Chinese and Native Americans into a kind of staged encounter to serve the interests of dominant subjects, we also see horizontal encounters in which Winnemucca is an active agent. Winnemucca was not simply clay in the hands of the mainstream newspapers; rather, she manipulated dominant rhetoric about the Chinese to further her own cause. As Winnemucca told a San Francisco audience:

I have come here to lay down the facts, good or bad, in behalf of my people. But people say of the Indians, "Exteramain [*sic*] them," "exterminate them!" My friends, they would not say this of the Chinamen or the negro. (*Alta California*, December 4, 1879)

Winnemucca made such comments out East as well. In a Baltimore speech she noted that "the negro, Chinaman and every other foreigner is welcomed here, but your hand, your doors, your hearts are turned against us. Broken down, we are worse than the negro, whom you fought for and set free" (*Baltimore American*, January 6, 1884). Despite evidence to the contrary—not the least of which were the widespread sentiments and local policies that eventually led to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882—the Chinese thus became a useful tactical foil in her argument about the mistreatment of Native Americans.

In a report in the *Daily Alta California*, Winnemucca is described calling out the preferential treatment that the Chinese received, in comparison to American Indians:

The Chinese, said she, sometimes do fearful things, and commit horrible murders, but you search for those men for two or three years until you catch them, and when they are caught you punish them. You don't attack all the Chinese who are with you. No, you let them live with you. You take all the natives of the earth to your bosom but the poor Indian, who is born of the soil and who has lived for generations on the lands which the good God has given to them, and you say he must be exterminated. (Thrice repeated, with deep passion, and received with tremendous applause). (*Daily Alta California*, December 4, 1879)

Undoubtedly aware of the degree of anti-Chinese sentiment of the time, Winnemucca took advantage of these feelings in order to emphasize the Native connection to the land—an argument that necessarily emphasized the Chinese as outsiders. Here Winnemucca uses the rhetoric of the excluded Native American—the "real" American—against the "foreign" Chinese, attempting to distinguish Native Americans from the Chinese in terms of their national "belonging." In constructing an image of the Chinese as an unfairly welcomed

outsider and the Native American as the legitimate insider who is unjustly excluded, Winnemucca offered a variation on or modulation of the anti-Chinese rhetoric of the late nineteenth century, arguing that the Chinese had been granted an unearned membership in the American nation-state that Native Americans were unfairly denied.

Unlike Winnemucca, the mainstream press tended to lump Chinese and Native Americans together, characterizing them together as undesirable: both threats to the “American” who was, by default, white. The article “Miller’s Speech: Synopsis of an Earnest Appeal to Congress” goes so far as to collapse images of Native Americans and the Chinese. In this article, the “impressible American”—the white farm laborer—becomes the exemplar of the degrading influence of the Chinese:

Forced into competition with them, [the white laborer] adopts their nomadic habits, and has no home in the family he serves, but is a “blanket man” who works in the fields during planting and harvest seasons. His shelter is the straw stack and his food is anything he can get. (*San Francisco Bulletin*, February 28, 1882)

The Chinese influence is made even more menacing when it is associated with stereotypes of American Indians as “nomadic” and primitive, sporting the “blanket” that was said to be an emblem of their difference. The fairly arbitrary ways in which Indians and Chinese are grouped together or distinguished from each other show the range and flexibility of various rhetorical strategies both by newspapers and by Native speakers like Winnemucca.

Contemporary newspapers suggest that at times Winnemucca’s efforts to distinguish the Northern Paiutes from the Chinese were also manifested in her caution about avoiding interethnic violence, which allowed her to portray Northern Paiutes as the more “civilized.” Her call for restraint followed years of conflict between Native Americans, Chinese immigrants, and white settlers.²⁴ Chinese presence in places like Carson City, Nevada, was increasingly met with resistance: the Carson City *Index* of March 5, 1882, for instance, announced a meeting of residents supporting anti-Chinese immigration legislation that the governor was considering (quoted in Armstrong 58). Northern Paiutes shared this sentiment; as Arif Dirlik writes, “The Paiutes seized many opportunities to ridicule and to physically attack the Chinese; and they often bragged to newspaper reporters that there would be a massacre if the whites would not interfere” (1996, 142). An article in the *Reese River Reveille* on November 20, 1884, indicates the complexity of Winnemucca’s relationship with the Chinese: while she criticized what she perceived as their preferable treatment by whites in the case of crime, she discouraged the Northern Paiutes from avenging an apparent murder of a Paiute by a Chinese man: “Princess Sarah Winnemucca was in Carson Tuesday, and by her counsel prevented an assembled crowd of Piutes [*sic*] from making an attack on Chinatown. It appears that the Piutes hold the Chinese responsible for the recent murder of one of their number.” Her actions proved prescient, as it was later discovered that it was not the Chinese man but a member of the

Washoe tribe, another group indigenous to the Great Basin, who had committed the murder (Zanjani 2001, 259).

Given Winnemucca's awareness and conscientious manipulation of her public image, it is likely that her decision to stop the attack was at least in part motivated by her desire to intervene in the portrayal of Native Americans as wayward children that could not control their violent impulses. It was a direct response, in other words, to popular accounts of Indian (and her own) recklessness. In this sense we might liken Winnemucca to the Chinese-American writer Sui-Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton) who, as Todd Vogel (2004) has argued, challenged white stereotypes of the Chinese—but did so by reinforcing white, middle-class values of “respectability.”²⁵

We see in the juxtaposition of Moy, Black Hawk, and Winnemucca the recurrence of several tropes and modes of representation. The juxtaposition of the “civilized” vs. the “savage” is a familiar one. However, what we see through the comparatist lens is the transferability of these concepts, even to the extent that they are used to construct and critique white barbarism against both a native and a foreign sophistication. In addition, we see the related cultural construct of respectability, both at its peak form of cultural anxiety in the nascent formation of US national identity, especially reflected in the East Coast in the 1830s, and in the late nineteenth century in West Coast newspapers. In the dominant narrative of the 1830s, Native Americans are the displaced indigenous people—the internal enemy—who challenge colonizers' rights. The Chinese are not yet the foreign immigrants who threaten to displace the colonizers or the Native Americans; they are seen more as visiting dignitaries, although marked through aggrandizement and exoticism as equivocal and other. Thus, national identity based on notions of respectability is measured against Black Hawk and Moy. Although included in similar categories of the civilized, they function both to reaffirm white superiority and to threaten it.²⁶ In the 1870s and 1880s, the tides turned, with Indians and Chinese posed in opposition to each other in ways that serve the interests of the dominant group. They were also grouped together and conflated, suggesting a negotiation and construction of a national identity based in opposition to two defining identities/locations: the displaced indigenous people who challenge colonizers' rights and the foreign immigrants who threaten to displace these colonizers.

When we look at Moy and Winnemucca side by side, we see a recurrence of the tropes of the princess,²⁷ the anthropometric evaluation, and the dignified hostess, reflections of what David Spurr calls the “rhetoric of empire” articulated in Western journalism (1993). These articles also demonstrate Said's understanding of cultural identities formed and existing in an “array of opposites, negatives, opposition” (1994, 52). What may seem, then, like coincidental juxtapositions of Chinese and American Indians in the late-nineteenth-century newspaper in fact signal both the way that Chinese and Northern Paiute identities were formed in relation to one another and one Native American's attempt to manipulate these representations.

CONTRIBUTIONS

In the essays that follow, Native and Asian American authors, their texts, and modes of their cultural construction are put side by side within an expansive frame of alternative contact. Some contributions juxtapose literary texts with historical landmarks, like Alcatraz Island, while others consider representations in a variety of media: film, graphic fiction, museum exhibits, and photographs. In “Competition, Complicity, and (Potential) Alliance: Native Hawaiian and Asian Immigrant Narratives at the Bishop Museum,” Lisa King poses a productive answer to the complex question of how to juxtapose these literatures and traditions without erasing their unique statuses. King argues that a study of the Hawaiian Hall of Honolulu’s Bishop Museum alongside the temporary exhibit “Tradition and Transition,” which focuses on Asian immigrant cultures, yields a critical point:

These two seemingly distinct, closed, and even contradictory narratives of life on the Hawaiian islands compete with one another. . . [but], if read with an eye toward the mechanisms of colonialism and settler colonialism, they can be read together under an Indigenously based alliance as a critique of the systems that created the exigencies for each of these narratives. (44)

As a museum founded by a white settler, the museum itself (like most institutions of this sort) is steeped in settler history and privilege; yet recently Hawaiian Hall was renovated to be more Indigenous-centered. In the process, the hall inadvertently took up some of the space once devoted to Asian immigrants. The temporary exhibit was developed in response.

King demonstrates that although each exhibit appears to challenge US dominance—Hawaiian Hall, for example, by using the Native Hawaiian language throughout and the Asian American exhibit by describing the discrimination endured by Japanese immigrants to the area—neither can risk telling the complete (or at least a more completer) story, an absence that for King marks the narratives’ origin in settler ideology. More specifically, Hawaiian Hall can only present the Japanese as immigrants rather than full members of the society, while the temporary exhibit renders Native Hawaiians as the “vanishing Indians” who are gradually replaced by Asians. The answer to such a quandary, King argues, is an alliance that originates in indigenous and Asian-American studies. Hawaiian Hall might offer examples of how Asian Americans allied with Native Hawaiians before and after the US takeover; the temporary exhibit might include a Native Hawaiian concept of citizenship instead of limiting itself to the American model. King’s project thus demonstrates what Lai and Smith call the “ethical relationships” raised by alternative encounters (2010, 408).

King’s article contributes to one of the most productive sites of inquiry in Native and Asian American studies: the Pacific. The fraught nature of any casual juxtaposition of the two populations is symbolized, however, in the erasure of indigeneity in the term “Asian or Pacific Islander.” As Lisa Kahaleole Hall has noted, this is considered an immigrant-based category, and “Hawaiians’

indigenous identity disappears” when the two are combined (2009, 23). Both Kahaleole Hall and Byrd have discussed how Native Hawaiian women are rendered invisible within Asian American and Native American studies. Those who study Hawai'i often encounter a tension between those among the Native community who assert their sovereignty and distinguish themselves from Asian residents and Asian settlers, who also feel assaulted by colonialism. As Celia Bardwell-Jones asks, are all immigrants colonizers? In other words, how might we attend to the shared struggles of these groups while still acknowledging their distinct histories? (2010) A number of scholars who have studied the Pacific note that while both indigenous groups and immigrants to these regions have unique histories, they both benefit from a consideration of their colonial relationship to the United States: in Dean Itsuji Saranillio's words, this is a case of “overlapping without equivalence” (2005, 57). All of the authors in this issue attempt to make these distinctions explicit.

Like King, Paul Lai seeks to narrate possible conversations between the Asian and Native American identities that have been precluded under a colonialist US regime. Lai believes that part of this process involves not simply the redistribution of power to disadvantaged groups, but the dismantling of the power of the settler colonial state itself. In “Militarized Friendship Narratives: Enemy Aliens and Indigenous Outsiders in Cynthia Kadohata's *Weedflower*,” Lai takes up the relationship between a Japanese-American girl and a Mohave boy in Cynthia Kadohata's novel *Weedflower*, arguing that their friendship critiques militarism and accordingly the logic of US settler colonialism. Their friendship offers us, Lai suggests, “an imaginative moment of contact between individuals otherwise typically separated in historical narratives” (68). The friendship that Kadohata imagines is further significant, Lai suggests, because of the historical unlikelihood of such relationships: the colonial state, in other words, discourages interaction and in fact produces animosity to service its own agenda, an animosity reminiscent of that in the nineteenth-century context we describe in this introductory essay. This unconventional friendship allows for a larger revision of US history and its understanding of space: the land, for example, is here occupied in complex ways rather than an empty wilderness waiting to be “settled.” Lai's analysis offers us, then, an alternative conceptualization of Native/Asian relations in the United States.

One of the potential pitfalls of juxtaposing Asian immigrant and indigenous populations is assuming their equivalence. In her analysis of photographer Seiki (Shoki) Kayamori, a Japanese immigrant who lived among the Tlingit tribe of Yakutat, Alaska, in the early twentieth century, Juliana Hu Pegues argues that Kayamori's experience helps us formulate a more precise differentiation between settler and immigrant by exploring the complex relations between native and immigrant identities. In her words, “Asian and Native experiences of colonialism are never discrete but, rather, are contingent and overlapping processes that produce multiply authored counter narratives premised upon diverse gazes” (91). Through these photographs, Hu Pegues traces Kayamori's

complex position distinct from a settler identity and both affiliated with and apart from the Native community.

In her essay “The Optics of Interracial Sexuality in Adrian Tomine’s *Shortcomings* and Sherman Alexie’s *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven*,” Jolie Sheffer seeks to expand Lai and Smith’s concept of alternative contact, so that it becomes a kind of methodology rather than a subject. In other words, instead of focusing on encounters between Asians and Native Americans, Sheffer pulls the camera back to juxtapose narratives by and about Native and Asian men looking at white women. Sheffer takes a comparative approach, focusing on the gaze of the man of color upon a white woman in Sherman Alexie’s first short-story collection *The Lone Ranger and Tonto Fistfight in Heaven* (2005) and Adrian Tomine’s graphic novel *Shortcomings* (2007). This comparative analysis reveals that in both narratives, heterosexual cross-racial relationships are rife with tension as racial history, masculinity, and sexuality are at odds. Within the dominant narratives of US popular culture, Native and Asian men are encouraged to direct their desires to white women. Both are left with a whiteness that signals absence, and are thus forced to reimagine their identities. It is queerness, Sheffer suggests, that offers the most potential for egalitarian cross-racial relationships.

In “‘This Isn’t Your Battle or Your Land’: The Native American Occupation of Alcatraz in the Asian American Political Imagination,” Catherine Fung explores the idea of affinity as a form of alternative contact. Fung uses two novels and an Asian-American newspaper to consider how the event of the Indian occupation of Alcatraz in 1971 was constructed and how it is remembered in Asian-American communities. Fung offers “not a comparative model of analysis that attempts to trace the similarities between how Asian Americans and Native Americans have been subjected and have responded to that subjection, but rather an exploration of how political affinities can emerge in spite of, and because of, difference” (150). Fung’s focus on specific sites, such as Alcatraz Island and Angel Island—a place that processed Asian immigrants in the first half of the twentieth century—enables us to trace the literal expansion of the US empire. This is an expansion that both groups have narrated and, in so doing, resisted, modeling a self-determination that is neither identical nor at odds. Like many of our other contributors, Fung draws from the work of Jodi Byrd to consider how the histories of Asian Americans and Native Americans collide in specific sites under a colonial system that seeks “to maintain the promises of liberal democracy” (161). It is only appropriate, then, that this issue concludes with a few words by Byrd herself.

Jodi Byrd’s call for an examination of the “horizontal struggles among peoples with competing claims to historical oppressions” (2011, xxxiv) structures our approach to Moy, Black Hawk, and Winnemucca. By focusing on the interactions between American Indians and Asian Americans, rather than only on either of those groups’ encounters with white communities, we see the relationships of “contact, competition, conflict, and commensalism” that Daniel Liestman has identified (1999, 325). In turn, attention to the complexity of such relationships

allows us to envision American Indians and Asian Americans as actors in a historical context rather than mere projections of dominant desires. In her examination of John Collier's speech to the Japanese internment camp on the Colorado River Reservation in 1942, Byrd argues that Collier used the language of democracy to offer the prisoners an ostensible route to citizenship: "first go native and then carve democracy out of the wilderness" (2011, 192). Despite their disenfranchisement at this moment, the Japanese functioned as would-be settlers who might "civilize" what had been American Indian land. The Japanese thus became "internal" citizens in direct opposition to "external" Native Americans—even, ironically, when their American citizenship was denied. The challenge, as Byrd suggests, is to acknowledge US efforts to "make native the foreign through an abandonment of the foreign to the native" (229). The transit of empire has depended, in other words, on a precise colonial managing of groups like American Indians and Chinese immigrants—a managing that, as the nineteenth-century newspaper demonstrates, was never comfortably, unequivocally, or entirely accomplished.

NOTES

We would like to credit and thank Jessica Rucki for her research assistance and for editing and proofing this essay.

- ¹ Not unimportant to our overall discussion, the Seminole Wars were an example of alternative contact and cooperation as Blacks and Indians fought together against the settlers. This article notes, "Five Indians, and a negro that was with them, were seen to fall, and were supposed to have been killed" (*New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 27, 1836).
- ² While many studies of the West have considered the presence of Chinese laborers in nineteenth-century mining camps or the construction of the railroad, relatively few have juxtaposed the two to examine the historical tensions and collaborations of these historic encounters. Dirlik's study (1996) of Chinese immigrants in the American West is one exception, as is Michael Hittman's account of Corbett Mack, a Northern Paiute man who was addicted to opium in the early twentieth century. As the book details, Mack was just one of the many Northern Paiutes who depended on Chinese for various forms of opium as he worked in the potato fields of Nevada. Hittman describes a "geography of addiction" (1996, 169) that originated in the mining camps late in the nineteenth century and then spread to towns like Sweetwater and Carson City. According to Dirlik, Chinese and Northern Paiutes also seemed to share an interest in gambling: Dirlik notes that the Chinese introduced the lottery game *bak gop bui* to Nevada (1996, 112). Not all interactions were negative, of course; a productive relationship existed, for example, between Chinese farmer Tom Low and his wife and the larger community at McDermit. The fact that Mrs. Low spoke Cantonese, English, and Paiute indicates some degree of collaboration with the local Native community in the very early twentieth century (99).
- ³ We would like to thank Graham MacPhee for his thoughtful reading of our earlier drafts and for providing this particular phrasing for our methodological work here.
- ⁴ Also see Belasco (2002) on juxtaposition as a methodology for analyzing nineteenth-century newspapers. More recently, it has been incorporated in the field of new media

studies. We find it productive as an “intellectual challenge” (Rice 2007, 82) that forges connections across distinct texts.

- 5 Moy’s appearances are not especially remarkable in the context of other human exhibits of the time. Moy is part of a constellation of representations of curiosities and amusements, including early versions of the nineteenth-century freak show (Bogdan 1990; Griffin 1998; Levine 1988). In 1810 Saartjie (Sarah) Baartman, among the African women called the “Hottentot Venus,” was put on display in Europe (Gilman 1985; Magubane 2001; Altick 1978; Johnson 2007). In the US, Moy’s contemporaries included Chang and Eng Bunker, known as the Siamese Twins, and Joice Heth, or Aunt Joice, an African-American slave woman who was billed as George Washington’s wet nurse and hence the oldest living woman (Reiss 2010). Other “exotic” persons or icons of Chinese culture were also put on display during this time. Two male Chinese actors, Le-Kaw-hing and T’sow-Chaoong, accompanied the exhibits at the Boston Chinese Museum 1844–50 (Zboray and Zboray 2004; Moon 2005, 59). In 1847, the “Chinese junk” *Keying* provided the public a floating museum of sorts in the port of New York (Moon 2005, 62; Tchen 1991, 63–71). The Peale Museum in Philadelphia put on the very first displays of the Siamese twins’ long career, starting in 1829. In 1850, P. T. Barnum would present the Chinese Family, originally created to accompany the Chinese collection at the American Museum. Other Chinese Americans were used as living statues to market tea (Haddad 2006), as famously remarked upon by Mark Twain in his article “John Chinaman in New York” (1870).
- 6 Mordecai M. Noah printed two lengthy articles about his visit to Afong Moy in the *New York Star* in November 1834. At this time, news stories were widely reprinted and excerpted in other regional papers. Where the original source was not available to the authors, our citations reflect the source of the reprint. Noah is also the author of a pamphlet, “Discourse on the Evidences of the American Indians Being the Descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel” (1837), and the play “She Would be a Soldier; or, The Plains of Chippewa” (Sarna 1981; Gappelberg 1920; Hudson 1873). Black Hawk and his companions are noted to have seen the play (see “New York; American; Appearance” *Albany Argus*, June 25, 1833, 2).
- 7 Trollope wrote scathing and mocking critiques of American manners in her *Domestic Manners of the Americans* (1832). A reference appears in an editorial in Washington, DC’s *Daily National Intelligencer* (April 1, 1885), which groups “Afong Moy, a Faux, or a Trollope” as synonyms for foreign (and female) ignorance or prejudice about American culture.
- 8 Newspaper articles refer to Moy writing her memoirs, comparing them to the writings of Trollope and the popular actress Fanny Kemble (“Miss Afong Moy” in *Baltimore Gazette*, April 4, 1835; see also *Saratoga Sentinel*, May 12, 1835). Further archival work is necessary to recover these writings.
- 9 See Helton (2010) for more on Black Hawk’s reception by female fans.
- 10 Such unexpected irony emerges from the juxtaposition of presumably conflicting representations of the captured “savage” and the civilized guest. Through the concept of the unexpected and his methodology of cultural analysis, Philip J. Deloria looks at “the changes and *persistences* found in the ideological/discursive frames that non-Indians used to generalize their expectations of Indian people” (2004, 12; emphasis added). Here Deloria enables a view of the broader frames of rhetorical acts, which necessitates a close look at the ways dominant discourse functions—not as a way to recenter the

perspectives of dominant subjects but as a way to analyze, question, decenter, and deconstruct.

¹¹ David Spurr's (1993) twelve rhetorical modes include representational practices like aestheticization, classification, debasement, affirmation, negation, idealization, naturalization, and eroticization.

¹² As Said remarks, a "cultural work" must be read for what went into it and what was excluded. It is a "vision of a moment, and we must *juxtapose* that vision within the various revisions it later provoked" (1994, 67; emphasis added). Contrapuntal reading does not provide a "consecutive sequence of events"; each of the works under consideration needs to be seen "in terms of both its own past and of later interpretations." These works "irradiate and interfere with apparently stable and impermeable categories founded on genre, periodization, nationality, or style, those categories presuming that the West and its culture are largely independent of other cultures, and of the worldly pursuits of power, authority, privilege, and dominance" (111).

¹³ Morgan pulls together the ideas of contrapuntal reading, concurrency, and Werner and Benedicte's notion of *histoire croisée* (2006) in her editor's note for a special issue of *Transnational American Studies*. The issue itself is an interesting moment of Native Asian encounter as two special forums are juxtaposed: one on transnational Native American studies and the other on transnational Asian American studies (Morgan 2012).

¹⁴ See Lee (1999); Yung (1995); Tchen (1991); Moon (2005); Moy (1993); and Pfaelzer (2007); also see Palumbo-Liu (1999) and Lowe (1996) for twentieth-century analyses. Indeed, the most substantive treatments of Afong Moy provided in the work by John Haddad (2006; 2007), John Wei Kuo Tchen, Krystyn Moon, and James Moy attempt to bring her out of the footnotes and place her more squarely in the cultural, economic, and social context of her times. These scholars flesh out the archives and help us reconsider how representations of China affected the social, cultural, and economic landscape of the early nineteenth century.

¹⁵ See Hoxie (2001) on various nativist perspectives, including those of Black Hawk's contemporary William Apess. See also Fixico (1996) and Mihesuah (1996) on the ethics of writing American Indian history.

¹⁶ This article provides some insight into Native voices available at the time via the *Cherokee Phoenix* newspaper, edited by Elias Boudinot. It gives us a lead for further exploration of voices of and representations by American Indians.

¹⁷ The persistent reference to Moy's rank bespeaks a nostalgia for the absolutist social hierarchies of the European powers against which the US defined itself against from its very conception (Yoon 2013; Loeb 1994, Lewis 2006). Yet, as Scobey (1992) and Tchen (1991) have argued, the burgeoning American upper and middle classes increasingly sought ways to mark their distinction from the lower classes and others vying for middle-class status. Indeed, Moy's exhibit seems intentionally choreographed to submit to such codes of decorum in efforts to construct the entire performance as a fashionable, high-class, Anglo-American affair. Also see Tchen's (1991) analysis of the lithograph of Afong Moy in a Western-style parlor. The proprietors of her exhibit went to great lengths to create the aura of a high-class event that fits prevailing rituals of polite society, perhaps as a way to distinguish this event from the lower-class theater and sideshow performances that were beginning to emerge in the early 1800s (Levine 1988). Indeed, the newspapers further fed this image by reporting not only on the distinguishing figure of Moy but also by remarking on the distinguished guests who visited her. So, in a city where the promenade and other rituals of seeing and performing

one's social position became a popular pastime for the upper classes (Scobey 1992), a visit to the Chinese Lady would surely mark one's status appropriately. The *Baltimore Patriot* reports that "the rooms of the Chinese Lady, at New York, have been crowded all this week with fashionables. Among the visitors have been a larger number of distinguished individuals." The *Philadelphia Inquirer* reassures that "hundreds of our most respectable citizens, their wives and daughters" have visited the Chinese Lady, making it a most proper, family event ("Miss Afong Moy Has Already Been Visited," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, January 26, 1835.). Indeed, so distinguished were her visitors, the *New York Gazette* reported that even the vice president, "the Hon. Martin Van Buren paid his respects to the Chinese lady yesterday, and expressed himself highly pleased with her cast" (reprinted in the *Haverhill Gazette*, November 22, 1834).

¹⁸ In this early article, Moy is referred to variously as Miss Ching-chang-foo and as Julia Foo-chee-ching-chang-king. These names are reminiscent of Americans' mockery of the Chinese language (Lee 1999). The name Afong Moy is closer to a typical Chinese name. The name listed on the original passenger manifest of the *Washington* was "Auphinoy" (Moon 2005, 59).

¹⁹ There was special interest afforded to Chinese women's bound feet as erotic fetishes and objects of scientific scrutiny. See the article "Small Feet" from the *Chinese Repository*, a newspaper in Canton, which provides a detailed account of the anatomy of a dissected bound foot (from a woman who had drowned) that was sent to the Royal Society.

²⁰ Scholars have noted white Americans' ambivalent view of China and the Chinese (Miller 1967, 1969; Downs 1968, 1997; Greenberg 1991; Goldstein 1991). Western intellectuals imagined China as the cosmopolitan, economic center of global trade, a venerable civilization that gave birth to Confucius, and a technologically advanced society. At the same time, China was the old and declining state that contrasted the new and rising power of the US. Chinese civilization was seen as despotic, with foot binding in particular seen as the emblem of an oppressive, barbaric culture in contrast to America's rational founding principles of democracy and freedom. However, Pomeranz (2000), Frank (1998), Wong (1997), and others suggest re-orienting the history of political economy away from the narrative of Chinese "decline" compared to a Euro-American "rise" in the 1800s. In a complementary move, a more sustained exploration of Occidentalism and material culture in China might help us not just to see the East or its signifiers (like Moy) as passive objects for our interpretation and display, but also to understand the complex ways in which cultural exchange and trade represent struggles for competing representations and interests.

²¹ Accounts of Chinese laborers generally show them populating the West Coast during this time. The urban Chinatowns of the East Coast did not begin to emerge until the 1850s. However, the longer history of transnational movement and exchange helps us see the broader context of such alternative contact. Chinese coolies were taken to South America in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, while Japanese and Korean planters migrated to Hawai'i in the early 1800s to work on the sugar plantations. A particularly useful study of labor relations between Chinese and Native Americans is offered by Renisa Mawani's *Colonial Proximities*, which considers the racial tensions in British Columbian canneries of the late nineteenth century, where 60 per cent of the labor was Chinese: "British canneries connected Europeans and Natives, East and West, and Orient and Occident, disrupting those binaries and providing rich historical evidence of what Said emphasized to be 'overlapping territories' and 'intertwined histories' of European colonialism" (Mawani 2009, 43). In a system in which the white owners

needed cheap labor and yet feared the “contagion” of racial “mixing,” Chinese men were either feminized or represented as tyrants. Indigenous women were considered internal threats who had to be fixed in place, while the Chinese were external threats from whom the dominant society needed to be protected. Mawani’s study reminds us that the real or imagined encounter between Asians and indigenous people in the workplace and other locations was a source of much anxiety in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, when many states had laws against interracial marriage.

- ²² This summary of Coward’s book is taken in part from Cari M. Carpenter and Carolyn Sorisio, *The Newspaper Warrior: Sarah Winnemucca Hopkins’s Public Campaign for American Indian Rights, 1864–1891* (forthcoming).
- ²³ Some accounts exist of other early Chinese women on the West Coast, like Maria Seise, who arrived in Hawai’i as a servant in 1837 and then made it to San Francisco in 1848, contemporaneous with noted prostitute and madam Ah Toy (Yung 1995; Mankiller 1998). Nevertheless, Chinese women were few in number, with only sixteen recorded between 1848 and 1854. By 1870 there was a wider gender disparity: one Chinese woman for every thirteen Chinese men (Mankiller 46). After the Page Act in 1875, the presence of Chinese women in the US was even further limited. See Pfaelzer (2007) for cultural reasons that prevented more Chinese women from immigrating as well as imposed restrictions by Americans both in China and the US that limited the number of Chinese women allowed to enter the West (101–106). See also Takaki (1989).
- ²⁴ Many Northern Paiutes resented Chinese immigrants for sending their earnings to China instead of spending them in the community (Dirlik and Yeung 2003, 142). Biographers Gae Whitney Canfield and Sally Zanjani note that Chinese and Native peoples interacted at the railroad, the Lake Winnemucca fishery, and in illicit drug and alcohol sales (Canfield 1983, 59, 215; Zanjani 2001, 125). Some Chinese threatened to cut off supplies of alcohol and opium; in turn, certain Paiutes took it upon themselves to pursue Chinese suspects (Dirlik and Yeung 2003, 142).
- ²⁵ Sui-Sin Far (Edith Maude Eaton) is recognized as the first American writer of Asian descent to be published in North America. She published newspaper articles and short stories throughout her career.
- ²⁶ The concept of civilization has deep ties to gender roles and division of labor; see Kaplan 1998 and Smithers 2009.
- ²⁷ See Sorisio (2011) for analysis of Winnemucca’s performance of the princess role.

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