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Ainu Fever: Indigenous Representation in a Transnational Visual Economy, 1868–1933

DISSERTATION

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
LIST OF FIGURES	iii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
CURRICULUM VITAE	vii
ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION	x
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 1: ‘Civilized’ Men and ‘Superstitious’ Women: Isabella Bird, Edward Greey, and Late Nineteenth-Century Visualizations of the Ainu	42
CHAPTER 2: Narrating a Multi-Layered Visual Experience at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition: W. J. McGee, Frederick Starr, and Pete Gorō	103
CHAPTER 3: Art, Science, and the Artist-Explorer: Arnold Genthe and A. H. Savage Landor, 1893–1908	144
CHAPTER 4: A Modern Tourist Experience in Shiraoi: Kondō Kōichiro’s Illustrations in the <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	187
CHAPTER 5: Asserting Identity in the Face of Disappearance: Katahira Tomijirō, Takekuma Tokusaburō, and Reverend John Batchelor, 1918–1933	223
EPILOGUE: Ainu Visual Economy Enters the Digital Age: New Battlegrounds of Representation	271
BIBLIOGRAPHY	287

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure		Page
1	“Hairy Ainu to be Brought to America,” <i>New York Tribune</i> , 1904	2
2	Broughton, “A Man & Woman of Volcano Bay,” 1804	12
3	Bird, “Ainos of Yezo” frontispiece, 1880	64
4	Stillfried, “Ainos,” ca. 1875	65
5	Stillfried, “Stehender Ainu-Jäger,” ca. 1875	66
6	Bird, “Shinondi and Shinrichi,” 1880	67
7	Bird, “An Aino Patriarch,” 1880	70
8	Bird, “Aino Lodges (Based on a Japanese Sketch),” 1880	75
9	Reclus, “Aino Types and Costumes,” 1882	77
10	Stillfried, “Yesso, Ainos,” ca. 1870	78
11	Stillfried, “Five Ainu,” ca. 1871-73	79
12	Krammann, Stehender Ainu mit Köcher, Pfeil und Bogen, 1882	81
13	Greedy, “Aino Babies,” 1884	85
14	Hirasawa, “Iyomante,” late-19 th century	86
15	Greedy, “Ainos Entertaining Japanese Officials,” 1884	87
16	Hirasawa, “Drinking Banquet,” late-19 th century	88
17	Greedy, “Samelenko Baby,” 1884	90
18	Mamiya, <i>Kita-Ezo zusetu</i> , 1855	90
19	Matsuura, <i>Ezo manga</i> , 1859	120
20	Matsuura, Map from <i>Ishikari nisshi</i> , ca. 1860	121
21	Beals, Ainu Group Photograph, 1904	129

22	Beals, Ainu Group Crafting, 1904	133
23	“Strangest People in the World,” Chicago Daily Tribune, 1908	136
24	Batchelor, “A Hairy Specimen,” 1901	138
25	Detail 1 from “Strangest People in the World,” 1908	138
26	Detail 2 from “Strangest People in the World,” 1908	140
27	Beals, Shutrategk Carrying Kiku 2, 1904	140
28	Genthe, “Travel Views of Japan,” 1908	150
29	Landor, “Benry, the Ainu Chief at Piratori” 1893	165
30	Landor, “Ainu Women Dancing, Piratori,” 1893	165
31	Landor, “An Ainu Festival,” 1893	165
32	Genthe, “Crane Dance of the Ainu Women,” 1908	167
33	Genthe, “Ainu Chief,” 1908	167
34	Genthe, “Ainu Chiefs at Piratori,” 1908	167
35	Genthe, “A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire” (cropped), ca. 1896-1942	176
36	Genthe, “A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire,” ca. 1896-1906	176
37	Genthe, “Genthe and an Ainu Woman,” 1908	180
38	“The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk,” <i>San Francisco Call</i> , 1912	183
39	“Former Aborigine Proceeds to the Capital,” <i>Niroku Shinpō</i> , 1900	199
40	Illustration of Kawakami Konusaainu, <i>Hōchi Shinbun</i> , 1900	200
41	“Ainu Representative Kawakami Konusaainu,” <i>Niroku Shinpō</i> , 1900	201
42	“Peoples within the Expanding Territory...” <i>Otaru Shinbun</i> , 1911	203
43	Kondō, “To the Village at Shiraoi Station,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	209
44	Kondō, “Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	211

45	Kondō, “Shiraoi Village’s Imai Kiyoshi,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	212
46	Kondō, “Standing Before the Chief, Who is Drunk...,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	213
47	Kondō, “An Exhibition of the Real Thing...,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	216
48	Kondō, “Peeking at a Bear inside of a Cage,” <i>Yomiuri Shinbun</i> , 1917	218
49	Batchelor, “The Skylark,” 1924	233
50	Katahira, “Kutri” and “Yai-mah,” 1927	241
51	Katahira, “Ara-shik” and “Wenku,” 1927	241
52	Anonymous, “Husband and Wife with Noses Cut Off,” 1927	245
53	Studio Photograph of Ainu Man and Woman with Noses Cut, ca. 1890	247
54	Anonymous, “Spring-Bow, for Killing Bears,” 1918	248
55	Photograph of Takekuma Tokusaburō and Parents, 1918	257
56	Photograph of Ainu Settlement, 1918	259
57	Photograph of Ainu Schoolhouse, 1918	259
58	Book Cover of Takekuma Tokusaburō’s <i>Ainu Monogatari</i> , 1918	260
59	Journal Cover of <i>Utarigusu</i> , 1921	263
60	Illustration of an Ainu student. <i>Utari no Tomo</i> , 1933	265
61	Illustration of an Ainu Man in a Sake Cup, <i>Utari no Tomo</i> , 1933	265
62	Illustration of an Ainu Traveler, <i>Utari no Tomo</i> , 1933	266
63	Journal Cover of Mukawa’s <i>Utari no Hikari</i> , 1933	269
64	Wikipedia Entry for “Ainu People,” 2015	274
65	10 Zloty Bronisław Piłsudski Commemorative Coin, 2008	277
66	“Ainu Group” from The Ainu Group at the St. Louis Exposition, 1904	278

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Ainu Fever: Indigenous Representation in a Transnational Visual Economy, 1868–1933

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Romanticized as a lone Caucasoid race surrounded by Mongoloids, the Ainu—an indigenous people from the Hokkaido region of northern Japan—fascinated turn-of-the-century tourists, anthropologists and intellectuals. Suffering from the insatiable *Wanderlust* produced by rapid modernization, explorers traveled to Hokkaido in search of an “authentic” native experience outside of the Westernized Japanese treaty ports. British, American, and even Japanese travelers likened the unruly geography of the northern frontier to the Ainu body and personality. For some, these “hairy” indigenous people epitomized the exotic; for others, the ethnic ambiguity of the Ainu embodied a fantasy of aboriginal whiteness. Surveying the images represented in explorers’ reports, travel memoirs, world’s fair press releases, and indigenous publications, this dissertation examines networks of visual imagery that formed a consistent stereotype of Ainu culture from the height of Euro-American and Japanese “Ainu fever” in the late nineteenth century to the indigenous collectivization of the Ainu circa 1930. This dissertation is organized around transnational personalities such as traveler Isabella Bird, novelist Edward Greedy, artist Arnold Henry Savage Landor, anthropologist Frederick Starr, photographer Arnold

Genthe, artist Kondō Kōichiro, illustrator Katahira Tomijirō, and writer Takekuma Tokusaburō. While explorers and tourists traveled to Hokkaido to find themselves in the north, the Ainu had to contend with becoming an absent center in their own visual discourse. In addition to addressing images produced by British, American, and Japanese travelers, this research also investigates indigenous voices, such as Katahira and Takekuma, in order to restore attention to the self-fashioning of the Ainu image in print culture. These case studies span diverse visual media and synthesize text and image to investigate the role of circulation in producing knowledge about the Ainu. This project argues that while the origin of Ainu stereotypes can be found in Japanese *Ainu-e* paintings or early Euro-American travelogues of Hokkaido, they became a mainstay of late nineteenth and early twentieth-century visual culture through the incessant reproduction of a small body of images across space and time.

INTRODUCTION

On January 31st, 1904, the *New-York Tribune* announced “Hairy Ainu to be brought to America.”¹ By describing the Ainu as the “mysterious hairy men” of the North and the “most primitive people in existence,” the newspaper article anticipates their living ethnological display to be staged at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition under the auspices of American anthropologists Frederick Starr (1858–1933) and W. J. McGee (1853–1912). The article outlines the terms of a deep cultural fascination with the Hokkaido Ainu, the indigenous people of northern Japan. The people who call themselves “Ainu,”—a word meaning “human” or “people” in their language—historically inhabited northern Honshu, Hokkaido, southern Sakhalin, and the Kuril islands, which connect Japan to the Russian peninsula of Kamchatka.² The newspaper article, like many published in the early twentieth century, dwells on the strange rituals of the Hokkaido Ainu and their unknown ethnic origins—often called the “Ainu enigma”—that played up an exotic physiognomy and decidedly non-Japanese, “Aryan” appearance. Bisecting the article is an impressive two-page spread of reprinted half-tone ethnographic photographs provided by the American Museum of Natural History (Figure 1), which illustrates persistent motifs of Ainu culture already in place by the early twentieth century. A pair of “Ainu Belles” occupies the center

¹ “Hairy Ainu to be brought to America. Will Be Seen for the First Time Away from His Native Japanese Islands—Strange Characteristics of the Race,” *New-York Tribune*, Illustrated Supplement, January 31, 1904, 8–9.

² By the time of this article’s publication, the Ainu no longer inhabited Honshu, and most of the Sakhalin Ainu had been relocated to the island of Hokkaido when Japan relinquished control over Sakhalin (or Karafuto) to Russia in exchange for the Kuril Islands in 1875. They were initially settled near the coastal city of Wakkanai, which overlooked Sakhalin across the Sōya Strait. They would eventually be relocated along the Ishikari River to fulfill a shortage in labor. For a detailed explanation of the shifting borders between Japan and Russia, see: Svetlana Paichadze and Philip A. Seaton, eds., *Voices from the Shifting Russo-Japanese Border: Karafuto/Sakhalin*, Routledge Studies in the Modern History of Asia (New York: Routledge, 2005).



Figure 1: “Hairy AINU to be Brought to America. Will Be Seen for the First Time Away from His Native Japanese Islands—Strange Characteristics of the Race,” *New-York Tribune*, Illustrated Supplement, January 31, 1904, 8-9.

position surrounded by other captioned images showing the bear-sending ceremony (*iyomante*), an AINU dwelling (*chise*), a ceremonial lacquerware container, a loom and textiles, prayer sticks (*ikupasuy*), and sacred shaved sticks (*inaw*).³ In the lower right of the collage, a thin and bare-chested AINU male sits cross-legged in front of an *ikupasuy* and a ceremonial lacquerware bowl (*tuki*). Encircled within an oval frame, the background is conspicuously erased, an effect that leaves a fuzzy halo around his body in order to emphasize the hair on the man’s back, legs, and torso, which stands out against the stark white of his absent context.⁴ More than any other visual motif, it was AINU hairiness that tantalized explorers, and was repeatedly invoked as proof of the non-Japanese and non-Asian origin of the AINU people.

³ The captions under each of the two types of prayer sticks (*inaw* and *ikupasuy*) are mismatched in the article.

⁴ This visual emphasis is particularly conspicuous when compared to a higher quality reproductions of the same photograph, taken by Polish cultural anthropologist and ethnographer Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866–1918). One such example can be seen in the September 1909 issue of *Burr’s McIntosh Monthly*, which preserves the staging and background. Pilsudski likely requested the man to pose nude save for a loincloth in this particular photograph. However, this man was also photographed in full dress at the same location; this circulated as an ethnographic postcard.

The *New-York Tribune* was not the only source reporting on the Ainu at the turn of the twentieth century; images of the indigenous minority graced the headlines of other local and national American newspapers alike: “A Nation in Which Women and Men Wear Mustaches” (*The San Francisco Call*, 1897);⁵ “100,000-Year Old Race Survives. These Primitive Men and Women Found Living As Did Their Ancestors” (*The St. Louis Republic*, 1902);⁶ “The Quaintest Subjects of the Mikado” (*The St. Louis Republic*, 1904);⁷ “Strangest People in the World” (*Daily Press, Newport News*, 1908);⁸ “The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk: A Visit to the Ainus, the Strange Japanese Aborigines on the Island of Yezo” (*The San Francisco Call*, 1912).⁹ Like the *New-York Tribune*, such articles were often accompanied by impressive editorial spreads featuring photographs and illustrations of the Ainu, which all reiterated their ambiguous or Caucasian origins. These articles drew upon a consistent repertoire of images meant to play up their non-Asian features and exoticism. By the early twentieth century, the visual discourse of the Ainu crystallized around a small set of images including typical portraits of a young tattooed woman, a seated hairy older man in a loincloth, an older couple in full ceremonial dress, and a large village group of all ages. Authors and editors often combined portraits such as these with images of Ainu ceremonial culture, including scenes of Ainu men imbibing, women dancing, and an array of Ainu objects such as *inaw* and *ikupasuy*. The photographs and illustrations themselves vacillate

⁵ C.D., “A Nation in Which Women and Men Wear Mustaches,” *The San Francisco Call*, August 15, 1897, 21.

⁶ “100,000-Year Old Race Survives. These Primitive Men and Women Found Living As Did Their Ancestors,” *The St. Louis Republic*, December 21, 1902, 51.

⁷ “The Quaintest Subjects of the Mikado,” *The St. Louis Republic*, Supplemental Magazine, April 24, 1904, 49.

⁸ “Strangest People in the World,” *Daily Press, Newport News, VA*, September 17, 1908, 5.

⁹ “The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk: A Visit to the Ainus, the Strange Japanese Aborigines on the Island of Yezo,” *The San Francisco Call*, April 07, 1912, 22.

between ethnographic depictions and exaggerated caricatures of Ainu culture; their juxtaposition with captions and descriptive titles provokes the viewer to see the Ainu through the lens of the primitive. These motifs are not limited to the *New-York Tribune*, and they continue to inform the popular understanding of Ainu culture both in and outside of Japan.

Facilitated by American anthropologists McGee and Starr, nine Ainu visited American shores for the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, but American enchantment with them was hardly unique. Similar visual responses in Europe and Japan fostered a transnational boom in “Ainu studies,” sparking the feverish collecting of Ainu cultural artifacts by travelers, anthropologists, photographers, and budding ethnographers at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. While American and European travelogues and newspaper articles focused on the strange, “hairy” Ainu and their obscure ethnic origins, Japanese print media wavered between claiming the Ainu as a colonial possession and characterizing them as a welfare problem due to the poverty, alcoholism, and lack of education within Ainu villages, or *kotan*. Japanese images associated with representing the Ainu (and Hokkaido) as an extension of empire through the 1920s considered the Ainu alongside other indigenous and colonized peoples, while articles focusing on domestic welfare depicted the Ainu as primitive and backwards, or did not picture them at all. By the start of the Taishō era (1912), however, even Japanese tourists like Kondō Kōichiro (1884–1962) in 1917, would venture to Hokkaido in pursuit of a romanticized image of bearded Ainu elders and tattooed Ainu *menoko* (women).¹⁰ Common stereotypes of the Ainu people developed gradually through the exchange of early Edo-era (1603–1868) paintings of the Ainu (or

¹⁰ Japanese and Ainu names are presented as surname followed by given name.

Ainu-e), illustrations and textual descriptions of Hokkaido (Ezo) culture, and early photographs taken by European and Japanese commercial photographers to be sold in the port cities of Yokohama and Hakodate. But the predominant image of the Ainu popularized today had primarily gained traction in American and European publications by the early-twentieth century.¹¹

My dissertation addresses photographs and illustrations produced during the height of “Ainu fever.” I begin with images of the Ainu created shortly after the restoration of the Meiji emperor in 1868—a time when many foreign professionals entered Japan to facilitate the westernization of its institutions, and travel to Hokkaido became more easily accessible for both domestic and international visitors. While the antecedents to Euro-American and Japanese reproduction practices can be observed as early as the eighteenth century, I argue that the processes of image reproduction during this period of vast transnational circulation simplified the diversity of Ainu images into a few consistent tropes beginning in the late nineteenth century. Euro-American interest in the Ainu flourished through the 1920s, until changing immigration policies, World War I (1914) and the Russian Revolution (1917) severely strained travel to Hokkaido and Siberia.¹² This, in addition to a fading

¹¹ For example, as of 2015, a simple Internet image search for “Ainu” in either English or Japanese attests to the persistence of these very same nineteenth and twentieth-century stereotypes over time. Search results yield a bevy of photographs and illustrations, and late nineteenth-century ethnographic representations of the Ainu share a digital space with a smattering of twenty-first century tourist images from Poroto Kotan, a reconstructed village and museum in the town of Shiraoi that stages performances of traditional music and dance while allowing visitors to try on Ainu dress. Contemporary photographs of the Ainu—many of whom lead lives and have appearances that are no longer visually distinguishable from the Japanese—are routinely drowned out by late nineteenth and early twentieth century representations that rely on the more ubiquitous motifs of the hirsute Ainu elder or the tattooed Ainu girl, both donning robes with pronounced abstract designs.

¹² Yoshinobu Kotani, “Ainu Collections in North America: Documentation Projects and the Frederick Starr Collection,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O.

interest in the Ainu mystique, caused Euro-American institutions to abandon their Ainu collections in to focus on local indigenous materials. I close my dissertation with a consideration of how these images and stereotypes were newly appropriated by the Ainu in the Taishō and early-Shōwa periods (from roughly 1917 to 1933). Despite being the subject of many photographs, engravings, essays, and books, the Ainu formed an absent center in a visual discourse that was conducted largely by outsiders to their language and culture in the late nineteenth century. Even though the Ainu collecting boom subsided ten years prior, domestic tourism in Hokkaido continued. The Ainu in Hokkaido, particularly those in Biratori, Sapporo, and Asahikawa, tried to find their own entry into these debates, even when they were forced to contend with the language—and visual conventions—of outsiders to articulate their own identity. In highlighting these moments, I privilege Ainu participation and exclusion in the construction of their own visual culture and search for legibility.

The transnational production, consumption, and circulation of Ainu images reveal deep cultural anxieties over cultural and visual authenticity. Explorers and anthropologists alike scoured the Hokkaido countryside in search of the “authentic” Ainu, as if the truth of racial purity or hybridity could be perceived through surface-level visual inspection. Although they searched for the real Ainu, the very same Japanese, British, and American explorers faced the ever-present conundrum of authenticating their own eyewitness accounts, which they often addressed through visual means. While explorers searched Hokkaido for the remnants of pure and untouched natives, Ainu attempted to assimilate

Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 146.

into Japanese society while maintaining their indigenous cultural identity. As a result, they struggled to be seen as a true member of either culture. Being both modern and Ainu was seen as incompatible. From the perspective of outsiders, to live “authentically” as Ainu was, in many cases, overdetermined by stereotypes of indigenous inferiority established in late nineteenth-century visual and material culture.

Assimilation policies in Japan began changing Ainu ways of life in the Meiji period (1868–1912), and today those Ainu active in maintaining indigenous culture in contemporary society do so while leading Japanese lifestyles. This situation is aptly described by historian David Howell: “As the continuing presence of thirty thousand Ainu today attests, one can be monolingual in Japanese, cultivate rice for a living, be a practicing Buddhist, and still actively identify as an Ainu.”¹³ In spite of these sweeping changes within Ainu society, why do nineteenth-century images by American, European, and Japanese travelers persist as “authentic” representations of contemporary Ainu culture? Even as the Ainu increasingly participate in global indigenous solidarity movements in the twenty-first century, visual clichés of the Ainu continue to garner eager audiences in Japan and abroad. At the same time, the Ainu themselves reclaim such clichés as markers for their ethnicity and culture in an effort to remain visible in an international marketplace.¹⁴ Beginning with

¹³ David L. Howell, *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 196.

¹⁴ This issue of creating an Ainu brand was addressed in a symposium titled at “Senjūmin bunka isan to tsurizumu: ikiteiru isan no keishō to sōzō” (Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Succession and Creation of Living Heritage) at Hokkaido University from November 15–17, 2013. For the political dimensions in regard to the Ainu, see: Mark Winchester, “On the Dawn of a New National Ainu Policy: The ‘Ainu’ as a Situation’ Today,” *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 41 (October 12, 2009), <http://japanfocus.org/-mark-winchester/3234>. For a more general discussion of the commodification of indigenous identity, see: John L. Comaroff and Jean Comaroff, *Ethnicity, Inc.* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

the cultivation of “Ainu fever” through the transnational reiteration of several key images and motifs in nineteenth-century publishing, this dissertation analyzes the gradual calcification of the Ainu stereotype through the twentieth century in the discourses of discovery, tourism, and anthropological inquiry. As a counterpoint to these dominant narratives that were so influential in imposing an image of Ainu culture from the outside, I also investigate the Ainu mediation of identity in the face of these ineradicable photographs and illustrations. Doing so forces open a space for conversation about the challenges of writing an indigenous visual history within such a paradigm.

Ainu Culture First Seen from the Outside: Eighteenth-Century Exploration and Tourism

With the Ainu virtually unknown to audiences at home, armchair travelers on both sides of the Atlantic depended on vivid visual and textual images in order to construct the Ainu in their imagination. Commodore Matthew Perry forced open the Japanese ports of Shimoda and Hakodate in 1854 with the Treaty of Kanagawa (*nichibei washin jōyaku*), and Japan’s rapid industrialization following the restoration of the Meiji emperor in 1868 made the country more accessible to foreign and domestic travel. But intrepid explorers were already writing about the region even before the official opening of Japan. As the article from the *New-York Tribune* demonstrates, reporting on the Ainu was highly sensationalized, and the visual motifs of the “hairy” Ainu man or the tattooed Ainu woman had already been long established through travel narratives, photography, and picture postcards from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the United States, Europe, and Japan. But these visual practices could already be observed in a less dramatic

form as early as the eighteenth century. Although I do not discuss the history and generation of these images at length in this dissertation, they form an important early precedent to the photographs and illustrations that appear across my five chapters. A brief acknowledgement of this early history is crucial to understanding the later emergence of Ainu stereotypes and motifs.¹⁵

In Europe, both the Japanese and the Ainu experienced several racialized permutations within the social imaginary. As argued and documented by Ainu studies scholar Josef Kreiner, Enlightenment-era humanism marked a watershed moment in the European conception of the Asian Other, and the image of the Ainu underwent a dramatic shift around the turn of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century. Prior to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Europeans likened the Ainu to the “wild men” of the Middle Ages, while they viewed the Japanese as the model of an “enlightened, innovative people, who were peaceful but fearless in the martial arts.”¹⁶ The work of anthropologist Gregory Forth and art historian Richard Bernheimer explores such development of the “wild man” image—a “physically primitive and characteristically hairy hominoid reputed to lead a cultureless existence in deep forests and mountain caves.”¹⁷ Although the “wild man” is typically seen under the purview of cryptozoology (the study and investigation of animal species not recognized within western zoology such as sasquatches, unicorns, and mermaids), Forth’s research, in particular, examines the real application of this wild man

¹⁵ For more information on these early representations, see: Minami Midori, “Images of the Ainu” (PhD diss., State University of New York at Buffalo, 2007).

¹⁶ Josef Kreiner, “The European Image of the Ainu as Reflected in Museum Collections,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 125.

¹⁷ Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952); and Gregory L. Forth, *Images of the Wildman in Southeast Asia: An Anthropological Perspective* (London; New York: Routledge, 2008).

image to actual groups of people, such as the Nage ebu gogo in Indonesia.

The wild man image of the Ainu underwent a strong and sudden reversal as Europeans responded to their own social unrest by seeking alternative social models. The lauded Japanese—the most Western of the “Orientals”—became characterized as backward and despotic while the Ainu were “rediscovered” as a prototype for modern Europeans with their ingenuity and primitive purity.¹⁸ As a result, the reception of the Ainu as a fearsome, warrior people transformed to the image of a simple and good-natured people. The reports of three explorers of northern Japan—Jean Francois de Galaup, comte de la Pérouse (1741–1788, 1787 in Sakhalin), Adam Johann von Krusenstern (1770–1846; 1805 in Sakhalin), and William Robert Broughton (1762–1821; September 1796 in Volcano Bay and the Kurile Islands, August 1797 in Muroran)—promoted a shift to an idealized Ainu more in line with the gentle “noble savage.” Kreiner describes this new image of the Ainu as “living in eternal peace and harmony, who were very honest and hospitable, gifted, talented, cultured, and of so captivating a character that they were considered the best of all people with whom Europeans were acquainted.”¹⁹ All three explorers not only operated under the influence of this popular concept, but expressed extreme disappointment with the current social and political situation in Europe. And so, as further narrated by Kreiner, upon meeting the Ainu, “They were impressed by their harmonious life, the more so as their visits to the land of the Ainu were of a very brief duration and allowed them no insight into the calamities and hardships brought about by culture-contacts, the erosion of the

¹⁸ Kreiner, “The European Image of the Ainu as Reflected in Museum Collections,” 125.

¹⁹ The phrase “noble savage” is usually attributed to Jean-Jacques Rousseau, even though he never used the turn of phrase in the *Discourse on the Origins of Inequality among Men* (1754). Its first use was in John Dryden’s play *The Conquest of Granada* (1672). The concept of the “noble savage” dovetailed with ideas of romantic primitivism. *Ibid.*, 125–126.

traditional economy, and social disturbance.”²⁰ Based on these efforts, the image of the Ainu transformed in Europe, and the “harmonious life” that explorers found in Hokkaido and Sakhalin became an aspirational model for the war-torn continent. The narrative of the Ainu as “noble savage” was heavily published in not only the records of the explorers’ journeys, but also in new encyclopedias and magazines seeking to catalogue every aspect about the world.²¹ Kreiner explains that any negative descriptions of the Ainu, such as Krusenstern’s comment that the Ainu were “ugly” and “distasteful,” were conveniently omitted when the Ainu appeared in all-inclusive descriptions of world peoples.²²

Actual images played important roles in the shifting discourse of the Ainu as the “noble savage.” Although the textual descriptions featured in each explorer’s report were frequently cited and reprinted in a variety of languages, images like an engraving printed in Broughton’s report formed important precedents. Titled “A Man & Woman of Volcano Bay,” (Figure 2) we see an Ainu man with a recurve bow drawn standing on the shore, while his smiling wife, holding several fish, and the child strapped to her back look toward him with warm smiles.²³ In the distant background, smoke rises from a volcano, but seems not to pose any threat to the harmonious scene. With the bow and clothing reminiscent of classical Greece, Kreiner writes that it was as if “Europe had met its ancestors,” and in a

²⁰ Josef Kreiner, “European Images of the Ainu and Ainu Studies in Europe,” in *European Studies on Ainu Language and Culture*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Munich: Iudicium, 1993), 22.

²¹ For example, see: Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle: la Terre et les Hommes* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1882); and *The Wide World Magazine*, Vol. 3 (London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1899).

²² Kreiner, “European Images of the Ainu and Ainu Studies in Europe,” 25–26.

²³ William Robert Broughton, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean: In Which the Coast of Asia, from the Lat. of 350 North to the Lat. of 520 North, the Island of Insu (commonly Known Under the Name of the Land of Jesso,) the North, South, and East Coasts of Japan, the Lieuchieux and the Adjacent Isles, as Well as the Coast of Corea, Have Been Examined and Surveyed: Performed in His Majesty’s Sloop Providence and Her Tender, in the Years 1795, 1796, 1797, 1798* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804), 98–99.

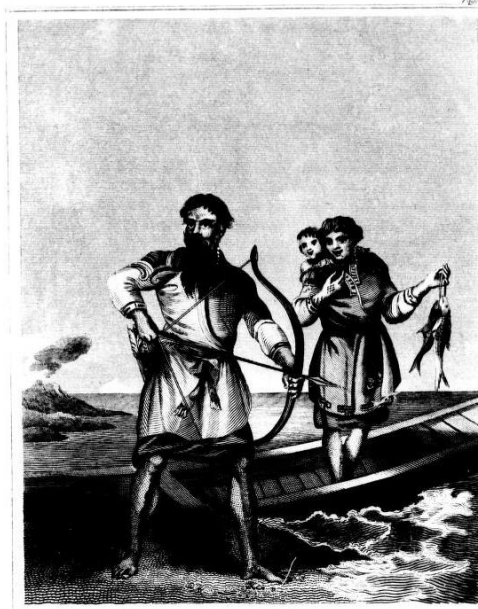


Figure 2: William Robert Broughton, “A Man & Woman of Volcano Bay,” in *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean: In Which the Coast of Asia* (London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1804).

separate essay proclaims, “this is what Broughton—and no doubt his two contemporaries as well—might have felt when meeting the Ainu: that they had gone straight back to the Golden Ages of Hellas.”²⁴ More important than the composition of this image was its wide circulation, as it was reproduced in several publications across Europe including Friedrich Ludwig Lindner’s *Neueste Kunde von Asien* (1817), a book that is based on the reports of these three explorers and deals with Hokkaido and Sakhalin over the course of roughly twenty pages in the third volume.²⁵ Broughton’s image of the Ainu family with dress and props that invoked the image of ancient Greece resonated with nostalgia for an earlier period in European history—one that predated the effects of war and mass industrialization. This hope and ideal was romanticized in images of an indigenous people

²⁴ Josef Kreiner, “Changing Images: Japan and the Ainu as Perceived by Europe,” in *Rethinking Japan: Social Sciences, Ideology & Thought* 3, ed. Adriana Boscaro, et al. (London: Curzon Press, 2003), 143; and Kreiner, “European Images of the Ainu and Ainu Studies in Europe,” 26.

²⁵ Kreiner, “European Images of the Ainu and Ainu Studies in Europe,” 26.

leading peaceful lives in the north.

Philipp Franz von Siebold's *Nippon* (1852) and the "Ainu Enigma"

The renovated image of the Ainu as the "noble savage" living in eternal harmony would invite later comparisons between the Ainu and the Japanese among travelers, as illustrated in the work of Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866). Siebold was a Dutch botanist appointed to the combined post of doctor and scientist on the island of Dejima in 1823.²⁶ As his primary passion was the study of Japanese flora and fauna, he collected a variety of rare specimens with the assistance of Japanese collaborators and commissioned botanical, animal, and ethnographic paintings by Japanese artists. In what has become known as the "Siebold Incident" of 1826, Siebold was accused of treason en route to the court in Edo (Tokyo) for carrying a map of Karafuto (the northern extents of the Japanese territory) produced by explorer Mamiya Rinzō (1775–1884) and cartographer Inō Tadataka (1745–1818). Suspected of working for Russia, he was placed under house arrest until his expulsion from Japan in 1829. Siebold would return to the Netherlands and move to Leiden, where he published the first of seven volumes of *Nippon* in 1832.²⁷ *Nippon*, as a work that addresses the Ainu in an inclusive description of Japan and its people, is notable not only for the impact it had on the popular reception of the Ainu in Europe, but also for its engagement with Japanese producers of Ainu images in the mid-nineteenth century.

Despite never seeing Hokkaido with his own eyes, Siebold included descriptions and

²⁶ Siebold was German/Bavarian by birth.

²⁷ The last volumes would be published posthumously in 1882 by his sons, and a cheap reprint of the volume would be issued in 1887.

illustrations of the Ainu in both Hokkaido and Sakhalin in *Nippon*.²⁸ Siebold introduced a new theory of Ainu origin, and this had a profound effect on the reception of the Ainu in Europe through and after the nineteenth century. In *Nippon*, he claimed that the Ainu were not only at a very primitive stage of human civilization, and that their language did not resemble that of any of their Asian neighbors. Siebold further argued that the Ainu were of continental origin (originally from somewhere West, down the Amur River), and that they were the original inhabitants of the Japanese islands until being pushed north into Hokkaido by the Japanese.²⁹

The romanticized idea of the “Aryan Ainu” piqued the interest of explorers, anthropologists, and ethnographers across Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This ideal subsequently prompted ethnological queries into the origins of the Ainu race (what contemporary scholars have termed the “Ainu enigma”), which posited them as a precursor to modern Europeans.³⁰ Even those scholars who disagreed with the hypothesis of Aryan origins still remarked on the difference between Japanese and Ainu racial origins; as Edward B. Tylor explains, “although the idea [of the Ainu belonging to the Aryan race] comes to nothing when examined strictly,

²⁸ Ibid., 30.

²⁹ Ibid., 30–31.

³⁰ William W. Fitzhugh. “Ainu Ethnicity: A History,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 14. It should also be noted that while Europeans and Americans saw the Ainu as a proto-white people, Russian anthropologists often viewed the Ainu as having Australoid affiliation, with origins in southern China, Indochina, or Austronesia. For a complete summary of these debates over Ainu origins, see: S. S. Arutiunov, “Ainu Origin Theories,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 29–31.

its existence is an acknowledgement of the special Aino [sic] race-type.”³¹ Even today, these debates over Aino origins are not firmly settled in the minds of scholars. In the late nineteenth century, the Aino were romanticized as Caucasians surrounded by Mongoloids: a move that demonized the Japanese as the “oppressors” of a proto-white people. In the Western imagination, the image of the Aino provided convenient political criticism of the Japanese for their colonial aspirations while eliding the history of Western imperialism. In this rhetorical move, the Japanese, and not the Europeans, become the villain. However the criticism of Japan does contain a fair bit of irony—Japan mimicked Western imperialism toward the Aino and other minorities in order to legitimate their standing as a major power, while the Europeans only saw this as one more piece of evidence against the danger of the “Yellow Peril” toward innocent “white” civilization.³² By the end of the nineteenth century, Western travelers would praise the Aino as a proto-white people, but view their whiteness as more primitive and more imperfect than that of the explorer.

***Ainu-e* and a Culture of Copying**

The theory offered by Siebold had a lasting effect on the perception of the Aino, and the images of the Aino and other northern peoples found in the 1832 volume of *Nippon* were, like Broughton’s engraving, also heavily copied.³³ But Siebold’s illustrations were also comprised of copies themselves. Although only four illustrated scenes of the Aino appear in *Nippon*, each image is based on a far larger number of Japanese painted sources

³¹ Edward B. Tylor, introduction to *Aino Folktales*, by Basil Hall Chamberlain (London: The Folk-lore Society, 1888), vi.

³² Kreiner, “European Images of the Aino and Aino Studies in Europe,” 30–31.

³³ Philipp Franz von Siebold, *Nippon: Archiv Zur Beschreibung von Japan Und Dessen Neben-und Schutzländern: Jezo Mit Den Südlichen Kurilen, Krafto, Koorai Und Den Liukiu-Inseln* (Leyden: Verfassers, 1852).

(*Ainu-e*), mostly derived from the *Hokui bunkai yowa* (The Story of the Northern Tribes) by Mamiya Rinzō in 1811.

Narrowly defined, *Ainu-e*, or “Ainu pictures,” is a term that contemporary scholars use to describe Japanese works painted of the Ainu that evolved from the illustrations found in Arai Hakuseki’s 1720 *Ezo-shi* (History of Ezo) —an illustrated gazeteer seen as the origin of modern Japanese studies of the Ainu by scholars such as historian Sasaki Toshikazu.³⁴ As described by Sasaki, the word “Ainu-e” can be applied more broadly to include paintings from all periods that depict the Ainu, in addition to neighboring indigenous people such as the Orok and Gilyak (Uilta), painted by a Japanese hand.³⁵ While anthropologist Midori Minami points to *Ainu-e* as a Japanese articulation of ethnic difference, Sasaki argues that *Ainu-e* have historical value in revealing the manners of the people in Ezo (Hokkaido) at the time of the painting, giving a better sense of the reality of customs, objects, and clothing.³⁶ Despite being called “Ainu Pictures,” *Ainu-e* are not produced by the Ainu, but by the Japanese, and should not be evaluated within a rubric of

³⁴ Since the medieval period, the term “Ezo” equates fully with the Ainu, although earlier uses did not necessarily carry the same connotation. Although Sasaki cites Arai Hakuseki’s *Ezo-shi* as the first step in the evolution of *Ainu-e*, he does explain that it would be problematic to view *Ezo-shi* itself as an *Ainu-e*. No artist has been identified as the illustrator of *Ezo-shi*, and the images were based on real observations of the Ainu and appended to the original edition after the fact. Although *Ezo-shi* is widely accepted as the prototype for later *Ainu-e*, Sasaki contends that it was not the first example of such paintings, and the 1069 *Shotoku taishi denryaku* (Pictorial Biography of Prince Shotoku) painted by Hata no Chitei should rightly be called the “first” *Ainu-e*. Sasaki Toshikazu, “Ainu-e: A Historical Review,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 79–82.

³⁵ Sasaki draws this distinction since much attention to *Ainu-e* has been on works produced between 1720 (marked by Arai’s *Ezo-shi*) and the mid-nineteenth century (exemplified by the paintings of explorer Matsuura Takeshiro [1818–1888]). Sasaki Toshikazu, “On *Ainu-e*—Pictorial Descriptions of Ainu Life and Customs,” in *European Studies on Ainu Language and Culture*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Munich: Iudicum, 1993), 217.

³⁶ Minami, 51–86.

indigenous “folk art,” nor confused with work produced by Ainu artists.³⁷ During the Edo period, (the height of Japanese Ainu-e production), owing to beliefs about the power of representation, illustrated works produced by Ainu people did not exist, although several Ainu illustrators emerge in the late-Taishō era (see Chapter 5). It was said that paintings and drawings gradually gained life so that evil spirits (*wen kamuy*) could enter the depiction with the potential to harm.³⁸ As such, representations of any living thing (person, animal, plant, etc.) in addition to depictions of any natural phenomenon (rain, snow, wind) were forbidden by Ainu cultural beliefs, with the exception of designs on ceremonial objects such as prayer sticks (*ikupasuy*) and sacred shaved sticks (*inaw*).³⁹ Instead, the Ainu depended on an abstract pictorial language often seen carved into ceremonial objects or woven into textiles as various, repeated patterns such as a god’s thorn pattern (*ay-us-siriki*), whirl patterns (*armoire*, *ar-us-morew-siriki*, or *sikikew-nu-morew-siriki*), a vine pattern (*punkar-siriki*), or a flower bud pattern (*apapo-epuy-siriki*), among others.

Ainu-e, as paintings done of, but not by the Ainu, belong to a greater lineage of images representing those who were “Other” to Japan including depictions of merchants and missionaries from Portugal and Spain in sixteenth and seventeenth-century *namban byōbu* (“southern barbarian” folding screens), popular illustrations of Dutch merchants of Nagasaki in eighteenth-century woodblock prints (*Nagasaki-e*), and later depictions of Chinese, Korean, Ryūkyū and European peoples.⁴⁰ Sasaki explains that as with other representations of peoples outside of Japan, one must exercise a degree of caution when

³⁷ Sasaki Toshikazu, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū* (Study of the History of Ainu Painting) (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 2004), 27.

³⁸ Chisato O. Dubreuil, “Ainu-e: Instructional Resources for the Study of Japan’s Other People,” *Education about Asia* 9, no. 1 (Spring 2004): 10.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 10.

⁴⁰ Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū*, 25.

approaching Ainu-e as ethnographic texts because the Ainu are often depicted as not only culturally Other, but as inferior. While some works, such as the paintings by Kakizaki Hakyō (1764–1826), Tani Gentan (1778–1840), Murakami Shimanōjō (1760–1808), Murakami Teisuke (1780–1846), and Hirasawa Byōzan (1822–1876), contain a wealth of accurate information about Edo-era Ainu culture, other artists, such as Hashimoto Gyokuransai (also known as Utagawa Sadahide; 1807–1873) reinterpreted Ainu culture through the lens of *ukiyo-e* in his rendition of Mamiya Rinzō's *Kita Ezo zusetu*, and therefore cannot be trusted for ethnographic accuracy.⁴¹ Although Ainu-e can be useful sources of information, Sasaki stresses the importance of distinguishing objective description from painterly/authorial bias, as many accounts tend to be unreliable.⁴²

In his quest to develop an inclusive illustrated work on Japan, Siebold was dependent on Japanese paintings for his commissioned illustrations. While some images maintain the overall composition of the original Ainu-e, other images adopt specific elements from different Ainu-e paintings, drawing figures from several different sources for the fore, mid, and background. The sources that support Siebold's *Nippon* illustrations have already been documented in depth by scholars Sasaki and Miyazaki Katsunori, among others.⁴³ As they recount, during the "Siebold Incident" over the map of Karafuto, a series of illustrations with the title *Karafuto fūzoku zu* (Drawings of Karafuto Customs) would be

⁴¹ Hashimoto Gyokuransai was a popular woodblock print artist of *Yokohama-e*. These were woodblock prints depicting foreigners and new goods entering the port of Yokohama after restrictions were lifted in 1854.

⁴² Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū*, 25–28.

⁴³ For a more detailed analysis of the Siebold Incident in addition to the sources of his Ainu illustrations, see: Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū*, 125–159; Miyazaki Katsunori, "Shiboruto *Nippon* no irotsuki zuhan" (The Study of Comparing Color Prints in Siebold's *Nippon*), *Bulletin of Kyushu University Museum*, no. 5 (2007): 46–51; and Fritz Vos, "Phillip Franz von Siebold and the Ainu Language," in *European Studies on Ainu Language and Culture*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Munich: Iudicium, 1993), 63.

confiscated by the Nagasaki magistrate. Painted by Kawahara Keiga (1786–1860), an artist known for his depictions of the Dutch in Edo-period Nagasaki, this work copies the illustrations of two popular works on the Ainu by Mamiya Rinzō and Murakami Teisuke, *Hokui bunkai yowa* (The Story of the Northern Tribes) and *Tōdatsu chihō kikō* (Travels among the East Tartars).⁴⁴ Siebold's *Nippon* adopts the text from both of these works, translated by Yoshi Chūjirō (dates unknown), and the illustrations from *Hokui bunkai yowa*, copied by Kawahara. Titled *Karafuto fūzoku zu*, Kawahara's work consists of sixty-five sheets painted in color on 43.5cm by 35cm Dutch paper. Although this work was confiscated and presented to the Bakufu government, several of Kawahara's illustrations remained in Siebold's hands and would form the basis for the illustrations in *Nippon*.⁴⁵

There are many lessons to be learned from Siebold's early example, and works like *Nippon* were foundational to works of the late nineteenth century such as that of Isabella Bird (1831–1904) or Edward Greey (1835–1888) discussed in Chapter One. Siebold's work did not offer original illustrations of the Ainu, as seen in Broughton's earlier explorer report, but it also did not merely copy the images as they appeared in the *Karafuto fūzoku zu*. Rather, the illustrations found in *Nippon* adopted a new strategy by combining various images together to form scenes of Ainu life. For example, in an illustration titled "Abbildungen von Ainos von ihren Wohnungen" (images of Ainu by their homes), Miyazaki has identified four discrete images from which the composition derives. Individual

⁴⁴ The former is the first research record of the Karafuto region according to Mamiya and Matsuda Denjurō, carried out from July to August, 1808. The latter would be based on an expedition to Karafuto and the downstream region of Heilongjiang from January until August of 1809. Both of these works would be dictated by Mamiya to Murakami, a subordinate of the Matsumae shogunate, who recorded them by brush in 1810.

⁴⁵ The portion of the illustrations that Siebold used for *Nippon* currently resides in the Leiden National Ethnographic Museum, while the rest of the *Karafuto fūzoku zu* is located in the Tokyo National Museum.

portraits of Ainu, such as an Ainu man carrying a bow and quiver painted by Kawahara, are juxtaposed with figures from other paintings against the background of an Ainu home.⁴⁶ While Kawahara's original image depicts the Ainu man as a static portrait, *Nippon's* imagined scene situates the man in the context of a bustling village, with an Ainu couple on the right, a group of Ainu feasting in the center, and two Ainu men pointing outside of the illustration's frame into the distance on the left. The resulting image is efficient in its ability to depict a large swath of Ainu culture in a small, constrained space, even if the scene is somewhat planar in its imperfect use of perspective. With one look, we can take in various aspects of Ainu culture including housing, food, dress, and customs without needing to turn the page. A similar process of complex sourcing would be strategically adopted in the nineteenth-century publishing world, such as later publications by Bird and Greey discussed in Chapter One, yet not limited to Japanese/Ainu content. But when illustrating works about the Ainu, this strategy often allowed engravers to conveniently construct scenes that were packed with more ethnographic information than the original Ainu-e, while retaining their authenticity as based on Japanese eyewitness accounts. It also provided source material, which eliminated the need for original compositions. Although the Ainu image would be heavily mediated through the eyes of various parties—Japanese, European, American, and later the Ainu themselves—this constant recombination of images characteristic of Siebold's *Nippon* would form an important feature of how Western audiences, in particular, would come to understand this indigenous people.

⁴⁶ Miyazaki, 47.

Visiting Hokkaido, Leaving the *Kotan*: Nineteenth and Twentieth-Century Travel in Japan

With the opening of Japanese ports in 1854, visiting Hokkaido presented a popular alternative to the typical tourist circuit that included locations like Edo (Tokyo), Yokohama, Nikko, and Kyoto—locations that are still mainstays of domestic and international travel today. Nineteenth and twentieth-century explorers from Japan and the West both stressed the difficulties of traveling in Hokkaido or to the Ainu village, and they depended on visual aids such as lantern slides, photographs, and paintings to narrate their journey upon their return. For many, the lure of Hokkaido was the overwhelming perception of the island as an untamed wilderness. While *Nippon* (1832) and other European-language works found new audiences through the late nineteenth century, the image of the Ainu as the picturesque “noble savage” would predominantly continue in new English-language works.

Motivated by a variety of different interests—from government-sponsored expeditions to missionary work to anthropological investigations—Anglophone travelers like Isabella Lucy Bird, Edward Greey, Arnold Henry Savage Landor (1865–1924), Frederick Starr, and Arnold Genthe (1869–1942) all published on topics related to Hokkaido and the Ainu in Siebold’s wake. With the continuing popularity of German-language works such as Siebold’s *Nippon* through the late nineteenth century, why did the tide suddenly shift to an English-speaking audience? While the Ainu-Caucasoid hypothesis was popularized in German-speaking countries, the professionalization of American (and later Japanese) anthropology and ethnology in the late nineteenth century headed by German-trained anthropologists such as Franz Boas (1858–1942) facilitated the spread of Ainu fever across the United States and the subsequent rush to collect Ainu material

culture.⁴⁷ Anthropologist Kotani Yoshinobu points to changing U.S.-Japan relations during the Meiji period (1868–1912) as a crucial factor motivating this change. After the reopening of Japanese ports in 1854, and the restoration of the Meiji emperor in 1868, the Japanese government invited many American and European scientists, engineers, artists, and architects into the country to foster Japan into the modern age through the westernization of its institutions and infrastructure. Some of these visitors, including General Horace Capron (1804–1885) and William Smith Clark (1826–1886), went to Hokkaido in an effort to promote agriculture and development. Following their lead, professionals such as Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1935), Romyn Hitchcock (1851–1923), E. Odium (1850–1935), and Bashford Dean (1867–1928) traveled to Japan to teach courses in science and English, and assembled collections of Ainu material culture during their stay. In addition to bringing in foreign professionals, the Meiji government also sent Japanese students to learn new technologies abroad; this was known as the Iwakura Mission (*Iwakura shisetsudan*), initiated in 1871. Kotani explains that some of these students, such as Nitobe Inazō (1862–1933), became indispensable translators and intermediaries between the Ainu and visiting scholars. Another important factor facilitating travel to and from Hokkaido that cannot be underestimated was the Christian missionary presence in Hokkaido, particularly the efforts of Anglican missionary John Batchelor (1854–1944).

Although travelers from Great Britain and the United States journeyed to the north alongside Japanese explorers and other Western travelers from Russia, Germany, France, and Poland, it is undeniable that the visual imagery made popular in turn-of-the-twentieth

⁴⁷ Kotani, 137–138.

century English-language texts was reproduced with the greatest frequency.⁴⁸ A great visual synergy existed among works produced by American and British travelers, cosmopolitan Japanese scholars and tourists, and Hokkaido Ainu from Sapporo and Biratori with connections to Batchelor. Travelers to the region often utilized the same contacts, visited the same locations, and cited each other's experiences liberally. Considering this as an interconnected network, it is unsurprising when particular Ainu figures, such as Chief Hiramura Penriuku (1833–1903; often called “Chief Penri” by travelers), reappear consistently in Anglophone works at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Despite drawing from the same visual repertoire, travelers often interpreted images according to their own expectations and cultural biases. With an increasing number of travelers heading to Hokkaido to see the Ainu with their own eyes, writers were eager to situate the Ainu along a continuum of human progress in line with current trends in anthropology; this was a theme that would be explored in print publications and Anglophone newspapers by several Euro-American explorers to Hokkaido as accounted for in the first three chapters of this dissertation.

Much scholarly attention has been lavished upon the textual content of these publications—particularly that of Isabella Bird—but all of these works, regardless of genre, depended to a greater or lesser degree on the circulation and transformation of Ainu images much like their eighteenth century predecessors mentioned above. While the images found within works like Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) adopt the same clichés found in Siebold's *Nippon*—even her frontispiece features an Ainu man carrying a

⁴⁸ In Europe, Kreiner explains that while publications about the Ainu peaked between the 1880s and 1890s, this discourse was dominated by works produced in English. Kreiner, “European Images of the Ainu and Ainu Studies in Europe,” 41.

bow and quiver—the engravings of Baron Raimund von Stillfried’s (1839–1911) photographs and Edo-period Ainu-e found in her text have an enduring legacy as Ainu visual motifs in English-language publication. A cursory examination of Anglophone texts about the Ainu demonstrates that writers and publishers drew from a variety of visual sources when creating woodcut engravings in the nineteenth century, such as Meiji-era treaty port photographs by both Japanese and European studios, Edo-period Ainu-e, Ainu-themed popular illustrations (*ukiyo-e* and Ainu *komonjo*, bound rice-paper reports featuring hand-drawn illustrations or black-and-white woodcut prints), and tourist postcards. Although nineteenth-century illustrations culled material from a variety of media, the images that they reproduced became calcified in terms of content. In effect, the same small body of images—and as a result, the same stereotypes— were reprinted time and time again, often with small edits made to images to make them better fit the textual content. This trend can be seen in examples contemporary to Bird, such as Edward Greey’s *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* (1884), in addition to later examples including the article on the Ainu from the *New-York Tribune*.

But while white explorers traveled to Hokkaido to meet the gentle, noble Ainu, the indigenous people occupied a very different place within the Japanese imagination. The very same images meant to illustrate the primitive purity of the Ainu were seen as an embarrassment and a liability in greater Japan. The treatment of Ainu in Japanese newspapers was not concentrated on saving indigenous people. Rather, it typically viewed the Ainu as a welfare problem beset with concerns of education, alcoholism, and cleanliness through the 1930s. The mystery over Ainu origin as a proto-white people was not the primary focus of Japanese tourists, as it was for non-Japanese travelers; the

relationships between the Ainu and the Japanese were fraught with practical, political, and administrative issues that were simply irrelevant to the Euro-American tourist. As the Japanese government brought in American engineers to aid in developing Hokkaido in the model of the American West, indigenous communities were viewed as an impediment to the “blank slate” rhetoric of the island, which was characterized both in and outside of Japan as an area ripe for modern development and the exploitation of resources. In spite of this frequent motif in national and Hokkaido newspapers in the early twentieth century, Hokkaido became a tourist site for *domestic* travelers who were intent on adventuring within the confines of Japan. Unlike the producers of *Ainu-e*, who often traveled to Hokkaido on orders from governmental authorities, later Japanese travelers, such as Kondō Kōichiro, would travel to Hokkaido purely for tourism. Although there is no consensus among anthropologists about the definition of “tourism,” this dissertation adopts a meaning grounded in the work of Valene L. Smith (1989) and Dean McCannell (1972; 2013). Smith defines the tourist as “a temporarily leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change,” and McCannell similarly describes tourism as a “sociology of leisure” enabled by modern social arrangements.⁴⁹ While Anglophone travelers were still focused on Biratori in the early twentieth century, Kondō joined a new cadre of travelers intent on visiting Shiraoi, a town that capitalized on the tourist trade to bring in much-needed revenue. He traveled Japan and the world in search of himself, and wanted to view the real state of the Ainu in tandem with fulfilling a

⁴⁹ Valene L. Smith, ed., introduction to *Hosts and Guests: The Anthropology of Tourism*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1989), 1; and Dean McCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, With a New Introduction*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2013), 5.

fantasy of travel to the unknown within one's own country enabled by his membership in an educated middle class.

While the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries found unprecedented access to Hokkaido for both Japanese and Western adventurers, the Ainu were also granted a degree of mobility within Hokkaido's borders. With the development of Sapporo displacing Hakodate as the island's financial center, many Ainu moved from the *kotan*, or Ainu village, to the city in order to find work, especially as Japanese laws in the late-Meiji era prohibited traditional forms of subsistence living. Although these relocations were sometimes voluntary, they were often forced, as Japanese authorities moved the Ainu away from natural resources contained within traditional fishing and hunting grounds. In 1900, Ainu from the Asahikawa region traveled to Tokyo to petition against the Chikabumi Land Dispute, a journey that was recorded in Japanese newspapers of the period. Four years later, the 1904 St. Louis Exposition marked a watershed moment that not only brought Ainu to Tokyo and Yokohama, but then abroad to Vancouver before arriving in St. Louis, Missouri. Following the success of St. Louis, another group of Ainu would again travel abroad in 1910 for the Japan-British Exhibition. Unlike the adventures of Genthe or Kondō, whose travel was enabled by the creation of leisure time, the Ainu did not travel as tourists, even though their "display" in living ethnological exhibits was largely predicated on the discourse of tourism at world's fairs.

While Euro-American explorers utilized the connection to John Batchelor to gain access to Ainu communities, it is imperative to note that many of the Ainu who traveled outside of Japan were doing so under Batchelor's permission, guidance, and direction. One of these Ainu travelers (and exhibits), Pete Gorō, or simply "Goro" as he was often called by

visitors to the fair, was a Christian Ainu man who was living in Sapporo as an assistant to Batchelor, and his trip to the St. Louis Exposition is discussed in Chapter Two.⁵⁰ In contrast to Pete Gorō, a new generation of Ainu who were raised speaking Japanese, argued for their assimilated status and pursued new career opportunities not available to them previously. One of these men, Katahira Tomijirō (1900–1959), an editor and illustrator for the Ainu bulletins *Utarigusu* and *Utari no Tomo* produced by Batchelor’s missionary society, traveled to Tokyo to become a shiatsu massage therapist. Addressed in Chapter Five, Katahira not only advocated a way forward through assimilation into Japanese society, but in his own illustrations he relied upon the visual stereotypes of the Ainu found in late-nineteenth century ethnographic photographs to mark his departure from this outdated image of Ainu culture in the Shōwa era. In community bulletins and journals, the Ainu spoke out against the exhibition of their people and culture, and tried to advocate for education as a path toward a future where one could be both assimilated as Japanese while maintaining one’s identity as Ainu. Katahira and his contemporaries, such as Takekuma Tokusaburō (dates unknown), desperately tried to write their own history and forge their own path, but could do so only by operating within the very same clichés and stereotypes about Ainu inferiority. The mobility of Ainu people through Hokkaido, Japan, and then abroad is a constant reminder that Americans, Europeans, and the Japanese were not the only travelers who left home in search of better conditions and new experiences, although the conditions of their travel were often vastly different.

While German, Polish, Russian, and French image-makers certainly traveled to Hokkaido and contributed to a burgeoning visual economy of Ainu images, my dissertation

⁵⁰ The name Pete (pronounced Pehteh), is often romanized as “Bete” in accounts like that of Frederick Starr.

triangulates the relationships between Anglophone, Japanese, and Ainu visual works. Explorers, anthropologists, and tourists from Great Britain, the United States, and Japan all operated within the same circuits of travel and exchange focusing on specific sites in Central Hokkaido—Sapporo, Biratori, Nibutani, and Shiraoui. While certain trends emerge from within this group—white travelers to the region often wanted to salvage the enigmatic Ainu race from disappearance, while Japanese travelers had a tendency to perceive the Ainu in terms of a welfare issue—their diverse engagements with the Ainu simultaneously dismantle the notion of a “typical” experience even as they all sought to view and reproduce Ainu culture as described in travel guides, explorer’s reports, and travelogues. From exploration to the anthropological mission to the group tour, traveling to Hokkaido and seeing the Ainu often represented a personal quest, where travelers could find themselves on the road (or on the train) in the north. But the Ainu from this region not only ventured abroad for display in world’s fairs, they also conspicuously engaged with the images created by these visitors of their culture. By contrasting these three different approaches to the Ainu image, this dissertation uncovers surprising moments that unseat Euro-American authorial authenticity, question new trends in Ainu ethnic tourism, and uncover moments of Ainu participation in a print economy from which they were typically excluded.

Five Case Studies of Ainu Visual Representation

This dissertation illuminates the gradual construction of the Ainu visual stereotype in Anglophone countries, Japan, and the Ainu community beginning in the late nineteenth century. In order to facilitate these goals, my research centers on specific personalities as

anchors to these debates. By employing a mix of American, British, Japanese, and Ainu figures, I attempt to represent and compare diverse viewpoints on the use and production of Ainu images. Although I divide this dissertation into five roughly chronological case studies concerning different approaches to the visualization of the Ainu and their culture, these chapters suggest a larger transnational and transhistorical economy of Ainu representation. This project is not a series of biographies, although the organizing principle for the project is a transnational genealogy of lives, experiences, and creations of a colorful cast of travelers, explorers, and artists who lived in and traveled to Hokkaido, Japan.

My first three chapters concentrate on images that circulated in English-speaking countries (even though several Japanese and Ainu figures make important appearances). I begin Chapter One by discussing the use of illustrations in the popular travelogue *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), written by the famous explorer Isabella Lucy Bird. As one of the first female explorers to the region, Bird's contemporaries often cited her work for its subjective portrayal of Ainu culture. I analyze Bird's interplay between text and image, and examine the ways that her work deals with Ainu gender in woodcut engravings based on photographs by Austrian photographer Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Japanese-produced Ainu-e. I close this chapter with a consideration of how the reproduction of Bird's images has an enduring and transnational legacy. Chapter Two transitions to Ainu representation from an anthropological perspective centered on the 1904 St. Louis Exposition in Missouri. It was at this world's fair that nine Ainu men, women, and children were exhibited in a native village along with other indigenous peoples for the benefit of fair goers. Rather than recount the journey of these nine individuals and the anthropologist in charge of their procurement—a narrative, which has already been articulated by scholars

such as James VanStone and Miyatake Kimio—I unpack the role of art collection and art production from the perspectives of Frederick Starr and Pete Gorō. The chapter also examines photographs of the Ainu taken by journalist Jessie Tarbox Beals, and the problematic integration of these images in twentieth-century newspapers after the Ainu group had returned to Hokkaido, replacing the diversity of their experiences with a stereotypical portrait of Ainu life. Chapter Three explores the journey of German-American art photographer Arnold Genthe in 1908, and his quest to recreate the scenes found in the Ainu illustrations of British artist-explorer Arnold Henry Savage Landor in his pictorialist approach to photography that combined art and science. This chapter also investigates a chance occurrence where an Ainu man (the son of Chief Penri), not Genthe, is responsible for taking a photograph, and the implications of this reversal.

The final two chapters of the dissertation explore images as they appear in Japan and analyze the resonance of early Ainu stereotypes in later productions on the other side of the Pacific. Chapter Four studies *jiji manga* (cartoons of everyday life) depicting Ainu in the village of Shiraoi produced by modern ink painter Kondō Kōichiro in 1917, who saw himself as a new kind of explorer in the Taishō era. Based on a day trip to the village, Kondō drew a series of seven images depicting Ainu ways of life, which were then published in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* (1917) and a personal illustrated travelogue titled *Manga junreiki* (1918). Unlike other travelers to Ainu villages, like Genthe, Kondō goes out of his way to depict actual tourists in the space of the village, prompting an important discussion about new tourist centers enabled by train travel in Hokkaido. Finally, Chapter Five takes a different approach by analyzing illustrations by the Ainu editor and shiatsu massage therapist Katahira Tomijirō in Reverend John Batchelor’s *Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing*

Race (1927). As discussions of Ainu creative production are often limited to craft in an anthropological context, this discussion of the role of two-dimensional images like those drawn by Katahira, community publications like Takekuma Tokusaburō's *Ainu Monogatari*, or the bulletins *Utarigusu* or *Utari no Tomo* is a substantial contribution to the study of Ainu representation. The dissertation closes with a consideration of the visual legacy of nineteenth-century images and the creation of a generic image of Ainu culture employed worldwide.

Defining an Ainu History; Theorizing the Circulation of Images

The contribution this research makes to the fields of art history, Ainu studies, and Japanese studies can be outlined in the following ways. In a broad sense, this study examines the often-overlooked role of indigenous peoples in narratives of conquest and travel, especially in the visual record. The Ainu's relationship to the history of Japan is itself a loaded issue. As described by Ainu historian Richard Siddle, "Ainu history itself has a history, and it is not straightforward."⁵¹ After the politicization of the "Ainu problem" (*Ainu mondai*) in the 1970s, representations of Ainu history have been locked in a struggle between the Japanese state and Ainu activism. Prior to this debate, Ainu history had been regarded as a subset of Japanese history, or worse, as a "prelude" to Hokkaido development and Japanese native policy.⁵² The approach taken by Siddle himself in his book *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (1996), attempts to circumvent this determinism by contextualizing the colonization of Hokkaido with wider imperial practices of the

⁵¹ Richard Siddle, "Ainu History: An Overview," in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 67.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 67.

nineteenth century.⁵³ This dissertation attempts to recognize the complexities of Ainu history by recognizing the concurrent changes in Ainu society that underlie many of the images in the visual record. Contemporary scholars are quick to illuminate the negative perception of Japan and the unfair treatment of Japanese people at the hands of Western powers after the opening of Japanese ports to the West in 1854. Although there has been some attention to the disciplining of the Japanese social and physical body in the Meiji period in tandem with efforts of westernization, *Ainu* men and women are often left out entirely from historical narratives of “modernization.”⁵⁴ For anthropologists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Ainu, perceived as a “primitive” people living in the present, were not seen as capable of modernizing in the face of societal changes. But Japanese men and women were not the only ones experiencing the changes of a rapidly westernizing society, as Ainu men shaved their beards and Ainu women were forced to abandon the tattooing practices so central to their culture. Ainu diets changed as they were relocated further away from the rivers with their plentiful salmon to small tracks of land hardly arable enough to promise much yield. Japanese policies toward the Ainu were crucial in Japan’s quest to become an imperial power, and yet Ainu stories are only tangential to the history of Japanese modernity in the same vein as the subjugation of indigenous American history to larger narratives of American expansion in the United States. By illuminating the effects of modernization—visual and otherwise—on a single indigenous population, this dissertation recognizes their crucial role in these histories.

⁵³ Richard Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

⁵⁴ For examples of this scholarship within Japanese studies, see: Sabine Frühstück, *Colonizing Sex: Sexology and Social Control in Modern Japan*, *Colonialisms* 4 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), or Norman Bryson, “Westernizing Bodies: Women, Art, and Power in Meiji Yōga,” in *Gender and Power in the Japanese Visual Field*, ed. Joshua S. Mostow, et al. (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2003), 89–118.

Importantly, this puts my work in conversation with the diversifying canon of research on a multi-ethnic Japan such as Tessa Morris-Suzuki's *Reinventing Japan: time, space, nation* (1998), John Lie's *Multiethnic Japan* (2004), and Michael Weiner's *Japan's Minorities: The Illusion of Homogeneity* (2009).

I argue that studying the visual representation of the Ainu allows for a more robust understanding of popular perceptions (and misconceptions) regarding the Ainu and their culture at the turn-of-the-twentieth century enabled by the circulation of images. Beginning with early representations of the Ainu, such as paintings by Arai Hakuseki in 1820, the Ainu have long been made a subject of paintings, photographs, and illustrations produced by those looking in on their communities from the outside. I argue that images of the Ainu created by outsiders transformed and circulated over time, eventually solidifying as a series of tropes and achieving consistency in Anglophone and Japanese print publications and newspapers. This focus on the transformative aspects of Ainu images and their dissemination in and outside of Japan is a unique contribution of this dissertation, and converses with the visual scholarship of anthropologists who address the relationship between photography, race, and circulation: Deborah Poole (1997), Elizabeth Edwards (2012), and David Odo (2015), and others.⁵⁵ In examining these areas of transnational overlap, I utilize a methodology proposed by anthropologist Deborah Poole termed “visual economy” which sees images as part of a comprehensive organization of people, ideas, and

⁵⁵ There are many rich studies on the relationship between photography and race or indigeneity. For examples of parallel studies beyond those listed, see: Eleanor M. Hight and Gary D. Sampson, eds., *Colonialist Photography: Imag(in)ing Race and Place* (London; New York: Routledge, 2002); Jane Lydon, *Eye Contact: Photographing Indigenous Australians* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photography* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); and Amos Morris-Reich, *Race and Photography: Racial Photography as Scientific Evidence, 1876-1980* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, forthcoming).

objects. Calling the exchange of images "the life blood of modernity," Poole suggests that the way the field of vision is organized has some impact on the political and class structure of society, and occurs across national and regional borders.⁵⁶ Although Poole uses the term with regard to Latin America, and the Andean region in particular, she introduces a conceptual framework that she utilizes in her exercise of visual anthropology resonates with a transnational flow of images and ideas among Japan, Hokkaido, Europe, and the United States. In studies of Japanese photography, David Odo employs a similar approach in his exploration of ethnographic photographs and their collection across a variety of visual networks.⁵⁷ From studio photographs to ethnographic types, Odo demonstrates how photographs have the ability to accrue, invest, and divest meaning as they circulate in new contexts and come into the service of institutional and personal agendas. Edwards similarly addresses the materiality of photographs, and examines how photographs activate through repurposing and by being "placed" among assemblages of objects.⁵⁸ Like the photographs that Poole, Odo, and Edwards explore, Ainu likeness was similarly produced and consumed through photographic, ethnographic, and exhibitionary practices that moved through national and cultural boundaries via print capitalism. The people engaged in this exchange of representation formed a transnational community of scholars, tourists, and anthropologists, who all shared in the creation of an Ainu visual discourse that cannot be bounded by the borders of the nation. Interrogating the exchanges of images, objects, and

⁵⁶ Deborah Poole, *Vision, Race, and Modernity: A Visual Economy of the Andean Image World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 8.

⁵⁷ David Odo, *The Journey of "A Good Type": From Artistry to Ethnography in Early Japanese Photography* (Cambridge: Peabody Museum Press, 2015); and David Odo, *Unknown Japan: Reconsidering 19th-Century Photographs*. Rijksmuseum Studies in Photography 4 (Amsterdam: Manfred & Hanna Heiting Fund Amsterdam; Rijksmuseum, 2008).

⁵⁸ Elizabeth Edwards, "Objects of Affect: Photography Beyond the Image," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 41 (October 2012): 221–34.

bodies helps clarify the formation of modern Ainu subjectivities, in addition to Japanese, American, and British identities vis-à-vis an Ainu Other in Japan, in the context of global modernity.

Formed across national boundaries and indigenous communities, the visual economy of Ainu images propagated certain well-worn representations of an eighteenth and nineteenth-century Ainu past at the expense of portrayals that depicted the current state of Ainu villages. Although images of the Ainu created by American, European, Japanese, and even Ainu individuals were occasionally more ambivalent, complex, or sensitive than one might first realize, even innovative images were eventually cropped, reframed, and reintegrated into newspapers to support more stereotypical clichés. But images that the contemporary reader might see as distasteful did not evade notice by members of the Ainu community. Motifs of Ainu personhood, such as the “illiterate,” “primitive,” or “alcoholic” Ainu, were later used as evidence for groups such as the Ainu *dendōdan*, an Ainu missionary society organized by John Batchelor but run by local Ainu in the Sapporo region, as they pushed for self-improvement and assimilation as a means to avoid discrimination by the Japanese. Visual representation and the gaze are thus never unidirectional. As demonstrated by the scholarship of Christopher Pinney (2008) in regards to South Asian photography, the technologies that provided a means for the Ainu to engage with their own representation were both a cure and a poison.⁵⁹ While they empowered an emergent indigenous collective consciousness, it nevertheless subscribed to an aesthetic of the same by adopting the visual language of the colonizer, which

⁵⁹ While Pinney is discussing Indian photographic technologies, I argue that the ability to reproduce one’s likeness even in illustration, as seen in Ainu community bulletins, embodied a similar predicament regarding visual language and the standardization of the image. Christopher Pinney, *The Coming of Photography in India* (London: British Library, 2008).

undermined the heterogeneity and diversity of previous (indigenous) forms of visual communication. This dissertation is largely concerned with the reproduction of sameness, and how standardization has the ability to both flatten and simplify knowledge, both in and outside of the Ainu village. Although Ainu today are successfully able to employ images of their traditional culture in certain contexts, surprisingly consistent meanings and values are transmitted along with nineteenth and early-twentieth century images through multiple recyclings, with subtle variations reflecting Ainu, Japanese, or Anglophone perspectives.

In tandem with Poole's visual economy predicated on exchange, this research is also deeply invested in the conditions that allowed such networks of exchange to surface in the first place. I follow the lead of historians like James Hevia (2009) and other scholars in investigating the creation of *immutable mobiles*, a concept developed by Bruno Latour in his essay "Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together" (1986) that theorizes the creation of scientific knowledge within print capitalism.⁶⁰ Latour describes immutable mobiles as "objects, which have the properties of being *mobile* but also *immutable*, *presentable*, *readable* and *combinable* with one another."⁶¹ To explain this point, he cites the journey of La Pérouse to Sakhalin and the transference of a map between the native inhabitants and the explorer.⁶² An older native drew a map of the region into the sand that

⁶⁰ Bruno Latour, "Visualisation and Cognition: Drawing Things Together," in *Knowledge and Society Studies in the Sociology of Culture Past and Present*, vol. 6, ed. H. Kucklick (Greenwich, CT: Jai Press, 1986), 1–40. For an example of humanistic application of Latour's theories, see: James Hevia, "The Photography Complex: Exposing Boxer China, Maxing Civilization (1900–1901)," in *Photographies East: The Camera and its Histories in East and Southeast Asia*, ed. Rosalind Morris (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 96.

⁶¹ Latour, 7.

⁶² Latour mistakenly describes the inhabitants here as "Chinese," when they were likely the native Ainu on the island of Hokkaido (Yezo, or "Oku-Yeso" in La Pérouse's account). This unintentional

would be erased by the tide, while a younger man, recognizing the danger, redrew the map in a notebook. While the natives had comprehensive geographical knowledge and could redraw the geography on call, it was only the hand-drawn map that served a purpose for La Pérouse. It would have the ability to be taken home without alteration, to be presented to Louis XVI in Versailles, read by scholars, and combined to form a larger body of knowledge. As a consistent and endlessly reproducible flat object, the immutable mobile aids in dominating, reinforcing, and subjugating ideological systems. Three-dimensional objects are made flat through graven images, and their scale modified at will without changing their internal proportions.⁶³ In print capitalism, these images can be reproduced quickly at little cost, unifying expanses of time and space.⁶⁴ And finally, these inscriptions—maps, diagrams, or even illustrations of the Other—can be reshuffled and recombined due to their existence in a variety of scales as mobile, flat, and reproducible objects.⁶⁵

In this system, the cost of disagreement is high. Once an image gathers traction through reproduction, the only way to dispute its veracity is to go through a similar process. As Latour explains, “The dissenter will have to do the same thing as his opponent... In order to ‘doubt back,’ so to speak, he will have to write another book, have it printed, and mobilize with copper plates the examples he wants to oppose.”⁶⁶ The exercise of power is not through a large-scale entity, but rather the exponential deployment of small inscriptions on paper. Latour closes his essay with the following observation,

oversight does not detract from the theoretical component of Latour’s work, although this kind mistake is common with regard to the Ainu. Even in Latour’s text the Ainu and Chinese are conflated to be the same example of Otherness. Although La Pérouse did visit Cheju Island in modern-day South Korea, he did not actually visit Mainland China. *Ibid.*, 5–6.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 12.

...insignificant people working only with papers and signs become the most powerful of all. Papers and signs are incredibly weak and fragile. This is why explaining anything with them seemed so ludicrous at first. La Pérouse's map is not the Pacific... This is precisely the paradox. By working on papers alone, on fragile inscriptions which are immensely less than the things from which they are extracted, it is still possible to dominate all things, and all people. What is insignificant for all other cultures becomes the most significant, the only significant aspect of reality. The weakest, by manipulating inscriptions of all sorts obsessively and exclusively, become the strongest. This is the view of power we get at by following this theme of visualization and cognition in all its consequences.⁶⁷

What Latour seeks to explain is that small, weak, and insignificant people (such as the publisher or engraver) and objects (such as the engraving or diagram) have the ability to gain power through circulation. Through repetition, these seemingly unimportant objects can become more important than the reality; the diagram or map can hold more power than the real thing.

In the case of Ainu images, despite the fact that the political milieu and subject position of the Ainu are subject to change, visual motifs of the primitive endure. Latour offers insight into why this is the case in his discussion of Johannes Fabian's critique of ethnography in *Time and the Other: How Anthropology Makes Its Object* (1983). Fabian explains that the main difference between "us" (the anthropologist) and "them" (the savage) is in the way we visualize them. Latour writes,

Fabian however, sees this mobilization of all savages in a few lands through collection, mapping, list making, archives, linguistics, etc. as something evil... he wishes to find another way to 'know' the savages. But 'knowing' is not a disinterested cognitive activity; harder facts about the other cultures have been produced in our societies, in exactly the same way as ballistics, taxonomy, or surgery... To make a large number of compatriots depart from their usual ways, many ethnographers both had to go further and longer out of *their* usual ways and then come *back*. The constraints imposed by convincing people, going out and

⁶⁷ Ibid., 30.

coming back, are such that this can be achieved only if everything about the savage life is transformed into immutable mobiles that are easily readable and presentable. In spite of his wishes, Fabian cannot do better. Otherwise, he would either have to give up 'knowing' or give up making hard facts.⁶⁸

Fabian sees the production of ethnographic knowledge as something evil and desires to find another way to access indigenous culture. This includes the production of ethnographic photographs that deny a temporal coevalness with the native, despite their immediacy. But Latour explains that the only way to change these hard facts and racist portrayals is for the ethnographer to go through the very same process that resulted in the current body of knowledge. In other words, a large number of ethnographers need to go out of their way to create new immutable mobiles of indigenous culture—new images, engravings, and representations—and bring them back in a way that is easily digestible. Yet doing so only continues the cycle of visualizing Otherness that Fabian so desperately tried to break. Creating new ideas about Ainu culture is thus a difficult task that requires a deliberate effort. Recalling Internet search engine results dominated by nineteenth-century images of the Ainu, any new image must be not only easily understood, but produced en masse so as to supplant the older, negative portrayals of savageness.

This dissertation regards the images found in Anglophone, Japanese, and even Ainu publications as immutable mobiles created through repeated circulation in a transnational visual economy. While the process of inscription was already in operation in the eighteenth century, as evidenced by the engraving of the Ainu family in Broughton's text and various depictions of Ainu life and culture found in Edo-period Ainu-e, representations of the Ainu would gradually settle on a few recognizable motifs at the expense of all others by the end

⁶⁸ Ibid., 15.

of the nineteenth century: the hairy Ainu man, the tattooed Ainu woman, the bear-sending ceremony (*iyomante*), the Ainu home (*chise*), Ainu abstract patterns (*siriki*) and ceremonial objects such as the *ikupasuy* and *inaw*. It is these images and objects that continue to represent Ainu identity today. In addition to gaining meaning and acceptance through sustained visual repetition in scholarly and popular works through the twentieth century, images that did not explicitly conform to the standard representation were made to do so through small, or what Latour would call “insignificant,” changes in their inscription through the processes of reproduction. Even those artist travelers who prided themselves on original pictorial production—Landor, Genthe, and Kondō—nevertheless subscribed to the stereotypes of the Ainu already made popular in print culture. In spite of Ainu efforts to reclaim their own representation, these stereotypes of Ainu Otherness continue to dominate the visual field, even if their actual appearance is in many cases no longer distinguishable from the Japanese.

Latour’s theory of immutable mobiles not only supports the dominance of certain Ainu motifs, but also helps to explain the overwhelming difficulty of overriding such clichéd images of indigenous culture. For a little known indigenous people such as the Ainu, their representation often supersedes their reality. When Ainu did not match up to the image as presented in travelogues, writers such as Arnold Genthe often deliberately tried to recreate an image of the Ainu more in line with their expectations. When Starr and Kondō traveled to the villages of Biratori and Shiraoi, they desperately searched for hairy Ainu men even when confronted with evidence of assimilation. For the Ainu who tried to negotiate and assert their own identities in the early twentieth century, such as Katahira and Takekuma, they could only do so by acknowledging—and occasionally utilizing—these portrayals.

There was an inability to speak as an Ainu without invoking representations largely created and maintained by outsiders.

The images that are discussed in this dissertation are certainly similar, and often reinforce an image of Ainu society that is more “primitive” in comparison to the writer who invokes them. But rather than dismiss these images as racist portrayals of indigeneity, I argue that the language of sameness or consistency invoked by these immutable mobiles can still inflect a variety of different subject positions, including that of the Ainu themselves. By investigating the circulation, repetition, and repurposing of engravings, photographs, and illustrations in transnational networks, we can come to understand how images gain power incrementally so as to supplant reality with a newly constructed truth. It also speaks to our tendency and desire to “edit” what we see in order to better tell specific narratives of discovery, change, or transformation. As an indigenous people whose origin was considered an “enigma” in the eyes of many, the Ainu were represented with a certain flexibility that allowed for easy appropriation. They achieved “validity” through their visual consistency. This dissertation investigates the process by which unique images of a culture becomes conventional through repetition: when a specific representation of an Ainu man or woman, such as Pete Gorō at the St. Louis Exposition or a photograph of Chief Penri in Biratori, become generic and stand in for Ainu culture writ large.

CHAPTER 1

'Civilized' Men and 'Superstitious' Women: Isabella Bird, Edward Greey, and Late Nineteenth-Century Visualizations of the Ainu

"...they are uncivilizable and altogether irreclaimable savages, yet they are attractive ...I hope I shall never forget the music of their low sweet voices, the soft light of their mild, brown eyes and the wonderful sweetness of their smile."

—Isabella L. Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1880⁶⁹

Open any modern travel guide on Hokkaido, Japan and you will likely find mention of Victorian explorer, writer, and naturalist Isabella Lucy Bird (1831–1904). Known for her travels to the United States, Australia, Malaysia, Persia, Korea, China, and Tibet, Bird secured her fame in nineteenth-century Great Britain through frequent travel publications, in addition to a vibrant lecture circuit. She was the first woman to be inducted into the Royal Geographical Society in 1892 and later granted membership in the Royal Photographic Society in 1897. Bird traveled to Japan in 1878, at the age of forty-seven. Her two-volume work *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels on Horseback in the Interior Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikko and Ise* notably includes a detailed, subjective account of the customs and manners of the Hokkaido Ainu within a larger narrative of travel within Japan. Although she was not the earliest European explorer to visit Hokkaido, or “Yezo,” her distinct literary voice and her extreme popularity as the first female explorer to the region allowed *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* to enjoy a broad readership in its day and beyond. Unlike earlier explorers to Hokkaido, such as William Robert Broughton in the late eighteenth century, who reported their findings in

⁶⁹ Isabella Lucy Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels on Horseback in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé 2* (London: John Murray, 1880), 74.

comprehensive surveys, Isabella Bird was able to bring her journeys to life for a Victorian lay audience through her evocative prose. This chapter goes beyond the text in analyzing the use of Ainu images in the second volume of Bird's travelogue in order to parse her construction of gendered relationships between herself and the Ainu, her unique visual legacy as a purveyor of Ainu images, and the continued circulation of Bird's engravings in works by American traveler Edward Greey (1884) and British missionary John Batchelor (1927).

Bird's travel writing is certainly the source of her fame, and she joins other late nineteenth century contemporaries in Japan such as Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904), Basil Hall Chamberlain (1850–1935), and A. H. Savage Landor (1865–1904) in traveling to Hokkaido. Her writing also has been compared to other British female travel writers such as Mary Kingsley (1862–1900). Scholars analyze the text of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, but the relationship between text and image in this work remains an area in need of exploration (especially considering that both are presented simultaneously). In fact, like the images found in the works of William Robert Broughton and Philipp Franz von Siebold, the Ainu illustrations in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* would receive almost as much attention as the text itself. In her analysis of gender and identity in Oriental travelogues of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, literary scholar Dúnlaith Bird evaluates the role of Isabella Bird's published portraits and their reception in works like *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, but attention remains centered on Bird's interaction with Japanese, with little mention of Bird's time amongst the Ainu.⁷⁰ In addition, Luke Gartlan crucially highlights the role of Bird as a photographer in her later works, such as *The Yangtze Valley and Beyond*

⁷⁰ Dúnlaith Bird, *Travelling in Different Skins: Gender Identity in European Women's Oriental Travelogues, 1850–1950* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

(1900), where her pursuits in photography do not sideline the written text, but rather, form an integral part of Bird's bid for authenticity.⁷¹ However, Bird's illustrated travelogues, prior to her learning photography, are still primarily considered within a textual register.

What makes Bird's travelogue so compelling is the work's significant role in constructing Ainu stereotypes and, *visually* reinforcing prescribed Western gender roles for Ainu men and women throughout her narrative. Bird's writing about the Hokkaido "frontier" is often contrasted with her account of mainland Japan where the "primitive purity" of the Ainu forms a counterexample to Japan's rapid modernization in the Meiji period.⁷² As explained in the introduction, by the end of the nineteenth century, the westernizing Meiji Japanese were seen as despotic while the Ainu were "rediscovered" as a prototype for modern Europeans.⁷³ In the Western imagination, the example of the Ainu allowed travelers and explorers to conveniently criticize the Japanese for their colonial aspirations, while eliding the history of Western imperialism. Japanese writers seemed attuned to this comparison, as illustrated by Nishimura Toshihiko from the *Asahi Shinbun*, who wrote, "I am convinced that Westerners will surely not like the Japanese because placing them [the Ainu] in small huts where Westerners looked at them like creatures in zoos reveals our lack of humanity!" in his *O-bei yuranki* (Notes from a sojourn through

⁷¹ Luke Gartlan, "'A Complete Craze': Isabella Bird Bishop in East Asia," *PhotoResearcher*, no. 15 (2011): 17.

⁷² In addition to writing her travelogue, Bird would donate six Ainu objects to the National Museums of Scotland in Edinburgh in 1882, two years followed the publication of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. From her trip in August and September of 1878, she would contribute an *attush* robe, an apron, two arrows, a knife, and a sheath.

⁷³ Kreiner, "The European Image of the Ainu as Reflected in Museum Collections," 125.

Europe and America) in 1910.⁷⁴ But in comparison to other writers, Isabella Bird is conservative with her criticism in a section titled “Notes on Yezo,” where she sees the Japanese as the “subjugators” of the Ainu in the same way as the “Red Indians to the Americans, the Jakoons to the Malays, and the Veddas to the Sinhalese.” Bird explains that, “in truth, it must be added that they [the Ainu] receive better treatment from their masters [the Japanese] than is accorded to any of these subject races.”⁷⁵ Despite this, Bird portrays Ainu men as “gentle” and “good natured,” while she describes the Japanese as inefficient, dubious, and clever.

Isabella Bird was primarily known for narrating exciting adventures filled with “fresh, incisive prose,” and as argued by literary scholar Ann Ronald, the primary reason for Bird’s continuing popularity was her ability to write well.⁷⁶ When other works reference Bird by name, it is unsurprising that they almost exclusively focus on the text of her works. But this romanticized Ainu ideal was reinforced by both text and image. The integration of print illustrations in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*—the compositions of which originate in photographs, illustrations, and Ainu-e paintings heavily circulated and collected amongst travelers to Hokkaido—elucidate Bird’s positioning vis-à-vis the Ainu, and her subscription to racial stereotypes regarding Ainu masculinity and femininity as presented in her travelogue. Bird’s second volume contains twenty-one images, including the frontispiece. Of these, thirteen deal explicitly with the Ainu. While *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* is not as densely illustrated as other contemporaneous travelogues, such as Arnold Henry Savage Landor’s *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* (1893), the illustrations nevertheless impact the reading

⁷⁴ As quoted in *ibid.*, 130–131.

⁷⁵ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 8.

⁷⁶ Ann Ronald, *Reader of the Purple Sage: Essays on Western Writers and Environmental Literature* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 94.

of the text. Considering the popularity of Bird's travelogues in the late nineteenth century, it is crucial to recognize their significance.

Bird's illustrations also circulated independently in works by other authors after the publication of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. As such, Bird's illustrations were part of a dynamic visual economy of photographs, engravings, and paintings at the turn of the twentieth century. Bird was certainly complicit in this systematic "borrowing" of images. While her own illustrations cited a variety of visual sources, they would go on to circulate in new print contexts far beyond the narrative of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The frontispiece to Bird's second volume—a woodcut engraving of two Ainu men adapted from two photographs by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (ca. 1868–1880)—is a salient example of an illustration that borrows from the work of a photographer while gaining popularity in its new, engraved form. With clearly defined clothing and props that stand out even more so than in Stillfried's photograph, the frontispiece engraving from Bird's work presents a clear and easily digestible image of Ainu culture for a Western audience. But when visually analyzed against Bird's text, I argue that the translation of these photographs (taken by an Austrian male photographer living in Japan) into a new medium of woodcut engraving (printed in a travelogue written by a British woman) raises questions of gender, medium, and the role of realism in a new transnational economy of Ainu images. Bird reenacts British societal codes of both gender and imperialism through the style, selection, and transformation of the illustrations in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Reconsidering the role of illustration in relation to the text can yield fruitful connections about the visual and rhetorical construction of the Ainu and northern Japan. Furthermore, investigating the various ways that this image (and others) were reproduced shed light on the booming

“Ainu Fever” that texts like *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* supported in the late nineteenth century.

Situating Isabella Bird

Isabella Bird was what scholar Mary Louise Pratt might call a “Spinster Adventuress”: a person who “[turned] her back to Europe, fleeing the confines of her time and returning—sometimes—to write about it.”⁷⁷ Subsequent to early-nineteenth-century female explorers with a mission of social reform and institutional critique such as Maria Callcott Graham (1785–1842), “spinster adventuresses” such as Kingsley and Florence Baker (1841–1916) sought to assert a sovereign female response to the male “monarch-of-all-I-survey” narratives popular with lay audiences in the 1860s, a form of travel writing from which they had been previously excluded.⁷⁸ Pratt identifies three features of the male narratives that these adventuresses responded to in their respective travelogues: (1) an aestheticized natural landscape, (2) a density of meaning where “scarcely a noun in the text is left unmodified,” and (3) a relationship of mastery between the seer and the seen, where the passive viewing of land gives power to own and evaluate.⁷⁹ When discussing women in the 1860s writing in this milieu, Pratt explains that the heroic rhetoric of discovery was unavailable to women, and as such, they shied away from promontory description, and created a “monarchic female voice that asserts its own kind of mastery even as it denies domination and parodies power.”⁸⁰ Publishing as early as 1856, and

⁷⁷ Mary Louise Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992), 171.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 202.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, 205.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 213.

travelling to Japan in 1878, Isabella Bird's writing fits well within this hermeneutic framework outlined by Pratt.

Common to the historiography of female travel writers, treatments of Isabella Bird tend to depend heavily on her biography and feminine identity as a frame through which her texts, such as *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, are analyzed. As argued by Susan Morgan and Luke Gartlan, Bird's description as an intrepid female traveler is often seen as a struggle against the patriarchal bonds of Victorian society, without acknowledging Bird's own investment and participation in colonial structures.⁸¹ Nevertheless, Bird's tumultuous life lends itself easily to this kind of analysis. Bird's trip to Japan and greater East Asia at the age of forty-seven is sometimes described as an escape from domestic responsibilities. In addition, her constantly failing health would recover through travel to distant locales such as Australia, Hawai'i and Asia. Regardless of her motivations, it is important to contextualize Bird with her male and female European contemporaries, and bracket her biography in order to analyze *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* on its own terms.

Bird shares many commonalities with women travel writers; she reflects on domestic life and the social concerns of previous generations of travel writers, yet she also generates a strong female voice like the "spinster adventuress" Kingsley. *Unbeaten Tracks* retains conventions such as the "promontory description" characteristic of the male "monarch-of-all-I-survey" narratives, which describes the landscape as if viewing it from a high vantage point where one can survey everything from mountains to rivers. Bird also adopts the pseudo-scientific treatment of nature and world cultures in her adherence to geography, physiognomy, and phrenology. In spite of her feminine identity, she gained

⁸¹ Gartlan, "A Complete Craze," 14.

authorial legitimacy through Royal Geographical Society membership, posthumously securing her legacy amongst a cadre of male explorers to Japan in 1904. Nevertheless, Bird is critical of many men in authority positions throughout the text—British, Japanese, or otherwise.

But as a reconsideration of Bird's history, this chapter places the visualization of race and exoticism front and center with regard to the visual representation of the Ainu in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. Rather than separate gender from race, I argue that Bird's own self-fashioning as a female explorer in Hokkaido is intimately tied to how she visualizes Ainu gender difference. Furthermore, a careful visual analysis of the accompanying images and their transformation from photograph to engraving disrupts any pat understanding of Bird's encounters as an unbroken, unadulterated whole.

Encountering Hokkaido, Criticizing Japan

Unbeaten Tracks in Japan is a two-volume text written in the epistolary mode, comprised of signed letters and compiled research notes.⁸² The narrative vacillates between explanatory background information and Bird's own first-hand encounters. Her visit to Hokkaido begins with a survey of the island with its "impenetrable jungles" and "impassable swamps," punctuated by "innumerable short, rapid rivers, which are subject to violent freshets" that have the capacity to detain a traveler for days.⁸³ Her descriptions of the primeval forest give way to her evaluation of the land's resources. Hokkaido is described as having a large lumber supply, good soil favorable to the growth of crops, and a

⁸² Although Bird's letters are not addressed to any particular person, they are likely derived from letters to her sister Henrietta (Henny).

⁸³ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 1.

rich mineral wealth of coal. She compares Hokkaido's production with that of Great Britain and exclaims, "...Yezo could yield the present annual [coal] product of Great Britain for a thousand years to come!!!"⁸⁴ She criticizes "superfluous officials" who eat up development monies and "do little besides smoke and talk," and lauds the results being made in developing the northern frontier, despite the neglect of "good practical measures... in favour of Utopian experiments."⁸⁵ Upon arriving in Hokkaido, Bird's text reads very similarly to the male "capitalist vanguard" of the 1820s described by Pratt. Unlike early explorer Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), who relished in the discovery (and publication) of new information about the natural world, the capitalist vanguard had a different mission in mind: "a goal-oriented rhetoric of conquest and achievement... The travelers struggle in unequal battle against scarcity, inefficiency, laziness, discomfort, poor horses, bad roads, bad weather, delays."⁸⁶ This rhetoric is very much a part of Isabella Bird's Hokkaido trip where she complains about the shortcomings of the *Kaitakushi* (Japanese Development Office) and the inconvenience of the land in general, while expressing excitement about Hokkaido's potential, in the right hands of course.

Although Bird's treatment of land appears in the guise of a capitalist vanguard writer, she is also extremely interested in the natives she meets. Instead of overly aestheticizing the landscape of Hokkaido, she diverts her analysis to the contours of the Ainu body, especially those of men. Understanding Bird's erogenous treatment of the body is key to understanding the interaction between image and text. Bird's writing is in line with other travelers to Hokkaido that liken the "hairy" natives to the unfettered wilds of the

⁸⁴ Ibid., 3.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 4.

⁸⁶ Pratt, 148.

forested island. Her intense interest in the Ainu body is evident in an early encounter with an Ainu adult male and two youths. She describes them in the following terms:

They were very kind, and so courteous, after a new fashion, that I quite forgot that I was alone among savages. The lads were young and beardless, their lips were thick, and their mouths very wide, and I thought that they approached the Eskimo type than to any other [sic]. They had masses of soft black hair falling on each side of their faces. The adult man was not a pure Aino. His dark hair was not very thick, and both it and his beard had an occasional auburn gleam. I think I never saw a face more completely beautiful in features and expression, with a lofty, sad, far-off, gentle, intellectual look, rather that of Sir Noel Paton's "Christ" than of a savage. His manner was most graceful, and he spoke both Aino and Japanese in the low musical tone which I find is a characteristic of Aino speech.⁸⁷

Bird's description not only reflects her interest in physiognomy and phrenology—a point that she reinforces later with skull measurements and facial typing—but also her negotiation of a mixed-race Ainu. For her, the fact that the Ainu man was not “pure” endowed him with quasi-European features: an auburn gleam in his thinner hair, his musical voice, and his Christ-like visage. She continues to see hybrid Ainu/European features even in later accounts of the more “authentic” Ainu in Biratori.⁸⁸ The Hokkaido frontier was romanticized as untrammelled, and the Ainu idealized as a pure, and distinctly “white” race. As described by Kotani, by the mid-nineteenth century, “this idea [that the Ainu were a remnant of ancient Germanic peoples] was attractive to Europeans because it posited the continuing existence of an early European hunting-and-gathering people and because of the romantic notion of a ‘Caucasoid’ ethnic group surrounded by a sea of

⁸⁷ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 11.

⁸⁸ Biratori is a town located along the Saru River in Hokkaido. The Ainu name for Biratori is “Piraturu.” Travelers to the region (like Arnold Genthe) often Romanized the town's name as “Piratori.” This dissertation adopts the modern Romanization of “Biratori” throughout.

Mongoloids.”⁸⁹ Bird’s work coincides with the development of this hypothesis, and the Ainu collecting boom that occurred in the late nineteenth century, and her characterization of the mixed-race Ainu man is not uncommon when compared with concurrent writing on the Ainu. However, Bird’s attention to the hair, lips, and mouths of the boys and man extend beyond merely describing the bodies as landscape, as she focuses on hairlessness as a marker of youth (and thus sexual immaturity) around the erogenous zone of the mouth.⁹⁰

Bird’s comparison of the Ainu man to the figure of Christ is also not entirely unique. Ainu men were often compared to the figure of Moses for their long beards, and even later travelers to Hokkaido, such as German-American photographer Arnold Genthe addressed in Chapter Three, use this comparison to hint at the mystery of Ainu racial origins as late as 1908. However, Bird’s specific reference to Christ as depicted by Joseph Noel Paton (1821–1901), a Pre-Raphaelite oil painter from Scotland, concretely ties the representation of the mixed-race Ainu man to a Western mode of visual expression familiar to an elite Victorian audience. Paton’s paintings were highly regarded in the late nineteenth century, and according to an issue of *Art Journal* just fifteen years after the first edition of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, the large versions of several of his later religious works were “sent on tour with footlights and a lecturer, attracted great audiences and secured a long list of subscribers for reproductions.”⁹¹ Paton’s work would have reached a broad audience, and Bird’s referral to his work conjured a Christ-like image for her potential reader.

This first encounter with the Ainu man in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* commences

⁸⁹ Kotani, 137.

⁹⁰ Although beyond the scope of this essay, Bird’s descriptions of the Ainu could be seen as complicating the stereotype of Victorian prudence, with Bird’s vacillation between defined female and male gender roles in British society at the turn of the twentieth century.

⁹¹ “Sir Joseph Noel Paton, His Life and Work,” *Art Journal* (1895): 112.

Bird's gendered descriptions of the Ainu she meets and her negotiation of their ambiguous ethnic origins. When she meets Ainu that she considers more "pure-blooded" in the village of Biratori—Chief Penri (Hiramura Penriuku) his nephew Shinondi, and Penri's adopted son Pipichari—the men carry themselves with "surprising" civility.⁹² According to Bird, they are "savage" and yet *almost* European. Chief Penri is the exception having been "contaminated" by foreigners, but even he is called intelligent (for an Ainu) and aestheticized at certain points in Bird's text.⁹³ In contrast, the women, such as Penri's mother and his principle wife Noma, are often described as superstitious and backwards. Furthermore, the interactions with the Ainu as a group can be compared to those with Bird's translator and reluctant guide, Ito, where the Ainu often come across as more "honest" and "truthful" than the eighteen-year-old Japanese translator.⁹⁴

The contrast between Bird's representation of the Ainu and Japan is thoroughly interrogated by literary historian Andrew Elliot, but a reading of Bird's travelogue through the frame of an Ainu/Japan dichotomy misses the nuanced descriptions within the Ainu village of Biratori, where it is only the men who are presented with the (limited) potential for civilized advancement.⁹⁵ As described by Bird, the Ainu always existed in a triangulated relationship between the West, indigenous Ainu culture, and Japan, with her Japanese

⁹² In *Unbeaten Tracks*, Bird refers to the Biratori chieftain Hiramura Penriuku as "Chief Benri." Most travelers that visited Biratori, such as Edward Sylvester Morse and Arnold Henry Savage Landor, had the occasion to meet Penriuku and there are many different spellings of his name including "Benri," "Benry," "Penri," and "Penry." Here, I have adopted the common spelling of "Penri" as it appears in John Batchelor's text *The Ainu of Japan* (1892).

⁹³ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 73.

⁹⁴ This comparison can also be expanded to the natural landscape where the dishonest developers are taking advantage of a land so rich with potential for advancement in Bird's eyes.

⁹⁵ Andrew Elliot, "Ito and Isabella in the Contact Zone: Interpretation, Mimicry, and Unbeaten Tracks in Japan," *Electronic Journal of Contemporary Japanese Studies* 9 (December 2008), <http://www.japanesestudies.org.uk/articles/2008/Elliott.html>

translator, Ito, as the connection between all three.⁹⁶ Pratt's concept of the *contact zone*—social spaces of the colonial encounter characterized by “highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination”—is useful in reconsidering Bird's Ainu expedition.⁹⁷ The give and take of savagery and civilization that Bird describes is reciprocal, but hardly equal. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* contains a fascinating gendered dimension understated in the work of her male Victorian contemporaries, which manifests in the configuration of images. Differences in the line-engraved representations of Ainu men and women help define the contours of a potential contact zone in Biratori for a female European explorer.

“Pureblooded” Encounters: Male Civility and the Body

We first encounter Shinondi, Chief Penri's nephew, upon Isabella Bird's arrival in Biratori. Bird describes his “eager hospitality,” and writes, “And Shinondi, taking my hand, raised the reed curtain bound with hide... leading me into it... after which he indicated by a sweep of his hand and a beautiful smile that the house and all it contained were mine.”⁹⁸ The action of Shinondi leading Bird into the space of the home parallels the first Christ-like Ainu man that she meets, who let her ride upon his shoulders while crossing a stream. Both men give Bird access to an interior space—the interior of the island and the interior of the home, providing her with information about Ainu culture and customs. Bird comments that Shinondi (and Shinrichi, another Japanese-speaking Ainu) had a “manifest desire to tell the truth,” and writes, “I said that no one who looked into their faces could think that they ever

⁹⁶ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 60.

⁹⁷ Pratt, 4.

⁹⁸ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 54.

told lies.”⁹⁹ Although Bird is keen to question her translator Ito’s veracity in other parts of her travelogue, she presents her encounter with the Ainu as if they were speaking directly to her, not in Japanese mediated by Ito. As a British woman, Bird’s authenticity as an explorer was dependent on the impression of her direct contact with the native Ainu in a locale off the beaten track of other adventurers.

Chief Penri garners a much more ambivalent response from Bird. She is quick to point out his eyes, bloodshot from drinking, and his “unpleasing” expression that interferes with his physical perfection—“a square-built, broad-shouldered, elderly man, strong as an ox and very handsome.”¹⁰⁰ However, her description of Penri changes the longer that Bird stays in in the village. At one point she describes the following encounter:

He [Penri] is a grand-looking man, in spite of the havoc wrought by his intemperate habits... when I asked him to show me the use of the spear, he looked a truly magnificent savage, stepping well back with the spear in rest, and then springing forward for the attack, his arms and legs turning into iron, the big muscles standing out in knots, his frame quivering with excitement, the thick hair falling back in masses from his brow, and the fire of the chase in his eye.¹⁰¹

Bird objectifies Penri, and his spear demonstration reads as a pseudo-sexual demonstration. The question arises: did Bird portray Penri in this heightened erotic/exotic way because of his status as a native or because of the ambiguity concerning his perceived “whiteness?” As explained by Daniela Kato, Bird traveled not only as a woman, but also took upon the role as “white man,” however it is worth considering Bird’s own whiteness in

⁹⁹ Ibid., 58-59.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 73.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 108.

relation to the perceived whiteness of the Ainu from Bird's perspective.¹⁰²

Bird's description of Penri's adopted son Pipichari is significant in this regard. When he cuts himself, Bird attempts to mend the wound, but Pipichari pulls away exclaiming that her hands were "too white" for his unclean foot, and showed his appreciation by kissing her hands.¹⁰³ In Bird's summation of Ainu culture, she relativizes Ainu complexion being an "Italian olive tint."¹⁰⁴ The ambiguities regarding Pipichari's complexion are deepened when she later reflects on Pipichari and Chief Penri's courteous manners explaining,

He [Pipichari] took my hand and helped me up, as gently as an English gentleman would have done... and certainly would have carried me, had not [P]enri... made an end of it by taking my hand and helping me down himself. Their instinct of helpfulness to a foreign woman strikes me as so odd, because they never show courtesy to their own women, whom they treat (though to a less extent than is usual among savages) as inferior beings.¹⁰⁵

Like the unnamed, "impure," but beautiful Ainu man and Shinondi, Pipichari also has the courtesy to help guide Bird, except this is the first time that the act was compared to that of an "English gentleman." In a way, Pipichari and Penri fight over Bird's attention from her perspective. Although Bird's astonishment at the treatment of Ainu women could be seen as a criticism of the men, in other parts of the text Bird accuses the women for their passive acceptance of their status. However, for Bird, she is treated well due to (not in spite of) her whiteness, and not because of her gender alone. Because the men are coded as pseudo-European, Bird occasionally aligns herself closer to the men than the Ainu women in the

¹⁰² Daniela Kato, "I write the truth as I see it': Unsettling the Boundaries of Gender, Travel Writing and Ethnography in Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*," in *Women in Transit Through Literary Liminal Spaces*, ed. Teresa Gómez Reus and Terry Gifford (London and New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 85.

¹⁰³ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 69.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 76.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, 72.

narrative.

For example, Bird usually praises Pipichari throughout her text for his European ways, and is pleased that he is one of few Ainu men in the village who refrain from drinking *sake* (alcohol). When she asks him why he refuses to drink, she reports, “he replied with a truthful terseness, ‘Because it makes men like dogs.’”¹⁰⁶ This statement is particularly telling given that, earlier in the text Bird’s translator Ito discussed the myth that the Ainu were primitive because they were the descendants of dogs (the word for dog, “inu,” sounds close to word Ainu). Ironically, later in the narrative, Bird compares Pipichari to a dog when all of the other Ainu flee from her sketchbook because they perceive it as a bad omen. She writes, “...all the others begged me not to ‘make pictures’ of them, except Pipichari, who lies at my feet like a staghound.”¹⁰⁷ Despite representations of Ainu men as pseudo-European in some regards, she nonetheless returns to an animal metaphor to describe the close proximity (and one might say obedience) of Pipichari.

Bird’s encounters with Ainu men are inherently unequal, but they present a contact zone where the typical colonial relationship of the white, European male and the native woman is altered. Here, Bird is the one who does the looking and the recording. For armchair travelers in Great Britain, Bird’s exciting descriptions of her encounters with these “unruly” men framed the native culture she investigated as vaguely “European,” and highlighted the novelty of a female explorer pursuing a role traditionally thought of as male. However, as a result, the Ainu women in Biratori are displaced by Bird’s presence.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 105.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., 109.

Ainu Encounters: Superstitious Women

Bird's discussion of Ainu women, particularly Penri's mother and his principal wife Noma, takes a dramatically different tone. When Bird encounters the mother, her description of her is akin to that of a witch:

...all retired except the chief's mother, a weird witch-like woman of eighty, with shocks of yellow-white hair, and a stern suspiciousness in her wrinkled face. I have come to feel as if she had the evil eye, as she sits there watching, watching always, and forever knotting the bark thread like one of the Fates, keeping a jealous watch on her son's two wives... her eyes gleam with a greedy light when she sees sake, of which she drains a bowl without taking breath. She alone is suspicious of strangers, and she thinks that my visit bodes no good to her tribe. I see her eyes fixed upon me and I shudder."¹⁰⁸

Bird's description of the old woman serves as a poignant contrast to the Ainu men that she encounters. When the woman sleeps in the same room, Bird comments that she felt "panic, as if I were incurring a risk by being alone among savages..."¹⁰⁹ While the old woman makes Bird feel uneasy, the men's smiles and melodic voices, "make me at times forget that they are savages at all... I am more and more convinced that the expression of their faces is European. It is truthful, straightforward, manly, but both it and the tone of voice are strongly tinged with pathos."¹¹⁰ Bird perceives the men as complex and sympathetic, while the female characters fear the men in their village and fall back on superstition when confronted with something new, such as the presence of Bird herself.

Penri's old mother is not the only woman who has this superstitious potential, as Penri's principal wife Noma also has an evil streak in Bird's narrative. Despite being the "most intelligent-looking of all the women," Bird writes, "she [Noma] is not happy, for she is

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 56.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 61.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 109.

childless, and I thought her sad look darkened into something evil as the other wife caressed a fine baby boy.”¹¹¹ Like the old woman, Noma’s “evil” is contained in her look at the other wife as Bird projects the reasons for her jealousy. The quality of one’s eyes seems important for Bird, and she goes out of her way to include details about the way the Ainu look at her and at each other. Whereas Bird could perceive a “greedy light” in the “petrifying,” “cold,” “fateful” eyes of the old woman, and “evil” in the eyes of Noma, Pipichari is described as having “fine clear eyes” and Penri’s eyes glow with the “fire of the chase.”¹¹² Emphasizing the importance of the look, Bird places herself in the space of the Ainu village as both a participant and as a passive observer.

With Isabella Bird’s insertion of herself into the village of Biratori, is the agency of Ainu men and women visible in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*? Although Bird attributes direct quotes to the Ainu figures in her travelogue, it is difficult to credit agency to something so heavily mediated in Japanese. Any communication was spoken in the language of the Japanese colonizer, and then translated into English by Ito, only to be recounted by Bird. But the Ainu in Biratori certainly provoked a definite response from Bird, and they act powerfully on her emotions. In an essay regarding explorers on the island of Hawai’i, Sabine Wilke argues that indigenous laughter can occasionally offer “a level of (unintended) self-reflexivity” that allows us to “laugh with the natives at the European explorers.”¹¹³ Although laughter is not prominent in this text, Ainu actions do not necessarily correspond to European systems of meaning. Wilke explains, “...individual

¹¹¹ Ibid., 61.

¹¹² Ibid., 68.

¹¹³ Sabine Wilke, “Indigenous Laughter: The Voice of the Other in Tales from the ‘South Seas,’” in *Gender and Laughter: Comic Affirmation and Subversion in Traditional and Modern Media*, ed. Gaby Pailer, et al. (Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi, 2009), 156.

behaviors and actions are related to what might seem to the observer to be a similar behavior or action within a European context, but the system is never understood as such.”¹¹⁴ Bird finds herself completely unable to assume an Ainu perspective, and all actions—good or bad—are related back to European culture, whether it is the gentlemanly assistance of Pipichari, the old mother’s presentation as a “witch,” or the “sweet smile” of the Ainu patriarch. Here, the reader is not in a position to laugh at Isabella Bird alongside the Biratori Ainu. Yet, perhaps the uneasiness that Bird feels when the old woman glares at her from the corner allows us to see not a misguided evil eye, but the real discomfort of having a stranger in one’s personal space. Although we cannot know what is being said, we can challenge Bird’s authorial authenticity when she unabashedly claims to understand it.

The Role of Illustration in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*

Isabella Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* has been continually cited since its publication in 1880 due to the evocative power of her verbal description. However, the impact of the book is not only through the force of Bird’s text, but through the strategic use of illustration. Many scholars do not recognize the images in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, and her work is occasionally reproduced without them. But to ignore the images is to ignore the immense role that the work played in defining the visual image of the Ainu at the turn of the twentieth century. Although not by her own hand, these images support and reinforce the gendered divisions laid out within the space of her letters. Also, Bird’s integration of these images deriving from both photography and paintings of the Ainu hint at her role as a collector of the visual, highlighting her place within a lineage of travelers that did the same,

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 159.

such as Phillip Franz von Siebold roughly fifty years prior. As the image of the Ainu in both Europe and the United States was initially based on these fragmented images brought back from Japan, evaluating the genesis and application of the illustrations in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* presents one case study for visual analysis.

Bird addresses the illustrations, which are produced by woodcut engraving, in the preface to her text: “The illustrations, with the exception of three, which are by a Japanese artist, have been engraved from sketches of my own, or Japanese photographs.”¹¹⁵ This statement is somewhat misleading. Several of the works based on “Japanese sketches,” are never cited as such, while other works are based on photographs taken by an Austrian photographer working out of the treaty port of Hakodate. For the unlabeled works, the viewer is left to assume that they derive from sketches after Bird’s own hand. Nevertheless, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* presents Bird as in control of the images as either the producer or collector, and rhetorically situates her presence in the illustrated scenes. Although Bird’s collecting of Ainu objects as presented in her narrative has been thoroughly analyzed by Deriha Koji, the collecting of Japanese-produced images about the Ainu is not something covered extensively within the space of her text, and therefore evades such analysis.¹¹⁶ Therefore, this section focuses primarily on the way that *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* alters the original compositions of the Ainu-e and photographs on which its illustrations are based, and how these new illustrations derive meaning through contrast with one another.

Of the thirteen Ainu images, six images predominantly feature objects or buildings,

¹¹⁵ All other citations excepting this are from Volume 2. Isabella Lucy Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan: An Account of Travels on Horseback in the Interior, Including Visits to the Aborigines of Yezo and the Shrines of Nikkô and Isé 1* (London: John Murray, 1880), x.

¹¹⁶ Koji Deriha, “Why the Ainu parted with their materials: How curators collected their specimens,” *Bulletin of the Historical Museum of Hokkaidô*, no. 25 (March 1997), 67–96.

three images feature Ainu men, three images feature Ainu women, and one image presents both men and women in a domestic scene. When perusing the images in order of appearance, the different styles, themes, and treatments of the human figure do not seem to adhere to any specific logic. The highly varied illustrations merely cite the eclectic nature of the images that Bird collected. However, over the course of the Ainu sections, a visual trend does emerge: while many of the illustrations featuring male figures are based on photographic sources, images featuring women tend to rely on Ainu-e. As such, by privileging two different ways of depicting the Ainu body divided according to gender, the illustrations contained in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* have a profound effect reinforcing the similarly gendered reception of Ainu men and women previously described in the text, even if the compositions are not of Bird's original design.

Illustrations from Photographs and Understanding Bird's Frontispiece

The frontispiece to Volume II of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, labeled "Ainos of Yezo" (Figure 3), is the largest and most elaborate engraving, and plays a central role in the visualization of the Ainu.¹¹⁷ The main composition is based on an albumen print from circa 1872 by Austrian photographer Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz, a prominent

¹¹⁷ There are two different versions of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, the "first edition" comprised of two volumes and the "popular edition" which was abridged into one volume. This essay focuses on the representation of the Ainu in Volume II of the first edition. The differences between these volumes have been analyzed in depth by Ozawa Shizen and Kusuya Shigetoshi. Ozawa furthers the thesis that the deletions made by Bird alter the character of the traveler, including a modified focus on the "uncivilized Ainu." See: Ozawa Shizen, "Erasing Footsteps: On Some Differences between the First and Popular Editions of Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*," in *Asian Crossings: Travel Writing on China, Japan and Southeast Asia*, ed. Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2008), 87–98; Kusuya Shigeotoshi, "Ba-do Nihon kiko kaisetsu" (Analysis of Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*) in *Ba-do Nihon kiko* by Isabella Bird (Tokyo: Ushodo, 2002), 333–376.

producer of Meiji-period tourist images in Yokohama, Japan (Figure 4). Stillfried, a military officer and nobleman who came to Japan circa 1863, became one of the most well established European photographers to build on the earlier works of Felice Beato and Wilhelm Burger. As noted by Eleanor M. Hight, Stillfried's fine hand-coloring and sharp focus elevated Beato's technique to a new level of artistry, and his best photographs feature "elegantly composed" and "tightly framed" Japanese sitters.¹¹⁸ Stillfried's military background enabled him to create personal connections across Japan, which benefitted his photographic practice after abandoning his post at the Prussian Consulate in 1870 to open a photography shop, Stillfried & Co., on Honcho-dori (Main Street) in Yokohama.¹¹⁹ In addition to his own thriving popularity, Stillfried would also train new photographers, such as Kusukabe Kimbei.

Stillfried took this photograph during a trip to Hokkaido circa 1872. He was contracted by the Hokkaido Settlement Office to document the island's development, and traveled from Hakodate to Sapporo with his assistant, Takebayashi Seiichi (1842–1908) over the course of fifty days.¹²⁰ Photographs like this one were often sold in treaty port photography shops in numbered sets where the tourist could pick and choose their own

¹¹⁸ Eleanor M. Hight, *Capturing Japan in Nineteenth-Century New England Photography Collections* (Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2011), 63.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 64. See also: Luke Gartlan, "A Chronology of Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz (1839-1911)," *Japanese Exchanges in Art 1850s to 1930s with Britain, Continental Europe, and the USA: Papers and Research Materials* (Sydney: Power Publications, 2007), 121–188.

¹²⁰ The Hokkaido Settlement Office would sell off some lenses after this journey, and Takebayashi would use this opportunity to build a collection of lenses. He continued to photograph Hokkaido, including numerous photographs of the Ainu, and would establish the first photography studio in Sapporo before his relocation to Tokyo in 1884. See: Matsuda Takako, "Takebayashi Seiichi," *The History of Japanese Photography*, ed. Anne Tucker, et al. (Houston: The Museum of Fine Arts, Houston, 2003), 363.

adventure by ordering a custom album.¹²¹ Many of Stillfried's albumen are excellent examples of the Meiji-era hand-tinting process where water-based pigment is overlaid on top of the photograph, "coloring in" the people and backdrop. Of course, when translated



Figure 3: Frontispiece titled "Ainos of Yezo" based on two photographs by Baron Raimund von Stillfried. Reprinted from Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Volume 2 (London: John Murray, 1880).

¹²¹ Allen Hockley, "Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography," in *Reflecting Truth: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, ed. Nicole Coolidge Rousmaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 66–85.



Stiftung
Preußischer Kulturbesitz Raimund von Stillfried Ratenitz, "Ainos", "Yesso", ehem. Bestand Berliner Anthropologische
Gesellschaft, im Besitz SMB-PK, Ethnologisches Museum
© Foto: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Figure 4: Raimund von Stillfried Ratenitz, "Ainos," ca. 1876. Hand-tinted cabinet card photograph. Held by Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Reproduced under Creative Commons.

into the medium of woodcut engraving, the values and colors of the photograph are rendered into a series of cross-hatched and straight lines. An examination of the differences and continuities between the composition of the photograph and engraving yields insight into the ways that illustrations heightened the expectations of a viewing/reading public.

The engraving and the photograph both feature two Ainu men facing each other in three-quarters profile. At first glance the albumen photograph and the engraving look extremely similar, but some differences emerge upon closer inspection. While the composition of the man on the left remains fairly consistent with the photograph in his pose and accoutrement, the composition of the man on the right changes dramatically. His left hand, clenched and barely emerging from beneath his robe in the photograph, now holds a bow (*ku*) and arrow (*ay*), with a quiver (*ikayop*) under his arm. The man wears an

animal-hide garment atop the bark-fiber *attush* robe. The inconsistencies in the man's appearance point to a different source photograph.¹²² While the general spatial arrangement of the initial photograph remains intact, the man on the right was replaced entirely with the likeness of an Ainu man from a different Stillfried photograph (Figure 5). The two men are grafted together and brought into close proximity to one another, and appear to be addressing each other, bringing vivacity to this fabricated scene. This rearranging of the composition facilitates the appearance of a conversation, with the right man explaining as he gingerly holds out the arrow, and the left man listening. Rather than a nineteenth-century photographic "type" common in tourist albums, the engraving seems to



Figure 5: Baron Raimund von Stillfried Ratenicz. "Stehender Ainu-Jäger." ca. 1875. Held by Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Reproduced under Creative Commons.

¹²² The source photographs for the frontispiece are also identified by Claudius Müller. See: Claudius Müller, "Die Ainu in historischen Photographien—ein Porträt von außen," in *Die Ainu: Porträt einer Kultur im Norden Japans* (Munich: Staatliches Museum für Völkerkunde München, 2002), 91–113.

privilege interaction. Although more fitting to Bird’s narrative, the engraver completely overrides the subtle qualities of Stillfried’s photograph that made him so well-regarded among commercial photographers in Japan. The vignetting and asymmetrical composition are entirely lost in the engraving, and the new medium does not permit hand coloring. Most importantly, the engraving seems to focus on the “facts” of Ainu culture—the bow and arrow, the quiver, and the patterns in Ainu dress—in a way that elevates the props in accordance with an ethnographic agenda.

These changes have far-reaching implications for Bird’s text. Although identified here as “Ainos of Yezo,” a smaller, cruder version of this engraving appears within Bird’s text with a different caption: “Shinondi and Shinrichi” (Figure 6). Stillfried’s anonymous tourist photographs and the anonymous frontispiece are appropriated to match



Figure 6: Woodcut engraved illustration titled “Shinondi and Shinrichi” based on two photographs by Baron Raimund von Stillfried. Reprinted from Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Volume 2 (London: John Murray, 1880), 58.

personalities appearing in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The non-Japanese countenances and long, flowing beards compliment Bird's previous textual descriptions of the Ainu as European gentlemen or even as "Christ-like" in appearance, hinting at Siebold's theory of the Ainu as a European, not Japanese, ancestor. There are several subtle differences between the smaller engraving and the frontispiece. The men stand further apart, with slight variations in their posture and physique, and the man on the left has a conspicuous forward lean. The interior space has also been altered slightly. This illustration appears at a point in the text mentioned previously, when Bird asks the two men for information about their culture:

They would speak what they believed to be true, but the chief knew more than they, and when he came back he might tell me differently, and then I should think that they had spoken lies. I said that no one who looked into their faces could think that they ever told lies.¹²³

Unlike Siebold's illustrations, which were intended to illustrate Ainu customs and manners, Bird appeals to her readers to look into the faces of these men. She engages her audience with new ideas about physiognomy, explored prominently in her text, where a person's character can be determined based on one's facial features. Therefore, from a study of the Ainu's features present in the engraving, the reader is expected to deduce their honesty by way of their whiteness, especially in contrast to Bird's vivid descriptions of the untrustworthy, clever Japanese translator. The power of the photograph to reproduce reality is here combined with the power of Bird's own eyewitness account to embellish and support her narrative. Considering Bird's larger body of work, she was well aware of the power of photography as a testament to reality as she eschews illustrations for

¹²³ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 57–58.

photographs taken by her own hand to enhance the veracity of her claims in her later works.¹²⁴ As argued by Luke Gartlan, Stillfried would have also been attuned to these debates about the ethnographic type in the late nineteenth century. The selection of Stillfried's work seems appropriate in the context of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, where the reader is invited to scrutinize the image in an ethnographic style.¹²⁵

By using the process of engraving to isolate recognizable attributes of Ainu physiognomy, dress, and objects, the engraving produces an image that is more clearly understandable, especially with the aid of the narrative. Everything from facial expressions to the detailed patterns in their dress is more crisply defined in its translation into line at the expense of Stillfried's signature photographic style. By the 1880's, many illustrations in Victorian publications were produced by the method of "facsimile engraving."¹²⁶ Described by Gerry Beegan in his materialist history of the mechanization of wood engraving, facsimile engraving promoted the anonymity of the engraver and a truer fidelity to the photographic source. This method dominated the industry at the time of Bird's publication, replacing former processes that depended on the artistic interpretation of the engraving,

¹²⁴ Luke Gartlan, "A Complete Craze," 17.

¹²⁵ Luke Gartlan, "Views and Costumes of Japan: A Photograph Album by Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz," *La Trobe Journal*, no. 76 (Spring 2005).

<http://www.slv.gov.au/latrobejournal/issue/latrobe-76/t1-g-t2.html>

¹²⁶ There was essentially two types of engraving in Victorian publication. One was the "laid-on" style where the main lines of an illustration were drawn with India ink onto the boxwood block, with finer details indicated in pencil. This type of engraving allowed much greater liberty in terms of the engraver's artistic interpretation. "Facsimile" engraving, by contrast, was a process by which every single line intended for engraving would be drawn directly onto the boxwood block. As described by William S. Peterson, these engravings were "technically dazzling" but "aesthetically empty." Most of these woodcut engravings were reproduced by electrotype, or the Voltaic process by the 1880s. William S. Peterson, "The World of Victorian Printing," in *The Kelmscott Press: A History of William Morris's Typographical Adventure* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 21.

who would draw an image in his own signature style on the boxwood block.¹²⁷ The frontispiece of Bird's travelogue also engages with histories of photography and engraving, questioning the viewer's relationship to the real. We can see the skill of the engraver at transferring both men into line in a way that preserves posture and clothing. Not a mere copy, the collaging of bodies shows more creativity in matching anonymous figures to the peculiarities of the text. Whether this was done at Bird's instruction or through the engraver's own interpretation is difficult to discern. Nevertheless, the labor of the engraver is lost in a text such as *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* where Bird comes across as the sole storyteller.

However, this does not mean that the facsimile method was abandoned in the images illustrating Bird's text. Another image in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* of an Ainu man

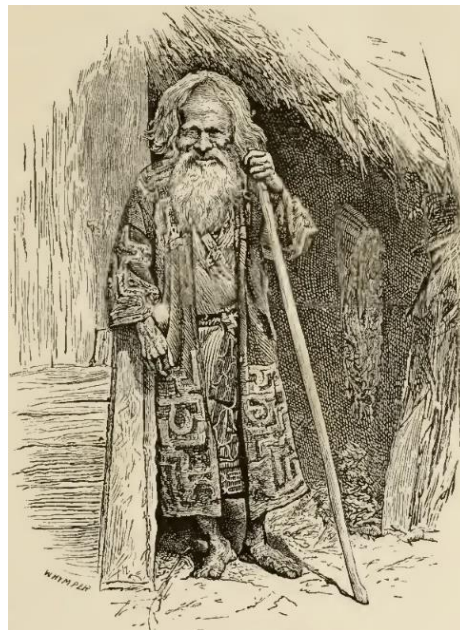


Figure 7: Woodcut engraved illustration by Edward Whymper titled "An Ainu Patriarch." Reprinted from Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Volume 2 (London: John Murray, 1880), 77.

¹²⁷ Gerry Beegan, "The Mechanization of the Image: Facsimilie, Photography, and Fragmentation in Nineteenth-Century Wood Engraving," *Journal of Design History* 8, no. 4 (1995): 269.

titled “An Ainu Patriarch” is based on an anonymous, but popular, ethnographic photograph.¹²⁸ Stillfried’s photographs nod toward the ethnographic, and this image of “An Ainu Patriarch” in situ appears to be more true to an ethnographic intention (Figure 7).¹²⁹ The engraver for this particular image, Edward Whymper, took care to accurately reproduce the photograph, and we see an older man standing at the entrance to a dwelling, leaning on a long stick that comes to his shoulders. The image once again aligns with the text, where Bird describes his features as “European rather than Asiatic,” followed by a detailed description of Ainu hair. Her comments about Ainu savagery are tempered by her treatment of them as pseudo-European, and she explains, “...the savage look produced by masses of hair and beard, and the thick eyebrows, is mitigated by the softness in the dreamy brown eyes, and is altogether obliterated by the exceeding sweetness of the smile, which belongs in greater or less degree to all the rougher sex.”¹³⁰ The reader is invited to examine the hair and body, and attention is finally brought to the “sweet smile” of the man. Instead of merely illustrating the text, the reader can engage directly with the photograph, practicing the application of physiognomy from the domestic space of the home.

Illustrations from Ainu-e

While the previous two images rely on a rendering of the body reproduced from heavily circulated photographs, the majority of illustrations in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* are based on Ainu-e. Sasaki Toshikazu explains that the term “Ainu-e” is broadly applied to any

¹²⁸ This photograph was also in the collection of Edward Sylvester Morse (1838–1925).

¹²⁹ Just because an image appears to be more “ethnographic” does not mean it is not constructed. I use this to refer to the style of the image that places a greater emphasis on the Ainu in situ, living their daily life. These photographs were often just as composed, albeit for a difference aesthetic effect.

¹³⁰ Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, 78.

paintings that depict Ezo (Hokkaido) and its inhabitants by Japanese artists, without strong regard for subject, date, or artist.¹³¹ Despite this range of subject, the paintings often depict the Ainu as ethnically Other to the Japanese, with varying degrees of sensitivity. Painted from the perspective of the Japanese, who may or may not have had firsthand encounters with the Ainu in Hokkaido, these paintings cannot always be grounded in actual traditional Ainu culture or practices. While some producers, such as Matsuura Takeshirō, created personal paintings of Ainu culture that were sensitive to indigenous culture, stories, and tradition, other painters of Ainu-e were sent to depict those living outside of Japan's own borders and typically depicted the Ainu as subservient to the visiting Japanese. Scholars like Sasaki carefully question the anthropological value of these paintings, which range from the evocative to the ethnographic.¹³² As outlined in the introduction to this dissertation, Bird's text was not the first publication on the Ainu to reproduce illustrations based on Ainu-e, and a precedent can be seen in the work of Philipp Franz von Siebold. Copies of Ainu-e were already being completed in Japan by the eighteenth century (several famous works, such as Murakami Shimanojō's famous *Ezo-shima kikan* [Graphic Scenes of Daily Life in Ezo] have over one hundred versions),¹³³ and European and American visitors of Japan often commissioned additional copies to bring back home. As a result, these copies now exist in several European and American collections. Anthropologist Frederick Starr, discussed in the introduction and Chapter Two, meticulously documented his quest for Ainu "kakemono" during his 1903–1904 and 1909–1910 excursions to Hokkaido, where he bought already copied works in addition to commissioning new copies to be made. In his

¹³¹ Sasaki Toshikazu, "Ainu-e: A Historical Review," 79.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 79.

¹³³ Izumi Seiichi, ed., *Ainu no sekai* (The World of the Ainu) (Tokyo: Kashima kenkyūjo shuppankai, 1968), 7.

journal he wrote, “We went hunting the Ainu painting down below. Why should I be willing to pay 5 yen for copying a picture at Sapporo or Hakodate and... pay 3 yen for an already painted picture here? What a curious thing is the working of the human mind anyway!”¹³⁴ But even prior to the respective journeys of Bird and Starr, this practice was already well-established by earlier explorers, Japanese and Western alike.

Like Siebold’s *Nippon*, Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* similarly participated in this citational network of image borrowing. In fact, Isabella Bird’s trip to Hokkaido in 1878 coincided with that of Phillip von Siebold’s son, Heinrich. Despite the gap of approximately sixty years between Phillip von Siebold’s *Nippon* and Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, some continuities remain with regard to how *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* utilizes Ainu-e, and her work is complicit with Victorian conventions of image reproduction. Bird’s text relies heavily on images painted in the handscroll *Ezo seikei zusetu* (Graphic Descriptions of Livelihood of Ezo) by Murakami Teisuke (Murakami Shimanojō and Mamiya Rinzō are also occasionally listed as co-authors).¹³⁵ This heavily illustrated work depicts various aspects of Ainu culture and custom from the perspective of the Japanese explorer, and provides the Ainu names for various objects and practices, in addition to a brief explanation for each scene. Murakami Teisuke (1780–1846) was the adopted son of the explorer and painter Murakami Shimanojō, and collaborated with Mamiya Rinzō on several works about the northern Pacific, or what was called “Kita Ezo” (North Yezo). Murakami was also talented in Russian, and was a friend of the Russian explorer Vasily Mikhailovich Golovnin (1776–

¹³⁴ Frederick Starr, “Notebook 5 (Japan 1909–1910),” 1909–1910. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935. Box 15, Folder 8. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

¹³⁵ Murakami Teisuke, Murakami Shimanojō, and Mamiya Rinzō, *Ezo seikei zusetu* (Graphic Descriptions of Livelihood of Ezo) (Sapporo: Hokkaidō shuppan kikaku senta, 1990).

1831), who was held captive in Japan from 1811 to 1813.¹³⁶ With regard to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, while women and objects are often based on these Japanese paintings of the Ainu, it is only the Ainu men in Bird's work that are found worthy of photographic realism regarding the treatment of the body. Although Bird's preface indicates that three images derived from Japanese sketches, and accordingly some images are labeled as "from a Japanese sketch" in the caption, not all images that are based on the *Ezo seikei zusetsu* carry such a disclaimer. The unknowing reader might therefore attribute such images to Bird's own sketches. Of the ten images based on paintings, they can be roughly divided into those intended primarily to illustrate cultural artifacts and those that are meant to illustrate ways of life and/or spaces.

Four images in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* derive directly from the *Ezo seikei zusetsu*: "Aino Lodges (From a Japanese Sketch)," "Aino Store-House," "Ainos at Home (From a Japanese Sketch)," and "Aino Gods." These images share their sketch-derived style and differ markedly from those engravings based on photography; a comparison that reinforces the gendered descriptions already present in Bird's text. For example, in the image labeled "Aino Lodges (From a Japanese Sketch)" we see a woman against the backdrop of Ainu houses (*chise*) carrying a woven rush mat (*okitapunpe*) (Figure 8). The tattooing around her mouth and on her arms marks her as Ainu. Her posture is hunched, and we can see the edges of a mortar peeking out from between the houses—a symbol of women's work. The gendered contrast supports a reading of the text where the Ainu men, with their almost European likeness, are worthy of an engraving based on a photograph (and in the case of Shinondi and Shinrichi, are also worthy of being named) that allows the reader to

¹³⁶ Donald Keene, *The Japanese Discovery of Europe, 1720–1830* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1969), 144.

scrutinize the bodies in specific relation to Bird’s description. In regards to the women, depictions of Ainu customs and domestic labor take precedent over individual characteristics or personality. In fact, in illustrated images the demarcation of gender is often determined by the presence or absence of tattooing. There is only one image, “Ainos at Home,” where men and women sit in mixed company, but the focus is on gendered, but non-individualized, men and women sharing a domestic space.¹³⁷

Bird’s later books would turn away from woodcut engraving to embrace photomechanical reproduction. However, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* offers a rare opportunity to consider the role of image collection and juxtaposition before Bird turned exclusively to photography. Furthermore, a consideration of the material constraints that underlie the production of the frontispiece yields rich insight into the alteration of



Figure 8: Woodcut engraved illustration titled “Aino Lodges (Based on a Japanese Sketch).” Reprinted from Isabella Bird, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Volume 2 (London: John Murray, 1880), 38.

¹³⁷ This composition of an Ainu family derives from one painting, while the pot suspended over the sunken hearth derives from another. Both source paintings appear in the *Ezo seikei zusetu*. As such, the act of collaging together different elements was not limited to photography alone.

Stillfried's photograph into something deemed more appropriate for Bird's travelogue. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* yields fascinating insight regarding Bird's journey, and the gendered comparisons made in the text are heightened by the strategic use of images. As such, this work is perhaps one enduring example of the complicated relationship between photography, painting, print reproduction, and the gendered representation of the Ainu.

The Frontispiece within the Photography Complex

While *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* can be analyzed with regard to the relationship between image and text, it is simultaneously crucial to examine the public life of the illustrations appearing in the travelogue within a larger nineteenth-century milieu. Focusing on the frontispiece to Volume II, the reproduction and circulation of Stillfried's original photographs operate within what scholar James Hevia has termed the "photography complex."¹³⁸ Taking into account the mixed-media approach to nineteenth-century works, Hevia describes the creation of a "simultaneous temporal presence" that could bring distant places (such as Hokkaido) into the space of the viewing subject (such as the Victorian parlor room).¹³⁹ Although ontological priority is often awarded to the physical photograph (such as Stillfried's albumen photographs), the fact remains that this engraving is only one small part of the multi-faceted life of an image within a robust production process, which includes everything from the chemicals required to make positive prints; reproductive technologies that facilitated print and newspaper circulation; and the networks of transportation that "link far-away places to end-users."¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Hevia, "The Photography Complex," 79–119.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 79.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 80–81.

The object-centered discipline of art history often isolates the printed photograph as worthy of academic attention while eliding the production process that provides an “image” with meaning. As such, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, with its emphasis on a textual register, is often left out of image-making histories. It would be disingenuous to ignore the way that Bird’s images and text interacted within these larger processes. In looking at the frontispiece in this light, it is apparent that while linked to her specific narrative, Bird’s use of Stillfried’s images was the rule, rather than the exception. As images easily acquired by tourists visiting Yokohama, Stillfried’s photographs were often used (and combined) as the basis for line engravings and lithographs in Europe and the United States. For example, French geographer Élisée Reclus (1830–1905) published the nineteen-volume *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle, La Terre et les Hommes* (The Earth and Its Inhabitants) between 1875 and 1894, and a large line engraving of the Ainu appears in Volume VII of the work

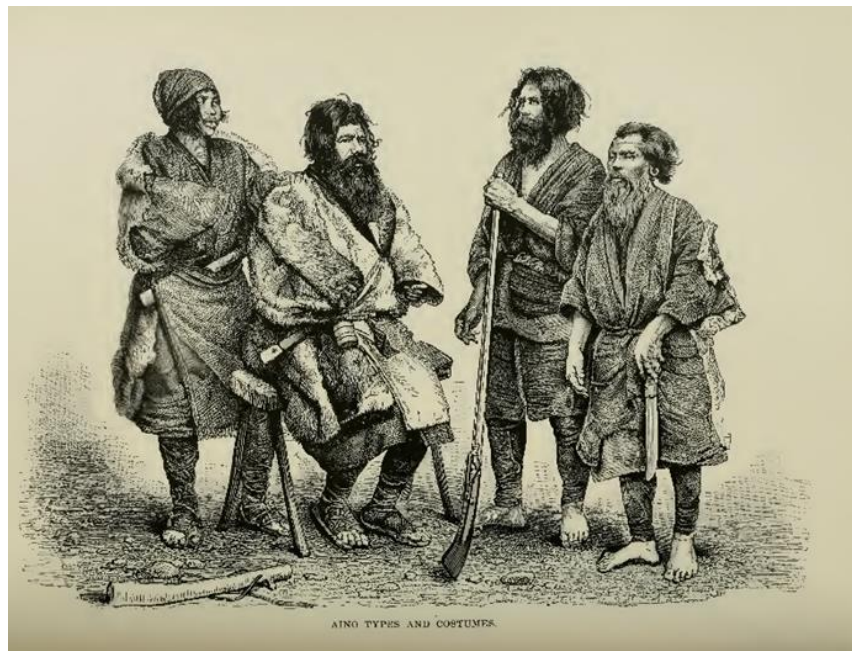


Figure 9: Woodcut engraved illustration titled “Aino Types and Costumes.” Reprinted from Eliseé Reclus, *Nouvelle géographie universelle: la terre et les homes* (1882).

(1882) (Figure 9). In a manner similar to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, both the lithograph and engraving are based on Stillfried's photographs and they also depend on a combination of figures from two different photographs in order to achieve full effect. In *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, the two men on the right derive from a group portrait of four Ainu men composed symmetrically (Figure 10), while the man and woman on the left originate from an entirely different group portrait (Figure 11). When comparing the images in this text to the engravings in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, a crucial difference emerges. In *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle* the engraving is not mentioned in the text and mainly serves as an illustration. Conversely, in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* the image is tied to the text and the reader is invited to project personalities onto the two Ainu in the frontispiece.



Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz Raimund von Stillfried Ratenicz, "Yesso, Ainos", ehem. Bestand Berliner Anthropologische Gesellschaft, im Besitz SMB-PK, Ethnologisches Museum © Foto: Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin

Figure 10: Raimund von Stillfried Ratenicz, "Yesso, Ainos," ca. 1870. Held by Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Reproduced under Creative Commons.



Figure 11: Baron Raimund von Stillfried-Ratenicz. Five Ainu, ca. 1871-73. Courtesy of the Tom Burnett Collection. http://tomburnettcollection.com/gallery/main.php?g2_itemId=745

Published only four years after *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Reclus references Bird's travelogue and explains that unlike other travelers, she was exceedingly complimentary of Ainu women (notwithstanding small eyes and thick lips).¹⁴¹ Even though Bird's text follows the dominant trend of seeing the men as Caucasian and attractive and the women as something Other, Reclus reinterprets Bird's work and ignores her intense criticism of Ainu women and her uneven focus on the Ainu men. Bird's frontispiece is visually consistent with *La Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, even if both works further entirely different goals.

A photograph by Stillfried of an Ainu man holding a bow and arrow, along with

¹⁴¹ Élisée Reclus, *The Earth and Its Inhabitants* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1884), 397. For the original French edition see: Élisée Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, 753–754.

another photograph of two Ainu women, are also reproduced in Heinrich von Siebold's *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso* (1881).¹⁴² Heinrich von Siebold was the second son of Philipp Franz von Siebold, who served as a secretary for the Austrian-Hungarian legation to Japan from 1872 to 1896. The younger Siebold's trip occurred concurrently with Bird's, and his essay is an ethnographic study of the Ainu resulting from his trip to Hokkaido. Published by Paul Parey in Berlin, the text written by Siebold was combined with lithographs in a facsimile style produced by W. A. Meyn, a popular nineteenth-century botanical artist. From Great Britain to France to Germany, authors such as Bird, Reclus, and Siebold all drew upon a small repertoire of imagery established by photographs such as those taken by Stillfried. The optical consistency of these images, which all draw upon the same Ainu motifs, allowed explorers and writers alike to build a shared sense of knowledge about Ainu culture.

Edward Greey's *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* (1884)

Stillfried's photographs circulated widely due to their distribution in Yokohama, but they were not the only source materials to be reproduced in new contexts. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* itself would in turn provide source images for new illustrated works, such as two color lithographs produced in Germany by Ernst Krammann (ca. 1882), which acknowledge Bird's title on the verso (Figure 12). Even without a written acknowledgment, Krammann's lithographs seem closer to the engravings in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* than Stillfried's photographs, even going as far as to replicate subtle wisps of hair that come across more strongly in the line engraving. However, the images that appear in *Unbeaten*

¹⁴² Heinrich von Siebold, *Ethnologische Studien über die Aino auf der Insel Yesso* (Berlin: Paul Parey, 1881).

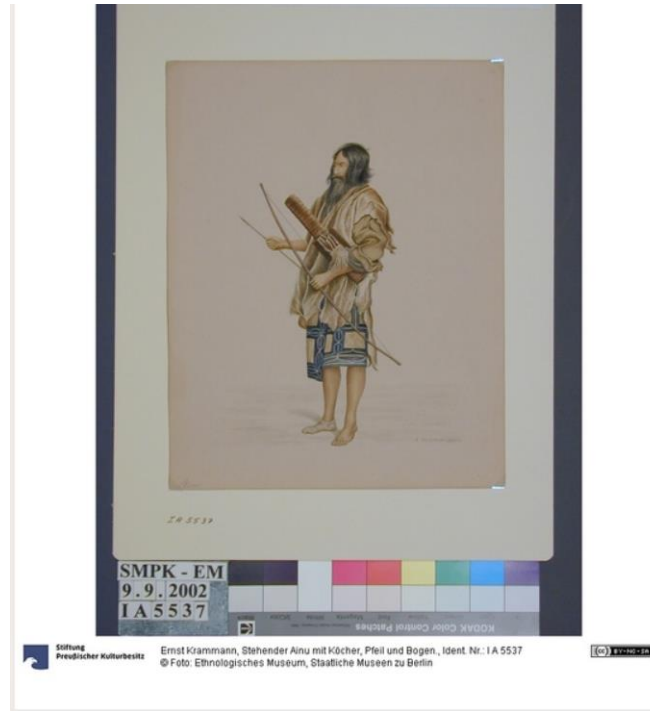


Figure 12: Ernst Krammann, *Stehender Ainu mit Köcher, Pfeil und Bogen*, ca. 1882. Held by Ethnologisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. Reproduced under Creative Commons.

Tracks in Japan would also continue to circulate in new and interesting contexts, often republished in new works without significant change. One example of this is the novel *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin)* (with the alternative title of *The Adventures of the Jewett Family and their Friend Oto Nambo*) published by Edward Greey in 1884. As a work of fiction, this book is often ignored by scholars who have an ethnographic interest in the Ainu.¹⁴³ Greey himself was a jack-of-all-trades and has left behind a curious literary legacy. Born in Sandwich, England in 1835, Greey received a military education, and served as a military captain in China during the Second Opium War in 1860. Soon after his service in China, he was sent as an attaché to the British Legation in Japan, where he fostered an interest in everything Japanese. He moved to New York City in

¹⁴³ Edward Greey, *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin) or The Adventures of the Jewett Family and their Friend Oto Nambo* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1884).

1868 to begin a business as an importer and dealer of Asian objects (specializing in Japonica), requiring frequent trips to the Far East. To supplement his income as an art dealer, Greey wrote fiction novels. However, the pseudo-intellectual nature of works like *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* did not provide much in the way of income, and he began producing five cent comics for Frank Leslie in 1874. Plagued by financial problems and ill health, Greey would commit suicide following his last trip to Japan in 1888, four years after the publication of his volume about the Ainu.¹⁴⁴

A work of fiction, *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* was the third book in a series about the Jewett family (consisting of Professor Jewett, his wife, his two sons and one daughter) and their friend Ota Nambo. In this iteration of the Jewett family's adventures, Greey takes them to Hokkaido and Karafuto where they spend time amongst the native population. As described by Kirsten Refsing, using the unfamiliar surroundings of Hokkaido, Greey takes the "opportunity to present more or less factual information about faraway places to a young American public who could identify with the protagonists, the Jewett children, and their insatiable curiosity about everything in their surroundings."¹⁴⁵ Despite the fictional story-telling, Greey's information is at least partially based on his own trip to Karafuto in 1853, where he became acquainted with the Ainu in Karafuto and Yezo, and was the "guest of the fierce-visaged but gentle savages."¹⁴⁶ He also made the acquaintance of *Kaitakushi* official Kunemichi Kitagaki on a trip to Japan in 1882, who updated Greey with some

¹⁴⁴ E.M. Sanchez-Saavedra, "The Inscrutable Mr. Greey: Edward Greey (1835–1888)," in *Yesterday's Papers*, ed. John Adcock. Accessed August 16, 2014. <http://john-adcock.blogspot.jp/2011/09/edward-greey-1835-1888.html>

¹⁴⁵ Kirsten Refsing, ed., *Early European Writings on Ainu Culture: Travelogues and Descriptions 4* (London: Curzon Press, 2000), 55.

¹⁴⁶ Greey, v.

information about the Ainu in the thirty years since his trip.¹⁴⁷

The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo loses a great deal of its impact if analyzed separately from its illustrations. In fact, when compared to the mere four images regarding the Ainu or Hokkaido that appear in Siebold's *Nippon* or the thirteen images appearing in Bird's travelogue, Greey depends on 180 illustrations to make his case. The illustrations occasionally share the page with text, but they are often printed full-page. In fact, the reader cannot advance even a few pages without encountering a visual illustrating Greey's story. While Bird goes out of her way to establish the sources for her images in her Preface (which, as shown above, was not always accurate), Greey does not often mention the authors or artists from whom he borrowed, with the exception of one line on the title page that reads in bold "One Hundred and Eighty Illustrations by Rinzo and by Ichiske [sic] Hamada," followed by "Cover Designed and Drawn by the Author" in italics.¹⁴⁸ Like Bird, this brief attribution is insufficient in accounting for all of the images that Greey borrows from in this work. The "Rinzo" mentioned refers to Mamiya Rinzō's four-volume *Kita-Ezo zusetsu* (Scenes of Northern Ezo, 1855), which Greey uses to illustrate the sections on Karafuto. Other illustrations in the novel draw from other works including Murakami Shimanōjō's set of three scrolls titled *Ezo-shima kikan* (Curious Sights of the Island of Ezo, 1800) and the later nineteenth-century copy of it by Hirasawa Byōzan, Suzuki Shigehisa's two-volume *Karafuto nikki* (Karafuto Journal, 1860), Matsuura Takeshirō's *Ishikari nisshi* (Ishikari Diary, 1860), Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), and even

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., v.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid., title page.

ethnographic photographs of the Ainu taken in the Meiji-era (ca. 1870–1880).¹⁴⁹ Despite being used to illustrate a fictive story, the illustrations based on Ainu-e nevertheless support long-standing ideas about the Ainu that were believed to be factual, and Greey does not try to interrogate the validity of these images. As cautioned by Sasaki, Japanese illustrations were often “painted purely from the artist’s imagination” and are therefore “impossible to use... as research materials.”¹⁵⁰ Regarding the illustrations by Hashimoto Gyokuransai and Ju Tansai in Mamiya Rinzō’s *Kita-Ezo zusetu*, Sasaki writes, “These pictures [by Hashimoto and Ju] are done in a complete *ukiyo-e* style and contain mistakes apparently caused by the artist’s ignorance of the subject.”¹⁵¹ For Sasaki, Mamiya’s *Kita-Ezo zusetu* does not have the documentary qualities of other Ainu-e works. It might be tempting to dismiss Mamiya’s *Kita-Ezo zusetu* as an inaccurate work of popular culture of little use to the contemporary researcher (especially if the goal is to cull ethnographic information about Edo-period Ainu culture from the paintings, as it is for Sasaki), but we might be going too far to declare that researching these works is without value. For authors like Edward Greey and Isabella Bird among others, the scenes depicted in these Japanese works were accepted (and represented) as fact. As such, *The Bear Worshippers of Yezo* tends to reproduce the very same errors found in the original painting or illustration for an English-speaking audience. For example, Greey reproduces an image of a woman with a baby on her back carrying a bow and arrow during the Ainu bear-sending ceremony (*iyomante*) (Figure 13). As pointed out by Sasaki with regards to the original Ainu-e, this is

¹⁴⁹ Murakami Shimanojō also went by the name of Hata Awakimaro, and Shinmyō Hidehito has argued that he also took the name Rokyo in three works. See: Shinmyō Hidehito, “*Ainu fūzoku-ga no kenkyū—kinsei Hokkaidō ni okeru Ainu to bijutsu* (Study of Ainu Genre Painting) (Tokyo: Nakanishi shuppan, 2011).

¹⁵⁰ Sasaki, “On Ainu-e—Pictorial Descriptions of Ainu Life and Customs,” 224.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 224; Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi kenkyū*, 161.

a factual error as women were prohibited from participating in the ceremony. Nevertheless, Greey faithfully reproduces Murakami's work, including the error, unknowingly spreading misinformation (Figure 14). Greey seems to rely equally on works considered dubious by scholars, like Mamiya's *Kita-Ezo zusetu*, and works that are praised for their high quality and fidelity, like Murakami Shimanojō's *Ezo-shima kikan*. Greey's result is a blend of fact and fiction, which is then woven together with the characters of a fictional story.

It is crucial to note that the reproduction of Japanese Ainu illustrations carried out by Greey and his publisher was not a unique practice of Anglophone writers, and occurred across Europe (in France, Germany, and Russia), the United States, and Japan. It is also important to consider that the Japanese works that authors like Bird and Greey were copying were often already copies themselves. As noted by Sasaki, Mamiya's *Kita-Ezo zusetu* integrated the woodblock prints of Hashimoto Gyokuransai, Ju Tansai and others, while Murakami's *Ezo-shima kikan* is thought to have been strongly influenced by Kodama

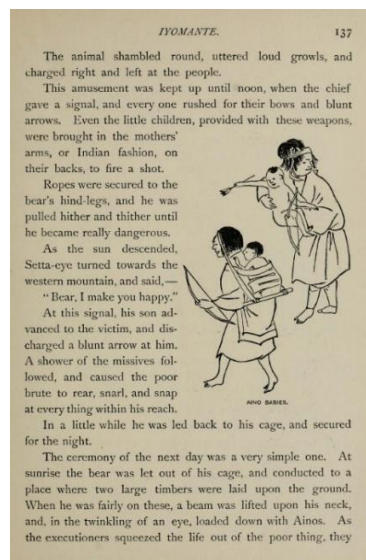


Figure 13: Illustration titled "Aino Babies." Reprinted from Edward Greey, *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin)* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1884), 137.



Figure 14: Hirasawa Byōzan, “Iyomante,” late-19th century. Copy of Murakami Shimanojō’s *Ezo-shima kikan* (Graphic Scenes of Daily Life in Ezo), Bunsei 12 (1799). Courtesy of the British Museum.

Teiryō’s *Ezo koku-fū zue* (Illustrations of Manners of the Ezo Country).¹⁵² There has been much scholarship dedicated to defining the differences between the various versions, including a comprehensive study by Sasaki with other contributions by historian Tanimoto Akihisa and Russian scholar Vasily Schepkin.¹⁵³ However, I want to reconsider the larger network of professional copying along a different line of thought suggested by Sudō Kaori in her thesis regarding the role of Ainu-e like Murakami’s *Ezo-shima kikan* on creating the overall Ainu image in Japan. She explains that, in effect, *wajin* (non-Ainu, Japanese) gravitated toward an image of the Ainu that they desired to see. This desire to “see” had a

¹⁵² Sudō Kaori, “Ainu imeeji to Ainu-e: tsukurareta Ainu-zō” (Ainu image and Ainu-e: The Construction of the Ainu) (Master’s thesis, Chiba University, 2001), 60.

¹⁵³ Sasaki Toshikazu, Vasily Shepkin, and Tanimoto Akihisa, “Roshia kagaku akademii tōyō koseki bunken kenkyūjo shozō *Higashi-Ezo ikō* honkoku kaidai” (Reprinting and Annotation of *Higashi-Ezo ikō* from the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute for Oriental Manuscripts), *Komonjo purojekuto* (Ancient Document Project) 2 (Sapporo: Hokkaido daigaku Ainu senjūmin kenkyū sentā [Hokkaido University for Ainu & Indigenous Studies], 2014).

strong connection to the desire to control, and the things drawn in AINU-e would eventually function to create a common awareness of the Ainu in line with societal projections about their culture.¹⁵⁴ While Greey's work was certainly fiction and could be read as such, the images of the Ainu that he produced resonated with what travelers to Hokkaido desired to see in the Ainu village.

It goes without saying that Greey reproduced many inaccuracies in his book, but rather than outright dismiss his work (or the works on which his images are based) as merely derivative and untrue, there is productive potential when considering these images along the lines of desire and expectation. Greey certainly reproduced errors of which he was not likely cognizant, but his work also contains some playful editing of the original Japanese paintings when it served his purpose. Rather than a passive copying, there was

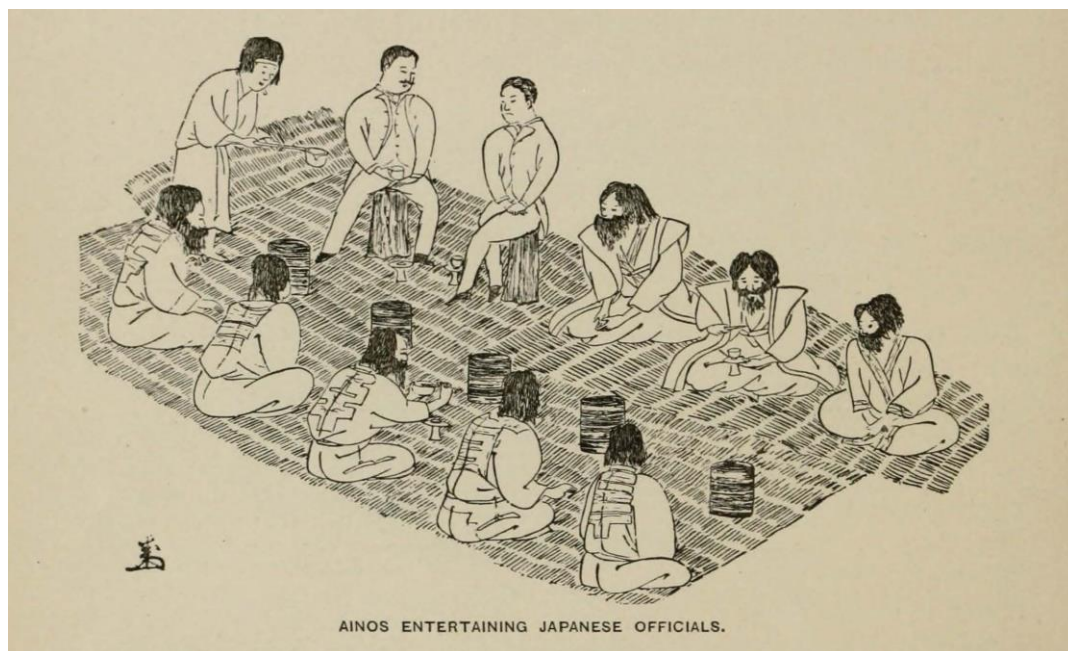


Figure 15: Illustration titled "Ainos Entertaining Japanese Officials." Reprinted from Edward Greey, *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin)* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1884), 60.

¹⁵⁴ Sudō, 74.



Figure 16: Hirasawa Byōzan, “Drinking Banquet,” late-19th century. Copy of Murakami Shimanōjō’s *Ezo-shima kikan* (Graphic Scenes of Daily Life in Ezo), Bunsei 12 (1799). Courtesy of the British Museum.

thought put into the selection of his images and he wove them deeply into his narrative. An illustrative example of this is an engraving titled “Ainos [sic] Entertaining Japanese Officials,” (Figure 15) which depicts two Japanese men in western dress sitting on stools while surrounded by eight Ainu men seated on woven mats and one woman serving sake to the Japanese guests. When compared with Murakami Shimanōjō’s *Ezo-shima kikan*, we notice that in the original AINU-e, Japanese men are kneeling on the ground and instead of wearing Western-dress are wearing clothing from the Edo period (Figure 16). Therefore, it might seem that Greedy’s alteration of the image is nothing more than a casual update to the scene to better-match the Meiji-time period setting of his story. However, this glaring alteration of the image is also reflected in the narrative:

The party entered and beheld eight Ainos, seated on new mats that had been spread upon the ground in honor of their guests, who, in the absence of chairs, had been accommodated with blocks of wood. Five lacquer boxes, containing food, were placed upon the floor; and a woman, whose head was tied with a white fillet, was pouring out *saké* from a long-handled *nagaye* (ladle). The chief requested the American to join his guests, so the Professor said—“Let us seat ourselves on this heap of mats, and watch the proceedings. I suppose this is what the natives consider an aristocratic gathering.” When they were accommodated, and the lacquer cups had been filled with saké, the Ainos raised their vessels... and made formal libations to the ina[w] [prayer sticks]... In vain the Japanese officials endeavored to keep up with their entertainers; for, though intellectually by far their superiors, they lacked the muscular vigor and strong heads of the savages, and were soon compelled to set down their cups untasted.¹⁵⁵

By examining the text in tandem with the image, Greey shows his active engagement with the image. However, there is a crucial difference where when compared to other writers like Isabella Bird. While *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* used images to illustrate Bird’s story after the narrative had been written, Greey’s process appears to be just the reverse, basing his story on the massive amount of images that he amassed as a collector. The flow of Greey’s narrative is literally shaped by the illustration, which provided him with crucial visual details to anchor his characters. Although this is the dominant way that most images were used (and edited), Greey on occasion censored his images as well. One example being an image of an Ainu woman preparing to breastfeed her infant (Figure 17). While she holds her breast in Mamiya Rinzō’s *Kita-Ezo Zusetu*, Greey’s version has her hand tucked curiously into a newly added lapel, and her bare chest is overlaid with an awkwardly placed button-up shirt (Figure 18).

¹⁵⁵ In this quotation, Greey uses the Romanization “*inaho*” to refer to *inaw*, or prayer sticks. I have standardized this for the sake of readability. *Inaw* were carved sticks used in Ainu culture as a way to communicate with the gods. Greey, 60.



Figure 17: Illustration titled "Samelenko Baby." Reprinted from Edward Greey, *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo and the Island of Karafuto (Saghalin)* (Boston: Lee and Shepard Publishers, 1884), 218. Public Domain.



Figure 18: Reprinted from Mamiya Rinzō, *Kita-Ezo zusetsu*, vol. 4. 1855. Held by University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. Public Domain.

Aside from his liberal use of Ainu and Japanese illustrations, Greey also reproduced images found in Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, including the frontispiece.¹⁵⁶ In *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo*, the two men formerly labeled "Shinondi" and "Shinrichi" in Bird's travelogue no longer stand in for these characters, but rather two Ainu men waiting to consult a Dr. Fucasi at a hospital in Hakodate. The image is used to illustrate the following encounter:

Dr. Fucasi ushered them into the apartment, where they beheld two stout-looking savages, clothed in garments made of brown fibre obtained from the bark of a tree: portions of the dresses being decorated with blue bands embroidered with white cotton. Their faces were not like the Japanese: their hair was very soft, and somewhat wavy; their eyebrows, mustaches, and beards were thick and heavy; their foreheads high, broad, and massive; their frames strong and well knit; their noses flat, and their mouths wide; and, though their unkempt hair gave them a somewhat ferocious look, their manners were gentle, and their voices singularly low and musical... The elder of the Ainos, who was a chief, carried a bow and arrows; to the quiver of which were fastened a number of *inaw* (god-sticks), without which these strange people never think of travelling.¹⁵⁷

Although Greey uses the image in a different context, the textual descriptions of the two men seem in line with the physical descriptions previously presented in Bird's text. Based on Stillfried's original photographs, Greey utilizes the image in a fashion to similar to Bird by inviting the reader to once again scrutinize the bodies of the two men. While other images that are printed in *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* seem to merely illustrate a scene or a passing personality, in the case of Bird's frontispiece the reader's visual analysis of the

¹⁵⁶ Below the image is a small caption saying that this engraving was from a photograph loaned by a "Professor Munroe." However, this image is certainly a copy of Bird's engraving, not a new engraving of the same photographs.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

engraving is based on Greey's own. Starting with their mass ("stout savages"), we move on to examine the intricacies of their clothing in regards to color, texture, and design. This is followed by a detailed description of their hair and facial features, which "were not like the Japanese," with their soft, wavy, and thick hair, mustaches, and beards. Furthermore, by describing the "chief" as holding a bow and arrows fastened with *inaw*, carved prayer sticks used to facilitate communication with the gods, Greey successfully re-anchors this specific image to the characters in his own fictional narrative, a strategy that he uses elsewhere over the course of his book. Greey never cites Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* as the source of this image; instead, he says that it was derived from photographs loaned by a "Professor Munroe." Although it is a possibility that Stillfried's original photographs were loaned to Greey, this image is certainly a copy of Bird's engraving, not a new engraving based on the Stillfried's originals.¹⁵⁸

This same caption is also given to another engraving that Greey borrows from *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, the earlier described "Old Ainu Patriarch," a facsimile engraving of a heavily circulated anonymous ethnographic photograph of an Ainu man. Greey's integration of this particular illustration is worth discussing at length. While Bird evokes the paintings of Sir Noel Paton's Christ to simultaneously elevate the image of the Ainu as the "noble savage," and tie the Ainu directly to the debate over the Ainu's "Aryan" origins (by forcing the reader to imagine the Ainu in the guise of a "white" Christ), Greey adopts a strategy quite different. Instead of invoking the "sweet smile," "dreamy brown eyes," and

¹⁵⁸ Greey invokes a "Professor Munroe," but with only the surname listed, it is difficult to know exactly what professor he is referring to. The famous scholar of Ainu studies, Neil Gordon Munroe, who lived in Biratori from 1930, did not arrive in Japan until 1893, roughly ten years after *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* was published. This does not make it absolutely impossible that Munroe loaned Greey the images, but unlikely.

“European rather than Asiatic” features of the man as does Bird, we are given the impression of an uneducated, dirty alcoholic Ainu man drinking (and laughing) alone over the course of Greey’s narration. Greey writes,

They halted at a place called Holaiku-kotan, a mere collection of huts in a clearing, where they were welcomed by a venerable savage, who was said to be a hundred years old. As no one seemed to know his name, the boys addressed him as “Uncle Remus,” which appeared to do just as well as any other. “How he chuckles!” said Fitz. “One would think he understood all we said. I wonder whether he ever took a bath.” Habo was summoned; and soon the patriarch showed that, though the frosts of many winters had whitened his hair, his intelligence, what there was of it, was unimpaired. He said that he was very poor, and would have no objection to taste a little sake...When they parted from him, he chuckled worse than ever, and, leaning on his staff and against the door of his hut, watched them until they were out of sight.¹⁵⁹

This strange interlude is quite curious on a number of levels. Once again, like Greey’s use of the previously mentioned images, he bases his character (and even the way the man leans on his staff) on the engraving itself. However, one word in the narrative—Uncle Remus—has a profound impact on the way that this particular image could be read in contrast to its use by Bird. Maintaining residence and actively publishing in the United States since 1868, Edward Greey would have certainly been cognizant of “Uncle Remus,” the title character and narrator of the well-known book *Uncle Remus: His Songs and Stories*, a collection of African American folktales published in 1880 by Joel Chandler Harris. The book was intensely popular, selling over 7000 copies during its first month in print. Harris, along with the fictionalized Uncle Remus, would become demonized within American culture by the mid-twentieth century. As described by Robert Cochran, critiques of Uncle Remus claimed that “he was a cartoon, an offensive stereotype, an Uncle Tom, the literary creation of a white author with an obvious regional agenda... black traditional tales at their center

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., 67.

obscured by the crude racial stereotypes on their surface. Harris's work was at best a ridiculous idealization of a slave-based plantation society and at worst a bald exploitation of African American culture."¹⁶⁰ While these critiques led to a rejection of the importance of Harris as an author and Uncle Remus as a character in American culture in the twentieth century, Cochran points to the book's subversive potential, with "Uncle Remus" serving as Harris's alter ego, and the book itself promoting a "re-education" of the white audience which primarily consumed it by integrating messages and characters that would never be allowed to thrive outside of the vernacular format of the African American folktale.

The stories, however, contained a wealth of illustrations, and the image of "Uncle Remus" took strong root in American visual culture of the late nineteenth century. The original illustrations for *Uncle Remus, His Songs and His Sayings* were produced by Frederick S. Church (1842–1924), an artist best known for his illustrations of anthropomorphic animals. Privately, Harris was said to be unsatisfied with Church's racial caricatures of Uncle Remus. Dissatisfied or not, Church's illustration of Remus would thrive in the American imagination. Perhaps the most popular illustration of Uncle Remus was a bust of the character that appears on the book's title page. Uncle Remus was almost always depicted with dark skin, balding with white hair, a white beard, and a wide, thick-lipped grin. On the title page, he has a pair of glasses perched on his forehead. For many, this visualization of Remus would fall in line with the "Uncle" or "kindly old darkey" stereotype so prevalent in American visual and literary culture. Merely invoking the name of "Uncle Remus" would cause the reader to conjure the very specific "Uncle Tom" stereotype. As described by David Pilgrim, there were several different iterations of the Uncle Tom

¹⁶⁰ Robert Cochran, "Black Father: The Subversive Achievement of Joel Chandler Harris," *African American Review* 38, no. 1 (April 1, 2004): 21–22.

stereotype, which derived its name from Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). While the original "Uncle Tom" character present in Stowe's novel would portray a loyal, non-complaining slave, the original Uncle Tom was by no means weak or docile. However, with its adaptations for theater, the caricature was transformed into something more along the lines of what we see in Greey's description of the Ainu man. Pilgrim writes, "The versions of Uncle Tom that entertained audiences on stages were drained of these noble traits. He was an unthinking religious slave, sometimes happy, often fearful. Significantly, the stage Toms were middle-aged or elderly. He was shown stooped, often with a cane or stick. He was thin, almost emaciated. His eyesight was failing."¹⁶¹ Although one could argue that Remus is different from the Uncle Tom stereotype, as Cochran does, there are certain visual elements consistent between them that became cemented in American visual culture. Greey's Uncle Remus is certainly a caricatured type, and he carries many of these negative associations of the "Uncle." Looking once again at the engraving, Greey performs a visual analysis different from Bird, and he invites his reader to read this figure as the "Uncle" stereotype, with his "chuckling" a sign of his utter lack of intelligence, except in matters concerning alcohol. The man's lack of a bath invites a comparison between his dirty (and/or darkened) body and the white of his hair; a comparison also made in the case of the popular representation of Uncle Remus. Rather than elevate the image of this man, as Bird does in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*, Greey uses the name "Uncle Remus" to call on his reader's awareness of other popular works to forge a visual comparison between Remus and the Ainu man.

However, as much of the discourse surrounding the Ainu centered on their

¹⁶¹ David Pilgrim, "Tom Caricature," Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia. Ferris State University, accessed August 23, 2014. <http://www.ferris.edu/jimcrow/tom/>

mysterious status as a pseudo-white race, what are we to make of these allusions to the racial typing of African Americans in the United States? What parallel is to be drawn here? When examining *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* as a whole, one can see a range of different opinions about the Ainu, which are brought together by the various fictional characters in Greey's story. Bird's account, on the other hand, takes the form of a travelogue, and we therefore "read" the images that she presents as the truth that she witnessed. However, with *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* being a fictional work, Greey successfully melds together various opinions on the Ainu through the eyes of various characters in his story. While Greey's character of Ota Nambo could be said to represent the official mouthpiece of the Kaitakushi, Professor Jewett often points out the need to improve the Ainu situation, quick to comment on the negative aspects of Japanese control. However, the "Uncle Remus" image is tied to the perspective of Jewett's children, particularly his son Fitz. This is not the only area in the novel where Fitz maintains such an opinion about the Ainu. For example, later in the work he also describes them as a "childlike" people.¹⁶² Nevertheless, in this specific context, the Ainu are not seen as the "noble savage," but rather, as a backwards people plagued by alcoholism, visually recalling the Uncle Tom image of an elderly man, stooped, and leaning on a stick. Ultimately, while this narrative strategy allows Greey to present a diversity of opinion about the Ainu, it also colors the way that the accompanying images are seen by the reader. Despite using the same images, Greey's interpretations of them support conclusions that are quite far removed from Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* published just four years prior.

¹⁶² Greey, 44; 174.

John Batchelor's *Ainu Life and Lore; Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927)

The use of Bird's images did not stop with Greey's *The Bear-Worshippers of Yezo* at the end of the nineteenth century, and would continue well into the twentieth century as shown by John Batchelor's *Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927). Reverend John Batchelor was an Anglican English missionary to the Ainu in Hokkaido, Japan. Often described as the "Father" of the Japanese Ainu, he lived in Hokkaido from 1877 only reluctantly leaving the country in 1941 with the outbreak of the Second World War. Batchelor's publication record is extensive and his works leave an indelible mark on other missionaries, travelers and explorers to Hokkaido. Batchelor was not only instrumental in securing Ainu for participation in the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 (see Chapter 2), but also played a role in creating the Ainu missionary society (*Ainu dendōdan*) which influenced many publications by young Ainu in favor of assimilation through the 1920s (see Chapter 5). While his Ainu-English dictionary continues to be studied by anthropologists and linguists, it was three volumes about Ainu customs, religion, and folk-lore that became the tomes of the Hokkaido traveler: *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (1892), *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (1901), and *Ainu Life and Lore; Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927).¹⁶³ Explorers, anthropologists and scientists alike heavily cite all three volumes, and the photographs and illustrations contained within travel with a life of their own in British and American illustrated and

¹⁶³ John Batchelor, *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1892); John Batchelor, *The Ainu and Their Folk-Lore* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1901); John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1927).

photographic presses.

Although four of Bird's engravings are used in this work, the use of the original frontispiece to the second volume of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* once again proves to be the most interesting. The caption under the image now reads "Two Friends of 1880." Rather than serving as an anonymous illustration, or referring back to Stillfried's original photographs, the caption seems to situate the image specifically in relation to *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* by evoking its publication date of 1880. (It is difficult to pinpoint an exact date of Stillfried's photographs, although they are thought have been taken circa 1872 to 1873). Generally regarded as one of the most important Anglophone voices on Ainu studies at the turn of the twentieth century, Batchelor's words were often taken as fact by travelers and anthropologists alike.¹⁶⁴ Many of the illustrations in *Ainu Life and Lore* are addressed directly by Batchelor in the body of the text, but this engraving stands alone between chapters, not mentioned in the text and labeled only by the caption. However, anyone with knowledge of Bird's work would be familiar with the image. By calling the two men friends, Batchelor's publication corroborates the men's relationship not only with each other, but with Bird as well, and adds a certain perception of truth to the image, despite the fabrication of the engraving's composition. Nevertheless, as Stillfried's original photographs were likely produced around the mid 1870's, Batchelor's time-frame is not too unbelievable. The real identity of the men and women that appear in Stillfried's photographs are currently unknown, even if the possibility exists that the men appearing in

¹⁶⁴ For example, when anthropologist Frederick Starr first met John Batchelor in his quest to find Ainu for the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, he said to John Batchelor, "We depend entirely on you." Starr transcribed fragments of Batchelor's essays in his loose notes, and weighed his opinion heavily. Frederick Starr, "Notebook 5 (Japan 1909–1910)," 1909–1910. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935. Box 15, Folder 8. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

Stillfried's image knew Batchelor. Nevertheless, the appearance of this engraving in Batchelor's *Ainu Life and Lore* raises the possibility of real personal connection with the Ainu pictured, and impacts the perception of Ainu reality for audiences abroad.

The circulation of Stillfried's photographs within and outside of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* ties Bird's text to a larger discourse of Ainu image production in the late nineteenth century. Ultimately, Bird's work becomes just one point in a highly referential network of image sourcing and publication. Unlike today's publishing practices, which require references and citations, these images were freely taken and integrated into new works without any burden on the author or publisher to provide source information, and these practices continued in spite of the copyright laws of Victorian Britain. Although more stringent laws applied to copyrighted text, "Illustrations," historian Rosemary Mitchell argues, "were more in the power of the publisher than texts."¹⁶⁵ Returning to anthropologist Deborah Poole's description of a visual economy described in the introduction, the rampant circulation of these photographs exemplify such a relationship between Japan and Europe. For Poole, a modern visual economy is distinguished by the organization of vision around the "continual production and circulation of interchangeable or serialized image objects and visual experiences" followed by a condition where the "place of the human subject—or observer—is rearticulated to accommodate this highly mobile field of vision."¹⁶⁶ Stillfried's photographs were continually produced and reproduced. As tourist albumen, multiple copies of each photograph were sold from his studio in Yokohama and likely through intermediary brokers. However, these photographs

¹⁶⁵ Rosemary Mitchell, *Picturing the Past: English History in Text and Image, 1830–1870* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 29–30.

¹⁶⁶ Poole, 9.

sparked innumerable iterations and reproductions in travel texts like that of Bird, Reclus, and Siebold among many others. As images of the Ainu, they do indeed become exchangeable, and Bird's Shinondi and Shinrichi, while simultaneously evoking specific characters in her narrative, are rearticulated to fit the image. Or rather, Stillfried's photographs are disarticulated and rearticulated as to match the characters in Bird's story. Circulating in a variety of media, Stillfried's photographs twice, sometimes three times removed reaffirms the role of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* in a larger nineteenth-century photography complex, and its construction of a shared visual vocabulary of Ainu representation.

Conclusion

However, the constructed nature of the frontispiece and its relationship to reproduction technologies in the nineteenth century refuses any pat reading of Bird's travelogue as unmediated truth. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* presents us with a contact zone—an inherently uneven, multi-directional space where bodies, spoken words, images, and texts were exchanged. Rather than read/see the Ainu who appear in Bird's narrative as an indigenous totality when trying to make a strong contrast between Hokkaido and Japan, new lines of inquiry emerge by starting with the premise that Bird's exchanges between the Ainu were hardly equal across gendered lines. On the one hand, this allows us to examine the projection of Bird's self-fashioning as an intrepid explorer in the "impenetrable jungles" of Hokkaido, Japan. On the other hand, Bird's positioning of her own gender (vis-à-vis that of the Ainu she meets) along with her desire for professional recognition only expose her complicity in supporting the very structures that she criticizes.

However, *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* also occasions the analysis of a different kind of “contact”; one that is unidirectional and not reciprocated by the Ainu at all. Although perhaps Bird’s descriptions present cause to consider the physical contact between her and the Ainu men and woman she describes, her reader has no such physical contact, or exchange of spoken words, images, or texts. Regardless of this lack of “physical” contact, the reader walks away with an overwhelming sense of knowledge about the Ainu Other, almost as if they had seen them with their own eyes. *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* does not only describe the Ainu, but its visuals beckon the reader to carry out their own analysis of the Ainu as presented: the hair on their bodies, their clothing, their gesture, their expression. It prompts not just textual, but visual analysis. This would become even more important before the real “encounters” sought by travelers both in Hokkaido and staged at the 1904 St. Louis World’s Fair.

The relationship between text, image and reproduction in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* illuminates the improvised nature of Isabella Bird’s image use. Although the illustrations consistently support her textual narrative, they were grounded in context to facilitate comparison across a body of images that were stylistically dissimilar. The Victorian practice of engraving from a variety of sources was not unique to Bird’s work, but the images of the Ainu that resulted from the process were flexible inscriptions that could be repeatedly bent to the Anglophone author’s will and purpose. Edward Greedy’s use of images—including the engravings found in Bird—to illustrate a fictive story provides one salient example of the pliability of the visual document. The continued appropriation of the engravings found in *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* in later works such as Batchelor’s *Ainu Life and Lore* demonstrates how a small body of images could come to construct the “Ainu”

along both colonial and gendered lines for general Anglophone readers who would never actually travel to Japan beyond the confines of a travelogue.

CHAPTER 2

Narrating a Multi-Layered Visual Experience at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition: W. J. McGee, Frederick Starr, and Pete Gorō

"The Maid of Ainos"

I

I was looking for a prehistoric man—
A much bedusted, dirt-encrusted man—
 The one and only neolith,
 Yes, scarce, and mostly clothed in myth—
O, I was looking for a prehistoric, quite barbaric man

Well, the other day as I was looking 'round
And exploring in a boring in the ground—
 As I strolled on down a woodland glade
 I met a prehistoric maid
And I asked her for a prehistoric, quite barbaric man
 And she said—

Chorus

So you know this island's Aino?
Well, you don't know what you're in;
I know this island's Aino
'Cause Aino it's always been;
And if this island's Aino,
Why you know it stays just so—
And I know you know that I know
'Cause I know Aino—o—o—

II

Now this prehistoric maiden caught my eye—
Yes, she reached right up and caught it on the fly—
 There was no lynx-eyed chaperone,
 To spoil this Mesozoic zone
And she breathed a prehistoric, soporific sight—
I forgot I was a scientific man—
I forgot I was a prof., sometimes I can!
 We sat on ledges various
 And though 'twas quite precarious
I held her little prehistoric, Cenozoic hand
And I said—

Chorus

Won't you hand the other hand dear?
There now, and this hand, too!
Why, isn't this hand handy!
Now I'll hand my hand to you.
Oh, both your hands are handsome—
Bandy hands would never do—
So hand in hand we'll amble
This island Aino through

III

We were sitting thus when sudden up there ran—
A prehistoric, quite horrific man.
 He wore a yellow-green complexion—
 His hair stuck out in each direction—
Oh, he was a prehistoric, quite barbaric man.
When we saw this maid he winked his savage eye—
He hopped around, his arms a-going spry—
 As his hair stuck up alarming—
 Oh, I left this maiden charming—
And I left this prehistoric, diabolic, crazy, foolish man.

Chorus [same as first only substitute for 6th line]

Why, you know it's time to go!

—Riley H. Allen in a letter to Frederick Starr, ca. 1904¹⁶⁷

Riley H. Allen, the editor of *The Honolulu-Star Bulletin*, hand-wrote the above song titled “Maid of Ainos” in a three-page letter to University of Chicago anthropologist Frederick Starr. Hidden within Starr’s correspondence, it was likely sent around the time of the 1904 St. Louis Exposition when indigenous peoples, including a group of nine Ainu from

¹⁶⁷ Riley H. Allen, Letter to Frederick Starr, undated. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935, Box 1, Folder 1. Special Collection Research Center, University of Chicago.

Hokkaido, Japan, were brought to the fair for a living ethnological exhibition in order to demonstrate the various stages of civilization; a mode of thinking inspired by the social application of theories of natural selection developed by Charles Darwin and Herbert Spencer.

While anthropologists and scientists alike hotly debated the Ainu's "race" as an indigenous white people surrounded by Asians, the American public grasped onto specific stereotypes of Ainu appearance. Although one man's lyrical fantasy, the song nevertheless resonates with what an American audience may have hoped to see by coming to the living Ainu exhibit in the native village at the St. Louis Exposition. At the heart of the song is the association of the Ainu with the living prehistoric, an Ainu stereotype that circulated widely in travelogues, world histories, and newspapers. Anthropologists and lay travelers alike speculated that the Ainu were a living remnant of an ancient people, or the last surviving ancestors of the ancient Japanese Jōmon race.¹⁶⁸ (Although very few would have gone as far as saying the Ainu were "Mesozoic" in origin).¹⁶⁹ Sent to Starr, the anthropologist in charge of securing an Ainu group for the Exposition, the song playfully parodies the quest of the explorer, anthropologist, or even archaeologist. The writer imagines a scientist asking for the "prehistoric, quite barbaric man," who is described as almost fossil-like with his "bedusted" and "dirt-encrusted" Neolithic body. The Ainu maiden (or "Ainu Maid" or "Ainu Belle" as she was frequently called in American newspapers) also conforms to early-

¹⁶⁸ The Jōmon period of Japanese history constitutes Japan's Neolithic period, and can be arguably dated from 10,500 BCE to 300 BCE. Many travelers to Hokkaido speculated that the Ainu were the ancient Jōmon people living through the present.

¹⁶⁹ The Mesozoic era (or "Middle Life" era) is often called the "Age of Reptiles," and spans from roughly 252 to 66 million years ago. It is divided into three periods: Triassic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous. It would be succeeded by the Cenozoic period, which covers 66 million years ago until present day.

twentieth century stereotypes of the young, beautiful Ainu woman; an image that is quite different from the ugly hag described by late nineteenth-century explorers like Isabella Bird seen in Chapter One. But the woman here, with her “little Cenozoic hand,” contrasts significantly to the “horrific” sight of the Ainu man in the third verse. The Ainu man is no longer described as having Christ-like features and an auburn gleam in his hair, as written in Bird’s account. Instead, Allen’s Ainu is described as having a “yellow-green complexion,” and “hair stuck out in each direction.” The scientist leaves the “charming” maiden at the sight of the “prehistoric, diabolic, crazy, foolish man,” who is hopping around with “arms a-going spry.” This contrast between the young and beautiful Ainu maid and the old Ainu man with unruly hair all over his body would be played out in early twentieth-century newspapers, leaving many fair-goers disappointed at the relatively tame sight of the real Ainu in St. Louis.

The Ainu’s presence at the St. Louis Exposition has not escaped scholarly attention, and several careful studies have been conducted in both English and Japanese. While anthropologist James VanStone outlined Frederick Starr’s trip to Hokkaido to procure the Ainu group based on his personal papers, Danika Medak-Saltzman interrogates the experiences and connections between the Ainu and other indigenous peoples at the fair as represented in photography. The most comprehensive treatment of the Ainu at the St. Louis Exposition to date has been conducted by Miyatake Kimio in his 2010 *Umi o watatta Ainu : senjūmin tenji to futatsu no hakurankai* (Ainu Who Crossed Oceans: Ainu Exhibitions at Two World’s Fairs), where he discusses Ainu experiences abroad.¹⁷⁰ I will retread some

¹⁷⁰ Miyatake Kimio, *Umi o watatta Ainu: senjūmin tenji to futatsu no hakurankai* (Ainu Who Crossed Oceans: Ainu Exhibitions at Two World’s Fairs) (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 2010).

familiar ground addressed by these scholars to discuss the vision of the Ainu exhibit in St. Louis. But this chapter approaches the St. Louis Exposition obliquely to consider the significance of art and anthropological collecting in constructing a vision of the fair, arguing that these two pursuits were often closer than we might believe. Following the direction of previous scholarly writing on the Ainu group at the St. Louis Exposition, this chapter recognizes the experiences and cultural productions of indigenous peoples at the fair. But while clarifying the nature of these experiences, such as those of fair participants Pete Gorō or Hiramura Shutrateg, this chapter also investigates how the reproduction of fairground photographs in mass media served to flatten and ultimately erase these moments of indigenous agency in favor of the stereotypical Ainu narrative of primitivity and backwardness discussed in Chapter One.

Vision of a Universal Exposition, W. J. McGee

Commemorating the centennial of the 1803 Louisiana Purchase, the St. Louis Exposition opened to the public on April 30, 1904.¹⁷¹ The exposition, also known as the Louisiana Purchase Exposition or the St. Louis World's Fair, greeted an opening crowd of over 200,000 people, and sought to equate the country's growth and economic progress to the success of America's westward expansion.¹⁷² The fairgrounds contained close to 1,500

¹⁷¹ The Louisiana Purchase refers to the United States acquisition of the Louisiana territory from France in 1803. The territory spanned 828,000 miles, and averaged a cost of 4 cents per acre (42 cents by modern standards).

¹⁷² The Louisiana Purchase Exposition is often referred to as the St. Louis Exposition. However, from the 1850s until the beginning of the world's fair preparations in 1902, the St. Louis Exposition (or St. Louis Expo) was held annually to display agricultural and technical achievements. In this dissertation, St. Louis Exposition refers to the 1904 world's fair and not these previous expositions.

buildings and several grand palaces in the newly renovated space of Forest Park.¹⁷³ By the time of its closing on December 1st, 1904, an impressive twenty million visitors entered through the gates to partake in the sights and festivities. Nobody captures the spirit of the fair better than the grandiloquent Marshall Everett (1863–1939), author of *The Book of the Fair: The Greatest Exposition the World Has Ever Seen Photographed and Explained, A Panorama of the St. Louis Exposition*. In the preface to the volume, he declares the magnificence of the fair, stating, “All that is or has been awaits the studious visitor, to yield to him vast stores of knowledge when subjected to his close scrutiny. Indeed someone has said that were a dire disaster to befall, bringing chaos and ruin to all the world save the Louisiana Purchase Exposition enclosure, civilization, order and current conditions could be restored from the fragments of influence of the fair and its classified treasures.”¹⁷⁴ The treasures that Everett refers to here include exhibitions of industry, government, and entertainment from sixty-two foreign nations, the government of the United States, and forty-three of the then forty-five U.S. states. In fact, more foreign nations participated in the St. Louis Exposition than all preceding international expositions.¹⁷⁵

However, in addition to foreign nations, the fair also brought together a wide variety of indigenous peoples from the United States and around the globe for the benefit of fair attendees. As described by another official publication, after walking through the ivory

¹⁷³ Missouri Historical Society, “Overview,” The 1904 World’s Fair: Looking Back at Looking Forward, Online Exhibition. Accessed May 5, 2015.

<http://www.mohistory.org/exhibits/Fair/WF/HTML/Overview/>

¹⁷⁴ Marshall Everett, *The Book of the Fair: The Greatest Exposition the World Has Ever Seen Photographed and Explained, A Panorama of the St. Louis Exposition* (Chicago: Henry Neil, 1904), author’s preface.

¹⁷⁵ Missouri Historical Society, “About,” The 1904 World’s Fair: Looking Back at Looking Forward, Online Exhibition. Accessed May 5, 2015.

<http://www.mohistory.org/exhibits/Fair/WF/HTML/About/>

gates, fair-goers would experience,

...the living color-page of story land, of nursery rhyme, and the days when tales were young, beams on the fantastic scenery. The Arabian Nights flashed in the noonday sun. Ancient religion with all their glamour of mystery and heathen splendor yielded the solemn note to the pageant, and the types of these different peoples were personated : Chinese, Japanese, Russians, Tyrolese, Irish, French, Italians, Persians, Turks, Burmese, Singhalese, Filipinos, Esquimaux, Spaniards, Egyptians, Indians, Hindoos, Boers, Zulus, Kaffirs, Jews, Bohemians, Assyrians, Bedouins, Hawaiian Islanders, Kanakas, head hunters of Borneo, Grecians, Negroes, Arabians, Germans, Patagonian Giants, African pigmies [sic], hairy Ainus, and several Americans.¹⁷⁶

Although this description seems to democratize the wide variety of nations and peoples at the fair, it overlooks the role that each group was expected to play in the overall vision of the exposition itself. The main idea of the fair, as presented in *The Universal Exposition of 1904: Its Story and Purpose* reads as follows:

The Exposition will be international in its character. Every country in the world has been invited to participate, and to participate by sending its best, and that to the fullest extent... As to the lesson for the world, the Directorate desire to make a leading point. It is to show life and movement, really to let the Exhibition form a roll of honor of man, and the works of man in his industries and crafts. The intention is to present the conspicuous progress made in the employment of the energies of nature, and in useful invention and discovery. In fact, St. Louis for the time being, will be an epitome of the whole world. It will illustrate man in all lines, sorts, and conditions, from the barbarous and semi-barbarous to the most cultured races in their life, their work, their play, and their rest. An attempt will be made to put the world before the eye of the visitor, each exhibit being so displayed as to make plain its story, its purpose, and its aim.¹⁷⁷

The “roll of honor of man” described here refers to the “civilizational ladder” of Social

¹⁷⁶ Murat Halstead, *Pictorial History of the Louisiana Purchase and the World's Fair at St. Louis: containing captivating descriptions of magnificent buildings at the world-renowned exposition, gardens and cascades, colossal structures and marvelous exhibits, such as works of art, scientific and industrial achievements, the latest inventions, discoveries, etc. etc. including an account of all the world's fairs for a century* (Philadelphia: Frank S. Brant, 1904), 296.

¹⁷⁷ Louisiana Purchase Exposition, *The Universal Exposition of 1904: Its Story and Purpose* (St. Louis: s.n., 1904), 2.

Darwinism; an ideology enthusiastically embraced by the fair organizers.¹⁷⁸ In the late 1870s, the biological theory of natural selection promoted in *On the Origin of Species* (1859) by Charles Darwin (1809–1882) and the concept of “survival of the fittest” coined by Herbert Spencer (1820–1903) came to be applied to political and societal arenas. With only a limited understanding of its operation in the biological sciences, a range of people—from anthropologists to politicians—applied the logic of natural selection to the struggle between races and nations. Race was used to place people on a hierarchical scale, with the most Caucasian (and “civilized”) groups at the top, and African indigenous peoples, in addition to other “darker” bodies, at the bottom. It was thought that by adopting institutions, dress, and language from the Western world, these peoples could, in a sense, elevate their position on this ladder, even if skin tone often precluded the possibility of their realizing the highest levels of civilization. The St. Louis Exposition adopted these ideologies and promoted the “advancement” of lesser peoples as a major mission. As described by the organizer of the anthropology exhibits, William John McGee (1853–1912, hereafter W. J. McGee), “The motif of all the exhibits of primitive men and their arts is simple—it is that of illustrating the best ways of bearing the white man's burden, of lifting the lowly of the earth to the plans of higher humanity.”¹⁷⁹ While the native exhibits were intended to educate an American audience about more “primitive” ways of life, the fair was also meant to enlighten these natives through their contact with American fairgoers.

The decision to bring the Hokkaido Ainu to St. Louis was not arbitrary, and was made largely in response to these theories. The Ainu also served as a convenient

¹⁷⁸ Social Darwinism is the contemporary term used for this line of thinking; the proponents of this sort of thinking would not have described themselves as such.

¹⁷⁹ W. J. McGee, Letter to undisclosed recipient, October 6, 1903. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 7, Folder 1. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

comparison in a triangulated relationship with Western nations and Japan. McGee offered the following explanation in a letter to Japanese government official Hajima Ota regarding his “special motive” for choosing the Ainu for display:

...The general motive of the ethnologic exhibit is to illustrate the marvelous industrial development of modern times by contrast with the industries of various aboriginal peoples; and my special motive in desiring to enlist an Ainu group is to illustrate the enormous advances of the Japanese people in recent times beyond the industrial standards of her aboriginal tribes. There is an additional reason for desiring to exhibit the Ainu people, in that they represent better than any other living aborigines that industrial stage in which habitual movements are centripetal, or inward, rather than centrifugal, or outward like those of modern Japanese and the more advanced Caucasian...¹⁸⁰

McGee’s figuration of indigenous identity here forecloses the possibility of being simultaneously “modern” and “aboriginal”; the Ainu, like other native groups at the fair, were to illustrate the primitive past of peoples who have not yet reached higher levels of civilization, when compared to the “marvelous industrial development of modern times” seen in countries like the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and France. McGee notes here, as in other publications, that the Ainu serve as a point of contrast with the Japanese in attendance at the Exposition, showing just how far Japan had come in its efforts to modernize in a Western idiom.

Although McGee places the Ainu in the lowest position in racial hierarchy below Caucasians and the Japanese, not all anthropologists arrived at this conclusion. Often, the Ainu’s ambiguous origins as a “proto-white” race led to their evaluation as having a greater potential for civilization than the Japanese, and the poor treatment of the Ainu by the Japanese authorities led to “protective measures” meant to save the Ainu, which included

¹⁸⁰ W. J. McGee, Letter to Hajima Ota, January 12, 1904. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935, Box 2, Folder 7 (1904). Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

the intense documentation and collection of Ainu material in the late nineteenth century.¹⁸¹ However it is crucial to note that the fervent promotion of civilizational advancement simultaneously furthered the pervasive image of indigenous peoples as “vanishing races,” unable to hold onto their traditional ways of life against the lure (and threat) of modernity. So while McGee and the other fair organizers encouraged the indigenous peoples to learn from their time in St. Louis—which they did in their confrontations with the American fairgoers and other indigenous groups—they were also brought to the exposition for the purposes of salvaging, collecting, and ultimately preserving their culture in the face of its perceived disappearance. In this sense, the Ainu, like various Native American groups, were forced into an impossible situation that ignored the possibility of a modernizing indigenous culture. For anthropologists like McGee, the native either remained the primitive picturesque, or abandoned it for assimilation into the dominant culture.

This vexed relationship between the Ainu, the Caucasian, and the Japanese was actualized in the spatial layout of the fair itself. On the one hand, from a bird’s eye view of the fairgrounds, this division between the Japanese and the Ainu is well-maintained. The two homes of the Ainu (*chise*) were located amongst those of other indigenous peoples among the living ethnological exhibits, only labeled as a large group of “anthropological exhibits” on most maps of the grounds, while Japan was placed among other foreign nations. Another letter from McGee on October 6, 1903 described the organization of the living ethnological exhibits.

Among the outdoor exhibits off the Ethnologic Section will be groups, each of two or three families, representing the Akka tribe of the Upper Congo, and the Tehuelche tribe of the Straits of Magellan—the pygmies and giants of the world's people. The

¹⁸¹ See the introduction to this dissertation for a recap of these debates.

former tribe also represents (with possible exception of the Australian Blackfellows) the lowest known human culture; and it may be anticipated that scientific students of anthropology from various countries will profit by critical study of the language, arts, social organization, and beliefs of the little people, while visitors will find them of interest as natural curiosities. These primitive folk will be immediately adjacent to the Filipinos... Adjacent spaces have been allotted to a group of Ainu people, representing the aborigines of Japan and still retaining primitive arts and industrial devices which stand in strong contrast to those of the highly developed Japanese...¹⁸²

McGee's description of the fair organization and the Ainu's place within it evidences his subscription to the ideologies of Social Darwinism. More advanced than the Akka tribe of the Upper Congo, "the lowest known human culture" excepting the Australian Blackfellows, the Ainu were placed in a continuum of peoples progressively ranked according to their level of civilization. While the Japanese commission had its national exhibits alongside other foreign countries, the Ainu were located inside of the native village to facilitate easy comparison with other native peoples. So while McGee explains the utility of including Ainu in the fair as a good comparison with a more modernized Japan, the interaction between the Japanese Commission and the Ainu was actually quite limited, and there were few opportunities for side-by-side comparison of their culture.

In fact, while McGee clearly voices the Ainu's comparison with Japan as an incentive for the Japanese government to give permission for taking Ainu individuals to St. Louis, this was not a Japanese exhibit, or even a true collaboration with Japan, as some scholars, such as Carol Ann Christ, suggest.¹⁸³ Instead, the Ainu exhibit was planned, coordinated,

¹⁸² W. J. McGee, Letter to undisclosed recipient, October 6, 1903. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 7, Folder 1. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

¹⁸³ These points are argued by Carol Ann Christ in her analysis of Japanese and Chinese exhibits in St. Louis. She also mistakenly reports that "eight good specimens" were brought to the fair, when there were actually nine Ainu in attendance. Pete Gorō was often seen as a poor specimen of the Ainu race due to his Japanized lifestyle. See: Carol Ann Christ, "The Sole Guardians of the Art

organized, and overseen by American anthropologists, with one Japanese translator hired by American anthropologist Frederick Starr during his expedition to find the Ainu.¹⁸⁴ Hokkaido only played a limited role within the actual Japanese exhibits, and was used as an example that demonstrated the success and extent of Japanese development and industry in a newly acquired part of its empire, primarily in its fisheries.¹⁸⁵

Finding Bodies for Display, a Reconsideration of Frederick Starr as a Collector

Although acquiring Ainu for the St. Louis Exposition was initially the brain child of W. J. McGee, most of the credit for the Ainu group was bestowed upon anthropologist Frederick Starr, a University of Chicago professor best known for his work in South America and the Congo. Starr was solicited by McGee to make the trip to Hokkaido. The Ainu did not figure into early designs for the anthropological exhibits, and letters between McGee and Starr in 1903 indicated some doubt over whether or not Starr's trip to Japan would even take place. But he did eventually embark for Hokkaido via Yokohama. Just in time for the fair in 1904, a group of nine Ainu—four men, three women, and two children—were brought to the United States by Starr to participate in the living ethnological exhibit.

Inheritance of Asia': Japan and China at the 1904 St. Louis World's Fair," *positions* 8, no. 3 (Winter 2000), 678; 680; 688.

¹⁸⁴ The original contract between the seven adult Ainu and Frederick Starr still exists in its original form in the papers of W. J. McGee. It is handwritten by Starr, and signed via *hanko* (seal) by the adult Ainu participants, with John Batchelor as a witness on March 2, 1904. The contract clearly states that the Ainu were under the order of W. J. McGee or someone appointed by him. A separate contract between Inagaki Yoichiro was handwritten and signed by Starr and Inagaki, with Batchelor as a witness one day prior. The Chief Commissioner of the Japanese Commission (Tejima Seiichi) acknowledged these contracts as valid in a letter to W. J. McGee on March 16th, 1904. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 19, Folder 3. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

¹⁸⁵ Suisankyoku (Japanese Imperial Fisheries Bure[au]), Nōshōmushō (Department of Agriculture and Commerce), *Japan: special catalog: fishing industry descriptive catalogue*. (Tokyo: Tokyo Printing Company, 1904), 1–33.

McGee on behalf of Starr and the Exposition secured many of the early permissions for the journey.

Starr traveled to Japan with his Mexican assistant and photographer Manuel Gonzales in order to procure some Ainu for these purposes. Traveling from Hakodate, Starr searched for what he called the "grey beards," or Ainu that best fit the American and European stereotype of the hairy Ainu wild man imagined by Riley H. Allen in his song. Although this image prevailed as the dominant stereotype of Ainu men, Meiji-era assimilation policies made it difficult for Starr to find Ainu with culture and lifestyles that he perceived as authentic. He wanted bearded Ainu men and tattooed women at the moment when beards were being shaved off and tattooing discouraged by Meiji-period officials. Starr participated in a search for Ainu authenticity previously carried out by British explorers, such as Isabella Bird in 1880 (see Chapter 1), and A. H. Savage Landor in 1893 (see Chapter 3). All of these travelers including Starr subscribed to the idea that the Ainu were on the verge of vanishing from existence, but while the journeys of Bird and Landor were largely personal, Starr's Hokkaido adventure was conducted as official anthropological business in the region. Starr would not be the last visitor to Ainu villages in search of the untouched native, and this quest can be seen in the accounts of later travelers like German-American photographer Arnold Genthe in 1908 and Japanese artist Kondō Kōichiro in 1917 (see Chapters 3 and 4).

Starr's journey is presented in a fairly matter-of-fact manner in his personal travel journals, and he has left behind a rich archive of material pertaining to the 1904 St. Louis Exposition. He kept a journal which formed the basis of his prominent publication, *The Ainu Group at the St. Louis Exposition* (1904), in addition to a more succinct daily log, records of

purchases and transactions, and many letters to McGee, Starr's mother, and other professional acquaintances. Gonzales also left journals that document the 1904 trip (including drawings) in Spanish. Anthropologist James VanStone has already described Starr's trip in depth based on these archival materials.¹⁸⁶ On the steamer to Japan, he took the time to read existing literature on the Ainu and chart his plan of action once he reached Japanese shores. After reaching land in Yokohama, it was only a matter of time before Starr would make it to Hakodate and then on to Sapporo and Hokkaido's interior in search of an Ainu group for the St. Louis Exposition.

In addition to convincing actual Ainu to make the daunting trip to Missouri, Starr was also tasked with amassing ethnographic objects for study and display. He dutifully took notes on potential leads, and acquired a range of Ainu objects at a time when Meiji-era assimilation policies made it easier for Ainu communities to part with traditional objects after they were made obsolete.¹⁸⁷ The objects Starr secured formed the basis of an impressive collection of Ainu artifacts maintained by him and his assistant. In searching for these objects, he encountered a range of intermediaries: the self-proclaimed "Japanese Robinson Crusoe" Oyabe Jenichiro,¹⁸⁸ the botanist Miyabe Kingo, and the British missionary to the Ainu, John Batchelor. Traveling far and wide in his search for objects, Starr often highlighted the trials and tribulations of securing specific items in his journal,

¹⁸⁶ James W. VanStone, "The Ainu Group at the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904," *Arctic Anthropology* 30, no. 2 (1993): 77–91.

¹⁸⁷ Yoshinobu Kotani documents the types of items collected by American museums, such as the objects purchased by Frederick Starr. Although certain ceremonies continued to be performed, many items related to subsistence living would be relinquished during the 1880s and 1890s. For full summary of these practices, see: Kotani, 140.

¹⁸⁸ Oyabe published a book detailing his experiences in America as he transformed from a Meiji period gentlemen to a "Japanese Yankee." However, he was also known for spending time amongst the Ainu as a self-trained ethnographer. Oyabe Jenichiro, *A Japanese Robinson Crusoe* (Boston and Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1898).

and his thorough accounting reveals the complexity of early collector networks in Japan.

However, while Starr conducted this search for the Ainu and objects needed for the living ethnological display, he also began a more personal search of a different variety for Ainu objects and curiosities, most notably Ainu "kakemono" or hanging scrolls. Although Starr was an anthropologist by trade, he also had an eye for art. While Starr's adventure in Hokkaido is often only addressed within the realm of anthropology, the line between the anthropological sciences and the fine arts was far more blurry than contemporary scholarship admits. In his writing, for example, he constantly lauds Japanese geographer and explorer Matsuura Takeshirō for his *artistic* prowess.

Matsuura, the geographer who was instrumental in the naming of Hokkaido, was well known for his criticism of Matsumae domination over the Ainu in the late Tokugawa period. Although Matsuura was sent to Hokkaido on official business, he is often praised for his thorough and sensitive depictions of Ainu culture through the early Meiji period—an artistic pursuit that is largely viewed as a personal, not official, endeavor.¹⁸⁹ Scholars like Shinmyō Hidehito and Sasaki Toshikazu have argued for a reevaluation of Ainu-e and the work of Matsuura with regard to its place in Japanese art history, from which it has largely been absent.¹⁹⁰ To this effect, Shinmyō considers the reasons for this oversight: "This [the neglect of Ainu-e in art history] is due largely to the fact that there were a number of reproductions made, while the original works were either scattered or lost."¹⁹¹ A simpler explanation might be that works pertaining to the Ainu, including those by Matsuura, are seen as either anthropological or only as a topic of special interest within studies of art.

¹⁸⁹ Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū*, 161.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 161; Shinmyō, 1–270.

¹⁹¹ Shinmyō, 270.

Nevertheless, Matsuura's legacy of exploration tends to overshadow any academic treatment of artistic production. Starr was very much ahead of his time in his desire to seek and promote works by Matsuura as art, and the struggle to restore prominence to his legacy and artistic oeuvre is currently being undertaken by art historians of the twenty-first century.

Unfortunately for Starr, Matsuura passed away in 1888, sixteen years before Starr's first arrival on Japanese shores. Although never encountering him in the flesh, Starr's passion for the geographer caused him to publish a short biography of his life, where he writes:

That the Japanese are impersonal is a trite and commonplace observation... It is, however, also true and not inconsistent with this quality of impersonality that the Japanese are to an extraordinary degree free and untrammelled [sic] in their tastes...

A striking example of this originality in a population marked by impersonality and non-individualism is found in Matsuura Takeshiro. He was a man of great ability and power, remarkably original, and of an independence in which many individualistic communities would scarcely have been tolerated.¹⁹²

Although a diversion from Starr's primary task, Matsuura's hybrid identity as scientist/artist must have been appealing to Starr, who felt a certain kind of sympathy with the deceased geographer. Although Starr was not known to paint himself, he took pride in his extensive collection of paintings and photographs, curating them in thematic exhibitions such as one focusing on Mount Fuji in 1916 (which, of course, featured a work by Matsuura).

Starr seems to have appreciated Matsuura's work beyond his Ainu-e, which only

¹⁹² Frederick Starr, "The Old Geographer: Matsuura Takeshiro," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 44, no. 1 (1916): 1.

formed a small portion of Matsuura's oeuvre. According to the research of Shinmyō, of his 198 works there are fifty-six with a relationship to Ezo.¹⁹³ With works produced on all areas of Japan, a complete evaluation of Matsuura's oeuvre is difficult, but it is sufficient to say that his Ezo-related paintings occupied an important place in his overall body of work.¹⁹⁴ Contemporary art historical analysis seems to coincide with Starr's own evaluation of Matsuura, and he is often portrayed as a first-class literati. He traveled across all regions of Japan on pilgrimages and Bakufu-sponsored expeditions, creating numerous documents and paintings in the process. In addition, he had numerous exchanges with a number of important personages. He was also known to have connection to prominent painters Tomioka Tessai, Watanabe Shōka, Kikuchi Yosai, and Kawanabe Kyōsai.¹⁹⁵ Described by Shinmyō in a fashion similar to Starr, "His [Matsuura's] paintings are free and open-minded (*jiyū kattatsu*), often omitting the details, and do not adhere to one particular painting style or school; a literati style of painting, so to speak."¹⁹⁶ His paintings and the woodblock prints created from them are described as embodying a compelling "simplicity and force."¹⁹⁷ In a description of a hanging scroll of Ainu gathering kelp in the possession of Miyabe Kingo, Starr describes the work as "...a very simple piece, done with a few lines, but exceedingly good."¹⁹⁸ He expands this description in his book, writing: "It is a simple picture, of few lines and delicate coloring, but *it is living*."¹⁹⁹ Despite the death of Matsuura,

¹⁹³ Shinmyō, 270.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., 181.

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., 181.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., 181.

¹⁹⁷ Starr, "The Old Geographer: Matsuura Takeshiro," 1–2.

¹⁹⁸ Frederick Starr, "Notebook 2 (Japan 1904)," 1904. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935, Box 15, Folder 2. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

¹⁹⁹ Frederick Starr, *The Ainu Group at the Saint Louis Exposition* (Chicago: Open Court Publishing Company, 1904), 73.

Starr imbues his work with a sense of life in his textual description. Although I was unable to locate this particular hanging scroll, Starr took several photos of Matsuura's paintings that may have had a similar aesthetic, and many of Matsuura's woodblock printed works are still extant. In comparison to other artists of Ainu-e, whose work Starr would have undoubtedly come into contact with through his intensive search, Matsuura's hanging scrolls capture vibrant motion in a looser style of ink on paper. Ainu beards are constructed through a series of looping strokes and the bodies in the festival scene here convey the rhythm of dance not through context, but through repetition of form and a heavily modulated line (Figure 19).



Figure 19: Illustration from Matsuura Takeshiro, *Ezo manga*, 1859. University of Michigan, digitized by Google.



Figure 20: Map of Matsuura Takeshiro. Reprinted from Ishikari nisshi, 1860. University of Wisconsin Digital Collections. <http://digital.library.wisc.edu/1711.dl/EastAsian.Ishikari>

While Starr offers an artistic evaluation of Matsuura's talent, he approaches Matsuura's cartographic renderings of the northern coast in an entirely different manner (Figure 20). Matsuura's representations of the Ainu stand in extreme contrast to his maps and illustrations of Hokkaido's flora and fauna, which are stark in their realism. In describing Matsuura's maps, Starr writes:

We were impressed by the wonderful detail in the old map; the painstaking care and fidelity were notable and spoke eloquently for the accurate and honest effort of the old geographer. Matsuura's notebooks made in the field with careful accuracy were marvels of diligence. He observed everything—plants, animals, human beings, life, customs, products, soils, topography, altitudes, drainage, coastlines.²⁰⁰

Apart from the fluid bodies of Matsuura's Ainu figures, I argue that Starr values Matsuura's other productions not as an artist, but as a scientist/geographer. It is his painstaking accuracy that elicits praise, even though the heavy modulated line that compromised Ainu bodies can still be seen in his undulating rivers, crawling like veins through the Hokkaido countryside. His maps contain the breath of life Starr notes earlier. Unable to read but limited Japanese, Starr's appreciation of Matsuura's works was primarily visual. While the claims of originality that Starr obsesses over in his writing on Matsuura may pertain to his artistic style, Matsuura's content was not always based solely on his own experiences. For example, Matsuura's *Ezo manga*, one of his most circulated works meant for those who were not familiar with "Ezo," borrowed heavily from the *Ezo-shima kikan* and the *Ezo-seikei zusetu* by Murakami Shimanōjō (Hata Awakimaro), a work that Matsuura himself had a great deal of respect for, creating a copy of it prior to publishing *Ezo manga*.²⁰¹ Ironically, these are also the same works that European explorers such as Isabella Bird and Edward Greay cited in their travelogues and novels about the Ainu addressed in Chapter One.²⁰² As noted by Sasaki Toshikazu, Matsuura's work is not without error, even if it has value as an ethnographic document.²⁰³

Starr described Matsuura as a man of art and science with a taste for exploration.

²⁰⁰ Starr, "The Old Geographer: Matsuura Takeshiro," 7.

²⁰¹ Sasaki, *Ainu-e shi no kenkyū*, 161.

²⁰² *Ibid.*, 161.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, 161.

These same concerns preoccupied Starr's own work and public identity, and it might be possible that Starr saw Matsuura as a kindred spirit. His desire to know Matsuura also manifested in an extremely literal way in that he tried to get as close as possible to people and places associated with the dead geographer. With his assistant, Starr traveled not only to see Matsuura's *nehanzu* portrait (painted by Kawanabe Kyōsai in 1886), where Matsuura takes the place of the Buddha Shakyamuni in his parinirvana, laid to rest under the "Hokkaido Tree," but he also went to one of two sites where Matsuura's remains were laid to rest and photographed the monument to commemorate the occasion.²⁰⁴ Starr also went out of his way to meet with family and friends of the geographer, including his nephew, during his second trip to Hokkaido in 1909.

Starr's encounter with the work of Matsuura is important when considering the role of "art" in the practice of ethnographic collecting. After all, the trip to Hokkaido was a function of Starr's professional responsibility. For Starr, this meant gathering and cataloging not only the typical textiles and implements of the Ainu, but also amassing examples of their representation produced by early Japanese explorers and anthropologists. A crucial part of Starr's anthropological project was collecting studio photographs, postcards, and secondary texts that would inform his own analysis, in addition to artistic renderings of the Ainu that Starr would keep personally. In this sense, like the personality of Matsuura, for Starr "art" and "science" were not necessarily pursued as separate endeavors evidenced by his own collecting habits. The study of the Ainu

²⁰⁴ The term *nehanzu* refers to a genre painting of the historical Buddha's parinirvana. A study of Kawanabe Kyōsai's painting is currently being undertaken by historian Henry D. Smith. The painting is located in the collection of the Matsuura Takeshirō Museum in Matsutaka. Matsuura was alive at the time of the painting's completion in 1886, despite the fact that he is shown dying like the Buddha. Known for being an antiquarian himself, he is shown surrounded by over 150 discrete objects from his own collection.

automatically engaged with anthropologists, geographers, botanists, in addition to collectors and artists.

Although Starr continued collecting Ainu objects through his second visit to Japan in 1909, his fervent passion for the Ainu would eventually decline. He sold off his Ainu collection in two parts (1911 and 1913), but held on to works produced by Matsuura. The fruitful connections that he forged among a group of amateur collectors primed a shift from Ainu ethnographic objects to a passion for Japanese dolls and toys.²⁰⁵ His intensive search for Ainu men and women for display in the fair coincided with an equally fervent search for and appreciation of art objects, but this passion for collection was not limited to Starr and like-minded anthropologists in Hokkaido.

The Ainu in St. Louis: A Reconsideration of Pete Gorō as an Explorer and Creator

While Starr traveled to Hokkaido in search of the Ainu, the natives who found themselves bound for the world's fair in St. Louis embarked on a very different kind of encounter. Global indigenous studies scholar Danika Medak-Saltzman warns about the tendency of World's Fair studies to "relegate these [people] and their experiences—and thus the experiences of all Indigenous peoples—to the realm of the unknowable, unimportant, and powerless."²⁰⁶ As she describes, many accounts of the fair unevenly treat the varied experiences of indigenous peoples at the fair, and in the case of the Ainu their

²⁰⁵ Historian Henry D. Smith II has addressed Starr's infatuation with Japanese dolls and toys at length. See: Henry D. Smith II, "Folk Toys and Votive Placards: Frederick Starr and the Ethnography of Collector Networks in Taisho Japan," *Popular Imagery as Cultural Heritage: Aesthetical and Art Historical Studies of Visual Culture in Modern Japan*. Final Report, Grant-in-Aid for Scientific Research #20320020 (PI: Kaneda Chiaki), March 2012.

²⁰⁶ Danika Medak-Saltzman, "Transnational indigenous Exchange: Rethinking Global Interactions of Indigenous Peoples at the 1904 St. Louis Exposition," *American Quarterly* 62, no. 3 (September 2010), 591–592.

appearance, experience, and departure are often shrouded in mystery, misrepresented, or ignored altogether. During their time at the fair, the Ainu were exposed to a variety of personalities—American, Japanese, indigenous, and otherwise. They participated in events, explored Japan and the United States by train, and even collected objects and photographs during their time in St. Louis.

Asked to perform "native" tasks such as the weaving of textiles and baskets, the Ainu were expected to live and work in Ainu dwellings (or *chise*) that were dismantled and imported from Hokkaido. In practice things did not always go as planned: two homes were, according to records, lost for the first three weeks of the fair having been rerouted from San Francisco (the Ainu stayed at the Model Indian School in the interim).²⁰⁷ McGee had very specific designs for the Ainu exhibition. He explained,

It is the desire to install such a group of about eight or ten persons on the grounds... and it is planned to have all the aboriginal groups live in habitations erected by themselves from materials brought for the purpose, and to have them pursue their ordinary avocations in their accustomed ways. It is to be understood that this ethnologic exhibit is part of the Exposition proper, introduced wholly for scientific and educative purposes... in addition, they will be permitted to produce and sell on the grounds, for their sole benefit, any articles that they may be in the habit of making...²⁰⁸

Per their contract, the seven adult Ainu received a monthly pay of thirty-five yen. (The women remitted their share back to John Batchelor in Hokkaido, and the two children were not paid).²⁰⁹ The Ainu were provided with food, but they were expected to cook the food

²⁰⁷ W. J. McGee, Letter to the Director of Exhibits, August 1, 1904. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 15, Folder 2. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

²⁰⁸ W. J. McGee, Letter to Hajima Ota, January 12, 1904. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935, Box 2, Folder 7 (1904). Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

²⁰⁹ Frederick Starr, Agreement between Frederick Starr and Hiramura Kutoroge, Ainu and Shutratak, His Wife, Hiramura Sangyea and Santukno, His Wife, Osawa Yazo and Shirake, His Wife,

themselves in the homes that they would erect. Any illness would be attended to by the fair staff free of charge. Despite these provisions, there were several obstacles over the course of the fair, the most notorious being the ankle-deep mud surrounding their homes following bad rains, a detail that was not overlooked by visitors to the exhibition.²¹⁰ By August of 1904, most American indigenous groups such as the Kickapoo, Arapho, Wichita, and Pawnee had returned to their homes on account of the ground conditions, with the Sioux and Pomo on the verge of leaving. However, groups like the Ainu who traveled from further locales were often stuck on the fairgrounds regardless of conditions. But as described by McGee, "The Ainu ground remains in the immediate charge of Mr. Inagaki [the translator for the Ainu hired by Starr]; they have suffered somewhat from various disorders, but otherwise have lived comfortable and continue to attract great attention from visitors, both about their habitation and elsewhere..."²¹¹

Instances like this have caused some scholars to only view the ethnological exhibition as exploitation. Although this is certainly the case in some regards—Ainu and other native peoples were put on display for the benefit of white fairgoers—chalking up all of Ainu experience as being universally and uniformly bad flattens the diversity of their experience. Following the models set forth by both Miyatake and Medak-Saltzman, the experiences of a young Ainu man named Pete Gorō serves as an interesting contrast to this one-dimensional narrative of Ainu exploitation, and also forms a revealing comparison to the personal search of Frederick Starr. "Goro," as he was often called, was one of the last

and Pete Gorō—Seven Persons, March 2, 1904. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 19, Folder 3. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

²¹⁰ Edward Anthony Spitzka, Letter to W. J. McGee, October 6, 1904. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 17, Folder 2. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

²¹¹ W.J. McGee, Letter to the Director of Exhibits. August 1, 1904. W. J. McGee Papers, 1880–1916, Box 15, Folder 2. Library of Congress, Manuscript Division.

additions to the “Ainu Group,” and allowed to come along despite not fitting the stereotype of Ainu masculinity typified in the song at the beginning of this chapter, an image that Starr himself was trying to abide by when assembling the Ainu group for the benefit of fairgoers. Starr describes the moment of Gorō’s addition in depth:

We had learned immediately on our return to Sapporo that Bete[sic] Goro was anxious to go with us, but had hesitated about taking him. Goro is young, shaves, wears Europeanized, not to say Japanized, clothing. To be sure, he still wears Ainu leggings and fine embroidery. He is dreadfully conventional; instead of whittling ina[w], he knits stockings! Now, all this is highly commendable, but it is no qualification for figuring in an Ainu group at the Exposition. But, Goro was lively and happy and anxious to go. That was something, and we believed his influence would do much to cheer the somewhat morose Yazo, the timid Shirake, and the group that were mourned as dead.²¹² So we decided he should go. We should leave his wife... behind, in expectation of an event of importance to the Ainu community. Mr. Batchelor was asked to communicate the decision and Goro was summoned to his study. A moment later Mr. Batchelor called us to see "what ails this crazy fellow." Goro who had seated himself upon the floor was beside himself with joy. He hugged himself, chuckled, laughed, swayed, from side to side, literally rolled upon the floor. With his accession our party was complete.²¹³

Starr’s description of Gorō, hugging himself, chuckling, and laughing at the prospect of going resonates with the interlude between Edward Greey’s Jewitt family and the Ainu he calls “Uncle Remus” (see Chapter 1).²¹⁴ The laughing Ainu in Greey’s story is little understood by the white characters, and they are unable to access the real thoughts of Remus. As Starr writes from a biased position, a similar uneasiness accompanies Gorō’s chuckling. While we can feel Gorō’s excitement of going abroad and being a trailblazer according to Starr’s retelling of the encounter, the laughing is also unintelligible to

²¹² Starr is referring to the fact that the group of Ainu that would travel to St. Louis were already assumed to be dead in the eyes of their community. They did not believe that those who left the *kotan* would ever return.

²¹³ Starr, *The Ainu Group at the Saint Louis Exposition*, 76–77.

²¹⁴ Greey, 67.

Batchelor and Starr, and Gorō's true feelings and motivations are veiled. However, Gorō's decision to volunteer himself came at a specific historical moment of terrible hardship for Ainu families as described by his granddaughter Chikamori Kiyomi.²¹⁵ He was born in 1878 in the city of Kushiro in Harutori *kotan*, but was forced to relocate at the age of five to a town over thirty kilometers away, on the upper course of the Setsuri River, where the Ainu were to support themselves with agriculture. Although the Ainu from Harutori *kotan* initially continued hunting salmon in the Setsuri River, a natural salmon hatchery, fishing was banned from May to November causing many Ainu to relocate once again or starve. It was against this background that Gorō became baptized by John Batchelor in 1897, and offered to go to Saint Louis in 1904. Despite not adhering to the stereotype of "hairy" Ainu masculinity, Chikamori explains that her grandfather's ability to write in *romaji* (Romanized alphabet) and his limited understanding of English learned under Batchelor eventually secured him permission to accompany the group.²¹⁶

Looking at a photograph taken by female photojournalist Jessie Tarbox Beals of the entire group, there are certain aspects that visually set Gorō apart from the other Ainu at the fair (Figure 21). First, he was not part of the three family units that comprised the rest of the group; he was the only Ainu to join the group as an individual. He was not the youngest at twenty-six years old (the couple Osawa Yazo and Hiramura Shirake or "Ume" were twenty-three and nineteen respectively), but in comparison to Hiramura Kutoroge and Hiramura Sangyea, Gorō and Yazo both had the countenances of young men. As news media was quick to point out, Gorō was often described as the only bachelor among the

²¹⁵ Chikamori Kiyomi, "Sofu: Pete Gorō no ashiato o tadotte" (My Grandfather: Following in the Footsteps of Pete Gorō), Ainu minzoku jōhō senta (Ainu People's Resource Center), July 29, 2008. Lecture. Accessed June 3, 2015. <http://www.douhoku.org/ainu/diarylog/200807291.htm>

²¹⁶ This version of the story is not recounted in the work of Frederick Starr.



Figure 21: Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals of entire AINU group. From left to right: Goro, Santukno, Yazo, Shirake, Kiku, Shutrateg, Kiku, Kutoroge, Kin, and Sangyea, 1904. Courtesy of Photo & Print Collection, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

group, often omitting mention of his pregnant wife back in Hokkaido. However, not having family attachments afforded him a certain kind of freedom. Here, Gorō, pictured at the very right, stands slightly apart from the rest of the group, his checkered button-down shirt peeking out from underneath his AINU *attush* robe. Although Gorō is featured in several of Tarbox Beals photographs, most of the photographs center on those perceived to be a more authentic expression of AINU-ness, or on the two children Kin and Kiku. This is unsurprising. Even in Starr's book on the AINU expedition, other members of the AINU group received individual portraits while the younger men Yazo and Gorō, received no visual acknowledgment.

Perhaps we can see Pete Gorō as having the very same love of travel and exploration as Frederick Starr or even as Matsuura Takeshirō. There was a very real sense of danger

associated with the journey to America, and villages such as Biratori performed funeral ceremonies for the men and women before leaving, as noted and explored by Medak-Saltzman. Packed on a steamer bound for Yokohama, Pete Gorō saw Honshu for the first time, sang songs for Japanese school children in Tokyo, endured a long trip to the United States fraught with sea sickness, tried on new clothing and went on a trip to the zoo and to an American dog show. He saw African Americans for the first time and engaged with other peoples at the fair where he witnessed the art and spiritual productions of other indigenous cultures, such as Native American totem poles for the first time. The Ainu group was also part of Frederick Starr's effort to take the classroom into the field. His anthropology class held at the fair attracted both male and female students (a subject of hot public debate) who were only marginally younger than Gorō, and not as well traveled. All the while, he was objectified, poked, prodded, and measured by all sorts of scientists and anthropologists. The contact zone was characterized by a diversity of encounters.

Gorō's body stood in stark contrast to the dominant images of the Ainu that focused on hairy, hirsute bodies in American and British visual culture. Although some scholars such as Parezo and Fowler have argued that the Ainu were instructed to grow their beards out to demonstrate their Ainu-ness and cater to the expectations of the stereotype, Medak-Saltzman argues that growing beards may have signified a freedom from stringent assimilation policies and a desire to represent this important part of their culture.²¹⁷ Either way, bearded or not, the youthful body of Pete Gorō would have stood out among contemporary media representations—Ainu men were not only depicted as hairy, but

²¹⁷ Nancy J. Parezo and Don D. Fowler, *Anthropology Goes to the Fair: The 1904 Louisiana Purchase Exposition* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 214; Medak-Saltzman, "Transnational Indigenous Exchange," 603.

almost always as a patriarch, or one of the "grey beards" that Starr so desperately searched for in Hokkaido. By not fitting into this stereotype, Gorō's likeness would not be sought as much as his older counterparts such as Kutoroge or Sangyea.

In 2005, with the help of Pete Gorō's granddaughter Chikamori Kiyomi, anthropologist Miyatake Kimio discovered two Ainu *tekunpe*, or embroidered gloves, in the Chicago Field Museum that may have been produced by Gorō at the St. Louis Exposition. Miyatake's scholarship brings a new dimension to the study of Gorō and the Ainu: their own hand-produced objects made to be sold to fairgoers. Whether considered art or craft, the Ainu at the fair were not only explorers in their own right, but also producers of hybrid objects integrated into the very fabric of the World's Fair.

This pair of *tekunpe* were not the only objects created in St. Louis; another creation is currently held by the Omsk Museum of Fine Arts in Russia. An Ainu *rekutunpe*, an ornament worn by Ainu women around the neck consisting of a long strip of fabric and metal plaques, offers further evidence of the importance of Miyatake's approach of analyzing material objects. Below a purple bead, this *rekutunpe* features a medallion from the St. Louis Exposition is punctured at the top and bottom and affixed to fabric by thread. The medal features a ferris wheel with the phrases "World's Fair Saint Louis 1904" in the center, and "You have got to show me, I'm from Missouri" around the rim of the circle, a play on a phrase often attributed to Willard Duncan Vandiver who popularized Missouri's nickname, the "Show-Me-State." On the one hand, the creator of this *rekutunpe* blended Ainu culture with a memento from the fair. On the other, the utilization of various objects from other cultures—from foreign coinage to Japanese kimono fabric—formed an important part of Ainu creative production.

The creation of these kinds of objects was carefully captured in photographs of the living-ethnological displays taken by Tarbox Beals. Hired by the St. Louis Exposition committee as one of the official photographers for the fair, Tarbox Beals took roughly twenty images of the Ainu as part of a larger project to document the fair. Her images were not only sold to the fairgoers, but also found an enthusiastic audience in popular newsprint media in 1904. Most of Tarbox Beals's images adopt a pseudo-ethnographic approach in depicting the customs and manners of the Ainu inside of the native village, and include scenes of the Ainu performing greetings, crafting objects, carrying children, and meeting other indigenous peoples. Although Tarbox Beals makes sure to capture the recognizable motifs of Ainu culture, her images differ stylistically from the earlier nineteenth-century studio photographs being produced in Japan by capturing the Ainu inside of the (constructed) village without the use of backdrops, vignetteing, or hand-coloring. Her photographs carefully control the light to illuminate the texture of skin and textiles, although these nuanced qualities of her work are not visible when reproduced in official fair publications. But more unique than her style, several of Tarbox Beals' photographs show interesting slippages where the background of the fair itself is revealed. Her photographs of the Ainu simultaneously capture Ainu culture, while also revealing it as performance. For example, the Ainu named Hiramura Shutrateg weaves matting in one of Tarbox Beals' photographs, but through the window one can see the distinctive outline of an American man inspecting the fairgrounds, and the blurred faces of a man and woman with a flowery hat peering through the window. Although for some viewers, the photograph is a straightforward depiction of Ainu indigenous culture in an ethnographic mode, to another viewer it might invoke the context of the fair itself, and the excitement of



Figure 22: Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals of Goro, Yazo, Kutoroge, and Shirake crafting, with an American onlooker, 1904. Courtesy of Photo & Print Collection, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.

traversing through the reconstructed native villages. In a sense, her photographs are not just ethnographic depictions of the natives, but also the tourists who walk about the fair. In a different photograph of Pete Gorō, we see him creating objects while bearing witness to the shadowy figures of women in the background, and a looming younger man on the edges of the frame (Figure 22). The man is not just watching Gorō, but looks up at the camera, acutely aware of the photographer's presence. While the tourist here appears uncomfortable, Gorō expertly performs his expected role. If these additional figures were totally excised from the frame, Gorō could easily be located in St. Louis or in Hokkaido. But the presence of the fairgoers locates them specifically in the United States. In their ability to disrupt the illusion, images like this remind us of one possible contact zone where indigenous peoples like the Ainu mingled with the American men and women.

For Pete Gorō and the other Ainu at the St. Louis Exposition, participation in the fair, although not unproblematic, allowed them to pursue new experiences and to live out a

different kind of wanderlust beyond the confines of Hokkaido. Gorō in particular interacted with people in Tokyo and St. Louis, sat for photographs, and created unique hybrid objects, and then took these encounters back with him to Japan. When Frederick Starr revisited Hokkaido in 1909, he runs into Pete Gorō right before leaving the island for the last time. He writes in his journal, "By the way, just as we were leaving... Manuel recognized Gorō in the road; we had feared we should not see him. He is [a] catechist for a small Ainu village near Mukawa; he was glad to see us and is well and doing well; he is already grey!"²¹⁸ Framed as an aside, the two men were passing ships in the night. But Starr's comment on the greyness of Gorō's hair is interesting in light of the fact that this was a condition of a "good Ainu type" that Starr searched for five years prior. After returning home to Hokkaido and becoming a catechist, Gorō used the money from St. Louis in order to build a thatched house and church in Mukawa.²¹⁹ He also started a childcare program for his village, and was able to use his connection to the Exposition to solicit relief aid from the United States after a terrible harvest earning him an award from the *Asahi Shimbun* for service to the community in 1913.

This consideration of these vibrant encounters is not to dismiss the problems associated with displaying native peoples. The postcolonial reading of the native village and the world's fair, where aboriginal people were objectified for their difference, remains a salient and important critique. However, my hope is that in examining the strange overlap of anthropology, art-collecting, and travel, we can achieve a fuller picture of some

²¹⁸ Frederick Starr, "Notebook 7, Japan-Korea," 1910. Frederick Starr Papers 1868–1935, Box 15, Folder 10. Special Collections Research Center, University of Chicago.

²¹⁹ "Sento Ruisu banpaku to Ainu minzoku" (St. Louis Exposition and the Ainu People), Ainu minzoku jōhō senta (Ainu People's Resource Center), October 3, 2007. Lecture. Accessed June 5, 2015. <http://www.douhoku.org/ainu/diarylog/200710031.htm>

of the more peripheral transactions occurring across the Pacific, and account for the unexpected appearances of art-collection and art-production in new and interesting contexts usually located outside of the purview of art history. By framing our discussion in this way, we consider the unevenness and diversity that comprised the contact zone between the United States, Japan, and Hokkaido in 1904.

Naturalizing the Ainu in St. Louis

On August 23rd, 1908, four years after the close of the St. Louis Exposition, the Chicago Daily Tribune printed an article titled “The Strangest People in the World” (Figure 23).²²⁰ This provocative headline tasked the newspaper with unveiling Ainu mysteries, while the gossip-worthy headings clarified the various topics of public interest: “Bodies Covered with Hair,” “Dark Complexion Not Unattractive,” “Girls Have Tattooed Faces,” “Women Do All the Drudgery,” “Wife May Swear at Husband,” and “Ainu Courtship and Marriage.”²²¹ Unrelated to the narrative content of the text, which itself is filled descriptions of the Ainu in line with earlier nineteenth-century travel texts, the newspaper weaves together a variety of illustrations. To the unassuming viewer, these images work together to support specifically gendered understanding of Ainu culture by separating male and female roles. But to the trained eye, the visuals expose a jarring contrast. Rather than a unified image of the Ainu that the text aims to construct, this layout reveals a surprising heterogeneity of visual representation. Drawing images from a variety of sources, the layout effectively flattens the diversity of Ainu culture and of image through collage.

²²⁰ “Strangest People in the World,” 5.

²²¹ Most of these topics were fairly common when it came to popular discussions of the Ainu. However, the headline “Dark Complexion Not Unattractive” is quite rare. As most Ainu were theorized to be a proto-white people, their description as a “brown” race was fairly uncommon.



Figure 23: Reprinted from “Strangest People in the World,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (August 23, 1908), F3.

Although an analysis of this singular spread gives way to these visual ruptures, it is important to recognize that this newspaper layout is not a singular example in the United States or Europe or Japan, and the AINU are not the only people rendered Other through such techniques. Nevertheless, a brief analysis of how articles like this function goes far in explaining how early twentieth-century newspapers rehashed ideas, debates, and representations common in the late nineteenth-century.

The composition of the layout can be divided into two sections to facilitate better understanding. The bottom portion of the layout is a series of individual illustrations of AINU life each independently labeled; some are vignettted while others lack a definable border, and the illustrations are rotated at various angles moving diagonally down the page. The top portion of the layout, just under the heading, is an illustration of AINU men

and women carrying out various activities in the space of a village. In contrast to the bottom images, the top scene is presented as one continuous tableau, with its various depictions of men, women, and children.

Not apparent to the casual viewer, this newspaper layout is an amalgamation of images from as many as four discrete sources that can only be understood by examining nineteenth-century texts. The illustrations across the bottom, with the exception of “Method of Extorting Confession from Convicted Criminals,” derive from A. H. Savage Landor’s *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* (1893) (see Chapter 3). Taken directly from Landor’s book, these images are facsimile copies with the exception of new framing and orientation. This was not the first occasion where Landor’s illustrations were reprinted in other works, including newspapers, and examples can be found as early as an 1895 issue of *The Advocate*, just two years after Landor published his Hokkaido travelogue.

Two illustrations—a shirtless seated man in the top portion and the image labeled “Method of Extorting Confession from Convicted Criminals” derived from images published in John Batchelor’s famous work, *The Ainu of Japan* (1892), which was cited by many Anglophone visitors to the region including Arnold Genthe and Landor (see Chapter 3). Although the top image (Figure 24) of the seated man was also reproduced in Romyn Hitchcock’s “The Ainos of Yezo, Japan” (1891), the presence of two images from Batchelor’s work points to this publication as the likely source.²²² In contrast to Landor’s unedited illustrations, the image of the seated man has been edited from the original photograph. Chosen by Batchelor as an example of Ainu hairiness, the newspaper added additional implements to make the man appear to be more “Ainu” including a ritual headdress

²²² Romyn Hitchcock, “The Ainos of Yezo, Japan,” *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1889–1890* (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office), 428–502.

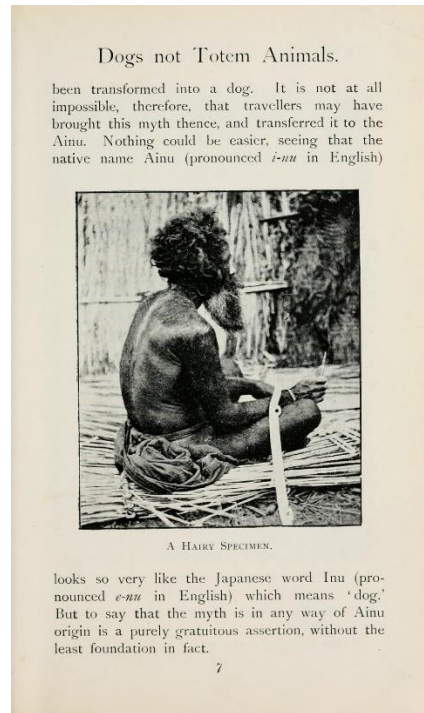


Figure 24: Photograph of a seated Ainu man titled “A Hairy Specimen.” Reprinted from John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1901), 7.



Figure 25: Detail of seated Ainu man. Reprinted from “Strangest People in the World,” *Chicago Daily Tribune* (August 23, 1908), F3.

(*sapaunpe*) and a prayer stick made from shaved bark (*inaw*) (Figure 25). Seen partially from the back, these new markers inscribe the man as Ainu in this rendition. The man appears turned toward the group of people dancing in the background, although this context is entirely fabricated when compared to the photograph. Although these changes made to the man's physical form are the most interesting, the juxtaposition of images from Batchelor and Landor is amusing in light of the men's mutual dislike of one another. Batchelor often tried to discredit Landor for his pseudoscience and exaggeration, and as a preface to his publication wrote, "Others may imagine that I might have made more use of Mr. Savage Landor's book on The Hairy Ainu than I have done. I have read that production through very carefully, and have come to the conclusion that his book is too inexact to be used for any purposes of ethnological science; it is therefore, not quoted in this book."²²³ All the while, Landor dismissed Batchelor's findings for lacking eyewitness accounts. Nevertheless, the images used by both men are brought side by side here without an acknowledgment of these intense debates.

However, more than the contrast between Landor and Batchelor, a different pairing of images highlights yet another incongruous feature of the newspaper spread. A woman is featured in the top left carrying a child on her back, who turns and looks toward the reader (Figure 26). She towers above the seated man and, like him, could also be watching the dancers. However, unlike the rest of these images and illustrations, this image is based on a photograph taken in the United States. Taken by Jessie Tarbox Beals on the fairgrounds, this 1904 photograph features Shutrateg holding Kiku (Figure 27). Beals took many official photographs of the Ainu group in St. Louis, which found receptive audiences in official fair

²²³ Batchelor, *Ainu and their Folk-lore*, x.



Figure 26: Detail of AINU woman carrying child based on photograph of Santukno. Reprinted from "Strangest People in the World," *Chicago Daily Tribune* (August 23, 1908), F3.



Figure 27: Photograph by Jessie Tarbox Beals of Shutrateg carrying Kiku. "Ainu mother and child," 1904. Photographs & Prints Collection, Missouri History Museum.

publications and newspapers in 1904. Beals actually took two photographs of Shutratak holding Kiku in two different settings—against the backdrop of trees and once again in front of an Ainu home (*chise*) (Figure 27). Based on the placement of the child and the arrangement of Shutratak’s hair, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* coopted the photograph in front of the house. By integrating this photograph into the illustration, the newspaper strips Shutratak of her identity making her stand for some generic kind of “Ainu-ness.”

Although these juxtapositions might seem trivial, I argue that this newspaper spread—and many others like it—demonstrates the role of image circulation in calcifying the Ainu image. On the one hand, by placing images of the Ainu from various geographic locations or time periods in visual proximity to one another without acknowledging their differences, newspapers like the *Chicago Daily Tribune* contribute to a singular image of Ainuness and eliminate the possibility of cultural, religious, or regional diversity. In some newspapers, photographs of the Hokkaido Ainu are placed next to illustrations of Ainu from the island of Sakhalin, bridging even larger geographic divides. However, this particular juxtaposition also erases the diversity of Ainu experience. Time and space are entirely condensed by placing a 1904 image of Shutratak in St. Louis next to the illustration of the seated man (printed in 1892, and likely taken earlier). The crucial role of the U.S. in these colonial structures is effaced, as well as the personal experiences of both Shutratak and Kiku at the fair. Instead, their image becomes a signifier for a very specific reading of Ainu femininity tied to child rearing and further reinforces the idea of the living ethnological exhibit not as display, but as representation of indigenous reality.

Conclusion

While aspects of the Ainu experience in St. Louis can be learned by examining the machinations of the organizers or the fragments attesting to the lived experience of the fair participants, a unidirectional account of the fair from the perspective of W. J. McGee, Frederick Starr, or even Pete Gorō doesn't account for the multi-layered nature of the Ainu exhibition within the larger scheme of the world's fair. While W. J. McGee's rhetoric of a civilizational ladder of racial evolution found a reliable audience in fair publications and press releases, it is largely Frederick Starr's narrative as presented in his 1904 publication *The Ainu Group at the St. Louis Exposition* that is cited today as the authoritative account by world's fair scholars such as James Van Stone. But Starr's professional responsibility to procure a group of Ainu was complemented by his own personal connoisseurship of Ainu paintings captured in the work of Matsuura Takeshirō, as he continually blended a "scientific" quest with an artistic pursuit. Alternatively, recent scholarship intent on recentering the history of the fair onto the marginalized indigenous participants, as evident in the work of Miyatake Kimio and Danika Medak-Saltzman, continue to provide insight on the various challenges and opportunities shared by indigenous communities including the Ainu. Although Ainu participation in the fair was heavily constrained by Starr and McGee, they were not entirely passive participants. The fair enabled this group to explore a new country, engage with other indigenous groups, create hybrid objects, and perform their own identity abroad in spite of assimilation at home. They brought these unique experiences (and a limited degree of financial capital) back to their home communities after the exposition's completion.

While anthropologists to native participants each carried their own personal

investment in the St. Louis Exposition, there was a bevy of visual representations of the Ainu that circulated outside of their control. Photographs of the Ainu taken by Jessie Tarbox Beals not only demonstrate their creative processes and performance of culture, but also capture the fair infrastructure itself with St. Louis looming in the background of the *chise*. In the photographs of the ethnological exhibits, we watch the Ainu being watched. Although this facet of the native experience is important to recognize, photographs of the Ainu were often cropped away from their backgrounds and reintegrated into newspaper articles relaying the same hackneyed stereotypes developed by the late nineteenth century; the same Ainu images playfully articulated by Riley H. Allen in his song, “The Maid of Ainos.” From the beautiful Ainu maiden to the scruffy, hairy, and crazed Ainu elder, the real experiences of the Ainu as explorers and creators were twisted by the overactive imaginations of a popular reading audience to reinforce ideas of primitive culture incapable of modernizing. These articles once again subsumed the photographs from St. Louis within a visual economy of Ainu images predicated on their interchangeability. It was these clichéd images of the Ainu patriarch and maiden that future explorers like Arnold Genthe and Kondō Kōichiro would seek in traveling to Hokkaido. Although the Ainu group in St. Louis exemplified the modern Ainu explorer, fleeing bad conditions at home and interacting with new audiences abroad, the photographs taken of them on the fairgrounds continue to play an important role in a visual narrative of their history and image throughout the twenty-first century.

CHAPTER 3

Art, Science, and the Artist-Explorer: Arnold Genthe and A. H. Savage Landor, 1893–1908

*Making profit out of Ainu
Only the stores grow big
And rust the kotan*

*To people who ask me
If I study the Ainu will I make money?
You will make money, I used to reply*

*Again the Shiraoui Ainu
Have gone to the Exposition as exhibits
What?! What?!*

*Even in the loneliest mountain kotan
I find empty sake bottles*

*The Ainu have produced no great men
But more shameful than this
Is a single beggar*

*It is just those Ainu who appear as exhibits
Who will die under the label of the dying race
These are the days
When the birth of an atavistic shamo child²²⁴
Brings joy among the Ainu²²⁵*

—Iboshi Hokuto, 1930²²⁶

The month I spent among the Ainu in the island of Yezo (Hokkaido)—it is the northernmost of

²²⁴ *Shamo* and *wajin* are words used for the Japanese in the Ainu language. The word *shamo* derived from the Ainu word *sisam* meaning “neighbor” was originally used as a derogatory term for the Japanese. This negative connotation disappeared after the eighteenth century. Sasaki, “Ainu-e: A Historical Review,” 79.

²²⁵ Iboshi is referring to atavism, or reappearance in an individual of some characteristics that have been absent in intervening generations. Considering Iboshi’s invocation of “the dying race” motif here, he is referring to the birth of a Japanese child who has some emergent and recognizable Ainu characteristics.

²²⁶ Adapted from Richard Siddle. Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 129. First published in Iboshi Hokuto, *Kotan: Iboshi Hokuto Ikō* (Kotan: The Posthumous Writings of Iboshi Hokuto) (Tokyo: Sōfūkan, 1984), 52; 57; 62; 63; 139.

the large islands of the Japanese archipelago, not far from Saghalien—was a voyage far back in time to the beginning of an almost vanished civilization.

—Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember*, 1936²²⁷

After the devastating 1906 earthquake in San Francisco, Arnold Genthe (1869–1942), a German pictorialist photographer living in California, declared that his next investment “would be something that neither earthquake nor fire could destroy.”²²⁸ After the ruin of his home and studio, this “investment” would turn out to be a 1908 sojourn through the Japanese archipelago and several weeks stay amongst Hokkaido’s Ainu. Although Genthe’s penchant for all things “Oriental” is well documented in his photography of San Francisco’s Chinatown between 1896 and 1906, his trip to Japan is often relegated to the status of art-historical trivia.²²⁹ Rarely acknowledged as a formative event in his career, the details of his journey are largely absent from any major accounts of Genthe’s work with the exception of his own autobiography, *As I Remember*, which dedicates several pages to the lengthy expedition.²³⁰ Despite this absence, Genthe’s trip was deemed important enough by his contemporaries to inspire local news coverage of his departure and sensational reporting of his interactions with Japan’s Ainu upon his return. Genthe’s photographs of the Ainu in Biratori village contributed to the complex economy of image making between Europe, America, and Japan as an ethnic Other against which Euro-American and Japanese identity could be constructed. Traveling just four years after the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, Genthe was not only aware of the Ainu who visited the United States, but claimed that one of the

²²⁷ Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1936), 230.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*, 223.

²²⁹ Genthe’s Japanese photographs are briefly addressed by Terry Bennett in “Arnold Genthe,” *Photography in Japan, 1853-1912* (Tokyo; Rutland: Tuttle Publishing, 2006), 274–276.

²³⁰ Genthe, 223–234.

male participants served as his guide upon arriving in Hokkaido. His work traverses this history, and serves as a crucial link between the ethnographic representations discussed in Chapter Two and the artistic renderings of Ainu culture produced in its wake. Genthe's photographs, and their relationship to earlier nineteenth-century models such as the illustrations by Arnold Henry Savage Landor, illuminate the complex relationship between art, travel, and representation.

Genthe's trip yielded approximately 700 negatives, several hundred of which are of the Ainu.²³¹ Browsing through Genthe's photography of Honshu—the main island in the Japanese archipelago—might prove nostalgic for anyone who has traveled there in the past for either tourism or research even today. His works contain many of the ubiquitous *meisho* (famous places) associated with Japan including but not limited to Mt. Fuji, the Kamakura Daibutsu, Kiyomizu-dera, Kinkaku-ji, Ginkaku-ji, and Miyajima. While Genthe is known for his proclivity for portraiture, the photographs of Honshu are dominated by these scenic images of well-known locations. Genthe's photographs of the Ainu, on the other hand, adopt a different approach with a focus on "types" of people rather than specificity of place. Although Hokkaido continues to be a tourist destination to this day, it is not what one immediately thinks of when considering the transnational repertoire of images about "Japan" replete with blooming sakura flowers in the spring and the burning red of maple leaves in the fall. Since the opening of Japanese ports in 1853, Ainu villages had been seen as part of this grand tourist experience in nineteenth-century Baedekers and travelogues. As described in *A Handbook for Travellers in Japan* from 1898, "This trip [to Otaru, Yoichi, Iwanai, Sapporo, Muroran, and Volcano Bay] includes some of the best portions of Yezo,

²³¹ Genthe's photographs from Japan were all taken in 1908, but reprinted several times over the span of his life until 1942.

and will show the traveler, within the limit of a week or ten days, as fair a specimen of the island—its scenery, modern improvements, and aborigine Ainos—as it is possible to compress within such a short time.”²³² The Ainu village remained a popular destination for international anthropologists and travelers through the 1920s, especially as railway transportation enabled visitors to access sites with increasing ease.

But as the Ainu became more Japanized through the Taisho-era, American institutions turned away from Ainu mystique and toward their growing local collections of Native American materials. With the outbreak of World War I (1914), changing U.S. immigration policies, and the Russian Revolution (1917), American and European institutions discouraged distant ethnic tourism and anthropological fieldwork in both Hokkaido and Siberia, and the vibrant Ainu collections amassed between 1885 and 1920 were taken off display, stored, and forgotten.²³³ Genthe traveled to Hokkaido roughly ten years prior to this sharp decline in international interest in the Ainu. By the time of his trip, travel accounts such as that of Isabella Bird (see Chapter 1) were already considered canonical reading, and the more recent accounts by anthropologists, such as Frederick Starr (see Chapter 2), were beginning to gain recognition as reputable sources on Ainu culture. Genthe’s journey to Hokkaido can be situated on the tail of this anthropological boom in Ainu studies.

Despite the relative silence on Genthe’s trip to Japan in literature on his art and life, his conscientious photography of the Ainu yields information and insight into the Euro-American conception of the Other, and in this case the Other of the “Oriental” Japanese

²³² Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, *A Handbook for Travelers in Japan*, 5th ed. (London: John Murray, 1899), 526.

²³³ Kotani, 146; and Fitzhugh, 16.

Other, in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Aiming to capture an idealistic and romantic “noble savage,” Genthe photographed the Ainu in hopes of preserving Ainu culture, which was perceived to be fading quickly in the face of modernity. Genthe’s idealized images counter the material reality of the Ainu as seen in the tragic poem by the Ainu writer Iboshi Hokuto (1902–1929). Instead of an unadulterated culture living harmoniously in isolation, Iboshi is acutely aware of the problems that plagued Ainu society during his lifetime. As Richard Siddle explains, the “angry” Iboshi was “sharply critical of the material and ideological structures of colonialism to which the Ainu were subordinated—the ‘dying race’ stereotype, tourism, Ainu Studies, alcoholism, Wajin [Japanese] exploitation, and the destitution and desperate desire to assimilate into which the Ainu had been forced.”²³⁴ These negative images of a society struggling and coping with Japanese colonialism and Euro-American tourism are absent in Genthe’s account, but are occasionally found in British and American publications that precede Genthe’s trip, such as Bird and Edward Greedy’s works of the late nineteenth century or Starr’s anthropological collecting trip in 1904, and even in later works by Japanese travelers such as Kondō Kōichiro in 1917 (see Chapter 4) or Ainu such as Takekuma Tokusaburō in 1918 (see Chapter 5).

This chapter examines the disjuncture between the lived reality of Ainu in the village of Biratori and their romanticized portrayals by Genthe. Through analyzing Genthe’s photographs of the Ainu and comparing them against his overall photographic approach, I explore the role that the Ainu played in the Genthe’s imagination, and the multivalent relationships between “art” and “science” in the early twentieth century. While Chapter

²³⁴ Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 129.

Two investigated these same themes with regard to the diverse ethnographic representations that emerged around Frederick Starr and the Ainu group in St. Louis, this chapter departs from pseudo-scientific treatments of the Ainu to consider the productions of an art photographer. While the photographs taken by Jessie Tarbox Beals in Chapter Two sought to capture the Ainu as they appeared at the fairgrounds, which included presence of American tourists in the background, the art photography of Arnold Genthe sought to construct a specific vision of Ainu life not as it appeared in reality, but as it appeared in his imagination. As a single cohesive body of work, Genthe's photographs—in addition to the illustrations of his artistic inspiration, A. H. Savage Landor—allow us to consider the role of the Ainu in the self-fashioning of Euro-American traveler identity. As understudied images, they add yet another layer to our understanding of the prominent photographer, his imaginary link with a nineteenth-century explorer, the social circumstances that nurtured his fascination with the Ainu Other, and changes within the village of Biratori.

The Lure of Biratori: Motivations and Expectations

One day while I was waiting for him [Rev. John Batchelor] in his office in Sapporo, an Ainu came in. On the wall was a picture of Michelangelo's "Moses." Pointing at it, he turned to me with a broad grin and said, "Him Ainu." There may be a grain of truth in it. Who knows?

—Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember*, 1936²³⁵

Genthe's trip to Japan yielded photographs of various people and famous places from all along the Meiji tourist circuit, but even prior to his lengthy expedition, he was already fostering an interest in the "Oriental" Other by participating in a wave of American Japonisme as an avid collector of Japanese prints. He had amassed more than a thousand

²³⁵ Genthe, 234.

prints before he auctioned most of them off at Anderson Galleries in 1917 in order to pursue a collection of Chinese paintings.²³⁶ Genthe credits Ernest Fenollosa for sparking his interest in Japanese prints, and Charles L. Freer for nurturing his love of Japan and China. In an examination of early collectors of Japanese art, Julia Meech-Pekarik compares a photograph by Genthe, the 1908 birds-eye shot of Japan's Inland Sea, with the right-hand portion of Andō Hiroshige's *Seascape at Narutuo, Awa* from 1857 (Figure 28). She suggests, "Genthe was trying to see the world through the eyes of a Japanese artist" by composing his shot in a similar fashion.²³⁷ This approach outlined by Meech-Pekarik is somewhat unique when compared to Genthe's larger body of photographs, and his work from this trip to Japan largely follows the tourist conventions of "scenes" (views) and "types" (costumes).²³⁸ While this interest in prints may be sufficient to explain Genthe's desire to travel to Japan in the first place, it hardly explains his desire to visit Hokkaido and live amongst the Ainu.



Figure 28: Arnold Genthe, *Travel Views of Japan (View of the Inland Sea)*, 1908. Nitrate Negative. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

²³⁶ Ibid., 138.

²³⁷ Julia Meech-Pekarik, "Early Collectors of Japanese Prints and the Metropolitan Museum of Art," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 17 (1982): 114.

²³⁸ I am deriving the categorization between "views" and "types" from Deborah Poole's analysis of Andean images and Allen Hockley's compelling research on the commercial aspect of Meiji photography. I see Genthe's work as fitting into these souvenir conventions.

As outlined in the Introduction, in Europe, both the Japanese and the Ainu went through several racial permutations within the social imaginary, from the image of the Ainu “wild man” in contrast to the civilized Japanese to an idea of the Ainu as the new “noble savage,” which in turn transformed the Japanese into the despotic authority. Throughout this period, there was much debate over the origin of the Ainu, and many viewed them as a lone Caucasoid race surrounded by Mongoloids. A. S. Bickmore first proposed this “Caucasoid theory” in 1868, where he argued for the classification of the Ainu as Caucasoid based on physical characteristics such as small cheekbones and widely separated eyes.²³⁹ This thesis was used to justify their protection—and collection—as a pseudo-white people, and was a major factor motivating their inclusion in the 1904 St. Louis Exposition addressed in Chapter Two.

While the Ainu were seen as a “vanishing” proto-white race by Americans like Genthe, Japanese scholars like Umehara Takeshi saw the Ainu as the origin for *Japanese* civilization; a living fossil. As Tessa Morris-Suzuki argues, the Ainu are often described as a hunter/ gatherer society and it was scholars like Umehara who saw the Ainu as continuing a hunter/ gatherer tradition that began in the Jōmon period of Japanese antiquity.²⁴⁰ This rhetorical move identifies the Ainu as a site of a distinctly Japanese past. Genthe was known to own the first edition of Neil Gordon Munroe’s *Prehistoric Japan* (1908), which develops such hypotheses presented by Umehara to an extreme by placing images and descriptions

²³⁹ A. S. Bickmore, “Die Ainos, ihre geographische Verbreitung und ethnographische Stellung,” *Petermann’s Geographische Mittheilungen* 14 (1868): 383–384. For an in depth analysis of these debates, See: Katarina Sjöberg, *The Return of the Ainu: Cultural Mobilization and the Practice of Ethnicity in Japan* (Amsterdam: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1993).

²⁴⁰ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Reinventing Japan: time, space, nation* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1998), 30; Umehara Takeshi and Fujimura Hisakazu, *Ainugaku no yoake* (The Dawn of Ainu History) (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 1990), 13.

of Ainu tattoos and objects alongside objects from the Jōmon, Yayoi, and Kofun periods (14,000 BCE–710 CE).²⁴¹ In this figuration of Ainu identity, Japan moves forward into modernity only as the Ainu regress into the past. However, this image of a distinctly “Japanese” past was challenged by European studies of the Ainu phenotype that led them to conclude that the Ainu were distinct from Japanese. Genthe subscribed to these theories, and in his memoir he clearly states, “The Ainu are not Japanese.”²⁴² While the Ainu body was often characterized as hairy (and seen as comparable to people of Russian origin) the Japanese body was figured as unmistakably “Oriental,” hairless, and physically demure. As with previous writing on the Ainu, for a European and American audience, the Ainu were debated as a site of a European, not Japanese, past that was in danger due to Japan’s assimilation policies which sought to destroy these living remnants.

While the mystery of Ainu origins was hotly debated both in Japan and in the West, Kreiner concludes that it was primarily *German* ethnographers and anthropologists who were intent on solving this mystery in his survey of all European museums and collections.²⁴³ Kreiner finds that as much as 66% of the Ainu material preserved in European museums and collections are located within German-speaking countries. Since scholars claimed the Ainu to be of Aryan descent, even the Third Reich would eventually use the example of the Ainu to justify their alliance with Japan, claiming that the Japanese were actually descendants of “Nordic Aryans.”²⁴⁴ If the Ainu were seen as having “Aryan”

²⁴¹ A copy of *Prehistoric Japan*, signed by Arnold Genthe is currently owned by George C. Baxley in Alamogordo, New Mexico. Genthe’s signature is located on the front free endpaper. Baxley Stamps. Accessed May 10, 2010.

<http://www.baxleystamps.com/litho/misc/1908050502.shtml>

²⁴² Genthe, 230.

²⁴³ Kreiner, “The European Image of the Ainu as Reflected in Museum Collections,” 130–131.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 131.

origins, it could potentially be argued that the Japanese descended from a non-Asiatic race thus legitimizing them in racially motivated policy. Although this does not explicate the initial boom in “Ainu studies” in the early twentieth century that Iboshi harshly criticizes, it nonetheless explains why these collections had been well maintained through the 1930s and 40s. As a man raised and educated in Germany from 1869 until 1894, it is possible that Genthe was familiar with the Ainu in these debates over human origins even prior to his relocation to America in 1895.²⁴⁵ The notion that the Ainu may represent a lost origin to Europe is subtly reflected in *As I Remember*.

Nevertheless, the intense European debates over the origins of the Ainu sparked interest in American ethnographers and anthropologists through the 1920s. The Ainu-Caucasoid hypothesis blossomed in North America where a large number of scientists with German backgrounds practiced. Yoshinobu Kotani points to the connection between Franz Boas (1858–1942), a man often described as the father of American anthropology, and Ainu collectors Starr and Stewart Culin. Boas worked with these men to organize trips to the North Pacific to collect ethnographic materials, and as discussed in Chapter Two, Starr is notably involved in procuring nine Ainu men and women from the Saru River village of Biratori to show at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904 for which he won a gold medal.²⁴⁶ The practice of bringing Ainu natives to show in Japanese and foreign expositions is also reflected in Iboshi’s poem where he writes, “Again the Shiraoui Ainu/ Have gone to the Exposition as exhibits/ What?! What?!” Ainu mannequins and village replicas were also created for American natural history museums. These museums saw the Ainu as a curious

²⁴⁵ Genthe matriculated into the University of Jena in 1888 and received his PhD in philology in 1894.

²⁴⁶ Genthe was familiar with the work of Frederick Starr and he acknowledges the St. Louis Exposition in *As I Remember*. Genthe, 230.

new discovery and rapidly sought to expand their holdings of Ainu objects.²⁴⁷

Furthermore, Japan's vigorous "Japanization" policies toward its minorities strengthened the image of the Ainu as a "disappearing" and diluted race. Although these policies were occasionally ineffective and encountered resistance on multiple levels according to Siddle, they nonetheless created the image of Japan as a homogenous/homogenizing society. As the Ainu became increasingly incorporated into Japanese society—efforts that were headed by many Ainu intellectuals addressed in Chapter Five—they became less interesting to Euro-Americans who wanted to see them as a romantic vision of a past existence.

Genthe's trip to Hokkaido can be situated in the crossroads of American and European interest in the Ainu as a form of self-assessment, and the budding field of American ethnography. The recollection of his trip found in *As I Remember* clearly defines the Ainu as a non-Japanese people. A conclusion espoused by many German anthropologists during this period, Genthe may have been aware of this discourse from his time at the University of Jena. His own account thus incorporated the vision of the "noble savage" with a desire to capture the "disappearing" civilization. It is clear that, regardless of Genthe's motivation, he was at least aware of some of the ethnological debates evidenced in the epigraph to this section. When explaining that an Ainu man saw his likeness in the painting of Moses, Genthe says, "...there may be a grain of truth in it. Who knows?" He leaves this question of Ainu origins unanswered in his memoir that was published in 1936. Twenty-eight years after his trip, this fantasy of a common origin is maintained through his playful uncertainty in his autobiographical account.

²⁴⁷ Kotani, 139.

Chinatown meets Biratori, Prohibition and Desire: Arnold Genthe and A. H. Savage

Landor

However, it is possible to believe that, for Genthe, Biratori village represented the “Chinatown” of Japan; the restricted place that Westerners (and in many cases Japanese) dare not venture. In his memoir Genthe writes the following regarding his initial trip to San Francisco’s Chinatown in 1895.

Like all good tourists I had a Baedeker. A sentence saying, “It is not advisable to visit the Chinese quarter unless one is accompanied by a guide,” intrigued me. There is a vagabond streak in me which balks at caution. As soon as I could make myself free, I was on my way to Chinatown, where I was to go again and again, for it was this bit of the Orient set down in the heart of a Western metropolis that was to swing my destiny into new and unforeseen channels.²⁴⁸

Although Hokkaido was hardly a “metropolis,” it nevertheless contained the same prescription against danger from both European authors and Japanese authorities that had adopted an image of the Ainu as violent. Although many authors, such as Bird, describe the Ainu in line with tropes of the “Noble Savage,” authors such as A. H. Savage Landor describe near death experiences at the hands of the Ainu in his 1893 travelogue *Alone with the Hairy Ainu*.²⁴⁹ Landor’s violent depictions of the Ainu would cause his work to be dismissed by many anthropologists of the early twentieth century, but Genthe nevertheless owned a copy of Landor’s work. Although Genthe credits Rev. John Batchelor (1854–1944) for making travel to the Ainu country safe, he writes, “Formerly there was an element of

²⁴⁸ A Baedeker is a German publisher of travel guides. It had come to be used to describe any book, pamphlet, or paper containing information useful to travelers. Karl Baedeker founded the company in 1827. Genthe, 32.

²⁴⁹ A copy of *Alone with the Hairy Ainu*, signed by Arnold Genthe is currently owned by Charlotte Du Rietz Rare Books (ILAB) in Stockholm, Sweden. Genthe’s signature is located on the front free endpaper. Charlotte Du Rietz Rare Books. Accessed February 23, 2010. <http://www.durietzrarebooks.com>

danger, since the legends carried from generation to generation had created a feeling of terror and contempt of all strangers.”²⁵⁰ Genthe also compares the Ainu to the Chinese in San Francisco regarding their aversion to photography, even though this was most likely an exaggeration in both cases.²⁵¹ Although Ainu communities were certainly wary of photographers, by 1908, certain Ainu *kotan* (villages) were accustomed to being photographed as the Ainu became popular tourist attractions for explorers and commercial photographers alike. In fact, by 1918, the Ainu themselves would begin integrating photographs and illustrations into their own community-produced works (see Chapter 5). Beyond religious superstition, Ainu loathing of photography was likely due to the unabashed voyeurism of travelers. Nevertheless, the Ainu of Hokkaido and the Chinese of San Francisco seemed to stimulate the very same fantasy of exploring and photographing prohibitive spaces. Since Landor’s book was in Genthe’s possession, its colorful stories and rich illustrations provide a good comparative framework against which Genthe’s own photographs can be measured.

Arnold Henry Savage Landor (1865–1924), grandson to the famous poet Walter Savage Landor, was an artist who made his name as an explorer at the turn of the twentieth

²⁵⁰ Rev. John Batchelor was an English missionary who lived in Japan. He is most known for documenting the Ainu language, and advocating for the Ainu both in Japan and in Europe. His ministry ended when Batchelor left Japan during the Second World War after sixty years of residency. Although Batchelor probably did not make travel to Hokkaidō any safer for tourists, it was thought that the conversion to Christianity “civilized” the Ainu. One of Batchelor’s most ambitious projects was the translation of the Bible into the Ainu language. Genthe never met with Batchelor in person, but seems to have been acquainted with him through his books and by mutual acquaintances in Biratori such as Penri II. Genthe, 234.

²⁵¹ This is probably an exaggeration. As John Kuo Wei Tchen explains most, if not all, Chinese in San Francisco had become familiar with cameras and photographs by the 1890s. Despite this, it is worth mentioning that it is still common to see “no photography” signs in Chinatowns, particularly in the non-tourist areas. John Kuo Wei Tchen and Arnold Genthe, *Genthe’s Photographs of San Francisco’s Old Chinatown* (New York: Dover Publications, 1984), 11.

century. Like many explorers of the late nineteenth century, Landor trekked through not only Hokkaido, but to other areas of Japan, Korea, China, Tibet, Nepal, India, Russia, Africa, and South America. He presented his work in person to Queen Victoria, and became a great friend to artists James McNeill Whistler and Joseph Pennell. Landor painted and sketched his way through foreign landscapes, and his journey in Hokkaido is recorded in his travelogue *Alone with the Hairy Ainu: or, 3800 miles on a pack saddle in Yezo and a cruise to the Kurile Islands* published in 1893.²⁵² In comparison to other explorers like Isabella Bird explored in Chapter One, Landor's work remains relatively unknown. Nevertheless, Landor's travelogue and accompanying illustrations visually depart from previous representations of the Ainu. While the visual content of publications by Phillip Franz von Siebold, Isabella Bird, or Edward Greedy depended on previously photographed or painted images (such as Baron Raimund von Stillfried's tourist albumen or Ainu-e like Murakami Shimanojō's *Kita Ezo zusetu*, See: Chapter One), Landor generated all of the illustrations in *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* with his own hand. Although there are some similarities in terms of textual content, the visuals provided by Landor—engravings and lithographs based on monochrome ink illustrations and Landor's original oil paintings—visualize the Ainu in a new way. Obsessed with issues of "authenticity," Landor reserves the title "Noble Savage" for those Ainu who were deemed "pure." In contrast, Landor's "mixed-blood Ainu" were depicted with distinctly Westernized features that recall William Robert Broughton's Greek-styled Ainu engraving from 1804 (see Introduction). Landor's images would repeatedly reemerge in newspaper spreads about the "hairy" Ainu and, like Bird's frontispiece, form a strong component in the popular visualization of the Ainu at the turn of

²⁵² Arnold Henry Savage Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Ainu or, 3,800 Miles on a Pack Saddle in Yezo and a Cruise to the Kurile Islands* (London: John Murray on Albemarle Street, 1893).

the twentieth century. As with Starr's 1904 *The Ainu Group at the St. Louis Exposition*, Landor's *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* also ended up in the possession of future explorers to Hokkaido, like Arnold Genthe.

A. H. Savage Landor led a truly cosmopolitan life.²⁵³ Born and raised in Florence, Italy, he attended the studio of the Irish portrait painter Harry Jones Thaddeus as a young boy. Inspired by the books of Jules Verne, Samuel Baker, and the French *Journal des Voyages*, Landor began traveling at a young age. He pursued painting at the Académie Julian in Paris under the guidance of Gustave Boulanger and Jules Lefebvre before the age of sixteen, and he would paint many canvasses while exploring Europe and North Africa. According to his biography *Everywhere; Memoirs of an Explorer* (1924), published the year of his death, he reached American shores with no more than forty pounds sterling in his pocket. There he would paint portraits of various famous personalities including President Harrison, the granddaughter of Abraham Lincoln, actress Lily Langtry and Cora Brown Potter. Taking the money that he made in the United States, he traveled to Vancouver, and in 1889 left on a steamer for Yokohama, Japan. Landor was enchanted with Japan and painted twenty-four large canvases in addition to several smaller works, including portraits of members of the imperial court and a half-sized portrait of fellow writer Sir Edwin Arnold. However, with tourist locales such as Tokyo (Edo), Nikko, Yokohama, and Kyoto already surveyed by countless explorers before him, Landor would soon set his sights on the north.

Like many other travelers who saw Hokkaido as the untamed wild, Landor exerted much energy in describing the difficulties of travel. In his preface Landor writes, "I

²⁵³ Piero Fusi, "A. Henry Savage Landor," Florin Website, ed. Julia Bolton Holloway. Accessed January 23, 2013. <http://www.florin.ms/hsleng.html>

accomplished the whole journey (some 4200 miles, out of which 3800 were ridden on horseback and on a rough pack-saddle) perfectly alone. By alone I mean that I had with me no friends, no servants, and no guides. My baggage consisted of next to nothing, so far as articles for my own convenience or comfort were concerned. I carried no provisions and no tent.”²⁵⁴ Landor follows his description of travel hardship by expounding the virtues of going native and “doing in Ainuland as the Ainu does.” This is echoed in the volume’s frontispiece that shows a young, dashing Landor leading a horse along the cliffs lining Hokkaido’s shore. The small citation under the drawing reads, “When my clothes came to an end I did without them.” Landor’s conspicuous lack of pants is telling. Landor’s self-sufficiency was largely tied to a demonstration of his own masculinity; by going to Hokkaido, he experienced a transformation. In effect, he experienced the journey through the physical toll on his body, clothes, and materials. He writes, “When I go to a country I do my best to be like one of the natives themselves, and whether they are savage or not, I endeavor to show respect for them and their ideas and to conform to their customs for the time being. I make up my mind that what is good for them must be good enough for me.”²⁵⁵ Unlike Bird or the fictional Jewett family described by Edward Greey, who required certain conveniences on their journeys, Landor advocated for a return to a more primeval state. Landor’s trip to Hokkaido would not be the last time that Landor focused on such a bodily transformation; a later example from an 1897 trip to Tibet is accompanied by a before-and-after self-portrait illustrating a similar change from “civilized gentleman” to “wild man.” However, for such a journey to be effective, it often had to be completed alone—at least in the pages of Landor’s memoirs. Despite the visual and textual rhetoric of a lone male

²⁵⁴ Landor, x.

²⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, ix.

explorer that permeates Landor's texts, he often traveled with assistance. He also occasionally traveled with his two cats: Kermin and Zeris. On one hand, by solidifying his identity as self-sufficient, Landor implicitly compares and elevates himself in comparison to earlier writers dependent on translators and guides. However, this emphasis on going it alone also allowed Landor to shore up the authenticity of his visions without any other voice to corroborate his story, and he solely on his sketchbook as a factual record of his trip.

Unlike Genthe, Landor deemed photography as entirely insufficient in capturing his experience. Although photography is often described as having a relationship to what Roland Barthes calls "having-been-there," a representation of a real event that the photograph references, Landor often co-opts the language of photography to describe his artistic practice. Landor enthusiastically explains the suspicious and superstitious Ainu responses that his sketches received, describing scenarios similar to the tales relayed by photographers. For Landor, his sketches contain the same, if not greater, power than photographic representation. During one event, he says, "I produced the large sketch of the scene which I had repainted... they could hardly believe their own eyes, and looked at each other as if some great calamity were approaching. I have no doubt that they considered me an evil spirit, and, as such, too powerful to be contended with."²⁵⁶ Here, Landor recreates a painting that this particular Ainu crowd previously destroyed. While the medium of painting is often discussed as a singular object that lacks reproducibility, Landor easily recreates the scene using brush, ink, and paint. This was perhaps Landor's attempt to invoke his own authentic experience as a competent traveler. Armed only with a limited

²⁵⁶ Ibid., 16.

wardrobe and an artistic arsenal, visiting Hokkaido was, in a way, Landor's way of dealing with the loss of creative and immediate expression that he saw with the popularization of photography. He remained unencumbered by cameras, plates, and chemicals, but despite eschewing new technology, the natives repeatedly demonstrated the truth and authenticity of his images through their shock, awe, and fear. Landor sought a pure Ainu culture untouched by either Western or Japanese influence so that he could eschew new technology and record them in his own hand.

With Landor wielding his eye-witness accounts of the Ainu, he consistently criticizes previous travelers like Bird and Batchelor. In fact, even though Batchelor was largely considered the authority on the Ainu by many traveling from the United States and Europe, Landor's criticism of him is often the harshest. By briefly considering it, we can better understand Landor's claim to authority in his work. Landor does not refer to Batchelor by name, but citing "A learned missionary who has not himself visited these people [the Tokachi Ainu]," he then goes on lay out his claim:

From my own personal experiences—and I may add I am the only foreigner who has seen these Tokachi, or as others call them, Tokachi Ainu—I came to a conclusion very different from this. I found that not only were they not cannibals, but that taken altogether, they were the most peaceable, gentle, and kind Ainu that I came across during my peregrinations through the land of the hairy people. Indeed, I am sorry to say that it is not savagery that makes the Ainu bad, but it is civilisation that demoralises them. The only place in Yezo where I was actually ill-treated by Ainu, as my readers will remember, is the village where they were said to be "very civilised." I have no wish to force my opinion on the public as the correct one. I do not but describe what I have actually seen in a district in which others who have written on this subject have never set foot, and I leave it to my readers to judge who has most claim to be heard.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁷ Even though Landor does not reference Batchelor's name in the body of the text, there is a footnote at the bottom of the page which points to Batchelor's work. *Ibid.*, 59.

From this short passage, we can notice several things. First of all, Landor certainly aims to capture the attention of his audience, asserting his own authority as an explorer, which derives specifically from eye-witness accounts. In his Preface, Landor explains that he hopes his work will be of use to anthropologists and ethnographers since *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* is nothing more than “a record—an amplified log-book, as it were—of what befell me during my solitary peregrinations of Hokkaido.”²⁵⁸ As such, Landor’s disparaging opinion toward Batchelor is two-fold. On the one hand, Landor felt that Batchelor did not have the authority to write on a topic (Landor claims) he hasn’t seen. However, underwriting this accusation is a larger critique of Batchelor’s missionary mission in light of the “noble savage” discourse—of natives uncorrupted by modern civilization. Landor’s journey can be reframed as a quest for the authentic, pure, unsullied Ainu body in contrast to a modernizing Japan. However, this pursuit is quite different from what John Batchelor advocated in Sapporo—namely, education and assimilation as a path toward ending discrimination against the Ainu community and lifting the Ainu out of poverty. While travel into “Ainu country” was already marked by danger—a characterization largely conflated with the land itself—Landor did indeed subscribe to the discourse of the noble savage where the “civilized” Ainu were synonymous with both corruption and danger.

The wholesale dismissal of Landor’s work is likely due to the rejection of his findings by scholars like Starr and Batchelor in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Despite Landor’s preface which offers his book as ethnographic research, many researchers and anthropologists faulted Landor for incorrect translations of Ainu words and places. Furthermore, although Landor did *occasionally* subscribe to the idea of the

²⁵⁸ Ibid., ix.

noble savage such as that seen in his description of the Tokachi Ainu, his work more often promoted an image of Ainu civilization as backward, violent, and barbaric. For Landor, only the “pure” Ainu could be noble, but increasing hybridization made them all the more elusive. Although Landor’s depictions of the Ainu were often negative, several tourists and ethnographers took an even more extreme view. As a prominent example of this, Basil Hall Chamberlain writes, “The innocent savage is not found in Aino-land, if indeed he is to be found anywhere. The Aino’s imagination is as prurient as that of any Zola, and far more outspoken... Aino stories and Aino conversation are the intellectual counterpart of the dirt, the lice, and the skin-diseases which cover Aino bodies.”²⁵⁹ These abject images continued to proliferate, and at the turn of the century several European and American ethnographers also began to play into this notion of the “savage” Ainu. Anthropologists who discredit Landor’s book as being disingenuous in his description of the Ainu do not acknowledge the immense popularity of Landor’s writing in both the United States and Japan.

The budding field of Japanese anthropology often co-opted the negative stereotypes popularized by writers like Landor (as well as Romyn Hitchcock,²⁶⁰ Isabella Bird, Chamberlain, and perhaps photographers like Genthe) wholesale in an effort to define Japanese “race” (*minzoku*) as “civilized” and “modern” by contrast. Landor’s book was even exhibited at the eighteenth meeting of the Sapporo Anthropological Society in 1897.²⁶¹ Despite rejection by American anthropologists and ethnographers who saw the Ainu as harmless, authors like Landor had a lasting effect on Japanese anthropology and Euro-

²⁵⁹ Basil Hall Chamberlain, *Aino Folktales* (London: The Folk-lore Society, 1888), 5.

²⁶⁰ Romyn Hitchcock, “The Ancient Pit Dwellers of Yezo,” *United States National Museum Annual Report for 1889-1890* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1891), 417–27; Romyn Hitchcock, “The Aino of Yezo, Japan,” in *United States National Museum Annual Report for 1889–1890* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1891), 428–502.

²⁶¹ Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 82.

American tourism.

Genthe's own itinerary in Biratori village mirrors that of Landor in many ways. Both men were concerned with art, and it is possible that Genthe may have felt a kind of kinship with Landor whose book recounts the hazards of travel while painting his way through the Ainu-filled landscapes of Yezo. Landor's account of Biratori village centers on Chief Penri—the “dirty,” “barbaric,” “savage” chief who was constantly intoxicated.²⁶² During his stay he bribed Chief Penri to sit for a portrait (Figure 29), participated in the Iyomante Bear Festival, watched the Ainu women perform a dance (Figure 30), and went from being a foreign stranger to “a friend of the Ainu.”²⁶³ Furthermore, Landor was constantly searching for the “picturesque” in the Ainu. Landor's description of the festival is worth quoting at length in order to demonstrate one of the many moments that were, in effect, sketchable (Figure 31).

The whole group of these chiefs with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque. In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still have curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.²⁶⁴

Landor's description of the Ainu chiefs is fraught with stereotypes of the colonial other, and his treatment mimics an aesthete dealing with art objects instead of real people.

²⁶² Landor, like other travelers, Romanizes the chief's name as “Benry.” For the sake of consistency, I have used standard Romanization and changed the name to “Penri.”

²⁶³ Landor, 32.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.



Figure 29: Illustration by A. H. Savage Landor, *Benry, The Aino Chief of Piratori*. Reprinted from A. H. Savage Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Aino* (London: John Murray, 1893), 25.



Figure 30: A. H. Savage Landor, *Ainu Women Dancing, Piratori*. Reprinted from A. H. Savage Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Aino* (London: John Murray, 1893), 33.

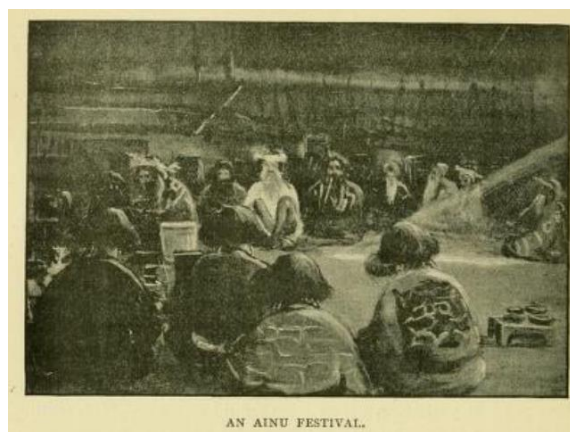


Figure 31: A. H. Savage Landor, *An Aino Festival*. Reprinted from A. H. Savage Landor, *Alone with the Hairy Aino* (London: John Murray, 1893), 30.

Although Genthe's trip to Biratori occurred fifteen years after Landor's excursion, he nonetheless replicates many of the same experiences including the intoxicated chief. Genthe befriends Chief Penri II (the Chief Penri from Landor's story had already passed away), participates in the Iyomante Bear Festival, watches the women perform the "erotic" crane dance (Figure 32), and, perhaps most significant, convinces the chief to sit for a photographic portrait (Figure 33). According to Genthe, "They [the Ainu] believed that reproducing the human face upon paper destroyed the soul of the subject," but he was nonetheless able to convince them to sit, going about it "quite diplomatically."²⁶⁵

Despite a difference of almost twenty years, there are some striking visual similarities between Landor's textual scenes and Genthe's photographs. In fact, Genthe's photographs often seem to visualize the striking text-based images presented by Landor. The portrait entitled *Ainu Chiefs at Biratori* (1908) could have easily been a photo of the scene described above in *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* in 1893 (Figure 34). Three Ainu chiefs with thick white beards sit in front of the hearth. Before them are sake bowls and a decorated mat "reminiscent of the prayer rugs of the Klikitt Indians of Northern America."²⁶⁶ Their faces are lit on one side by an undefined light source (perhaps a "brilliant ray of sunshine" through the "small east window"). Genthe took several versions of this portrait from different angles only emphasizing his efforts to recreate Landor's "picturesque" description.

In spite of the glaring formal similarities between Landor and Genthe, the two men differ markedly in the way they describe the Ainu at Biratori. While Landor calls the Ainu in

²⁶⁵ Genthe, 233.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., 231.



Figure 32: Arnold Genthe, *Crane dance of the Ainu women* (title devised from similar photo in *As I Remember*), 1908. Nitrate negative. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 33: Arnold Genthe, *Ainu chief wearing a headdress seated with a sword in his lap* (title devised), 1908. Nitrate negative. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 34: Arnold Genthe, *Ainu Chiefs at Piratori*, 1908. Photograph. Held by University of California, San Diego.

Biratori partially inauthentic due to mixing with Japanese culture, Genthe accepts the village as a real representation of Ainu life. Landor writes, "I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Biratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveler has then reported as purely Ainu customs."²⁶⁷ While Landor leaves Biratori in search of the "authentic," Genthe views Biratori as a true Ainu village despite evidence of cultural influence with not only Japanese culture, but American culture as well. Many of the Ainu who were brought over to the United States in 1904 by Frederick Starr addressed in Chapter Two called Biratori village home, and Genthe claimed that his Ainu guide was one of Starr's traveling human exhibits and Genthe comments on his repeated attempts at English conversation. While Landor refused to accept the Ainu in Biratori as pure examples of the "Ainu race-type," the village of Biratori was sufficient for Genthe who was searching for a particular idyllic past that had to be recreated in front of the camera. Since the representation of the picturesque Ainu that Genthe sought was dependent on his own framing as a photographer, he could ignore inauthentic aspects of Ainu culture, such as Japanese assimilation or knowledge of the United States and English.

These similarities between Landor and Genthe can also be attributed in part to the well-established tourism of Hokkaido and the development of studio photography in Meiji Japan. Allen Hockley's work on Meiji photography has been indispensable in understanding

²⁶⁷ Landor, 31.

the strong links between studio photography, consumerism, and tourism.²⁶⁸ Prospective customers in the late nineteenth century could browse through albums filled with popular scenes and views, which would have undoubtedly included the Ainu as a spectacle to behold. In the Meiji period, hand-colored studio portraits of Ainu men and women were often surrounded by natural props, with paint deliberately highlighting the patterns in Ainu clothing or the tattooing around women's mouths and arms—two of the most visible markers of Ainu-ness. Customers could choose from photographs that reflected their experiences (or desired experiences) as a memento for story telling. The fabricated photographs then came back to Europe and America as “authentic” evidence of what one could experience in Japan. However, photographs also served a different function in telling the customer what places were appropriate to visit prior to their excursion. In effect, they were a visual repertoire of Japan's sites that could guide the routes of travelers. Although not mentioned in *As I Remember*, it is likely that Genthe was familiar with the popular photography studios in Yokohama from his trip and from his fellow Japan-loving friends in the United States. Although the heyday of studio photography was on the decline as travel restrictions were lifted, explorers were motivated more than ever to visit and photograph these sites. With the combination of travelogues like Landor's *Alone with the Hairy Ainu* and these albums cum guidebooks, Genthe's trip to Hokkaido was already determined by a variety of sources and expectations. As Sebastian Dobson explains, “the average

²⁶⁸ For a discussion of the relationship between photography and tourism in Japan, see: Allen Hockley, “Packaged Tours: Photo Albums and Their Implications for the Study of Early Japanese Photography,” in *Reflecting Truth: Photography in Nineteenth-Century Japan*, ed. Nicole Coolidge Roumaniere and Mikiko Hirayama (Amsterdam: Hotei Publishing, 2004), 66–85. Other parallel studies include: Krista A. Thompson, *An Eye for the Tropics: Tourism, Photography, and Framing the Caribbean Picturesque* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); and Mike Robinson and David Picard, eds., *The Framed World: Tourism, Tourists, and Photography* (Farnham; Burlington: Ashgate Publishing, Ltd., 2009).

globetrotter had only a short time in which to [travel], and, furnished with a guidebook, already came with ideas about the preindustrial idyll that was presumed to lie beyond the treaty ports.”²⁶⁹ He not only knew what he wanted to see, but he knew what experiences he would be able to recreate.

The Handbook for Travelers in Japan by Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason (1891) is one stunning example of how places like Biratori became part and parcel of these new circuits of tourism described by Dobson. In a section on Yezo (Hokkaido), Chamberlain writes, “The representative Aino [sic] village most easy of access is Biratori, one day’s journey from Tomakomai, on the Muroran-Sapporo Railway.”²⁷⁰ Despite Landor’s emphasis on backpacking through a dangerous, unfamiliar landscape, Biratori village (as well as the other Aino villages) appears in Chamberlain’s guide along with detailed instructions on how to reach it by train. The “authentic” experience presented by Landor was in all actuality a pre-made tourist experience retold with excessive rhetorical flourish. Other writers of this period such as Thomas Wright Blakiston also visit Biratori and describe “Old Penri” and his problems with alcoholism—the caricatured figure of Penri became incorporated into the tourist experience.²⁷¹ By taking on the guise of the explorer in unfamiliar territory, Landor presents his trip as personal, unpredictable, and fantastic. Although there is a desire to see the authentic, what is “authentic” is actually fabricated. Later in the guide, Chamberlain expands upon his initial remarks on Biratori:

²⁶⁹ Sebastian Dobson, “Yokohama Shashin” in *Art & Artifice: Japanese Photographs of the Meiji Era* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 2004), 16.

²⁷⁰ Basil Hall Chamberlain and W.B. Mason, *A Handbook for Travelers in Japan*, 4th ed. (London: John Murray, 1894), 529.

²⁷¹ Thomas Wright Blakiston, *Japan in Yezo: A Series of Papers Descriptive of Journeys Undertaken in the Island of Yezo, At Intervals Between 1862 and 1882* (Yokohama: Japan Gazette Office, 1883), 66.

A 3 or 4 days' excursion may be made hence to Biratori, the largest settlement of southern Ainos [sic]... All purely Aino villages follow the same pattern. A good Japanese inn was recently opened at Biratori by one named Wada; but whether it will continue is uncertain. Those who venture to accept Aino hospitality, must make up their minds for encounters with vermin of various sorts.²⁷²

The Biratori Ainu, despite being seen as the “representative” village, is nonetheless constructed as a place where authenticity can be seen and the remnants of a “recent Stone Age” found. Landor and Blakiston eventually leave Biratori in search of something even more authentic, but the village is sufficient for Genthe who can construct an image of the authentic through his camera lens. Even the description of Chief Penri II is almost identical for that of Chief Penri—the identity of the man was not as important as the function he served in the narrative of tourist experience.

For Genthe, the Ainu at Biratori exemplified the trope of the “noble savage” and the “vanishing race.” As quoted in the epigraph at the beginning of this essay, Genthe remembered his trip as “a voyage far back in time to the beginning of an almost vanished civilization.”²⁷³ Thus, despite the Ainu at Biratori living a reality that was contemporary with Genthe, they are framed as an example of permanent “European” past. Genthe closes his chapter by saying, “The number of Ainu is rapidly diminishing and it is to be hoped that before it is too late, the puzzling problem of their origin will be solved.”²⁷⁴ As Fatimah Tobing Rony explains in her discussion of photographers Edward Sheriff Curtis and Joseph K. Dixon—both contemporaries of Genthe—“If salvage ethnography was a race against the perceived destruction of native life ‘from a pictorial point of view,’ it was also a race

²⁷² Chamberlain, *A Handbook for Travelers in Japan*, 5th ed., 537.

²⁷³ Genthe, 31.

²⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 234.

backwards, to a less cluttered, simpler past."²⁷⁵ Genthe combines preservation through photography with a desire to escape conditions of modernity. He wanted to explore the past while keeping one foot firmly rooted in the present.

Nevertheless, through these travel guides and travelogues, Genthe travels to Hokkaido already predisposed to what he would see and experience. In *Tristes Tropiques*, Claude Levi-Strauss writes,

Nowadays, being an explorer is a trade, which consists not, as one might think, in discovering hitherto unknown facts after years of study, but in covering a great many miles and assembling lantern slides or motion pictures... For this audience, platitudes and commonplaces seem to have been miraculously transmuted into revelations by the sole fact that their author, instead of doing his plagiarizing at home, has supposedly sanctified it by covering some twenty thousand miles.²⁷⁶

Although disguised as a search for the undiscovered, what Genthe replicates is an overdetermined experience made valid only by laying one's eyes on the normalcy of one life and projecting it as mythic and "real." Genthe travels in order to justify his story and image of the Ainu, rather than merely relaying what he sees in Biratori. For as Rony explains, "The exotic is always already known."²⁷⁷ Genthe's photographs thus contribute and react to the vibrant economy of visual and textual images of Ainuness that were already circulating both within and outside of Japan during the early twentieth century. He tries to reconstruct a vision of a more authentic, less modern time even when the reality that confronts him does not conform to the vision of the untouched native—the very same disjuncture observed between Iboshi's writing and the idealized image in Euro-American

²⁷⁵ Fatimah Tobing Rony, *The Third Eye: Race, Cinema, and Ethnographic Spectacle* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 92.

²⁷⁶ Claude Levi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (New York: Penguin Books, 1955), 17–18.

²⁷⁷ Rony, 6.

ethnography. What is not accounted for in Genthe's retelling of his travel is the way that the Ainu in the photographs negotiate the "tourist" and Japanese presence.

Genthe's trip is thus motivated by both prohibition and desire. On the one hand, ignoring warnings of danger and traveling to Biratori resonates with his experiences exploring an unfamiliar Chinatown. His earlier accounts of exploring Chinatown and becoming a regular in places where other Americans were mere tourists brought him a sense of unparalleled joy and his documentation of these areas are treated as truthful documentary due to Genthe's air of authenticity. On the other hand, his trip to Biratori village seeks to recreate Landor's experience as the fearless artist among barbarians. Traveling to Biratori village is an attempt to recreate the "authentic" and "picturesque" Ainu. Japan's assimilation policies and Japanese presence (such as the inn presented by Chamberlain) are absent in Genthe's photographs underlying his desire to recreate the last remaining vestiges of a "vanishing" race.

"Art Science": Edward Sheriff Curtis and Arnold Genthe

Genthe's focus on the Ainu as an example of a vanishing people is extremely similar to the stance taken by another pictorialist photographer, Edward Sheriff Curtis (1868–1952). Curtis's *The North American Indian* is a volume of photography "archiving" the noble savage. Both photographers were concerned with the need to photograph these people due to the prospect of their impending disappearance. Assuming that Ainu culture was already in an advanced state of deterioration validated the collecting of indigenous objects and the capturing of Ainu ways of life before it was too late; the "ethnographic present" is founded on an anti-reality that covers up and hides the presence of the Japanese and the "West."

However more significant to this discussion is the fact that both photographers were concerned with capturing the “picturesque.” Mick Gidly describes the picturesque with regard to Curtis by calling it a “large and intractable topic.” He writes, “loosely, of course, picturesque means ‘pretty as a picture,’ and in the picturesque work of the [Photo-]Secessionists there was almost always an effect of completeness and composure, a tendency toward the preferred view, the prospect of being suitably framed.”²⁷⁸ Photo-Secession was an early twentieth-century movement led by photographers like Alfred Stieglitz who claimed that the real artistry of photography was not in what happened to pass in front of the lens, but in the manipulation of the image to achieve a subjective vision. Inspired by this movement, Curtis promoted photography (and pictorialism in particular) as a fine art. However, as Rony has recounted in her analysis of Curtis and salvage ethnography, Curtis described his work as “Art Science”—a hybrid between art and the ethnography.²⁷⁹ Although Genthe never explicitly states this as his goal, it is undeniable that he too was searching for a way to simultaneously document the native while creating aesthetically pleasing photographs that spoke beyond the referent. In speaking of his early Chinatown photographs, Genthe writes, “I waited, eager and alert, for the sun to filter through the shadows or for some picturesque group or character to appear—a smoker to squat with his pipe, or a group of children in holiday attire.”²⁸⁰ His pictorialist aesthetic utilized soft light and high contrast to evoke emotion and exoticism, and figures seem to emerge from dark alleys and store windows. Genthe’s project went beyond mere ethnographic documentation—like both Landor and Curtis he was searching for the perfect

²⁷⁸ Mick Gidly, “Pictorialist Elements in Edward S. Curtis’s Photographic Representation of American Indians,” *The Yearbook of English Studies* 24, (1994): 189.

²⁷⁹ Rony, 92.

²⁸⁰ Genthe, 35.

picture of the Other through a perfection of technique and aesthetic.

There must be some way, I thought, of taking their pictures so that they would be more than a mere surface record and would have more relation to life and to art than the stiffly posed photographs that gave the effect of masks behind which the soul of the subject was lost. Perhaps, I thought, if they were photographed in the unobtrusive manner which had worked so well with my shy and unsuspecting Chinese subjects, if they were not allowed to become self-conscious by artificial posing, if they could be kept from knowing the exact moment the exposure was being made—then something more of their spirit might be brought out by the camera.²⁸¹

Genthe was concerned with the capturing the “real” person behind the artificial pose, and saw photography as something more than that which passed before his lens unaltered. But despite his insistence on authenticity, Genthe denies the constructed nature of his photographs. Despite his claim to capturing his subjects at unsuspecting moments, John Kuo Wei Tchen has documented that Genthe physically manipulated the environment of his Chinatown subjects through cropping in order to erase any image of the “West” that might make the scene less exotic.

As Tchen explains, Genthe often used only small portions of photographs and rarely ever exhibited them full-frame. His subjects were often shown in holiday dress, which gave the impression that this festive attire was the regular clothing for Chinatown residents further exemplifying this notion of the “exotic” Orient.²⁸² Figures 35 and 36 show a cropped lanternslide alongside the original negative of *A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire* that exemplifies the transformative power of Genthe’s cropping technique. The cropped version shows a girl wearing new clothing for the Chinese New Year, casting a downward glance at the ground as she prepares to step off the curb. A horse-drawn wagon and small Chinese child

²⁸¹ Ibid., 41.

²⁸² Tchen, 13.



Figure 35: Arnold Genthe, *A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire*, ca. 1896-1942. Lantern Slide. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.



Figure 36: Arnold Genthe, *A Slave Girl in Holiday Attire*, ca. 1896-1906. Glass Negative. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

can be seen in the background creating a vision of Chinatown without technological sophistication. The photograph eschews a journalistic approach, and idealized the girl as exotic and completely isolated from the reality she inhabits. Despite being part of the underworld of slavery and prostitution, we do not see any evidence of this kind of negativity that is typically associated with her livelihood. However, one look at the negative of this slide brings the larger scene into clear focus. Rather than merely stepping off of the curb, we can see that Genthe has edited out the trash that lies along the gutter before her. A disembodied shadow creeps up the left side of the lanternslide, but through an inspection of the negative, we can see that this belongs to a man in Western dress walking next to her who approaches a non-Chinese woman and child. The English sign for dry goods above her head is also tidied up as well as the European-style architecture. The transformed photograph elides racial mixing through its focus on the girl in premodern, idyllic context ignoring the accurate portrayal of Chinatown seen in the negative. This exemplifies Genthe's perspective on photography and reality—the reality that he was trying to portray was not material, but rather some essence of the ethnic Other that he sought to preserve with his practice. By trying to capture his subject unawares, his photographs cultivate a kind of indexical authority of “having-been-there,” but “there” is a relative notion when the context around the figure is dramatically altered.

Although Genthe's photographs of the Ainu can be contextualized within the discourse of American and Japanese photography of the same period, his style is what particularly lends these photos their complicated status as art/science. To compare Genthe's photograph of the Ainu chief to the earlier images of the Ainu men from studio portraiture, we can begin to see the aesthetic that Genthe adopted. His photographs move

away from deliberate posing and his images try to catch the unsuspecting subject—in this example, an Ainu chief. The chief sits in a natural position and looks off into the distance, with the smoke creating an ethereal mist along his right side. His hands are palm-up on top of his knees suggesting that this photograph was taken in the middle of some kind of ritual by the fire. Studio portraits, by contrast, often featured unnatural poses with real or fabricated props and, occasionally, a painted backdrop. Nevertheless, both kinds of images seek to define a “type” of person, not an individual—a practice that is well known in the anthropological discourse of human taxonomy. However, the studio portrait embraces artifice in a way that Genthe tries to elide in his photograph. This is not to say that Genthe’s photograph is more “authentic” than a studio portrait, since both are consciously constructed, but Genthe’s photographs straddle this precarious line between art and document more easily. His work combines his pictorial tendencies with the impulse to archive the vanishing Ainu. Although he may have been interested in studio photography in his professional career (and did take many studio-style portraits of Japanese people on this trip), Genthe’s photography of the Ainu has more in common with Curtis’s photography of Native Americans. His images have a purported air of authenticity about them despite the great pains taken in composition. The “real” that he presents is one that is deliberately constructed through cropping and style.

With Genthe’s photographs of the Ainu, any Japanese influence is systematically erased from the scene through Genthe’s careful framing, and the Ainu are presented to the viewer as the “real” thing. The “commonplace” described by Levi-Strauss was elevated to the status of the mythic. Like Curtis’s insistence on “Art Science,” Genthe too tried to blend documentary with art that created an idealized, romantic image of the Ainu men and

women. Although Genthe's photographs did replicate various ethnographic types of the Ainu, he adopted a pictorialist stance where it was he, not the subject, who was the final arbiter of a successful image. Genthe's photographs limit visual distraction and adopt high contrast as a way to focus on the subject and enhance the drama of a portrait or space. While downplaying his own presence, he depended on careful framing and cropping in order to produce the "vanishing native" untouched by outside influence. Rather than capture the Ainu in Biratori outdoors and head-on, as many anthropologists were apt to do through the twentieth century, Genthe wanted to create atmosphere in his photographs. As seen with his portrait of Chief Penri II or the portrait of three Ainu elder, Genthe used the light filtering in from the small window of a *chise* to illuminate the figures waiting in the dark interior. He captured the smoke lingering from the hearth at the edges of his frame, and created an image that is not merely an anthropological type, but a pictorialist vision. Following a method similar to Curtis, Genthe tries to realize the image of an Ainu past that Landor could never quite find and record with his paintbrush.

Reversing Roles: Penri takes Genthe's Photograph

The old wife Penri insisted on being photographed with me. I arranged the camera on a tripod and showed Penri how to press the bulb. The villagers stood round, silently watching the scene with amazement, but were disappointed when nothing exciting happened. The picture, however, was a success.

—Arnold Genthe, *As I Remember*, 1936²⁸³

Of the several hundred photographs taken of the Ainu by Genthe, the photo mentioned above (Figure 37) was unique in a variety of ways. First, it was the only photo to show Genthe's physical presence in Biratori village, as most of his photographs were taken

²⁸³ Genthe, 233.



Figure 37: Arnold Genthe, *Arnold Genthe and an Ainu woman* (title devised), 1908. Acetate negative. Held by Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division.

from the perspective of the traveler. Genthe has several initial photographs of the road to Biratori and the surrounding landscape with Ainu dwellings, and separates Ainu individuals into portraits and group activities. Second, it was the only photograph physically taken by Chief Penri II, the son of the Chief Penri that Landor had described in his travel book. The camera—an apparatus often seen as a stand-in for the imperialist eye—had been repossessed in that instant. For a brief moment, those who were so accustomed to being looked at did the looking.

The photo itself shows Genthe standing tall next to Chief Penri II's wife. Genthe, as a photographer accustomed to doing portraits, stands straight with his head high. His legs form a perfect "V" shape, elongating his figure as he gazes into the camera. The woman, by contrast, stands two heads shorter than Genthe. She looks at the camera head-on, waiting for something to happen. Her eyes are half-open, half-closed and her hands are clenched at her waist. They stand together in the center of the shot framed by the mountains above and Ainu dwellings in the background on the left and right.

In her first chapter that discusses "Seeing Anthropology," Rony projects the thoughts of a Wolof woman from Senegal in comparison to that of early ethnographer Felix Louis Regnault. As a rhetorical strategy this scenario is quite effective at achieving its goal: describing the "divide between observer and observed"—the colonizer and the colonized.²⁸⁴ For Rony, the "chain of looks" is integral to understanding what it means to see ethnographic film from different perspectives. Likewise, the chain of looks that occurs within the space of this photograph is significant in that it confuses the categories of "observer" and "observed," preserving a moment where the divide became obfuscated and unclear. The man behind the camera—the man who, in Genthe's notion of "picturesque" photography, chooses the moment to take the photo of his unaware subject—is Penri himself. Genthe obliges the request from Penri's wife, relinquishing control over the apparatus that had recorded those residing in Biratori village for several weeks. Genthe's presence is made visible and the illusion of the untouched Ainu village that one can experience is shattered. Although the moment of agency was short lived and incomplete, this perhaps presaged a moment when the Ainu photographer cum ethnographer takes

²⁸⁴ Rony, 23.

control over his or her representation.

Genthe had sent the developed photo to a reporter friend in San Francisco along with several stories from his trip, including one about almost losing his camera by falling out of a canoe. Genthe writes, “He put the two [the accident and the photo] together with true reportorial imagination. On my way home the boat stopped at Honolulu and I bought a San Francisco paper. There on the front page was my picture with the Ainu lady. The title read: “Arnold Genthe Rescued from Drowning—Refuses to Wed Ainu Princess.”²⁸⁵ While possibly a headline rife with tongue-in-cheek humor, it nevertheless invokes the motif of the Native American princess rooted in the story of Pocahontas.²⁸⁶ Regardless of intention, the refocusing onto Genthe eliminates the small degree of power that Penri possessed for a moment, while recasting Penri’s wife as a potential love interest of Genthe. The agency of Chief Penri and his wife disappear in the misappropriation of the photograph into the San Francisco newspaper.²⁸⁷

Upon Genthe’s return to the United States, The *San Francisco Call* took an interest in his exploits and published several stories about his trip to Japan. Although many of the articles focused on the Japan trip more generally, the notion of prohibited and rare destinations remained a key selling point. One article begins, “Dr. Arnold Genthe, sunburned to the roots of his hair and happy in the possession of a collection of photographic negatives made in parts of Japan never visited by the professional globe

²⁸⁵ Genthe, 234.

²⁸⁶ When Ainu images appeared in American newspapers, they often adopted motifs popular in representations of Native Americans, such as the Indian “brave” or “princess.” The princess motif derives from the stories of Pocahontas or Princess Squaw, women who fall in love with white men and abandon their culture in order to pursue a new life with their new love interests.

²⁸⁷ Although I have searched high and low for this newspaper article, I have been unable to locate it thus far. Although it could exist, there is a possibility that Genthe was embellishing on the actual story in *As I Remember*.

trotter.”²⁸⁸ The sensational story also tells of a bad hand injury incurred while climbing a mountain trail that adds to the cultivation of danger and excitement. Despite the opening up of Japan and Hokkaido to these larger tourism circuits, Genthe’s trip remains true to gallant tales of male explorers often printed in these periodicals.

Among these newspaper articles describing Genthe’s trip, there is one article from 1912 that incorporates Genthe’s photographs, including the image of Genthe and Penri II’s wife (Figure 38). Entitled “The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk: A Visit to the Ainus, the Strange Japanese Aborigines on the Island of Yezo,” this essay largely follows the key



Figure 38: Photographic layout featuring photographs by Arnold Genthe. Reprinted from “The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk: A Visit to the Ainus, the Strange Japanese Aborigines on the Island of Yezo,” *The San Francisco Call* (April 07, 1912), 22.

²⁸⁸ “Dr. Genthe Brings Pictures of Japan: Negatives Show Places in Nippon Never Visited by Professional Globe Trotters,” *The San Francisco Call*, October 8, 1908.

details laid out by Genthe in *As I Remember*, only with more colorful language describing the Ainu men and women of Biratori.²⁸⁹ The article embellishes upon many of the key stereotypes of the Ainu illustrated earlier through vivid caricatures of Penri and Biratori. Quoting Genthe, the author writes that his trip to Biratori was, “the only time I have ever known a vice to be made a religious virtue.” The author takes this quote and runs with it, describing how the drinking of crude sake was equivalent to the use of incense in churches attributing a degree of religiosity to the act of drinking. Although the author posits this as a cultural value of the Ainu, alcoholism was a rampant problem according to Iboshi and was not necessarily a religious act. The text is accompanied by a series of Genthe’s photographs. They are arranged in a montage in the upper right-hand corner of the article and feature some of Genthe’s more emblematic shots—Penri’s wife and Genthe, the image of the three chiefs, the crane dance, and another photograph of an Ainu man and woman. The photographs are cropped and placed inside decorative borders that mimic Ainu designs. The backgrounds are edited giving the photographs a very different feel from Genthe’s original negatives. In the image of the three chiefs, we lose the potency of the light source and the smoke that surrounds the three men that created its initial pictorialist effect. Instead of being seen as “art” photographs, these images are presented as documentary evidence.

Although there is a strong temptation to interpret the camera as the imperialist eye, the relationship between the subject and the “gaze” is far more nuanced. As explained by Deborah Poole in her analysis of Andean images, “To understand the role of images in the construction of cultural and political hegemonies, it is necessary to abandon that

²⁸⁹ “The Religious Ceremony of Getting Drunk: A Visit to the Ainus, the Strange Japanese Aborigines on the Island of Yezo,” *The San Francisco Call*, April 7, 1912.

theoretical discourse which sees 'the gaze'—and hence the act of seeing—as a singular or one-sided instrument of domination and control. Instead... the intricate and sometimes contradictory layering of relationships, attitudes, sentiments, and ambitions through which European and Andean peoples [has] invested images with meaning and value.”²⁹⁰ Poole reminds us of the value of looking at these images as inscribed with layers of meaning rather than passive receptors of colonial domination, and this subtlety is useful when analyzing the complex landscape of Ainu representation and the visual montage.

These images are certainly reincorporated into a racial discourse that sees Ainuness as opposed to both whiteness and Japaneseness. However, in order to oppose a flattening of this interpretation, it is crucial to consider the life and layers of the image. Meaning is constructed between the folds, and the unique image of Penri II's wife and Genthe impacts the reading of the other photographs in the montage. While the effect is to support the veracity of the author's interview with Genthe by showing proof of having-been-there, an examination of the life of the photograph reveals Penri II's own hand/ eye behind the image itself and opens the image up to an alternative interpretation.

Nevertheless, four years after Genthe's return to San Francisco, this article speaks to the continuing relevance and curiosity surrounding the Ainu. Other articles that mention the Ainu or Japan draw from the visual repertoire that Genthe's photographs help to define, and we can see them performing a role in the discursive formation of Ainu identity as seen from the arm-chair tourists of the early twentieth century. These images have political meaning beyond Genthe himself.

²⁹⁰ Poole, 8.

Conclusion

With the world turning attention to Europe during the First World War, European and American excursions to Hokkaido had slowed by 1920, and Ainu collections in the United States—objects that were once furiously sought after by anthropologists and ethnographers like Frederick Starr in 1904—fell into a state of curatorial disrepair. Genthe’s photographs of the Ainu—in addition to A. H. Savage Landor’s illustrations and paintings—have also been dismissed as being of little interest to art historians and anthropologists alike. Nevertheless, a reevaluation of Genthe’s photographs not only adds another layer of complexity to this phenomenon of Euro-American travel-tourism, but also elucidates Genthe’s own photographic mantra of the picturesque in its ability to create a highly idealized and romanticized notion of the Ainu and Chinese Other.

When Chief Penri II took the photo of Genthe and his wife in 1908, it marked a moment of temporary reclamation of indigenous representation, despite the fact that the transfer of power was only temporary and incomplete. Although Genthe lamented the “disappearing race” of the Ainu, it has become clear that the Ainu have adapted, not vanished, in the face of stringent Japanese acculturation policies and exploitation by the Euro-American explorer. Genthe’s own work—photographs that straddle a tenuous border between “art” and “science”—is but one example of how a civilization across an ocean can come to play such a large role as an imagined Other in early twentieth-century America.

CHAPTER 4

A Modern Tourist Experience in Shiraoui: Kondō Kōichiro's Illustrations in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, 1917

Although I am still young, and all the more at a time when I am young, I desire to depart on a solitary journey across the wide, infinite expanse on the back of a donkey. And, even now, I love travel above all else, to the extent that I have three dreams. Travel, walking tour, pilgrimage—you might say how nostalgic these words are. Because when I hear them, my blood goes mad with excitement. I will do what is right to make the day when I first ride come as quickly as possible.

—Kondō Kōichiro, *Manga junreiki* (Graphic Record of a Pilgrimage), 1918²⁹¹

While the mere mention of British traveler Isabella Lucy Bird, American anthropologist Frederick Starr, or Japanese geographer Matsuura Takeshirō conjures an image of the intrepid explorer in Hokkaidō, Japan, artist Kondō Kōichiro—the first Japanese producer of Ainu images addressed in this dissertation after the nineteenth century—is little known in the field of Ainu studies. Kondō made his mark on Japanese art history as a master of ink painting (*suibokuga*), despite specializing in Western-style oil painting (*yōga*) upon graduating from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1910. Several of his works are currently housed in the collection of the Museum of Modern Art Tokyo, including his six-part series *Fishing with Cormorants* (Ukai roku-dai, 1923). But like many artists struggling to support themselves after graduation, Kondō found gainful employment drawing political cartoons and caricatures for the *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper in 1915. Kondō covered a variety of topics for the newspaper, from prominent political issues to domestic travel. Part work and part play, Kondō would tour Japan, and publish his illustrated exploits in a running column in the morning edition, which included his exploits in Hokkaidō. As images

²⁹¹ Kondō Kōichiro, *Manga junreiki* (Graphic Record of a Pilgrimage) (Tokyo: Isobe kōyōdō, 1918), preface.

of the Ainu began appearing in American and British newspapers following the exploits of high society travelers and popular events such as the St. Louis Exposition of 1904, Japanese newspapers concurrently ran their own stories about the northern indigenes. Kondō's Hokkaidō trip and caricatures of the Ainu village of Shiraoi appeared as seven short travel vignettes from August 23 to October 3, 1917, which he would then compile and republish in a volume titled *Graphic Record of a Pilgrimage* (Manga junreiki) the following year.

Kondō's dual focus on both the Ainu and the tourist group is atypical amongst Japanese image producers, although his illustrations do subtly resonate with the photographs of Jessie Tarbox Beals, who captured American fairgoers in her 1904 photography of the Ainu discussed in Chapter Two. Unlike Euro-American anthropologists and explorers intent on recording vanishing Ainu culture discussed in Chapters One and Two, or artists such as Arnold Genthe who strived to recreate a picturesque vision of the Ainu in Biratori addressed in Chapter Three, Kondō explores the village of Shiraoi with a playful candor that frankly exposes new trends in domestic ethnic tourism, and intersects with a number of issues in regards to the representation of the Ainu in Taishō-period Japan (1912–1926). While Kondō's work reinforces many longstanding stereotypes of the Ainu in terms of their welfare, education, and poverty, his caricatures are also markedly unique for the period, and straddle the division between press publication and personal adventure. Japanese scholars such as Sasaki Toshikazu have made significant strides in their analysis of Edo and early Meiji-era Ainu-e, but a sustained visual analysis of newsprint images is sorely lacking in Japanese scholarship on Ainu visual culture. Historian Tanimoto Akihisa has taken important first steps in addressing the role of Ainu images in relation to the Chikabumi Land Dispute in the Meiji era, but newspaper illustrations that depict the Ainu

outside of major events such as this are in need of further elucidation. This chapter takes Kondō's column in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, and subsequent book compilation, as a starting point to explore the development of the Ainu image in print media, the changing landscape of Hokkaidō and its tourism, the historical role of the town Shiraoi, and the importance of newspaper images in constructing a lasting stereotype of Ainu culture. In discussing these issues, Kondō's role as a distinctly modern explorer by rail visiting a village intensely aware of its own potential as a tourist destination cannot be underestimated.

The Artist-Traveler in Japan

Kondō Kōichiro was a man who wore many hats throughout his lifetime. Graduating from the Tokyo School of Fine Arts in 1910 with a degree in oil painting, he began exhibiting his oil works in the *Bunten* exhibitions sponsored by the Ministry of Education.²⁹² Despite his early success, Kondō quickly abandoned oil painting in favor of *suibokuga*, or Japanese monochromatic ink painting, and his mature work demonstrates his mastery over depicting dramatic shadow and light. A retrospective of his work at the Nerima Art Museum in 2006, *Hikari no suibokuga: Kondō Kōichiro no zenbō-ten* (Ink Painting of Light: Kondō Kōichiro's Complete Works), frames his approach as an original style that reflects subtle changes in nature by introducing a sense of light into the

²⁹² "*Bunten*" is an abbreviation for *Monbushō bijutsu tenrankai* (Ministry of Education Art Exhibition). These were official art exhibitions organized annually by the Meiji government starting in 1907. Artists exhibited work in three categories: *nihonga* (Japanese-style painting), *yōga* (Western-style painting), and sculpture. These exhibitions underwent various changes, but continued until 1947 when its name was changed to the *Nihon bijutsu tenrankai* (abbreviated to "*Nitten*") and placed under private control. For a concise discussion of these exhibitions, see: Takashina Shuji, "Natsume Sōseki and the Development of Modern Art," *Culture and Identity: Japanese Intellectuals during the Interwar Years*, ed. J. Thomas Rimer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990), 273–81.

traditional world of ink painting.²⁹³ But following his marriage in 1914, Kondō relocated from Tokyo to Kyoto. This shift in medium and location came with a change in career, as he turned to the *Yomiuri Shinbun* newspaper for gainful employment. As Kondō transitioned from oil to ink, he began producing political cartoons, illustrations, and caricatures of Japanese society (*jiji manga*). Many artists in the late Meiji and early Taishō periods turned to commercial work as a way of supporting themselves, and as has been discussed by both Julia Sapin and Gennifer Weisenfeld, artists put their creative skills to works in department stores and companies creating unique and memorable brands as a way to supplement their income. Kondō's decision to work for the newspaper was not atypical, and other artists found employment with the newspaper, including his good friend Okamoto Ippei (1886–1948), who worked for the *Asahi Shinbun*, and the famed Kitazawa Rakuten (1876–1955), who went on to found *Tokyo Puck* (1905) after a career as an oil painter. However, while Okamoto's work is frequently treated in academic accounts of early *manga* (comics) as an influence on Tezuka Osamu (1928–1989), often called the “father of manga” or the “god of comics,” and Kitazawa is credited as one of the first people to adopt the term “manga” and “*mangaka*” (comic artist), Kondō's name remains largely absent from this history despite their frequent collaboration.²⁹⁴ Relatively unknown in comparison to the famous Okamoto,

²⁹³ Several collections of Kondō's work, such as the Lavenburg Collection of Japanese Prints, describe Kondō's preoccupation with the effects of light as a distinctly Western mode of ink painting. “Kondo Koichiro,” *The Lavenburg Collection of Japanese Prints*. Accessed May 3, 2015. <http://www.myjapanesehanga.com/home/artists/kondo-koichiro-1884-1962>. For more information see the exhibition catalogue for Kondō's recent retrospective: Kondō Kōichiro, et. al., *Hikari no suibokuga Kondō Kōichiro no zenbō* (Ink Painting of Light: Kondō Kōichiro's Complete Works) (Tokyo: Yomiuri shinbun Tōkyō honsha, Bijutsukan renraku kyogikai, 2006).

²⁹⁴ For more on Osamu Tezuka, see: Helen McCarthy, *The Art of Osamu Tezuka: God of Manga* (New York: Abrams ComicArts, 2009); Frederik L. Schodt, *The Astro Boy Essays: Osamu Tezuka, Mighty Atom, and the Manga/Anime Revolution* (Berkeley: Stone Bridge Press, 2007); and Natsu Onoda

Kondō nevertheless left a lasting legacy that extends beyond his masterfully executed ink paintings to the world of print and news illustration.

Kondō's love of witty and satirical visual commentary was accompanied by an equally strong love of travel and exploration. The series of seven caricatures that form the basis of this chapter first appeared in the pages of the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, but were later compiled as part of a published collection of Kondō's travels called the *Manga junreiki* (Graphic Record of a Pilgrimage, 1918). Traveling over twenty years after British explorer A. H. Savage Landor and ten years after German-American photographer Arnold Genthe, Kondō's rhetoric of self-sufficiency and discovery in the *Manga junreiki* certainly resonate with the sentiments and cosmopolitanism of previous travelers to Hokkaidō from *outside* Japan. Taken from the author's preface, the epigraph to this chapter speaks to this motivation. Kondō describes traveling around Japan by donkey, recalling the journey of Landor and his insistence on eschewing modern convenience in favor of a horse and pack-saddle. Like other travelers from the nineteenth and early twentieth century, from Matsuura Takeshirō to Arnold Genthe, Kondō privileges a solitary journey of discovery. His passion for adventure remained constant through his life, and this singular Hokkaidō sojourn was followed in later years by a trip through France in 1922, where Kondō followed the path of previous artists in exploring European culture and customs which he compiled and published in *Ikoku hizakurige: Kondō Kōichiro-shū* (Exotic Hizakurige: Kondō Kōichiro Collection, 1928), which was followed by further misadventures in China and

Power, *God of Comics: Osamu Tezuka and the Creation of the Post-World War II Manga* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2009).

Korea.²⁹⁵

Kondō's Caricatures of Shiraoui

Like Landor or Genthe, Kondō's caricatures and vignettes of Ainu life (*Ainu kenbutsu*) are drawn and written from the perspective of the artist traveler. Kondō gallivanted around Japan during his trip to popular tourist sites such as the Hasedera temple in Kamakura, Kinkaku-ji temple in Kyoto, and the Trappist Monastery in Hakodate. Regardless of location, Kondō's brief travel vignettes all adopted a consistent format in the *Yomiuri Shinbun*: an illustrated cartoon accompanied by a brief textual paragraph, appearing on the fifth page of the issue. Kondō's Ainu exploits in particular focus on the town of Shiraoui, and appear over the course of roughly one month and a half, from August 23rd until October 3rd, 1917. While the travel accounts are not attributed to an author by name, a small circular seal integrated into the design of several cartoons indicates Kondō's hand, and the later publication of his collected stories in 1918 corroborates his authorship. His caricatures of Ainu culture and life capture the tension between hackneyed representations of Ainu backwardness that had become a staple in Japanese and Euro-American visual culture and the reality of a changing tourist landscape specific to the town of Shiraoui. Seen through the eyes of a tourist, Kondō's work published in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* and the *Manga junreiki* invokes the individual experience of travel during the Taishō era to capture an international cosmopolitanism within Japan's own borders.

²⁹⁵ The title of this work, *Ikoku hizakurige: Kondō Kōichiro-shū* seems to pay homage to the famous *Tōkaidōchū hizakurige* (often abbreviated to *hizakurige* and read in translation as *Shank's Mare*) written by Jippensha Ikku (1765–1831) in the Edo period. The story is about the misadventures of two travelers along the Tōkaidō road, the main route connecting Kyoto and Edo (Tokyo) in the Edo period.

Kondō's caricatures of the Ainu play with the visual codes and stereotypes of nineteenth and twentieth-century photographs and engravings outlined in previous chapters. But while images featuring Ainu primitivity or alcoholism are easy to interpret and understand in all media, the depictions found in caricatures are occasionally unique to specific political situations or trending issues, and Kondō's work is no exception. Ibaraki Masaharu (2007) and Roman Rosenbaum (2011) stress the importance of understanding, and in some cases reproducing, this context.²⁹⁶ In his analysis of *jiji manga* (satirical social cartoons) in the monthly issues of *Shinseinen*, Rosenbaum explains, "Only by carefully exposing the cultural and political dimensions underpinning the *jiji manga*... can we deduce the extent to which they may serve as a barometer of cultural and political society in mid-Taishō."²⁹⁷ But unlike the six caricatures analyzed by Rosenbaum that explore the socio-political in Tokyo—all printed three years prior to Kondō's Ainu adventure in *Shinseinen*, a magazine dubbed the "torch bearer of *modanizumu* (modernist) culture" according to literary critic Nakai Hideo—Kondō's cartoons in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* seem to embrace a different sort of modernist politics by eschewing world and domestic issues to focus on individual travel for a mass audience.²⁹⁸ Visiting the Ainu in Shiraoi was only one step in this larger narrative of cosmopolitan travel.

Despite the seemingly small amount of caricatures of the Ainu, these images of Ainu life and culture blur the lines between realism and farce in a way that differs from the

²⁹⁶ See: Ibaraki Masaharu, *Media no naka no manga: Shinbun kitokoma manga no sekai* (Comic Art in the Media: The World of Single-Panel Newspaper Cartoons) (Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, 2007), 229–230; and Roman Rosenbaum, "Towards a Graphical Representation of Japanese Society in the Taisho Period: Jiji Manga in *Shinseinen*," *Japan Review*, no. 23 (2011): 177–197.

²⁹⁷ Rosenbaum, 1.

²⁹⁸ Rosenbaum is referencing Nakai Hideo's essay, "Otoko tachi o toriko ni shita *Shinseinen*" (Boys Captivated by *Shinseinen*), *Burūtasu* (Brutus), no. 2 (1980): 98–104.

engravings and photographs addressed in previous chapters, balancing sarcastic and subversive representations of people, places, and events in ways that are unique to the medium. Whether drawings of politicians, daily life, or travel, caricatures depend upon exaggeration, physical deformity, humor, and metaphor to engage in a critique of power that might otherwise elude the artist or reader.²⁹⁹ On the subject of caricatures, art historian David Summers writes that caricatures are a powerful tool of dissent in that they enable adjacent or tangential physical control over the body to elicit “instinctual emotions” more strongly than feelings of “rationalization.”³⁰⁰ Summers reminds us that caricatures continually evoke our partial autonomy from the government, emboldened to satirize a country’s leaders and stereotype ethnic attributes, creating new opportunities for control as well as resistance.³⁰¹ Kondō’s caricatures of Ainu culture and life in Shiraoi are quite removed from deformations of international leaders, but his depiction of Ainu personhood nevertheless impose Japanese stereotypes of inferiority on the Ainu in Shiraoi, while self-reflexively critiquing the role of the tourist.

Embracing both Rosenbaum’s call for context and Summers’ articulation of the power dynamics at play within caricatures, how can Kondō’s set of seven images (and their accompanying travel vignettes) be interpreted? In choosing to go to Shiraoi and subsequently illustrate the journey, what message was Kondō actively constructing for a Taishō audience? How do these images actively assert visual control over the bodies of both the Ainu and the tourists? And finally, as images that cannot be totally separated from their accompanying text, how do the visual and the textual registers work together to

²⁹⁹ David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (New York: Phaidon, 2002), 592–601.

³⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 592–601.

³⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 592–601.

create a whole? To understand these seven caricatures, one must first understand the development of caricature and the dominant ways in which newspapers visualized the Ainu leading up to them.

Early Ainu Newspaper Stereotypes

As in the United States and Europe, the popular press was instrumental in Japan for the dissemination of ideas and stereotypes about race to a broader audience. While foreign publications often focused on the mysterious and strange aspects of Ainu culture, and with each successive article claiming credit for “introducing” the Ainu to the West, the press in Japan typically adopted a different focus. The Ainu were seen as both a dying race (*horobiyuku minzoku*) and a welfare people (*hogomin*); both of which posited the Ainu as a burden to the state. Richard Siddle, in his analysis of the “dying race” motif in the realm of textual sources—newspapers, popular literature, expositions and school textbooks—attributes the broadening of press about the Ainu to the expansion of mass education in the late Meiji period. He defines three broad categories of reporting all united by the epithet of the “dying race”: (1) the failure and occasional success of Ainu welfare policy, (2) educational matters, and (3) general interest articles written by academics on Ainu culture or language. All three types of writing all reinforced the notion that the Ainu were quickly vanishing, and to this effect Siddle explains, “Welfare issues emphasized Ainu backwardness and dependence, a theme echoed in reports on education, while other articles lamented over, or attempted to salvage, the disappearing culture of the dying race.”³⁰² Siddle discusses the overwhelmingly negative image of the Ainu, and, in light of

³⁰² Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 97–98.

limited contact with indigenes after the period of mass immigration after 1890, the public understanding of the Ainu was one that often derived from popular sources such as newspapers and postcards.³⁰³

Siddle rightly points out the crucial role that the press played in transmitting ideas about race from the intelligentsia to a more general audience. Issues of welfare, Ainu education, and romanticized stories of ages past all contributed to the discursive construction of the “dying race” image on the archipelago. And as discussed in the following chapter, Ainu communities often created their own press outlets to combat these popularly held notions of their culture. But in all cases, the creation (and repudiation) of this stereotypical image of the Ainu was dependent on actual images, and visual culture served to cement the construction of the dying race narrative not just at the local level, but also in major newspaper outlets.

Ainu in the Newspaper

While British and American newspapers rarely represented individualized Ainu personalities outside of living ethnological exhibits at the world’s fair, Japanese newspapers often adopted a bifurcated strategy. On the one hand, like their Euro-American counterparts, there are many instances where generic images of the Ainu are meant to stand in for a particular (and negative) Ainu stereotype, created through original illustrations, or through coopting imagery present in Ainu-e, photographs, and postcards. There are several occasions where specific Ainu personalities emerged in newspaper representation in connection to a specific event, however. This dual response can best be

³⁰³ Ibid., 107.

demonstrated through the mass media representation of the First Chikabumi Land Dispute (*Chikabumi Ainu kyūyochi jiken*), which occurred between 1899 and 1900. Described in depth by historians Tanimoto Akihisa, Richard Siddle, Ann B. Irish, and indigenous studies scholar Mitsuharu Vincent Okada, this event was concurrent with the Hokkaidō Former Aborigine Protection Act (*Hokkaidō kyūdojin hogohō*) passed in 1899; an act that took measures to “protect” the Ainu by promoting enforced assimilation through the education of Ainu youth, and allotting land to the Ainu for agriculture.³⁰⁴ Despite these “altruistic” aims, a clause stipulated that if the Ainu did not succeed in their attempts to farm, the government could usurp the land, which led many Ainu men to work as laborers in factories and mines.³⁰⁵ This law captures the essence of policy toward the Ainu during the late Meiji period, but its effects were diverse, pervasive, and long lasting. The concurrent Chikabumi Land Dispute provides a specific media event with widespread news coverage, and presents a rare opportunity for the comparison of multiple press images of specific Ainu figures in the late Meiji period in a way that the Hokkaidō Former Aborigine Protection Act eludes.

In 1899, the 7th Division of the Imperial Army relocated to the Asahikawa region of Hokkaidō in response to tensions between Russia and Japan. A Tokyo company by the name of Ōkuragami was tasked with the construction of the military base for the 7th

³⁰⁴ Mitsuharu Vincent Okada, “The Plight of Ainu, Indigenous People of Japan,” *Journal of Indigenous Social Development* 1, no. 1 (January 2012): 6; Tanimoto Akihisa, “Chikabumi Ainu to ‘kyūdojin hogo-chi’ idō mondai (The Chikabumi Ainu and the Migration Issue of the “Former Aborigine Protection Land”), *Shin Asahikawa-shi shi* (The New History of Asahikawa) 3, Tsū-shi (Complete History) 3, (Asahikawa: Asahikawa-shi shi henshū kaigi, 2006), 738–752; Michael Weiner, *Race, Ethnicity and Migration in Modern Japan: Race, Ethnicity and Culture in Modern Japan* (New York: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 340; Ann B. Irish, *Hokkaido: A History of Ethnic Transition and Development on Japan's Northern Island* (Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2009), 203.

³⁰⁵ Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 117–119.

Division, and set their sights on lands owned by the Chikabumi Ainu. With the help of merchant Miura Ichitaro, Ōkuragami successfully swindled the Ainu out of their lands by convincing illiterate Ainu to affix seals to a document that stipulated that the Ainu were to relinquish land in Chikabumi and relocate to the remote north. When authorities came to enforce the contract, Ainu leaders and interested *wajin* (people of non-Ainu, Japanese descent) formed the Alliance for Continued Former Native Residence (*kyūdojin ryūjō dōmeikai*) for the purposes of petitioning (*chinjō*) to overturn the Chikabumi Land contract. On April 13, 1900, Amakawa Ezaburō, Kawakami Konusainu and two *wajin* left for Tokyo, and arrived in the afternoon three days later to visit Shirani Takeshi, who was in charge of the Hokkaidō Section of the Home Ministry. News of the delegates' trip appeared in Tokyo newspapers the very same day, alerting readers in the capital.³⁰⁶ The group strategically used this exposure to their advantage by visiting every major newspaper in Tokyo—including *Tokyo Asahi Shinbun*, *Niroku Shinpō*, *Mainichi Shinbun*, *Kokumin Shinbun*, *Yamato Shinbun*, etc.—who published widely on the exploitative maneuvering of Miura and Ōkuragami.³⁰⁷ The officials canceled the relocation order and the turnover of Ainu land on May 3, 1900. The region would remain in dispute despite this definitive political victory, and by the time of the Second Chikabumi Land Dispute, many Ainu were already destitute and divided. However, as Siddle explains, these events gave those Ainu living in Chikabumi a reputation for opposing the Japanese government, and their activities would flare up once again in the 1930s with the expiration of the land's lease.

With such a strategic use of media outlets, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Ainu found visual representation in several newspapers. Two illustrations of the Ainu that

³⁰⁶ Tanimoto, 739.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, 740.

appeared five days apart in the *Niroku Shinpō* demonstrate multiple strategies of visualizing the Ainu involved in the dispute. Two days after the Chikabumi Ainu arrived in Tokyo from Hokkaidō, the newspaper published a small illustration titled “Former Aborigine Proceed to the Capital” (*kyūdojin no shukkyō*) (Figure 39). As duly noted by Tanimoto, this image presents more of a “typified” Ainu male. A bearded Ainu man sits cross-legged on the ground, hunched over and looking up. Tanimoto argues that the man’s position with his hand on his head could signal to the Japanese reader either frustration or the common theme of the unintelligent Ainu. The style of the caricature reinforces this message, as simple lines and an animated gesture play into stereotypes of the Ainu as primitive or child-like. The balance of power in this kind of image is clear: it is the Japanese artist, and the presumably Japanese reader, who exerts power over the Ainu body, making the figure an assembly of exaggerated (and specifically non-Japanese) parts.

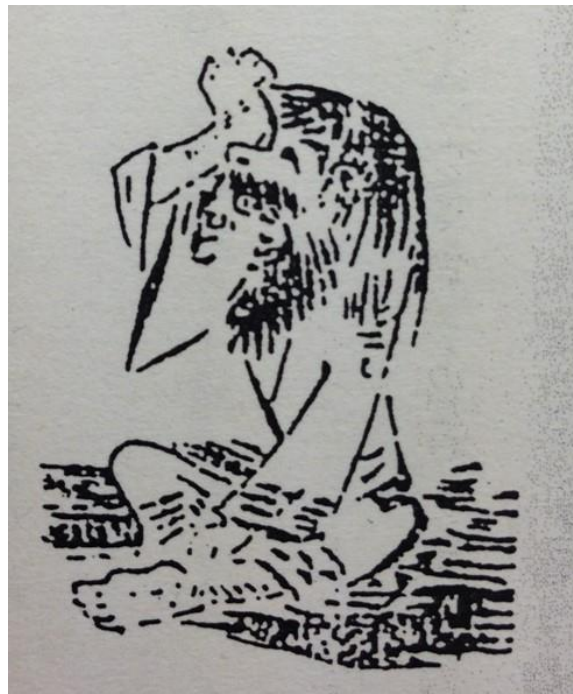


Figure 39: Illustration from “Former Aborigine Proceed to the Capital” (*kyūdojin no shukkyō*). Reprinted from *Niroku Shinpō* (April 18, 1900).

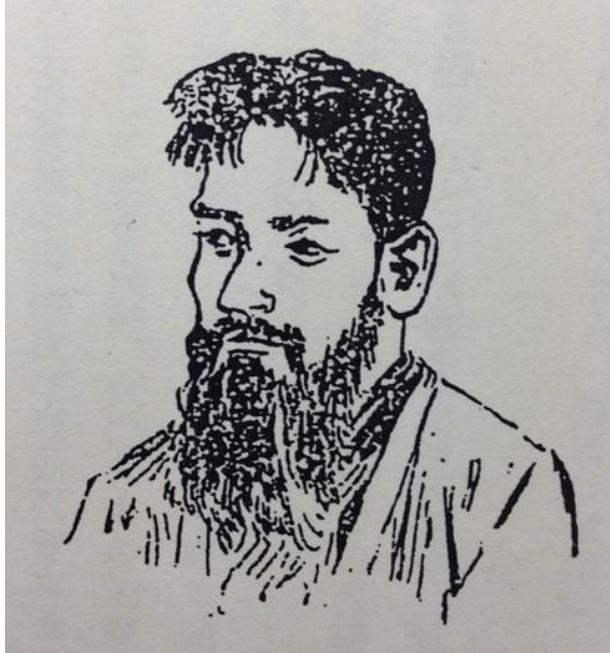


Figure 40: Illustration of Kawakami Konusaainu. Reprinted from *Hōchi Shinbun* (May 6, 1900).

But just five days later, as discussions between the Chikabumi group and Shirani Takeshi were underway, the very same *Niroku Shinpō* printed an alternative representation of the Chikabumi Ainu. Titled “Ainu Representative Kawakami Konusaainu” (*Ainu sōdai Kawakami Konusai*) (Figure 40), this image radically departs from the Ainu “type” seen previously. Not merely an exaggerated caricature of Ainu masculinity—typically seen as an older man with unruly gray hair and an unkempt appearance—the three-quarters view bust illustration was created by someone with clear knowledge of Kawakami’s appearance, and we see his thick, but trimmed, beard along with short-cropped hair. In his research on the media representation of the First Chikabumi Land Dispute, Tanimoto uses this realistic representation of Kawakami as a guide to help identify Kawakami’s appearance in other images, including a small caricature that appeared in the *Hōchi Shinbun* three days after the settlement of the dispute (Figure 41). Featuring three figures, Kawakami is assumed to be the man on the right due to the style of his hair and beard consistent with the previous



Figure 41: Illustration from “Ainu Representative Kawakami Konusaainu” (Ainu sōdai Kawakami Konusai). Reprinted from *Niroku Shinpō* (April 23, 1900).

Niroku Shinpō portrait, with Shirani represented as the figure on the left. The man in the center—who sits posed with his hand on his head, ironically mirroring the Ainu illustration that first appeared in *Niroku Shinpō*—is thought to represent Sonoda Yasukata, the leader of the Hokkaidō Government Office (*dōchō*).

On the one hand, this final representation of Kawakami could still be interpreted as an Ainu type meant to evoke the primitive through posture and passivity, with his rounded shoulders and hands firmly placed on the table. Certainly, Shirani Takeshi appears more active by contrast, relaxed, with his hand raised toward his Ainu opponent. Although these representations may not appear flattering to contemporary eyes, the mere existence of individualized representation was a significant departure from previous images of the Ainu in the days of *Ainu-e*, where all figures took more or less identical forms. For Kawakami Konusaainu, being identifiably represented marked a crucial turning point and elevated the gravity of the mission to the capital. From the perspective of those Ainu in Chikabumi, this

new representation was a measured success.

As one of the few examples of prominent newspaper illustration of the Ainu, these images serve as an important precedent to Kondō Kōichiro's Ainu caricatures. But in the two decades following the Chikabumi land Dispute, the *Yomiuri Shinbun* and many other local and national papers had already turned to halftone photography as a means of representing the Ainu. Despite the turn to photography, there are certainly similarities between the use of photography in later publications and the use of illustration in the First Chikabumi Land Dispute. While individualized Ainu photographs of male and female leaders and writers—from Kawakami Konusaainu to young writer and poet Chiri Yukie—would be printed through the 1930s in relation to specific news events, it was often the case that, when broadly referencing the Ainu, photographs from late Meiji were reappropriated as a stand in for generic Ainu bodies, stripped of personality and anachronistically represented as a people of the past. An excellent example of this appears in an article titled “Peoples within the expanding territory of Greater Japan,” (bōchōseru dai Nippon ryōdo uchi no jinrui) published on January 5, 1911 in the *Otaru Shinbun* (Figure 42).³⁰⁸ This photo layout, which juxtaposes several photographs in the dominant mode of American and British newspapers, uses an image of an Ainu couple in an impressive display of the reach of Japan's empire. These photographs are carefully arranged atop a map of Japan, and the Ainu appear next to a Korean family, Taiwanese aborigines, a singular Taiwanese man, the Ryūkyū people of Okinawa, and a portrait of a woman identified as a Karafuto Gilyak. While the illustrations depicting Kawakami Konusaainu might be assumed to be less realistic in light of the frequent use of exaggeration when

³⁰⁸ “Bōchōseru dai Nippon ryōdo uchi no jinrui” (Peoples within the expanding territory of Greater Japan), *Otaru Shinbun*, January 5, 1911.



Figure 42: Newspaper layout from “Peoples within the expanding territory of Greater Japan” (bōchōseru dai nippon ryōdo uchi no jinrui). Reprinted from *Otaru Shinbun*, (January 5, 1911).

illustrating the Ainu in the newspaper and the earlier date, they end up presenting a more individualized portrait than this photographed couple in the *Otaru Shinbun*. This particular photograph, in addition to others taken in the same sitting, also circulated in Japan and abroad as popular photo postcards, and the image would reemerge in American newspapers, reinforcing the global construction of the Ainu image. Kondō’s creative illustrations must necessarily be viewed against these more dominant trends in the history of newspaper representation. Although they are part of a longer history of exaggerating Ainu features in illustration, their appearance in 1917 is unique when examining the *Yomiuri Shinbun*, which had turned primarily to photography in Ainu-related stories beginning with the first visual appearance of the Ainu in 1901, unlike the *Asahi Shinbun*

which would continue to use illustrated examples after their first visual appearance in 1881.

Kondō's illustrations were markedly different in this regard, and might instead be viewed more in line with the *jiji manga* produced by him and his peers in the Taishō period. It is important that Kondō's images are not attached to a news event in the way of Kawakami and the First Chikabumi Land Dispute, or even an impressive visual display of Japanese empire, but rather a popular narrative inclusion of an individual's travel experiences. Kondō's visit to Shiraoi was part of a grand Japanese tour and given space equal to famous sites in Kyoto and even the Trappist monastery in Hakodate, Hokkaidō. His images invoke this previous history of visualizing the Ainu, but were not included in the newspaper expressly to do so. Instead, they participate in the long history of visualizing travel in Japan, and can also be read in conjunction with histories of tourism in Ainu villages.

Depicting Shiraoi

Kondō's textual and visual entry into the village of Shiraoi can be analyzed with this background in mind. His trip to see the Ainu can be divided into seven episodes all taking place within the Ainu *kotan* of Shiraoi: "To the Village at Shiraoi Station," "Peeking at a Bear inside of a Cage," "Standing before the Chief, Who is Drunk on Unrefined Sake," "Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs," "Big Catch of a Rare Fish, *Shirikap* (Swordfish)," "An Exhibition of the Real Thing: 'Pakutsu' from *Shamo*," and "Shiraoi *kotan* Imai Kiyoshi."³⁰⁹ Kondō's entry

³⁰⁹ I have transliterated the title for this last image as "Ainu *kotan* Imai Kiyoshi" (Shiraoi *kotan*'s Imai Kiyoshi). The actual kanji used in the title would be read as Ishii according to the furigana, but

and approach to the Ainu village departs significantly from that of previous Japanese and Euro-American travelers. Like Isabella Bird, Kondō begins with a promontory description of the environs of Hokkaidō and Shiraoi. But unlike previous travelers who would begin their trek in the port of Hakodate, Kondō's adventure sets out from the city of Sapporo. Hakodate traditionally served as the general starting point for travel to "Ainuland" in the Meiji era, as both one of the ports forced open by Commodore Matthew Perry in 1854 and as a city easily reached from Honshu across the Tsugaru Strait (*Tsugaru kankyō*) from Aomori. In spite of this historical role, changes in the nature of train travel made Sapporo a more logical base for the travel and sightseeing of Hokkaidō, a role that it still plays today. Kondō's approach to the village is thus framed by his experience on the train. Despite the preface to his completed volume which romanticized solitary travel by donkey, an image that resonated with European travelogues of explorers traversing Japan only with a horse and pack saddle, Kondō's actual journey took a very different form. The textual description accompanying the first illustration reads:

There is an Ainu village in the vicinity of Shiraoi station, along the railway line which stretches from Muroran to Sapporo. However hot or tired, as long as one treads on the soil of Ezo, one must look at the strange sights. Leaving from Sapporo, and transferring at Iwamizawa, you travel for a long while across a vast plain of just grass, facing the beautiful Pacific Ocean... we came upon the environs of Tomakomai, and then suddenly a new plume of smoke from Mt. Tarumae rose in the azure sky. Before long, the steam train left our party to the deafening silence of a deserted train station. After, we traveled without looking, and swiftly, and without any troubles, we could feel the pressure of a mysterious country of a different race. As to the extent of the sightseeing atmosphere, there was a general store of a part-time tea shop in front of the station, and a former Ainu aborigine information office with a signpost spanning across.³¹⁰

in the body of the text it is twice rendered as Imai. I have not been able to find a record of an Imai or Ishii Kiyoshi in Shiraoi thus far.

³¹⁰ Kondō Kōichiro, "Shiraoi-eki no buraku e" (To the Village at Shiraoi Station), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, August 23, 1917, Morning Edition.

Kondō's adventure was not on the back of an animal, moving slowly through Hokkaidō's wilderness. Innovations in railroad travel made new destinations, such as Shiraoi, viable for the domestic and foreign explorer/sightseer. As argued by German historian Wolfgang Schivelbusch in his seminal work *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century* (1977), new travel technologies such as the steam engine impacted the way that travelers could experience space and time.³¹¹ Schivelbusch argues that railway time simultaneously expanded and collapsed the experience of space; at the same time that new geographic locations were included in the transport network, the speed of railway travel also diminished space between these destinations.³¹² Illustrating this point, Schivelbusch writes the following:

...on the one hand, the railroad opens up new spaces that were not as easily accessible before; on the other, it does so by destroying space, namely, the space between points. That in-between space, or travel space, which it was possible to "savor" while using the slow, work-intensive eotechnical [sic] form of transport, disappears on the railroads. The railroad knows only points of departure and destination... As the space between the points—the traditional traveling space—is destroyed, those points move into each other's immediate vicinity: one might say that they collide. They lose their old sense of local identity, which used to be determined by the spaces between them.³¹³

In other words, Schivelbusch argues that at the same time new peripheral locations were included under the purview of the "metropolis," former locales that were important when using slower transport methods—stage coach, horse and packsaddle, and in Japan,

³¹¹ Wolfgang Schivelbusch, "Railroad Space and Railroad Time," *The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century*, trans. Anselm Hollo (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1977): 41–50.

³¹² Ibid., 44–45.

³¹³ Schivelbusch coins the term "eotechnical" to describe earlier forms of transportation. The "eo" here is prefix based on the Greek for "early," as seen in other compounds like Eocene. Ibid., 44–45.

jinriksha—no longer served the same purpose as travel was reduced to a series of discrete departure and destination points. Train travel enabled the transition from Hakodate to Sapporo as a transportation hub in Hokkaidō, and the emergence of small towns like Shiraoi as a popular tourist destination in the Taishō period. The infrastructure built to support Japanese victory in the Russo-Japanese war fundamentally changed the nature of tourism and travel in Hokkaidō by strengthening the network of railways throughout the island, and while previous travelers like Matsuura, Mamiya Rinzō, Landor and Bird recounted a strenuous journey, later travelers like Starr and Genthe would depend on the rail system to bring them ever closer to their destinations in the beginning of the twentieth century, even if they downplayed this convenience in written and visual rhetoric. The nature of Ainu tourism would also expand in the Taishō era to include new major centers of Ainu tourism in Shiraoi and Chikabumi.³¹⁴ While eighty percent of the Ainu population is currently concentrated in Nibutani, the site of Shiraoi has the longest official history with members of the Imperial family visiting in 1881.³¹⁵ The town is located next to Lake Poroto on the southern coast of Hokkaidō between the cities of Chitose and Tomakomai, the tourist center of “Poroto Kotan” currently features a museum constructed in the 1970s, several souvenir shops, and a reconstructed village showcasing ethnic performances of music and dance.

Kondō experienced space differently than nineteenth-century travelers, and his trip is more in tune with the journey to Shiraoi that one would make today by train. While early

³¹⁴ As described by Lisa Hiwasaki, these two continue as vibrant centers of tourism today in the form of Shiraoi’s Poroto Kotan and Chikabumi’s Kawamura Kaneto Ainu Memorial Hall (Kawamura Kaneto Ainu kinenkan) alongside the cities of Nibutani and Lake Akan (Akan-ko). Lisa Hiwasaki, “Ethnic Tourism in Hokkaido and the Shaping of Ainu Identity,” *Pacific Affairs* 73, no. 3 (Autumn 2000): 399.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 399.

twentieth-century travelers like Starr and Genthe definitely made use of the railway system in Hokkaido, they often did not detail this aspect of their journey in their travel accounts. Kondō, however, treats his approach by train with detail and subtlety usually reserved for trips by foot. With a transfer at Iwamizawa, we experience the quickly changing landscape from the car of a train. Kondō describes the changing landscape from both sides of the car, with the grassy plains from one window and the Pacific Ocean from the other. The smoke from Mt. Tarumae rises suddenly, and disappears just as quickly, and the tourist group eventually disembarks to face the deafening silence of an empty Shiraoi station. Kondō describes his experience as “traveling without looking” (*mizuni hashitteiku*), and as a trip without troubles. This is in jarring contrast to Edo and Meiji-era visitors who all emphasized the obstacles and setbacks of traveling in undeveloped terrain, particularly in winter. Even the approach to the village itself is anti-climactic, and instead of a remote and untouched snow-covered village emerging through the trees, we are confronted with the signposts of the tourist trade, conveniences for the traveler, and a terrain absent of snow.

Despite the fact that Kondō’s textual journey centered on his experience in the train and at train stations, the illustration that accompanies this first description shows nothing of the sort (Figure 43). In contrast, this first image in the series is much more in line with a more idealistic vision of Hokkaidō travel frequently seen in older travelogues. Four men—a motley crew dressed in a blend of Japanese and Western fashion, who carry a large and overbearing black umbrella—stand in the foreground inside of bramble and brush, looking out over an Ainu village; a visual embodiment of the promontory description. Despite appearing consistently throughout the seven Ainu illustrations, the four members of the group are not named and can perhaps be seen as stand-ins for the generic tourist group of



Figure 43: Illustration by Kondō Kōichiro, “To the Village at Shiraoi Station” (Shiraoi-eki no buraku e) Reprinted from *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (August 23, 1917), 5.

which Kondō himself took part.³¹⁶ Considering Kondō’s affinity for western fashion demonstrated in his many self-portraits, it is possible, but not definite, that the character with the flat cap and laced black shoes is Kondō himself. Looking out over Shiraoi, we see approximately twenty scattered homes, and one small area for agriculture—a practice that was introduced to the Ainu after the banning of subsistence living by Japanese officials. The town of Shiraoi is described in the second scene where Kondō writes, “We entered an Ainu town of less than 20 acres (10 chō), with 70 or 80 houses all scattered and separated, and in disastrous condition. Awfully desolate.” But the focus of Kondō’s actual illustration is not on the shabbiness of the homes described, but rather, on the four tourists, as they survey

³¹⁶ It is also important to note that this is not the only trip detailed in the Manga junreiki that features a group of tourists or spectators. His trip to the Trappist Monastery in Hakodate, for example, also features a tour group. Although a consistent aspect of Kondō’s work, it is atypical when visualizing the Ainu village.

their destination entirely removed from the context of the train.

This first image sets the stage with its emphasis on the specifically touristic and voyeuristic experience of Shiraoi *kotan*.³¹⁷ And although it is the train that enables their journey, the organized touring of the town and Ainu culture in a group was a practice well established by the Taishō era. Kondō's focus on the group tour is particularly noteworthy considering past representations of traveling in "Yezo." Instead of focusing on "going native" in Hokkaidō and becoming one with aboriginal culture, there is a definitive contrast between Japanese and Ainu bodies in these images, and distance between the groups is cautiously maintained.

Kondō's use of space in these images is particularly noteworthy. In outdoor scenes, he carefully positions his travelers inside the village, but the Ainu are often peeking out from windows and doorways. In one scene, "Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs," the four tourists are "attacked" by a group of three to four black dogs (Figure 44). The written narrative explains that this small group of creatures would expand to over fifty dogs due to the tour group's sluggishness, but that an Ainu youth was able to communicate with the animals to avert disaster. In his illustration, Kondō places his four tourists in the center of the action, surrounded by the bamboo grasses and barks of *kotan* houses. While the dogs bark at the men, unsteady on their *geta*, female Ainu faces peek out from all windows and doors, observing the action. The young Ainu man described in the narrative stands behind the dogs and in front of the doorway, but the darkness of his clothing causes him to blend in to the side of the *chise*. Kondō manipulates the space of the village and home in order to depict action in a more exciting way. Even a horse pokes his head out of a building toward

³¹⁷ Kondō Kōichiro, "Shiraoi-eki no buraku e," August 23, 1917.



Figure 44: Illustration by Kondō Kōichiro, “Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs” (Makkuro na Ainu inu ni hoerareta). *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (August 29, 1917), 5.

the bottom of the illustration, announcing the dogs and visitors. Here, the *chise* appear to be scattered on rolling hills, with all windows and doors oriented toward the visitors in the center of the illustration. However, such a village layout is counter to the typical Shiraoi home, which would have typically been oriented along an east-west axis, with the entrance on the western side and the “god window” (*rorun puyar*)—a window used for the entry and exit of the gods and ceremonial tools—positioned facing the doorway, to the east. Kondō eschews an accurate portrayal of culture and housing in this regard to depict action.

Similar visual strategies are adopted in “Shiraoi *kotan* Imai Kiyoshi,” where the face of an Ainu man identified here as an artisan named Imai Kiyoshi peeks out from a dark doorway to greet the four tourists, who are huddled together (Figure 45).³¹⁸ An Ainu youth

³¹⁸ Kondō Kōichiro, “Shiraoi *kotan* Imai Kiyoshi” (Shiraoi village's Imai Kiyoshi), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, September 3, 1917, Morning Edition.



Figure 45: Illustration by Kondō Kōichiro, “Shiraoi kotan Imai Kiyoshi.” *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (September 3, 1917), 5.

once again stands outside of a window watching, separated by bark and grass fence labeled with a sign that reads “Former Aboriginal Language Classroom, Former Aboriginal Workshop,” which Kondō describes as “unmistakably the birthplace of Ainu arts” (*Ainu geijutsu no honke honmoto*). The figure of the young student, who might benefit from such a workshop aimed at preserving craft and language, becomes an observer while the workshop is opened for the benefit of the four tourists and their excitement.

Space is similarly divided in the interior to Ainu homes, such as in the illustration for “Standing before the Chief, Who is Drunk on Unrefined Sake” (Figure 46). As the tourists crouch to enter the entrance in the west, we see a seated Ainu chief in front of them, surrounded by other figures on the raised platform which marks the interior space of the Ainu home. An older, balding elder is seated to the north of the hearth along with two



Figure 46: Illustration by Kondō Kōichirō, “Standing before the Chief, Drunk on Unrefined Sake” (Jokushu ni yotta shūchō no mae ni). *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (August 28, 1917), 5.

others. In traditional Ainu culture, the village chiefs and other important figures would all be seated on the north side of the hearth, while the visitors (tourist or otherwise) would be seated on the south side. The difference between tourist and Ainu is strikingly apparent here, even though the traditional space of the home is made more casual and realistic, with a beardless man sitting with one leg crossed over his knee, and the other hanging off of the platform. Kondō’s illustration and prose do not operate in the same way as earlier travelers, who would gloss over the inauthentic in their recounting of the Ainu village. Instead, like his arrival in Shiraoi, Kondō remarks frankly on what he sees. The passage reads,

We came in front of a home in Hanetsurube, and the guide unexpectedly went inside. When we entered after him, we smelled a pungent and bizarre odor. Inside, it seems that the Ainu (2nd person pronoun to indicate lower status) were trying to hold a feast of their favorite food, “*gonku*” (unrefined sake). Around the vicinity of

the large hearth on the dirt floor, a great man equipped with the features of Tolstoy led the aged white beards, with hair and beards overgrown. We witnessed several people with serious appearances that recalled the ancient great poet sages right before our eyes, all sitting cross-legged in a row, with sake tools scattered about beside them... the guide introduced the person in question, the aforementioned "Tolstoy," as the chief. His real name in the Ainu language was Shiyakirite, and his Japanese name was Morisa Kōkichi. Freely in Japanese he said, "It is quite hot," etc, with an expression of appropriate courtesy.³¹⁹

Kondō's explanation of the chief's features is largely in line descriptions by with American and European travelers. The reference to Tolstoy is not new or unique to Kondō's narrative, as this comparison occasionally surfaces in European and American travel writing on the Ainu. Just twelve years earlier, intellectual and editor Paul Carus accompanied anthropologist Frederick Starr to see the Ainu group at the St. Louis Exposition of 1904. In an article about the world's fair appearing in *Open Court* magazine (1905), Carus describes the appearance of Ainu men as similar to either Tolstoy or Christ, with relationships to either the Russians or a Slavic branch of the Aryan family, while Ainu women were described as an entirely different Mongolian type.³²⁰ The division between Kondō's descriptions of Ainu men and women mirror that of Carus, and even the earlier Isabella Bird, who compared the Ainu men as Christ-like, while the women were disparaged as ugly specimens of the race. The faces of the women, who all seem uniform in age, appear like masks with identical solid black tattooing around their mouths represented in an exaggerated fashion. While some women are named in the narrative of Kondō's adventure, this does not translate into the visual imagery. His opinions of the women in the village are generally low, seeing as they do not conform to his expected

³¹⁹ Kondō Kōichiro, "Doburoku ni yotta shūchō no mae ni" (Standing before the Chief, Who is Drunk on Unrefined Sake), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, August 28, 1917, Morning Edition.

³²⁰ Paul Carus, "The Ainus," *The Open Court* 19, no. 3 (March 1905), 163-77.

standard of beauty. He writes, "...we saw the rarity/strangeness of what is called a 'menoko' (young woman). Although the Ainu menoko have a frequent reputation as lovely beauties, we had the misfortune of not being able to entertain any beautiful *menoko*."³²¹ While many of the Ainu, especially female Ainu, appear generalized in their features and lack individual specificity, the four male tourists make several reappearances with the same unique clothing and hairstyles. While the illustration contains a predictable image of the Ainu chief, the text references Shiyakirite's facility with the Japanese language and his Japanese name. Instead of subsuming the sweeping changes to Ainu society aside in order to present an unadulterated view of Ainu culture, Kondō actively engages with them in his text, even if his illustration presents a view of Ainu culture that aligns with Japanese expectations. Despite this tendency there are subtle details, which hint to the uniquely modern setting of the tourist village.

The sixth image in the series, "An Exhibition of the Real Thing: 'Pakutsu' from Shamo," also recognizes the effects of Japanese assimilation and can be analyzed along similar lines (Figure 47).³²² According to the narrative, the four men traveled to see the "treasured items" of an old Ainu family in Shiraoi. After setting the room for the four guests, the elder brought out treasured objects to exhibit from a "jumbled mess" in the corner, including barbarian swords on the verge of crumbling, and drinking vessels used for marriage ceremonies. Bringing out an *ikupasuy*, a ceremonial carved stick used in

³²¹ Kondō, Kōichiro, "Makkuro-na Ainu inu ni hoerarete" (Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, August 29, 1917, Morning Edition.

³²² Kondō Kōichiro, "Shamo kara pakutsu-ta jitsubutsu tankan" (An Exhibition of the Real Thing: 'Pakutsu' from Shamo), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, September 1, 1917, Morning Edition.

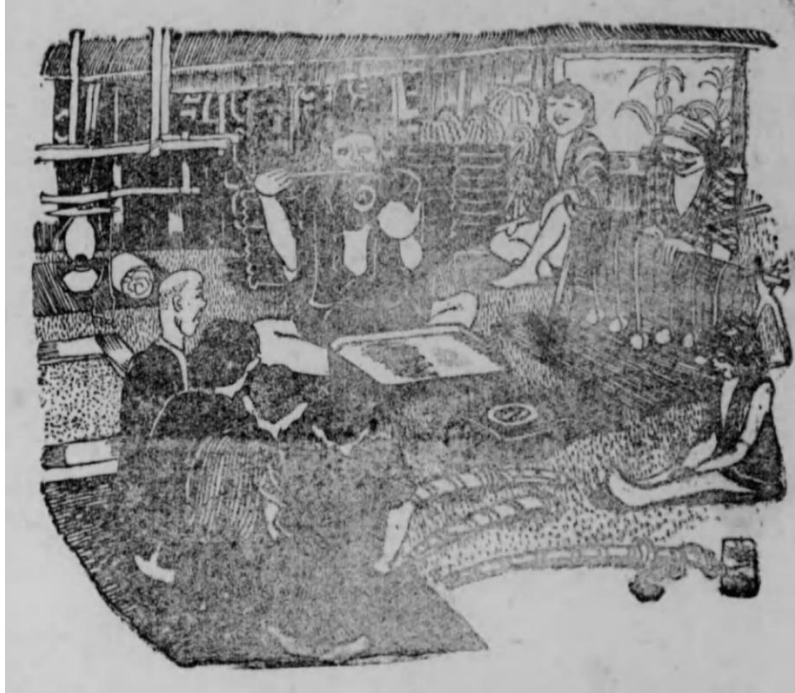


Figure 47: Illustration by Kondō Kōichiro, “An Exhibition of the Real Thing: ‘*Pakutsu*’ from *Shamo*” (Shamo kara pakutsu-ta jitsubutsu tenkan). *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (September 1, 1917), 5.

ceremonies and often called “mustache lifters” by Western explorers, the man demonstrated its use, and it is this very act that Kondō’s illustration tries to capture, with stick raised to his lips and swords laid in a row at the bottom of the image. The guests questioned where these objects came from, and the Ainu man explained that these objects are called *pakutsuta*, which means objects acquired through trade, from *shamo*, or Japanese people.³²³ Kondō’s illustrations simultaneously conform to the tourist vision of Ainu cultural performance, while disrupting the idea of an unadulterated and pure Ainu experience. In contrast to the previous illustration, this image does indeed have the Ainu chief along the north side of the hearth with our four tourists to the south side. Toward the god window in the east sits two young Ainu individuals of ambiguous gender and an Ainu woman weaving a bulrush mat (*kina*). This particular representation of traditional Ainu

³²³ Kondō describes that the word *pakutsuta* derives from the Ainu term “*pakuru*,” or exchange.

femininity is a popular one seen again and again in tourist postcards. However, despite these elements, the visual presence of things like an oil lamp inside the Ainu home, and even corn agriculture as seen from the window, attest to changes in the Ainu household, subtly refuting the persistent stereotype of the Ainu as a race on the eve of vanishing due to its inability to adapt and change. But despite these visual and written clues that alert the viewer to changes in Ainu culture, the exaggeration in Kondō's depiction of men and women nevertheless support stereotypes that began in Japanese Ainu-e and western tourist images, including the pervasive image of the drunken Ainu chief, pictured here with eyes rolling to the back of his head.

In addition to creating separation between the Japanese and the Ainu figures, Kondō also invokes some of the more humorous aspects of group travel. For example, in the second illustration, "Peeking at a Bear inside of a Cage," we see three of the men crowded around a bear contained inside a *heper set* (a cage designed specifically for raising the bears before the *iyomante*, or bear-sending ceremony) (Figure 48). The textual description describes the close call between Kondō and the bear, where he writes, "We timidly opened the fence, and the tip of the bear's nose and the tip of my nose came merely 2 or 3 *shaku* (24 to 36 inches) away from each other, and without thinking I shuddered and recoiled. Nevertheless, the Ainu people raise the bear in the same spirit as one would raise a rabbit."³²⁴ While the textual description is focused on the bear, and the Ainu explanation of it, the illustration shows three men—with their stylish accoutrement in tow, including a messenger bag and black umbrella—crowded around the cage, pointing and leaning in close to the bear, while one man wanders away from the group, distracted by an Ainu

³²⁴ Kondō, Kōichiro, "Ori no uchi no kuma o nozoite" (Peeking at a Bear Inside of a Cage), *Yomiuri Shinbun*, August 25, 1917, Morning Edition.



Figure 48: Illustration by Kondō Kōichiro, “Peeking at a Bear inside of a Cage” (Ori no uchi no kuma wo nozoite). Reprinted from *Yomiuri Shinbun*, Morning Edition (August 25, 1917), 5.

woman appearing in the window to the *chise*. Kondō often integrates such small misadventures and misdirected attention in the space of his illustrations, bringing a sense of realism and the everyday to his depiction of the tour group. This element of surprise is seen again in the scene when the men were caught unawares by the black dogs described earlier. With their mismatching fashions, they huddle together peering at the various sights, always encumbered by the large umbrella. In these images, the Ainu come off as more sensible and reasonable than the Japanese tour group. As a man who preferred the adventure of solitary travel, he pokes fun at the inefficiency and unwieldy nature of the group tour in Shiraoi as much as the Ainu subjects.

As argued by Rosenbaum and Summers, it is crucial to reconstruct the context of these images and the power dynamics at play in order to understand Kondō’s seven

illustrations of Shiraoi. They simultaneously invoke a long history of Ainu subjugation and visual deformation that dehumanized their communities and portrayed them as a group of people incapable of adapting to “modern” life. But to dismiss these caricatures as merely portraying yet another stereotype of Ainu culture ignores their salient observations of the tourist establishment in Ainu villages. For here, it is not only the Ainu who are the butt of the joke, but the four tourists searching desperately for the “real” aborigine. Returning to “Howling of the Pitch Black Ainu Dogs,” the four travelers are helpless as they confront the four dogs, stumbling over one another trying to get away (Figure 44). It is only the Ainu boy who is able to placate them. But more importantly, when one looks at the illustration, it is not the Ainu who draw our attention, but the tourists. We join the Ainu looking through their windows in scrutinizing the awkwardness of the Japanese men, who despite a trouble-free journey to Shiraoi, find themselves in “another world.” The large black umbrella, flat cap, and messenger bag are of no assistance here, as they walk about, poking their head into buildings encumbered by their luggage. While the Ainu seen here are certainly “types,” the tourist group itself forms its own recognizable type in Kondō’s illustrations. Their ease of journey and awkward presence mock the image of the intrepid solitary explorer.

Shiraoi as a Site

Kondō’s caricatures reveal the changing nature of Ainu tourism in the early twentieth century, but his work remains only one small part of a vibrant visual and textual field in and outside of Japan. By the early Shōwa period, Shiraoi would be best known as an Ainu tourist staple, and Kondō’s experiences in the village echo popular accounts

through the 1940s. Although travelers earlier than Kondō travel to Shiraoi, his particular focus on the tourist village was a harbinger for changes in the tourist narrative. For example, Gabrielle Bertrand, a French woman who traveled around Hokkaidō by Ford, described many experiences similar to those of Kondō in the towns of Shiraoi and Shimokotsu. One particular description of hers, recounted in an anthology of works edited by Kirsten Refsing, stands out in contrast to Kondō's adventure:

Too well-dressed, too conventional, too prepared, arranged for the sake of tourists, they are seated in front of their doors in a frozen and artificial pose. Feigned pensive faces, solemn and well-sculpted features, high foreheads, dressed in long, floating, embroidered tunics, and with a Samoyed knife in their belts... As for the women, the young ones are slow and amiable with small eyes that look at us without malice — the old are awfully ugly and shriveled with poor grimacing faces. The entire race smells terribly of filth, indolence and decadence due to drinking, for both men and women use and abuse terribly corn liquor and Japanese sake.³²⁵

Bertrand's description of Ainu posed within doorways resonates with Kondō's visualization of the Shiraoi *kotan*, where Ainu men, and women in particular, peek at the tourists in Kondō's party from almost every door and window. But Bertrand's disparaging tone is not isolated, as a Japanese journalist who traveled to Shiraoi in 1922 similarly described the Ainu there as backward, disease ridden and alcoholic.³²⁶ Even extending back to A. H. Savage Landor and Isabella Bird, it would be these accusations which would inspire movements of Ainu self-improvement described in the following chapter, which rallied against the image of the Ainu as a people dependent on state welfare (*hogomin*) or a dying race (*horobiyuku minzoku*) previously outlined by Siddle. But Shiraoi's role as a site of Ainu authenticity was already being called into question by explorers like Bird as early as 1880,

³²⁵ Gabrielle Bertrand, *Seule dans l'Asie troublée; Mandchoukuo-Mongolie, 1936–1937* (Paris: Plon, 1937), 99; As quoted in Refsing, 81.

³²⁶ Weiner, *Race, Ethnicity and Migration in Modern Japan*, 345–346.

and would continue by later by travelers such as Neill James, the “Petticoat Vagabond,” in 1937. James would travel to Shiraoi and convince the chief to let her stay inside his old *chise*, since he had built a modern wooden home for himself. However, she learned that whenever a group of tourists entered the village, she would have to make her space available to those wishing to see authentic Ainu culture, which caused her to leave for Nibutani in Hokkaidō’s interior.³²⁷ Irrespective of country of origin, the tourist experience recounted across multiple sources tend to draw upon the same repertoire of imagery about an indigenous people unable to save themselves from decline.

Although these twentieth-century travelers went to Shiraoi to find authenticity, and left disappointed, Shiraoi’s role in the visualization of the Ainu in the Taishō era cannot be underestimated. Its emergence as the go-to site for experiencing Ainu culture due to its proximity to rail transportation left an indelible mark on the visual record, and the Shiraoi Ainu—like the Ainu in Biratori—became a stand-in for the entirety of Ainu cultural tradition in the newspaper. But as much as Kondō’s text reinforces the stereotype of the Ainu as a welfare people, the focus of his illustrations is often on the tour group itself, with their adventures (and misadventures) in Shiraoi. Kondō’s imagery illustrate moments that disrupt the fantasy of an unadulterated indigenous experience—the visual presence of lamps and corn, the Ainu chief’s perfect Japanese and Japanese name, and the broken-down railway station that allowed access. And yet, many of his images also smooth these ruptures over, as we never do see the train station which marks his arrival, only the tour group looking out over a bluff toward Shiraoi *kotan* receding into the horizon (a view that is in itself unrealistic, considering the geography of Shiraoi).

³²⁷ Refsing, 83.

Shiraoi's capitalization on tourist intrigue, seen with Kondō's eclectic tour group peeking in bear cages and admiring Ainu treasures, continues in a modified form today and will likely continue to grow in the coming years. Currently, the role of this site in the popular imagination supersedes its geography, and even basic Internet searches for images of the Ainu reveal a startling amount of amateur tourist photographs of performances staged at Poroto Kotan in Shiraoi. Such images should reaffirm the vibrancy of Ainu traditions and the continuity of Ainu music and dance, but these images often serve as a testament to a culture that is perceived as unchanging and static. The original Poroto Kotan was constructed in the 1970s, over fifty years after Kondō's touristic adventure, and there are currently plans in motion to augment the reconstructed village with a new, national Ainu museum in advance of the Tokyo Olympics in 2020. As the first national museum dedicated to the Ainu, who were only recognized as a Japanese indigenous people as recently as 2008, it will undoubtedly become a new cultural center led by scholars of Ainu studies. Not just a museum, the new site will also be of service to the community with educational initiatives aimed at teaching traditional craft, music, and language. This exciting moment in Shiraoi necessitates a look back at the historical role of the site in the tourist imaginary, and Kondō's travel vignettes and caricature precede and resonate with contemporary travel. The publication of Kondō's work in the *Yomiuri Shinbun* promoted the broad readership of a tourist adventure, certainly reaching a wider audience than the separate publication of his *Manga junreiki* in 1918. His caricatures draw comparison to the visual legacy of earlier newspaper images of the Hokkaidō Ainu in Japan and the United States, but also are unique in their engagement with both the role of Ainu authenticity and the modern tourist experience in the Taishō era.

CHAPTER 5

Finding an Authorial Identity in the Face of Disappearance: Katahira Tomijirō, Takekuma Tokusaburō, & Reverend John Batchelor, 1918–1933

Native art has traditionally been art created by anonymous people, primarily because artists in traditional societies did not need to sign their works, their identities were readily apparent to villagers who saw the objects they made every day. Anthropologists and museum curators have compounded the problem of identifying these artists by focusing their interests more on the collective concept of “culture” than on its individual expression. Early Ainu art conforms to this pattern: of the fifteen or twenty thousand Ainu objects in the world’s museums, very few can be attributed to known individuals.

—Chisato O. Dubreuil, 1999³²⁸

Just as turn of the twentieth-century travelers like Isabella Bird described the Ainu as a people without history due to their lack of a written language, scholars today downplay or ignore the role of Ainu individuals in the creation of their own visual culture due to a lack of signed or attributed works of art. Like the pictorial and artistic representations produced by indigenous groups such as the Inuit, Eskimo, Zuni and Maori, objects produced by Ainu individuals are often subsumed under an all-encompassing veil of anonymity. But as described by art historian Chisato O. Dubreuil, these objects could often be identified within individual communities even without artistic signature. Today’s anthropologists, scholars, and museum professionals often unwittingly use “Ainu art” to reify Ainu culture writ large, flattening both cultural diversity and visual complexity in the face of missing information about individual producers. Dubreuil interrogates the development of tourist art and the eventual emergence of the named artists such as Umetaro Matsui (1901–1941), a master Ainu bear carver, and later artists such as Fujito

³²⁸ Chisato O. Dubreuil, “Ainu Journey: From Tourist Art to Fine Arts,” in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 335.

Takeki, Sunazawa Bikky, and Kawamura Noriko, who viewed their work as neither tourist art nor craft, but as fine art. Dubreuil, in addition to other scholars such as Yamasaki Koji and Ann-Elise Lewallen takes crucial first steps in recognizing the contributions and continued struggles of Ainu artists rarely recognized within the establishment of Japanese fine art. But this chapter argues that these battles over individual expression and cultural representation did not only occur in the realm of woodcarving and textile design, but also in popular print culture.

This chapter extends the question of Ainu authorial identity with regard to photographs and illustrations; terrain that is perceived as dominated exclusively by Japanese, European, and American producers leading up to the Taishō period. While the previous chapters illuminate tentative moments of Ainu agency in the face of presumed imminent erasure—Chief Penri II’s photograph of Arnold Genthe, Pete Gorō and Hiramura Shutrateg’s experiences and crafted objects from the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, and even the Chikabumi Ainu’s strategic use of the news media in Tokyo—this chapter investigates the possibilities (and complications) of publishing and reproducing the likeness of one’s own community. Loosely centering on the little-known illustrator, editor, and shiatsu massage therapist Katahira Tomijirō, school teacher Takekuma Tokusaburō, and their complicated relationship with Reverend John Batchelor, this final chapter questions how known Ainu individuals from Sapporo and the Saru-river region sought to *visually* represent their own community through the late-Taishō and early-Shōwa periods in the service of an anticipated assimilated future. Considering the inaccessibility of the Japanese art market to Ainu men and women, what were the possibilities of individual Ainu expression of visual identity in a print culture saturated with representations from the

outside? This chapter is concerned with the notion of Ainu authorship outside of the *kotan*, and the constant risk of visual inscription within a colonial system. Under the guidance—and shadow—of John Batchelor, where does foreign influence stop and Ainu agency begin?

Early Ainu Pictorial Production

Paintings, illustrations, and photographs produced by Ainu artists/artisans of their own community and the natural world that surrounded it are virtually absent before the late nineteenth century. Scholars such as Sasaki Toshikazu and Dubreuil attribute this lack of imagery to Ainu cultural and religious beliefs regarding the supernatural potency of images. As previously described by historian Sasaki in reference to the Japanese production of Ainu-e, there was a pervasive belief through the Edo period that paintings and drawings could come to life allowing *wen kamuy*, or evil spirits, to physically enter the visual depiction causing illness and disaster in the living world.³²⁹ Accordingly, paintings or photographs of living things or natural phenomenon were forbidden in Ainu society, with the only exception being ceremonial objects such as *ikupasuy*, *inaw*, and the abstracted designs of textiles and tattoos.³³⁰ While Ainu individuals were commissioning portraits by the late-Meiji and early-Taishō periods, the earliest pictorial depictions of the Ainu were not from within the Ainu community, but rather, by the Ainu-e of Japanese explorers to the region in the Edo and Meiji periods (such as Matsuura Takeshirō, Murakami Shimanōjō, Murakami Teisuke, and Mamiya Rinzō). While Japanese Ainu-e were often collected and reproduced in Western works describing Ainu culture (e.g. Philipp Franz von Siebold, Isabella Bird, Edward Greay, and John Batchelor), other individuals—commercial

³²⁹ Dubreuil, “Ainu-e: Instructional Resources for the Study of Japan's Other People,” 10.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, 10.

photographers like Baron Raimund von Stillfried and Felice Beato; anthropologists like Bronislaw Pilsudski and Frederick Starr, and artists like A.H. Savage Landor and Arnold Genthe— would create and circulate new photographs and/or illustrations. Although it is true that Edo and early-Meiji representations of the Ainu were largely produced by those outside of the Ainu community, it would be unreasonable to assert that the Ainu did not record their culture. Without a written language, the Ainu recorded their history in epic songs (*charanke* and *yukar*), which told vibrant stories about the various gods in the Ainu pantheon (such as the worship of the salmon or the bear), in addition to epic stories about relationships and battles between rival factions. Nevertheless, the lack of a written history has led several travelers and scholars to declare the Ainu as a people *without history*, reinforcing the all-to-common refrain that the Ainu were the living embodiment of the ancient Jōmon people in the present.³³¹

These strong beliefs in the danger of visual representation would not remain constant through the late-Meiji, Taishō, and Shōwa eras, however, as Ainu society rapidly changed in the face of political and societal pressures. Some of these changes were practical, motivated by either assimilation policies or dire financial straits. One of the most visible and lasting changes occurred in the realm of woodcarving, where objects that were formerly used only for ceremonial purposes were adapted for a tourist market. As described by Dubreuil, “Prohibition on the use of animal representation, which was dictated by fundamental Ainu religious beliefs and social structure, limited artistic production to the family economy rather than allowing it to be utilized by individuals for personal enhancement and was typical of the factors that impeded the development of

³³¹ Umehara, 13.

Ainu art from its traditional roots into twentieth-century forms.”³³² While this is true of Ainu beliefs, tourist art became an important staple of Ainu economic survival after the Meiji Restoration, and even more so after the Meiji government’s promotion of Hokkaido tourism in tandem with an expansion of the Japanese railway network in Hokkaido in the 1880s.³³³

While Ainu artisans often earned commissions from supplying household items to the Japanese living in Hokkaido through 1818, the unfavorable economic conditions of the Meiji period would force more Ainu to turn to tourist arts.³³⁴ While carved bears continue to be a staple of Ainu tourist art, the first bears produced strayed from naturalistic representation and were far from being economically successful.³³⁵ Another popular souvenir, “Ainu dolls”—pairs of male and female wooden figures—have their roots in the Ainu *nipopo* doll carved and utilized by shamans as protective amulets.³³⁶ Although it was previously against Ainu beliefs to depict the human form in a non-religious context, the tourist trade became an important source of income for a vulnerable group of people dependent on the government.³³⁷ Despite the increased production, Dubreuil explains that many notable producers of tourist art did not sign their work due to its perception as commodity, with its “signature” being its Ainu style or subject matter.³³⁸ While the

³³² Dubreuil, “Ainu Journey: From Tourist Art to Fine Arts,” 335.

³³³ *Ibid.*, 337.

³³⁴ *Ibid.*, 336.

³³⁵ *Ibid.*, 337.

³³⁶ Although tourists occasionally compare the dolls to Japanese kokeshi, especially considering the rounded shape of some souvenir versions, Ainu *nipopo* are carved rather than lathe-turned—a crucial feature of Ainu tourist and fine art. Jennifer E. McDowell, “Kokeshi: Continued and Created Traditions (Motivations for a Japanese Folk Art Doll)” (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2011), 68–69.

³³⁷ Dubreuil, “Ainu Journey: From Tourist Art to Fine Arts,” 336.

³³⁸ *Ibid.*, 335.

production of this tourist art would foster the artistic careers of several important Ainu artists, such as Bikky Sunazawa in the Shōwa era and Kaizawa Toru today, new emergent Ainu voices that depicted, critiqued, and reflected on these changes in Ainu society emerged not through wood carving, a pursuit often exaggerated as synonymous with Ainu culture, but through publication, a practice largely seen as the purview of Europeans, Americans, and the Japanese.

The Ainu community in the Taishō period was anything but passive, and several Ainu authors and community figures organized to question the role and status of the Ainu within Japanese society, and the prolonged discriminatory treatment toward indigenous people. These dynamic and young poets and activists, such as Iboshi Hokuto, Chiri Yukie (1903–1922), Yaeko Batchelor (1884–1962), and Pete Warō (dates unknown) explored these ideas through written critique. Their work began appearing in community bulletins and magazines like *Utarigusu*, *Utari no Tomo*, and *Utari no Hikari*. These journals, and others like them, were published in Japanese, the primary language for many young Ainu men and women after Meiji-period policy prohibited the Ainu language in schools. Although several historians, such as David Howell, have recognized the importance of these voices, this chapter argues that *Utarigusu*, *Utari no Tomo*, *Utari no Hikari* and earlier precedents included in the work of John Batchelor did more than merely convey indigenous opinions in narrative and verse; they allowed indigenous communities to experiment with illustrations that could be mass produced. Although this fact may seem insignificant, or even auxiliary to the written word, this moment marks the beginning of Ainu participation in the world of images—a world that was heretofore dominated by Japanese and Euro-American producers and collectors. How could a person of Ainu descent

depict his or her own culture, when the precedent was filled only with racialized images of a backwards, primitive people? This chapter asks this question and seeks to recuperate an answer through close analysis of images produced or used by Ainu illustrators and writers.

John Batchelor and Issues of Authenticity

To discuss early Ainu use of illustration and photography, one must first understand the various roles played by Reverend John Batchelor (1854–1944) in Hokkaido, Japan. In addition to being a missionary and educator in the Hokkaido region, he served as a gatekeeper of sorts for both the upward mobility of several converted Ainu in Biratori and foreign knowledge about the Ainu and the Hokkaido interior. Access and resources for Katahira’s illustrations and Takekuma’s publication *Ainu Monogatari* (1918) would not have been possible without their ties to Batchelor’s Ainu missionary society, the Ainu dendōdan.

Batchelor was an Anglican English missionary often described by visitors to Hokkaido as the “Father” of the Japanese Ainu. He and his wife Louisa lived in Hokkaido from 1877 only reluctantly leaving the country in 1941 with the outbreak of the Second World War. Batchelor was deeply trusted by Euro-American explorers to the region in addition to the Ainu themselves. In 1906, Batchelor and his wife adopted an Ainu girl named Mukai Yaeko (1884–1962, Ainu name: Fuchi) when she was twenty-two years of age. Yaeko was the daughter of a powerful Ainu by the name of Mukai Tomizō (Ainu name: Morotcaro) and his wife Hutchise. Mukai trusted Batchelor to baptize his daughter, and she would travel to Sapporo to take part in Batchelor’s Ainu Girls’ School at the age of thirteen soon after her father’s death (1897). Batchelor and Louisa would officially adopt an adult

Yaeko in 1906 prior to accompanying the couple on a trip to England in 1908, where she was ordained as an evangelist. Yaeko Batchelor was best known for her missionary work in Biratori and Noboribetsu and for her waka poetry, and would contribute to Ainu bulletins *Utarigusu* and *Utari no Tomo* run by Batchelor's Ainu missionary society, the Ainu *dendōdan*, alongside her biological brother Mukai Yamao. Batchelor was a strong advocate for the Ainu in the region and promoted a Christian education as a way of bettering one's self, an imperative adopted by many educated Ainu such as Yaeko, her brother Yamao, Katahira Tomijirō (son of Yaeko's older sister), and Takekuma Tokusaburō.

During his sixty-three years in Hokkaido, Batchelor's impressive publication record left an indelible mark on other missionaries, travelers and explorers to Hokkaido. His Ainu-English dictionary was studied by anthropologists and linguists at the turn of the twentieth century, and continues to provide insight to scholars today. Despite the popularity of Batchelor's dictionary, it was Batchelor's three volumes about Ainu customs, religion, and folk-lore that became the tomes of the Hokkaido traveler: *The Ainu of Japan: The Religion, Superstitions, and General History of the Hairy Aborigines of Japan* (1892), *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* (1901), and *Ainu Life and Lore; Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927). Explorers, anthropologists and scientists alike heavily cited all three volumes, and the photographs and illustrations contained within were published repeatedly in British and American illustrated and photographic presses. While Batchelor is in many senses entirely sympathetic to the Ainu's plight, and was a well-known advocate for the Ainu in the face of Japanese discrimination, his words can appear condescending toward Ainu culture, especially to the eyes of the contemporary reader. As such, Batchelor's works have received

equal praise and criticism.³³⁹ Ainu intellectual Chiri Mashiho is particularly harsh on Batchelor, declaring, “Quite contrary to the trust which is generally placed [in Batchelor’s dictionary], I must say that I have never in my life seen a dictionary with so many flaws. Nay rather than say it has many flaws, it would be closer to the truth to say that it consists solely of flaws.”³⁴⁰ Chiri is likely the toughest of Batchelor’s critics. Most scholars acknowledge the importance of Batchelor’s contributions, but approach his works with a degree of caution. Batchelor was profoundly shaped by his Christian beliefs, and as ethnologist Hans Dieter Ölschleger argues, “I think it can be shown in a variety of areas how this dualistic conception [between Satan and God] leaves its mark on Batchelor’s description of Ainu religion. The result is again a curious admixture of animistic and Christian ideas, which is introduced under the title of ‘religion of the Ainu.’ As Batchelor himself recognizes, there is no unified system underlying Ainu beliefs.”³⁴¹ Neil Gordon Munroe, a student of the Ainu who lived amongst the Ainu in Nibutani, also pointed out Batchelor’s tendency to reframe Ainu religion and culture in his own terms, particularly Batchelor’s interpretation of *pase-kamuy* as Christianity’s “One True God.”³⁴² Nevertheless, despite these issues, Batchelor’s works about the Ainu, if approached with care and caution, can yield interesting insight about stories and traditions no longer practiced.

Batchelor’s works about Ainu culture, excepting his books about the Ainu language,

³³⁹ For works that elaborate on the criticisms of Batchelor, see: Chiri Mashiho, *Ainu-go nyūmon* (Introduction to the Ainu Language) (Tokyo: Nire shobō, 1956); Hans Adalbert Dettmer, “Rev. John Batchelor—A Preliminary Report on his Method of Working,” in *Proceedings of the International Symposium on B. Pilsudski’s Phonographic Records and the Ainu Culture*, ed. Executive Committee of the International Symposium (Sapporo: Hokkaidō University, 1985), 117–122.

³⁴⁰ Quoted in Hugh Cortazzi, “John Batchelor: Missionary and Friend of the Ainu,” *Collected Writings of Sir Hugh Cortazzi* (Tokyo: Edition Synapse, 2000), 113–25.

³⁴¹ Hans Dieter Ölschleger, “John Batchelor’s Contributions to Ainu Ethnography,” in *European Studies on Ainu Language and Culture*, ed. Josef Kreiner (Munich: Iudicium, 1993), 145.

³⁴² Cortazzi, 113–25.

all contained an abundance of illustrations. Like other authors publishing in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, Batchelor drew images from a variety of sources—Ainu-e, ethnographic photographs, photographs taken in the Ainu community featuring Batchelor communing with his converts, and illustrations. *Ainu Life and Lore; Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927) was the last volume published by Batchelor long after the *Ainu of Japan* and *The Ainu and their Folk-lore* were out of print. It boasts an impressive ninety-nine images (forty-six photographs, thirty-eight black-and-white illustrations, and fifteen color illustrations).³⁴³ Batchelor often reused images across volumes, and of these images, nineteen are shared with *The Ainu of Japan* while only thirteen are shared with *The Ainu and their Folk-lore*. The captions and cropping of images that appear across volumes do occasionally show variation. Like many other books of its era, *Ainu Life and Lore* continues the practice of borrowing images from a variety of other sources—including four line engravings from Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880) (see Chapter 1) and a painting after Baron Raimund von Stillfried's photograph of an Ainu hunter (ca. 1872–1873), among many others. But crucial for the purposes of this chapter, *Ainu Life and Lore* is also a rare book in that it includes illustrations clearly indicated as being by an Ainu hand.

Before delving into this small set of illustrations in *Ainu Life and Lore*, it is worth mentioning that this was not the first work in which Batchelor purported to include something drawn by an Ainu. Three years earlier, in the modest *Uwepekere or Ainu Fireside Stories* (1924), Batchelor uses a single illustration to accompany the eighth story in his

³⁴³ For Batchelor's book, anything that was not a photograph and not produced in black and white is considered an "illustration." While many illustrations take the form of line-engravings, some illustrations are actually reproduced paintings of photographs.

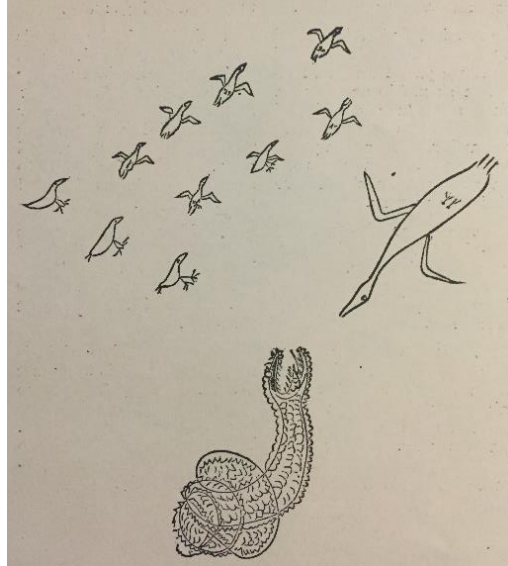


Figure 49: Illustration of “The Skylark” by Anonymous Ainu friend of John Batchelor. Reprinted from John Batchelor, *Uwepekere or Ainu fireside stories as told by one of themselves* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1924).

series, “The Skylark” (*Riko-chiripo*) (Figure 49). The story as Batchelor tells it, is about a bird who, disobeying the orders of the “True God,” is banished from heaven. Every day the bird ascends to enter heaven, but can go no higher than one or two score six feet because the True God will not permit him, and so he returns to earth and sings. The monochrome line-drawn illustration that accompanies the story is the stylistically simple work of an untrained artist, and does not recall many of the repeating patterns and motifs characteristic of Ainu work. A group of ten birds fly in the sky while a single bird, who appears closer to the viewer than the rest, seems to be descending. The contours of the bird’s body are drawn with two lines, with three short strokes for the tail feathers. The wings are each accomplished by a single stroke of the pen. A serpentine creature waits at the bottom, and parallel lines twisting through space define the shape of its body. In a sense, the two loops that form the serpent’s body seem to be drawn by a process of holding two pens simultaneously in the same hand. Scales, teeth, and an eye appear to have been

added after the fact. Batchelor describes this illustration in a note appended to the end of the story:

...The writer of this story brought his manuscript to me with the illustration given on the next page affixed to it, and I give it here just as he handed it to me now nearly forty years ago. We have in the above illustration an Ainu's idea of the fall of the skylark. The snake at the bottom is the devil in the world as tempter. The bird descending is the lark falling because of the temptations of the evil one. The larks ascending are those that obeyed the voice of God and returned before sunset to their home in heaven.³⁴⁴

The story's writer and illustrator is likely the same person referenced in Batchelor's preface as "an Ainu whom I myself had taught to write with the Roman alphabet nearly forty years ago."³⁴⁵ This would mean that Batchelor first learned of this story (and received the illustration) circa 1884, roughly six years before Isabella Bird's trip to Hokkaido and four years prior to the publication of *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. The story has been analyzed by Ölschleger, who sees this as a compelling example of the strong influence of Christian beliefs on what Batchelor describes as "genuine Ainu religion."³⁴⁶ The strange addition of the snake points more toward a dualistic point of view embodying good/evil, heaven/hell, and God/Satan. Ölschleger writes, "It is true that this illustration was drawn by an Ainu but this man had been taught to write by Batchelor himself nearly forty years before. It might also be supposed that this Ainu had been instructed in Christian beliefs. Batchelor is interpreting a view of the 'authentic Ainu,' when he himself had actually produced it. He sees what he wishes to see."³⁴⁷ There is little concrete evidence regarding the original

³⁴⁴ John Batchelor, *Uwepekere or Ainu Fireside Stories: As Told by One of Themselves* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1924), 21–22.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, forward.

³⁴⁶ Ölschleger, 146.

³⁴⁷ Ölschleger, 147.

storyteller who drew the image, and by accepting it as authentic, we are taking Batchelor at his word. However, assuming the truth of Batchelor's admission, I am inclined to agree with Ölschleger's assessment. Batchelor's construction of an image of the Ainu in line with his own expectations holds true not only for Batchelor, but for the many other visitors to Hokkaido (whether literal visitors, or armchair travelers) who constantly reinterpreted Ainu and other indigenous cultures in terms of cultures and traditions familiar to them. If Batchelor's description is to be trusted, this image would mark one of the first times that an Ainu illustration found its way into an English-language work despite its reinterpretation in a Christian idiom. It would not be the last, however.

Batchelor, Katahira Tomijirō, and *Ainu Life and Lore* (1927)

“Drawn by T. Katahira, an Ainu.” This is the caption that follows nine color plates appearing in *Ainu Life and Lore: Echoes of a Departing Race* (1927). Katahira Tomijirō was the son an Ainu woman named Tomi, the older sister of John Batchelor's adopted daughter Yaeko. Tomi was a performer who branded herself the *Hokkai pirika jō* (Miss Beautiful Northern Sea) and toured Japan while reciting stories with shamisen accompaniment. Katahira would take his surname from the husband of Tomi's second marriage. He worked as a clerk for Batchelor's Ainu mission, and became the main editor for the Ainu bulletin *Utariyusu* and its successor *Utari no Tomo*, both issued by Batchelor's mission. Katahira was not a professional artist, but rather, a shiatsu massage therapist. With money from the land he sold in Usu, Hokkaido, he left for Tokyo in order to earn a degree in acupressure treatment. He borrowed a room in Batchelor's Ainu school dormitory where he started a practice. However, with his keen literary sense, Katahira often aided Batchelor with the

translation of English manuscripts into Japanese. In addition to this responsibility, Katahira also created illustrations for Batchelor's books, including those printed in *Ainu Life and Lore*. It is unclear where Katahira learned to draw and paint, and his untrained eye often shows a naïve understanding of the human form and perspective. Katahira did not often create his own original compositions, and he often based his illustrations on the compositions of studio and ethnographic photographs previously used in publications by Batchelor. It is possible that Katahira was exposed to such techniques while assisting Batchelor, since the missionary received a steadily rotating cast of foreign visitors. After all, many Euro-American and Japanese travelers to the region, including Bird, Starr, Landor, and Kondō addressed in the first four chapters to this dissertation, brought sketchbooks with them on their journeys so that they could copy pre-existing works in scholarly collections or draw the Ainu from observation to aid them in writing upon return. It is also equally plausible that Katahira picked up an interest in painting while in Tokyo.

As the editor of *Utarigusu* and *Utari no Tomo*, and with connections to Batchelor, Katahira's name was certainly known in the Ainu community in the 1920s. Both journals served as community news venues, but also contained information on a wide range of topics, including essays on Ainu culture and language, Christian themes, and longer critiques regarding the Ainu's place within Japanese society. Contributors included John Batchelor, Yaeko Batchelor, Chiri Yukie, and Iboshi Hokuto, among others. As explained in the sixth issue of *Utarigusu's* "Report," while there was little activity in the missionary society after its founding on June 25th, 1919, starting in October of the following year a need was felt by the members, and the first issue of the bulletin was published in December. Issues were sporadically published between 1920 and 1925. *Utari no Tomo* is

largely seen as the successor journal to *Utarigusu* and began publication in 1933 under Katahira's direction. Katahira's opinionated writing about the state of Ainu society in *Utarigusu* was seen as controversial, and, according to Yolanda Muñoz González, his critical attitude brought his name to the attention of the police.³⁴⁸ Although a range of positions are represented by the male and female writers of *Utarigusu*, Katahira was a firm believer that education alone—and by this he primarily meant the assimilation into *wajin* culture—could take the Ainu people out of their precarious situation.³⁴⁹ Voicing his frustration, he described the negative stereotype of the Ainu in Japanese society in *Utarigusu*: “‘Ainu’ is a noun that refers to our race [*jinrui*]. Why do we feel dissatisfied when people say, “you Ainu?” Is it because we are called “Ainu,” despite the fact that we too are Japanese? No. Why then? It is because Ainu is a synonym for stupid, poor, and drunkard.”³⁵⁰ These three stereotypes—“stupid,” “poor,” and “alcoholic”—are not just limited to an Ainu/Japanese context, but are globally employed as a criticism of indigenous peoples vis-a-vis the colonizing entity. While these criticisms certainly appear in Japanese sources (including Edo-period Ainu-e), these same stereotypes can be seen in regards to other native peoples without any connection to the Ainu. As David Howell explains, in the Japanese context, those critical of the Ainu in the modern period focused less on distinctive cultural markers—such as tattooing and the bear ceremony—and rather on the types of social issues also seen in more rural areas of Japan such as alcoholism, unhygienic dwellings, sloth, and ignorance; issues that were seen as precluding them (both the rural Japanese and

³⁴⁸ Yolanda Muñoz González, *La Literatura de Resistencia de la Mujeres Ainu* (Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico AC, 2008), 298.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 298.

³⁵⁰ Quoted in David L. Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens’ of Ainu Subjects in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” *The Journal of Asian Studies* 63, no. 01 (2004): 20; Masahito Ogawa and Shinichi Yamada, eds. *Ainu minzoku kindai no kiroku* (Modern Records of the Ainu) (Tokyo: Sōfukan, 1998), 81.

the Ainu) from participation in the modern Meiji state.³⁵¹

In the face of continuing discrimination, Ainu political engagement would increase throughout the Taisho and early-Shōwa eras, as the writings in *Utarigusu* and *Utari no Tomo* evidence. This trend went beyond the confines of Ainu *dendōdan*, and other magazines such as *Utari no Hikari* (first published in 1932 and founded by Pete Warō in Mukawa) also shows similar political engagement. Furthermore, the politically active Ainu in Hokkaido shared the opinion about the importance of education held by Katahira. For example, Takekuma Tokusaburō, the first Ainu to publish a book in 1918, argued for the importance of Japanese-style education as the key for future improvement within Ainu society.³⁵² However, most advocates of assimilation, including Katahira, realized the limits of that strategy. As explained by Howell, “most [Ainu] activists accepted assimilation as a goal, if for no other reason than it seemed to be the most realistic route to bettering the Ainu’s lives. Even advocates of assimilation, however, vocally complained of the mistreatment that the Ainu faced at the hands of both the state and majority Japanese.”³⁵³ In effect, while facing continued discrimination from the Japanese society that the Ainu sought to assimilate into, assimilation was nonetheless promoted as a goal.

Although Katahira’s name was known in the context of his editorial work, his illustrations printed in Batchelor’s *Ainu Life and Lore* remain outside of histories of Ainu representation, and certainly beyond the scope of art historical treatment. Even with a rising consciousness of Ainu-produced objects as art in the Shōwa era, the beginnings of which are usually attributed to the 1941 “Ainu kōgei bunka ten” (Exhibition of Ainu Craft)

³⁵¹ Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 195.

³⁵² Howell, “Making ‘Useful Citizens,’” 15.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 18.

at the Tokyo Mingeikan (Tokyo Folk Art Museum) promoted and organized by Yanagi Sōetsu, the majority of researchers have primarily focused on three-dimensional craft and art objects.³⁵⁴ Two-dimensional works by Ainu hand, especially illustrations, are rarely evaluated as having any artistic value and are often downplayed next to *wajin* produced Ainu-e (which also suffer from neglect within art history). Furthermore, as an intermittent illustrator, Katahira's name is, of course, often eclipsed by that of Batchelor. The illustrations seem to emphasize Batchelor's narrative as presented in *Ainu Life and Lore*, and there seems to be no cause to question their creator. However, I argue that the mere existence of these images, despite their relative unimportance in the space of Batchelor's book and in the art historical canon, is indicative of a larger historical shift in the Ainu community with regard to visual representation. These illustrations are not merely novelties in Batchelor's book, but can be interpreted within a larger continuum of Ainu illustration created by non-Ainu producers. Nevertheless, Batchelor's narrative and Katahira's drawings are so intertwined that reading them independently presents a challenge.

Ainu and their Lore was published in the first year of the Shōwa period (1927), even though many of its chapters were published earlier in the *Japan Advertiser*. Batchelor's content and images remain fairly consistent with his earlier publications in 1892 and 1901. However, in all previous examples of Batchelor's writing on the Ainu—all of which are

³⁵⁴ Yanagi Sōetsu (or Yanagi Muneyoshi) turned his attention toward Ainu and Okinawan crafted objects between the years 1930 and 1945, which replicated his approach to colonial objects in Manchuria, China, and Korea. There was a constant tension between the "ethnic negation" of Japanese assimilationist policy and the desire to preserve a pure and distinctive Ainu culture. For Yanagi's writings on the Ainu, see: Yanagi Sōetsu, "Ainu no mikata," *Kogei* 106 (1942): 50-65. For a thorough explanation of Yanagi's approach to folk art, see: Kim Brandt, *Kingdom of Beauty: Mingei and the Politics of Folk Art in Imperial Japan* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

heavily illustrated—he included drawings, engravings, and photographs created by Japanese and Euro-American explorers, artists, and photographers (see Chapter 1). Batchelor was one of the most-respected Anglophone authorities on the Ainu, and his books gained international readership among those with an interest in Ainu culture. His works often went so far as to serve as field guides for anthropologists like Frederick Starr, whom Batchelor also helped personally upon his arrival to Hokkaido. So when examining Katahira’s illustrations, two questions must be asked: What is the significance of Katahira’s illustrations appearing in Batchelor’s book? And how can we reconcile the content of these images with Katahira’s firm political views advocating Ainu assimilation?

Katahira’s Illustrations

Katahira produced nine color plates for *Ainu and their Lore*. In order of appearance, they are titled: “Elm Bast Garment And Leather Belt Ornamented With Brass Rings (Women’s Clothing),” “Betrothed,” “An Angry Bear,” “Kutri” (Figure 50), “Yai-mah” (Figure 50), “Kutri and Yai-mah Courting,” “Wenku of the Stiff Arm” (Figure 51), “Ara-shik of the Weak Eye” (Figure 51), and “Kutri and Yai-mah’s Home.” In almost all cases the plates precede the writing on the topic. The first three images appear unconnected from one another. While “Elm Bast Garment” is an illustration of a disembodied *attush* (bark-fiber) robe and girdle, “Betrothed” is a painted scene of two children who have been promised in marriage. “Angry Bear” precedes the chapter on the bear festival, and represents one of the most important animals in the Ainu belief system. With the exception of these three images, the rest of the illustrated plates are concerned with the last chapter in Batchelor’s book, the recounting of a tragic love story between Kutri of Crag-top, a handsome man skilled at

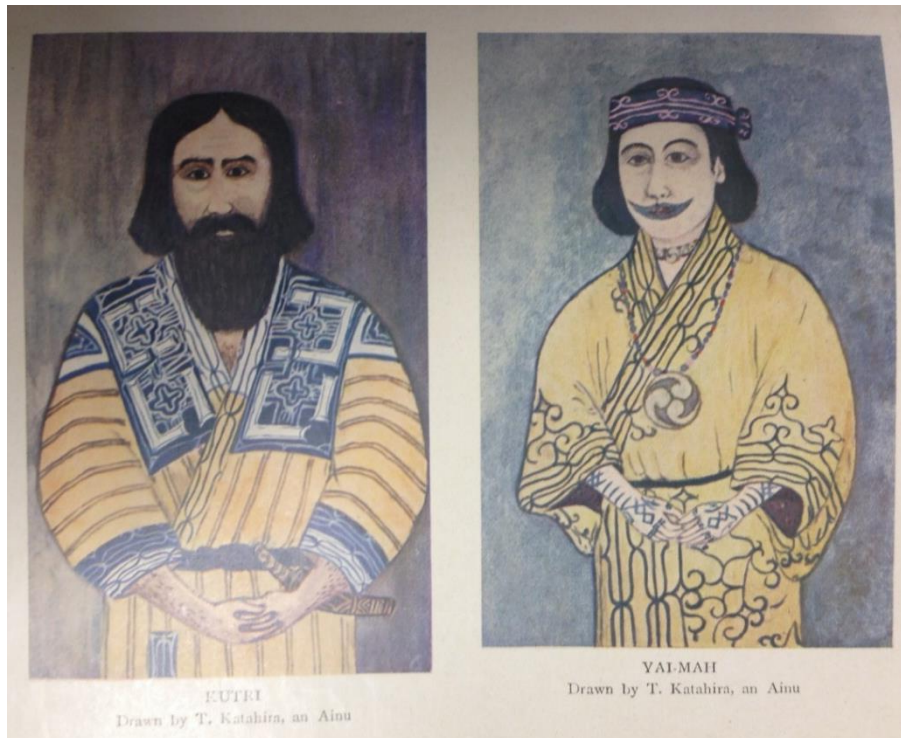


Figure 50: Illustrations by Katahira Tomijirō. *Kutri* and *Yai-mah*. Reprinted in John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore. Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1927), 436.



Figure 51: Illustrations by Katahira Tomijirō, *Wenku of the Stiff Arm* and *Ara-shik of the Weak Eye*. Reprinted in John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore. Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1927), 440.

hunting, and Yai-mah of the Hollows, a beautiful Ainu maiden with enviable embroidery skills. In order to understand the role of these images, it is necessary to briefly recount the story.

In Batchelor's narrative, Kutri and Yai-mah met by chance in the middle of the road and were "struck as by blow" upon first meeting. Unable to turn away, they pledged themselves to one another, exchanging a dagger and a piece of embroidery as a testament to their commitment. However, there were grave objections to the union as the father-chiefs of their respective villages promised each to another in childhood. Kutri was to marry Ara-shik of the Weak Eye, who is described as "ugly as Yai-mah was beautiful, and she was idle, dirty, useless, and a backbiting chatterbox." As her name implied, she only had one good eye, and Kutri's "aversion to that one-eyed, unlovable damsel was fixed and absolute." Yai-mah, in turn, was promised as a baby to Wenku of the Stiff Arm, named for his partly-withered appendage. He is described as a "poor, ill-formed, and fiery tempered man, and as jealous as jealous could be." His arm made him unable to shoot with a bow and, as such, he was "a drag on his family and the people of the village scorned him." Repulsed by their respective partners, the two lovers ran away secretly to build a simple life together. But Wenku and Ara-shik would not be spurned, and pursued the couple relentlessly. At an unsuspecting moment, Kutri was hit with a poisoned arrow, and Yai-mah, unable to suck the poison from his wound, chooses to die at his side by the same poison so that they could become living spirits in the other world together. After finding the two lovers dead, Wenku and Ara-shik each die gruesome deaths, and from the place of the dead would be left to witness Kutri and Yai-mah's eternal happiness.

In relation to the above tale, Katahira painted four portraits of the story's characters

(Kutri, Yai-mah, Ara-shik, and Wenku) (Figures 50 and 51), one scene of the protagonists in love (Kutri and Yai-mah), and one landscape showing the modest abode and surrounding landscape that Kutri and Yai-mah created. Although the robes of the central figures in each portrait tend to be decorated with meticulous embroidery patterns (*siriki*), the backgrounds of each illustration approach an impressionistic style. In the two scenes, Katahira uses small swatches of color in green, pink, purple, and yellow to depict the forest flora. While the background of each portrait is painted with a light wash of color, the landscape takes a more solid form, adopting an approach that combines pigment with what could be gouache.

When considering these four images together, I argue that these images set up a series of binaries for the viewer, and this forms the basis of my visual analysis. The four color portraits are oriented vertically (but printed horizontally), and juxtaposed side-by-side two to a page (on separate pages). The pair of protagonists, Kutri (left) and Yai-mah (right) (Figure 50) are placed together on one page while the two villains, Ara-shik (left) and Wenku (right) (Figure 51) appear on another a few pages later. As if a contrast between good and evil, the style of the portraits is drastically different.

Kutri and Yai-mah appear dignified and congruent with one another—a perfect match. The pale, linear features of each glow against the purple background for Kutri and the blue background for Yai-mah, bringing out the cool blue hue in the patterns of Kutri's *attush* robe and Yai-mah's embroidery, accessories, and tattoos. Their eyes are outlined and set close together, but the perfectly round pupils and eye-sockets of each points to an idealized geometry. Kutri's hair is dark and thick, and the patterns on his *attush* robe are complex. He wears a delicately carved *makiri* dagger at a waist, the one that he might have

presumably given to Yai-mah upon confessing his intention. Yai-mah's features are soft and comprised of a mass of curves, with her eyebrows a perfect half-moon above her eye socket. The bottom ridge of the tattoo along her mouth mirrors the curve of her chin, and even the soft roundness to her hair seems to echo the curves of her shoulder and the sleeves of her robe.

Several pages later, Ara-shik of the Weak Eye and Wenku of the Stiff Arm stand in stark contrast. Juxtaposed in a similar manner (except with the female character on the left instead of the right), the images invite comparison. Although the same yellow and blue—the typical colors of *attush* in Hokkaido—are used in their clothing, Katahira adopts a green-tinged grey as the background for Ara-shik and a beige for the background of Wenku, which brings out a sickly yellow color instead of a cool, rich blue. While the forms of Kutri and Yai-mah mirror one another, Ara-shik and Wenku appear clunky and mismatched. This is largely due to their different proportions to one another: while Ara-shik is cropped around her knees and standing slightly off-center, Wenku is depicted as a full figure. Their poses and faces are not congruent and do not contain the perfect geometry of Kutri and Yai-mah. Wenku in particular appears awkward as his knees and feet bend outward, emphasizing a short stature. He holds a stick in one hand, presumably to help him walk in light of his physical disability. However, more striking than any other facet is the dirty, sallow hue that is used for the faces of these two characters. Ara-shik's face lacks the symmetry of Yai-mah. Her right eye is drawn closed, and her one open eye appears small and shifty. Her nose is misshapen forming a peculiar reverse-"S" shape, and the upturned edges of the tattoo around her mouth contrasts with her frowning expression. Her face looks dirty and one can see the wrinkles forming along her brow. Wenku, on the other

hand, wears a strange expression. His head is tilted slightly, and his deeply furrowed brow and crossed eyes make him appear comical, if not malevolent. His nose appears as if two misshapen orifices on a skull and lacks the definition seen in Ara-shik. His clothes hang loose, and his graying hair and beard are unkempt and uncontrollable. The countenance of each seems in line with their textual descriptions in the story, with appearances as ugly as the heart within.

As lovers and villains both stereotyped according to their respective roles, the images are perhaps unsurprising. However, the composition of Katahira's portraits of Ara-shik and Wenku derives from a photograph, which can be matched based on formal similarities. The photograph, titled "A Shaman and His Wife" appears before the chapter on shamanism and the shaman's séance, and is entirely unrelated to the story of Kutri and Yai-mah (Figure 52). In the photograph, a woman (left) and a man (right) stand next to one



Figure 52: Anonymous photograph, "Husband and Wife with the Points of their Noses Cut Off for Theft." Reprinted in John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore. Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1927).

another mirroring the portraits as Ara-shik and Wenku drawn by Katahira. Both are featured full-figured here in an ethnographic mode, standing barefoot in front of a dwelling. Below the photograph's title is a small caption that reads, "The points of their noses have been cut off for theft." Upon examining the photograph, it is clear to see that their noses are actually disfigured, with the tip indeed having been cut off. This punishment, called *itorasuke* (*etu-raske* according to John Batchelor's *Ainu-English Dictionary*; *hanasogi* or *hanakiri* in Japanese), was reserved for serious crimes like adultery, as the disfigurement of the body was seen as a punishment worse than death.³⁵⁵ Batchelor's description of his encounter with the pair corroborates the caption, and explains that these shamans, who are described as evil and conniving, had their noses cut off for theft. He writes,

During one of my walks with Chief Penri in bygone days, we came across a tiny hut hidden away from everyone in the scrub, and, going to it, found two people, husband and wife, who had lost the points of their noses. And this marked them off as people apart. They paid great deference to the chief. I asked Penri about them afterwards [sic] and he told me they were very bad people indeed, and he had helped to cut off their noses at the ends a few years before, because they had been guilty of breaking into a granary and carrying off the grain. They were living there because they had been expelled from their village and no one would allow them henceforth to reside with them in the communities. They were boycotted. "This is how it comes to pass that they are hidden away here, the beasts!" he said. These two were my first personal shaman acquaintances.³⁵⁶

Batchelor further describes meeting the couple again, but after speaking to them about "Christian hope," the couple ran in the other direction upon seeing him thereafter, according to his account.

Although Batchelor speaks as if he saw this exact couple—and he very well may

³⁵⁵ A. M. Kabanoff, "On an Anonymous Manuscript *Higashi Ezo Iko*," *Manuscripta Orientalia* 3, no. 1 (1997): 48–50.

³⁵⁶ Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore*, 276.



Figure 53: Studio Photograph of Ainu Man and Woman. Frederick Starr Papers, Box 37a, Section 1. Special Collections Resource Center, University of Chicago.

have—the pair occasionally reappears in other studio and ethnographic photographs.

While the slightly blurry photo that appears in Batchelor’s book depicts the pair inside the *kotan*, a studio portrait of the couple with their backs to a painted backdrop also makes its rounds in tourist collections (Figure 53). One example of which can be found in the collection of anthropologist Frederick Starr, which he brought back to the United States after one of his two trips to Hokkaido in 1903 or 1909.³⁵⁷ In contrast to the slightly blurry and ill-defined ethnographic-style photograph, the studio photograph is expressed in stunning clarity. Instead of standing side by side, both figures are seated, with the man positioned on a stool of some sort, while the woman sits cross-legged on the ground.

Behind the couple, a painted forest recedes into the background, giving way to a village in the far distance, while the foreground is staged with a series of plants and rocks. Although

³⁵⁷ The studio version of this photograph can now be found in the papers of Frederick Starr.

attention is certainly drawn to the vestiges of their punishment (which, in contrast to Batchelor’s description, is labeled as a punishment for adultery on the verso), the man and woman do appear to be framed in a more dignified, if not overly idealized, manner than in the ethnographic portrait. If Katahira had based his portrait of Wenku and Ara-shik on this studio portrait, it would have created an entirely different impression. Although it is difficult to discern Batchelor and his publisher’s method in selecting his images for *Ainu Life and Lore*, there is a strong reason to believe that Batchelor was familiar with the studio portrait. At another point in his book, Batchelor includes a dramatic studio photograph titled “Setting a Spring Bow in the Run of a Fox or Other Animal,” which features the very same backdrop and props as the studio image of the Ainu man and woman in the collection of Frederick Starr (Figure 54). As such, they are thus likely taken by the same studio.³⁵⁸



Figure 54: Anonymous photograph, “Spring-Bow, for Killing Bears.” Reprinted in John Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore. Echoes of a Departing Race* (Tokyo: Kyobunkan, 1927).

³⁵⁸ Unfortunately, I was unable to concretely identify which studio took this particular pair of photographs. The cardboard backing of the photograph in Starr’s collection reads “Artisanal Photograph,” with no studio name listed. However, the use of backdrop in both photographs is stylistically similar to someone who trained under Beato. It is stylistically different to Stillfried, but could be the work of Kusakabe Kimbei.

As an illustrator for Batchelor's work, Katahira himself is positioned as a native informant. While basing his illustrations of Ara-shik and Wenku on the ethnographic photograph, whether knowingly or not, Katahira adopts a method of representation common throughout the western world from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century. As seen in previous chapters regarding the multiple iterations and interpretations of Baron Raimund von Stillfried's albumen, such as the frontispiece to Isabella Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), which takes two male Ainu figures from two different photographs and juxtaposes them together in a new scene to fit the narrative and characters of her travelogue, Katahira takes a man and woman whose faces are already disfigured in reality to stand in for the two grotesque villains in a romance story. A certain parallel is drawn between the evil personalities described in the story and John Batchelor's own recounting of the "bad" shaman thieves a few hundred pages earlier in *Ainu and their Lore*.

Assimilation and Katahira's Illustrations

So this prompts a reiteration of my initial research questions concerning these portraits: What is the significance of Katahira's illustrations appearing in Batchelor's book? And how can we reconcile the content of these images with Katahira's firm political views advocating Ainu assimilation?

On the one hand, the mere presence of Katahira's images seems to firmly contradict John Batchelor's pessimistic rhetoric in *Ainu Life and Lore*. Batchelor takes a somber tone with regard to the disappearance of the Ainu in his Introduction:

Although at one time the Ainu were very numerous, the census taken in 1923 gave

their number as only 15,461. Of these 7,430 were males and 8,031 females; living in 3,504 houses. At the present time they are said to be 300 less than then. They are decreasing somewhat rapidly, some dying off and others marrying with the Japanese. Government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate. But nothing can now avert their doom. They must soon be quite of the past. And they will depart without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world. One feels very sorry for them, but the laws of nature of inexorable and must take their course.³⁵⁹

Batchelor, despite his sympathies, conspicuously draws upon the logic of natural selection, describing how the Ainu are “dying off” or intermarrying with Japanese, all a result of the “inexorable” “laws of nature” running their course. He also illustrates the double bind that the Ainu faced with regard to the Japanese government, an issue discussed in depth in the work of both Richard Siddle and David Howell. After the banning of traditional Ainu hunting methods like poisoned arrows and trip-wired bows in 1871, the government urged the Ainu to take up farming. Although the first sincere push to make the Ainu into farmers did not come until after Hokkaido’s reorganization into three prefectures in 1882, the Ainu were often exploited and relocated onto land of insufficient quality for farming. With the establishment of The Hokkaido Former Aborigine Protection Act of 1899, the government distributed land grants for up to 15,000 *tsubo* (12.25 acres), but was fairly ineffective. As described by Howell, “In the long run, the law did help some establish themselves as petty farmers, but in general it did not do much to ‘protect’ the Ainu people. Few households received their full entitlement of land, and in any case the land they did receive tended to be of indifferent quality.”³⁶⁰ So while Batchelor says that the “government is doing what it can for them and seeing that they have their plots of land to cultivate,” these measures (enacted roughly thirty years before the publication of *Ainu Life and Lore*) were only

³⁵⁹ Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore*, 5.

³⁶⁰ Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, 185.

necessary after traditional subsistence living was banned. In addition to Batchelor's lament that the Ainu would shortly disappear from the earth having left no record of their own, Katahira's vehement advocacy for the full integration of the Ainu into *wajin* society in the pages of *Utarigusu* seems to lend credence to Batchelor's melancholy outlook that the Ainu would cease to exist.

However, the myth of "vanishing race" only holds true if assimilation and the maintenance of indigenous identity are seen as mutually exclusive categories. In the eyes of John Batchelor, they were. He not only saw the adoption of Japanese customs as a cause for concern, but also felt that this was a problem of blood — by intermarrying and mixing with Japanese blood, the Ainu would cease to be Ainu in his eyes, only becoming more and more diluted with the passage of time. To this effect, later in his book he explains, "There is an ever-increasing number now of half-breeds, and among those called Ainu not much more than half are pure blood. Nay, I doubt very much if even half of them are pure Ainu."³⁶¹ Despite Batchelor's disparaging opinion of explorers like A.H. Savage Landor, Landor (and many others) held a similar views regarding the "disappearing" Ainu, and his search in 1893 was already framed around wading through towns of "hybrid" Ainu in search for the "pure" and untamed (see Chapter 3).

However, Batchelor's *Ainu Life and Lore* is also simultaneously a work full of personal nostalgia, and this sense permeates the work. Although published in 1927, many of the stories and anecdotes told in the book occur at an earlier juncture when Chief Penri was still alive (he passed away in 1903). As explained in Chapter Three, aside from being a close friend of Batchelor, Penri was one of the most popular figures in the region of

³⁶¹ Batchelor, *Ainu Life and Lore*, 113–114.

Biratori, and visiting him became one of the staples of touring Ainu land. Thus, when Batchelor laments the “old ways” that are quickly disappearing, he shores up the idea that Ainu (or, perhaps, Ainu like Penri) are a dying (or already dead) race of people.

This is not only demonstrated in the text, but appears visually as well. Overall, many of the images chosen by Batchelor derive from the late-Meiji period, thus reinforcing the image of a bygone time. Eight images in *Ainu Life and Lore* invoke Penri’s namesake in their very titles and countless more have ties to Biratori. However, more than merely invoking his old friend, Batchelor actually calls several people by the moniker “old friend,” or, at other times, by their specific name. For example, a studio photograph called “Parapita” features a dignified, balding old man, with his hands crossed over his knees. “‘Parapita’ means in the Ainu tongue ‘eloquent’ and truly ‘eloquent’ this man certainly was, especially when in a temper,” explains Batchelor.³⁶² He discusses the man, his family, and his manner and closes the chapter with Parapita’s death. He laments, “Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards [sic] sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter [sic] that we could not keep her long.”³⁶³ Aside from Penri and Parapita, other Ainu that are named and visually represented include Old Mrs. Bright (Penri’s mother in law), Mr. Tee (an Ainu hunter shown wearing one of Batchelor’s coats in a studio photograph), and Samaria and her granddaughter (another studio photograph). Due to her age, the reader can assume that Old Mrs. Bright did not outlive her son-in-law. Mr. Tee had come to Batchelor to become a Christian shortly before his death, and Samaria—who was present in Biratori when Batchelor lived there—was already a grandmother. Upon publishing *Ainu Life and*

³⁶² Ibid., 98.

³⁶³ Ibid., 104.

Lore, Batchelor had outlived many of his acquaintances from Biratori. One has to wonder if his insistence on the dying out of the Ainu is rooted in reality or partially connected to a reflective and sentimental attitude about the home that he made amongst the Ainu, which no longer feels like home without the people that made it feel as such.

However, although it is true that certain manners and customs were being disregarded in favor of assimilating into Japanese society (both at the behest of the Japanese government and at the urging of several Ainu intellectuals who saw it as the only path forward), it would be misrepresentation to sing the death knell of Ainu culture. The continued existence of the Ainu today is proof that they were not on the eve of their disappearance in 1927 when *Ainu Life and Lore* was published. One reason for this is that Katahira and like-minded intellectuals envisioned an entirely different process of assimilation than John Batchelor. While Katahira saw assimilation and integration into Japanese society as the only way forward, assimilation and the maintenance of private indigenous identity were not necessarily at odds with one another. As David Howell explains,

...most Ainu activists spoke not of blood, but of houses and hygiene, schooling and sobriety in their calls for assimilation. Their vision allowed for the possibility that a private sphere of Ainu ethnicity would survive beneath the surface of fully assimilated lives. Mainstream, conservative Ainu activists... equated assimilation with a particular livelihood, one that would conform to the standards prevailing elsewhere in rural Japan; they assumed, in turn, that pursuing such a livelihood would secure a place for the Ainu in the Japanese national community as good imperial subjects. Conservative Ainu logic did not, however, require the Ainu either to abandon a private identity as Ainu or to seek actively to promote the extension of a racially distinct population of Ainu.³⁶⁴

For Katahira, assimilation did not have to do with blood, but rather, with public image.

³⁶⁴ Howell, "Making 'Useful Citizens,'" 24.

These two competing definitions of assimilation are perceptible within *Ainu Life and Lore*, and appear as contradictory. At the same time that Batchelor mourns Ainu disappearance “without having left any history or having made any perceptible mark in the world,” Katahira simultaneously provides visual representation of his culture, thus leaving behind a conspicuous mark on history. While Batchelor laments that nothing of Ainu history has been written, the publication of Katahira’s essays (and those of others such as Chiri Yukie, Iboshi Hokuto, and even Batchelor’s adopted daughter Yaeko) in *Utarigusu*—often alongside Batchelor himself—also stands as a testament to the changes in, rather than the disappearance of, Ainu society. Rather than merely disappearing into anonymity, Katahira’s illustrations evidence the emergence of named individual in illustration, writing, and editing.

Returning to the four portraits painted by Katahira, what can we make of the four figures in light of these two definitions of assimilation? Although all four portraits are conspicuously marked as Ainu via iconography, the two villainous portraits of Ara-shik and Wenku seem to caricature the exact negative stereotypes held regarding Ainu culture. Portrayed as disfigured, conniving, clumsy, and dirty, who better to stand in for the negative image of Ainu society that needed to be overcome than the likeness of a man and woman who are described, by Batchelor, as not only dishonest thieves, but people who wore their transgression and poverty visibly upon their faces. The two lovers, despite their roots in a folkish story, may be positive models for Katahira. After all, his concern about assimilation had nothing to do with erasing Ainu-ness from the gene pool; it was a quest to reform appearances and behaviors. Later in the same *Utarigusu* essay by Katahira cited by Howell, Katahira goes on to say,

Incidentally, the issue of most serious concern is the desperation evidenced by calling each other "this Ainu" (*kono Ainu*) nonchalantly between Ainu comrades. One ought to have a lot of modesty (*tsutumi*) and self-respect (*jichō*)... Because, no matter what happens, we cannot conceive of separating from Japan, and this contributes greatly to our weakness, it is crucial that we become completely Japanese (*kanzen naru Nihon minzoku to naru beki da*).³⁶⁵

One can sense the urgency in Katahira's writing. In a sense, if Batchelor's book mourns the loss of the Ainu people, Katahira's images willingly throw "Ara-shik" and "Wenku," along with their negative stereotypes, into the pyre to clean the slate for a new Ainu identity that he and his fellow writers would try to further through the early Shōwa period. As seen in Katahira's writing, by advocating for Ainu assimilation, he was not advocating the erasure of Ainu cultural identity or, in a more corporeal sense, the dilution of Ainu blood.

Assimilation was something that occurred on the surface, and he was urging the rehabilitation of the Ainu image, which was often characterized by ignorance, poverty, and uncleanness. As such, providing illustrations of Ainu culture in Batchelor's book did not compromise the goal of assimilation in the slightest. Nevertheless, from the perspective of John Batchelor, the Ainu depicted in the pages of his book were in many ways already dead. Rather than recognizing the flexibility of the Ainu community (or, as explained by both Katahira and Howell, the importance of being "self-aware" of one's cultural identity), Batchelor readily dismissed these new forms of cultural expression as non-Ainu.

Takekuma Tokusaburō, Photographs, and the Issue of Ainu Education

These new expressions from the Ainu community, so readily dismissed by Batchelor and the many others mourning the "disappearing race," were nonetheless real

³⁶⁵ Ogawa and Yamada, 82.

manifestations of a desire to negotiate cultural identity. Although Katahira's illustrations of Ara-shik and Wenku and their sourcing can be analyzed in terms of his writing in *Utorigusu*, a bulletin which fervently advocated for Ainu assimilation, his work was certainly not an isolated incident nor was it the first. Other Ainu publications repurposed older representations (photographs and illustrations) for their own agenda. One additional example of occurs in Takekuma Tokusaburō's *Ainu Monogatari*, which, as mentioned previously, was the first book to be published by an Ainu. A short work under seventy pages, *Ainu Monogatari*, like the essays published by Katahira, argues that education was the only path forward to the betterment of Ainu society. John Batchelor wrote a short introduction for the work that appears in both English and translated into Japanese, and prominent Ainu studies scholar Kōno Tsunekichi, who published the first official history of Hokkaido the same year, wrote a preface that discussed Takekuma's biography along with his hopes and impressions of the work.³⁶⁶ Takekuma, who was originally from Fushiko *kotan* near Obihiro in the Tokachi region, became a teacher at a Native School after receiving his primary school teacher's qualification in 1914.³⁶⁷ His background as a teacher is greatly reflected in *Ainu Monogatari* where he describes the inferior education for Ainu students. His criticisms were, as Richard Siddle describes, "...directed toward self-improvement and not against the state."³⁶⁸ Like Katahira, Takekuma criticized alcoholism, sanitation, and economic conditions, and the extra-legal issues addressed in his book would become one foundation for the emerging Ainu movement in the 1930s.

³⁶⁶ Michael Weiner, "The Invention of Identity, Race and Nation in Pre-War Japan," in *The Construction of Racial Identities in China and Japan: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Frank Dikötter (London: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers, 1999), 112–13.

³⁶⁷ Takekuma Tokusaburō, *Ainu Monogatari* (Ainu Tales) (Sapporo: Fūkidō shobō, 1918), 6; Siddle, *Race, Resistance and the Ainu of Japan*, 124.

³⁶⁸ Siddle, *Race, Resistance, and the Ainu of Japan*, 125.



Figure 55: Photographs titled “Author Takekuma Tokusaburō. 23 years-old” (Hissha Takekuma Tokusaburō. Nijūsan-sai) and “Author’s Father Takekuma Kumajirō (55 years-old) and mother Katsu (46 years-old)” (Hissha no chichi Takekuma Kumajirō [Gojūgo-sai], haha Katsu [Yonjūroku-sai]). Reprinted in Takekuma Tokusaburō, *Ainu Monogatari* (Sapporo: Fukido Shobō, 1918).

Although *Ainu Monogatari* contains several photographs and illustrations, my analysis is limited to the use of photography. Photographs make several appearances in this work, including a series of two photographs showing the author and his family (Figure 55). This photograph appears after Batchelor and Kōno’s introductory material, and immediately follows the table of contents prefacing the main body of Takekuma’s work. As a full page containing two photographs, the juxtaposition invites visual comparison in a different way than Katahira’s illustrations. Both photographs are printed in monochrome, and the central photograph depicts a woman and man seated next to one another inside a photographer’s studio. According to the caption below, the man is the author’s father, Takekuma Kumajirō (fifty-five years of age), and the woman is the author’s mother only identified as Katsu (forty-six years of age). Overlapping the central photograph at the top right is Takekuma’s own portrait at twenty-three years of age, shaped into an oval. While Takekuma’s father and mother are dressed in kimono, his father’s full beard and chin-length cropped hair is a sharp contrast to Takekuma’s clean-shaven face, short hair, crisp

dark suit, white shirt, and bow tie. Exactly half the age of his mother, he attempts to represent a new generation, a new kind of Ainu identity defined by the promises of education. Although the contrast between the portraits is dramatic, Takekuma publically affirms his Ainu identity and lineage by invoking the image of his parents, while assuming a modern educated identity by placing the images in proximity to one another.

Two other photographs that depict the environs also appear in *Ainu Monogatari*. One is titled “One part of the Ainu settlement” (*Ainu buraku no ichibu*) (Figure 56) while the other is titled “Former Aboriginal School at Imoppe, Yufutsu, in the Iburi region” (*Iburi no kuni yūhutsu imoppe kyūdojin gakkō*) (Figure 57)—a school where Takekuma worked. Like the photograph of Takekuma and his parents, there is a visual gap between these two photographs. The photo of the Ainu settlement shows several *chise* (Ainu homes) from a distance. There is nothing occupying the immediate foreground except the dusty earth, and we can see several blurry figures in the middle ground carrying about their daily routine (including one woman with what could be a child on her back, and one man leaning over). The photograph shows its age and we can see the scratches in the photo reproduced onto the page. The image lacks strong contrast, and the houses emerge from a series of similar gray tones. The image of the school presents a vastly different vision, however. The school building appears as a series of vertical and horizontal lines, and the sun shines bright on the faces of the people sitting for their photograph. The students are arranged around the teacher (who could possibly be Takekuma), wearing a suit as in Takekuma’s self-portrait. The children, male and female, are arranged neatly into two rows. Compositionally, this



Figure 56: Photograph titled “One part of the Ainu settlement” (Ainu buraku no ichibu), facing p. 16. Reprinted in Takekuma Tokusaburō, *Ainu Monogatari* (Sapporo: Fukido Shobō, 1918).



Figure 57: Photograph titled “Former Aboriginal School at Imoppe, Yufutsu, in the Iburi region” (Iburi no kuni yūhutsu imoppe kyūdojin gakkō), facing p. 54. Reprinted in Takekuma Tokusaburō, *Ainu Monogatari* (Sapporo: Fukido Shobō, 1918).

photograph emphasizes structure and symmetry, while the photograph of the Ainu settlement shows a lack thereof.

The conflict between traditional Ainu ways and an assimilated future invoked by the various juxtapositions within the pages of *Ainu Monogatari* also play out on the book's cover, which features a photographic close up of an older man, with the background conspicuously cropped away from his body (Figure 58). The man, whose wrinkled and leathery skin shows his age, stares straight into the eyes of the reader. The title is indicated in a bright orange text that mimics brush-painted characters, with the author's name (Takekuma Tokusaburō, prefaced by "Ainu") and his two contributor's names (John Batchelor and Kōno Tsunekichi) written in a smaller print. The orange words contrast against the black and tan of the photograph, evoking the visual contrast between seals and monochrome calligraphy. The photograph is a striking one, and it appears again roughly

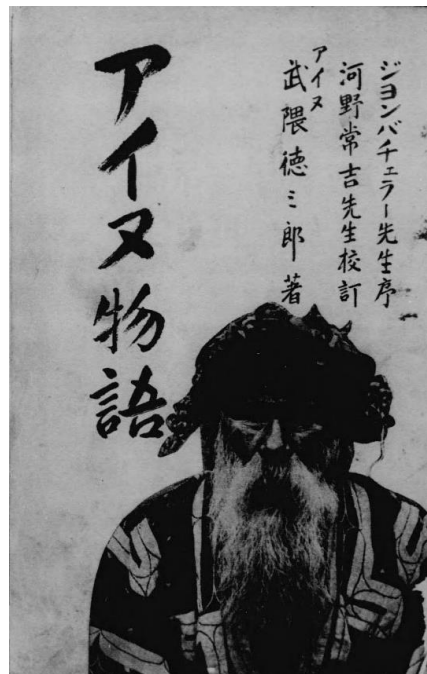


Figure 58: Book cover of Takekuma Tokusaburō, *Ainu Monogatari* (Sapporo: Fukido Shobō, 1918).

ten years later in *Ainu Life and Lore* as both the frontispiece and again with the title “An Old Ainu Friend.” However, the image also had a vibrant life as a postcard through the early Shōwa period before its publication in either book.³⁶⁹ Takekuma never explains the image in the space of *Ainu Monogatari*, but the cover nevertheless makes a strong visual statement. The portrait of the old Ainu man does not stand for the Ainu identity that Takekuma tried to advocate for, but rather, an image of the Ainu located decidedly in the past. Although the idea of a “disappearing race” is an unrealistic characterization in light of the mere fact of Takekuma’s publication, certain customs and practices certainly did decline as figures—Japanese and Ainu alike—argued for assimilation as the path forward. While the photograph could be read as a generic Ainu photographic type considering how other non-Ainu authors utilized it, Takekuma’s work seems to claim this representation as Ainu in the same way as the portrait of his parents. Takekuma contrasted his own “modern” persona—a teacher clothed in a suit—with Ainu like the man in the photograph. He, like Katahira, adopted the visual language of Ainu traditional culture while simultaneously arguing for the importance of education as a path forward.

Utarigusu, Utari no Tomo and the Role of Illustration

Takekuma’s publication of *Ainu Monogatari* in 1918 was contemporaneous with the first edition of the Ainu dendōdan’s *Utarigusu*, edited by Katahira. Both figures held similar positions on assimilation through education and both had a connection to Batchelor. Considering these connections, *Ainu Life and Lore* and *Ainu Monogatari* can be compared with some of the visual strategies employed by *Utarigusu* and its successor journal *Utari no*

³⁶⁹ One such example is in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Tomo. As illustrated previously, Katahira's essays in both *Utarigusu* and *Utari no Tomo* provide useful context for his own political positions vis-a-vis the illustrations that appear in Batchelor's 1927 *Ainu Life and Lore*, but the bulletin newsletters themselves also contained a variety of images, many of which were hand-drawn. Both of these magazines were published by the Ainu *dendōdan*. Despite being organized by Batchelor's missionary society, the content far exceeds religious themes and stories, even if Christian themes do form a significant portion of the content, especially in relation to *Utarigusu*. The magazines expand their purview to address issues relevant to the Ainu community including education, alcoholism, and hygiene—the same problems found in the pages and photographs of *Ainu Monogatari*. *Utarigusu*, its successor *Utari no Tomo*, and its contemporary produced out of Mukawa called *Utari no Hikari* are hybrid texts enabled by their bulletin format. Reading them is an exercise in synthesis as community announcements, assimilation imperatives, studies in the Ainu language, and images of the Virgin Mary or Christian disciples are juxtaposed page after page. Although historians have analyzed the text of these works as evidence of Ainu positions on issues of the time, the actual format of these community bulletins in addition to their illustrations and cover art go unnoticed. Although Batchelor's *Ainu Life and Lore* and Takekuma's *Ainu Monogatari* enjoyed wider circulation, it is important to recognize the role of images in these community publications as a testament to the Ainu's changing relationship to images, particularly the representation of their own culture.

Utarigusu and *Utari no Tomo* were small-format paper bulletins (50 x 70cm). Both issues juxtaposed a variety of materials, from translations of Christian prayers into the Ainu language to social commentaries. Although *Utari no Tomo* was largely seen as a

continuation of *Utarigusu*, there were several major differences in the visual aesthetic of each bulletin. The early issues of *Utarigusu*, the earlier of the two journals, was woodblock printed in a standard font, but eventually each issue would adopt a different member's handwriting—a tradition that *Utari no Tomo* would continue. *Utarigusu* contained more religious references than *Utari no Tomo*, and often reproduced prints of Christian figures after the illustrations in missals and other Christian works. The cover of *Utarigusu* remained standard throughout its publication: a repeating *ay-us-siriki* or “god’s thorn” pattern overlaid with a bow and quiver. (Figure 59). Although such designs were previously depicted by Euro-American and Japanese explorers and anthropologists, patterns like the *ay-us-siriki* and the *morew-siriki*, a whirling design, would be increasingly used as a representation meant to invoke Ainu cultural identity from this period forward. These designs were adapted for print illustration from the regionally significant patterns found in crafted Ainu textiles, tools, and clothing, which continue to represent the Ainu

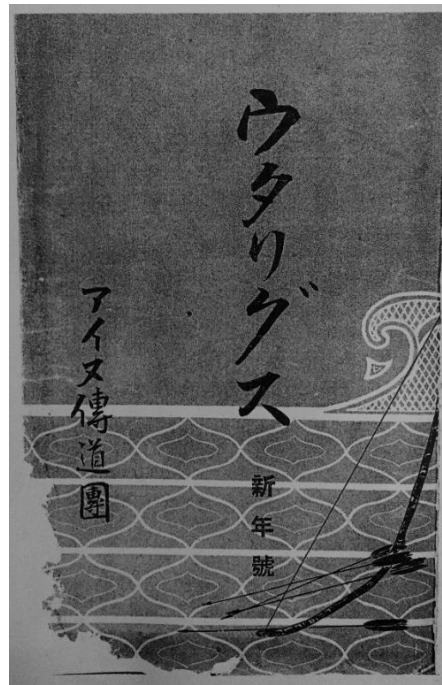


Figure 59: Front Page (*tobira*) of *Utarigusu*, New Year's Edition (*shinnen-gō*), Vol. 1, No. 2 (January 20, 1921).

culture today. Above the Ainu *siriki*, the words “*Utarigusu*” run vertically down the front with an indication of volume. This format would not carry over to *Utari no Tomo*, where each cover would often have its own design that incorporated modernist aesthetics: polka dots and striping inside of bubble letters and a series of repeating abstract designs.

In contrast to Katahira’s illustrations of Ara-shik and Wenku and Takekuma’s use of photography in his publication, I want to analyze a different visual form that makes its appearance in the later *Utari no Tomo*: caricature. Although these caricatures appear in essays written by Katahira under his pen name and other members of the community close to John Batchelor, there is no solid evidence corroborating that they were definitely drawn by Katahira himself. However, as the editor for these bulletins, he would have certainly been aware that they were embedded as illustrations. Each issue of *Utari no Tomo* contains several caricatures, but three caricatures seem to summarize the issues at stake for the Ainu community around the Ainu *dendōdan*. The first image used to illustrate an essay by John Batchelor on the education of Ainu youth features a young Ainu man literally surrounded by books on literature, law, and philosophy in a small nook of the home (Figure 60).³⁷⁰ Considering the push for self-improvement advocated by Katahira and others of his generation, this image of the trials of the literate Ainu youth should come as no surprise. But other images focus on the more negative depictions of Ainu society. In another article discussing the relationship between prohibition and faith, we see a naked Ainu man swimming in a sake cup (Figure 61).³⁷¹ The label next to his body reads “The yearly average alcoholic consumption: 3 *to* and 6 *shō*” (equivalent to approximately 64.8 liters), and

³⁷⁰ John Batchelor, “Gakusō wo itazuru wakōdotachi e” (To the Young People Departing for School), *Utari no Tomo*, April 10, 1933, 6.

³⁷¹ Yamauchi Seiji, “Kinshu mondai to shinkō” (“Prohibition and Faith”), *Utari no Tomo*, April 10, 1933, 21.



Figure 60: Illustration of AINU student. Reprinted in John Batchelor, "To the Young People Departing for School" (Gakusō wo itazuru wakōdotachi e), *Utari no Tomo* (April 10, 1933). 6.



Figure 61: Illustration of an AINU in a sake cup. Reprinted in Yamauchi Seiji, "Prohibition and Faith" (Kinshu mondai to shinkō), *Utari no Tomo* (April 10, 1933), 21.



Figure 62: Illustration of AINU traveler. Reprinted in Mukai Yamao, “Miscellaneous Impressions” (Zakkan), *Utari no Tomo* (April 10, 1933), 17.

“however, only for men aged 20 or older.” Both within and outside of Japan, the AINU are equated to a culture that viewed alcohol religiously, and thus as a culture incapable of breaking away from its hold; a viewpoint that denied responsibility for exacerbating alcoholism within indigenous communities. One final caricature seems to speak about alcoholism within a wider frame, with a man walking down a river labeled *jindō* (a play on words in Japanese meaning both humanity and footpath), who is burdened by a large pack on his back labeled with the words *wagamama* (selfishness), *honnō* (instinct) and *ibakaru* (arrogance, boastfulness) (Figure 62).³⁷² He steps from stone to stone, each labeled with an obstacle to AINU society: *sake* (alcohol), *onna* (women), and *satsujin* (murder). Taken

³⁷² Mukai Yamao, “Zakkan” (Miscellaneous Impressions), *Utari no Tomo*, April 10, 1933, 17.

together, these illustrations all harken back to themes emblemized by the contrast between Kutri and Yai-mah against Wenku and Ara-shik. There was a distinct push against dominant stereotypes of the Ainu as primitive and unrefined, and an embrace of assimilation as the one true path forward. In the case of Katahira and others in Batchelor's organization, this goal was also melded with Christian conversion.

These images show a certain reflexivity regarding Ainu stereotypes; the very same stereotypes created through the image circulation outlined in Chapters One through Four. Katahira, as the editor of these journals, was acutely aware and sensitive of the ways that the Ainu were depicted. Thus, when we see the Ainu man floating in his sake cup, it resonates with a sense of bitter sarcasm. As bulletins that did not travel far outside of the Ainu community in Hokkaido, his audience too would be aware of the uphill battle against negative portrayals. But different from the veiled critique found in Katahira's illustrations in *Ainu Life and Lore* or Takekuma's photographs, the illustrations here also engage in a kind of sardonic levity.

But these two magazines produced by the Ainu dendōdan were not the only bulletins to be produced in Hokkaido, and there are many others from other regions outside of Sapporo. *Utari no Hikari* is an excellent example produced by Pete Warō (related to Pete Gorō, one of the nine Ainu who traveled to St. Louis for the world's fair in 1904) in the city of Mukawa. Although the pages of *Utari no Hikari* are not illustrated like *Utarigusu* or *Utari no Tomo*, the cover art makes for an interesting comparison. Arguing many of the same themes, the covers to *Utari no Hikari* always contain one consistent element: an illustration of an Ainu *inaw*, or sacred shaved stick. In the Ainu belief system, deities had

various personalities and prayers were directed at them using *inaw*.³⁷³ These sticks were typically crafted from willow branches by elders using special tools which shaved and peeled away layers of the branch to form spiraled strips which were then bound or let loose. *Inaw* were shaved into various shapes resembling birds to facilitate communication with a particular god.³⁷⁴ In addition to their religious significance, the *inaw* were one of the most frequently represented Ainu cultural artifact in popular culture, and often came to stand symbolically as a representation of Ainu culture. In *Utari no Hikari*, the *inaw* are often surrounded by other accoutrement of Ainu culture, but there are several covers that surprisingly invoke a specific brand of Japanese nationalism pervasive in the 1930s (Figure 63). For example, the cover of the April 1933 issue features an *inaw* above the title of the journal, but the central position is occupied by a Japanese flag waving in the wind, surrounded by a line of birds spiraling around its pole. At the top of the image, the sun rises over the mountains, with swirling clouds in the background above characters that read *kokutai seishin*, or spirit of national polity/national body politic, invoking the fascist ideology that the self was not to be put before the state, and that people were part of the state, not separate from it. The subsequent issue similarly invokes *kokutai seishin* as characters floating on individual clouds with a bright, shining bird radiating like the sun in the sky above the title of the journal. This confluence of Ainu culture and Japanese nationalism might seem surprising considering that so much of the process of making the Ainu vulnerable was through state sanctions, but it also presented a promise. If the Ainu could support Japan's war and be nationalistic, yet maintain their Ainu identity as indicated

³⁷³ Fujimura Hisakazu, "Kamuy: Gods You Can Argue with," in *Ainu: Spirit of a Northern People*, ed. William W. Fitzhugh and Chisato O. Dubreuil (Washington D.C.: Arctic Studies Center, National Museum of Natural History, Smithsonian Institution, 1999), 193.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 193.



Figure 63: Journal Cover of Mukawa's *Utari no Hikari*, No. 8 (April 1933).

by the ever-present *inaw*, this form of assimilation argued by Katahira, Takekuma, and now Pete could be feasible. However, despite the fact that Ainu men went to war, they would continue to be seen as Other in spite of their loyalty to the state.

Conclusion

While John Batchelor mourned the fast extinction of the Ainu, the mere inclusion of Katahira Tomijirō's work in the pages of *Ainu Life and Lore* seems to present an entirely different possibility. Following in the footsteps of authors like Takekuma Tokusaburō, Katahira advocated for the assimilation as the only way to lift the Ainu from poverty,

alcoholism, and lack of education. It seems ironic, then, that the very message that he tried to illustrate was overshadowed by John Batchelor's lament of the Ainu as all but gone. Batchelor saw the Ainu as losing their distinctive cultural markers through assimilation. But in comparison to the Meiji period, when images of the Ainu were by and large controlled by outsiders, the Taishō era brought with it new possibilities of representation. Instead of disappearing, the Ainu were dynamic. They adapted and adjusted, and invented new possibilities for surviving in a world largely stacked against their communities. Like carvers of bears for the tourist trade who abandoned cultural beliefs for an attempt at economic stability, Ainu participation in print culture was evidence of an active response. Their journals combined Ainu culture, language, designs, and likeness, and judging by the covers of *Utari no Hikari*—covers that might strike us as quite strange today consider the blatant legal exploitation of the Ainu only thirty years earlier—the Ainu writers and illustrators believed in the real possibility of joining Japanese society. Taking pen to paper and drawing the contours of the Ainu body and the possibilities of Ainu culture, these illustrators—although self-trained and unrecognized—exemplify the hopes and ideals of a group that would become organized in 1930 as the Hokkaido Ainu Association (Hokkaido Ainu kyōkai).³⁷⁵ Although the Association began as a government entity with the goal of streamlining the process of assimilation and integration of the Ainu into Japanese society, it was first on the pages of bulletins and in the punchlines of caricatures that these ambitions and fears were played out.

³⁷⁵ The Hokkaidō Ainu Association was legally incorporated in 1946, and this is occasionally cited as the establishment date.

EPILOGUE

Ainu Visual Economy Enters the Digital Age: New Battlegrounds of Representation

As travelers from Isabella Bird to Kondō Kōichiro set foot in Ainu *kotan* from Nibutani to Shiraoi, they all poetically reflected on the impending demise of the Ainu regardless of nationality, gender, or profession. And in their footsteps, new travelers continue to adventure to Hokkaido to view the Ainu “in their natural habitat.” Within the space of reconstructed Ainu villages and open-air museums, tourists continually attempt to record vanishing customs in an attempt to salvage and hold on to the remaining traces of the primitive picturesque. But as seen by Pete Gorō, Katahira Tomijirō, and Takekuma Tokusaburō, Ainu communities have continually responded to the changes in their culture. While these men relied on community publications, the Ainu’s struggle for recognition has reached a global audience in the twenty-first century through their collaboration with the United Nations and their unity with other indigenous groups worldwide. Although community bulletins continue to be produced, more active programming focused on intangible cultural inheritance encourages the education of a younger generation about Ainu language, song, and dance.³⁷⁶ In addition, community outreach efforts intended to educate ethnic Japanese about the vibrant artistic and cultural practices of the Ainu

³⁷⁶ During my time at Hokkaido University, there was a three-day long symposium from November 15–17, 2013 dedicated to these themes as part of a University-wide campaign promoting sustainability in all disciplines. Held at the university and the Historical Museum of the Saru River and the town of Biratori, the symposium was titled “Senjūmin bunka isan to tsurizumu: ikiteiru isan no keishō to sōzō” (Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Succession and Creation of Living Heritage). This year’s sustainability week conference similarly addresses Ainu heritage and is titled “Senjūmin bunka isan to tsurizumu: bunkateki keikan to senjūmin isan o meguru shomondai” (Indigenous Heritage and Tourism: Constructing Cultural Landscape and Indigenous Heritage Issues), December 20–21, 2014.

continue to flourish. Japan did not recognize the Ainu as an indigenous people of Japan with their own unique language, culture, and religion until the passing of a Diet resolution in 2008, which came on the heels of the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples and Ainu participation in an Indigenous Peoples' Summit in July of the same year. Before this time, Japan refused to use the word "indigenous" in regards to the Ainu, claiming that the word had no acceptable international definition. Although an important first step, the resolution did not go as far as to recognize Japan's role in the forced assimilation of the Ainu to Japanese culture, and according to Simon Cotterill, failed to lay the foundations for anti-discrimination legislation.³⁷⁷ But in 2014, six years after the passing of the resolution, the government decided to build a new museum at the site of Shiraoi in time for the Tokyo Olympics in 2020, the first national museum to be dedicated to the Ainu and their culture. In spite of these developments, the struggle over who actually controls Ainu representation rages forth into the twenty-first century. Tessa Morris-Suzuki explains that there is a constant tension between tourism in Hokkaido that objectifies the Ainu, anthropological research on Ainu bodies and the exertion of Japanese colonial power.³⁷⁸ As Ainu activists doubly reject objectification by both tourists and researchers, they work toward more equitable relations in regards to the use of their bodies and image under the Ainu Cultural Promotion Act of 1997.

But despite the change in Ainu status in 2008, the sustained activity of Ainu activist groups, and the impending construction of this important museum dedicated to Ainu

³⁷⁷ Simon Cotterill, "Ainu Success: The Political and Cultural Achievements of Japan's Indigenous Minority," *The Asia-Pacific Journal: Japan Focus* 9 (2011): <http://www.japanfocus.org/~simon-cotterill/3500>.

³⁷⁸ Tessa Morris-Suzuki, "Tourists, Anthropologists, and Visions of Indigenous Society in Japan" in *Beyond Ainu Studies: Changing Academic and Public Perspectives* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 45–67.

heritage, popular knowledge of the Ainu in and outside of Japan continues to depend on images of the past that circulate far beyond Ainu control. Images have moved from the pages of print travelogues, postcards, and newspapers into new digital spaces created by WordPress, Wikipedia, and Twitter. Although the World Wide Web offers a solid venue to propagate contemporary images of Ainu life and society, the images created by white travelers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century dominate these new spaces of circulation.

A visit to the Wikipedia page for the Ainu in both English and Japanese is a telling exercise, and underscores the continuing need for understanding the creation and circulation of images between the Anglophone world, Japan, and Ainu communities. Upon opening the Wikipedia entry on the “Ainu” in either Japanese or English, one does not find the caricatures of Ainu life by Japanese artist Kondō Kōichiro or the illustrations by Ainu editor Katahira Tomijirō. Instead, one finds Edo-era Ainu-e, early photographs from Baron Raimund von Stillfried (circa 1870s), engravings from Isabella Bird’s *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan* (1880), and as the representative image, a photograph of the Ainu group from the 1904 St. Louis Exposition, billed in English as a “Group of Ainu People” and incorrectly dated to 1902 (Figure 64). Further down the page, nineteenth-century images are juxtaposed with recent photographs from the staged ethnic performances of Shiraoi’s Poroto Kotan and reconstructions of Ainu traditional ways of life at Sapporo’s Pirka Kotan, which are only identified in an ethnographic mode as “Woman playing a tonkori” or “People wearing traditional Ainu clothes in Hokkaido.” One unique image of contemporary Ainu musician Oki and his band playing in Germany in 2007 disrupts the parade of early turn of the twentieth-century images, but doesn’t quite unseat

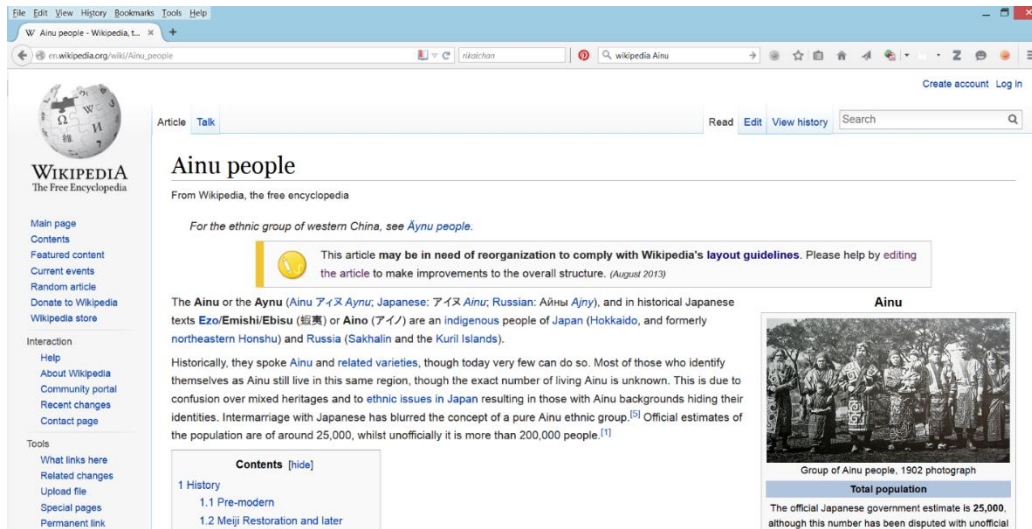


Figure 64: Wikipedia contributors, "Ainu People," *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ainu_people (accessed May 20, 2015).

their dominance. It is crucial to study the creation and transmission of Ainu images between the Anglophone world and Japan because these are the very same images that continue to represent Ainu culture, circulating in a new and unregulated context.

But there are many examples of visual misrecognition online that have earlier precedents in print culture. I analyzed one of these occasions at the close of my second chapter in which an American newspaper layout from 1908 brought together images of the Ainu from several time periods and sources, including a photograph of the Ainu woman Shutrateg and the child Kiku taken by photographer Jessie Tarbox Beals in 1904. This kind of visual collaging found in the early twentieth century ignores the historical context of the photographs in favor of a specific narrative about Ainu primitivity. Similarly, the Wikipedia page above takes a photograph with a specific context and history such as the Ainu group from St. Louis, and erases this context to see these people as representative for all of Ainu culture, past and present. There is a digital flattening of images, and as if in fulfillment of Bruno Latour's conception of the immutable mobile, Ainu images have become

interchangeable with one another, constantly reshuffled and recombined online.³⁷⁹

Instances of visual misrecognition did not end in the early twentieth century, and the proliferation of images on the Internet unmoored from their original print context makes them a ripe source for visual borrowing. While the liberation of the image from its context makes it available for use by the Ainu in narrating their traditions and history, it also runs the danger of being used to reinforce conventional stereotypes.

A Polish Coin, an American Photographer, and an Ainu Family

But this dissertation closes with an unlikely object that is neither Ainu, nor Japanese, nor American, nor British. It is a set of commemorative Polish coins, one gold and one silver, that intersect a long history of visual borrowing across oceans, but whose existence was specifically enabled by the proliferation of these images online. Produced in 2008 by the National Bank of Poland (*Narodowy Bank Polski*), the coins have a face value of two and ten zloty respectively.³⁸⁰ Designed by Roussanka Nowakowska, the face side of both coins features the bust of Polish ethnographer Bronislaw Pilsudski (1866–1918), who was known for his work amongst the Ainu in Sakhalin in the late nineteenth century. Due to his involvement in a plot to assassinate Tsar Alexander III, Pilsudski was exiled to Sakhalin for hard labor in 1887. There, he began ethnographic research on the Ainu on the peninsula in addition to the Nivkh and Oroch peoples. With loosening restrictions from St. Petersburg, Pilsudski traveled to Hokkaido in 1903 for research with Wacław Sieroszewski, and gathered ethnographic collections for museums in St. Petersburg and Vladivostok. Pilsudski became close with the local community and took an Ainu wife in Sakhalin, who

³⁷⁹ Latour, 19.

³⁸⁰ In today's exchange rate to US dollars, this would be fifty cents and two dollars respectively.

bore him one daughter. Pilsudski abandoned his Ainu family in Sakhalin when he traveled to Japan illegally in 1905, where he spent eight months studying Ainu culture before leaving for the United States in fall of 1906. Pilsudski would return to Poland to settle thereafter, until World War I would cause him to relocate intermittently throughout Europe. Pilsudski committed suicide in Paris on May 17th, 1918, an act that would mar his scientific and ethnographic achievements in Sakhalin and Hokkaido. In spite of this, there has been a recent reevaluation of Pilsudski's work amongst the Ainu in the late nineteenth century by both Polish and Japanese scholars, and scholarship analyzing Pilsudski's ethnographic work in Sakhalin has flourished in the last twenty years. Four major conferences on Pilsudski's work have been held internationally in Sapporo, Japan (1985 and 2013), Yuzhno-Sahalinsk, Russia (1991), Cracow and Zakopane, Poland (1999), and a statue bearing Pilsudski's likeness was recently raised in Shiraoi's Poroto Kotan (2013) to recognize his contribution to the field of Ainu studies.

In light of his academic achievements, it is perhaps no surprise that the National Bank of Poland would commemorate Pilsudski in a set of collectible coins. These coins were issued as part of series titled "Polish Travellers [sic] and Explorers," and Bronislaw Pilsudski is the eighth figure to be commemorated in the series with the two zloty coin struck in proof finish silver on September 29, 2008, and the Nordic gold alloy coin struck two days later on October 1st by the State Mint in Warsaw.³⁸¹ Although Pilsudski's bust is the most prominent and recognizable feature of the coins, they also feature a variety of designs meant to evoke Pilsudski's diverse history and work. On the gold coin, an Ainu-inspired pattern and a scaled down image of an Ainu man make up the background to the

³⁸¹ National Bank of Poland, *Polish Travellers and Explorers: Bronislaw Pilsudski, 1866–1918*. National Bank of Poland Printing Office, October 2008. Brochure.

image, along with distant mountains. It appears that Nowakowska based the design of the Ainu man on an ethnographic photograph taken by Pilsudski in Sakhalin circa 1870. The back of the coin features the national coat of arms in the form of a stylized white imperial eagle.

While the gold coin contains just what one might expect to see, the silver coin contains a shocking juxtaposition that is revelatory about the operation of a modern visual economy of Ainu images into the twenty-first century (Figure 65). The face of the coin similarly features another bust, in addition to the Japanese pine tree to the right and a pattern derived from those of the Ainu on the left. Oriented vertically like Japanese text, Pilsudski's name, in addition to the dates of his birth and death, hover next to his face. But the verso of this coin features what appears to be a nuclear Ainu family, standing amongst mountains, with Ainu styled patterns to the right and bottom left. There might seem to be nothing out of the ordinary in this image; after all, Pilsudski was known for his work with the Sakhalin and Hokkaido Ainu. But close inspection of the composition reveals that the family pictured on



Figure 65: Roussanka Nowakowska, 10 złoty Bronisław Piłsudski commemorative coin. National Bank of Poland, October 1, 2008. Proof finish in silver. Owned by author.



Figure 66: Manuel Gonzales, “Ainu Group” in Frederick Starr’s *The Ainu Group at the Saint Louis Exposition*. (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1904).

the coin likely derives from a photograph of the Ainu group from St. Louis, taken by Mexican American photographer Manuel Gonzales in Tokyo before embarking for American shores with anthropologist Frederick Starr (Figure 66). Isolating Shutrateg, Kutoroge, and little Kiku from the six other Ainu participants, they now appear as a single family unit. Perhaps more problematically, the complex history between the United States, Japan, and the Ainu community is now further mobilized to reinforce Polish achievement and national identity, reminded by the imperial eagle flying in the sky directly next to the Ainu family and the curved text which cradles their bodies reading “Republic of Poland” (*Rzeczpospolita Polska*). The specific history of these three figures is once again erased, and this image circulates unmoored from its context to support a general idea of Ainu identity.

But this coin is not the first example of this kind of visual stereotyping in regards to

the Ainu group in St. Louis, or other known photographs of individuals in Hokkaido. In 1999, eleven years prior to the production of the coins, the very same photograph was used to represent the Ainu on a poster for the 3rd International Bronislaw Pilsudski conference in Cracow and Zakopane, Poland. This poster does not isolate the three figures as is the case with the coin, but rather overlays a large bust and the name of Pilsudski on top of the photograph, reducing the number of visible Ainu in the photograph to four (Shutratek, Kin, Kutoroge, and Shirake; Pete Gorō, Sangyea, Santukno, Kiku, and Yazo are not pictured). This poster would again be reproduced inside of a 2013 conference program for “The Achievements of Bronislaw Pilsudski—a Polish Ainu Researcher: On the Occasion of Unveiling His Monument in Shiraoui, Hokkaido” (Pōrando no Ainu kenkyū-sha Piusutsuki no shigoto: Shiraoui ni okeru kinenhi no jomaku ni yosete) that took place at Hokkaido University, sponsored by the Embassy of the Republic of Poland and the Instytut Polski in Tokyo, and organized by the Hokkaido-Poland Cultural Association, and the Slavic Research Center at Hokkaido University. From its development from a glass plate, to its first printing in Frederick Starr’s book in 1904, to the unlikely scene of an international conference on a Polish ethnographer in 2013, this image of the St. Louis Exposition group would continually be misappropriated, even within conferences organized by scholars and individuals with an interest in furthering the field of Ainu studies.

Although one can speculate on the reasons why this specific photograph was chosen as the basis for representing the Ainu on the poster and the silver commemorative coin, it is perhaps no coincidence that this very same image is used as the central photograph for the online Wikipedia entry titled “Ainu people” in English, Japanese, and a multitude of

other languages.³⁸² Wikipedia is a free, online encyclopedia written collaboratively by its users, where any person (with any background) can edit articles called “wikis.” As the Wikipedia website explains, “Wikipedia is allowed to be imperfect,” as it is constantly being edited and updated by the general public.³⁸³ Nevertheless, for those with Internet access, Wikipedia is commonly consulted for information on unfamiliar topics, concepts, or trends. As such, the content (including photographs) reach a broad audience, and are often cited and used on other websites.

A visual comparison between the photograph as it appears in Frederick Starr’s original publication of *The Ainu Group at the Saint Louis Exposition* (1904) and the digital photograph on Wikipedia makes it clear based on the quality, color profile, and resolution, that the Polish conference poster takes the image from Wikipedia as its source. Although it is certainly this photograph, which also inspired Nowakowska’s silver coin design, it is more difficult to ascertain which version of this original photograph she used considering its wide circulation. But visiting the wiki titled “Ainu in Russia” in English, there is another visual similarity that provides an important clue. An ethnographic photograph labeled “Sakhalin Ainu men, photographed by Bronislaw Pilsudski” from the National Anthropological Archives clearly forms the basis for the seated Ainu man on the gold coin. Seeing as both images—the Ainu Group from St. Louis and the Sakhalin Ainu—appear within the same website, it seems likely that Nowakowska used the images on Wikipedia as

³⁸² As of April of 2015, the entry for the Ainu people appears in over 65 languages. Wikipedia contributors, “Ainu people,” Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Accessed March 11, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ainu_people

³⁸³ Wikipedia contributors, “Wikipedia: Introduction,” Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Accessed March 1, 2015. <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Introduction>

the basis for the figures in both coin designs.³⁸⁴

Indigenous Peoples, Misappropriation, and the Creation of Digital Identity

Ultimately, what is the significance of this visual misappropriation of Shutrateg, Kutoroge, and Kiku's likeness from 1904? Why should the contemporary scholar care about these visual slippages? In a broad sense, the proliferation of late-nineteenth and early twentieth-century images of the Ainu helped cement a popular image of their culture as a group of aboriginal people trapped in a permanent past. Both individuals and institutions use the very same images that gained traction in travelogues and newspapers at the turn of the twentieth century—Baron Raimund von Stillfried's photographs, Isabella Bird's engravings, photographs of the Ainu in St. Louis, and Japanese Ainu-e—as generic illustrations of Ainu identity, even to this day. This dissertation has argued that rather than individual images, it is their circulation inside of a visual economy, to use the framework laid out by anthropologist Deborah Poole, which promotes the real and virtual exchange and circulation of Ainu images, privileging certain visual representations over others. These “privileged” representations of the Ainu became calcified in visual culture through repetition, as these images began to shed their context in favor of a generic “type.” But the repetition of these images was predicated on their becoming immutable mobiles—images that circulated widely and in a variety of formats while achieving optical consistency.³⁸⁵ It is this consistency that allows these images to gain authority, and causes them to be

³⁸⁴ In addition, the bust of Pilsudski used for the Nordic gold alloy coin is the image used to represent Pilsudski on his own Wikipedia page as of April 2015. See: Wikipedia contributors, "Bronislaw Pilsudski," Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia. Accessed April 17, 2015. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bronis%C5%82aw_Pi%C5%82sudski

³⁸⁵ Latour, 7.

recombined in a variety of new formats. But in the case of the coinage and poster commemorating Bronislaw Pilsudski, the indigenous bodies of these Ainu people are made anonymous at the same time that Polish national identity is strengthened.

But Pilsudski's silver coin or conference poster are not the first examples of such visual appropriation, as this practice was well-established even in the Meiji-era, when Japanese Ainu-e and photographs were turned into copperplate and woodcut engravings in explorer reports and travelogues. The establishment of this practice can even be located earlier when La Pérouse first took home a drawn map of Sakhalin to the court in Versailles.³⁸⁶ But with the proliferation of images and knowledge about the Ainu, publishers went even further, taking elements from multiple images and combining them together in unique compositions as can be seen with Baron Raimund von Stillfried's photographs and their use in Bird's *Unbeaten Tracks in Japan*. This process became even more streamlined with the advent of lithography and half-tone photography, and like their nineteenth-century predecessors, photographs and illustrations from multiple sources were juxtaposed together in American and Japanese newspapers in a unique collage aesthetic bringing disparate images from faraway towns into new proximity with one another. This helped to reinforce old stereotypes of Ainu culture, as well as build new connections and expectations about what one could, or should, see in the Ainu village. Ainu appropriation of images also cannot be ignored in this process, as Katahira Tomijirō's illustrations altered the intended meaning of old ethnographic photographs to illustrate Ainu stories in line with the bootstrap ideology of self-improvement. And although beyond the scope of this dissertation, these images of the past had a definite impact on later

³⁸⁶ Ibid., 6.

productions, from Neil Gordon Munroe's materials from Nibutani in the 1930s to Sister Mary Inez Hilger's *Together with the Ainu: A Vanishing People* (1971). From print source to print source, certain images gained a definite currency within the Ainu visual economy, coming to prominence through continued reproduction.

Despite their constructed (and potentially dehumanizing nature) photographs and illustrations from the turn of the twentieth century form an important part of Ainu history, especially in the face of changing traditions. Their visual and textual integration into contemporary websites and blogs raises a new set of challenges in an increasingly diversifying digital economy of images. As argued by Kristy A. Belton, "while cyberspace has its drawbacks—the potential for identity fraud, misrepresentation, and the appropriation of cultural knowledge and symbols without permission—it is also a space wherein myths and stereotypes can be challenged, human-rights violations reported, consensual knowledge shared, and claims asserted."³⁸⁷ With the emergence of tourist centers such as Shiraoi's Poroto Kotan, online resources such as Wikipedia, and individual websites and blogs, curators and webmasters alike often pair earlier monochromatic and hand-colored representations with new digital photographs of Ainu men and women in traditional dress taken during contemporary performances staged in the twenty-first century. In the Ainu community, these performances are crucial in passing down knowledge of cultural practices to a younger generation who now grow up without the Ainu language. While these photographs taken by tourists and circulated online serve as examples of the richness of Ainu tradition, they often unintentionally reinforce the continuing idea of the Ainu as the primitive picturesque, presented them as authentic

³⁸⁷ Kristy A. Belton, "From Cyberspace to Offline Communities: Indigenous Peoples and Global Connectivity," *Alternatives: Global, Local, Political* 35, no. 3 (July-September 2010): 200.

representations of contemporary culture thereby ignoring their tourist context. Ronald Niezen describes the Internet as comprised of “unbounded, de-localized digital artifacts,” which contradicts the importance of “ethnographic location” for some scholars, but the idea of an unbounded, de-localized object is not new to the Internet, as demonstrated in the past circulation of visual materials, reprinted in new contexts without privileging location. Insightfully, Neizen reflects, “the potential of the Internet to globally reshape the politics of identity is partly concealed by the fact that it is an amalgam of innovations that have long been with us...”³⁸⁸ Although these practices are pervasive today with the advent of digital photography, they have long historical roots in the culture of image manipulation and borrowing from both non-Ainu and Ainu producers. Traveler and photographer Arnold Genthe was careful to capture only the parts of Biratori that he deemed authentic, carefully cropping out evidence contrary to that vision in 1908. Similarly, Kondō Kōichiro, despite diligently narrating the modern tourist reality in Shiraoi in 1917, nevertheless reinforced stereotypes of Ainu villages in his illustrations for the *Yomiuri Shinbun*. Conversely, the Ainu have responded and adapted to the changes in their society, creatively engaging the long legacy of visual images depicting their culture from the outside. From the Chikabumi Ainu’s use of Tokyo newspaper to publicize their plight in 1900, to Pete Gorō’s collection of photographs at the St. Louis Exposition in 1904, to Katahira Tomijirō’s retooling of Meiji ethnographic portraits and community publications in 1927, the Ainu have historically utilized new modern media to further their cause. Although the use of the Internet by indigenous communities has attracted scholarly attention beginning in the mid-1990s, the Ainu have often been cognizant of their representations, and utilized the media to effect

³⁸⁸ Ronald Niezen, *Rediscovered Self: Indigenous Identity and Cultural Justice* (Quebec: McGill-Queens University Press, 2009), 44.

change far before the dawn of the digital in their own local community papers, where they drew parallels between the issues they faced and the challenges faced by other indigenous groups outside of Japan.³⁸⁹

The Internet has been an effective way for the Ainu and other indigenous groups to spread awareness about their culture and build solidarity in their continual attempts at self-advocacy, but it was by no means a surprising development. Belkin continues, “Indigenous agency today is intimately linked to the past, and while it recognizes the current weakened power position of indigenous peoples as collectives, it also emphasizes the tenacity of their determination to pass on their ways of being and ideas according to their own wishes and systems... the story of indigenous peoples is not always one of ‘cultural demise’ in the face of external changes such as globalization, but a legacy of continuity and survival despite challenges.”³⁹⁰ The Ainu are living proof of this, and they continue to expand their influence and spread knowledge about their cultural traditions, while speaking out against organizations that deny their continuing existence.

These battles, which were waged in person and in newspapers, are now also taking place in cyberspace. Twitter erupted after Onodera Masaru, a member of the Liberal Democratic Party, stated that it was “highly questionable” that the Ainu were an indigenous people of northern Japan following the United Nations’ first World Conference on Indigenous Peoples in New York on September 22 and 23rd, 2014, blatantly ignoring the Diet’s 2008 resolution that finally recognized the Ainu as an indigenous people, and even

³⁸⁹ See: Adam Lucas, “Indigenous People in Cyberspace,” *Leonardo* 29, no. 2 (1996): 101–108, or Ronald Niezen, “Digital Identity: The Construction of Virtual Selfhood in the Indigenous Peoples’ Movement,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 3 (July 2005): 532–551.

³⁹⁰ Belton, 193–215.

recent efforts to promote Ainu identity as Japan embarks on a new national museum in Shiraoi in preparation for the Tokyo Olympics in 2020. Like the print publications that preceded them, the Internet is a new frontier where Ainu voices, stories, and even products, compete with hackneyed clichés of their culture. Only one thing is for sure as we face the future: the tension between wanting to preserve images of the past for future generations, and the tendency to allow those images to speak for the present remains strong. The representations of the past will indelibly haunt the images of the future, and this is why we must strive to understand their power moving forward.

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