

BENEVOLENT CARE,
EDUCATION, AND THE
AINU IN JAPAN'S
COLONIAL NORTH,
1853-1880

Christopher J. Frey, Ph.D. September 27, 2013
Institute for the Study of Culture and Society



Colonialism and Education

3

- Education (Policy) Before Schools in a (Settler) Colonial Environment
- Bridging Internal and External Colonialism
- Schools and (settler) colonial projects

Outline of Talk:

4

- Review of Literature and Concepts
- Japan, Ainu, and Russia
- *Benevolent Care* and National Security
- Transitioning from Aid to Education
- Two early Ainu schools
- Conclusion



Literature Review

5

- Synthesizing International/Comparative Histories of Indigenous/Minority Education (Szasz, 2007; Altbach & Kelly, 1978)
- Colonialism and Education (Tsurumi, 1977; Kitamura 2009; Ogawa, 1997;; Lawrence 2011, Frey, 2011)
- Education beyond schools (Bailyn; 1972; Cremin 1979; Adams, 1995)
- Settler Colonialism (Wolfe, 2002; Varacini, 2010)
- **Gifts and Obligations** (Mauss, 1925; Saltman, 2011 Rupp, 2003)
- Regional, Institutional Histories (Takakura, Yamazaki, Emori, Walker, Howell)

Primary Sources

6

Japanese:

- *Hokkaido Prefectural Archives*
- *Hokkaido University Archives*
- *Hakodate City Library*
- *Bakumatsu Foreign Relations Public Documents*
- *Mombetsu Post Records*
- *Yoichi Post Records*
- *Archives of the Kaga Family*
- *Mission Teacher Diary (2v)*
- *Collected Letters of Oyabe Zen'ichirō (8 vol.)*
- *Chiri Yukie Memorial Archive*
- *Newspapers and Professional Journals*

English:

- *Church Missionary Society Records (1860s-1910)*
- *Hampton University Archives*
- *University of Pennsylvania Archives*



(Settler) Colonialism and Education???

7

- Development of School Systems and (Settler) Colonialism: Translation
- *Learning is contextualized; School is decontextualized.*
- Wolfe (2002): ‘Land and Labor in Colonial Policy’: family policy, labor and population

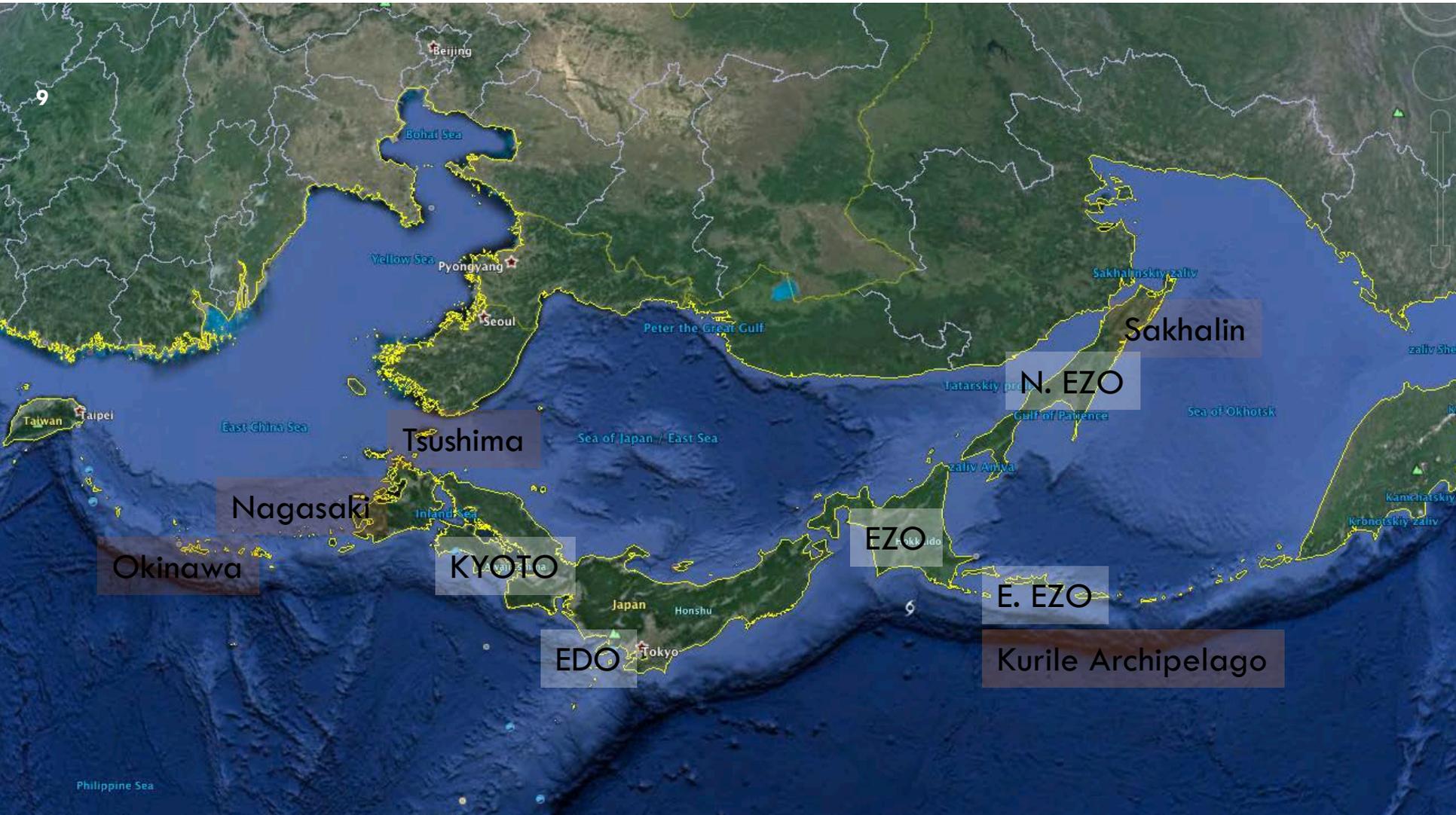


Gifts and Obligations

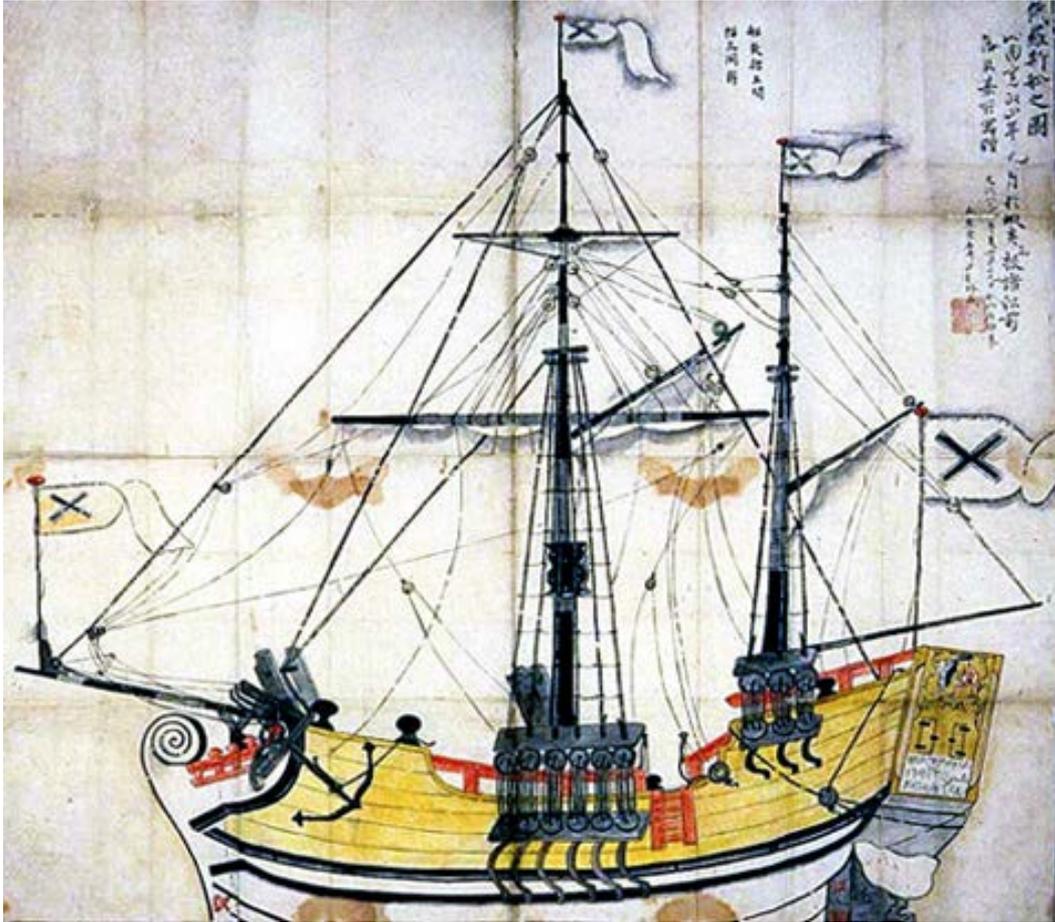
8

- Marcel Mauss. *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, 1925/2011.
 - Gift exchanges are “interested and obligatory” (31)
 - *Reciprocation is obligatory*
 - *Distinctions between ‘exchange’ and ‘gift-transaction’*
 - *Accumulated Inequalities*
- Gifts (Omusha), Aid (Buiku) to Schools (Kyoiku)

Tokugawa Japan: 1600-1868



Adam Laxman visits Ezo, 1792



Nemuro City Museum. Image of Russian Ship *Ekatarina*; Adam Laxman. <http://www.city.nemuro.hokkaido.jp/>

Japan's Northern Periphery: Sakhalin Ainu

13



Kurile Ainu: 1800

婦人ノ帽ニハ下地ヲ厚ク張リニ
 併ヘ其上へ更紗ヲ用折テ前
 ニアテ後口ヘマワシ縫ヒ隠シハ
 後口ヘ空レヲクナリ

傳ニロシヤ人ノ言ニ云ク槍ヲ取ルル
 方槍ヲ我父トシ人槍ヲ我子トシ
 中槍ヲ我兄トスルハ人ナレハ生ゼズ
 子ナレハ禽獸ニガリ先ナケレハ死
 ス故ニ是ヲ以テ傳ニ槍ハ是ヲ名
 ナテケレスタト云



鉞槍坐英ロシヤ人コリ得ル所
 ナリト云 鉞槍ハ火舌仕掛ナリ

童子ノ頭圍ニ
 十文字ノ鉞槍ニ
 ツケ頭ニ
 由テアロシヤ
 リト云ル也ナリ其
 レスタト云

人ニ對シテ解スレモ言フトモ立テ大槍
 人情中槍ニ奉テニ取テ先聲ニ當テ
 次ニ槍ニ當テ左ノ肩右ノ肩トニ當テ
 後ニ頭ヲラナクキ解スル也

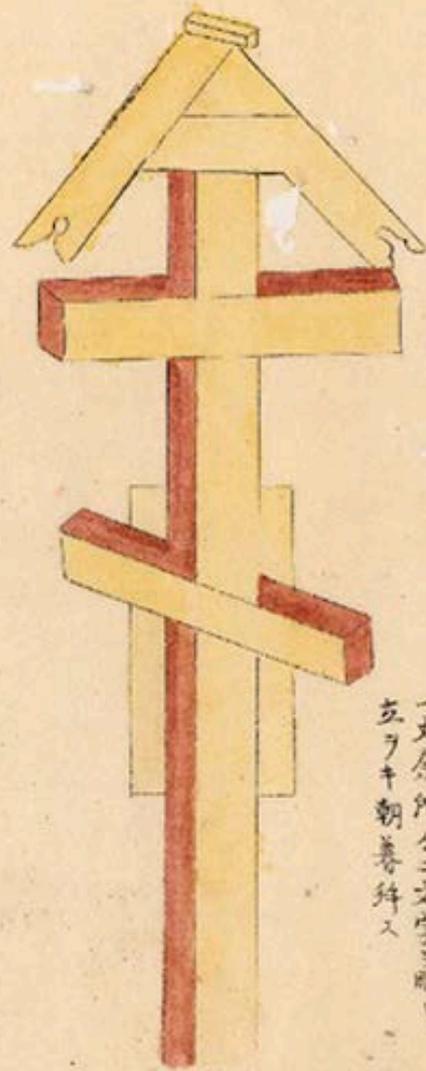


十エフカ蝦夷人之苗
 是ハ此方蝦夷島ノ西風俗ニ化シ
 タルナリ

股ハエトヒリカト云鳥ノ皮ヲ先ニ穿テ
 柄ノ裏ノ方ニシテ縫ツモ縫リ縫
 黒キ犬ノ毛ヲ皮トモニ小ク切リエトヒリ
 嘴ノ縁ヲ附ク照引ツ着シ靴ハ海狗
 皮ノ如ク脚半ヲ作りツクニ作ル

各イテヤシキ
 子イモニテセツク
 ツマイケニヤウニツ

エトロフ島工魯西亜人左テシ十字佛ノ番



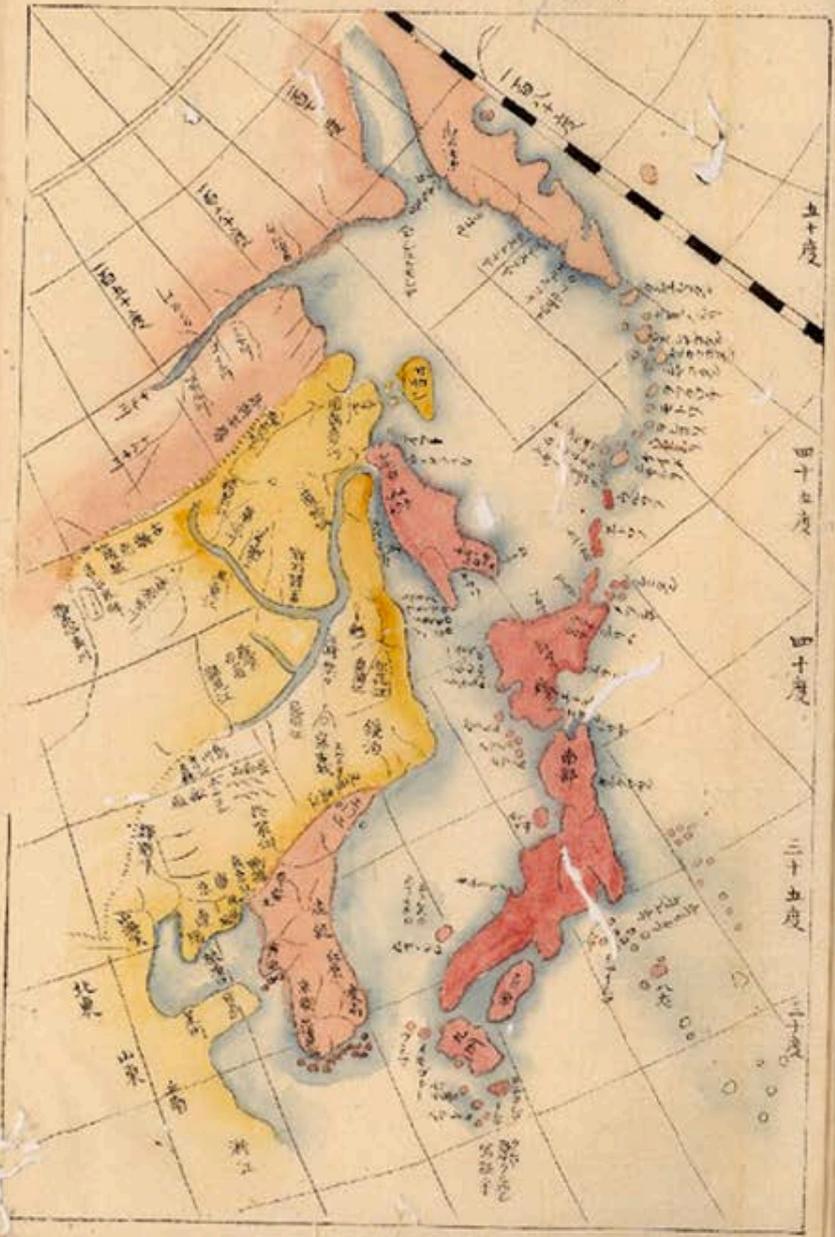
三四ホトノ角油ニテ高サ
一丈余所々ニ文字ヲ彫リ
左ラキ朝暮拜ス

魯西亜人イシエ工所持
十字佛銅佛之番

唐銅ノ飾物ナリ朝
コレヲ拜スモウケレヌ
タト云

キユノカ製夷人ノ所持スル所モ亦此物ト同シ





畧證

右カラフト地方ミラスシシレトコノ崎ハ第一ノ畧ニ據ル

○西辺ノ海湾ハ針路ニ據ル○「マング」ノ枝流ハ第十ノ畧ニ

據ル○接畧ノ地ハ第九第十ノ畧ニ據ル○カラフト山丹

滿列ノ方位ハ第八ノ畧ニ據ル○龜板ノ地ノ方位ハ興岡湖、南ノ瀕海

ニ諸回トモニ版ノ如キ地アリ第五ノ畧ニ據ル○サクリン島ハ第七ノ畧ニ據ル

○「アモル」ノ屈曲ハ第六ノ畧ニ據ル○其源流ハ第一ノ畧

ニ據ル○滿列ノ南類海ト朝鮮ノ地方ハ第五ノ畧ニ據ル

○滿列魯西亞境ヨリ「ホック」南類海ハ第八ノ畧ニヨル

○鴨綠江。土門江。ハ第一ノ畧ニヨル其支流ハ第十七ノ



1799-1821:

1st Bakufu Period (Central Gov't)

17

- 1660s-1800: Domain Control under Matsumae: Commercial Colony
- “This island will be as dense as Peking” (1799)
- Colonial Policy: Build Roads, Militarize Island, encourage agriculture as defense (*tondenhei*: ‘farmer-soldiers’)
- Ainu Policy: Assimilationist
 - Nuclear Families: End Polygamy
 - Improved Health/Medicine
 - Vegetarian Diet
 - Fold Garments Properly
 - Avoid ‘barbarian’ habits
 - Ainu encouraged to speak Japanese
 - Increase Wages at Fisheries
 - Targeted Aid at the edges of Japanese control
 - Expand Japanese religious institutions

1821-1853:

Reversion to Matsumae Domain Control

18

- Assimilation deemphasized by Matsumae
- Burden of paying for defense, Ainu aid, and new infrastructure pressures fisheries to produce more
- Increased Japanese labor migration because of Tempo Famine, 1830s

1853-1868: 2nd Bakufu Era (Central)

19

- 1853, 7th Month: Edo retakes control
- 1855: Hori Oribe no Sho
- Greatly expanded focus on aid, assimilation
- Salaries Increased
- Regular Distribution of Aid: rice, sake, tobacco
- Translators → Teachers
- “Gifts” for studying Japanese
1855-1859: Mombetsu Station
- Rewards for “Cultured Ainu” –these become the new cultural translators for the modern Ainu, transitions;



Reiterating Ainu Policy

20

- 1799-1806: First Bakufu Era
- 1855-1859: Early in 2nd Bakufu Period
 - Ainu laborers no longer restricted to Matsumae fisheries
 - *Increase salaries, aid*
 - Learn Japanese
 - Remake customs
 - Report all contact with foreigners
 - Avoid heresy, foreign religions, wicked religions
- 1869-1877: Hokkaido Colonization Agency (Kaitakushi)



Aid Practices in Ezo, 1800-1871

21

- 1800-1871: Regular monthly aid distributions for fishery workers
 - ▣ Bags of Rice, sake (l), leaves of tobacco, barrels of mash
 - ▣ Ainu officials (*yakudojin*) receive 3-5x of common Aborigines (*hiradojin*)
- After 1853: Special aid distributions for:
 - ▣ Injured (fishing accident)
 - ▣ Family of Injured/Killed worker
 - ▣ Elderly (over age 80)
 - ▣ Youth (under age 8)

From Aid, Education: 1854-1860

22

- 1854: US-Japan Treaty
- 1856: Shiyokotsu official to Aeshiro, 51 yo Ainu:
 - “For abilities in our country’s language [御國之言葉], you are given 5 go (11) of clear sake, and 1 leaf of tobacco.” 7th month, 5th day, 1856.
- 1855-1859: Writing ‘prizes’ in Northern Hokkaido
 - 1858: Mombetsu Official records distributions of pens, ink, paper to 13 Ainu “for study of our country’s language’ over 3 months, including
 - 5 sheets of paper to Chiyotaro
 - 5 inksticks to Deninto
 - 3 quires of paper to Katsuji
- Promotion of ‘civilization’ – defining ‘Japaneseness’
- Translators should act as teachers to the Ainu
- 1859: Russia and Japan agree to jointly govern Sakhalin
 - Revisions, Expansions of aid appear to cease in early 1860s

Land, Labor and Education

23

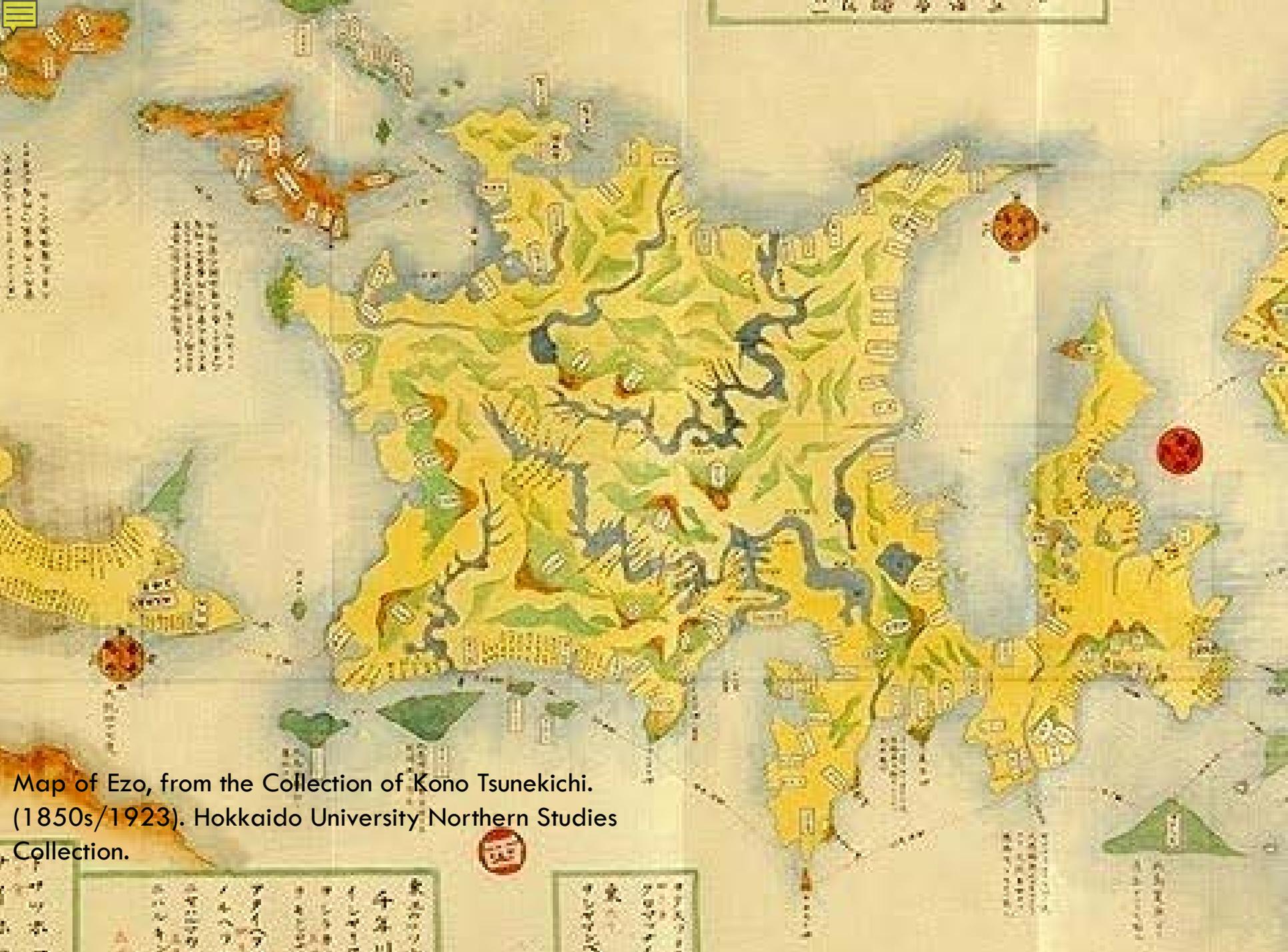
- Settler Colonial Perspective (Wolfe, 2002)
- Japanese cultural policy toward the Ainu in the 19th Century pivots:
 - 1670-1800: Domain Requires Ainu Labor at Fisheries → Cultural Dissimilation¹
 - 1800-1821: Bakufu Militarizes and Extends Claims Ainu Lands → Assimilation
 - 1821-1853: Domain Regains Control, Focuses on Labor at Fisheries → Dissimilation
 - 1853-1868: Bakufu retakes control of Ainu lands, makes formal claims to Ainu Lands → Assimilation
 - 1869: Hokkaido Colonization Commission (Kaitakushi) – beginning of school/child policies

1869-1882:

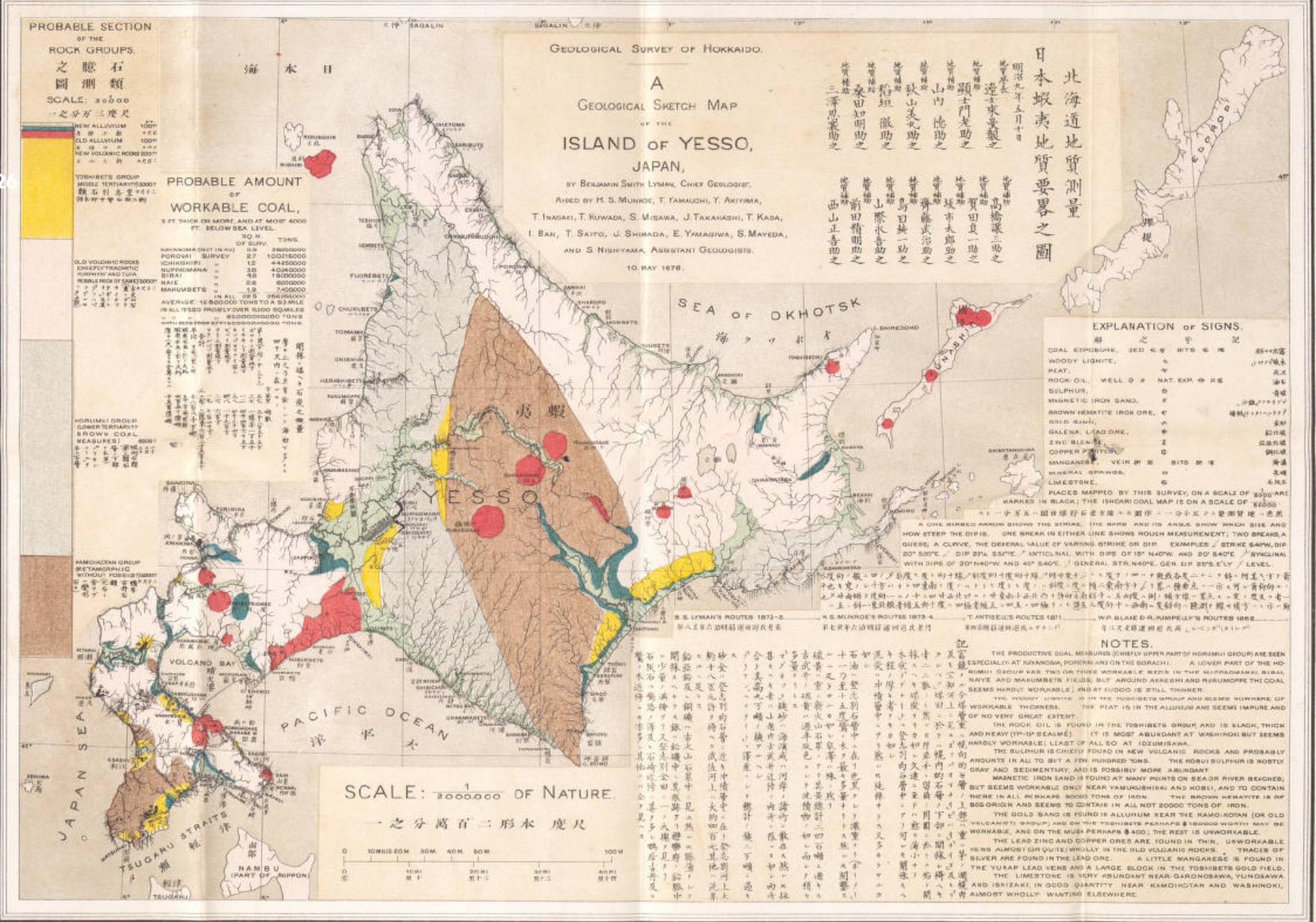
Old Northwest to the Northern Gate

24

- Horace Capron, Hokkaido Colonization Office (Kaitakushi) Director
 - ▣ Four Colonial Acts of 1862: Homestead Act; Morrill Act; Pacific Railroad Act; Dept. of Agriculture created.
- Agricultural Education
 - ▣ US professors, educators hired to guide colonization
 - ▣ Tokyo Provisional School - Hokkaido University
- Hokkaido and Ainu through Western eyes



Map of Ezo, from the Collection of Kono Tsunekichi. (1850s/1923). Hokkaido University Northern Studies Collection.



Benjamin Lyman, 1874. A Geological Sketch of the Island of Yesso, Japan. East Asian Library, UC-Berkeley.

Tokyo Provisional School: 1871-1874

27

- 28 Elite, Young Adults from Sapporo area
- 1/2 were bilingual
- Experimental school: no Japanese experience with a 'education for colonization'
- Three sections: Male, Female, and Ainu
- Rare example of 'boarding school'
- Students were to become translators and educators for the *Kaitakushi*/colonial project



Tsuishikari 'Education Center' (教育所)

28

- (Forcibly) Relocated Ainu from Sakhalin to near Sapporo, 1877
- Enrolling children earlier will make the cultural transition more likely. –*Sapporo Agricultural College President Zusho, 1877.*
- First example of public 'common school' for Ainu
- Transitional curriculum; former post official is first teacher
- American advisors from Sapporo Agricultural College visit twice; CMS missionary Walter Denning visits once



Tsuishikari Ordinary School, 1880s? Hokkaido University Library, Northern Studies Collection.

Postscript: Missionary and State Schools: 1880-1938

30

- London Church Missionary Society: Charity to College
- Hokkaido Former Aborigines Protection Act (1899)
- Regulations for the Education of Former Aborigine Children (1901)
- Abuta Industrial School (1901-1910)
- Integration of Ainu Children into Japanese Schools (1922-1938)

Kannari Taro, 1886. Petition for the Former Aborigine Education Association.

旧土人教育上之義ニ付伺
 水道旧土人ノ義ニ付テハ夙ニ百般之保護誘導ヲ加
 ヘラレ厚ク撫育ノ御主意モ有之況ンヤ過般教育費
 トシテ優渥ナル恩賜ノアルアリテ之レカ計畫ハ一
 日モ等閑ニ付スヘカラサルノ情勢アルニ於テオヤ
 就テハ過日來函館根室ノ兩縣ニ於テモ益々聖旨ヲ
 奉戴シ誘導撫育ノ道ヲ立ント夫々悞議ノスチモ有
 之趣ニテ這般函館縣學務課員村岡六等屬來札別紙
 甲号之通り旧土人教育ノ計畫ニ付深ク諗合モ有之
 旁々熟考スルニ本縣下ハ固ヨリ旧土人衆多住居致



Comparative Possibilities

32

- Okinawa/Ryukyu: Language
- Taiwan: Institutional Division
- Korea: Identity; Language; Institutional
- Manchuria/Southern Islands
- US colonial/international projects in education: common schooling; cross-cultural learning;
- Russian antecedents of *buiku*
- Contemporary aid/exchange programs



Implications

33

- Crossing boundaries between internal and external colonialism: it's just colonialism.
- Free Inquiry: Where is it difficult to ask these questions?
- Settler colonialism in public schooling
- Considering the role of “gifts” in contemporary (higher) education
 - ▣ If the state stops giving, what does the state stop getting?
- Colonial Policy Loop: Back to Old Northwest
- Implications for Contemporary Aid Structures
- What is an “indigenous people”? Indigeneity as a process
- Colonial Inheritance of Contemporary International Education

Selected Bibliography

- Altbach, P. G., & Kelly, G. P. (1978). *Education and colonialism*. Longman.
- Bailyn, B. (1972). *Education in the Forming of American Society: Needs and Opportunities for Study*. W. W. Norton & Company.
- Betsukai kyūdo shiryōkan. *Kaga-ke monjo, 1-5 [Historical Documents of the Kaga Clan]*. Betsukai, Hokkaidō: Betsukai linsatsu.
- Cremin, L. A. (1980). *American Education, the National Experience, 1783-1876*. Harper and Row.
- Emori, S. (2007). *Ainu minzoku no rekishi / Emori Susumu*. Urayasu-shi: Sōfūkan.
- Hara, K. (1977). *Takataya Kahei to hoppō ryōdo*. Tokyo: Gyōsei. Retrieved from <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001700472>
- Howell, D. L. (2005). *Geographies of identity in nineteenth-century Japan*. University of California Press.
- Lawrence, A. (2011). *Lessons from an Indian Day School: Negotiating Colonization in Northern New Mexico, 1902-1907*. University Press of Kansas.
- Mauss, M. (1954). *The gift: forms and functions of exchange in archaic societies*. Cohen & West.
- Ogawa, M. (1997). *Kindai Ainu kyōiku seidoshi kenkyū / Ogawa Masahito cho*. Sapporo-shi :: Hokkaidō Daigaku Toshō Kankōkai.
- Ogawa Shōichirō. *Ansei nenkan Mombetsu goyōsho shiryō shūsei, daiichi*. [Collected Historical Records of the Mombetsu Post during the Ansei Years, Vols. 1-2]. Sapporo: Nakanishi, 2001.
- Saltman, K. J. (2010). *The Gift of Education: Public Education and Venture Philanthropy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Siddle, R. M. M. (2012). *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*. Routledge.
- Takakura, S. (1972). *Ainu seisaku shi*. Retrieved from <http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/002251702>
- Tōkyō teikoku daigaku shiryō hensangakari. *Dai Nippon komonjo: Bakumatsu gaikoku kankei monjo Archives of Great Japan: Historical Records of Bakumatsu Foreign Relations.* Tokyo: Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku Bunka Daigaku Shiryō Hensangakari, 1910-1989.
- Tsurumi, E. P. (1977). *Japanese Colonial Education in Taiwan, 1895-1945*. Harvard University Press.
- Veracini, L. (2010). *Settler Colonialism: A Theoretical Overview*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Walker, B. L. (2006). *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800*. University of California Press.
- Yoichi-chō. *Yoichi-chō shi, daiichi shiryōhen ichi [History of Yoichi Town" Vol 1, Collected Documents 1: Historical Records of the Hayashi]*.

Thank you!