



Cultivating Ezo

Indigenous Innovation and Ecological Change during Japan's Bakumatsu Era

This article explores the shifting social and ecological conditions of northern Japan in the mid-nineteenth century and the impact these changes were having on one group of Ainu. I draw on the history of the region to show how political instability, changes in cultural proscriptions, and ecological change affecting the fishing grounds on the east coast of Hokkaido were presenting the Ainu working the Chashikotsu fishing grounds with a new array of choices in terms of cultural traditions, norms of behavior, and modes of subsistence. I highlight the case study of Chaemon, an Ainu headman who, along with his followers, decided to take up large-scale agriculture to better cope with declining catches in the area. I read Chaemon's project of agricultural development as a "serious game" of navigating the ecological, political, and economic impacts of Japan's extractive industries and the political and cultural policies that furthered the consolidation of its northern frontier.

KEYWORDS: Ainu—agency—agriculture—Ezo—Hokkaido

ONE CHILLY May evening on the eastern coast of Hokkaido, Mr. Nori, a salmon specialist, and I were eating a warm, comforting meal of *okonomiyaki* (fried vegetable cakes) and *wakame* (seaweed) salad in the kitchen of the Shibetsu Researcher House. We were discussing different humorous idioms in the languages of Japanese and English and the possibility of cross-cultural humor. Our repeated attempts to make each other laugh with imperfectly translated jokes were, without exception, complete failures. I was in Shibetsu researching indigenous Ainu activists' involvement in revitalizing their connection to the now Russian-held Northern Territories— islands just to the northeast of Hokkaido—so I jotted down Mr. Nori's translation of a local joke concerning the historic Shibetsu Ainu population. The joke runs:

Before the Japanese came, the Shibetsu Ainu made their living from the sea, catching salmon, herring, and whale. After the Japanese arrived, the Ainu began to practice agriculture. They pulled their fishing boats up into the fields and began harpooning daikon radishes and casting their nets over cattle.

(personal communication, May 2006)

The joke plays on the commonly held assumption that the Ainu were traditionally hunter gatherers and purportedly ignorant, if not incapable, of Japanese agricultural practices (see MORRIS-SUZUKI 1998, 29; WATANABE 1973).

Weeks later the joke became more relevant as I perused a display at the nearby Betsukai Town Kaga-ke Monjo-kan museum and came across the story of Chaemon, an Ainu man who convinced the local Ainu working the Chashikotsu *basho* (fishing grounds) to put aside their nets and boats to instead plow fields and plant a variety of grains and vegetables from seeds imported from Honshu, the Japanese mainland. This occurred during the Bakumatsu Era (1853–1867), several years before the destabilization and fall of the *bakufu*¹ and the wholesale annexation of Ezo,² and long before large-scale agricultural production was commonplace on the northern island. The idea that Chaemon and his compatriots were, largely under their own steam, adopting a sedentary, labor-intensive mode of production in a zone that has the shortest growing season on the Japanese archipelago adds nuance to the general view of the Ainu, as expressed in the joke, as ignorant and

ultimately incapable of adapting to the swift changes that accompanied Japan's historic leap into an industrialized modernity.

The record of Chaemon the farmer is remarkable in that it is an example of an Ainu man actively engaging the social-ecological contradictions inherent in modernity. These contradictions would include 1) the necessity of conservation to enable the long-term exploitation of natural resources, and 2) the impulse toward cultural homogeneity, typical of nation-making projects, and the reality of cultural, linguistic, and ethnic diversity that, in many instances, precedes the nation. Chaemon was essentially doing what many in Japan were doing at that time: confronting the welter of political, social, economic, and ecological shifts that were ancillary to the policies promoted by a nascent nation-state in the mid-nineteenth century.³ This account of an Ainu headman exercising a limited degree of agency by amassing the necessary resources and labor in order to engage in a fairly extensive project of agricultural production in the face of degraded social and ecological environments suggests that the historical predicament of the Ainu is more complex than the extant narrative portraying a Japanese state that over-determines the options of a subjugated indigenous population on Ezo.⁴

Chaemon and his rather abrupt shift to agricultural production problematizes the narrative that constitutes the historical double-bind of the Ainu: that either the Ainu retain their cultural identity and become what Ann Laura STOLER (2008) refers to as "imperial debris" or they accommodate the expansion of the nation-state and assimilate entirely as ethnic Japanese.⁵ By elaborating generalizable historical trajectories, both heuristics unduly constrain or miss altogether the scope of action that was available to some Ainu individuals at various points in time. I suggest a third analysis that is responsive to cultural specificity, shifting contingencies over time, the reflexivity of subjects, and, ultimately, how individual choice may be constrained but not determined by a changing political economy. In fact, it is in these periods of change that new potentialities present themselves. My analysis works with Sherry Ortner's response to the limitations of structuration theory that she calls "serious games" (ORTNER 2006, 129).

Structuration theory (GIDDENS 1984) and practice theory (BOURDIEU 1990) both seek to elaborate the processes by which culture produces social actors who, in some situations, work to reproduce social institutions and norms of behavior, while in other situations they work to transform institutions and norms. Ortner's theory of practice uses the notion of "serious games" to highlight the *intentionality* of the social actor even as they are embedded in social relations that constrain the availability of desirable options and thus the extent to which they are capable of transforming society. In this article, I seek to portray the historical and ecological predicament of Ainu working the Chashikotsu fishing grounds and how this specific mix of constraints and intentionality led to the agricultural development of the Notsuke Peninsula. This approach, while not ignoring the substantial power differentials that contoured the social and economic opportunities of the Ainu and so-called ethnic Japanese or *wajin*,⁶ recognizes that some Ainu possessed a certain perspicacity in navigating the dislocations of modernity, conceptualized here

as broad sociocultural change and environmental degradation secondary to state consolidation and the expansion of capitalist enterprises.⁷

The literature describing the Ainu tends to represent them as either a subjugated people not yet completely extinct (CORNELL 1964) or as a subjugated people mobilizing to revitalize their traditional culture and recuperate a long suppressed political agency (SIDDLE 1996). For much of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ainu were portrayed by travel writers and ethnographers as “vanishing.” In 1893 Landor wrote, “The sadness which seems to oppress the Ainu, and which we see depicted on the face of each individual, is nothing but the outcome of the degeneration of the race. As a race the Ainu will soon be extinct” (LANDOR 1893, 297). Landor predicted that in no more than fifty years the Ainu would be little more than a memory. He cites “the scourge of civilization” (LANDOR 1893, 297) as the cause of their demise. At about the same time, Rev. John Batchelor wrote of civilization’s failure,

But the Ainu race is dying out. Year by year its members decrease, and, in spite of the laudable efforts of the Japanese Government to preserve it, its extinction seems inevitable. But, if the race perishes, a precious remnant, won to Christ, will abide for ever. (BATCHELOR 1892, 330)

HILGER (1971) wrote an account of what was left of a “dying” culture. These, however, are not exclusively the impressions of Western observers. There is today a general sense in Japan of the Ainu as “a virtually vanished and vanquished people” (LIE 2001, 46). This sentiment was echoed fairly consistently by many of my *wajin* interlocutors while I was in Hokkaido.

It was not until the 1990s that scholars began to comment on the durability of the Ainu community in northern Japan, its political efficacy, and its influence on an international movement of indigenous people seeking enforceable supranational mechanisms to protect indigenous interests within sovereign states. SJOBERG (1993) describes activities within the Ainu community to both preserve and promote their cultural traditions in a nation where cultural difference was routinely denied. SIDDLE’s seminal *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (1996) focuses on the historical processes whereby the Ainu people became racialized, first by the *wajin* and later by the Ainu themselves. He begins the work of highlighting how the Ainu community, primarily in Hokkaido, had historically resisted the assimilation efforts of the Japanese government. There are more recent works by Japanese researchers that are beginning to reflect and expand on this analysis (for example, TAHARA 2006).

While the historical trajectory of each genre (that is, travel writing, social history, or cultural anthropology) ends up in a very different place, my contention is that the shared starting point is based on the image of a conquered people and this is itself problematic and deserves a more nuanced treatment. Ainu participation in the changes wrought by 1) an expanding Japanese polity, 2) a more assertive capitalist mode of production, and 3) the desire within Ainu communities for Japanese commodities for use in both the ritual and mundane aspects of social life

is only beginning to be addressed through ethnohistorical analyses that focus on the choices and actions of individual Ainu. David Howell cites eighteenth-century explorer Mogumi Tokunai's observation of Iwanosuke, a resident of Kennichi village in southwest Ezo, and his annual transformation from a Japanese man-about-town into an Ainu representative to the local *daimyo* (feudal lord). The vignette is an illustration of how Ainu might negotiate the norms and expectations of living in a Japanese-dominated region of Ezo by actively participating in the re-functioning of Ainu and Japanese cultural idioms (HOWELL 2005, 119–20). My analysis of Chaemon's adoption of large-scale agriculture, in spite of decades of economic and political proscriptions against Ainu farming, builds on this tradition.⁸

Established discourses such as the notion of the “vanishing tribe” have the effect of contouring our perception of history, but a key reason that Ainu agency has been overlooked has more to do with the dearth of historical documents recording Ainu sentiments and actions. The Ainu possessed no written language at the time and literate, bilingual *wajin* interpreters were not typically working the fishing grounds in Ezo. That said, Chaemon's switch to farming was significant enough of an event to have been recorded in two primary sources: the “Kaga family records” (KAGAKE MONJO-KAN 2001; 2002; 2004) and in Matsuura Takeshirō's “Accounts of the Ainu people” (MATSUURA 2002)—the latter a collection of observations and essays from the mid-nineteenth century by the venerable geographer and frequent *wajin* visitor to the northern island.⁹ The correlation of historical documents commenting on individual Ainu is rare in Ainu studies and suggests the significance of this event to onlookers at the time.

To understand what might have compelled Chaemon to pick up the plow, it is necessary to outline just how the Ainu, portrayed in early Japanese paintings as fierce wild men of the north, came to labor under conditions that at once fixed them in space while placing such a strain on their traditional culture that their lifeways underwent a profound shift. To begin, it is essential to understand the processes that drew the Ainu into the ambit *wajin* commercial interests to the point where they could be exploited without disrupting the moral values of the *wajin*.¹⁰

CARTOGRAPHIES OF DIFFERENCE IN EARLY MODERN JAPAN

The issue of redrawing and policing social boundaries during the Tokugawa Period (1603–1868) has been addressed in detail in the literature (HOWELL 2005; MORRIS-SUZUKI 1998; SIDDLE 1996; YONEMOTO 2003). A system of status categories (*mibunsei*) structured relationships within the emergent Japanese polity and impacted how people beyond the margins of the status system were viewed and treated. The feudal status hierarchy coalesced in the early seventeenth century as the *bakufu* consolidated political power and sought to disarm a nation emerging from centuries of internecine strife. David Howell writes that Tokugawa society underwent a “taxonomic revolution” in which occupational categories came to influence the life trajectories of entire families, often for generations (HOWELL 2005, 33). This occurred gradually and in a piecemeal fashion through

successive edicts impacting patterns of consumption, location of residence, occupation, and the body itself. The four broad social categories that constituted the status system were (in order of status): samurai, peasants, craftsmen, and merchants. As these social categories were based primarily on occupation, the boundary between, for example, a peasant and a craftsman was somewhat permeable.¹¹ Framing the status system, and perhaps stabilizing its political coherence, were the *eta* (outcastes) at one end and the imperial household at the other. Between the symbolic opposites of the profane and the sacred, the more quotidian status hierarchy was arrayed. Defining the geographic borders of this social universe included the Ainu to the north and the Ryūkyūan people to the south.

In early modern Japan, status categories clarified social roles and defined relationships between individuals. Outward appearance marked individuals as bearers of one status or another. Clothing, hairstyle, weapons, names, dialect, and residential location all served to position individuals along the social hierarchy. These norms of presentation were enforced by the authorities to some extent, but, importantly, participants themselves had a vested interest in belonging to an identifiable group. Membership defined an array of rights and responsibilities and protected members from the transgressions of other individuals as well as from capricious officials. Moreover, status rendered one legible to others and locatable within a social field that, between shogunal edict and Buddhist norms of conduct, was well delineated. Individuals that attempted to exist outside the status system, unregistered transients (*mushuku*) for example, would often find themselves sought out by state officials and provided with a provisional status identity. The governmentality of the Tokugawa regime operated through delineating and stabilizing social categories for the smooth functioning of the economy, thus facilitating the expropriation of agricultural surplus to support the military and bureaucratic elements of the emerging state. As the economic system did not function smoothly across the polity, novel social arrangements could be conjured to transcend the *mibunsei* and its system of rights (HOWELL 2005).

To the south 250,000 Ryūkyūans, subjects of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, maintained a system of dual patronage (*ryōzoku kankei*) with both China and the Satsuma domain (hereafter I use the Japanese term *han* to denote administrative domains) in southern Kyushu. In 1609, Satsuma-han sent a military expedition into the Ryūkyū Kingdom and forced the king and his councilors to sign a series of trade agreements that allowed Satsuma to monopolize trade with the island nation. In this way Japan could discreetly trade with China via the Ryūkyūs despite the prohibitions set by the Ming government in the mid-sixteenth century. To effect this subterfuge, Satsuma arranged to ban the use of Japanese language, dress, and hairstyle in the Ryūkyūs (SAKAI 1964, 392). In addition, Ryūkyū tribute missions to Edo were prohibited from appearing in Japanese-style dress and were instructed to wield only Chinese-styled weapons so as not to be mistaken for Japanese (KAMIYA 1990).¹² By 1683 the Ming Dynasty in China had fallen and Japan had entered into its era of relative seclusion (*sakoku jidai*),¹³ yet despite the political upheaval the Ryūkyū Kingdom via Satsuma remained integral to Japanese trade with much of East Asia. Throughout the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, economic

and cultural integration with Japan was increasingly promoted; the Ryūkyū archipelago was annexed in 1879 (FURUKI 2003).

The northern frontier was more problematic for the *bakufu*. Ezo was a vast island populated by the Ainu, a people so different in appearance, custom, and language that the idea of assimilation with the rest of Japan was initially unthinkable. Oft-cited examples of ethnic differences between Ainu and *wajin* included observations that Ainu men wore their beards and hair long and Ainu women practiced piercing and wore tattoos around their mouths and on their arms. In addition, the men wore short swords and hunted with poison arrows. These observations were often accompanied by the dehumanizing speculation that the Ainu were somehow part animal (SIDDLE 1996, 37). The interior of the northern island was itself a mystery, as indicated by Japanese maps of Ezo that, notwithstanding their inaccuracy, were relatively blank until the mid-nineteenth century (TAKAGI 2003, 49).¹⁴

In Ezo, there existed no such institutionalization of status groups beyond the Matsumae-han that occupied the southern portion of the island. The early shogunal decree of 1604 identified the Ainu as categorically distinct from *wajin* and thus *not* subject to the same legal regime that regulated the actions of the *wajin* (TABATA 2010, 74). Morris-Suzuki argues that *wajin* cultural notions of civilization/barbarism (*ka/i*) map closely to the spatiality of the polity's core and its periphery (MORRIS-SUZUKI 1998). Peripheral populations like the Ainu were crucial in defining the boundaries of Japanese national identity by framing the degree of variation that could be reasonably contained in the concept "the Japanese" (HOWELL 1994). Within the *ka/i* framework, frontier peoples tended to occupy an ambiguous position in this scheme—Ainu and Ryūkyūans were not Japanese in terms of language or custom, yet due to longstanding systems of trade with Matsumae-han in the north and Satsuma-han to the south, these peoples, marginal to the emerging Japanese state, became increasingly vital for the Japanese economy during approximately 220 years of relative national seclusion.

AINU PARTICIPATION IN THE EZO FISHING GROUNDS

Bakufu political influence on Ezo was negligible throughout the eighteenth century, yet the economic influence from Honshu merchants exerted an inexorable pull on Ainu communities, drawing first men and later entire families to coastal commercial fishing grounds, or *basho*. The conditions in the *basho* were, by most accounts, squalid. Ainu mistreatment in the *basho* was documented by *wajin* observers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (for example, MOGAMI 1972; MATSUURA 2002). Poor working and living conditions resulted in an often strained relationship between the Ainu and their *wajin* employers—a relationship that was occasionally punctuated by Ainu uprisings (KAWAKAMI n.d.; NEMURO SYMPOSIUM 1990; WALKER 2006a).¹⁵

Given the poor material and social conditions in the *basho*, what drew Ainu laborers to the fishing grounds season after season? David Howell portrays the dual forces of necessity and desire as constraints that kept Ainu working the fishing

grounds. Many Japanese goods had, over the centuries, become integral to Ainu life. Iron goods, lacquerware, rice, saké, sugar, and textiles, among other items, had become necessities in Ainu life. In addition, *ikor*, or prestige goods, while not material necessities, were highly sought after items, the possession of which lent symbolic capital to the owner which could in turn be converted into a variety of material and social advantages (HOWELL 1994, 45).

These material connections between Ainu and *wajin* suggest that a kind of mutual dependency had grown between the Japanese merchants who contracted fishing grounds from the Matsumae-han and the Ainu who supplied the labor necessary to catch, process, and package the salmon, herring, and *konbu* extracted from the coastal regions of Ezo and sent to markets from Honshu to China. The Ainu, however, were further constrained by the threat of starvation. Once drawn into the emergent market economy in which labor is exchanged for wages, the Ainu lost recourse to their traditional mode of subsistence: hunting, gardening, gathering, and, crucially, fishing. In fact, exploiting the annual salmon run was the central subsistence strategy that sustained traditional Ainu villages. Settlements were situated adjacent to spawning grounds and relied heavily on the autumn arrival of thousands of *kamui chep* or “divine fish” (WATANABE 1973; IWASAKI-GOODMAN and NOMOTO 2001). So, the time spent working in the *basho* was time not spent catching, preparing, and storing surplus salmon for the long northern winter. Ainu living in villages adjacent to the growing commercial fishing outposts found themselves with little free time to engage in their traditional subsistence and cultural activities. According to one observer, “The Ainu no longer wear their traditional robes (*attush*). In Shari *basho* they wear woven clothes because they do not know how to use the loom—it is said that they have no free time to devote to it as they are busy working in the fishing areas” (Ichinoseki in KAGA-KE MONJOKAN 2001, 17). Unlike the seasonal cycles of earlier times, Ainu labor was now in demand year-round: in spring for herring season, in summer for trout, and in autumn for the salmon runs; in the winter the Ainu were required to cut specified amounts of firewood for the local magistrate and his retainers.

Trading houses, the Matsumae-han, and, by implication, the *bakufu*'s presence in the north all required a functioning northern economy. To keep Ainu engaged in wage labor in the approximately seventy *basho* around the island of Ezo, Matsumae officials promulgated edicts to keep them from engaging in other subsistence strategies that might have competed with the labor needs of the fishing grounds. In 1786, the shogunal official Matsumoto Hidemochi wrote that Fukuyama Castle (the administrative center for the Matsumae-han in southern Ezo—later renamed Matsumae Castle) forbade the Ainu from engaging in grain cultivation due, in part, to Matsumae's financial circumstances. Around the same time, an official, Satō Genrokurō, recorded that men sent by Matsumae destroyed an Ainu man's attempt to cultivate rice in the Ishikari region. On another occasion, Satō Genrokurō refused a request for rice seed and instruction regarding its cultivation from an Ainu chieftain in Eastern Ezo due to regulations against the Ainu engaging in rice farming (WALKER 2006b, 55).

These prohibitions were key to maintaining a dependable labor force in the *basho*. While these examples suggest that Matsumae officials were careful to enforce prohibitions against Ainu farming, there was clearly an effort by Ainu in different regions of Ezo to procure the materials and expertise to engage in agricultural production during the late eighteenth century. Unfortunately, the historical record appears to yield scant evidence of Ainu villages (*kotan*) adopting agriculture beyond household gardens as a solution to the growing scarcity of salmon, the staple food that allowed many Ainu villages to survive the long, difficult winters of subarctic Ezo. The records of Kaga Denzō (see KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN), a *wajin* interpreter for various *basho* in eastern Ezo, appear to be one of the few sources available that document a successful attempt at full-scale agricultural production.

KAGA DENZŌ AND THE EMERGING NATION

The mid-nineteenth century was marked by a series of social and political upheavals that foreshadowed Japan's period of rapid modernization and imperial expansion in the Meiji Era (1868–1912). In 1853, with four warships under his command, Commodore Perry steamed into Uruga Harbor near Edo (Tokyo). Perry is often recognized as responsible for ending Japan's nearly 220-year period of relative seclusion with the threat of military force. Within a few weeks of Perry's departure, the Russian commander Putiatin arrived in Edo to establish a formal trade relationship with the *bakufu* as well. This begins the so-called Bakumatsu Era—a period of decline in power for the *bakufu*. During the roughly fifteen years between Perry's arrival and the rise of the Meiji Emperor, the *bakufu* responded to the threat of foreign incursions through an aggressive militarization of the nation. This was a time of shoring up the boundaries of the archipelago nation, an effort that expanded into the still politically autonomous regions of Ezo. Kaga Denzō's records show how these changes impacted the *basho* in the most remote parts of Ezo—many of which had become permanent Ainu communities by this time.

Kaga was born in 1804 in the town of Hachimori on the west coast of Honshu, Japan's main island. He crossed to Ezo as a young man in 1818 to work as a Japanese-/Ainu-language translator along the east coast of the island. He lived and worked in Ezo until his death in 1874. For much of this time he lived between the east coast *basho* Chashikotsu (near present-day Shibetsu) and Kushiro, working with the local Ainu. His notes from this time record the major political shifts in the region, the changing ecology of the eastern Ezo fisheries, and, significantly, a fairly detailed portrayal of life in the *basho*.

Kaga Denzō would regularly jot down personal reflections about the cultural incongruities between the values of the Ainu and the agricultural ethos of *basho* officials. For example,

These days the dogs have multiplied and they snap at the ponies and calves. From time to time our livestock are eaten by the dogs. The dogs are important

for the Ainu, but they are hard on the cows and horses. Consequently, as soon as dogs are seen biting at livestock they are killed. When this happens, the Ainu workers watch severely, holding back harsh words.

(KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2002, 62)

Here the unequal relations in the *basho* are laid bare, as it is likely the threat of violence that kept the Ainu from protesting too forcefully. In other writings, general observations are made registering the political and social changes occurring along the frontier:

All of Ezo has come under *bakufu* control—because of the improved conditions, the Ainu now work vigorously in the fishing grounds, and occasionally they even plow the fields.... The government official, *basho* manager, translator, and guards do not hesitate to make their suggestions regarding the management of the *basho*.... If something is unreasonable, petitions are made to the magistrate's office. The officials will then investigate.... We are told that we should not become Christian.

(KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2002, 56)

The 1855 resumption of *bakufu* control in Ezo was a response to declining living conditions in Matsumae-managed Ezo, especially within the *basho*, and to renewed Russian interest in the area. The issue of Ainu, or the *wajin* settlers around the *basho*, adopting Christianity was an attempt to head off the soft imperialism of missionaries coming from Russia to a country emerging from more than two centuries of relative seclusion. The *bakufu* was aware of Russian southward advances along the Chishima (Kuril) Island chain beginning in the late eighteenth century. After Russian brutality was met with resistance and expulsion by the natives of the Etorofu and Rashōwa Islands in 1771, Russian emissaries returned with gifts and missionaries to convert the natives. By 1794 Cyril Laxman was requesting trade with Ezo *basho*. These advances, in part, prompted the *bakufu* to take control of Ezo for the first time in 1799 (TAKAKURA and HARRISON 1960, 49).

When Kaga mentions the Ainu plowing fields, he is referring to the efforts of local Ainu headman, Chaemon, and his attempt to learn how to cultivate varieties of grains and vegetables during Ezo's remarkably short growing season, a move that was in no small way due to a falloff in the productivity of the fishing grounds along the east coast of Ezo.

CRASHING ECOLOGIES

The Ainu traditionally relied on the yearly salmon runs. This staple food, arriving every autumn, allowed Ainu villages to survive Ezo's remarkably long, harsh winters. The salmon run impacted Ainu territoriality in that villages (*kotan*) were often situated adjacent to rivers along which the village held customary hunting and gathering rights (*imor*) (IZUMI 1952; WATANABE 1973). As Ainu men—and, later, entire families—were drawn into trade networks based in the coastal *basho*, traditional subsistence methods were supplanted by wage labor.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the fishing grounds along Ezo's northeast coast were becoming less and less productive under Matsumae-han administration and contractor mismanagement.¹⁶ In 1855 the *bakufu* assigned portions of Ezo to be maintained and defended by various domains, largely from northern Honshu. Aizu-han assumed control of the Menashi region along the east coast of Ezo. Ichinoseki Ichirō, an Aizu-han official, produced a description of the region's geography, topography, and natural resources for the domain. While struck by the natural beauty of the region and vastness of the surrounding wilderness, he was not impressed by the area's productivity.

Despite the large size of the territory, there are very few marine products here. In the spring there is herring fishing, boiling herring, and the production of herring meal and oil. Some of the herring is dried, but not much. There is only enough to provide some food for the Ainu. The trout fishery runs during the summer and the salmon runs begin in the fall. Of the two, the salmon fishery is more productive, but our catch is comparatively small.... In addition, there is no *konbu* [seaweed] for us to harvest here. As the winters are so cold, the sea ice destroys the kelp beds. (Ichinoseki in KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2001, 16)

According to Ichinoseki, there were 642 Ainu in the region that he knew of, 200 of whom travelled to the northern region of Soya to work the fishing grounds there. It is likely that there was not enough work in the east Ezo *basho*, necessitating the long trek north to the Soya *basho*. Another indicator of declining salmon populations is that the so-called mountain Ainu would travel to the coastal *basho* guardhouses to trade for food to sustain themselves. If the upriver Ainu communities were having difficulty procuring enough food to make it through the winters, then this was likely due to shortages in salmon yields (KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2001, 19).

A dwindling salmon catch was likely the result of unsustainable fishing methods that had been practiced for years in the *basho*. Kaga Denzō writes with a hint of frustration, “[T]he contract for the Shibetsu area has lapsed this year as there have been few fish and fewer profits. It has been difficult to manage such a large *basho* and it has not been well taken care of. The next contractor will somehow have to do better” (KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2002, 24). The near collapse of salmon stocks, and consequently the privation experienced by Ainu communities throughout the region, can be traced to the method of harvesting salmon at the mouth of the river, instead of upstream where a greater proportion of the total returning salmon may have had a chance to lay their eggs before being caught.

In December 1854, just before the change in administrative regimes from Matsumae-han to the *bakufu*, Kaga was summoned to translate between Ainu and *wajin* litigants during the Nishibetsu River dispute in which upriver Kushiro Ainu were lodging complaints to the regional administrators that a contractor by the name of Fujino was setting his nets at the mouth of the Nishibetsu River—blocking the passage of the salmon run and depriving the upriver Ainu of their staple food. The matter was settled by the regional magistrate, resulting in a ban on setting nets at

the mouth of the river. The decline in salmon populations was the direct result of generations of precisely this kind of activity which kept salmon from reproducing.

Fishing grounds were associated with specific rivers. Indeed, these fishing operations often took the name of the river that they controlled. As salmon returned to spawn in the same river in which they were hatched, they would be caught in nets set at the river's mouth. After generations of catching a sizeable proportion of returning salmon before they had a chance to reproduce, the total population returning to that river would begin to decrease. The decline in salmon impacted the profitability of the *basho* and presumably forced more Ainu from the interior to participate in the fishing industry or engage in trade to make up for shortfalls in their staple food source.

As the *bakufu* took control of Ezo, there was a change in the prohibitions enforced by Matsumae-han. In order to keep the Ainu dependent on trade with *wajin* merchants, Matsumae-han did not allow the Ainu to grow rice, adopt *wajin* customs of dress, wear shoes, or use the Japanese language.¹⁷ In 1855, as the *bakufu* assumed the administrative responsibility of Ezo, there was a push to assimilate the Ainu and turn them into members of the Japanese polity, thus establishing a claim through visible markers of ethnicity to the entire island of Ezo and the Chishima (Kuril) archipelago to the north. *Bakufu* officials were dispatched to Ezo to encourage Ainu assimilation. In 1856, an official from the town of Shiraoi in southern Ezo persuaded Ainu elders to begin wearing their kimono in the Japanese style (folded to the right), to stop wearing earrings, and to abstain from tattooing their women's faces and hands (HOWELL 1994). It is no coincidence that *bakufu* interest in the northern frontier arose just as trade relations were established through the Treaty of Shimoda with Japan's northern neighbor, Russia.

It is within this context of delegitimized military leaders, crashing fish stocks, and an unstable northern economy, that many Ainu found themselves in a position characterized by vulnerability and historically unprecedented choice. Their traditional mode of subsistence had been undermined for generations under the contract fishery system (*ukeoi seido*), a system that was itself becoming unsustainable. Within just a few decades Ainu would be working in burgeoning cities, developing newly annexed Hokkaido through forestry, road building, and farming. It is to these forces and early choices that Chaemon was likely responding when he started breaking the soil to sow fields in the most unlikely of places.

CHAEMON

Living and working in east Ezo's Chashikotsu *basho*, near the present-day town of Shibetsu, Chaemon is an intriguing character in the history of Ainu/*wajin* relations. He is described by geographer and travel writer Matsuura Takeshirō as a man in his late fifties who wears his beard long, as was customary for Ainu men, and has a haircut in the style of *wajin* commoners. In addition, he had changed his name from the Ainu "Rachiyashieki" to the *wajin*-sounding name "Chaemon." He tells Matsuura that he decided to adopt some *wajin* customs and a *wajin* name

when the *bakufu* abolished the Matsumae-han prohibitions on *wajin* foods, cultural items, language, and customs as they took control of Ezo in 1855:

I heard from the western part of the island that, like before, the *bakufu* assumed control of the entirety of Ezo. In the west, a new road has been opened and new fields have been cleared—they say that *bakufu* policies are being vigorously upheld. Whenever I hear rumors of these things, I feel insignificant. So, when the policy on customs changed to *wajin* customs [*fūzoku o wafū ni aratameyo*], and many young people started adopting *wajin* ways, I thought it advisable to do so as well. (MATSUURA 2002, 170)

Matsuura's sketch, entitled "Farmer Chaemon," shows Chaemon working in what appears to be a field of daikon radishes. Here he has a full beard, wears a kimono around his waist, and is without shoes.

Chaemon appears to be choosing between existing Ainu and newly available *wajin* customs. Unlike Mogumi's Iwanosuke, who assumed his Ainu persona only during certain times of the year, there is some degree of cultural hybridity in Chaemon's mode of presentation. Matsuura represents Chaemon's discourse in Japanese, but he may well have been speaking Ainu or a pidgin that was likely a common method of communication between Ainu and *wajin* workers in the Ezo fishing industry. Moreover, Chaemon seems to take up *wajin* customs more for their novelty and appeal to the younger Ainu men, and less because he was feeling pressure from his *wajin* overseers to assimilate. That said, the *wajin* running the *basho* were doubtless the cultural arbiters before and after this shift in policy. Indeed, Chaemon asks a local *wajin* translator for permission before undergoing his metamorphosis. Matsuura writes,

Ezochi had come under direct control of the *bakufu*. When the policy on customs changed, Chaemon first adopted a Japanese hairstyle and then changed his name to Chaemon. He said that he first asked Kaga Denzō, who was staying at the Nomura Banya, for permission. (MATSUURA 2002, 170)

This suggests the efficacy of the proscriptions against Ainu adopting elements of *wajin* culture and custom. Even in this remote region of Ezo, Chaemon's choices of self-presentation were shaped by policies promulgated in Edo (Tokyo), nearly one thousand kilometers to the south.

Beyond taking up some of the more visible trappings of *wajin*-ness and the existentially transformational move of taking another name, Chaemon, with help from the *basho* translator, Kaga Denzō, sets in motion an experiment that constitutes a pioneering effort in large-scale agriculture in eastern Ezo. The accomplishment is even more remarkable in that he had ostensibly no prior experience in agriculture and, not to be underemphasized, the climate along the eastern seaboard of Ezo provides an extremely short growing season. At first glance, the location of Chaemon's experiment, along the sandy Notsuke Peninsula, suggests his inexperience, but the choice may have more to do with the practical exigencies of having to continue to work the fishing grounds.

Notsuke peninsula, located near the modern day town of Betsukai, is a spit of land that curves into the Nemuro Strait. At twenty-eight kilometers in length, it is considered Japan's largest sandbank. The soil was described by MATSUURA (2006)¹⁸ as mixed with sand and shells and thus not conducive to agricultural production. The flat, fertile alluvial plain formed by the nearby Chashikotsu River would have made a better choice for the location of the fields, but it was likely too far removed from the daily fishing operations which were predominantly run from the peninsula. Despite the fact the *basho* was not producing as much as it used to in the way of salmon and herring, Ainu workers remained responsible for catching and processing fish, and therefore their fields needed to be adjacent to the fishing operation.

Chaemon's initial experiment involved planting a garden behind the *basho* trading post. As the soil was too sandy, Chaemon and other Ainu workers carried soil in baskets from the surrounding foothills—an immensely labor-intensive undertaking. Kaga Denzō assisted with ordering seeds from, presumably, Honshu. The first year they planted wheat, barley, millet, beans, and a variety of vegetables. Success led to clearing fields in other areas along the peninsula for the next growing season. Matsuura, clearly impressed by the efforts of the local Ainu, observed:

Their sincerity would likely have moved the gods of heaven and earth. Their crops were very fruitful—from the first year they had large harvests of daikon, pinto beans, carrots, greens, and more than enough of other items.... When I came to this place to see the fields for myself, Chaemon was intently helping to increase the size of a field. This year they were planting twenty-nine varieties of grain and vegetable. Gradually, I heard the story of how the fields came to be—in the course of Chaemon's initial efforts in the fields he buried his [Ainu] name. I thought this was a pity, so I gave him some tobacco, a handkerchief, and some other things as praise for his achievements. I promised that I would see him again if the chance presented itself. (MATSUURA 2002, 171–72)

Matsuura was not the only one who found the now verdant sandbar remarkable. He notes that Chaemon and his Ainu farmers were rewarded for their efforts in the fall of 1857 as the Hakodate Magistrate passed through. The magistrate watched the workers burning wheat stalks for a while and then gave them silver coins as a reward for their accomplishments.

Matsuura himself is ambivalent about the situation. Long sympathetic to the Ainu and their plight in the northern fishing grounds, he seems touched that, after so much abuse and impoverishment, Chaemon and other Ainu were engaged in this remarkable achievement. More importantly, they were potentially developing a more durable mode of subsistence for themselves. Yet, he also regrets what is being lost in the process. Surely he must have noted how the area, with its fields, fishing boats, and farmers, was beginning to look a bit like a typical fishing village in Honshu.

Despite the cultural changes taking place, Chaemon views the labor going into the creation of the fields as part of a larger project that has less to do with his own

immediate interests, or the directives of the *bakufu*, and rather that the expansion of agriculture on the Notsuke Peninsula is for Ezo itself. Speaking to Matsuura, Chaemon remarks that the planting of fields in the region is in fact a long-term development project:

This will take years, and I don't know that it will work; but, according to the intention of your trip, you want to see the open fields in this area and the grain and vegetables we are growing. This effort is not for me, and eventually it will be for Ezo, but for the moment it is for the *bakufu*. (MATSUURA 2002, 170)

Chaemon, impressed by the development happening in western Ezo, suggests that the project of development, while taking place under the auspices of the *bakufu*, is ultimately good for Ezo—something that he sees as somehow distinct from Japan.¹⁹

Culturally, the Ainu are defined by their connections to other peoples, and they never have been more than temporarily united across regional lines, so it is difficult to say what kind of broader political consciousness Chaemon could have possessed after centuries of *wajin* influence. Certainly customs and language divided *wajin* from Ainu: prohibitions on adopting *wajin* customs or speaking Japanese were centuries old by the mid-nineteenth century. I do not see Chaemon's commentary on the provisional nature of the *bakufu*'s interest in Ezo and the customs of the Ainu as indicative of an aspiration to recover a pre-*wajin* Ezo. Rather, Chaemon's willingness to cross the cultural divide and engage in the toil involved in opening and tending fields, as well as his preoccupation with the difference in the level of development between the western region of Ezo, long under direct or indirect control of the *bakufu*, suggests a marked future-orientation that envisions a "developed" Ezo with roads, agricultural fields, and perhaps more towns like Matsumae and Hakodate to the west.

ENGAGING MODERNITY

Histories of the Ainu during the nineteenth century contain virtually no first-person accounts. Lack of a written language and intermittent prohibitions against learning Japanese are the primary reasons we have to rely on second-hand sources regarding the lives of Ainu prior to the twentieth century. Matsuura's account is corroborated by Kaga Denzō's remarks on the progression from garden to fields on the Notsuke Peninsula and his lists of vegetables under cultivation in the area (KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2002, 101–103). Examining the fact that an Ainu man organized a farming experiment in an inhospitable environment, a number of interrelated forces suggest themselves as drivers of this process: ecological change, a shifting political economy, real or imagined territorial threats from Russia, and differential access to the capacities inherent in a coalescing modern Japanese polity.

Discourse in the social sciences concerning the catalysts of human behavior, the most persistent of which have revolved around questions of structure and agency (ARCHER 2003; BOURDIEU 1990; GIDDENS 1984; SEWELL 1992), lend a scheme

through which we might better understand this shift to an agrarian mode of production by a proletarianized hunter-gatherer in a region just south of the subarctic. Anthony Giddens formulated structures as composed of “rules and resources,” that is, generalizable proscriptions that, with varying degrees of consistency, shape social behavior in such a way that could be described as systematic (GIDDENS 1984, 21). Giddens was careful to not preclude variability and the emergence of new patterns of social life by highlighting the agentive nature of individuals acting within the system. Indeed the schemas, repertoires, conventions, principles, and assumptions that comprise social structures are all open to revision and constitute resources that are available to individuals contingent on their degree of access (GIDDENS 1984, 377). This flexibility inherent in so-called structures has been acknowledged and reprised in more recent theoretical constructs such as “networks” (LATOURET 2007), “assemblages” (MARCUS and SAKA 2006; ONG and COLLIER 2004), and even “rhizomes” (MARTIN 1998).

Prior to the 1850s, the structural constituents of Chaemon’s world seem clear and enduring: a formalized system of exchange of cultural and subsistence resources for Ainu labor, reified cultural and linguistic boundaries between Ainu and *wajin*, and continued political influence from Edo and Matsumae. However, Ezo in the mid-nineteenth century’s Bakumatsu Era was going through multiple crises, and therefore the normative responses to the degradation of the social and natural environments around the *basho* were insufficient.²⁰ If the records of Kaga Denzō are to be believed, the annual salmon runs were in decline. This would impact the financial viability of the *basho*, the livelihoods of Ainu working the *basho*, and pose an existential risk to upland Ainu communities. Thus flight from the deteriorating conditions of the *basho* was becoming less of a possibility as inland communities were also impacted by the declining salmon stocks.

The threat of a modernizing Russia progressing southward along the Chishima island chain and subsuming a largely uncolonized Ezo compelled the *bakufu* to repeal prohibitions that restricted the Ainu from adopting Japanese names, modes of dress, language, and other customs—encouraging them to become not *wajin*, but something resembling cultural citizens of an emergent modern Japanese polity (HOWELL 2004). Chaemon was certainly caught up in this period of rapid cultural diffusion, evident by wearing his hair in the style of Japanese commoners while discarding his Ainu name.

Finally, as a member of a politically and culturally diverse group of autochthonous people who had for centuries been drawn into an emerging system of prestige-good circulation and capital investment and accumulation centered around coastal fishing operations, possible responses to the cultural and ecological constraints in the Chashikotsu region were limited. Ainu prestige goods such as lacquerware items, swords, rice, saké, and tobacco were well integrated into Ainu society by the nineteenth century and supported the symbolic order on which religious and political power rested (WALKER 2006a, 112–14). These goods were largely acquired during regular trading expeditions to seats of Japanese power such as the settlements of Hakodate and Matsumae. Disengaging altogether from the

ritualized system of distribution would not have been a palatable or even an imaginable option for most Ainu.

The joke at the beginning of this article seems to suggest that, despite familiarity with small-scale horticulture, the Ainu were incompetent when it came to methods of agricultural production, and indeed the narrative may serve to reinforce perceived cultural boundaries between *wajin* and Ainu populations in Ezo during the mid-nineteenth century. Given the relative speed of the transformation of the Notsuke Peninsula, a more generous reading finds the juxtaposition of the two modes of subsistence evoking the rapidity, or even simultaneity, by which the pivot from fishers to farmers occurred. Yet, as quick as the transformation was, Chaemon's move toward agriculture was less driven by preexisting cultural repertoires than by a new set of opportunities and constraints. The massive project of planting fields on the relatively infertile Notsuke Peninsula can be viewed as a response to political, ecological, and economic changes that would become characteristic of Japan's modern era. I have argued that the Ainu experienced most acutely some of the earliest harbingers of Japan's modernity and the crises embedded in it: over-exploitation of natural resources, development and consolidation of the frontier, and cultural and political assimilation. Chaemon's adoption of agriculture, while certainly influenced by these factors, was not overdetermined by them.²¹

In Matsuura's discussion with Chaemon, it is clear that he is strategically choosing among possible representational and subsistence strategies. In terms of Chaemon's appearance, he adopts some Japanese customs such as hairstyle and name, but also retains Ainu modes of representation—his long beard, for example.²² In terms of subsistence strategies, initiating and implementing a large-scale agricultural project was clearly an act of agency on his part. He was playing what Sherry Ortner calls "serious games"—exercising choice amid a milieu of shifting contingencies in a deliberate, skillful, and agentive fashion (ORTNER 2001, 22–24). Chaemon could have chosen otherwise—indeed many Ainu did (SIDDLE 1996, 62–63)—but he exercised a temporal orientation toward a sustainable mode of subsistence and a sensibility regarding territorial development that would become characteristic of a modernizing Ezo (renamed "Hokkaido" by Matsuura himself in 1869). The social, ecological, and cultural conditions of the area allowed some Ainu to continue to participate in an ailing fishing economy and others to return to their villages in the hinterland to make their way as best they could despite declining salmon stocks—by 1869 the *basbo* system was eliminated entirely (SIDDLE 1996, 62). These same conditions also positioned Chaemon to engage these changes in a way that would allow him and other Ainu workers to diversify their survival strategies to include large-scale cultivation. This would benefit the *bakufu* in terms of modernizing the northern frontier, but, more importantly for Chaemon, the development of Ezo would enable the Ainu to endure the flurry of social and ecological changes that would characterize Japan's transition to modern industrialization and political expansion.

NOTES

* A preliminary version of this article was presented at the 2009 Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting in Chicago. Questions and remarks from participants were encouraging and very helpful. I would like to thank David Howell for his invaluable guidance on an early draft of this article. This submission has benefitted greatly from the thoughtful notes of the anonymous reviewers, and I would like to thank them for their careful readings and insightful suggestions.

1. *Bakufu* refers to the system of governance under Japan's military-led regime from 1603 to 1868.

2. I use the northern island's original Japanese name, "Ezo," when referring to pre-Meiji Hokkaido. The island was annexed by the very young Japanese state in 1868 and renamed "Hokkaido" in 1869.

3. Of these, I would highlight the contradictions between national homogeneity and ethnic diversity, ecological conservation, ecological depletion through the development and expansion of extractive industries, and culturally assigned values and the commodification of products bound for distant markets.

4. There are other examples of Ainu exercising agency vis-à-vis their *wajin* (see note 6) interlocutors. Brett Walker suggests that the Shakushain Revolt in the seventeenth century was sparked in part by *wajin* gold miners churning the waters of streams and rivers so badly that the annual salmon runs were greatly reduced. Further, Walker indicates that there are records of Ainu attempting to cultivate rice during the eighteenth century in western Ezo in violation of *wajin* proscriptions against Ainu growing grain (WALKER 2006a, 84–86).

5. Stoler's notion of "imperial debris" describes the symbolic and material transformations of the colonial era and how they persist and function (albeit differently) in the present. One way to think about this phenomenon in relation to cultural practice is when cultural productions (for example, clothing, ritual, and music) become commodified and thus useful in very different locations and contexts.

6. The term *wajin* refers to someone that considers themselves ethnically Japanese. As "Japanese" is indicative of both citizenship and ethnic affiliation, *wajin* is often invoked to delineate the difference between ethnic (some would say Yamato [the dominant ethnic group of Japan]) Japanese and non-ethnic members of the Japanese state (Ainu, Korean, Chinese, French). LEVIN (2008) suggests that the relatively recent widespread use of the term corresponds to a growing awareness of how ethnicity functions in Japan and how being ethnically "unmarked" benefits *wajin* in the same way white people benefit from an unmarked racial category in Europe and the United States.

7. Exactly how the autochthonous inhabitants of Ezo conceptualized this distinction at this time is not clear. Certainly differences in language, custom, and power were recognizable to both *wajin* and Ainu. However, were these differences seen as peripheral gradations from a Japanese cultural and economic core? Or were they understood as characterizing an integrated cultural area distinct from and, at times, in opposition to *wajin* interlocutors? The answers to these questions currently lie at the heart of some of the current debates that animate Ainu Studies. My argument is that Chaemon saw Ezo as a region distinct from Japan and worthy of a style of development (in terms of roads, agriculture, and social customs) that would parallel what he perceived was happening in *wajin*-held west Ezo.

8. The Ainu and their ancestors are known to have practiced a mixed subsistence strategy, including small-scale gardening, trade, hunting, fishing, and gathering. CRAWFORD and YOSHIZAKI (1987, 205–206) have recorded evidence of horticulture in western Ezo as early as the ninth century CE. FUKASAWA (1998, 11) indicates that, under Matsumae-han restrictions on planting, Ainu families would fend off starvation by planting their gardens far from their homes. Because of emergent political, social, and ecological realities in Ezo, Chaemon was able to transform the Ainu garden from one element in a mix of subsistence methods

into something that could potentially become a primary subsistence strategy—more akin to Japanese agriculturalists than Ainu household gardeners.

9. Many of Matsuura's vignettes detailing the lives of the Ainu in Ezo are two to five pages long. The story "Chaemon the Farmer" runs about three pages.

10. This of course was not true across the board. The squalid living conditions in the *basho* were routinely criticized by domain officials (Ichinoseki Ichirō; see KAGA-KE MONJO KAN 2002), *bakufu* agents (MOGAMI 1972), and travelers (MATSUURA 2002; 2006).

11. Howell emphasizes the complex nature of the status system in early modern Japan. For example, the outcasts, or *eta*, were unable to transcend status boundaries due to cultural inflections concerning the spiritual contamination resulting from proximity with death.

12. The prohibitions enforced to keep Ryūkyūans and Japanese culturally and linguistically separated have been interpreted in a variety of ways. FURUKI (2003) suggests that because of China's trade embargo against Japan (in response to Japanese incursions into Korea in the sixteenth century), these distinctions were maintained as a ruse to keep China trading with the Ryūkyū Kingdom, who in turn traded Chinese goods to Satsuma-han. As Japan entered its *sakoku* (seclusion) era, cultural differences became undesirable as they indicated opposition to the *bakufu*'s prohibition on trade with foreign countries; thus, cultural integration was promoted in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to obfuscate transgressive trade relations. On the other hand, MORRIS-SUZUKI's (1998) position is that the *bakufu* began to enforce a number of prohibitions on dress, hairstyle, and food in the north and south in order to better define who was and was not Japanese—the idea being that the body politic could best be inscribed on the body of the subject.

13. Historians have long recognized that the seclusion policy of Tokugawa Japan never rendered the country completely cut off from the rest of the world. For example, TOBY (1977) makes clear that Japan's foreign policy relating to the rest of Asia ranged from direct trade with Ryūkyū (via Satsuma-han) and Korea (via Tsushima-han), to indirect economic relations with China as mediated by trade with the Ryūkyū Kingdom.

14. Most maps of the Tokugawa period (1603–1868) contained little or no detail about the interior of Ezo. The comments were confined to coastal trading posts and the mouths of rivers, and they often referred to a mountain range that ran down the center of island (there are in fact three separate ranges: Hidaka, Daisetsu'en, and Shiretoko).

15. The precise nature of the Ainu-*wajin* relationship in the *basho* is not entirely clear. There is evidence that in some areas Ainu were coerced into working the *basho* (see SIDDLE 1996, 36–47). Certainly some *basho*, especially those located closer to the Matsumae domain and thus *bakufu* observation and control, were managed more equitably than others. Along the eastern seaboard, however, abuses were well documented and, in one instance, resulted in the 1789 Kunashiri Revolt.

16. As early as 1670 Ainu headmen were complaining that *wajin* fishers were setting their nets and monopolizing the salmon catch during spawning season. Maki Tadaemon reported that Ainu elder Kannishikoru was concerned about the large number of *wajin* fishers that had recently begun to set their nets in the rivers, depriving upriver Ainu of their staple food (WALKER 2006a, 85).

17. See HOWELL (1994, 89–90; 2005, 141–46) and WALKER (2006a, 69–71) for a discussion on how cultural prohibitions simultaneously stimulated desire for *wajin* goods among the Ainu and created a situation of Ainu dependency on *wajin* traders for these goods. Prohibitions on language and customs kept the Ainu dependent on Matsumae-han as the sole arbiter of trade between Ezo and Honshu.

18. *Shiretoko Kikō* was compiled from information MATSUURA (2006) brought back from three trips to the region between the years of 1845–1858.

19. The nature of this distinction is not clear from Chaemon's statement alone. Was he referring to Ezo as a region that either possessed, or one day would possess, its own political identity? Or, was he referring to an island that had cultural and linguistic characteristics that were largely different from Japan proper and would presumably retain these differences over time? This is a question for future research.

20. Kaga Denzō's 1857 to 1860 protracted involvement in a court case between Nemuro *basho* operator Fujino and an upriver Ainu plaintiff is one example of the inability of officials to regulate fishing practices that were contributing to declining salmon stocks and impoverishing upriver Ainu communities. The Fujino operators were setting their nets at the mouth of the Nishibetsu River, starving the Ainu living upstream. After years of litigation, the contractor refused to sign anything requiring him to abandon this method of fishing (KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 2002).

21. "Overdetermination" is the idea that one's actions are delimited by not one but many influences that overlap and thereby provide few alternatives to act. It is tempting to read Chaemon's actions as overdetermined by the bundle of social, political, and ecological influences outlined here, but many Ainu made other choices—a retreat to the hinterlands, a move to the administrative centers of Hakodate or Matsumae, or to find work in more profitable *basho*.

22. This may be the beginning of what David Howell refers to as a *métis* or hybrid identity among the Ainu. He argues that after the Shakushain Rebellion of 1669–1672, blended Japanese-Ainu identities were not to be found in Ezo until the mid-nineteenth century (HOWELL 2005, 129).

REFERENCES

- ARCHER, Margaret
2003 *Structure, Agency and the Internal Conversation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- BATCHELOR, John
1892 *The Ainu of Japan*. London: Religious Tract Society.
- BOURDIEU, Pierre
1990 *The Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- CORNELL, John
1964 Ainu assimilation and cultural extinction. *Ethnology* 3: 287–304.
- CRAWFORD, Gary, and Masakazu YOSHIZAKI
1987 Ainu ancestors and prehistoric Asian agriculture. *Journal of Archaeological Science* 14: 201–13.
- FUKASAWA, Yuriko
1998 *Ainu Archaeology as Ethnohistory: Iron Technology Among the Saru Ainu of Hokkaido, Japan, in the 17th Century*. Oxford, England: John and Erica Hedges.
- FURUKI Toshiaki
2003 Considering Okinawa as a frontier. In *Okinawa: Structure and Subjectivity*, Glen Hook and Richard Siddle, eds., 21–38. New York: RoutledgeCurzon.
- GIDDENS, Anthony
1984 *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

HILGER, Mary

- 1971 *Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

HOWELL, David

- 1994 Ainu ethnicity and the boundaries of the early modern Japanese state. *Past and Present* 142: 69–93.
 2004 Making “useful citizens” of Ainu subjects in early twentieth-century Japan. *Journal of Asian Studies* 63: 5–29.
 2005 *Geographies of Identity In Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

IWASAKI-GOODMAN, Masami, and Masahiro NOMOTO

- 2001 Revitalizing the relationship between Ainu and salmon: Salmon rituals in the present. *Senri Ethnological Studies* 59: 27–46.

IZUMI Seiichi 泉靖一

- 1952 Saru Ainu no Chien Shūdan ni Okeru Iwor 沙流アイヌの地縁集團における IWOR [Iwor as the territorial unit of the Saru Ainu]. *Kikan Minzoku Kenkyū* 16: 213–29.

KAGA-KE MONJO-KAN 加賀家文書館

- 2001 *Kaga-ke monjo: Gendai goyaku-ban dai ichi-kan* 加賀家文書—現代語訳版 第一卷 [Kaga family records: Modern language edition, vol. 1]. Betsukai-cho: Betsukai-cho Kyōdo Shiryōkan.
 2002 *Kaga-ke monjo: Gendai goyaku-ban dai ni-kan* 加賀家文書—現代語訳版 第二卷 [vol. 2].
 2004 *Kaga-ke Monjo: Gendai Goyaku-ban dai yon-kan* 加賀家文書—現代語訳版 第四卷 [vol. 4].

KAMIYA Nobuyuki

- 1990 *Bakuhansei kokka no Ryūkyū shihai* 幕藩制国家の琉球支配 [The Tokugawa polity's control over Ryūkyū]. Tokyo: Kokura Shobō.

KAWAKAMI Jun

- n.d. Nemuro Nokamappu Icharupa jigyo: Kunashiri Menashi no tōsō gaiyō 根室ノカマップイチャルバ事業—国後メナシの闘争概要 [Nemuro nokamappu icharupa Project: Outline of the Kunashiri Menashi battle]. Unpublished manuscript.

LANDOR, A. H. S.

- 1893 *Alone with the Hairy Ainu. Or, 3,800 miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and a Cruise to the Kuril Islands*. London: John Murray.

LATOUR, Bruno

- 2007 *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network Theory*. New York: Oxford University Press.

LEVIN, Mark

- 2008 *Hibanteki jinsbu riron to Nihonbō: Wajin no jinsbuteki tokken ni tsuite* 批判的人種理論と日本法—和人の人種的特権について [The wajin's whiteness: Law and race privilege in Japan]. *Hōritsu Jihō* 80: 80–91. (English original unpublished.)

LIE, John

- 2001 *Multiethnic Japan*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

- MARCUS, George, and Erkan SAKA
 2006 Assemblage. *Theory, Culture & Society* 23: 101–106.
- MARTIN, Emily
 1998 Anthropology and the cultural study of science. *Science, Technology, & Human Values* 23: 24–44.
- MATSUURA Takeshirō 松浦武四郎
 2002 *Ainu Jinbutsu-shi* アイヌ人物誌 [Accounts of the Ainu people]. Tokyo: Hebonsha. (Originally published 1860)
 2006 *Shiretoko Kikō* 知床紀行 [Journey to Shiretoko]. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā.
- MOGAMI Tokunai 最上徳内
 1972 Ezo sōshi 蝦夷草紙 [Writings on Ezo]. In *Hokumon Sōsho* 1: 310–410. Tokyo: Kokusho Kankōkai. (Originally published 1790)
- MORRIS-SUZUKI, Tessa
 1998 *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation*. Armonk, NY: M. E. Sharpe.
- NEMURO SYMPOSIUM 根室シンポジウム
 1990 *Sanjū-nana-pon Inau* 三十七本のイナウ [37 Inau]. Sapporo: Hokkaidō Shuppan Kikaku Sentā.
- ONG, Aihwa, and Stephen COLLIER
 2004 Global assemblages anthropological problems. In *Global Assemblages: Technology, Politics, and Ethics as Anthropological Problems*, Aihwa Ong and Stephen Collier, eds., 3–21. New York: Wiley-Blackwell.
- ORTNER, Sherry
 2001 *Life and Death on Mt. Everest: Sherpas and Himalayan Mountaineering*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
 2006 Power and projects: Reflections on agency. In *Anthropology and Social Theory: Culture, Power, and the Acting Subject*, ed. Sherry Ortner, 129–53. Durham: Duke University Press.
- SAKAI, Robert
 1964 The Satsuma-Ryūkyū trade and the Tokugawa seclusion policy. *Journal of Asian Studies* 23: 391–403.
- SEWELL, William
 1992 A theory of structure: Duality, agency, and transformation. *American Journal of Sociology* 98: 1–29.
- SIDDLE, Richard
 1996 *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*. New York: Routledge.
- SJOBERG, Katrina
 1993 *The Return of the Ainu: Cultural Mobilization and the Practice of Ethnicity in Japan*. New York: Routledge.
- STOLER, Ann Laura
 2008 Imperial debris: Reflections on ruins and ruination. *Cultural Anthropology* 23: 191–219.
- TABATA Hiroshi 田端 宏
 2010 *Hokkaidō no rekishi* 北海道の歴史 [The history of Hokkaido]. Tokyo: Yamakawa Publishing.

TAHARA Kaori 多原香里

2006 *Senjūminzoku Ainu* 先住民族アイヌ [The indigenous Ainu]. Tokyo: Ningen Shuppan.

TAKAGI Takayoshi 高木崇世芝

2003 *Hokkaidō no furui chizu: Edo jidai no Hokkaidō no sugata o saguru* 北海道の古地図—江戸時代の北海道のすがたを探る [Old maps of Hokkaido: Investigations into the shape of Edo-era Hokkaido]. Hakodate: Goryōkaku Publishing.

TAKAKURA Shinichirō and John HARRISON

1960 The Ainu of northern Japan: A study in conquest and acculturation. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 50: 3–88.

TOBY, Ronald

1977 Reopening the question of *sakoku*: Diplomacy in the legitimation of the Tokugawa bakufu. *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3: 323–63.

WALKER, Brett

2006a *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590–1800*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

2006b The ecology of Ainu autonomy and dependence. In *The Indigenous Experience: Global Perspectives*, Roger Maaka and Chris Andersen, eds., 45–71. Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press.

WATANABE Hitoshi

1973 *The Ainu Ecosystem: Environment and Group Structure*. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

YONEMOTO Macia

2003 *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603–1868*. Berkeley, CA: University of California.