

NOTES

INTRODUCTION PERIPHERAL VISIONS: REIMAGINING COLONIAL HOKKAIDO

1. The 2011 festival featured, for example, snow exhibits of the famous manga/cartoon character Sazae-san and her family, the Lion King menagerie, Darth Vader, and the 2010 Nobel Prize winner in chemistry Suzuki Akira, as well as ice replicas of the Chinese “Temple of Heaven” and a historic pavilion of Kyoto’s Honganji Temple.
2. The appeal of this phrase in Japan, moreover, is evidenced by Central Japan Railway’s 2003 “Ambitious Japan” campaign. Their Nozomi bullet trains were emblazoned with the phrase, and the famous boy band TOKIO was commissioned to create a promotional song (Ambitious Japan!, 2003). For more information see Laura MacGregor’s article “JR Tokai ‘Ambitious Japan’ Campaign: A Case Study in Advertising,” *Stanford Journal of East Asian Studies* 7 (2007): 39–52.
3. Abashiri Prison was first constructed in 1890, and it continues to function, although in modern buildings, as a correctional facility. I borrow Dani Botsman’s analogy to Alcatraz. See *Punishment and Power in the Making of Modern Japan* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 186. See [chapter 3](#) for more on prisons in Hokkaido.
4. The island historically known by Japanese as *Ezo* or *Ezogashima* before the Meiji period was renamed Hokkaido in August 1869. On occasion I will employ the Ezo/Hokkaido compound to refer to the island during the time from the outbreak of the Boshin War (1868–1869) to around the time of the name change. I use the term *Ezo* to refer to the entire island before Meiji rather than *Ezochi* (Ainu Land), which was a Tokugawa designation of the greater portion of the island in contrast to the much smaller *Wajinchi* (Japanese Land) area. See Emori Susumu’s thorough clarification of the use of the term “wajinchi” in *Hokkaidō kinseishi no kenkyū: Bakuhau taisei to Ezochi* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Kikaku Sentā, 1982), 74–81.
5. This term harkens back to Roman law and means literally “land belonging to no one.” In the United Nations’ Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples, several passages challenge the legality of *terra*

- nullius* and promote the rights of indigenous peoples to seek restitution. See Haunani Kay Trask's *From a Native Daughter: Colonialism and Sovereignty in Hawai'i* (Monroe, ME: Common Courage, 1993), 43.
6. I will make frequent use of the Japanese term, "tondenhei," throughout this work since the cumbersome English equivalent, farming-soldier, lacks the specificity of time and place (i.e., Meiji period, Hokkaido) embedded in the original word.
 7. Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996). Siddle provides a superb history of the subjugation of the Ainu in modern Japan and the resurgence of Ainu ethnic activism beginning in the 1970s, directly addressing the colonial and postcolonial aspects of Hokkaido. See also Komori Yōichi, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection': The Vocabulary of Colonialism," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 60–75. Originally published as "Hogo' toiu na no shihai: shokuminchishugi no bokyaburarii," in *Media, hyōshō, ideogōji: meiji sanjūnendai no bunka kenkyū*, ed. Komori Yōichi, Kōno Kensuke, and Takahashi Osamu (Tokyo: Ozawa Shoten, 1997), 319–334.
 8. The use of "colonial Hokkaido" in this book will roughly overlap with the Meiji era, but I am not unaware of the thorny issue of determining the end of Hokkaido's colonial status. For an excellent treatment of the many facets of Hokkaido's postcolonial condition, see Ōta Kazuo and Torii Kiyokazu, eds., *Hokkaidō to kenpō: chi'iki kara chikyū e* (Tokyo: Hōritsu bunka sha, 2000).
 9. James Edward Ketelaar, "Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State," in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 534.
 10. Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 11–44.
 11. The phrase is *bōryoku to mo iubeki haijo*. Komori Yōichi, "Yuragi" no *Nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1998), 17.
 12. Karatani, *Origins*, 27.
 13. *Ibid.*, 40.
 14. *Ibid.*, 30.
 15. Timothy Mitchell, "Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other," in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 313.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. *Ibid.*, 313–314.
 18. I am cognizant of the potential criticisms of employing the term Ainu Moshir, which means "Land of Humans" in the Ainu language and was used by some Ainu communities to refer to their homeland. I wholly agree with Brett Walker's important statement that "neither the Ainu nor the Japanese were ever a unified ethnic block" before the Meiji era.

He complicates the use of the contemporary use of “Ainu Moshir,” noting the “linguistic regionalism and political disunity that actually prevailed in Ezo.” Brett L. Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590–1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 76. Still, I am sympathetic to, for instance, the Hokkaido Ainu Association’s strategic use of the phrase as a critical contestation of the Japanese state’s previous terms such as the derogatory “Ezochi” (Land of Barbarians) or the unilaterally conferred and Japanese-centric “Hokkaido.” Hanazaki Kōhei uses “Ainu Moshir” in the title of his important critical review of Ainu history under Japanese rule. See “Ainu Moshiri no kaifuku: Nihon no senjūminzoku Ainu to Nihon kokka no tai Ainu seisaku” in *Minzoku, kokka, esunishite—gendai shakaigaku* 24, ed. Inoue Shun (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 93–108.

19. The term *wajin* (literally “Yamato people”) refers to ethnic Japanese and is only used vis-à-vis Ainu within the Ezo/Hokkaido context. The terms used for ethnic Japanese within Ainu communities were *shisam* and *shamo*, meaning neighbor.
20. David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005) and *Capitalism from Within: Economy, Society and the State in a Japanese Fishery* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).
21. Examples include Kaiho Mineo’s *Bakuhansei kokka to Hokkaidō* (Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1978) and *Kinsei Ezochi seiritsushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: San’ichi shobō, 1984), as well as Emori Susumu’s *Hokkaidō kinseishi no kenkyū* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā, 1997).
22. Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 40. See also Mitani Hiroshi, “A Protonation-state and its ‘Unforgettable Other’: The Prerequisites for Meiji International Relations,” in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 293–310.
23. *Ibid.*, 6.
24. *Ibid.*, 5.
25. *Ibid.*, 41.
26. Scholar of Hawaiian Studies, Haunani Kay Trask, quotes the following frank assessment of the process by which the forced conversion of communal lands to private property aided the United States’ occupation and usurpation of Hawai‘i, which seems applicable to the Hokkaido context as well. “In this way . . . Western imperialism had been accomplished without the usual bothersome wars and costly colonial administration.” Trask, *From a Native Daughter*, 8.
27. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (Armonk, New York and London: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 181.
28. David L. Howell, “The Meiji State and the Logic of Ainu ‘Protection,’” in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 612. See also Komori, “Rule in the Name of ‘Protection,’” 60–75.

29. Needless to say, having such treaties did not necessarily guarantee better treatment or conditions as the long history of the United States government unilaterally nullifying legal agreements suggests. Still, I believe they have given leverage to First Nations in their long struggle to gain a modicum of self-governance.
30. See Walker's discussion of ceremony and subordination in early modern Japan in *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 204–226.
31. Howell, “The Meiji State and the Logic of Ainu ‘Protection,’” 616.
32. Today, Ainu are taking a cue from models in Finland, the continental United States, and Hawai‘i, which inspire them to stress the term “self-governance” over “self-reliance” (both pronounced *jiritsu* in Japanese) and advocate for an ethnic-regional self-government, technically permissible under the current Japanese constitution.
33. Brett L. Walker, “Meiji Modernization, Scientific Agriculture, and the Destruction of Japan’s Hokkaido Wolf,” *Environmental History* 9:2 (2004): 260–261.
34. Kayano Shigeru, *Our Land Was a Forest: An Ainu Memoir*, trans. Kyoko Selden and Lili Selden (Boulder: Westview, 1994), 57–70.
35. Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, 182.
36. *Ibid.*
37. Howell, “The Meiji State and the Logic of Ainu ‘Protection,’” 633.
38. Johannes Fabian, *Time and the Work of Anthropology* (Chur: Harwood, 1991), 201.
39. See also Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan*, 86.
40. For more on Chiri Yukie, see Hokkaido bungakukan, ed., *Chiri Yukie: The Road to the Ainu Shin’yōshū* (Noboribetsu: Chiriyukieainushin’yōs hūenomichikankōkai, 2003) and Sarah Strong, *Ainu Spirits Singing: The Living World of Chiri Yukie’s Shin’yoshū* (Honolulu: Hawai‘i University Press, 2011). Emori Susumu, *Ainu no rekishi: Ainu no hitobito*: 2 (Tokyo: Sansēdō, 1987).
41. The full title in Japanese is *Ainu bunka no shinkō narabi ni ainu no dentō ni kansuru chishiki no fukyū oyobi keihatsu ni kansuru hōritsu*, but it is commonly referred to as the “Ainu Culture Promotion Law” or *Ainu bunka shinkō hō*.
42. Protection for fundamental human rights, guaranteed Ainu representation in the legislature, and economic assistance are a few of the concrete proposals made in the Hokkaido Ainu Association’s 1984 proposal for the New Ainu Law (*Ainu shinpō*) that are not addressed in the Ainu Culture Promotion Law.
43. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso, 1991).
44. John F. Howes, ed., *Nitobe Inazō : Japan’s Bridge across the Pacific* (Boulder: Westview, 1995), 79.
45. See the introduction of Robert Tierney’s *Tropics of Savagery: The Culture of Japanese Empire in Comparative Frame* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010), 1–37 and Kota Inoue’s essay “A Little Story of Colonialism: Imperialist Consciousness and Children’s Literature in the

- 1920s,” in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, Critique*, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 188–208.
46. Prasenjit Duara, *Sovereignty and Authenticity: Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003), 9. Italics in original.
 47. Ibid. Italics added.
 48. See Tracey Banivanua Mar and Penelope Edmonds, eds., *Making Settler Colonial Space: Perspectives on Race, Place and Identity* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, England; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); and Daiva Stasiulis and Nira Yuval-Davis, eds., *Unsettling Settler Societies: Articulations of Gender, Race, Ethnicity, and Class* (London: Sage Publications, 1995).
 49. Mark Peattie, “Japanese Attitudes Toward Colonialism,” in *The Japanese Colonial Empire, 1895–1945*, ed. Ramon H. Myers and Mark R. Peattie (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 81.
 50. Carol Gluck, *Japan’s Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1985), 16.
 51. Ibid., 17.
 52. Ibid.
 53. Julia Adeney Thomas, *Reconfiguring Modernity: Concepts of Nature in Japanese Political Ideology* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 75.
 54. Ibid., 74.
 55. Robert Eskildsen, “Of Civilization and Savages: The Mimetic Imperialism of Japan’s 1874 Expedition to Taiwan,” *American Historical Review* 107:2 (2002): 2.
 56. Ibid., 2–3. Italics added.
 57. In reference to Hokkaido, sometimes the term *kaitakushokuminchi* is also used to mean settler colony.
 58. Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson, “Settler Colonies,” in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000), 365–366.
 59. Sandra Buckley, “Japan and East Asia,” in *A Companion to Postcolonial Studies*, ed. Henry Schwarz and Sangeeta Ray (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2000), 321. Italics in the original.
 60. Ōe Shinobu, introduction to *Iwanami kōza: kindai Nihon to shokuminchi I: shokuminchi teikoku nihon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), viii.
 61. Ibid., viii—ix.
 62. Hanazaki, “Ainu Moshiri no kaifuku,” 106.
 63. Kaihō Yōko, “‘I’iki’ no naikakuka to tōgō: Ezochi kara Hokkaidō e,” in *Ezochi to Ryūkyū*, ed. Kuwabara Masato and Gabe Masao (Tokyo: Yoshikawakō Bunkan, 2001).
 64. Tamura Sadao, “Naikoku shokuminchi toshite no Hokkaidō,” in *Iwanami kōza: kindai Nihon to shokuminchi I: shokuminchi teikoku Nihon* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1992), 98.
 65. Ibid., 88 and 96.

66. For some interesting comparisons of Hokkaido and Okinawa see *Hokkaidō to Okinawa* (Sapporo: Sapporo Gakuindaigaku Seikatsu Kyōdōkumiai, 2003) and Mieko Chikappu, *Kaze no megumi: Ainu minzoku no bunka to jinken* (Tokyo: Kabushiki Gaisha Ochanomizu Shobō, 1991), 77–88 and 96–98.
67. For example, Prime Minister Hatoyama stepped down in June 2010, just eight months into his term of office, citing his inability to keep a pledge to remove Futenma US base from Okinawa.
68. See Nomura Kōya's *Muishiki no shokuminchishugi: nihonjin no beigun kichi to okinawajin* (Tokyo: Ochanomizu Shobo, 2005).
69. See the 2010 documentary film *Tokyo Ainu*, directed by Moriya Hiroshi, discussed in [chapter 5](#). *Tokyo Ainu* interweaves interviews with Ainu from a wide variety of backgrounds and experiences and footage of activities related to the revival of Ainu culture and community building in Tokyo and Ainu political activism.
70. Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 22.
71. Tada Kōmon, ed., *Iwakura kōjikki: chūkan* (Tokyo: Hara Shobō, 1968), 703–704. See also Tanaka Akira, *Hokkaido and the Meiji Restoration* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Daigaku Tosho Kankokai, 2006), 26. The proposal is dated February 28, 1869.
72. The *Tōkaidō* (Eastern Sea Route) is one such highway still well-known today. There were also the *Tōsandō* (Eastern Mountain Route), *Hokurikudō* (Northern Land Route), *San'indō* (Mountain Shade Route), *San'yōdō* (Mountain Sun Route), *Nankaidō* (Southern Sea Route), and the *Saikaidō* (Western Sea Route) that linked the five regions of Yamashiro, Yamato, Settsu, Kawachi, and Izumi to the Heian capital.
73. For another interpretation of the significance of the name Hokkaido, see James Edward Ketelaar, “Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State,” 535–536.
74. There have been a number of translations of *kaitakushi*. Donald Calman and John A. Harrison typically use the Japanese term, but offer as possible approximations Pioneering Office and Colonial Office respectively. Richard Siddle settles on Colonisation Commission, while Tessa Morris-Suzuki prefers the Hokkaido Development Agency. After much consideration, I too decided to use Hokkaido Development Agency for the following reasons. The Japanese word primarily suggests opening up land or development and should be distinguished from the verb coined for colonization, *shokuminchika suru*. *Kaitaku* is often used in tandem with *imin* (immigration/emigration) to imply development and settlement. I retain the original connotation to stress the significance of such words in the process of naturalizing Hokkaido as Japanese territory and concealing its colonial status.
75. John A. Harrison, *Japan's Northern Frontier: A Preliminary Study in Colonization and Expansion with Special Reference to the Relations of*

- Japan and Russia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), 64. Italics in the original.
76. For more information on widespread waste and fraud during the Hokkaido Development Agency's regime, see Harrison's chapter titled "Finances and Industrial Development," *Japan's Northern Frontier*, 90–108.
 77. In this work I use the term "to reclaim" cautiously, understanding that it is infused with problematic modern assumptions that nature is man's dominion to be made his again through its destruction.
 78. The most prominent of these are called the "Six Great Imperial Tours" (*roku daijunkō*). For the names, dates, and a discussion of imperial progresses, see Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 42–55.
 79. The Hōheikan Hotel was built in Sapporo just for the emperor's stay. Now, located in Nakajima Park, it is open to the public with plaques that inform visitors of the rooms in which the emperor slept.
 80. Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy*, 53.
 81. Although the editors appropriate a typical artistic pattern of Ainu clothing and artifacts to decorate the cover of the journal, there are no articles that address the indigenous people inside any issues. However, tellingly, there is one drawing titled Karafuto Natives who Immigrated from the Opposite Shore among the many pictures of fish, insects, and plants. Besides this one image of Karafuto Ainu, there are no other humans depicted.
 82. Interestingly, notwithstanding the emphasis on the new era, this article calculates profits and tax revenue in *koku*, or bales of rice, the typical unit of measure of wealth during the Tokugawa period. Kuroda Kiyotaka, "Kaitaku zasshi hakkō no shushi," *Hokkaidō Kaitaku zasshi* 1:2 (1880), 1.
 83. George M. Beckmann, *The Making of the Meiji Constitution* (Westport: Greenwood, 1975), 56.
 84. *Nihonshi dai jiten* (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1992), 671.
 85. This event is depicted in a colorful commemorative wood-block print. See Sakamoto Takao, *Meiji kokka no kensetsu, 1871–1890* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron, 1999), 365.
 86. Edamatsu Shigeyuki and Sugiura Tadashi, eds., *Meiji nyūsu jiten*: 4. (Tokyo: Mainichi Komyunikeshonzu, 1988), 688.
 87. *Ibid.*, 689.
 88. *Ibid.*
 89. In fact, not only was the electoral vote greatly restricted to men who paid a certain amount in taxes, but all residents of Hokkaido, Okinawa, and the Ogasawara Islands were also denied to vote "because the system of local and municipal self-government had not yet been extended to them." R. H. P. Mason, *Japan's First General Election, 1890* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 231.

90. The phrase “beyond the pale” is a particularly apt description since its origins derive from England’s colonization of Ireland. Before England subjugated the entire country during Queen Victoria’s reign, Pale was the area over which England forcibly exercised jurisdiction. It was commonly derogatorily referred to as the very outer fringe of English civilization, and, thus, anything beyond it was unimaginably barbaric and backward.

1 HARVESTING HISTORY: MODERN NARRATIVES FOR PATRIOTIC PIONEERS AND THE IMPERIAL MILITARY

1. In practice, the phrase “age of development” lacks fixed dates, but generally is understood to overlap with the existence of the *tondenhei* system (1874–1904) or the Meiji era (1868–1912).
2. Itō Hiroshi, *Tondenhei no kazoku toshite* (Tokyo: Itō Hiroshi, 1972). Itō, *Tondenhei monogatari* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Kyōikusha, 1984).
3. Itō Hiroshi, *Tondenhei kenkyū* (Tokyo: Dōseisha, 1992).
4. Yamamoto Fumio, *Hokkaidō kaitaku no kutō: tondenhei kazoku monogatari* (Tokyo: Shinpūsha, 2005).
5. The official English translations of the names of these two museums on their websites are the Historical Museum of Hokkaido and the Historic Village of Hokkaido, neither conveying the notion of development in the word *kaitaku*.
6. For numbers of Japanese settlers see Itō, *Tondenhei monogatari*, 7.
7. Enomoto Morie, preface to *Tondenhei kenkyū*, by Itō, 1.
8. A color reprint of “Emperor Meiji Inspecting Yamahana Colonization” (*Meiji tennō Yamahana tonden shisatsu*) can be found in Hirozawa Tokujirō, *Hokkaidō tondenhei emonogatari: Asahikawa bunko 2* (Asahikawa: Sohokkai, 1982), 76. For more on the construction of the representations of the modern emperor see Takashi Fujitani, *Splendid Monarchy: Power and Pageantry in Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).
9. The aggrandizement of the samurai in Hokkaido is also reinforced through works such as Enomoto Morie’s *Samuraitachi no Hokkaidō kaitaku* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shinbunsha, 1993).
10. Despite the vagueness of the term “samurai” in Japanese, I will use it in lieu of the more common Japanese word *bushi* when referring to those having hereditary military status previous to the Meiji period. *Shizoku* and former samurai will be used interchangeably to refer to the approximately 3 million Japanese that fell under this new categorization after the status system of the Tokugawa era was abolished.
11. As a 2006 newspaper article titled “Hokkaido Farmers Beat Odds, Produce Successful Rice Strains” suggests, scientists and farmers have long been working to devise a variety of rice suited for Hokkaido’s climate. Hasegawa Tomokazu, *Japan Times*, December 22, 2006.

12. *Shin hokkaidō shi*. (Sapporo: Hokkaido, 1969–1981), 346. Most settlement programs required men to be married, and historical documents commonly provide numbers of households, which refer only to the male heads of the households and not the many family members that accompanied them to Hokkaido.
13. Itō, *Tondenhei kenkyū*, 297–299.
14. John A. Harrison, *Japan's Northern Frontier: A Preliminary Study in Colonization and Expansion with Special Reference to the Relations of Japan and Russia* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), 61.
15. *Ibid.*, 86.
16. For a discussion of how the national Prostitutes Liberation Law (1872) was counteracted in practice through amendments, which nullified the “unconditional release” clause, by the Hokkaido Development Agency, see Hoshi Reiko, “Hokkaidō ni okeru shōgi kaihō rei,” *Rekishi hyōron* 491 (1991): 67–83.
17. James Edward Ketelaar, “Hokkaido Buddhism and the Early Meiji State,” in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre and Adam L. Kern (Boston: Brill Academic, 1997), 531–548.
18. Itō, *Tondenhei kenkyū*, 297.
19. Itō, *Tondenhei monogatari*, 128.
20. *Ibid.*, 128–134. Itō also highlights the story of one woman, Takahashi Shoei, but focuses narrowly on her conversion to Christianity.
21. Although the exact date of the production of the paintings is unknown, it must have been before 1934, when they were first published in a historical work on Asahikawa ton-den-hei. Hirozawa finished the 88 pages of commentary in 1941.
22. *Hokkaidō sōmubu bunsho ka*, ed. *Kaitaku ni tsukushita hitobito: 3: Hiraku yuku daichi (jyō)* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō, 1965), 158–172.
23. *Tondenhei techō*, 1–2.
24. The Record of Tamaru Chiyono, 15.
25. Itō, *Tondenhei monogatari*, 7. This is repeated in the introduction of Itō's *A Study of Tondenhei*, 5. Although he does address other issues, they are mentioned in passing and much later on.
26. Donald Calman, *The Nature and Origins of Japanese Imperialism: A Reinterpretation of the Great Crisis of 1873* (London: Routledge, 1992), 249.
27. Hokkaidō kyōiku iinkai bunka shiryōshitsu, ed., *Tondenhei* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shinbunsha, 1985), 18–19.
28. *Ibid.*
29. Itō, *Tondenhei kenkyū*, 30.
30. *Ibid.*, 34. The use of “*dochaku*” should be noted. In this context, it does not denote native as in indigenous. This obviously is not suggesting a troop of natives, or Ainu. Here *dochaku* indicates living in a place for an extended period of time or a permanent settling. However, the connotation of native served to reinforce the idea that Hokkaido was part of Japan and that the Japanese belonged there.

31. *Ibid.*, 35.
32. Kuroda was promoted to Director of the Development Agency on August 2, 1874, but even as a deputy director he had been, since as early as 1871, leading virtually all aspects of the office.
33. Itō, *Tondenhei kenkyū*, 84.
34. “The Hokkaido Development Agency and Defense of the Northern Border: Formation of the Tondenhei,” *Tōkyō nichinichi shinbun*, August 1, 1875 in *Meiji nyūsu jiten*: 1, ed. Edamatsu Shigeyuki and Sugiura Tadashi (Tokyo: Mainichi Komyunikeshonzu, 1988), 529.
35. Stephen Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity: Invented Traditions of Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 3. Italics in original.
36. *Ibid.*, 8.
37. *Kojien: 5th Edition* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1998), 1960.
38. *Ibid.*
39. *Hokkaidō kaitaku zasshi* 1 (1880–1881): 7 (Hereafter referred to as HKZ). For later articulations of agrarianism (*nōhonsbugi*), see Carol Gluck’s chapter “The Agrarian Myth and *Jichi*,” in *Japan’s Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 178–203.
40. This short article does not have a title, but is the third article in a section headed “Congratulatory Remarks” (*shukushi*). HKZ 1: 7.
41. HKZ 1: 7.
42. *Ibid.*
43. *Ibid.*, 7–8.
44. *Ibid.*, 270.
45. *Ibid.*
46. *Ibid.*, 272.
47. Hirozawa, *Tondenhei emonogatari*, 10.
48. Tobe Ryōichi, *Gyakusetsu no guntai* (Tokyo: Chūōkōron, 1998), 31.
49. Due to a fire in the main imperial palace some years earlier, the emperor lived at a temporary residence in Akasaka at the time of the insurrection.
50. Tobe, *Gyakusetsu no guntai*, 25.
51. “Gunjin kunkai,” in *Nihon kindai shisō taikei 4: Guntai, heishi*, ed. Fujiwara Akira and Yoshida Yutaka (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1989), 163.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Ibid.*, 164.
54. “Gunjin chokuyu,” in *Nihon kindai shisō taikei 4*, 172–176.
55. For more on the history of the term “bushido,” see G. Cameron Hurst III, “Death, Honor, and Loyalty: The Bushido Ideal,” *Philosophy East and West* 40:4 (1990): 511–527 and Michele M. Mason, “Empowering the Would-be Warrior: Bushidō and the Gendered Bodies of the Japanese Nation,” in *Recreating Japanese Men*, ed. Sabine Frühstück and Anne Walthall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 68–90.

56. Vlastos, *Mirror of Modernity*, 7.
 57. *Tondenhei techō*, 1.

2 WRITING AINU OUT: THE NATURE OF JAPANESE COLONIALISM IN HOKKAIDO

1. Richard Okada, “‘Landscape’ and the Nation-State: A Reading of *Nihon Fūkei Ron*,” in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 90–107. Shiga wrote some of his very first observations on nature in a diary he kept during his four years in Hokkaido (1880–1884), when he was a student at Sapporo Agricultural College.
2. David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 92.
3. The 1893 World’s Columbian Exhibition in Chicago commemorated Christopher Columbus’s voyages 400 years earlier. The displays of “native villages” and Buffalo Bill’s Wild West Show were evidence of the prevalence of Western imperialism throughout the world, which was, in large part, the legacy of Columbus’s violent invasion into indigenous communities throughout the southern hemisphere. For an excellent pictorial tour of a similar fair, see Eric Breitbart, *A World on Display: Photographs from the St. Louis World’s Fair, 1904* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1997). One chapter, “Ainu and Pygmy,” includes pictures of nine Ainu individuals who traveled to be part of an exhibit of “native peoples.”
4. Nitobe Inazō, *The Imperial Agricultural College of Sapporo, Japan* (Sapporo: Imperial College of Agriculture, 1893), 1.
5. Karatani Kōjin, *Origins of Modern Japanese Literature*, trans. Brett de Bary (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1993), 23.
6. Saito Chōken, ed., *Kunikida Doppo kenkyū* (Tokyo: Makino Shuppan, 2000). Ashiya Nobukazu, *Kunikida Doppo no bungakukun* (Tokyo: Sōbunsha Shuppan, 2008).
7. Dennis H. Atkin, “The Life and Short Stories of Kunikida Doppo” (University of Washington, 1970), 20.
8. Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature in the Modern Era* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1998), 227.
9. Refer to Karatani, *Modern Japanese Literature*, 11–44 and Kota Inoue, “The Suburb as Colonial Space in Modern Japanese Literature and Cinema,” (Irvine: University of California, 2004), 25–69.
10. “The Shores of the Sorachi River” by Kunikida Doppo appeared in the 1902 November and December installments of *Seinenkai*, a journal for youths. A Japanese version can be found in Ogasawara Katsu, Kihara Naohiko, and Wada Kingo, eds., *Hokkaidō bungaku zenshū 1:shintenchi no roman* (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1979–1980). Herein, I reference my

- translation published in Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee, eds., *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, Critique* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 21–32.
11. Carol Gluck, *Japan's Modern Myths: Ideology in the Late Meiji Period* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 180.
 12. *Ibid.*, 181.
 13. Paul Anderer, *Other Worlds: Arishima Takeo and the Bounds of Modern Japanese Fiction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 29. Italics in original.
 14. *Ibid.*, 30–31. Author and translator Hara Hōitsuan provides us with an interesting alternative interpretation of the lack of poetry associated with Hokkaido. The narrator of his work *Secret Politician*, which combines elements of detective and political novels, claims, “It was rare that a man of letters left footprints on this land in ancient times, and there is not even one poem or line, not even one volume or verse that poetically expresses the splendor of the wonderful sights here. All the more because it is impossible to describe, we should make Hokkaido a sacred place.” Hara Hōitsuan, “Anchū Seijika,” in *Hokkaidō bungaku zenshū: shintenchi* 1, ed. Ogasawara Katsu et al. (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1979), 102.
 15. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, “Creating the Frontier: Border, Identity and History in Japan’s Far North,” *East Asian History* 7 (1994): 22. Also instructive herein is her fascinating discussion of Ainu dog-farming, which further challenges the prevailing notions of Ainu as hunter-gatherers.
 16. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 21.
 17. *Ibid.*
 18. *Ibid.*, 30.
 19. This character combination is slightly different in nuance from the homonym, which emphasizes planting the opened land.
 20. Anderer, *Other Worlds*, 27.
 21. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 31.
 22. *Ibid.*, 25.
 23. *Ibid.*, 31.
 24. *Ibid.*
 25. *Ibid.*
 26. *Ibid.*, 32.
 27. *Ibid.*
 28. Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 93.
 29. Komori Yōichi, “Rule in the Name of ‘Protection’: The Vocabulary of Colonialism,” in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, Critique*, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee (Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2012), 60–75.
 30. For more information on land and settler policy, see Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 55–60.

31. "Diary of the Development Agency, September 1871," in *Meiji nyūsu jiten: 1 (1868–1877)*, ed. Edamatsu Shigeyuki and Sugiura Tadashi (Tokyo: Mainichi Koyunikeshonzu, 1988), 668.
32. For more refer to Siddle's discussion of the Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law (*Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogobō*, 1899) and the Regulation for the Education of Former Native Children (Kyū dojin jidō kyō iku kitei, 1901) in *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 71–72.
33. Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 93.
34. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 22.
35. *Ibid.*, 31–32.
36. *Ibid.*, 31.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 28.
39. Nitobe, *Imperial Agricultural College of Sapporo*, 2.
40. Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 57.
41. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 22.
42. Spurr illuminates how this colonial logic played out in European colonies in Africa: "The Africans lack a history because they fail to leave a permanent mark on the landscape—no ancient architecture, no monuments or records—nothing to bring about the transformation and construction of the environment which provide the measure of civilization. This lack of inscription becomes the sign of another failure—the failure to mark the difference between nature and its others, between present and past, between presence and absence." Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 99.
43. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 32.
44. Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection,'" 68.
45. Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 57.
46. For another example, see Paul Anderer's nuanced reading of Arishima Takeo's (1878–1923) "The Descendants of Cain" (*Kain no matsuei*, 1916), which is set in Hokkaido. Anderer writes, "Just as Hokkaido represents some 'other world' where the traveler sees around him nothing familiar and so is assaulted by the discordance or at least the difference of a new milieu, so does Arishima's fictional journey toward the interior of the mind reveal hitherto unknown areas of division and conflict." Anderer, *Other Worlds*, 37.
47. Tom Henighan, *Natural Space in Literature: Imagination and Environment in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Fiction and Poetry* (Ottawa: Golden Dog, 1982), 36. Italics added.
48. Kunikida, *Shores of the Sorachi River*, 21.
49. *Ibid.*, 25.
50. *Ibid.*, 31–32.
51. *Ibid.*, 32.
52. *Ibid.*
53. Honjō Mutsuo, *Ishikarigawa* (Tokyo: Taikandō shoten, 1939).
54. Inoue Yūichi, "Shizen/inaka no saihakken," in *Kōza Shōwa bungaku: 2* (Tokyo: Yūseidō, 1988), 205.

55. Ibid., 204.
56. Ibid., 206
57. *Shin Hokkaidō shi*: 3 (Sapporo: Hokkaidō, 1969–1981), 878. (Hereafter referred to as *SHS*.)
58. *SHS*: 4, 248–249.
59. It should be noted that Ainu villages are increasingly prominent features of Hokkaido’s tourist economy. Lisa Hiwasaki, “Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido and the Shaping of Ainu Identity,” *Public Affairs* 73:3 (2000): 393–441.
60. ann-elise lewallen, “Indigenous at last! Ainu Grassroots Organizing and the Indigenous Peoples Summit in Ainu Mosir,” *The Asia Pacific Journal* 48:6 (November 30, 2008).

3 POLITICAL PROTEST AND PENAL COLONIES: NARRATING THE TRANSFORMATION OF NATIONAL IDENTITY AND LITERATURE

1. Andrew Fraser, R. H. P. Mason, and Phillip Mitchell, eds., *Japan’s Early Parliaments, 1890–1905: Structure, Issues and Trends* (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.
2. The Meiji Emperor opened the Japanese Imperial Diet on November 29, 1890. *Secret Politician* was serialized in the *Yūbin Hōchi Newspaper* from October 7 to December 8, 1890.
3. As early as the Kamakura period, Ezo was an official site of exile supervised by the office of the Ezokanrei. The famous case of the court noble Kazan’in Tadanaga’s (1588–1662) deportation from 1609 to 1636 for his participation in the Inokuma Incident affirms that Ezo still functioned in this capacity in early Tokugawa.
4. Besides the Tokyo and Miyagi (Sendai) shūjikan, there was the Miike shūjikan built in Kyushu. The shūjikan designation was eliminated in 1903, replaced by the term *kangoku*.
5. Images of exile in Hokkaido held their potency into the Taisho era and beyond. In 1920, Yoshiya Nobuko wrote *Chi no hate made (To the Ends of the Earth)*, wherein a main character is relocated to the company’s branch in Hokkaido as punishment for his labor activism.
6. I use the terms “*seiji shōsetsu*” and “political novel” interchangeably, but cautiously, fully aware of both the historic specificity of this retroactive categorization and of the imperfect rendering of the Japanese word *shōsetsu* as novel in English.
7. Maeda Ai, *Text and the City*, ed. James A. Fujii (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2004), 30.
8. Jim Reichert, *In the Company of Men: Representations of Male-Male Sexuality in Meiji Literature* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 11–12.

9. Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, *Between Men: English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1985), 7.
10. The focus of this chapter does not allow me to fully address the marginalization of Ainu in *Secret Politician*. Although Japan's first modern colony, Hokkaido served Hara's ends well as a symbol of state oppression against struggling Japanese citizens. Hara was unable to recognize the other violent oppression occurring there, evidenced by his lack of comment on the Ainu except to predictably characterize his Ainu host as a hairy barbarian. In the singular portrayal of an Ainu person, the Japanese narrator threatens trouble if an Ainu man does not consent to give him (and two other men he has met on the road) lodging for the night. After the man accedes, the narrator boasts of the compliant nature of the "barbarians." While *Secret Politician* is an important example of an oppositional work from the Meiji era, in it Hokkaido is appropriated to tell a tragic story of modern *Japanese* citizens who bear the brunt of the modern project.
11. Komori Yōichi, "*Yuragi*" *no Nihon bungaku* (Tokyo: Nihon Hōsō Shuppan Kyōkai, 1998), 317.
12. Roger W. Bowen, *Rebellion and Democracy in Meiji Japan: A Study of Commoners in the Popular Rights Movement* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 287–288.
13. Janet Hunter, *Concise Dictionary of Modern Japanese History* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 47.
14. The Japanese title was *Tankō hiji*, or *Secret of the Coal Mine*.
15. Hara Hōitsuan, "Anchū Seijika," in *Hokkaidō bungaku zenshū*, ed. Ogasawara Katsu et al. (Tokyo: Rippū Shobō, 1979), 101–184. All translations of *Secret Politician* are my own.
16. The narrator's name is never provided.
17. The port area formerly known as Ogi is in Miyagi Prefecture. Ogi no longer exists as a municipality since during the Showa period Ogihama was incorporated into Ishimaki City. In 1890, Mitsubishi's regular steamer from Yokohama to Hakodate stopped in Ogi, which readers would have recognized as being very close to Fukushima.
18. The title character is a mysterious, only vaguely identified figure that merely hovers in the background of the story. The "secret politician" may be loosely modeled on Kōno Hironaka, one of the influential leaders of the popular rights movement and the president of the Fukushima prefectural assembly during the time of the Fukushima Incident, although there is no evidence that he betrayed the opposition as does the secret politician. Kōno was imprisoned in 1883 and pardoned in 1889. I would like to thank Kota Inoue for first bringing this to my attention.
19. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 182.
20. *Ibid.*, 168.
21. *Ibid.*, 141.
22. *Ibid.*

23. Atsuko Ueda, "The Production of Literature and the Effaced Realm of the Political," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 31:1 (2005): 74–75.
24. Maeda, *Text and the City*, 22. Maeda is referring to the penal colony known as El Dorado in French Guiana.
25. *Shin Hokkaidō shi*: 3 (Sapporo: Hokkaidō, 1969–1981), 775.
26. The others are listed as *ryūchijō*, *kansō*, *chōjijō*, *kōryōjō*, and *chōekijō*, which are difficult to translate into distinct words in English. *Ryūchijō*, *kansō*, and *kōryōjō* refer to detention centers, temporary or otherwise. Only the last one, *chōekijō*, designates the sentence specifically—that of imprisonment with hard labor. See Shigematsu Kazuyoshi, *Hokkaidō kangoku no rekishi* (Abashiri: Shinzansha, 2004), 19.
27. *Ibid.*
28. *SHS*: 3, 776.
29. *Ibid.*, 777.
30. Arthur Griffiths, *The History and Romance of Crime* (London: The Groiler Society, 1900). He included India, Burma, China, Japan, Egypt, and Turkey in his study.
31. *Ibid.*, 229–230.
32. Takashio Hiroshi and Nakayama Kōshō, eds., *Hokkaidō shūjikan ronkō* (Tokyo: Kōbundo, 1997), 118.
33. *SHS*: 4, 160. For an extensive treatment of the link between *shūjikan* in Hokkaido and the Freedom and Popular Rights Movement see Tomono Sotokichi's *Gokusō no jiyūminkensha tachi: Hokkaidō shūjikan no setchi* (Tokyo: Miyama Shobō, 1974).
34. These include proposals made to Sanjō Sanetomi, one of the most powerful figures of the Grand Council of State, and Kuroda Kiyotaka, the director of the Hokkaido Development Agency.
35. Takashio and Nakayama, *Hokkaidō shūjikan ronkō*, 18
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Ibid.*, 17.
39. After doing majority of the most difficult and treacherous outdoor work on reclamation, road, and construction projects, such forced labor became prohibited. Thereafter, prisoners were lent out to local mines for low wages in similarly horrific conditions.
40. Maeda, *Text and the City*, 34.
41. *SHS*: 4, 162–163.
42. *SHS*: 3, 781.
43. *Ibid.*, 780.
44. *Ibid.*
45. There was also the persistent problem of escapes, an issue featured in *Secret Politician*.
46. Abashiri Prison Museum, ed., *The Largest and Oldest Prison Museum in Japan: Experience the Hidden History of the North at the Open-Air Prison Museum*. (Abashiri, Hokkaido: Abashiri Prison Museum, 2).

47. Maeda, *Text and the City*, 53.
48. Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Vintage Books, 1979), 201.
49. Maeda, *Text and the City*, 34. Naoyuki Umemori's history of Meiji-era penal codes has a useful discussion on the epistemological revolution regarding the role of panoptic surveillance. See "Spatial Configuration and Subject Formation: The Establishment of the Modern Penitentiary System in Meiji Japan," in *New Directions in the Study of Meiji Japan*, ed. Helen Hardacre (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 734–767.
50. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 169.
51. Ibid.
52. Kamei Hideo, *Transformations of Sensibility: The Phenomenology of Meiji Literature*, trans. ed. Michael Bourdaghs (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2002), viii–ix.
53. For a detailed description of the nonperson narrator and many other key terms for understanding the significance of Kamei's work, see Bourdaghs' "Introduction." See also the illustrative discussion of Shimazaki Tōson's "Kyūshujin," in James Fujii's *Complicit Fictions: The Subject in the Modern Japanese Prose Narrative* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 57–75.
54. John Pierre Mertz, *Novel Japan: Spaces of Nationhood in Early Meiji Narrative, 1870–88* (Ann Arbor: Center for Japanese Studies, University of Michigan, 2003), 255.
55. Ibid., 253.
56. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 110.
57. Sedgwick, *Between Men*, 1–5.
58. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 110.
59. Ibid., 114.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid. The translation "'fairy' man" in this passage derives from the combination of the Chinese characters *ten'nyo* glossed as *fuearii* immediately followed by the word for man, *danshi*.
63. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 117.
64. Ibid.
65. Ibid., 114.
66. According to my research, this would be historically incorrect. I cannot find any evidence that women were imprisoned at Sorachi Prison.
67. Reichert, *In the Company of Men*, 99–131.
68. Hara, *Secret Politician*, 173–174.
69. Ibid., 175.
70. Ibid., 178.
71. Ibid., 175.
72. Ibid., 176.
73. Ibid., 178.

74. Ibid., 176.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid., 177.
77. Gregory M. Pflugfelder, *Cartographies of Desire: Male-Male Sexuality in Japanese Discourse, 1600–1950* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 146–192. In 1872, Article 266 of the Reformed Legal Code made anal intercourse between men a criminal act. This was repealed in 1882.
78. For more on the *bankara* man, see Jason Karlin, “The Gender of Nationalism: Competing Masculinities in Meiji Japan,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 28:1 (2002), 41–77.
79. Mertz, *Novel Japan*, 139–188.
80. It should be noted that initially election laws severely restricted male suffrage; universal male suffrage was granted only in 1925.
81. The ascendancy of normative heterosexuality within modern Japanese fiction and society did not mean that women were more realistically portrayed in literature or that they were allowed to participate in the public sphere.

4 A PANTHEON OF PROMISES: THE MAKING OF FANTASIES OF FREEDOM AND CAPITALIST DREAMS

1. Hokkaido-born novelist Yagi Yoshinori (1911–1999) has conferred the title “the father of Hokkaido literature” on Arishima. See *Arishima to Hokkaidō* (Niseko: Arishima Kinenkan, 2003).
2. Edward Fowler, “Review of *River Mist and Other Stories*,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 43:4 (August, 1984): 757.
3. Donald Keene, *Dawn to the West: Japanese Literature of the Modern Era* (New York: Holt, Reinhart, and Winston, 1984), 236.
4. Dennis H. Atkin, *The Life and Short Stories of Kunikida Doppo* (University of Washington, 1970), 34. The others works were “The Kamakura Woman,” “The Third Man,” and “People Who Love Love.”
5. For instance, Keene writes, “the story expresses Doppo’s philosophy after his Christian fervor had cooled.” Keene, *Dawn to the West*, 236.
6. Kunikida Doppo, *River Mist and Other Stories*, trans. David G. Chibbett (New York: Kodansha International, 1983), 136.
7. Shimizu Shikin, “School for Émigrés,” trans. Rebecca Jennison in *Modern Murasaki: Writing by Women of Meiji Japan*, ed. Rebecca L. Copeland and Melek Ortobasi (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 263. Italics added.
8. Shikin, “School for Émigrés,” 263.
9. Kunikida, “Meat and Potatoes,” *River Mist*, 142.
10. Ibid., 149.
11. Ibid., 138–139.
12. Ibid., 139.

13. *Ibid.*, 146.
14. *Ibid.*, 147.
15. *Ibid.*, 139. Kamimura also claims, “I did not so much think of winter in Hokkaido as that winter was Hokkaido.”
16. *Ibid.*
17. *Ibid.*, 146.
18. *Ibid.*, 139.
19. *Ibid.*
20. *Ibid.*, 138.
21. *Ibid.*, 140.
22. Moreover, the settlement campaigns and cultural assimilation policies experimented with in Hokkaido presaged the migration of Japanese settlers and corporate entities to places such as Taiwan, Korea, and Manchuria in later years. See, for instance, Louise Young, *Japan’s Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999).
23. *Shin Hokkaidō shi*: 3 (Sapporo: Hokkaido, 1969–1981), 265.
24. *Ibid.*, 229–230.
25. *Ibid.*, 277.
26. *Ibid.*, 277–278.
27. *Ibid.*, 278.
28. For more on renewed interest in Kobayashi and his works, see Norma Field, “Commercial Appetite and Human Need: The Accidental and Fated Revival of Kobayashi Takiji’s *Cannery Ship*,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 8–8–09 (February 22, 2009) and Heather Bowen-Struyk, “Why a Boom in Proletarian Literature in Japan?: The Kobayashi Takiji Memorial and *The Factory Ship*,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 26–1–09 (June 29, 2009).
29. *The Absentee Landlord*, which was published in the same year as *The Crab Cannery Ship*, did not garner the same critical reception. It did, however, capture the attention of Kobayashi’s employers at Hokkaido Colonial Bank (*Hokkaidō takushoku ginkō*). After having worked there for almost five years, he was summarily fired subsequent to the publication of *The Absentee Landlord*.
30. The story was based on a true incident that occurred in 1926. Kobayashi Takiji, “*The Factory Ship*” and “*The Absentee Landlord*,” trans. Frank Motofuji (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1972), xxii.
31. *Ibid.*, 96.
32. *Ibid.*, 95.
33. At one point a friend of Ken’s writes from Otaru, laying out how land-owners and businessmen fixed prices and distorted information about international trading to serve their own interests. *Ibid.*, 146–149. Additionally, Kobayashi’s narrator notes that there were many cases in which owners of large estates would break their promise to transfer for free a percentage of the land a farmhand had converted to arable plots. *Ibid.*, 96.
34. *Ibid.*, 137.

35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 126–127.
37. Ibid., 93.
38. Ibid., 94.
39. Ibid., 96.
40. Sometimes they were the same people. Tenant farmers often worked in other industries, such as coal mining, when agricultural duties were lighter. Kobayashi indicates as much when he mentions that some farmers had tried to make ends meet by working in the Mitsui mines at Sunakawa. Ibid., 152.
41. Hokutan was forced to sell its railway when the government ordered the nationalization of railroads in 1906. The company changed its name to Hokkaido Colliery and Steamship Company (*Hokkaidō tankō kisen kabushiki kaisha*). Although it has ceased mining operations, Hokutan still exists as an importer of coal from Russia. The motto on their company website boasts, “Dreams [sic] come true through Coal.”
42. Hori, who hailed from Satsuma, had worked in the Hakodate court system and held numerous positions in the Hokkaido Development Agency. In 1888, he assumed the directorship of Hokkaido’s prefectural office, which he abruptly resigned so as to avail himself of the opportune sale of Horonai mine. *Tankō: Seisui no kiroku* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shinbunsha, 2003), 16–17. (Hereafter referred to as *Tankō*.)
43. Yano Makio et al., *Sekitan no kataru nihon no kindai* (Tokyo: Soshiete, 1978), 56. (Hereafter referred to as *Sekitan*.)
44. *Tankō*, 17. Yano, *Sekitan*, 60.
45. Eiichi Aoki, “Expansion of Railway Network,” *Japan Railway & Transport Review* (June 1994), 34. The other four in this category were the Sanyo, Kyushu, Kansai, and Nippon railways.
46. Today, Muroran continues to maintain a vital port, the only one in Hokkaido that has a cruise-ship berth.
47. Yano, *Sekitan*, 56–57.
48. *Tankō*, 17.
49. Kuroda Kiyotaka, “Kaitaku zasshi hakkō no shushi,” *Hokkaidō Kaitaku zasshi* 1:2 (1880): 1.
50. Today this is JR Eastern Japan (Je Aru Higashi Nihon).
51. A government-run, tax-payer-funded operation until 1875, Mitsubishi purchased the NYK Line under extremely favorable conditions, strengthening its position in the zaibatsu hierarchy.
52. Yano, *Sekitan*, 64.
53. Ibid., 81.
54. *Tankō*, 17–18.
55. Yano, *Sekitan*, 87.
56. Ibid., 93. Labor reform of the mining industry during the Meiji period might also be said to have started in Hokkaido. The leaders of the Association for Sincerity in Labor (Rōdō Shinseikai), founded in 1902,

- gained their skills in Hokkaido. Figures such as Nagaoka Tsuruzō, who got his feet wet in Yubari coal mine, went to Ashio copper mine and trained the laborers there in strike strategies.
57. For more on these zaibatsu's wartime profits, see Mark Driscoll's discussion of their investment in the opium trade during Japan's colonial rule over Manchuria. *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1895–1945* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2010), 286–287.
 58. Kenneth Strong, introduction to Arishima Takeo, *A Certain Woman*, trans. Kenneth Strong (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1978), 2.
 59. *Ibid.*, 8.
 60. *Ibid.*, 6.
 61. Arishima Takeo, “Mushanokōji kei hei,” in *Arishima Takeo zenshū: 7* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 208. (*Arishima Takeo zenshū* will hereafter be referred to as *ATZ*.)
 62. That Arishima associated Christianity with pacifist and egalitarian beliefs might be attributed to his introduction to the religion through a Quaker-influenced community. His close relationship with the Quaker Nitobe Inazō and his attendance at the reputable US Quaker institution Haverford College indicates a familiarity with this unique denomination of Christianity.
 63. Strong, Introduction, 7. Strong notes that this comment was censored in two collected works published after Arishima's death.
 64. Ayame Hiroharu, “Arishima Takeo to kokka/shihonshugi/sensō,” *Kaishaku to kanshō* 72:6 (2007): 57.
 65. Paul Anderer, *Other Worlds: Arishima Takeo and the Bounds of Modern Japanese Fiction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1984), 186.
 66. Arishima Takeo, “Hokkaidō ni tsuite no inshō” in *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 298.
 67. Arishima, “Hokkaidō ni tsuite no inshō,” 299.
 68. *Ibid.*
 69. *Ibid.*
 70. Today, the large, forceful calligraphic rendering of the phrase “mutual-aid” in Japanese (*sōgo fujo*), written by Arishima's own hand, occupies a prominent place in the Arishima Takeo Memorial Museum in Niseko, Hokkaido.
 71. Strong, Introduction, 9.
 72. Anderer, *Other Worlds*, 214.
 73. Arishima made his intentions public before the official transfer through an essay titled “A Manifesto” (*Sengen hitotsu*), which was published in *Kaizō* in January 1922. *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 5–10. In “Facts Regarding the Liberation of my Farm” (*Nōjyo kaihō tenmatsu*), Arishima lays out the historical background of the farm and the process by which he liberated it. *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 370–373.

74. Arishima Takeo, “Shiyū nōjyo kara kyōsan nōdan e,” in *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chibuma Shobō, 1981), 365.
75. Ian Neary offers a fruitful historical contextualization of the founding of Suiheisha, pointing to the many debates and forces that were informing the use of the word “liberation” at this time. See “The Emergence of the *Suiheisha* Movement,” in *Political Protest and Social Control in Pre-war Japan: Origins of Buraku Liberation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 50–77.
76. Arishima Takeo, “Kaributo nōjyo no kaihō,” in *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chibuma Shobō, 1981), 407. This originally appeared in *Otaru Newspaper* in two installments on May 20 and 21, 1923.
77. Arishima, “Shiyū nōjyo kara kyōsan nōdan e,” 365.
78. Due to local dam construction, New Village was forced to move to its current location in Saitama prefecture in 1939. Today the members manage a farm, selling their produce, in addition to operating an art museum, a cultural center, and a library. For more information on the original collective and its philosophical underpinnings, see Mushanokōji Saneatsu, *Atarashikimura no seikatsu* (Tokyo: Shinchōsha, 1918).
79. Arishima Takeo, “Mushanokōji kei hei,” in *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chibuma Shobō, 1981), 207.
80. Arishima, “Shiyū nōjō kara kyōsan nōdan e,” 367.
81. Arishima, “Kaributo nōjyo no kaihō,” 405.
82. *Ibid.*, 406.
83. Arishima Takeo, “Jiyū wa atararezu,” in *ATZ: 9* (Tokyo: Chibuma Shobō, 1981), 18.
84. Arishima, “Kaributo nōjyo no kaihō,” 406.
85. Arishima, “Shiyū nōjō kara kyōsan nōdan e,” 366.
86. Arishima, “Kaributo nōjyo no kaihō,” 405.
87. *Hokkaidō imin an’nai* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Kaitaku Kinenkan, 1982).
88. *Hokkaidō tankō isan* (Sapporo: Hokkaidō Tankō Isan Fuankurabu, 2011).
89. Kazama Kensuke, *Sorachi tankō isan sanpō* (Sapporo: Kyōdō Bunka Sha, 2003), 8.
90. See *Meiji/Taishō tankō emaki* (Fukuoka City: Meiji/Taishō Tankō Emaki Hakko Kai, 1963).
91. *Tankō*, 19. Italics added.
92. Goshima Ken, *Hokkaido tankō isan* (Tokyo: Aspect, 2010), 13.
93. Arishima, “Hokkaidō ni tsuite no inshō,” 297.

5 CONTESTED SITES OF AN ENDURING COLONIAL PAST

1. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), 27. Italics in original.
2. Naturally, there were Ainu who organized to advocate for better treatment before the 1960s. See Richard Siddle’s excellent treatment of the

period between 1869 and 1960 in Chapters Five (“With Shining Eyes: Ainu Protest and Resistance, 1869–1945”) and Six (“Ainu Liberation and Welfare Colonialism: The New Ainu Politics and the State’s Response”) in *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).

3. *Ibid.*, 162.
4. *Ibid.*, 164.
5. The Hokkaido Ainu Association was first established in 1946 and changed its name in 1961 to the Hokkaido Utari Association to avoid the prejudicial associations with the word Ainu. It reversed this decision in 2009.
6. Lisa Hiwasaki, “Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido and the Shaping of Ainu Identity,” *Public Affairs* 73:3 (2000): 393–441.
7. ann-elise lewallen, “Indigenous at last! Ainu Grassroots Organizing and the Indigenous Peoples Summit in Ainu Moshir,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 48:6 (November 30, 2008).
8. For more information on this landmark case, see Mark A. Levin, “Essential Commodities and Racial Justice: Using Constitutional Protection of Japan’s Indigenous Ainu People to Inform Understanding of the United States and Japan,” *New York University of International Law and Politics* 33 (2011): 419–526.
9. Kayano Reiko, *Shashin de tsuzuru Kayano Shigeru no shōgai: Ainu no tamashii to bunka wo motome* (Tokyo: Nōsangyoson bunka kyōkai, 2008).
10. Morris-Suzuki, *Past Within Us*, 8.
11. David Spurr, *The Rhetoric of Empire: Colonial Discourse in Journalism, Travel Writing, and Imperial Administration* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), 99.
12. The doctrine of manifest destiny was explicit in the United States, but in the sense that the justifications for the invasion of Ainu Moshir assert that it was incumbent on the superior Japanese civilization to develop the virgin land of Hokkaido, we can detect a similar attitude that profoundly shaped the Japanese incursion into Ainu homelands.
13. Timothy Mitchell, “Orientalism and the Exhibitionary Other,” in *Colonialism and Culture*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1992), 300.
14. *Ibid.*, 313.
15. For a discussion of the “fossilization” of Ainu and indigenous peoples of the United States see Nishide Kei’ichi, “*Amerika gasshūkoku shi to senjūminzoku*,” in *Hokkaidō to shōsū minzoku*, ed. Sapporo Gakuin Daigaku Bunngakubu (Sapporo: Sapporo Gakuin Daigaku Seikatsu kyōdōkumiai, 1986), 1–59.
16. Duncan Cameron, “The Museum: A Temple or the Forum,” *Curator: The Museum Journal* 14:1 (March 1971), 11–24.
17. You can see a reprint of this painting in Hirozawa Tokujirō, *Tondenbei emonogatari: Asahikawa bunko* 2 (Asahikawa: Sohokkai, 1982), 80.

18. The *hinomaru* flag—with its simple red disc on a white background—was not made the official state flag in the postwar period until August 1999. The government passed the Law Regarding the National Flag and Anthem amidst heated debate about the appropriateness of embracing emblems of ultranationalism and aggression during Japan's imperial age and the Asia-Pacific War.
19. Ashihara Iwao, ed., *Asahikawa heison kinenkan: shiryō setsumei* (Asahikawa: Zaidanhōjin Hakubutsukan Sōtōshisetsu, 2011), 1.
20. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Objects of Ethnography," in *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Display*, ed. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 388.
21. Ibid.
22. In contrast, in the United States, First Nations at least have the record of treaties made with the early administrations that, despite having been broken countless times, in theory recognizes them as sovereign states.
23. Shigematsu Kazuyoshi, ed., *Hakabutsukan abashiri kangoku* (Tokyo: Abashiri Kangoku Hozon Zaidan, 2002), 18–19.
24. This was celebrated as Yoshinaga's 111th film and the promotional materials devote several pages in the back to her long career. With Yoshinaga as star, the producers of the film could count on longtime fans above the age of fifty to attend, but the collector's card campaign suggests efforts to reach a younger demographic as well.
25. Historical accounts can match the romantic versions. See Enomoto Morie, *Samuraitachi no Hokkaidō kaitaku* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Shinbunsha, 1993), 193–228.
26. Hidaka's Horse Breeders Association claims that Hidaka is Japan's largest horse-breeding area today, accounting for 80 percent of the total number of domestically bred horses.
27. Such representations of the Awaji incident also overlook the fierce resentment that Awaji samurai harbored for the Meiji state that banished them to the northern colony despite their loyalty during the Boshin War.
28. Kanezawa Makoto and Ishigami Minako, eds., *Kita no zeronen* (Tokyo: Tōei, 2005), 28.
29. Mark Schilling, "A New World in Post Feudal Times," *Japan Times Review*, February 2, 2005.
30. Inoguchi Kuniko, "Kita no zeronen no shisōteki kagayaki," *Nikkei Shinbun*, February 9, 2005.
31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
33. Ibid.
34. The two men do not perform a real *iyomante* ritual, which would be scheduled for an entire village's participation at a particular time of the year, but an impromptu one when Ashirika is forced to shoot a bear to save the children. It is not surprising that the extremely overdetermined

- symbol of Hokkaido's natural world and Ainu culture, the bear, appears in one of the few scenes with Ainu themes.
35. Kanezawa and Ishigami, *Kita no zeronen*, 4.
 36. Ibid.
 37. The word Tokyo in the title of this film is written in English while Ainu is rendered in katakana script. *Tokyo Ainu*, Dir. Moriya Hiroshi (Tokyo, 2010).
 38. Tezuka Osamu. *Shumari: Volume 1* (Tokyo: Kodansha, 2009), 22.
 39. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 169.
 40. Ibid., 493.
 41. Chapters 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17 cover Shumari's stint at a privately run coal mine, Chapters 10 and 11 portray his life in a *shūjikan*, while [Chapter 4](#) relates his encounter with a caravan transporting women to "pleasure men of Ezo."
 42. See Chapters 26 and 14.
 43. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 381–389.
 44. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 1*, 32.
 45. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 80
 46. Ibid., 81
 47. Ibid.
 48. A musical instrument similar to a Jew's harp.
 49. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 491.
 50. Ibid., 493.
 51. Personal discussions with an Ainu elder at Pirka Kotan and Nakamura Itsukushi at Poroto Kotan.
 52. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 1*, 102.
 53. Ibid.
 54. Komori Yōichi. "Rule in the Name of 'Protection': The Vocabulary of Colonialism," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, ed. Michele M. Mason and Helen J. S. Lee. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012), 60–75.
 55. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 129.
 56. Ibid.
 57. One could also argue that just as important as what Shumari wears is what he does *not* wear. In almost every frame of the manga, Shumari is shirtless, his right arm tucked away into the armhole of a vest. Although going bare-chested is not a common association with Ainu specifically, for his audience it would have served to bring Shumari into the proximity of a barbarian or native realm. It should be remembered that in early Meiji, Western criticisms of Japanese men wearing only loincloths in the streets and men and women publicly bathing were stressed as evidence of Japan's uncivilized status. The Meiji state worked hard to eliminate these practices with formal laws and informal policies and distance themselves from this history.
 58. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 491.

59. Spurr, *Rhetoric of Empire*, 140.
60. Tezuka, *Shumari: Volume 2*, 483.
61. An excellent history of Manchuria can be found in Louise Young, *Japan's Total Empire: Manchuria and the Culture of Wartime Imperialism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999). For a disturbing account of the Japanese imperial-capitalist project in Manchuria, see Mark Driscoll, *Absolute Erotic, Absolute Grotesque: The Living, Dead, and Undead in Japan's Imperialism, 1885–1945* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2010).
62. Morris-Suzuki, *Past Within Us*, 237–238.
63. Ivan Karp and Steven D. Lavine, eds., *Exhibiting Cultures: The Poetics and Politics of Museum Displays* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991), 7.
64. *Ibid.*
65. *Ibid.*, 8.

EPILOGUE

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2. Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media, Memory, History* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), 26.
3. Ikezawa Natsuki, *Shizukana daichi* (Tokyo: Asahi Shinbunsha, 2007), 26
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*, 141.
7. *Ibid.*, 46.
8. *Ibid.*, 93.
9. *Ibid.*, 47.
10. *Ibid.*, 640.
11. *Ibid.*, 647.
12. *Ibid.*, 650.

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