Indigenous Inspirations: The Role of Alcohol and Western Notions of Indigeneity in Japanese Colonialism and Ainu Life in Hokkaido, 1869-1899

Research Advisor: Dr. Maren Ehlers

First Reader: Dr. Steven Sabol

Second Reader: Dr. Carol Higham

Foster Duckworth

HIST 4799

April 23rd, 2025

Introduction

The world at large tends to consider Japan an ethnically homogenous nation. However, scholars frequently overlook the native Ainu of Hokkaido in discussions of Japan's initial ventures into colonial expansion. In 1869, the Japanese government established the Hokkaido Development Commission, or the Kaitakushi, as the department responsible for developing the territory of Hokkaido, the northernmost island of the Japanese archipelago. The Kaitakushi moved in lockstep with the modernization of the mainland during the Meiji Era. Its main objectives in directing the incorporation of Hokkaido into the Japanese nation consisted of the promotion of industrial and agricultural development, the population of the territory with Japanese settlers, and the assimilation of Hokkaido's native population, the Ainu, into the Japanese polity.

Kuroda Kiyotaka, deputy commissioner of the Kaitakushi from 1871 to 1882, employed foreign experts from various Western countries, especially the United States, to advise on the territory's development.[1] American foreign advisors such as Horace Capron, who worked for the Kaitakushi and its successor institutions in the 1870s, left their mark on Hokkaido in their recommendations for its agricultural, industrial, and educational advancement. Their advice had detrimental effects on the native Ainu, such as their physical relocation, their loss of economic autonomy due to employment in Hokkaido's local industries, the destruction of Hokkaido's natural ecology, and restrictions on language and customs that only hastened the decline of Ainu culture. The implementation of the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Act of 1899, influenced by the American Dawes Act of 1887, resulted in the removal of the status of Ainu as a distinct ethnicity,

[1] Fumiko Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier: American Experts in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994), 3-14.

effectively labeling them as ordinary Japanese citizens and cementing their cultural destruction by the Japanese in legal terms.[2]

This thesis analyzes the ways in which nineteenth-century American notions of indigeneity contributed to the construction of the Ainu image in the eyes of American members of the Kaitakushi and other Western visitors to Hokkaido. It uses comparisons between white Americans'experiences with Native American tribes and the Ainu to examine the role of alcohol in the Ainu-Japanese relationship in colonial Hokkaido from 1868 to 1899, by linking Western perceptions of that role to American stereotypes on alcohol usage among Native American populations. Personal writings by American Kaitakushi employees and other Western figures reveal that they developed images of the Ainu that were informed by pre-existing Native American stereotypes, their personal religious and moral beliefs, and the histories of relationships between indigenous peoples and their colonizers. These images likely influenced their approach to advising Japanese statesmen on Hokkaido's development. While scholars frequently mention the parallels between the plight of the Ainu and the struggle of Native Americans in passing, a formal investigation into American employees' understanding of the Ainu has not been conducted in English-language scholarship.[3]

Because this thesis is primarily interested in American interpretations of Hokkaido's role as a Japanese frontier, it is essential to guard against a western bias in my own interpretations of Hokkaido's development. Understanding the social constructs under which the Ainu-Japanese relationship operated is crucial in avoiding Western generalizations about the colonial dynamic

---

[2] John B. Cornell, "Ainu Assimilation and Cultural Extinction: Acculturation Policy in Hokkaido," *Ethnology* 3, no. 3 (1964): 297.

[3] Prominent scholars like John B. Cornell, Katsuya Hirano, and Brett L. Walker each center the Ainu in their analyses of their relationship with the Japanese. However, each of these scholars alongside others made passing references to the parallels between the struggle of the Ainu and Native Americans that went unexplored in their works beyond brief mentions. Danika Medak-Saltzman is the first historian to position the Ainu and Native American experiences alongside one another in an extensive analysis, and remains the only scholar to do so as of writing this thesis.

in Hokkaido, especially when using sources by Western authors. To maintain historical accuracy in my discussions of the island territory of Hokkaido, I chose to alternate between using the original name the Japanese coined, Ezo (or Ezogashima), when referring to the territory before 1868, and its modern name, Hokkaido, for the territory after 1869. For the same reason, I chose to follow Japanese name practices, which most scholars in the field of Japanese history use, and to refer to Japanese individuals born in and residing in Japan with their surnames preceding their first names. For Westerners, I use standard Western name practices and list the first name before the surname.

This thesis also addresses the creation of and application of Native American stereotypes in the United States. As a result, I have chosen to distinguish discussion of stereotypes from that of their historical reality by using the terms 'Indian' and 'Native American' in specific contexts. The term 'Indian' is used to indicate the biased, indigenous caricatures used by Western colonialists and settlers. The term 'Native American' is used when referencing the actuality of indigenous roles and conditions in Southwestern American territories during the period discussed in this thesis.

Historical Background

What follows is an overview of Ainu-Japanese interactions, the beginnings of modernization and Westernization in Japan, and American Indigenous legislation passed during the 19th century. These three areas illustrate the essential forces at play during Hokkaido's colonization by the Japanese. The Japanese and the Ainu began to interact long before Japan's more invasive economic ventures in Hokkaido in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In the eighth and ninth centuries, interaction between the Japanese and the *Emishi*, a broader category

of pre-Ainu groups, involved consistent efforts to 'pacify' these 'northern barbarians' in Ezogashima, or Ezo, which included modern-day Hokkaido, Sakhalin, the Kuril Islands, and Northern Tohoku.[4] In the twelfth century, the Kamakura shogunate recognized the Ando, a Japanese warrior family, as the rulers of Ezo, which marked the beginning of significant new trade relationships between the Emishi and the Japanese.[5] By the fifteenth century, this new environment ushered in the emergence of the distinct Ainu culture known today. The integration of Japanese goods into the Ainu lifestyle, the incorporation of these goods into traditional rituals, and a developing political relationship between the Ainu and the Ando family each became key facets of the Ainu-Japanese relationship that persisted into the early modern period.

Prior to Hokkaido's colonial period beginning in 1869, the Ainu possessed distinct social, subsistence, and religious practices that defined the ways they interacted with Ezo's natural ecology. The identities of the Ainu of Ezo depended on political alignments called *petiwor,* or river-based chiefdoms composed of several different Ainu *kotan*, village settlements consisting of multiple family units.[6] As chiefdoms were located by major watersheds or coastal rivers and their tributaries, political alignments and environmental demarcations caused Ainu subsistence activities to differ from group to group, although each participated in hunting, fishing, and plant-gathering ventures within their politically-divided geographic territories.[7] Salmon and the brown bear were two of the most significant sources of nourishment in Ainu *kotans* during Ezo's harsh winters, evidenced by the importance of religious rituals associated with the two animals like the *iyomante* bear ceremony and the "first salmon" ceremonies held yearly.[8] Plant-gathering

---

[4] Brett L. Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 20-21.
[5] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 28-29.
[6] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands,* 76-77.
[7] Ibid.
[8] William W. Fitzhugh, et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People* (Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in association with University of Washington Press, 1999), 36.

in Ezo's broadleaf forests allowed the Ainu to acquire vegetables like wild lily roots, rhubarb, and mushrooms, and in rare cases, small-scale farming occurred to produce goods like millet, potatoes, soybeans, and onions, but never as diet staples until the late nineteenth century.[9] Within each of these practices, the Ainu viewed the natural environment of Ezo as a sacred space filled with *kamuy*, or Ainu nature spirits and gods, in the form of animals, plants, and fish. As such, maintaining Ezo's ecology played a central role in cultural, subsistence, and religious expressions among the Ainu, as well as in obtaining Ainu trade goods in order to acquire other necessary Japanese goods like *sake*, or Japanese rice wine, lacquerware, and iron products.

During the Tokugawa Era (1603-1867), the Matsumae clan became the primary intermediary between the Ainu and the central shogunal government, because the Tokugawa shogunate, Japan's feudal military leadership, delegated regional authority to daimyo vassals like the Matsumae.[10] The Matsumae forged an economic relationship with the Ainu that was based on mutual dependency. For the Matsumae, the legitimacy of their house within the Tokugawa order relied on maintaining a core-periphery trade relationship with the Ainu, whom the shogunate perceived as an autonomous foreign entity separated from Japan by distinct political, social, and territorial boundaries. Ainu reliance on Japanese commodities made this relationship not only economically necessary for the Ainu, but critical to maintaining their increasingly Japanese-influenced lifestyles.[11] This created a paradox in which the Ainu integrated more Japanese goods into their culture through trade, while the Matsumae depended on the existence of a distinctly Ainu culture to be able to conduct that trade. This paradox explains the domain's

[9] Fitzhugh, et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People,* 36, 204.
[10] Ibid., 36-37.
[11] David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2005), 112-117.

simultaneous efforts to assimilate and maintain separation from the Ainu in order to preserve their trade relationship and subsequently, their legitimacy within the empire.

Economic restrictions placed upon the Ainu by the Japanese culminated in Shakushain's War of 1669. The war acted as the Ainu's final effort to reestablish favorable trade and assert their autonomy from Matsumae rule in the wake of increasing competition among Ainu chieftains over trade commodities and the reduction of Ainu access to markets outside of designated trading posts, in which Ainu and Japanese commodities could be exchanged under Matsumae supervision.[12] This war, which ended with a quick defeat of the Ainu, became a critical turning point for the Ainu-Japanese trade relationship, because the failure of the Ainu to effectively reject Matsumae authority and political influence only increased the power imbalance between the two groups. From the 1670s onward, the Matsumae domain placed greater restrictions on trading posts that served to further peripheralize the Ainu. These restrictions included raising the prices of Japanese commodities, limiting the Ainu's sphere of trade to designated trading posts within Ezo, and delegating the management of these posts to Matsumae retainers to limit Ainu trade with those outside of the Matsumae monopoly.[13] By the mid-eighteenth century, merchant trade post managers began converting trading posts into contract fisheries, which used Ainu labor for commercial fishing and processing and exported the catch to the Japanese mainland.[14] Increased demand for Ezo's fish products, such as herring-meal fertilizer, in markets in western Japan further facilitated this shift. It increased Ainu dependency on wage labor and integrated Ezo's industries more tightly with the mainland Japanese economy.[15] The Ainu's loss of political autonomy and their now-inescapable dependency on the

[12] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 113.
[13] Ibid., 114-115.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 116-117.

Japanese for both goods and economic opportunities only intensified when the new Meiji government dissolved the Matsumae domain in the wake of the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

After the Meiji Restoration, Japan's leaders sought to modernize their society, government, and economy and mold Japan into a Western-style nation-state. They embraced Western notions of civilization and the adoption of Western social and political institutions, and the industrial technologies that supported them, as a means to lift Japan to the same status as Western nations.[16] The Japanese population increasingly incorporated the Western concept of 'civilization' into their physical presentations and everyday practices, and turned it into an internalized part of their individual identity. A civilized identity in accordance with Western standards now separated Japanese subjects from their "barbaric" counterparts in Ezo. Concomitantly, the Japanese extended their modernizing mission to the task of assimilating perceived "barbarians" like the Ainu as Japanese subjects, which overturned previous efforts by the Matsumae to prevent full assimilation for the sake of their economic legitimacy. The goal of developing the Ezo frontier served to both civilize the expanding Japanese polity and defend Ezo from foreign intrusion, especially from Russia.

The Meiji government's modernization mission in Ezo began with the renaming of the island to Hokkaido in 1869 and the establishment of the Hokkaido Development Commission (or Kaitakushi) in 1871. Deputy Commissioner Kuroda Kiyotaka, who was tasked with developing Hokkaido, hired foreign experts to advise Japanese officials on how to best settle Hokkaido and take advantage of its natural resources.[17] Among these advisors were Ohio livestock farmer Edwin Dun, Massachusetts professors of agriculture William Smith Clark and David Pearce Penhallow, mining geologist Benjamin Smith Lyman, and most notably Horace Capron, a

---

[16] Ibid., 157.
[17] Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier*, 3-5.

Massachusetts agriculturist with a background in managing the forced removal of Native Americans in territories acquired during the Mexican-American War. The backgrounds and work experiences of these men, which included involvements with America's Western frontier, influenced Japanese policies enacted in Hokkaido in the final three decades of the nineteenth century.

In the 1870s, the central Meiji government and the Kaitakushi began to pass legislative acts aimed at the total integration of the Ainu population into the Japanese polity. Beginning with The Family Register Law of 1871, the required national household registration to track marriages, births, and deaths not only applied to Japanese citizens in mainland Japan, but also the Ainu in Hokkaido.[18] This law formally incorporated the Ainu into the Japanese population as "former aborigines" through this required registration, which stripped them of their previous social identification as distinctly Ainu and asserting their legal status as Japanese commoners.[19] Early Kaitakushi edicts from 1871 to 1876 furthered this status by placing restrictions on Ainu cultural expressions and subsistence practices, such as banning "uncivilized" Ainu customs like women's face tattoos and traditional hunting and fishing methods such as the use of poisoned arrows and spring-bow traps.[20]

Later policies, such as the Welfare Policy for Former Aborigines in 1886, attempted to foster economic self-sufficiency by forcibly combining *kotans* into collective farming sites with no regard for their previous organization as river chiefdoms. This policy separated and relocated individual Ainu households from broader communities to areas of arable, uncultivated land supervised by non-Ainu prefectural officials to promote communal agricultural ventures among

---

[18] Youichi Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection': The Vocabulary of Colonialism," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, edited by Michelle M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012): 66.
[19] Howell*, Geographies of Identity,* 179.
[20] Walker, *Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 80; Howell*, Geographies of Identity,* 179.

the Ainu and clear desired land for Japanese settlement.[21] These policies effectively pushed the Ainu towards other means of sustaining themselves within the context of the Japanese economy, relegating traditional Ainu occupations, such as hunting, gathering, fishing, and even work in contract fisheries to a category of sub-employment during the winter season to more aggressively promote Ainu farming.[22] The displacement of Ainu communities occurred for multiple reasons, such as efforts to affirm the Japanese identities of relocated Ainu from Sakhalin and the Kuril Islands, and to make way for Japanese settlement further inland in Hokkaido because of the Ainu's new unprotected legal status.[23] These legal restrictions, along with new mining, livestock, and agricultural ventures performed by American employees, accelerated the ecological destruction of Hokkaido's resources and in turn, the collapse of traditional Ainu practices linked to the land.

Chronologically, the Meiji-era colonization of Hokkaido coincided with America's push into its western territories and its efforts to impose policies on Native American groups in these areas. As in Ezo, indigenous groups populated both the American Western frontier and eastern American states that possessed their own cultures, social structures, and ways of life that depended on the land. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the United States pursued a strategy of Native American removal and relocation to make way for American settlers in Western territories.[24] In the second half of the century, this strategy evolved into efforts to integrate previously removed Native American groups into the American economy. The Indian Removal Act of 1830 granted authority to the United States government to forcibly relocate

---

[21] Howell*, Geographies of Identity,* 181-185.
[22] Ibid., 183.
[23] Ibid., 185; Youichi Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection': The Vocabulary of Colonialism," in *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, edited by Michelle M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012): 66-67.
[24] John P. Bowes, "American Indian Removal Beyond the Removal Act," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 65.

eastern Native American groups to territories west of the Mississippi River, legally establishing the United States' sovereignty over the "mere occupancy" of territories east of the Mississippi by Native American groups.[25] Intrusion into Native American territories continued as the United States encouraged western settlement with the Homestead Act of 1862, which incentivized potential American settlers with the promise of 160 acres of land for cultivation and further claimed Native American lands.[26] The General Allotment Act (or Dawes Act) of 1887 marked a move away from relocation as a primary strategy and towards assimilation and integration, suggesting a path towards potential citizenship for Native Americans. The Dawes Act initiated the division of Native American reservations into family allotments to facilitate the adoption of farming and their eventual integration into the American economy and white American culture and language.[27] This corresponded with the movement of Native Americans into residential schools for the same reasons, and helped open up more land for settlement by white Americans and private ownership of these allotments by indigenous tribes.[28] Removal activity on the Western frontier before and after the passage of the Dawes Act acted as a point of reference for American members of the Kaitakushi when it came to frontier development and management of native populations. In Hokkaido, too, the main strategy of Ainu policy in the 1870s and 1880s involved the removal of the Ainu from their original territories and their assimilation into the broader Japanese population by legally eliminating their distinctive cultural, social, and subsistence practices.

Western colonial ideas and strategies left their mark on Hokkaido's development far beyond their initial introduction through the Kaitakushi. After the Kaitakushi's dissolution in

[25] Bowes, "American Indian Removal Beyond the Removal Act," 74.
[26] Hannah L. Anderson, "That Settles It: The Debate and Consequences of the Homestead Act of 1862," *The History Teacher* 45, no. 1 (2011): 120-121.
[27] Leonard A. Carlson, "The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming," *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 1 (1978): 274.
[28] Ibid.

1882, the Meiji government put Hokkaido under the rule of the Hokkaido Agency, a state agency responsible for overseeing Hokkaido's three newly-defined prefectures. The creation of that agency marked a turning point in the use of agricultural programs to convert the Ainu population into farmers and push Japanese migrants to settle the territory. The Regulation for the Settlement of Former Samurai Act of 1885, for example, formally implemented previous settler colonial campaigns into Hokkaido that recruited disenfranchised samurai, and later Japanese commoners, to settle as farmers in the territory. It was influenced by the American Homestead Act, as suggested by direct references to the Act in letters sent by Horace Capron to Kuroda Kiyotaka, who used the Act as a model for providing economic and land incentives for Japanese settlers to establish themselves in Hokkaido.[29]

Finally, the Hokkaido Former Aborigines Act of 1899 initiated a process of land reallotment, outlined conditions for land usage, and introduced agricultural techniques to the native population reminiscent of the provisions of the Dawes Act in the U.S.[30] The Meiji government issued the Former Aborigines Act with the intention of eventually assimilating the native population into the broader population through Ainu agricultural labor in the Japanese economy, conditions for receiving medicinal, educational, and monetary welfare from the National Treasury, and the creation of Ainu schools to assimilate Ainu children into Japanese culture and language.[31] This act allowed the Japanese government to mold the Ainu into "civilized" Japanese imperial subjects through its promotion of Japanese language education which decreased the prevalence of Ainu dialects, the inclusion of the Ainu in national taxation and military drafts, and continuation of previous laws' and edicts' goals to integrate the Ainu

[29] Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection,'" 68; Horace Capron, *Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitakushi* (Sapporo: Hokkaido Development Commission, 1875), 45-47.
[30] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 185.
[31] Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection,'" 69-70.

into the economy as "former aboriginal" Japanese citizens through the restriction of traditional cultural and subsistence practices.[32] These similarities derived from the Dawes Act saw success in the near-full assimilation of the Ainu into the Japanese population as subjects throughout the twentieth century as farming initiatives, land reallotment, and Ainu education policies continued to obstruct traditional Ainu ways of life. Ultimately, the Former Aborigines Act failed many in its aim to "protect" the Ainu, as few households received their full entitlement of agricultural land allotments or practical guidance in farming techniques.[33] Indifference towards bettering the Ainu condition remained as the state gradually deprioritized its efforts to direct educational and other policies towards the Ainu throughout the beginning of the twentieth century.

Historiography

There are many historiographical approaches to the history of Hokkaido and the Ainu. Scholars have examined the island's history both before and after the Meiji Restoration, the circumstances of the Ainu across these periods, the activities of foreign advisors, and the colonial policies enacted in the territory through historical, anthropological, and economic lenses. A seminal work appeared in 1942 with Shin'ichiro Takakura's *Ainu Seisaku Shi* (Ainu Policy History), which created the foundation for future works concerning Ainu Studies and Japanese colonization. Takakura wrote his study of the progression of native policy in Hokkaido during World War Two, towards the end of Japan's imperialist period. He framed his analysis as a contribution to colonial science and emphasized the need to prevent foreign control of Hokkaido, particularly its inclusion into Russian and European spheres of influence.[34] By outlining five

[32] Ibid.
[33] Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 179, 185.
[34] Shin'ichiro Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation," trans. John A. Harrison, *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society,* 50, no. 4 (1960): 48-53; David L. Howell, "Is Ainu History Japanese History?" in *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives,* ed. Mark

periods of Ainu-Japanese interaction, Takakura discussed the relationship between Japanese and Ainu and the problems that arose between them, and analyzed Japanese policies of each period to help modern policy-makers find the smoothest and most humane route to assimilation.[35] Takakura asserted that over time, native policy in Hokkaido shifted from one of non-assimilation to one of assimilation as a result of the integration of Ainu labor into Japan's economy, the shift of the territory from a site of commercial trade to a site of production using natives as a labor source, and shifts in government control between the shogunate and the Matsumae clan.

Takakura's research inspired historian John B. Cornell in the 1960s to publish a paper in which he analyzed acculturation policy, or the adoption of Japanese practices while maintaining Ainu cultural practices, in Hokkaido within Takakura's chronological framework. Looking beyond the Ainu-Japanese relationship, Cornell related the implementation of acculturative state policies to cultural features of the Ainu that influenced the failure or success of these policies, beginning in the 1500s and ending with the US occupation-era Land Reform program of the 1950s.[36] He argued that Japanese acculturation policy was motivated by humanitarian intentions and designed to benefit the Ainu in the context of progressive Japanese economic penetration of Ainu territory and the incorporation of native labor into the Japanese economy.[37] Cornell asserted that Japanese ignorance of Ainu culture resulted in a misguided effort to benefit the Ainu through Japanization and agrarianization, and concluded that the decline of Ainu culture because of these policies was entirely accidental.[38] Subsequent scholars repeatedly rejected Cornell's

---

Hudson, Ann-Elise Lewallen, and Mark K. Watson (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014): 105; Shinichiro Takakura, *Ainu Seisaku Shi* (Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942).

[35] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," trans. John A. Harrison, 8; Howell "Is Ainu History Japanese History?," 105; Shinichiro Takakura, *Ainu Seisaku Shi* (Toshima: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942).

[36] Cornell, "Ainu Assimilation and Cultural Extinction," 287, 293.

[37] Ibid., 293-296.

[38] Ibid., 295-296, 302-303.

interpretation of acculturation policy and highlighted the exploitative aspects of the Ainu-Japanese relationship more concretely.

In 1996, Brett L. Walker provided a new perspective on the Ainu-Japanese dynamic by modeling his approach on that of New Western historians of the 1990s such as Richard White and Patricia Nelson Limerick. Walker abandoned the ethnocentric connotations of an Ezo 'frontier,' and instead centered the Ainu as their own, independent nation in three centuries of interaction with the Japanese from 1590 to 1800. Walker claimed that Ainu culture and Japanese behavior in Ezo were a product of mutual interaction in the Ezo 'middle ground,' a New Western term that de-emphasizes the physical frontier space and reimagines it as a conduit through which new practices arose as a result of interaction between differing groups.[39] Because Ainu culture was defined by Ainu contact with the Japanese, Walker concluded that the existence of this culture as a result of the middle ground created a dependency on the Japanese and led to its eventual destruction once Japanese colonial efforts began in earnest in the 1870s.[40]

Alongside Walker, David L. Howell emerged in the 1990s as an influential scholar in his examination of the evolution of the Tokugawa-era social status system and its impact on the place of the Ainu in Japanese national society and consciousness in both Tokugawa and Meiji. Howell initially asserted in his 1994 paper "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State" that the demarcation of an 'ethnic boundary' between the Japanese and the Ainu was essential in determining the political boundaries of the early modern Japanese state.[41] The significance of a homogenous Japanese ethnicity in the process of state-building in Tokugawa Japan, Howell argued, explained the paradoxical attempts of the Matsumae clan to

[39] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 8-9.
[40] Ibid., 74-126.
[41] David L. Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 71.

simultaneously preserve a separate Ainu identity for the sake of their trade relationship and to incorporate them into the Tokugawa status hierarchy as Japanese subjects.[42] However, he later critiqued his own conclusions in his 2005 book *Geographies of Identity*. In that book, he argued that 'ethnicity' was not a useful concept to apply to pre-modern Japan because its social status system defined identity in terms of occupation and customs, rather than race and ethnicity. Instead, the Ainu should be examined as a peripheral people in relation to the Japanese core polity.[43]

In both of these works, Howell explained the role of *uimam* and *umsa* rituals in the Ainu-Japanese trade relationship. By showing that the Japanese willingly participated in and actively appropriated these rituals, he disproved Cornell's conclusions about Japanese ignorance of Ainu culture.[44] In his 2005 book, Howell also critiqued Walker's timeline and definition of Hokkaido as a true 'middle-ground' for Ainu-Japanese interaction. The possibility of a middle ground vanished in the late seventeenth century, Howell claimed, because after that point, identities were situationally defined according to the Tokugawa status system. In cases of direct contact with the Japanese, Howell used examples like eighteenth-century Ainu Iwanosuke, who changed his visual identity from distinctly Japanese to distinctly Ainu in instances of contact with the Japanese, fully conforming to Japanese social expectations of his presentation.[45] As a result, interactions of the Ainu and Japanese became characterized by a sense of separation between the 'civilized' and the 'barbaric,' but did not produce a social space that could be defined as an 'in-betweenness' of identity.[46] While not entirely dismissive of Walker's claim, Howell prioritized the importance of the commercial fishing industry and its role in integrating

[42] Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," 85-91.
[43] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 6-11.
[44] Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity," 80–85; Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 119-125.
[45] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 128-130.
[46] Ibid., 116-117, 126-130.

its peoples into the broader economy of Japan.[47] Howell's conclusions are essential to analyzing the social constructs of the Ainu-Japanese colonial relationship to avoid an overly westernized understanding of Hokkaido as a colony, territory, or frontier.

Katsuya Hirano, who has been writing after Howell, is an example of a scholar with a distinctly Western approach to interpreting the settlement of Hokkaido during the Meiji Era. He has applied a Marxist approach and compared Hokkaido's case with American colonization. In 2017, Hirano described the effects of settler colonialism in Marxist terms, highlighting the class dynamics between Japanese settlers and Ainu and the economy in Hokkaido. Hirano cited Marx's concept of a 'enclosure movement,' which refers to the expulsion of a resident population from the land by force of law to commodify the land. He applied this concept both to the Meiji Era land losses of farmers in Japan proper and to the displacement of the Ainu, their incorporation into Hokkaido's economy, and the steady replacement of Indigenous labor with Japanese wage labor as a result of settler colonialism.[48] Hirano claimed that the Meiji government began settler colonialism in Hokkaido as a way to absorb displaced people from the main islands and create the socio-economic conditions for a free labor market, and thus a capitalist mode of production, in the colony of Hokkaido.[49] Hirano utilized a decidedly Western approach to argue that Japanese settler colonialism fostered a racist dynamic between the Ainu and the Japanese.[50] In his book, Howell too utilized Marxist concepts to explain the development of fisheries in Hokkaido, such as the distinction between independent family and state contractor fisheries that contributed to the growing capitalist mode of production, although he explained that ethnic distinctions had little impact on the occupation-based social structure of the previous

[47] Ibid., 117.
[48] Katsuya Hirano, "Chapter 22: Settler Colonialism in the Making of Japan's Hokkaido" in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 327-338. (London and New York: Routledge, 2017), 333.
[49] Ibid., 333-334.
[50] Ibid., 335-337.

Tokugawa era.[51] Therefore, Howell recognized the differences in Western and Japanese understandings of these relationships in ways Hirano did not. While Hirano provides valuable insights into the land and settlement policies of the Meiji government, his failure to acknowledge the circumstances of the Ainu-Japanese relationship before settler colonialism resulted in a very Western-oriented interpretation of their relationship.

Komori Youichi has focused on colonial legislation to better understand the role of laws in Ainu assimilation and settler colonialism in Hokkaido. In Chapter 2 of the edited volume *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique* (2012), Komori analyzed the language used in different colonial laws enacted in Hokkaido to showcase the use of European colonial rhetoric and concepts in defining the legal relationship between Ainu and Japanese. He focused on policies such as the Regulation for the Settlement of Former Samurai in 1885 and the Former Aborigines Act of 1899, and argued that their authors used European colonial legal terminology to distinguish the 'civilized' Japanese from the Ainu 'barbarians.'[52] He also described the impact of these laws on Ainu ways of life. Komori asserted that this language aided in realigning the colonial dynamic between the Japanese and the Ainu in Western terms. For example, he highlighted the notion that the Japanese held a responsibility to 'civilize' and 'save' the Ainu culture from 'extinction,' that is, from their failure to adapt to progressive, systematic Japanese immigration to Hokkaido.[53]

Fumiko Fujita and John L. Hennessey both discussed the experiences and contributions of key American members of the Kaitakushi to Hokkaido's development in the 1870s and 1880s. In her 1994 book *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier: American Experts in 19th Century Japan*, Fujita discussed the main American figures involved with the Kaitakushi, such

[51] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 116.
[52] Komori, "Rule in the Name of 'Protection,'" 64-74.
[53] Ibid., 72-74.

as Horace Capron, Edwin Dun, and Henry S. Munroe, among others. Fujita emphasized their cross-cultural experiences, individual motives, and backgrounds that contributed to their array of activities in the country, and investigated the relationships between Japanese and American members of the Kaitakushi.[54] Departing from Fujita's more general approach, John L. Hennessey concentrated on the three main American professors responsible for establishing Sapporo Agricultural College in 1876. Hennessey used evidence from primary source collections about and publications by professors William Clark Smith, David Pearce Penhallow, and William Wheeler to conclude that these men held American colonial values, ideas, and perceptions of native groups and shared these with both American and Japanese audiences during and after their time in Hokkaido.[55] Hennessey's work aligns with my intended approach to analyze Western ideas in and about Hokkaido. However, his focus on these men's applications of Western racial science and anthropology does not address the application of associated racial stereotypes that could have influenced American views of Ainu indigeneity in the early Meiji Era.

The first and only foray into connecting the struggles of the Ainu and Native American populations in English scholarship is Danika Medak-Saltzman's 2008 dissertation "Staging Empire: The Display and Erasure of Indigenous Peoples in Japanese and American Nation Building Projects (1860 -1904)." Medak-Saltzman claimed that one way Japan sought to equate itself with Western imperial nations was by identifying its own 'Indian problem' and frontier in Hokkaido to promote its nation-building efforts.[56] She paid particular attention to the portrayal of American and Japanese indigenous groups by their respective colonizers in her analyses on

---

[54] Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier,* x-xi.
[55] John L. Hennessey, "A Colonial Trans-Pacific Partnership: William Smith Clark, David Pearce Penhallow and Japanese Settler Colonialism in Hokkaido," *Settler Colonial Studies* 10, no. 1 (2020): 63. John L. Hennessey, "Engineering Japanese Settler Colonialism in Hokkaido: A Postcolonial Reevaluation of William Wheeler's Work for the Kaitakushi," *Asia in Focus: A Nordic Journal on Asia by Early Career Researchers* 6 (2018): 3-4.
[56] Danika Medak-Saltzman,"Staging Empire: The Display and Erasure of Indigenous Peoples in Japanese and American Nation Building Projects (1860–1904)," Phd diss., (University of California, Berkeley, 2008): xl-xli.

material culture to display how different colonial conceptualizations of "nativeness" existed in images of these indigenous groups. Medak-Saltzman then examined how these images became introduced onto the global stage, which pushed these images beyond the borders of settler colonial states and into the broader global consciousness and therefore perpetuated the constructed "truth" of these images. By bringing together Native, American, and Japanese studies, Medak-Saltzman sought to advance scholarship in these fields by combining them into what she called a 'global Indigenous framework,' a means of examining the experiences of different indigenous groups in relation to one another.

A later 2017 article by Sami Lakomäki, Ritva Kylli, and Timo Ylimaunu applied the global indigenous framework to an investigation of the role of alcohol in two different colonial dynamics: first, the Sámi, Swedes, and Finns of Fennoscandia, and second, the Shawnee tribe and European settlers of North America. These authors compared the circulation, consumption, and control over liquor by colonizing entities and investigated how colonizers used this control to mold indigenous sovereignty, relations with the colonizing state, and the physical spaces in which indigenous groups could move and enact social and cultural practices.[57] In both instances, they argued that alcohol became an integral part of politicized rituals for both indigenous and colonial economies in specific contexts, like controlled trade with colonizing entities and in local marketplace settings, where indigenous groups interacted with alcohol.[58] They concluded that the colonial regulation of alcohol consumption in public markets and across geographic borders served both to retain a tighter hold over its distribution and to reduce indigenous groups' proximity to civilized life that resulted from the consumption of alcohol.[59] Indigenous

[57] Sami Lakomäki, Ritva Kylli, and Timo Ylimaunu, "Drinking Colonialism: Alcohol, Indigenous Status, and Native Space on Shawnee and Sámi Homelands, 1600–1850," *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 2.
[58] Lakomäki/Kylli/Ylimaunu, "Drinking Colonialism," 6-7.
[59] Ibid.

populations, on the other hand, used alcohol as a means of articulating their own sense of status, identity, and geographic space vis-à-vis their colonizers on their own terms. The authors emphasized indigenous agency by discussing ways in which the Sámi and Shawnee employed the alcohol trade to solidify their geographic and political place amidst colonial intrusion.

The global indigenous framework is a necessary method through which to examine the parallels between Native Americans and the Ainu, especially in regard to the role of alcohol. Medak-Saltzman studied Capron's pre-Hokkaido background to provide context for the creation of Japanese legislation in and toward Hokkaido, and acknowledged Capron's early opposition to Native American removal and relocation. She pointed out the lack of investigation of Capron's past as an Indian Agent before his work in Hokkaido, but her observations about Capron's work in Japan only referred to similarities he noted between the two indigenous groups. She did not independently examine Capron's perceptions of the Ainu, which, while informed by the same notions of native inferiority as his view of Native Americans and reflected his pro-assimilation stance, also revealed distinct differences in his understandings of the two groups. Capron's description of alcohol usage by both groups remains an unexplored aspect, both of his images of these groups and of his views regarding their potential for assimilation.

As my Japanese language skills are not developed enough to use Japanese sources for this project, my research is informed by English language scholarship and sources translated from Japanese into English. I understand that this limitation prevents me from accessing the extensive Japanese historiography, but I make responsible use of the English sources available to me and their interpretations of Japanese scholarship. As far as I am aware, my specific intervention has not been performed in Japanese scholarship, and my research will thus still address a gap in both English and Japanese literature on the subject.

Horace Capron and the "Whiskey Indian"

Kuroda Kiyotaka, the Deputy Commissioner of the Kaitakushi, directed his attention to the United States as an ideal country for the recruitment of foreign advisors. He recommended that "an advisor experienced in the opening of a new land should be recruited from a country whose meteorological and topographical conditions are similar [to those of Hokkaido]."[60] Many Japanese viewed the United States as a country with more experience in the development of new land compared to other Western nations at the time, and so Kuroda arrived in the United States in 1871 to begin his recruitment mission. Traveling with Mori Arinori, the Japanese Minister to the United States, and armed with a letter of introduction from the Acting Secretary of State, John C. Bancroft Davis, he sought out Horace Capron, the commissioner of the newly-created United States Department of Agriculture.[61] Capron possessed extensive background experience in many areas relevant to the Kaitakushi's goals for Hokkaido's commercial and agricultural development: factory and agricultural management, cattle breeding, service during the American Civil War as a brigadier-general, and service as a vice-president of the Maryland State Agricultural Society.[62] In addition, Capron had held a brief yet crucial position as a Special Agent for the Bureau of Indian Affairs from 1852 to 1853, a job that came to greatly influence his perceptions of the Ainu.

In 1852, U.S. President Millard Fillmore appointed Horace Capron as a Special Agent to the Native American tribes in Texas and along the Rio Grande borders, a position that had been set aside for him by his friend, Zachary Taylor, during his previous, short-lived presidency.[63]

---

[60] Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier,* 3-5, 7.
[61] Ibid., 7.
[62] Ibid., 15-17.
[63] Horace Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume 1: Autobiography, 1884* (Special Collections, National Agricultural Library), 78-79.

Capron was tasked with moving different Native American tribes out of this newly acquired southwestern territory and accompanying them to designated territory in the north to make way for arriving white settlers. His memoirs contain details regarding his time in Texas, his interactions with Native Americans, and his official reports made to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1852. Capron's descriptions of the Texas territory and his experiences in San Antonio in the 1850s revealed that the area had not deviated much from its previous state during the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848. He outlined the established dynamics between settled Texans, Mexicans, and Native American tribes in the area, and these initial observations colored his perceptions of Native American and white settler interactions throughout his time in Texas.[64] The idea of drunkenness as a defining characteristic of Native Americans in the United States pervaded Capron's writings and his embrace of the "whiskey Indian" stereotype.

Historically, white colonialists split the image of Native Americans into two categories based on white ideals about morality and civilization: the good Indian and the bad Indian.[65] Generally, American colonists viewed the good Indian as modest in dress and demeanor, courteous and hospitable, attentive and caring towards his family, and living a plain and inoffensive existence in harmony with nature.[66] In contrast, the bad Indian possessed numerous traits white settlers considered morally abhorrent, such as promiscuity, filthy living conditions, a tendency for thievery and treachery, and even cannibalism and human sacrifice.[67] The image of the "whiskey Indian" fell in line with the latter—a perpetually degraded, often drunken native who lived as neither fully assimilated nor entirely "Indian" by white standards and engaged in the vices of both societies as a result of frequent contact with white settlers. Beginning as early

---

[64] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume I,* 89-94.
[65] Robert F. Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978), 25-26.
[66] Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 28.
[67] Ibid., 28-29.

as the British colonial period, colonists adopted this stereotype because they feared the behavioral consequences of excessive drinking and developed anxieties regarding the place of Indians in British American society.[68] The stereotype thus revolved around a major unresolved question concerning Indians' potential to be civilized: how should colonists manage a trade that had detrimental social effects on Indians, when that same trade presented an ideal avenue for integrating Indians into the colonial economy and society?[69]

This question and the "whiskey Indian" stereotype persisted among American policymakers and Western settlers during the Indian Removal campaigns of the 1830s, as more white settlers came into contact with Native American tribes. The prevention of Native American acquisition of alcohol began during President Thomas Jefferson's first administration at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as policies linked to decreasing drunkenness in the U.S. Army extended to include Native American tribes who faced increasing inebriety because of the unregulated alcohol trade.[70] With it came the implementation of anti-alcohol legislation by the U.S. government for the purpose of controlling liquor traffic across the country, resulting from a combination of factors such as American temperance movements and an increase of economic competition between American settlers and the alcohol distilleries of Mexican merchants.[71] An 1832 prohibition established that anyone who sold, exchanged, gave, bartered, or disposed of liquor or wine in "Indian country," the area west of the Mississippi River, would be subjected to a fine and the seizure of all alcoholic products in their possession if found violating the prohibition.[72] Mexican merchants, however, frequently found loopholes in the U.S. Government's ever-changing anti-alcohol legislation by taking trade directly to Native American

[68] Peter C. Mancall, *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America* (Cornell University Press, 1995), 13.
[69] Mancall, *Deadly Medicine,* 14.
[70] William E. Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996), 6-8.
[71] Unrau, *White Man's Wicked Water*, 32-34.
[72] Ibid., 37-38.

tribes, trading outside of designated "Indian territory" west of the Mississippi where the sale of alcohol was prohibited, and working as "travelling grocers" along the Santa Fe Trail, which merchants perceived as outside of the jurisdiction of liquor laws.[73] By the 1850s, the period when Capron was active as a Special Agent, the illegal alcohol trade among white settlers and native tribes became so significant that Native American removal from American territories, both in the sense of physical movement away from settlements where alcohol could be acquired and in the sense of "Indianness" as an identity, appeared to be the best solution.

The complex political environment between settled Texans, Mexicans, and the various Native American tribes from eastern and western North America residing in Texas explains the circumstances Capron worked in as a Special Agent. The increasing settlement of white Americans further and further west at the beginning of the nineteenth century led many eastern tribes, like the Alabamas and the Coushattas, to move further into Texas territory to avoid American incursion.[74] By 1820, most of these eastern immigrant tribes had migrated west of the Mississippi River for this reason. Once in east Texas, eastern tribes found themselves stuck in violent raids and physical confrontations over territory with nomadic tribes of the west, like the Comanches, and also struggled with white American settlers that continued to steadily arrive from the east.[75] In order to ensure their safety and secure territorial hunting rights, east Texas

---

[73] Ibid., 37-38, 46-47. The history of anti-alcohol laws in the American West changed frequently from 1830 to 1850 and would be better discussed in detail in another paper. Such laws as the 1832 Enactment, which decreed that "no ardent spirits shall be hereafter introduced, under any pretence, into the Indian country," and the 1834 Enactment which included a more specific outline of territories comprising Indian country in which the sale and distribution of alcohol was forbidden, were often taken advantage by liquor merchants who interpreted the language of these enactments in their favor. The Santa Fe Trail was one of these places where legal jurisdiction remained dubious and acted a point for alcohol to enter Indian country more or less unregulated until as late as 1866.

[74] Sheri Marie Shuck-Hall, "Borderlands and Identities in Imperial Texas: The Alabamas and Coushattas in the Anti-Comanche Union, 1820-1840," *The International History Review* 25, no. 3 (2003): 568.

[75] Shuck-Hall, "Borderlands and Identities in Imperial Texas," 571.

tribes formed the Anti-Comanche Union to protect themselves against western Comanche-related tribes.[76]

After Texas gained statehood, following in the footsteps of President Andrew Jackson's policy of Indian removal, the Texas senate made similar plans of removal for the new state instead of honoring the promise of land grants to eastern tribes made by the previous governing body of the territory.[77] Many other tribes in Texas, like the Cherokees, were arranged and moved across the Texas border into "Indian Territory" by the U.S. government, while the east Texas tribes of the now-dissolved Anti-Comanche Union were allowed temporary settlement in Texas with no guarantee of land ownership.[78] These conditions produced the heavily diverse indigenous makeup of the Texas territory Capron encountered during his tenure in 1852, and explains the sheer number of tribes Capron came into contact with around the Red River and San Antonio areas. In his Official Reports he listed interactions with members of the Comanche, Kickapoo, Shawnee, Delaware, "Lipans," "Chickesaw," "Choctow," "Wichitaw," "Waco," and "Caddoe" tribes, among others. But tribal nuance is generally absent in Capron's memoirs, and it is thus difficult to discern which tribes he relocated in certain anecdotes he told in his writings. The lack of distinction between individual tribes in Capron's memoirs reveals his generalization of the indigenous experience.

Capron's generic descriptions of Native Americans in his memoirs remained in line with the "whiskey Indian" stereotype. His frequently described native tribes using overarching characteristics, such as "benighted," "savages," and "drunken, lawless cutthroats," but most importantly: "They had imbibed the worst traits of the border settlers, and particularly their

[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid., 583.
[78] Ibid., 588.

fondness for whiskey."[79] Capron's descriptions of his experience crossing the Trinity River to relocate unspecified tribes exemplified his "annoyance" towards Indian possession of alcohol through trade with white settlers and Cherokee groups. After his efforts to take an alternate route to "Indian country" to avoid prolonged contact with nearby white settlements, where liquor could be acquired, Capron's decision ended in vain as he and his party of Native Americans and Mexican employees encountered a "band of outlaw Cherokees loaded down with kegs of whiskey" immediately upon entering the territory.[80] He had assumed that when crossing over into legally-recognized "Indian country," he should have been "free from further annoyances of this character" because such territories were subject to anti-alcohol legislation passed to mitigate the trade and consumption of alcohol between Native American tribes and American settlers and liquor merchants.[81] Despite this, Cherokee possession of whiskey remained an element outside of Capron's expectations, and had "converted [the Cherokees] into a howling mass of uncontrollable savages" and placed them in a "drunken frenzy" according to Capron.[82] Ironically, the adoption of this particular white vice of alcohol consumption, which could be a marker of civility in other contexts, led to one of the most undesirable characteristics of Indians that, in Capron's opinion, hindered the United States government's plans for Indian management.

Even though Capron adhered strongly to the "whiskey Indian" stereotype, he also upheld a surprisingly progressive stance towards Native American removal and relocation in the American West. While his perceptions of Indians as corrupted by alcohol remained typical for the period, excerpts from his memoirs and his Official Reports to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reveal his underlying sympathy for the tribes under his jurisdiction. In his memoirs, he

[79] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron*, *Volume I,* 104, 109.
[80] Ibid., 108.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid., 108-109.

recounted the detrimental effects of the consumption of alcohol on the native population while crossing the Trinity River at Fort Worth, not only in terms of their general demeanor but also their economic and physical conditions:

> To obtain [whiskey] they would pledge the last rag that covered them, and take any risk of punishment. From the first moments of bringing these bands together preparatory to moving them to their various tribes across the Red [R]iver, I had been constantly annoyed by the white settlers bringing whiskey into the camp and trading it off for anything the Indians had, or could [steal] to exchange for it —The consequence was, a perpetual row, the whole camp at times in a perfect craze from liquor. The trouble was two fold, it not only demoralized the Indians rendering them dangerous, but stripped them of their blankets, and covering of every description down to the very breech cloth, which had been furnished them by the Government, to keep them from a state of actual suffering.[83]

Here, Capron directly linked the acquisition of liquor by Native Americans to their economic impoverishment, describing the ways in which the desire for alcoholic beverages led many Native Americans to trade any of their personal belongings just to have some. Many of these belongings, like blankets and clothing, according to Capron, came directly from government aid, which evidently was not effective in helping native tribes undergoing the removal process because of the unregulated liquor trade. The image of the "whiskey Indian" typically portrayed Native Americans in a position of degeneracy and poverty, highlighting the worst qualities of the bad Indian image while including none of its redeeming ones.[84] "Whiskey Indians" often attracted white pity if they were not outwardly looked upon with disdain, and were often subjected to the same unfavorable evaluation as the bad Indian image. Capron expressed disdain and annoyance at how Indian drunkenness impeded his job, but also voiced sympathy towards the conditions he believed to result from their drinking. The impoverished conditions produced by alcohol acquisition, consumption, and distribution Capron described

[83] Ibid., 104.
[84] Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 30.

above became the root of his sympathy for the conditions of Native Americans as victims of both alcohol and ineffective government-sanctioned relocation policies.

In his memoirs, Capron attached two examples of reports he made to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs Luke Lea as a show of the general course pursued by the American government towards the country's indigenous inhabitants. He prefaced them by saying: "No one who reads these two communications, but will readily perceive how far different would have been the condition of these poor benighted people, if a more reasonable and just course had prevailed throughout our intercourse with them from the beginning."[85] In a report dated to February 18, 1853, Capron criticized the U.S. government's decisions regarding Native American removal in Texas, specifically an unnamed Texas act that allotted twenty-five thousand dollars to fund efforts of Indian removal without any designated place for which they should be removed. Capron pointed out the shortcomings of the system of removal funded by the state, claiming that these efforts were counterproductive if they failed to designate a space for removed populations as outlined in the Texas act. He claimed on behalf of those affected: "This law, although authorizing the removal of these Indians, does not designate the place to which they shall be removed— the Caddoes for instance [...] sold their territory in Louisiana and emigrated to Texas, where they have since lived through sufferance."[86] Capron instead pointed towards legislature passed by the state of Texas dictating the allotment of land for the exclusive occupancy of Native American tribes within the territory's borders, which awaited congressional approval. Rather than repeatedly relocating tribes from state to state, which would require greater economic expenses and stall the growth of the territory for American colonists, Capron suggested directing

[85] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume I,* 111.
[86] Ibid., 111-112.

Indian Department funds towards allotting displaced tribes with property and means of subsistence until a permanent settlement could be made.[87]

The criticisms in Capron's reports culminated in his disdain for the Texas state government and its lack of "laws [...] regulating the trade and traffic [of liquor], unprincipaled men of every nation are filling the country with shops for the sale of whiskey" that "is daily rendering the condition of the Indians on these borders more brutal and savage."[88] Capron expressed concern for the violent measures taken against disorderly Indians by the Texas military, such as taking women and children as prisoners and looting Indian settlements, that relegated Indians to Texas borders in impoverished conditions.[89] He believed these actions were due in part to the lack of formal liquor regulations in Texas combined with inefficient removal policies that only served to worsen the conditions of Indians in Texas. Capron concluded his report with a call to action to the Commissioner: "hovering around [Texas'] borders are over twenty five thousand helpless men, women and children, without one foot of territory they can call their own, subjected to every kind of imposition and oppression."[90] Capron's sympathetic attitude towards the condition of Native American tribes was thus not only related to the unregulated alcohol trade but also the ineffective and impractical removal policies of the U.S. government. He considered the assimilation of the Native American population in Texas as a solution to each of these issues.

Capron's irritation at Native American alcohol consumption, his criticisms of ineffective removal strategies and lack of liquor laws in Texas, and the resulting destitution of the native population led him to propose assimilation over relocation. Although his observation of incidents

[87] Ibid., 114.
[88] Ibid., 112.
[89] Ibid., 113.
[90] Ibid., 114.

involving drunkenness served, at times, to hinder his own work in Texas, he asserted throughout his memoirs: "Treachery prevailed then as now, and ever has done in all the intercourse between these natives and their foreign conquerors —My own sympathies were entirely with the Indians, and it was upon such a basis my whole future intercourse with them was conducted, and I have yet to see any reason to change it."[91] Capron argued that harsh and poorly thought-out relocation initiatives implemented by "their foreign conquerors" (the U.S. Government) only served to exacerbate the issue of liquor in Indian country. Native American tribes had no place to permanently settle and remained close to white settlements and illegal liquor merchants, and thus were quickly reduced to poverty by their ease of access to alcoholic products. He stated: "Simple justice to the Indian in all our transactions, would in my opinion, not only have saved all the suffering and bloodshed of the past, but reconciled them to the gradual change, which our civilization required to fit them for the position of useful citizenship."[92] To Capron and others who upheld the "whiskey Indian" stereotype, Native American proximity to white, civilized life through the consumption of alcohol only worsened their most undesirable traits. To achieve true civilization, assimilation efforts needed to mold native tribes into a "position of useful citizenship" through assimilation and permanent settlement, and thus the erasure of "Indianness" as an identity.

Capron's insistence on assimilation over relocation was not reflected in federal policy until the passage of the Dawes Act in 1887. This act mandated the distribution of land in tribal allotments and encouraged farming among Native Americans to help them contribute to the American economy.[93] It was promulgated only after Capron's time in Hokkaido in the 1870s and

---

[91] Ibid., 94.
[92] Ibid.
[93] *An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act)*, Public Law 49-105. *U.S. Statutes of Law 388-91*, NADP Document A1887.

scholars have debated the degree to which Capron influenced the Dawes Act.[94] Whether or not Capron's specific suggestions became integrated into the Dawes Act, upon his arrival in Hokkaido, he witnessed a different colonial-indigenous environment among the Japanese and the Ainu, where he believed his recommendations for assimilation could see more immediate success. Capron's perception of differences in demeanor between the Ainu and Native Americans, and of the role alcohol played in the relationship between Japanese and Ainu, did not lead him to discard the "whiskey Indian" stereotype, but still contrasted with his personal experiences in Texas.

The Origins of *Sake* in Ainu Life and Ainu-Japanese Trade

When examining the Ainu and their alcohol consumption, a common stereotype appears in the accounts of American colonialists, Western explorers, and missionaries that resembles the stereotype of the "whiskey Indian." Descriptions of Ainu ways of life and their religious customs by Western figures in Hokkaido portray the Ainu in accordance with pre-existing notions of indigeneity held in Western nations. Western observers of the Ainu wrote from a variety of perspectives that reflected Christian religious morality, Western colonial rhetoric, and the political-economic contexts in which they engaged with the Ainu.

[94] Medak-Saltzman, *Staging Empire*, 95, 103-105. The only available English-language scholarship that adequately discusses the main arguments surrounding Horace Capron's connection to the Dawes Act, and its subsequent connection to the Former Aborigines Act of 1899, is Danika Medak-Saltzman's 2008 dissertation. Medak-Saltzman pointed out the personal relationship between Horace Capron and Henry L. Dawes, for whom the Dawes Act was named after, and remains the first and only to do so. She argued that Capron acted as a vessel for similar elements to be implemented into Japanese legislation in Hokkaido. Medak-Saltzman references Japanese scholar of Native American History Tomita Torao, who argues that certain portions of the Former Aborigines Act were based in large part on the Dawes Act. To contrast, she discusses Yaguchi Yujin, who claimed that Tomita had not been able to prove his point convincingly, and instead believed that many legislative similarities were purely coincidental. Medak-Saltzman herself disagrees with Yaguchi's conclusion and aligns herself with Tomita's examination of the letter of these laws that suggest the Dawes Act, and thus Horace Capron, did have a significant influence on the Former Aborigines Act.

The evolution of the Ainu-Japanese trade relationship from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century enhanced the prevalence of *sake,* or Japanese rice wine, in Ainu communities by Hokkaido's colonial period in 1869. Prior to the 1620s, Ainu-Japanese trade was conducted only at Fukuyama Castle of the Matsumae clan, and the period of exchange was limited due to long travel times from the interior of Ezo.[95] Ainu traders stayed in temporary huts while they were in Fukuyama, and brought many desired Ainu goods into the castle town for later exportation to the Japanese mainland.[96] After Shakushain's War in 1669, however, Matsumae leaders expanded trade further into Ezo by distributing a greater number of trade fiefs around the coast, which Matsumae merchants transformed into formal trading posts that brought the Japanese closer to traditional Ainu hunting and fishing grounds.[97] Because trade now occurred directly in Ainu territory rather than Japanese territory, trading schedules could be coordinated with Ainu seasonal hunting and fishing and Matsumae merchants could more closely integrate Japanese products into Ainu subsistence, ritual, and domestic practices.[98] By the mid-eighteenth century, Matsumae finances became reliant on contracting out trade fiefs to merchants from mainland Japan, and posts developed more permanent structures such as travel inns, storehouses, shrines for Buddhist and Shinto deities, guard posts, and horse stables.[99] Trading posts became a key feature in both Japan and Ezo's economies and intensified trade exchanges between the Ainu and the Japanese that had detrimental effects on Ainu subsistence practices and their economic independence.[100]

The goods traded between the Japanese and the Ainu evolved over time and certain items became increasingly valued in Japanese and Ainu societies. In the early seventeenth century, the

[95] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 88.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.
[98] Ibid., 89.
[99] Ibid., 90-91.
[100] Ibid., 88-89.

products the Ainu presented for trade fit into four distinct categories: animal and bird products, pharmaceuticals and plant products, yields from fisheries, and imported goods from places like Russia and China in the Eurasian continent or the North Pacific.[101] In exchange, the Japanese provided the Ainu with items like rice, tobacco, needles and thread, used utensils, and clothing, but most importantly iron pots and kettles, lacquerware, and *sake*.[102] Over time, Japanese iron products, including various cooking tools, became a necessity of Ainu domestic life because they did not manufacture their own iron products, which in turn increased their dependency on Japanese trade. Likewise, Japanese-made lacquerware and *sake* products became a significant part of Ainu religious and social rituals beginning in the 1600s.[103]

Ainu religious and social rituals take many forms, but within each, three main objects of both Ainu and Japanese origin assumed a central place in these rituals: the *ikupasuy*, or an Ainu prayer stick, *tuki*, or Japanese-made lacquerware cups, and *sake*. The *ikupasuy* acts as a sacred, mediating force to deliver messages between the user and *kamuy*, Ainu nature spirits or gods. It possesses a secondary use as a "libation wand" used to administer liquid offerings of *sake* by dipping the *ikupasuy* into lacquerware *tuki* cups, vessels which serve the exclusive purpose of holding ceremonial liquor.[104] Initially, the liquid offering of choice by the Ainu was home-brewed millet beer, made from millet harvested from the limited farming the Ainu performed in during the Tokugawa period. Rice was not grown locally but remained an important supplement in the creation of *sake* used in ritual contexts, so instead the Ainu obtained it through trade with the Japanese.[105] As a result, the millet beer used in Ainu rituals was soon replaced by Japanese rice made into *sake* in Ainu communities, and commercially distilled *sake*

[101] Ibid., 93.
[102] Ibid., 92.
[103] Fitzhugh, et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People,* 328.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid., 204-205.

acquired from the Japanese as trade shifted further into Ainu territory.[106] Appropriate religious expression in Ainu communities was thus reliant on the acquisition of Japanese goods like *sake* and *tuki* lacquerware, which increased not only Ainu economic dependency on the Japanese, but also the dependency of Ainu social and religious practices on obtaining these goods.

Numerous Ainu rituals feature *sake* libations and the administration of liquor offerings using an *ikupasuy* and *tuki* cups. Such practices as the *shinnurappa*, a memorial ritual for Ainu ancestors, and the *iyomante*, a ceremonial send-off of a bear cub raised in Ainu communities whose spirit is sent back to the world of the *kamuy* after death, utilize *sake* in similar ways across rituals.[107] They usually consist of dipping the *ikupasuy* in *sake* to anoint ritual objects, sprinkling *sake* over the heads and shoulders of those praying, or using *sake* as a liquid offering alongside *inaw*, ritual wood-carved staffs, and other ritual objects.[108] Even in modern-day ritual performances these three items remain in use, displaying how the necessity of *sake* is cemented in many rituals and how in turn, Japanese trade and commodities also became cemented within them. To Western explorers and missionaries who witnessed the role of *sake* in Ainu religious customs, the way *sake* was used in such rituals became a main justification behind efforts to evangelize the Ainu, especially in the wake of global temperance movements. With these efforts came the stereotyping among the Ainu in ways reminiscent of the "whiskey Indian" stereotype in the United States in order to condemn their religious practices.

Western Missionary and Explorer Observations: The Emergence of the "Drunken Ainu"

Accounts from early Christian missionaries from the West in Ezo illustrate the steady integration of *sake* into Ainu life as the Ainu-Japanese trade became further entrenched in Ainu

[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid., 118, 329.
[108] Ibid., 293, 329.

territory. In the seventeenth century, the widespread persecution of Christians by the Tokugawa shogunate led to the exiling of Christians to Tsugaru at the northernmost tip of the mainland, from which exiles often fled farther into Japanese territory in southern Ezo in the 1610s.[109] The Matsumae clan in Ezo maintained a greater degree of tolerance towards Christians than mainland Japan until the 1630s, when the Tokugawa administration decreed the prohibition of Christianity across the entirety of Japan.[110] As a result, many Jesuit missionaries ended up in Ezo, and their correspondence from these missions reveal an early relationship between alcohol and the Ainu of Ezo. For example, Sicilian Jeronimo de Angelis and Portuguese Diogo Carvalho arrived in Matsumae territory as exiled Jesuit missionaries in 1618 and 1620, and each of them dedicated space in their reports to describing Ainu habits, ethnicity, and religious customs to argue for their potential for Christian conversion.[111] In his letters to his superiors in Kyoto, who had requested information about Hokkaido, Angelis categorized his findings into fourteen points, including the physical appearance of the Ainu and their drinking habits, Ainu clothing styles and tattoos, and Ezo goods for trade with the Matsumae. Notably, Angelis stated that while the Ainu enjoyed alcohol, they were not prone to drunkenness.[112] Carvalho made similar observations to Angelis in his own records of the Ainu, detailing their appearance, weaponry, and systems of governance. Carvalho's record of the goods the Ainu received through trade with the Japanese like dry and malted rice and liquor, coupled with Angelis' observations regarding Ainu drinking habits, display the emergence of a connection between Japanese trade and Ainu imbibement.[113] Angelis' and Carvalho's descriptions of the Ainu's relationship with alcohol are not overtly negative, and

[109] Takao Abe, "The Seventeenth Century Jesuit Missionary Reports On Hokkaido," *Journal of Asian History* 39, no. 2 (2005): 114-115.
[110] Abe, "Jesuit Missionary Reports On Hokkaido," 114.
[111] Ibid., 122,125.
[112] Ibid., 122.
[113] Ibid., 120-121.

thus contrast with the descriptions of Meiji Era missionaries who came to Hokkaido after the lift of Christian persecution.

In the nineteenth century, as missionization began anew in Japanese treaty ports and especially after the Meiji Restoration's lift of the ban on Christianity, the British Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) began its efforts to spread Christianity in Hokkaido. According to the 1895 edition of *The Church Missionary Atlas,* Reverend W. Dening led the initial mission to Hakodate, Hokkaido in 1874, and he visited the Ainu in 1876. In 1879 Archdeacon John Batchelor took over the regular mission work among the Ainu, and at the time of publication remained in that position.[114] The *Atlas* explained the Ainu character as follows: "They are a barbarous people, low in the scale of human intelligence, and slaves to drunkenness. Ninety per cent. [sic] of the men are drunkards, and the women also drink to excess."[115] A later CMS publication of 1916 titled *The History of the Church Missionary Society* further detailed the multiple mission stations established in prominent cities in Hokkaido, such as Otaru in 1879, Kushiro in 1889, and Sapporo in 1892, as well as Batchelor's work among the "the wild aboriginal tribe in the mountains," to illustrate the geographic extent of the diocese of Hokkaido.[116] Both the 1895 and 1916 publications reinforced the view among missionaries and Westerners that the Ainu were "drunkards" in need of an evangelizing force to help them abstain from alcohol consumption. These attitudes aligned with the motivations of Christian groups of various denominations in the United States and Europe in the 1860s and 1870s, as temperance movements aimed to eliminate the social and moral evils of alcohol through religious conversion

[114] N.A., *The Church Missionary Atlas: Part III. Ceylon, Mauritius, China, Japan, N. Zealand, N. W-America, and North Pacific* (London: Church Missionary House, 1895), 200.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Eugene Stock., *The History of the Church Missionary Society* (London: Church Missionary Society Salisbury Square, E.C. 1916), 358-359.

and legislation.[117] The lack of uniformity in Christian characterizations of Ainu drinking habits from the early seventeenth-century Jesuit activity in Ezo, to CMS missionization efforts in the nineteenth century, show the significant change in how entrenched *sake* became in Ainu life and the prominence of trade with the Japanese in Ainu territory.

Based on reports from Archdeacon John Batchelor, the *Atlas* claimed that the Ainu's "propensity to drink" was a "terrible obstacle" to their evangelization.[118] Batchelor arrived in Japan in 1877 and worked extensively with the Ainu during and after the Kaitakushi's active period and well into the twentieth century. Bachelor was interested in Ainu religion, language, and general history and recorded them in detail. One of his works, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan*, features a compilation of letters, personal writings, and notes from his experiences among the Ainu, and includes an explanation about the initial introduction of *sake* to the Ainu and the culture surrounding drunkenness in Ainu communities. Batchelor correctly indicated that the Ainu acquired *sake* through trading and bartering with the Japanese, and noted that any Ainu who performed labor for Japanese officials was paid in *sake.*[119] Batchelor continued by asserting that the Ainu became "a nation of drunkards," so much so that intoxication became necessary for the acceptable worship of Ainu deities.[120] In a later section titled "Cause of Ainu Decline," Batchelor cited the longing for intoxicating drinks as a persistent factor in Ainu degradation and as an ever-present issue from the past that continued to negatively affect the Ainu in the present. He claimed that Ainu dependency on alcohol "was fostered and encouraged by their conquerors for ages, and has undermined Ainu constitutions, sapped their strength, and taken all that is manly

[117] Henry Yeomans, "What Did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish? Attitudes to Alcohol, the Law and Moral Regulation." *Sociology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 38.
[118] Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 358-359.
[119] John Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1892), 29, 327.
[120] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 31.

from their souls."[121] He thus placed the blame for the degraded condition of the Ainu on the Japanese and their incursion into Ezo, which other Western figures of the time failed to do.

Both the Church Missionary Society publications and Batchelor's writings about his time with the Ainu made references to British travel writer Isabella Bird and her 1880 book *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. These references reveal how influential Bird's descriptions and characterizations of the Ainu became in the English mind. Bird travelled to Hokkaido in 1878 and visited major Japanese cities and notable Ainu *kotans* such as Biratori, Sarufuto, and Shiraoi that influenced her understanding of Ainu drinking habits. Her observations regarding the role of alcohol in Ainu religious worship align with Batchelor's. Bird explained that both Ainu men and women drank "outrageously," that they "spend all their gains upon it" in order to drink in large quantities, and that "[b]eastly intoxication is the highest happiness to which these poor savages aspire."[122] Of the Biratori Ainu she stated: "'To drink for the god' is the chief act of 'worship,' and thus drunkenness and religion are inseparably connected, as the more *sake* the Ainos drink the more devout they are, and the better pleased are the gods."[123] In Sarufuto, Bird emphasized the ritual usage of what she referred to as "*sake-sticks."* (likely an *ikupasuy)*, lacquer bowls, and *sake* ("their curse"), in an unnamed Ainu ritual Bird called a "seance*."*[124] Bird, like Batchelor and the Church Missionary Society, linked Ainu religious worship to alcohol consumption, and frequently described Ainu drinking habits as falsely "sanctified" in the name of worshipping their gods.[125] The influence of global temperance movements remains evident in Bird's own Christian religious convictions regarding alcohol consumption and motivated her to de-legitimize Ainu religious practices on this basis.

---

[121] Ibid., 285-286.
[122] Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior Including Visits to the Interior of Yezo and the Shrine of Nikko* (New York: G.P. Putnam, 1880), 31, 104-105.
[123] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 98-99.
[124] Ibid., 51-52, 59.
[125] Ibid., 105.

Unlike Batchelor, Bird was reluctant to place immediate blame on the Japanese for Ainu social conditions. Her descriptions of two Hokkaido villages, "Mombets[u]" and Shiraoi, severely downplayed the brutality of colonial tactics in reducing Ainu villages to impoverished conditions.[126] In a chapter titled "A Tipsy Scene," Bird described Mombetsu as a mixed Ainu-Japanese village engaged in the fish oil and seaweed fishing industries that were operated by both Ainu and Japanese employees; however, "[t]he whole place smelt of *sake*."[127] Bird conjured up the scene of tipsy men staggering through the village without discriminating between Ainu or Japanese. She also described her experience staying at a "very dirty and forlorn" *yadoya* (inn) in "the very center of the *sake* traffic" where men were "in all stages of riotous and stupid intoxication."[128] Her stay in Mombetsu was brief, but she characterized the village entirely in relation to the consumption and trade of *sake* that occurred there, and remarked the following day on her "sad reflections upon the enslavement of the Ainos to *sake*."[129] Bird's lack of elaboration on her thoughts regarding the plight of the Ainu in Mombetsu following this statement perhaps displays a lack of interest in the source of this issue. Although Ainu contract labor existed in Mombetsu's fishing-based economy that was worked by both Ainu and Japanese employees, and although Ainu employees frequently received payment for labor in the form of rice and *sake*, she never attributed the negative condition of the Ainu to the Japanese.[130]

After leaving Mombetsu, Bird made for Shiraoi, where she pointed out the detrimental effects of the Japanese presence on the Ainu and the abundance of *sake* shops, which comprised the few Japanese buildings there. In comparing the Ainu homes in Shiraoi to those in Biratori

---

[126] Joohyun Jade Park, "Missing Link Found, 1880: The Rhetoric of Colonial Progress in Isabella Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks In Japan,'" *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, no. 2 (2015): 385.
[127] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 112.
[128] Ibid., 112-113.
[129] Ibid., 113.
[130] Fitzhugh, et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People,* 98.

kotan, Bird stated that the former were "much smaller, poorer, and dirtier."[131] She attributed the "squalor of the Aino village of fifty-two houses" to the existence of *sake* shops, and further described the Ainu houses as dirty, den-like homes, filled with unkempt children and displaying what Bird called "a lack of cultivation."[132] Historian Joohyun Jade Park has argued that Bird defined "cultivation" as man's ability to colonize and mold the natural world according to the rules of civilization, and juxtaposes Bird's descriptions of conditions in Ainu *kotans* in Hokkaido with her descriptions of meticulously-kept gardens and fields created by the Japanese.[133] Bird also described Shiraoi's contract fishery, which produced "fish-oil and fish-manure [...] in immense quantities," and stated that it was pervaded by "an ancient and fish-like smell," which further contributed to the "uncultivated" image of dilapidation in Shiraoi she created in her descriptions.[134] On one hand, Bird acknowledged that "Japanese contiguity is hurtful, and that the Ainos have reaped [...] the disadvantages without the advantages of contact with Japanese civilisation." On the other, Bird blamed the Ainu for their inability to stay away from Japanese *sake* shops in her indication that Ainu homes were "at a respectable distance" from Japanese buildings, and that they were therefore unable to reap the "advantages of contact with Japanese civilization," instead of directly blaming the Japanese for constructing *sake* shops and contract fisheries that reduced the Ainu to these conditions.[135]

Direct references to Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* found their way into Church Missionary Society publications and Batchelor's writings. The 1895 *The Church Missionary Atlas* cited Bird's descriptions of Ainu religion, which Bird described as "the rudest and most primitive form of nature worship," for their purposes of outlining the efforts missionaries like

---

[131] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 122.
[132] Ibid., 122-123.
[133] Park, "Missing Link Found, 1880," 373.
[134] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 122.
[135] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 123; Park, "Missing Link Found, 1880," 384.

Batchelor had made in converting them to Christianity.[136] Bird's quote in the *Atlas* further characterized the way the Ainu interacted with "things outside themselves more powerful than themselves:" their good influences could be obtained, Bird wrote, but their "evil influence may be averted by libations of *sake* (native beer)."[137] In contrast, Batchelor's own accounts of and experiences with Ainu religion as a CMS missionary directly criticized Bird's shallow and biased understanding of Ainu religious customs. Batchelor asserted his credibility over Bird's "as one who has spent more years with them than Miss Bird did [in] weeks," and often referenced her 1880 book for the purpose of correcting the observations she made on Ainu religion in his own 1892 work, stating, "... I entirely disagree with Miss Bird's views upon the religious notions of this peculiar and little understood people."[138] He supported the legitimacy of Ainu religion against Bird's assertions to the contrary by stating that she is "clearly in the wrong when she implies that the Ainu are without religion," citing a quotation in her chapter titled "Elementary Religion," in which Bird wrote, "It is nonsense to write of the religious ideas of a people who have none, and of beliefs among people who are merely adult children."[139] Batchelor also corrected Bird's interpretations of Ainu "seances" as discussed previously. For example, he provided more accurate explanations of the role of *inaw*, or ritual wood-carved staffs, and their usage as sacred offerings to *kamuy* during worship.[140] Batchelor's perspective stands out from those of his contemporaries in Hokkaido at the time for his firm stance in promoting Ainu welfare. While religious convictions played a major role in Batchelor's opinions regarding *sake* consumption, his extensive experience living and interacting with the Ainu and the state of the

[136] *The Church Missionary Atlas*, 200; Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks*, 96.
[137] *The Church Missionary Atlas*, 200.
[138] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 32.
[139] Ibid., 29; Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 97.
[140] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 87; Fitzhugh et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, 329.

Ainu *kotans* he witnessed as a result of the intrusion of Japanese alcohol provides a greater nuance to his opposition to its consumption.

More Western references to Bird derived from her opportunity to meet with the Ainu chief of the Saru River chiefdom called Penri in 1878, a man whom Bird described as, "a superb but dissipated-looking savage."[141] This experience was shared not only in the 1916 CMS publication and Batchelor's personal works, but also in the autobiography of American Kaitakushi cattle farmer Edwin Dun. Bird held quite a high impression of Penri, and the only allusion to alcohol consumption she made regarding him was that "... his eyes are bloodshot with drinking."[142] Otherwise, Bird's impression of Penri remained largely untainted by the image of the "drunken Ainu," a contrast to later accounts by the CMS, John Batchelor, and Edwin Dun. Dun recounted a similar impression of Penri upon meeting him in 1884: "Their hereditary chief, Penr[i], had lost all semblence of dignity. He was a fine looking old chap but a great drunkard. Whenever we met he always tapped me for two yen for '*sake.* "[143] Batchelor too spent extensive time with Penri, although the exact dates are unknown, and he dedicated himself to teaching him and the Ainu of Biratori the Christian gospel while also recording Ainu cultural, linguistic, and religious customs. Batchelor's efforts to encourage the Ainu of Biratori to abstain from alcoholic beverages remained the greatest obstacle in his goals as a missionary, although he saw small successes in using Christian teachings to lessen this habit and change attitudes towards drinking in Ainu *kotans*. His time spent with Penri displayed the slow results of his efforts, "The Chief Penri sadly illustrates the power which this terrible vice has over the poor Ainu. He took a very great interest in the religion of Jesus, and did all he could to assist me. But drunkenness was his

[141] Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan,* 48.
[142] Ibid., 73.
[143] Edwin Dun, *Reminiscences of nearly half a century in Japan* (U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Agricultural Library, 1919), 45.

great stumbling-block. He tried twice to give up his drink, but each time he failed."[144] Despite these steady efforts, Penri's reputation remained the same by 1916, as reported in *The History of the Church Missionary Society*: "… it is pathetic to find that [Penri] died impenitent and still a drunkard in 1903, though he knew the Gospel well."[145]

The progression of Penri's reputation as an Ainu leader and his degradation into drunkenness, and most importantly his characterization as such by Western visitors, both missionaries and non-missionaries, displayed the growth of this stereotype about the Ainu between 1878 and the late 1910s. The multiple contrasting impressions and understandings of the Ainu and their relationships with alcohol consumption in religious contexts reveal the duality of the "drunken Ainu" image. Explorers like Bird and missionary organizations like the CMS overtly labelled *sake* imbibement as a negative trait associated with a "primitive form of nature worship." However, John Batchelor, despite his bias in favor of evangelization, observed Ainu alcohol habits and correctly labelled both its origin in Japanese trade and its proper usage in Ainu religious contexts. This split in the image of the "drunken Ainu" as an objectively harmful and negative trait like that of the "whiskey Indian" many missionaries possessed, versus a cultural and social custom in Ainu communities that Batchelor identified, were combined in many American Kaitakushi accounts that began to use both images to attain control over the Ainu population.

Sake **as a Tool for Control**

Batchelor's descriptions of the exchange of goods between the Ainu and the Japanese are not entirely incorrect, but fail to adequately convey the meaning of *sake* in the

[144] Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan*, 326-327.
[145] Stock, *The History of the Church Missionary Society*, 360.

political-economic relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese in Hokkaido. Trade rituals between the Matsumae and the Ainu, which involved the exchange of *sake*, took on various forms and appropriated pre-existing Japanese and Ainu customs that, over time, began to reflect the hierarchical relationship between the Japanese and the Ainu that was desired by the Matsumae. By the end of the eighteenth century, Ainu audiences at Fukuyama Castle had been established as a yearly tradition in Ainu-Japanese relations.[146] These audiences took the form of Ainu *uimam* rituals. In the original Ainu context, *uimam* simply referred to trade conducted between relative equals, and part of that meaning was retained between the Japanese and Ainu at Fukuyama Castle even as these visits became politicized.[147] An Ainu-Japanese *uimam* occurred between Ainu elders and Matsumae officials and over time, the ritual developed features to stress Ainu subordination to the Matsumae. Such features included the deliverance of domain edicts to the Ainu outlining changes in the regulation of their trade with the Japanese, the hierarchical organization of space in Fukuyama Castle which physically elevated Japanese officials over Ainu elders, and the purposeful display of weaponry to stress Matsumae military strength.[148]

The Ainu *umsa* ritual, too, became appropriated by the Japanese when they replaced visits to Fukuyama Castle with local trade at contract fisheries and trading posts. The *umsa* was originally an elaborate greeting exchanged between Ainu reuniting after a long separation, which was followed by an exchange of courtesies and elaborate shows of hospitality by the welcoming host.[149] When the *umsa* was appropriated by the Matsumae, its core characteristics remained, but as in the case of the *uimam,* it developed multiple elements that stressed Ainu subordination to the Matsumae. These elements consisted similarly of the reading of domain edicts translated into

[146] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands*, 208.
[147] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 119.
[148] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands,* 216-217.
[149] Howell, *Geographies of Identity,* 120.

Ainu language by an interpreter; the shared imbibement of ceremonial *sake*; and finally the exchange of trade goods between the two groups.[150] In both instances, the social consumption of *sake* emphasized amicable political and economic relations between the Japanese and the Ainu and therefore remained a central feature in maintaining this relationship.

During his visit to Hokkaido in 1872, Horace Capron mentioned the ritual use of *sake* in the Ainu village of Shiraoi—the same village visited by Isabella Bird in 1878. He visited this village while travelling up the southeastern coast of Hokkaido from "Volcano Bay," modern-day Uchiura Bay, and had the privilege of sitting in on a "diplomatic" ritual between Japanese officials — which consisted of Capron and his guide, whom he referred to as "Mr. Enomota" — and Ainu chiefs from the area's contract fishery. While Capron never explicitly named the ritual he participated in, it appears to have been an *umsa* ritual based on his description of the event in his autobiography. He introduced the ritual as follows: "It appears it is the custom when Japanese officials are passing through the Aino settlements, to present the leading men with wine (*sake*)."[151] Takakura Shinichiro affirmed the role of *sake* in *umsa* rituals by citing *Igen Zokuwa* ("Tales of Ezo Customs"), a record of life in Ezo in the 1780s and 90s written by shogunal official Kushihara Masamine, which stated that one extra barrel of *sake* was taken into the Ainu settlements along with other goods traded in the ritual.[152] Takakura commented further on this practice by stating that it appeared that the "already drunken Ezo" were given *sake* at the trading party in addition to the *sake* they received in the exchange of goods during the *umsa*.[153] He noted that providing the Ainu with additional *sake* was one of the many ways merchants deceived the Ainu for their own gain through this "loan-in-advance" system, in which merchants took

---

[150] Walker, *The Conquest of Ainu Lands,* 216.
[151] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II: Expedition to Japan, 1871-1875,* 95.
[152] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," trans. John A. Harrison, 41; Takakura, *Ainu Seisaku Shi* (Toshima: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942), 4.
[153] Ibid.

advantage of Ainu illiteracy in Japanese by purposefully misreporting the numbers in receipts from trade accounts.[154] This way, merchants could claim that during an *umsa*, they traded goods that were worth more than the Ainu goods exchanged, and thus the Japanese could force the Ainu to perform extra labor to compensate. This system gradually evolved into a means to force the Ainu to work for trade goods instead of exchanging their own products.[155] The *umsa* ritual lost much of its original symbolic meaning as a meeting between equals by virtue of Japanese manipulation of trade, and further demonstrations of subordination by the Ainu during Capron's *umsa* reflect the Japanese goal of Ainu submission.

A key feature Capron reported from his visit of Shiraoi was Ainu leaders' performance of submission to their Japanese counterparts. Capron described this part of the ritual in his memoirs as follows: "… three Ainos [...] kneeled and prostrated themselves [...] several times, each time on rising to a kneeling position, they rubbed their hands together, elevating them at the same time to a level with their foreheads and then stroking back their hair gracefully from their temples and forehead with both hands, and smoothing down their long flowing beards…"[156] In this instance, Capron and Mr. Enomota played the role of Matsumae domain representatives in the *umsa*, with the Ainu exhibiting subordination to not only the Japanese, but the visiting American colonizer. Different factors played a role in the deferential Ainu performance during an *umsa*, but the most consistent and important one was the exchange of the materials goods, particularly good-quality *sake* that the Ainu received from the Japanese. Especially because Capron's interactions with the Ainu in Shiraoi were highly controlled to show off the economic and political cooperation between the Ainu and the Japanese to a foreigner, this specific *umsa* ritual could have come closer to the original purpose of a "greeting" ritual, rather than a genuine

[154] Ibid.
[155] Ibid.
[156] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II,* 95-96.

trade ritual, to give Capron a favorable impression of the relationship. Capron's account does not mention other goods exchanged at this particular meeting, leading one to assume that its main purpose was to bestow *sake* to the Ainu of Shiraoi to emphasize Japanese control and the amicable relations between the two groups.

In Capron's view, *sake* as a facilitator of positive Ainu-Japanese relations in Capron's view revealed the degree to which his previous experiences with alcohol and his image of Native Americans in the American West differed from that of the Ainu. He repeatedly noted both the similarities and differences between the two indigenous groups, and reached contrasting conclusions regarding the demeanor of each. After his visit to the Ainu contract fishery and village at Shiraoi, he created a detailed list of "similarit[ies] of customs and habits of these Ainos with those of the North American Indians."[157] He saw commonalities in their "primitive ways of living," their diet of fish, game, and gathered fruits and plants, the construction of their dwellings, and even in their manner of riding horses.[158] He concluded his extensive list with the claim: "All but [Indian] ferocity, treachery and brutality, [...] is not to be found in the Ainos of Yesso…"[159] Capron's understanding of *sake*'s constructive role in the politicized *umsa* ritual contrasts sharply with his negative descriptions of Native American alcohol consumption during his time in Texas. In the Southwestern territories of the United States, his embrace of the "whiskey Indian" stereotype fell in line with the bad Indian image and alcoholism as a vice defined the worst traits of white civilization adopted by indigenous populations. By comparison, Capron seems to have seen Ainu *sake* drinking as a sign of participating in civilization and an indicator of their capacity to become civilized themselves by trading and interacting with the

[157] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II,* 94.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid., 95.

Japanese. Rather than relying on the "drunken Ainu" stereotype, he seems to have placed the Ainu in the category of the "good Indian."

Cattle farmer Edwin Dun is another example of an American Kaitakushi official who held positive views regarding Ainu character, and took the role of *sake* for granted in the Ainu-Japanese political and economic relationship. Born in Ohio in 1848, Dun came from a family of livestock farmers and entered the livestock business in partnership with his cousin in 1871.[160] In 1873, Horace Capron approached the Duns to purchase cattle for the Kaitakushi, and Capron's interest in Dun's experience with cattle breeding and practical farming led him to offer Dun a position with the Kaitakushi in Japan.[161] Dun arrived in Tokyo in 1873, where he was tasked with caring for cattle at a Kaitakushi farm and instructing Japanese students in farming, before he ultimately relocated his farming ventures directly to Hokkaido in late 1875 where he made a lasting impact on its agricultural industries.[162]

In his writings Dun never discussed Ainu alcohol consumption as an obstacle to his work or in any overtly negative way, but rather as a colonial tool. In his autobiographical piece *Reminiscences of Nearly Half a Century in Japan*, which was published in 1919, Dun recounted Ainu history dating back to their initial movement into Ezo territory and Japan proper, displaying a broader knowledge of general Ainu history compared to other foreign employees like Capron. He explained the current theory of the Ainu originating in Northern Siberia and their eventual journey south into Japan proper, even citing Ainu traditional stories of the aboriginal people, "Koro Pok Goro or pit dwellers," who lived in Ezo before the Ainu migrated there in "the olden times."[163] Dun also recounted the retreat of the Ainu to the north in reaction to Japanese

[160] Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier,* 77-78.
[161] Ibid., 78.
[162] Ibid., 78-79.
[163] Dun, *Reminiscences*, 45-46.

expansion and their eventual subjugation and degradation: "... their spirit as a people was broken and *'sake'* and disease did the rest."[164] In this, he resembled John Batchelor, but unlike in Batchelor's case, his historical and cultural awareness never resulted in an acknowledgement of the true role the Japanese played in the decline of Ainu life in Hokkaido.

Dun had more personal interactions with the Ainu and made references to alcoholism among the Ainu he worked with while doing fieldwork in Hokkaido's interior. Similar to Capron, Dun held the Ainu in higher regard than the Native Americans inhabiting the United States. For example, in Dun's *Reminiscences,* he wrote, "For a primitive people their laws and customs were excellent," and " I always found them faithful, honest and courageous…" [165] But unlike Capron, who did not live in Hokkaido and whose interactions with the Ainu remained limited to controlled political and economic contexts, Dun frequently interacted with the Ainu on a personal level as their employer because he hired Ainu men as guides, as aids to look after his horses, and as hunters during his excursions. Dun's descriptions of the Ainu under his employ were dehumanizing and degrading. He referred to the men who worked for him as "my pet Ainu," and emphasized Ainu subordination to his leadership during an excursion crossing the Toyohira River, "I asked the Ainu why he had disobeyed my orders. His reply was 'Where the *mishipo* (master) goes Ainu follow.'"[166] Dun recounted his habit of taking *sake* with him during such excursions, which he would measure out twice or three times a day and distribute to his Ainu employees.[167] He might have been using alcohol as a means of attaining submission and obedience from the Ainu under his command, and he outlined the success he had in doing so in his personal writings.

---

[164] Ibid., 46.
[165] Ibid, 46-47.
[166] Ibid., 47.
[167] Ibid., 46.

Benjamin Smith Lyman, an American geologist and member of the Kaitakushi, supported the relationship between Ainu submission and *sake* in his letters to the Kaitakushi. Lyman arrived in Japan in 1873 after his employment by Mori Arinori, the Japanese Minister to the United States, with the assignment of charting Hokkaido's topographic features and conducting geological survey to assess Hokkaido's gold mines and raw resources.[168] Writing to Horace Capron in 1874 to report on his activity in Hokkaido's interior, Lyman reported his findings on body measurements he conducted on Ainu men during his stay in the Ohotsunai *kotan.* Lyman explained his inexperience in recording such measurements, but he recorded in detail his results as well as general observations regarding Ainu customs witnessed during his time staying at different *kotans* and by watching the Ainu in his employ.[169] In this regard, Lyman held the impression that the Ainu possessed a "remarkable trait" of "inperturbable good humor." However the majority of his descriptions of the Ainu related to their biological features, such as strength and appetite, that made his work easier.[170] At the end of his report on Ainu measurements, Lyman added, "Winedrinking [...] is considered their great weakness, and we carried kegs of wine for them, because they will go nowhere without it…." He also stated that "[o]ur Ainos submitted very patiently to the measurements contrary to the expectations of my Japanese assistants."[171] This addition reflects the use of *sake* in a similar way that Dun identified in the context of work among the Kaitakushi. While Lyman's letters do not reveal if he was ordered to take Ainu body measurements by the Kaitakushi or if this was a task he undertook of his own volition, he, like Dun, might have used alcohol to attain submission and control over Ainu employees and Ainu pariticipants in Kaitakushi work.

---

[168] Fujita, *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier,* 45-47.
[169] Capron*, Reports and Official Letters,* 382-388.
[170] Capron*, Reports and Official Letters*, 386.
[171] Capron*, Reports and Official Letters,* 385.

While it is unclear whether Dun or Lyman knew of the Japanese custom of using *sake* to obtain control over the Ainu, the *Tsugaru Kibun* ("Anecdotes of Tsugaru"), a record compiled around 1757 by an unknown author about the customs and language of the Ainu in the Tsugaru region, mentioned the usage of *sake* by Japanese merchants as an incentive for Ainu laborers. It stated:

> [I]n Ezo money was not needed to hire the natives. They were willing to work for a small amount of goods brought from the mainland. If sake and rice were given [to] them they were very pleased, regarding it as a rare treat. However, when they had enough to eat and drink, nothing could make them work. They would sprawl on the beach in a hilarious mood and it seems that their desires were easily satisfied. [...] Therefore, a sort of rice and sake tactics was devised. One cup of sake would be given to three or four persons while one handful of rice was also given to three persons. Thus, by not allowing them to become drunk or full, they could be kept on the job as long as one wanted.[172]

This passagee demonstrates the tactical use of alcohol by Japanese overseers far before its implementation by Dun or Lyman. This element remains a great contrast to the "whiskey Indian" stereotype observed in the American West in that it possessed an overtly positive connotation from the perspectives of colonialists and foreign employees in Hokkaido. Capron's observations and historical understandings of the negative reputation of Native American drinking came from the ways in which it exasperated the moral abhorrence, treachery, and the weakness to a vice of civilized society.[173] On the other hand, the Ainu exhibited none of these "savage" transformations of behavior. Instead, the trade of alcohol and its usage in context of employment only enhanced the easygoing, faithful, and courageous demeanors of the Ainu identified by Western visitors. It is therefore unsurprising that Capron proclaimed in his memoirs that, "… there can be but one opinion that [the Ainu] are a very superior race of beings in every respect, having none [the Indians'] savage brutality," considering his impressions of *sake* in the

[172] Takakura, "The Ainu of Northern Japan," trans. John A. Harrison, 41; Takakura, *Ainu Seisaku Shi* (Toshima: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942).
[173] Berkhofer Jr., *The White Man's Indian*, 28-29.

politicized *umsa* ritual, and Dun and Lyman's accounts on Ainu docility and ease of submission at the hands of alcohol.[174] To American members of the Kaitakushi, the "whiskey Indian" stereotype was not associated with the bad Indian image as it was in the United States. Rather, the "drunken Ainu" seemed to have been associated with docility and thus, the good Indian image.

What Fails in the West Can Succeed in the East: Capron and the Fate of Ainu Assimilation

To American members of the Kaitakushi in Hokkaido, the Ainu possessed the ideal demeanor and relationship with their colonizer to be easily integrated into the Japanese polity. Capron's awareness of the political and economic role of *sake* in the Ainu-Japanese relationship and of its role as a marker of cultural proximity to the Japanese likely informed his final suggestions for Ainu assimilation. He wrote, "There is not a question in my mind that they will readily assimilate in all the good traits of civilized life, and resist to a great extent the bad, naturally through the promptings of their innate good qualities. They exhibit nothing of the warlike dispositions of the North American savage…"[175] This impression came from brief, but controlled context in which he interacted with the Ainu in Shiraoi, displaying the political-economic relationship between the Ainu and the Japanese predicated on the trade and consumption of *sake*. In this way, alcohol and its consumption as a marker of proximity to civilization took on a positive meaning in Hokkaido, one it never achieved in the American West. Unlike in the United States, where alcoholism was seen as one of the worst aspects of civilized life and signified an acceptance of white vice, American advisors associated Ainu dependency on

[174] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II,* 92-93.
[175] Capron, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II,* 93.

alcohol with established colonial control by the Japanese and thus, as a gateway to smoother assimilation.

These positive connotation of *sake* were not shared by missionaries and other Western figures in Hokkaido who possessed strong Christian religious convictions. Their accounts of interactions with the Ainu help to create a timeline of the development of the "drunken Ainu" stereotype during the Meiji Era. The Church Missionary Society, Archdeacon John Batchelor, and Isabella Bird all identified this stereotype, but emphasized the role it played in justifying many of their goals to Christianize the Ainu. Interestingly, while Capron and Dun both identified as Christians, their religious convictions only influenced their opinions on Japan's status as an uncivilized, un-Christian nation and did not lead them to condemn alcohol consumption among the Ainu due to their religious practices.[176] However, the same evaluations of Ainu character and their demeanors upon consuming alcohol remained consistent in the docile, simple, and easygoing stereotype that emerged in various descriptions across the Meiji Era. As Western accounts began to form a stereotype of Ainu demeanor, they also developed a stereotype of Ainu behavior under the influence of *sake.*

As Ainu culture and religious customs remained topics of interest among Western visitors to Hokkaido, their descriptions spoke to widely-held Western notions of indigeneity such as the good and bad Indian images and the "whiskey Indian" that developed independently of Japanese images of the Ainu. Many missionary figures and American members of the Kaitakushi identified traits that aligned with these images and described them in similar terms, elaborating on existing impressions of Ainu drinking that suggested its application to colonial ventures on the island. Beyond alcohol consumption and its associated stereotypes among the Ainu, the manipulation of the Ainu-Japanese *sake* trade itself displays the origins of the product in

[176] Dun, *Reminiscences,* 89; Horace, *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II,* 111.

Japanese control over Ainu social and economic life, beginning with the spread of trading posts in the eighteenth century. Ainu *sake* consumption in this new political-economic context enhanced Japanese colonial control by employing a pre-established and well-known Ainu stereotype that Western figures also participated in.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

An Act to Provide for the Allotment of Lands in Severalty to Indians on the Various Reservations (General Allotment Act or Dawes Act), Public Law 49-105. *U.S. Statutes of Law 388-91*, NADP Document A1887. DOI: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/5641587

Act of May 20, 1862 (Homestead Act), Public Law 37-64 (12 STAT 392); 1862; Enrolled Acts and Resolutions of Congress, 1789 - 2011; General Records of the United States Government, Record Group 11; National Archives Building, Washington, DC. DOI: https://catalog.archives.gov/id/299815

Batchelor, John. *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan*. London: Religious Tract Society, 1892.

Bird, Isabella. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels in the Interior Including Visits to the Interior of Yezo and the Shrine of Nikko*. New York: G.P. Putnam, 1880.

Capron, Horace. *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume I: Autobiography*, 1884. Special Collections, National Agricultural Library, Washington, D.C.

Capron, Horace. *Memoirs of Horace Capron, Volume II: Expedition to Japan, 1871-1875*, 1884. Special Collections, National Agricultural Library, Washington, D.C.

Capron, Horace. *Reports and Official Letters to the Kaitakushi.* Sapporo: Hokkaido Development Commission, 1875.

Dun, Edwin. *Reminiscences of Nearly Half a Century in Japan.* U.S. Department of Agriculture, National Agricultural Library, 1919.

"Hokkaido Former Natives Protection Law (Law No. 27, March 1, 1899): Adapted by Richard Siddle from John Lie's Translation for the Hokkaidō Utari Kyōka." In *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*, edited by Michelle M. Mason, and Helen J.S. Lee, 57-59. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

N.A. *The Church Missionary Atlas: Part III. Ceylon, Mauritius, China, Japan, N. Zealand, N. W-America, and North Pacific*. London: Church Missionary House, 1895.

Stock, Eugene. *The History of the Church Missionary Society*. London: Church Missionary Society Salisbury Square, E.C., 1916.

Secondary Sources

Abe, Takao. "The Seventeenth Century Jesuit Missionary Reports On Hokkaido." *Journal of Asian History* 39, no. 2 (2005): 111–128.

Anderson, Hannah L. "That Settles It: The Debate and Consequences of the Homestead Act of

1862." *The History Teacher* 45, no. 1 (2011): 117–137.

Berkhofer Jr., Robert F. *The White Man's Indian: Images of the American Indian from Columbus to Present*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1978.

Bowes, John P. "American Indian Removal Beyond the Removal Act." *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 1, no. 1 (2014): 65–87.

Carlson, Leonard A. "The Dawes Act and the Decline of Indian Farming." *The Journal of Economic History* 38, no. 1 (1978): 274–76.

Cornell, John B. "Ainu Assimilation and Cultural Extinction: Acculturation Policy in Hokkaido." *Ethnology* 3, no. 3 (1964): 287-304.

Fitzhugh, William W., et al. *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*. Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution in association with University of Washington Press, 1999.

Fujita, Fumiko. *American Pioneers and the Japanese Frontier: American Experts in Nineteenth-Century Japan.* Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994.

Harrison, John A. *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.

Hennessey, John L. "A Colonial Trans-Pacific Partnership: William Smith Clark, David Pearce Penhallow and Japanese Settler Colonialism in Hokkaido." *Settler Colonial Studies* 10, no. 1 (2020): 54-73.

—. "Engineering Japanese Settler Colonialism in Hokkaido: A Postcolonial Reevaluation of William Wheeler's Work for the Kaitakushi." *Asia in Focus: A Nordic Journal on Asia by Early Career Researchers* 6 (2018): 2-13.

Hirano, Katsuya. "Chapter 22: Settler Colonialism in the Making of Japan's Hokkaido" in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Settler Colonialism*, edited by Edward Cavanagh and Lorenzo Veracini, 327-338. London and New York: Routledge, 2017.

Howell, David L. "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State." *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 69-93.

—. *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan.* Oakland: University of California Press, 2005.

—. "Is Ainu History Japanese History?" In *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives*, edited by Mark Hudson, Ann-Elise Lewallen, and

Mark K. Watson, 110-116. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014.

Komori, Youichi. “Rule in the Name of ‘Protection’: The Vocabulary of Colonialism.” In *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique,* edited by Michelle M. Mason and Helen J.S. Lee, 60-75. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012.

Lakomäki, Sami, Ritva Kylli, and Timo Ylimaunu. “Drinking Colonialism: Alcohol, Indigenous Status, and Native Space on Shawnee and Sámi Homelands, 1600–1850.” *Native American and Indigenous Studies* 4, no. 1 (2017): 1–29.

Mancall, Peter C. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. Cornell University Press, 1995.

Medak-Saltzman, Danika. “Empire's Haunted Logics: Comparative Colonialisms and the Challenges of Incorporating Indigeneity.” *Critical Ethnic Studies* 1, no. 2 (2015): 11-32.

—. "Staging Empire: The Display and Erasure of Indigenous Peoples in Japanese and American Nation Building Projects (1860–1904)." PhD diss. University of California, Berkeley, 2008.

Mieczkowski, Bogdan, and Seiko Mieczkowski. “Horace Capron and the Development of Hokkaido: A Reappraisal.” *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society (1908-1984)* 67, no. 5 (1974): 487-504.

Park, Joohyun Jade. "Missing Link Found, 1880: The Rhetoric of Colonial Progress in Isabella Bird's 'Unbeaten Tracks In Japan.'" *Victorian Literature and Culture* 43, no. 2 (2015): 371–388.

Shuck-Hall, Sheri Marie. "Borderlands and Identities in Imperial Texas: The Alabamas and Coushattas in the Anti-Comanche Union, 1820-1840," *The International History Review* 25, no. 3 (2003): 563-591.

Takakura, Shinichiro. "The Ainu of Northern Japan: A Study in Conquest and Acculturation." Translated by John A. Harrison. *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 50, no. 4 (1960): 1-88.

Takakura Shin'ichiro. *Ainu Seisaku Shi*. Toshima: Nihon Hyōronsha, 1942.

Unrau, William E. *White Man's Wicked Water: The Alcohol Trade and Prohibition in Indian Country, 1802-1892*. Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1996.

Walker, Brett L. *The Conquest of Ainu Lands: Ecology and Culture in Japanese Expansion, 1590-1800.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.

Walker, Brett L. "Reappraising the 'Sakoku' Paradigm: The Ezo Trade and the Extension of

Tokugawa Political Space Into Hokkaido." *Journal of Asian History* 30, no. 2 (1996): 169-192.

Yeomans, Henry. "What Did the British Temperance Movement Accomplish? Attitudes to Alcohol, the Law and Moral Regulation." *Sociology* 45, no. 1 (2011): 38–53.