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Michele M. Mason is an Associate Professor of modern Japanese cultural studies at the University of Maryland. She is author of *Dominant Narratives of Colonial Hokkaido and Imperial Japan: Envisioning the Periphery and the Modern Nation-State* and co-editor, with Helen J.S. Lee, of *Reading Colonial Japan: Text, Context, and Critique*.

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victims of the  
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'modernization' process,  
perpetuating a number of  
intransigent and troubling  
erasures.

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Although the formal  
colonization process of  
Hokkaido began in 1869, Ezo  
played such an important  
role during the early  
formation of the Japanese  
state that the Japanese  
historian Takahashi Tomio  
writes: "The history of  
Ezo's management is the  
history of state formation"  
(Ezo keiei-shi wa kokka  
seiritsu-shi dearu). 12

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Hokkaido And Imperial  
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Indeed, during the formation of the Yamato state in the 4th and 5th Centuries, Japanese authorities were already concerned about the management of areas in the northeast.

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In its rugged and undeveloped state, Hokkaido was characterized as a limitless source of hitherto untapped resources awaiting Japanese ingenuity and civilization. Images of Hokkaido as a "savage" wilderness served the state's goals by acting as a foil to confirm Japan's

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*Writing Ainu Out /  
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The tondenhei (???, Soldiers stationed in the fields, literally "field-encampment soldiers") were military settler colonists recruited after the Meiji Restoration to develop and defend Japan's northern frontier in Hokkaido and Karafuto against foreign nations, particularly Imperial Russia. (The term comes from ancient China, where colonist militias were also employed to defend imperial  
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