

B. Piłsudski's Proposals of Autonomy and Education for the Sakhalin Ainu

Koichi INOUE

Introduction

In 1993 Yuri Slezkine developed an interesting discussion concerning Russian perceptions of non-Russian inhabitants in Russia, particularly Siberian indigenes, through the analysis of Russian terms for the indigenes: up until the 17th century the Russians called the indigenes '*inozemtsy*' ('foreigners' according to Slezkin's translation) and also '*inovertsy*' ('non-Orthodox'), being renamed '*inostrantsy*' under Peter the Great, whilst since 1822 onwards the indigenes were used to be termed as '*inorodtsy*' ('aliens').¹ Slezkine's implication is that the terms '*inozemtsy/ inovertsy*' presupposed that nationality meant religion (Christianity), and therefore indigenes could in principle become Russians by baptism to be exempted from *yasak*.² Meanwhile, Peter's reform of local administration introduced to Siberia the first administrative entity, i.e. *sibirskaya guberniya*, with its capital located in Tobol'sk. Although Orthodox missionary campaigns were strengthened since then, those indigenes who converted to Christianity were not to be exempted from the *yasak*. This measure came from the state's necessity to secure *yasak* payers, i.e. suppliers of the fur which for centuries constituted a significant part of the Russia's export. Despite the assurance that the state should give protection to *yasak* payers, the latter were as a matter of fact the mere object of exploitation on the part of the state, local administrators, officials, and merchants. Their status was not defined by any legal regulations and therefore there were no sizable policies for governing the indigenes.

Marc Raeff writes that the term '*inorodtsy*' was introduced into the regular administrative and legal vocabulary of the Russian empire by the 'Statute for Administration of Siberian Indigenes of 1822' which was compiled by Mikhail M. Speransky.³ This was the first codification in Russia to substantially govern Siberian indigenes. Its main features were "to preserve the customs of the natives wherever possible and secure the autonomy of the internal life of these tribes," as well as "to leave

¹ Y. Slezkine, "Savage Christians or Unorthodox Russians?: The missionary dilemma in Siberia," Galya Diment & Yuri Slezkine, eds., *Between Heaven and Hell: The Myth of Siberia in Russian Culture*, pp.16-18, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993

² Slezkine, *op. cit.*, p. 17. *Yasak* was the fur tribute imposed upon Siberian indigenes by the Russian empire.

³ M. Raeff, *Siberia and the Reforms of 1822*, p. 180, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1956.

the way open for the economic and social transformation,” which would eventually “bring the natives closer to the Russian population of Siberia and in the long run would bring about an organic Russification.”⁴ By the way, the Slezkine’s English translation ‘aliens’ for ‘*inorodtsy*’ is, although literally more accurate it may, rather misleading and we prefer to select another English counterpart ‘indigenes’ in distinction from the ‘natives’ used by M. Raeff and A.F. Majewicz.⁵ As will be seen in our further discussion, the ‘Statute of 1822’ maintained its force up until the collapse of the Russian empire.

The aim of this paper is to present how far the spirit of this ‘Statute of 1822’ was reflected in the following Piłsudski’s draft for the rules of governing the Sakhalin Ainu, as well as to what extent his original thoughts and attempts were added thereto. In addition, we will also try to demonstrate how the Russo-Japanese War disturbed the materialization of Piłsudski’s draft.

Piłsudski’s draft for the rules of governing the Sakhalin Ainu

1. Prologue

It was in September 1902 at Korsakov on Sakhalin that Military Governor of Sakhalin Oblast, Mikhail N. Lyapunov tried to persuade Bronisław Piłsudski to undertake a task “which had turned out to be beyond the abilities of his bureaucrats.”⁶ A year later,

⁴ Raeff, p.114. Five major principles of the Statute were: 1) divide the natives into the three categories of settled natives (*osedlyye*), nomads (*kochevyye*), and vagrants (*brodyachiye*); 2) for the nomads and the vagrants, the administration should be based on their old customs, but these had to be better defined and organized; 3) the police functions of local authorities should be of only a general supervisory nature, the internal autonomy of tribes should be left untouched; 4) freedom of trade and industry should be protected; 5) taxes and tribute should be made proportional to the abilities of each tribe and be imposed at regular intervals. (Raeff, p. 116, - emphasis mine)

⁵ The term ‘*inorodtsy*’ was a social status applied in the Russian empire for not only Siberian indigenes but also Turkic, Finnic, and northern Caucasian nations of the Russian empire, such as the Tatar, Bashkir, Votyak, Kirgiz, Cherkes, etc. During the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th centuries ‘*inorodtsy*’ was often substituted by the term ‘*tuzemtsy*’, i.e. indigenes or natives.

⁶ Alfred F. Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin (The Collected Works of Bronisław Piłsudski [hereafter CWBP] vol. 1)*, p. 709, note 203, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998. The original Russian text appeared in: Vladislav M. Latyshev, “Proyekt B.O. Piłsudskogo ob ustroystve upravleniya aynov o. Sakhalina,” *Materialy k izucheniyu istorii i etnografii naseleniya Sakhalinskoy oblasti*, str. 129, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1986. **NB:** In spite of the fact that in his expedition report Piłsudski writes that in “September 1903” Governor entrusted him to undertake a population census of the Ainu (Piłsudski, translated into English by A.F. Majewicz, “B.O. Piłsudski’s report on his expedition to the Ainu and Oroks of the island of Sakhalin in the years 1903-1905,” in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin (CWBP vol. 1)*, p. 216, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), nevertheless in another place of the same report he describes as if it occurred in another year, i.e. 1902. This took place when, having returned from Hakodate to Korsakov on August 30 1902, Piłsudski stayed there until Sept. 13, looking forward to seeing Governor who arrived on Sept. 10 (*op. cit.* p. 194). On the other hand, in 1903 he came back to Korsakov also from Hakodate on Sept. 24, having completed the Hokkaido Ainu expedition headed by his compatriot Waclaw Sieroszewski,

Military Governor dispatched from Aleksandrovsk to Piłsudski the following personal letter:

*Gracious Mr. Bronislav Osipovich, following our conversation at Post Korsakovski I am sending to you herewith the questionnaire for the needed data on the native population. I do beg you most humbly, gracious Sir, in view of your consent, to collect and pass over to me the detailed data about the Ainu of the Korsakovsk Region in accordance with the questionnaire and to **prepare a draft of regulations concerning the establishment of authority over and among the natives that could replace the existing laws.** In the elaboration of this problem you can make use of the “statute of aborigines”⁷ which is kept in the Korsakovsk Regional Police Station, since no reports were later compiled.*

*Please accept words of assurance about my sincere esteem and devotion.*⁸

The addressee of Governor’s personal letter was the person who happened to be on Sakhalin then, dispatched from Vladivostok on July 8, 1902 by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences with the aim to collect ethnographic specimens of the Ainu and Oroch (Uilta) for the Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography in St. Petersburg.⁹

Bronisław Piłsudski (1866-1918), who was born and bred in Lithuania, having been involved in 1887 in an abortive conspiracy to assassinate the Russian Tsar, Alexander III (the so-called ‘Second Case of March 1st’), was exiled to Sakhalin as an offender against the state for fifteen years. Having done due time, in 1899 he managed to move to Vladivostok by the invitation of the Society for the Study of the Amur Region to be hired as its Museum’s custodian. In 1902 he was proposed by the Academy to

and on Sept. 29 he set out for the village of Ai (*op. cit.* p. 199-200). We don’t find any mention of his meeting with Governor in the meantime. Therefore, we should like to regard the given entrustment as having taken place in **1902** during **September 10-13**. In this paper all dates, unless otherwise stated, follow the Russian old, i.e. Julian calendar.

⁷ This was meant for the current “Statute for Administration of Indigenes” (*Ustav ob upravlenii inoroditsev*) of 1822, compiled by Mikhail M. Speransky.

⁸ Dated on Oct. 28 1903 (cf. the copy of this document supplemented herewith, which has become available by the courtesy of V.M. Latyshev). The letter is preserved in *Rossiyskiy Gosudarstvennyy Istoricheskiy Arkhiv Dal’nego Vostoka* (Vladivostok – hereafter RGIA DV), under the call number: f. 1133, op. 1, d. 2031, l. 68-68 ob.. The translated English text is quoted from: Majewicz, *op. cit.* p. 709. As for the Russian text, see Latyshev, *op. cit.* str. 129-130. Emphasis mine. To be more exact, the underlined phrase of the first paragraph on its last lines should be replaced by the following translation: “*since a new statute has not been issued.*”

⁹ Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski’s report . . .”, in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin* (CWBP vol. 1), p. 192. Concerning the collection gathered by Piłsudski on this occasion, see V.M. Latyshev & K. Inoue, eds., *Sakhalin Ainu Folk Craft*, Sapporo: Hokkaido Publication Planning Center, 2002; SPb-Ainu Project Group, ed., *Catalogue: Ainu Collections of Peter the Great Museum of Anthropology and Ethnography, Russian Academy of Sciences*, Tokyo: Sofukan Publishers, 1998.

undertake the above expedition to Sakhalin. Having spent twelve years there as an exiled convict notwithstanding, he finally accepted the proposal after significant hesitation.¹⁰

This is why both persons could meet each other in September 1902 on the Island of Sakhalin. One may wonder why Lyapunov's attitude towards Piłsudski should have been so courteous and humble as if he were writing to his superior. It was unusual indeed that Governor addressed "gracious Sir" (*milostivyy gosudar'*) to the ex-convict who had completely been at Governor's whim just five years before. However, Governor had ample reason to do so, for he was under persistent pressure from both St. Petersburg and Khabarovsk (the Priamur Governor-Generalship to which Sakhalin oblast was directly subordinate), so as to promptly submit his plan for the improvement of rules concerning the Sakhalin indigenes.¹¹

Prior to this, in 1898 the Ministry of Internal Affairs undertook efforts to implement the tsar's decrees of 'May 13, 1896' and 'August 8, 1898' concerning the revision of the 'Statute for Administration of Indigenes' (1822), which were pronounced as 'hopelessly outdated'. In 1900 Priamur Governor-General issued, following the ministerial order, an instruction towards every subordinate local administration to elaborate its own preliminary draft of rules for governing indigenes. Governor Lyapunov in turn dispatched letters with analogous content to all the *nachal'niks* of the Aleksandrovsk, Tymovsk, and Korsakovsk *okrugs*. It was not until 1902, however, that disconsolate reports reached the governor from the *nachal'niks*, unanimously saying that in their *okrugs* no competent specialists were discovered to cope with the task demanded. Meanwhile, there was a consoling message in the Tymovsk *nachal'nik's* report that in some issues of a local annual entitled *Sakhalinskiy Kalendar'* were published articles on this matter written by Sternberg and Piłsudski and that what had been documented by them, in his view, was altogether correct.¹²

Therefore, when the governor got to learn that Piłsudski was staying in Sakhalin,

¹⁰ Prior to, during, and after the expedition Piłsudski zealously investigated the culture of Far Eastern indigenes, i.e. the Ainu, Uilta, Nivkh, Ul'chi and Nanai, and therefore he is now esteemed as the outstanding researcher of these peoples. As for his biography and scientific work see: A.F. Majewicz, ed., *CWBP* vol. 1, 1998; vol. 2, 1998; *Izvestiya Instituta naslediya Bronislava Piłsudskogo* [hereafter IzINBP], nos. 1-6, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1998-2002; K. Inoue, ed, *Piłsudskiana de Sapporo* [hereafter PdS], no. 1, 1999; no. 2, 2002, Sapporo: Slavic Research Center of Hokkaido University; as well as the proceedings of three international symposia dedicated to B. Piłsudski, held in Sapporo in 1985, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk in 1991, and Kraków & Zakopane in 1999.

¹¹ Majewicz, *op. cit.* p. 709; Latyshev 1986, "Proyekt B.O. Piłsudskogo... str. 129.

¹² Majewicz, *op. cit.* p. 708-709; Latyshev 1986, "Proyekt B.O. Piłsudskogo... str. 129; Latyshev, "Proyekt Bronislava Piłsudskogo «Ob ustroystve byta i upravlenii aynov» o. Sakhalina: neizvestnyy variant," IzIBP no. 4: 32-33, 2000.

the former was forced, whether willingly or not, to resort to the latter for help (since Lev Sternberg was already in St. Petersburg then), like “a drowning man will catch at a straw.” Contemporary biographers of Lyapunov have featured him as a zealous executor of orders given by his superiors.¹³ Nonetheless, it was quite fortunate for the governor that the straw he had caught at proved to be the most appropriate and most competent specialist on the earth for the task demanded, who had received even short-term law education during an autumn semester of 1886, as being a freshman of law at St. Petersburg University.¹⁴

Having accepted the Lyapunov’s earnest request, Piłsudski fulfilled his task excellently, yielding a draft of rules for governing the Sakhalin Ainu, dated at its end “April 12, 1905”. It appears that he could deliver this draft to the governor on time in the midst of the Russo-Japanese War, since his manuscript was found amongst document files of the Sakhalin Oblast Governor’s Office, in the file labeled “On drawing up regulations concerning the indigenes”.¹⁵

2. Two ‘drafts’ discovered in two Tomsk archives

Apart from the manuscript published in Russian original in 1986 and in the form of an English translation in 1998 (cf. footnote 15), Vladislav M. Latyshev from Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk also uncovered another manuscript of the Piłsudski’s draft which slightly differed from the above version in title, in the manuscript division of the Scientific Library at Tomsk State University¹⁶. This discovery was made also in Tomsk. The newly

¹³ A.I. Kostanov i L.S. Tvarkovsky, ”Zdes’ ne gotovilis’ k voyne... (O Mikhaile Nikolayeviche Lyapunove),” in: A.I. Kostanov, red., *Gubernatory Sakhalina*, str. 47, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 2000.

¹⁴ Latyshev 2000, “Proyekt Bronislava... str. 33. Here, Latyshev gives the information on courses and lectures of the law faculty for the 1886 autumn semester, such as history of the Roman law; encyclopedia of law; history of the Russian law; introduction to civil code; and criminal legal proceedings, which were provided by eminent professors like Foynicky, Sergeyeovich, Dyuvernuia as well as docents like Yefimov and Korkunov. It is highly probable that Piłsudski attended most of the courses and lectures enumerated above.

¹⁵ Now preserved in RGIA DV (f. 1133, op. 1, d. 2031, l. 123-144). Majewicz, *op. cit.* p. 708; Latyshev 1986, “Proyekt B.O. Piłsudskogo... str. 128-129. These files had been located in Tomsk when Latyshev had for the first time discovered the Piłsudski’s draft in the beginning of the 1980s, but they were then returned to Vladivostok, i.e. their former location and consequently are preserved nowadays in RGIA DV (Latyshev 2000, “Proyekt Bronislava... str. 32). In 1986 the draft was published by Latyshev under the title of “Proyekt pravil ob ustroystve upravleniya aynov o. Sakhalina s kratkimi ob’yasneniyami k otdel’nym punktam,” *Materialy k izucheniyu istorii i etnografii naseleniya Sakhalinskoy oblasti*, str. 131-147, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk. Its English translation by A.F. Majewicz is available as a chapter entitled: “A draft of rules for the establishment of authority over the Sakhalin Ainu with short explanations on particular points,” published in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin* (CWBP vol. 1), pp. 297-345, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998.

¹⁶ Preserved as the archival collection of G.N. Potanin (listy 2691-2733 ob.).

discovered version had once been preserved in his private library of Grigoriy N. Potanin, the eminent Siberian *oblastnik* as well as outstanding ethnographer and folklorist.¹⁷

How this version found its way to Tomsk? The following fragment of Piłsudski's letter to Sternberg dated November 21 1913 sheds a certain light on this question. Piłsudski mailed this letter from Zakopane, Poland to St. Petersburg:

*... Haven't you read a booklet published by the Society for the Study of Siberia (in Tomsk)? The Society accepted my motivated draft of rules for administration of the Siberian indigenes, and they wrote to me in February that it was delivered to be printed in a booklet in press. That has not reached me yet probably because of my frequent removals.*¹⁸

According to Latyshev, this Tomsk version was never published due to reasons unknown to us for the time being, and the manuscript remained with Potanin who was one of the leaders in the Society for the Study of Siberia. In the meantime, in 1919 under Kolchak's rule, in Tomsk was founded the Research Institute of Siberia, which circulated a special letter amongst various institutions and individual persons appealing for the donation of their books, periodicals, and any other materials relating to Siberia, to the Institute's library. The largest and most valuable acquisition for the library derived from the Potanin's collection comprising of 3,210 books and 12,811 sheets of manuscript as well as a great deal of photographs and drawings. When Soviet authorities were reestablished in Tomsk the Research Institute of Siberia was closed due to the decision of the Siberian Revolution Committee. All of its possessions along with the library were transferred to the Tomsk State University Library.¹⁹

The second Tomsk version of Piłsudski's draft was presented by Latyshev at the Third International Conference dedicated to Piłsudski entitled: "Bronisław Piłsudski and His Scholarly Heritage (Kraków–Zakopane 1999)." Then, in 2000 as well as 2001, it was also published by Latyshev himself in the fourth issue of IzINBP and the conference proceedings, respectively.²⁰

¹⁷ Latyshev 2000, "Proyekt Bronislava...", str. 33.

¹⁸ B. Piłsudski, *«Dorogoy Lev Yakovlevich...» : Pis'ma L.Ya. Shternbergu. 1893-1917 gg.*, str. 285, Publikatsiya V.M. Latysheva, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1996. Sm. Latyshev 2000, "Proyekt Bronislava...", str. 34.

¹⁹ Latyshev 2000, "Proyekt Bronislava...", str. 34.

²⁰ Piłsudski, "Proyekt pravil ob ustroystve byta i upravlenii aynov s kratkimi ob'yasneniyami otdel'nykh punktov," IzINBP no. 4: 41-61, 2000. The same version was also included in: A.F. Majewicz & T. Wicherkiwicz, eds., *Bronisław Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei —An Excellent Charter in the History of Polish-Japanese Relations (Materials of the Third International Conference on Bronisław Piłsudski and His Scholarly Heritage Kraków–Zakopane 29/8 – 7/9 1999)*, pp.125-149, Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2001.

For convenience's sake let us call the second version 'Tomsk manuscript' whilst the first one may be referred to as 'Vladivostok manuscript' since it is now preserved there. What is the relationship between the two manuscripts? As mentioned above, a slight difference in their title is discernible. Besides, the date Piłsudski gave at the end of each version was not identical: the Tomsk manuscript was simply dated "Sakhalin/ March 1905," whilst in the Vladivostok version Piłsudski gave such a closing description as "12 April, 1905." Evidently, Piłsudski wanted to make a clear manifestation that the Tomsk manuscript was the first version whilst the Vladivostok one presented itself as an elaborated revision, which he intended to officially submit to Governor Lyapunov. Moreover, a substantial difference is noticeable in their volume. With this regard Latyshev writes that the Tomsk manuscript is "two times more voluminous" than the Vladivostok one.²¹

Despite the above differences, both manuscripts are principally identical as far as their structure is concerned: both are composed of 28 articles, and every article under the same serial number (rendered in Roman figure for Tomsk and in Arabic for Vladivostok), thoroughly corresponds with each other in both versions. Therefore, it seems that when Piłsudski elaborated the revised Vladivostok version, he must have striven to select from his first version only those passages which would directly contribute to legislative procedures, such as his ideas of an alternative administration system, proposals for ameliorative or preventive measures, etc., thus dropping a great deal of explicatory passages filled with interesting narratives of ethnographic particularities. For instance, in Article 22 he dealt with the medical care system and medical service to be introduced amongst the Ainu. Here his concrete proposal was quite simple: to found a small medical station inside Ainu village and secure for the station a permanent medical personnel whose attitude towards the Ainu must solely be humane and science-oriented. Whereas his idea was developed in less than two pages of the Vladivostok version, in the Tomsk one it occupied four pages throughout, demonstrating the Ainu view of death quoting a fragment from Pushkin's poem, stories about Dobrotvorsky, a Russian military doctor who had successfully engaged in medical service amongst the Ainu in the 1860s, and on shamanism, miscarriage, etc., etc.

The relationship between the two manuscripts, however, can be seen from a different angle. Generally speaking, the Tomsk manuscript is evidently more sophisticated than the Vladivostok one both from the stylistic point of view and with regard to the level of elaboration. This situation has urged us to wonder if the Tomsk

²¹ Latyshev 2000, "Proyekt Bronislava...", str. 34.

version might have been written later than the Vladivostok one was. On the other hand, his expedition report informs us that on his return trip of 1905 to the continent Piłsudski stayed from March 12 up until 23 at Tikhmenevsk (nowadays Poronaysk), and then spent three and a half months living at several Russian villages located inland of northern Sakhalin, e.g. from March 28 to April 13 at Onor, from April 14 to May 11 at Rykovskoye (now Kirovskoye), and from May 12 to 30 at Derbinskoye (now Tymovskoye); until July 11 when he left Aleksandrovsk for Nikolayevsk-on-Amur.²² Although he unequivocally manifested therein: during his stay at Rykovskoye “I compiled the report of Ainu population census ... and prepared my own draft of those rules for establishment of authority over the Ainu...,”²³ he must have prepared the first version at Tikhmenevsk or its environ, and then accomplished its revision, i.e. the Vladivostok manuscript at Onor but not at Rykovskoye, if based on his itinerary description. If that was the case, it is only presumable that Piłsudski must have spent the ensuing approximately seven years in polishing and retouching his first version, most probably until 1912 when he must have sent his final fruition to Tomsk. We have therefore come to the conclusion that the Tomsk manuscript is, as a matter of fact, nothing but the final version reflecting his first ‘Tikhmenevsk’ version most faithfully.

3. Autonomy and self-help

In 1875, when Russia and Japan concluded the St. Petersburg Treaty, Russia obtained possession of the island of Sakhalin, which since 1855 had been under Russo-Japanese joint rule for twenty years. As Russia had officially nominated the island a penal colony in 1869, particularly since 1875 the whole island was transformed into an enormous prison. There was no civil administration at all but penal one. Convicts and ex-convicts who were in principle not permitted to leave the island, mainly engaged in agricultural colonization. In 1890 the Russian writer Anton Chekhov ventured a tour around the island and minutely described about the penal colony in his famous travelogue *Ostrov Sakhalin*.

Sakhalin was also inhabited by so-called indigenes (*inorodtsy*), i.e. the Nivkh, Ainu, and Uilta. The Nivkh, whose main subsistence was fishing and sea mammal hunting, were distributed on both sides of the northern seashores whilst the southern half was inhabited by hunter-fishermen; the Sakhalin Ainu. Between both peoples were scattered reindeer herders; the Uilta. Due to ongoing rule by the penal administration, the current Statute for Administration of Indigenes of 1822 was not extended to them.

²² Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski’s report...”, CWBP vol. 1, pp. 215-216.

²³ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 216.

Ironically, thanks to the above situation all of the indigenous peoples could enjoy unique forms of autonomy which they had developed by themselves throughout their histories. Under the given circumstances, they were allocated amongst current administrative units: the Nivkh and the Uilta both in the Aleksandrovsk and Tymovsk *okrugs*, and the Ainu in the Korsakovsk *okrug*.

In his personal letter to Piłsudski, Governor Lyapunov asked to conduct a sort of population census with the Ainu of the Korsakovsk *okrug*, but clearly requested him to prepare a draft of the rules for governing the “indigenes” (“natives” in Majewicz’s translation). Whereas Piłsudski carried out the first order excellently²⁴, he did fulfill the second one only partially, since his draft was exclusively devoted to the Ainu as demonstrated in the title. It is not evident how far the governor was satisfied with Piłsudski’s draft.

Now let us start our discussion on it. It is quite symptomatic that his draft begins with the following declaratory statement:

*Article 1: Every settlement (seleniye) has its elected village headman (vybornyy starosta), and every particular volost has its elected volost headman (vybornyy starshina) and his two assistants.*²⁵

The first and foremost principle Piłsudski put forward in his draft was the elective succession of *starosta* and *starshina*, i.e. chief’s titles of the smallest administrative unit (corresponding to the Ainu word ‘*kotan*’), and the larger unit called *volost*, i.e. the district, respectively. Although both titles were not new since they had been formulated as such in the Statute of 1822, nevertheless his emphasis on their elected position was evidently fresh, if compared with a general tendency towards their hereditary succession, which had routinely been observed amongst Siberian indigenes during the passed eighty

²⁴ Piłsudski’s achievement with regard to the first order was attached to his draft entitled: “Selected information on individual Ainu settlements on the island of Sakhalin,” published in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin* (CWBP vol. 1), pp. 311-345, Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998. This is an excellent census report with detailed data on the Sakhalin Ainu of the eastern and western coasts. Of particular value are the tables that demonstrate the per village male/female populations of 1904, compared with the results of 1897 All-Russian National Census. According to the tables, the total Ainu population of 1897 amounted to 1,442 comprising of 738 (m. 399; f. 339) on eastern, and 704 (m. 364; f. 340) on western coasts, whilst that of 1904 slightly decreased to 1,362 comprising of 652 (m. 336; f. 316) on eastern, and 710 (m. 377; f. 333) on western coasts.

²⁵ Piłsudski 1998, “A draft of...”, in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin* (CWBP vol. 1), p. 296; Piłsudski 1986, “Proyekt pravil ob...”, str. 131; Piłsudski 2000, “Proyekt pravil ob...”, str. 41; Piłsudski 2001, “Proyekt pravil ob...”, p. 125. In order to avoid complications, hereafter only article numbers in Arabic will be referred to in the text, but in due cases Roman figures may also appear.

years.

The above statement is immediately followed by his explanatory discourses in parentheses: “It is desirable that the Ainu settlements (*kotans*) become more populous than they are at present. It would [therefore] be advisable, whenever possible, and without the use of any compulsory measures but, on the contrary, using measures of encouragement, to group several small settlements (*kotans*) into one large village (*seleniye*) located where natural resources allow the development of maritime industry, animal-raising, and gardening.” [Article 1] Obviously, Piłsudski looked forward to the development of sedentary lifestyle amongst the Ainu and thereby the inevitable enlargement of village size through adoption of modern subsistence economies, such as fishery, animal husbandry and horticulture. [Articles 1; 16] At the same time it must be stressed, however, that he desired a whole transition to take place out of their free will and with no resort to either enforcements or imperative measures.

By the way, Piłsudski foresaw the imminent termination of the penal colony on the island and tried to envisage thereupon a civil administration model analogous to that of the *zemstvos* which were emerging in neighbouring *oblasts*. Thus he proposed the division of the Korsakovsk *okrug* into two sectors, western and eastern, and the introduction for each sector of a new administrator’s post to cope with indigenous affairs called “*inorodcheskiy nachal’nik*,” which was functionally comparable to the peasantry administrator called “*krest’yanskiy nachal’nik*”. The *inorodcheskiy nachal’nik* should have amongst others the good command or learning of the indigenous tongues, since he was to attend and supervise the “indigenous council” (*inorodcheskaya uprava*) which all of the *starshinas* and their assistants were to take part in.²⁶ [Articles 2-3]

The *starostas* and *starshinas* who are to be elected for a three-year term are expected to

²⁶ Piłsudski proposed four *volosts* to be established on the territories inhabited by the indigenes in the Korsakovsk *okrug*, i.e. two on the western and two on the eastern coasts. The northeastern *volost* extending from the Hunup *kotan* northwards up to the Taraika region on the Bay of Patience embraced, apart from the Ainu, also Uilta and Nivkh inhabitants as well, and therefore he proposed for this multi-ethnic *volost* such a rule that “each of the three tribes would elect one representative and each of these representatives would in turns assume the post” of *starshina* “while the two others would function as his assistants.” [Article 1] Consequently, it appears that the “indigenous council” that was postulated to become the ‘highest administrative organ of autonomy’ for the indigenes of the Korsakovsk *okrug*, was comprised of four *starshinas* and eight assistants, and, most probably, of two *inorodcheskiy nachal’niks*. These fourteen members were to assemble at one place for a certain period to convene the council. [Article 2] The council’s prerogative was to decide: 1) fixing and appointment of public duties towards the municipal office and/or the state; 2) registration and accounting of public money and properties; 3) concern for the welfare of the tribe; 4) preparation of petitions to higher authorities concerning needs and wants; 5) arbitration of litigations, and discernment of those cases which are to be exempt from the application of general criminal and civil codes and, accordingly, subject to customary law. [Article 10]

execute their duties²⁷ without payment [Article 4], whilst clerks (*pis'movoditeli*) who serve *starshinas* in the *volost* offices²⁸ are paid workers. It is desirable that the clerks are recruited from amongst the local indigenous community. [Article 6] Interestingly, we can find a mitigating rule towards the preceding article that, although the *starshinas* are defined as non-paid public servant, nevertheless if the *volost* decides, “they may receive some gratification, the amount and form of which is to be decided by the *volost*. The *volost* fixes also the amount of payment for the clerk.” [Article 7]

On the other hand, the administration model proposed by Piłsudski constitutes a highly hierarchic structure, on top of which stands the governor who ultimately bears the responsibility for the welfare of the indigenes, directly supervising the *inorodcheskiy nachal'niks* [Article 28], whilst the latter have a wide range of control over the indigenous affairs, e.g. by supervising the indigenous council [Article 2], granting approval to newly elected *starostas* and *starshinas* [Article 5], and even ratifying each separate contract, treaty, or particularly commercial transaction that any indigenous communities or their representatives have concluded [Article 27]. In the meantime, all *starshinas* are directly subordinated to the *inorodcheskiy nachal'niks* [Article 8]. Nevertheless, the latter's power does not seem to penetrate into the depth of indigenous community, as long as the *starshina* in cooperation with his *starostas* may effectively execute all the duties prescribed in Article 9 (cf. footnote 27). Despite the highly hierarchic structure, the given administration model can be regarded as embodying the spirit of autonomy, at least, on the level of the *volost* and the self-government implemented through *starshina-starosta* regime.

Prior to further our discussion, we should like here to touch upon Piłsudski's fundamental ideas on the integration of indigenous peoples into the state, in other words, a modernization strategy: one is the maintenance of their separate and distinctive existence, the other – their participation in the state life as even members. Since both vectors more frequently contradicted to one another, his third, more practical, idea was that ways of proceeding should always be gradual and progressive, whilst

²⁷ These duties are: 1) promulgation and execution of all orders from higher authorities; 2) enforcement of proscribed measures to prevent epidemic diseases, epizooty, forest fires; 3) reporting on incidents that have occurred; 4) registration of population increase and decrease; 5) supervision over the introduction of hygienic and sanitary measures in public sectors; 6) collecting of duties; 7) superintendence of communal storehouses and the money accumulated therein; 8) informing on well-being and needs; 9) care for the development of horticulture, animal husbandry, agriculture and fishery; 10) cooperation with and assistance to judicial authorities, medical personnel, police officials, passing-by military personnel, teachers. [Article 9]

²⁸ Concerning Majewicz's translation of Article 6, the underlined word in the phrase “Village headmen have their clerks” should be replaced by “Volost”.

tactically finding the smoothest options. In this connection he was fully confident of his knowledge and experiences being helpful. This is why his draft, its Tomsk manuscript in particular, was fully abounded with ethnographic particularities.

In Article 11 Piłsudski writes: “All Ainu are exempt from military service.”²⁹ This was a succession from the 1822 Statute but he did not forget to remark (but only in Tomsk version) that in Japan the Ainu were already conscripted on equal terms with the Japanese [Article XI]. Meanwhile, despite the fact that the Ainu had so far been exempted from *yasak*, he proposed that they should pay tax. Piłsudski writes: “I am of the opinion that the natural resources of the island fully justify the burdening of their inhabitants with certain liabilities for the benefit of the state” and this “will contribute to the development of a sense of citizenship.” His proposal was that direct tax be levied on benefits from their fishing operations. [Article 13]

Article 16 declares: “Every Ainu settlement (*seleniye*) has a strictly defined allotment.”³⁰ The article that postulated for the Ainu the legal endowment of land-use rights (although not private but communal) was very important, since they had not yet secured precisely allotted plots and therefore been suffering from frequent land-use disputes with Russian settlers as well as primarily Japanese fishery entrepreneurs. It is interesting to note here that this article has not lost its significance even in present day’s Sakhalin and elsewhere alike, since very similar land-use disputes are still rampant all over the world.³¹

The last but by no means the least important proposal dealt with the foundation of public storehouse as well as mutual aid fund (so-called *inorodcheskiy kapital*). Piłsudski writes: “In every *volost* there is at least one public (communal) storehouse in which articles necessary in everyday life, such as flour, rice, fish, are preserved.” Again the idea itself was not quite new, since there had been established over the Russian empire a network of state-run grain storehouses prepared against famine, but his freshness resided in that he postulated to entrust its management to the *starshina* and his assistants, of course, under the *inorodcheskiy nachal’nik’s* supervision. Furthermore he continues: “Instead of collecting natural products, the *volost* may decide to collect money and create a public fund from which certain sums could be assigned either as loans or as

²⁹ His arguments for justifying the given measure, which are developed here in detail, still stimulate anthropologists’ imagination.

³⁰ The same article continues: “Every family retains the right to move to another settlement upon the consent of the inhabitants of the latter, and several families have the right to move, with the consent of the authorities, onto plots so far unallotted.”

³¹ For an example, cf. my recent paper presented at the international symposium on “The Raven’s Arch” (in Sapporo, October 2002) entitled: “A Century of Uilta (Orok) Reindeer Husbandry on the Island of Sakhalin,” particularly pp. 15-16, which is now in press.

irreclaimable aid to those in need.” [Article 15] This fund was nothing but the *inorodcheskiy kapital* which should also be replenished with justifiable five percent restitution³² from the sum of the profit tax (set at 10 percent) levied in Sakhalin on the official sale of gunpowder, lead, flour, rice, salt, firearms, etc. [Article 20] This mutual aid fund was also meant for paying upon loans, allowances, and annual bonuses for diligence and zeal, with the aim to encourage the development of animal husbandry, horticulture, agriculture, fishery, handicraft and education. [Article 21]

Grammar schools for Ainu children

1. Articles concerning education

Articles 23-24 are altogether devoted to the education and foundation of schools for the Sakhalin Ainu. Article 23 begins with the following statement: “At least more than one grammar school³³ should be founded in every *volost* with the aim to give desirable practical instruction” not only in such crafts as carpentry, woodwork joinery, smithery, etc., but also in horticulture, agriculture, and particularly in the knowledge of fishery. A little further Piłsudski adds: “The schools are secular in character.”³⁴ In the meantime, in Article 24 he declares: “The education is obligatory for children of both sexes.” Obviously these statements represent his fundamental ideas on education, which can be regarded as amazingly modern and democratic and at the same time rather idealistic in essence. With regard to the last statement he dares to challenge the traditional Ainu view on women, saying: “Lures and fines will have to be applied to combat those insisting on the necessity to consider women to be the worse sex of mankind.” [Article 24]

“As far as the teaching of literacy³⁵ is concerned, it is necessary to introduce special education for the natives”, by organizing separate classes exclusively meant for indigenous children. On the other hand, “The teaching of practical crafts could be provided for both of the children of the natives as well as the children of Russian settlers, but it should take place uninterruptedly in the place inhabited by the natives

³² His arguments for justification of the given measure are detailed in Article 20.

³³ In Russian ‘*shkola gramoty*’, literarily signifying ‘school for literacy’.

³⁴ This was a brave proposal since primary education in Russia was totally subordinated to Russian Orthodoxy. It is possible that this conviction may have derived, at least partially, from his own experiences during his school years in Lithuania when as being a Catholic he had significantly suffered from the Russification policy of the Russian empire.

³⁵ It is obvious that Piłsudski meant here the literacy in Russian, but not in Ainu. The Ainu speech was thoroughly shared by all the Sakhalin Ainu, adults and children alike, then. Therefore, it was the sole medium of education in the school (cf. the later discussion). Meanwhile Russian was unknown not only to adult people but particularly to children. [Article 23]

so that the latter can have an eye on the school and consider it theirs.” [Article 23] It is evident that his proposal concerns the foundation of a school not exclusively for Ainu children, but is meant for the whole *volost* and hence open to all the children who live there. His comment that it should be founded inside of their *kotan* is, in our view, quite important. Under such circumstances, we may imagine that Russian children would easily master Ainu, the language of the local indigenes, through learning and playing together with Ainu schoolmates. Spontaneous and stable bilingualism would have resulted if Piłsudski’s educational system were to be brought into motion. Unfortunately, this never happened in Sakhalin.³⁶

It goes without saying that these thoughts were not simply the product of sweet or bitter memories and experiences of his boyhood, but based upon a great deal of purposeful undertakings Piłsudski had assumed as being organizer and/or educator. Even in his boyhood he attested to his talent by organizing a ‘banned’ self-education circle for those young people who were satisfied with neither public education nor political situation, as well as ‘underground’ Polish lectures for those Vilnius artisans who could neither read nor write in Polish, running a risk of Siberian exile.³⁷ In Sakhalin, too, he went on the path of a conscientious educator: in the village of Rykovskoye where he lived for years as a political convict, he was not only a private teacher for the children of Russian settlers, but also taught Nivkh children Russian and arithmetic.³⁸ When he moved to Vladivostok in 1899, he took his most talented pupil, a Nivkh boy named Indyn, for schooling in the Maritime oblast capital. Piłsudski hoped that Indyn would become “a pioneer of the best sides of his culture and a teacher amongst his own kinsfolk.”³⁹

2. In 1902

Therefore, in 1902 when Piłsudski arrived on Sakhalin the second time and visited Mauka (nowadays Kholmsk) on the western coast from July 16 to August 6, he advised Ainu elders to petition the administration to open a school for them, since he could discover in amazement the Japanese literacy widely prevailing amongst the Mauka

³⁶ In contemporary Finland, quite a similar attempt is successfully taking place at a Sami village of the Inari district (verbal communication from Prof. Juha T. Janhunen of Helsinki University in 2001).

³⁷ Inoue, “A brief sketch of. Br. Piłsudski’s life: Until his exodus from Sakhalin,” “*Dear Father!*”: *A Collection of B. Piłsudski’s Letters, et alii* (PdS no.1), p. 3.

³⁸ Latyshev, “Otchety ob aynskikh shkolakh na yuzhnom Sakhaline,” *Krayevedcheskiy Byulleten’*, 1991-III, str. 53.

³⁹ Piłsudski’s letter to Sternberg published in: Piłsudski 1996, *«Dorogoy Lev Yakovlevich...»* str.179.

Ainu. Military Governor positively reacted to the petition⁴⁰ and even entrusted the maritime entrepreneur George Dembigh, a Scotsman who had his office at Mauka, to take care of the school's housing issue.⁴¹

Thus, on a certain day between September 10-13, 1902, Lyapunov and Piłsudski met each other at Korsakov, as described at the beginning of the preceding chapter. Included amongst the topics they talked about then, was that of Piłsudski's "project to found the first experimental small grammar school for Ainu children." The governor responded to his project sympathetically and cooperatively, even entrusting him with "150 roubles to purchase books and equipment and to pay the teachers."⁴² One cannot help but feel to what extent the governor wished that Piłsudski might undertake the task mentioned in his own personal letter.

According to his annual mission report on Ainu grammar schools for 1902 (dated April 24, 1903)⁴³, this first year Piłsudski could succeed in founding two schools on the eastern coast, one at Siyantsy⁴⁴ and the other at Otosan⁴⁵. He could also arrange two

⁴⁰ Piłsudski wrote to Sternberg that he himself had prepared the petition on their behalf. (Piłsudski's letter to Sternberg dated Sept. 8 1902, *op. cit.*, str. 194).

⁴¹ Piłsudski, "Short report on the Ainu elementary school in the Korsakovsk region for the years 1904-1905," in: Majewicz, ed., *The Aborigines of Sakhalin* (CWBP vol. 1), pp. 688-689; the original versions in Russian: "Kratkiy otchet ob aynskoy shkole gramoty v Korsakovskom okruge za 1904 - 1905 gg.," published in: *Krayevedcheskiy byulleten'* 1991-III, str. 65, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk; also in: Inoue, ed., *B. Piłsudski in the Russian Far East: From the State Historical Archive of Vladivostok* (PdS no. 2), pp. 128-129, Sapporo, 2002.

By the way, in spring of 1903 G. Dembigh promised to organize everything provided that Piłsudski would accept the task of managing the school for the near future, but the latter could not. After a while Dr. Nikolay V. Kirilov, Piłsudski's good acquaintance, who in the spring of 1903 assumed the post of physician at Dembigh-Semyonov fisheries in Mauka, could open the school. Those who attended Dr. Kirilov's lessons were at its start twelve, but later seven, amongst whom four were Ainu children. Afterwards, Zenzinov, the bankrupt bookseller whom Piłsudski had known from the Vladivostok time, took over the Dr. Kirilov's task from Nov. 30. There were eight Ainu and four Russian pupils of an age of approximately 8-10 years. When the outbreak of war was informed in Jan. 1904, Zenzinov left Mauka and the classes discontinued. (CWBP vol. 1, pp. 689-690; *Krayevedcheskiy...*, str. 65-66; PdS no.2, pp. 129-130). Incidentally, N.V. Kirilov was one of the Chekhov's classmates during their student years at the medical faculty of Moscow University (Latyshev, "B.O. Piłsudskiy i aynskiye shkoly na Sakhaline," *Etnograficheskiye issledovaniya Sakhalinskogo oblastnogo krayevedcheskogo muzeya*, str. 17, Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, 1987).

⁴² Piłsudski 1998, "Short report...", CWBP vol. 1, pp. 194-195. The governor granted Piłsudski also free use of the archives of Police Department at Korsakov as well as state horses for transportation.

⁴³ Piłsudski, "Vedomost' o shkolakh, imeyushchikhsya v Korsakovskom okruge za 1902 g.," Inoue, ed. *B. Piłsudski in the Russian Far East: From the State Historical Archive of Vladivostok* (PdS no. 2), pp. 131-136, Sapporo, 2002. This belonged to a series of his annual mission reports submitted to the administration, which were published by Latyshev in 1991 and also appeared in English translation by Majewicz in 1998 (cf. footnote 36). However, both publications did not include this report for 1902.

⁴⁴ An Ainu *kotan* situated slightly inland on the Sea of Okhotsk coast, in Ainu called 'Siyancha'. On the opposite side of the Nayba river was located a Russian village also called Siyantsy, which after-

teachers but with great difficulty: for Siyantsy the eighteen year-old Nivkh Indyn⁴⁶ and for Otosan an Ainu of 27 years old named Tarondzi⁴⁷. They taught Ainu children Russian and arithmetic: the teaching medium for Indyn was obviously Russian whilst that of Tarondzi was the Ainu speech, the very mother tongue of the children. Afterwards, Piłsudski made a comparison between the achievements of both teachers and concluded that Tarondzi's result proved to be better than that of Indyn. He explained this as follows: "Tarondzi has such an advantage as teacher for the Ainu that he can give all the explanations in the mother tongue of his pupils and hence between him and them has been created the spiritual proximity, which is indispensable in every school and solely contributes to successful understandings."⁴⁸

To do justice to Indyn, his feeble health should, of course, be taken into account, but he could start classes at Siyantsy as early as November 10, 1902 teaching four children, and continued until the end of February 1903 combating with his tuberculosis. This is to say that he never gave up teaching his pupils up to the moment of his hospitalization on February 28. As for the results of his three-and-a-half month's teaching, it is difficult to say that they were eventually successful but he succeeded in bringing up a 'crippled' boy named Tuycino to such an extent that the latter was ready to teach other children in one year (on Tuycino later).⁴⁹

In the meantime, at Otosan, Tarondzi could, due to disturbances, launch upon classes only on December 31. He had ten pupils all of whom were boys of the age of

wards was renamed Galkino-Vraskoye, and then Ochiai under Japanese rule, nowadays Dolinsk.

⁴⁵ An Ainu *kotan* situated on the eastern coast, called Otsan/Odasamu under Japanese rule, nowadays Firsovo.

⁴⁶ Although Indyn was attending a city vocational school in Vladivostok for three years, Piłsudski took him back to Sakhalin probably because he had fallen ill in pulmonary tuberculosis. On Sept. 8 1902 Piłsudski wrote to Sternberg: "I should like to fix Indyn up near me, somewhere on the Okhotsk Sea coast so that he could be with me and that his first steps might be under my direct supervision." (《*Dorogoy Lev Yakovlevich...*》 str.194) Thus, Piłsudski's desire was realized. In 1903, however, Indyn was taken in hospital on February 28 and passed away in the beginning of April. (Piłsudski 2002, "Vedomost' ..., PdS no. 2, p.132; 《*Dorogoy Lev Yakovlevich...*》 str. 179, 190).

⁴⁷ Concerning Tarondzi, Piłsudski writes: "[A]n Ainu (the son of a Japanese and an Ainu woman) with a good command of reading and writing in Japanese and a very poor knowledge of Russian but systematically learning with me." (Piłsudski 1998, "Short report..., CWBP vol. 1, p. 195) As being one of the so-called 'Tsuishikari Ainu', for five years he attended school in Hokkaido and then he returned to Sakhalin rather recently, to the *kotan* of Naibuchi where his mother had derived from (Piłsudski 2002, "Vedomost' ..., PdS no. 2, p.132-133). In summer of 1903, as Japanese interpreter, he accompanied Piłsudski and Sieroszewski on their expedition to the Hokkaido Ainu (Cf. W. Sieroszewski, "Wśród kosmatych ludzi," *Szkice podróżnicze i wspomnienia (Dziela, tomus XVIII)*, Kraków, 1961). Under the Japanese name of 'Sentoku Taroji', he published a book in Japanese titled: *Karafuto ainu sohwa* (Tokyo, 1929).

⁴⁸ Piłsudski 2002, "Vedomost' ..., PdS no. 2, p.132-133.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*.

11-18 years. They assembled in a Russian-style log house meant for their school, in the evenings when they were released from household work. Out of ten boys only four reached a desired level at the end of March 1903 when lessons finished: they could master the Russian alphabet (based upon the textbook *Nashe Rodnoye* by Baranov), managed anyhow to write texts down and count numerals up to 10,000 and learned how to calculate in addition and subtraction as well as to use an abacus (Tuyicino of Siyantsy was comparable to them).⁵⁰

The reasons why both schools should start so late as early winter were: first, the difficulty to find suitable teachers particularly for Ootosan; second, the general yearlong reliance on children's labour at home; third but most essentially, the unarrival of the promised sum of money from the governor. Therefore, when 150 roubles arrived from the Sakhalin Economic Fund at the end of December, there appeared the real possibility for the schools to set into motion. Due to Piłsudski's report, the money was roundly expended for teachers' salary (87 roubles), textbooks and writing kits (43 roubles), and the rent for the school house, et al. (20 roubles)⁵¹

Piłsudski writes: "Beyond all my expectations the Ainu sympathetically treated the question of teaching their children the literacy, and only expressed their desire that the teaching should continue not for one or two years, but until the time when pupils might have the possibility to become fully literate."⁵² That was the situation with the Ainu on the eastern coast of southern Sakhalin a year before the war broke out.

3. In 1903

Apart from his mission report for 1902 cited above, Piłsudski also submitted to the administration two more reports: one for 1903-1904 (dated August 1904)⁵³ and the other for 1904-1905 (written at the village of Rykovskoye and dated April 28, 1905)⁵⁴. This means that his efforts to organize Ainu schools continued up until 1905, even after the Russo-Japanese War began in January 26 (February 8 in the Gregorian calendar), 1904.

In 1903, after his second trip to Hokkaido (June 20 to September 24) as well as a

⁵⁰ Piłsudski 2002, "Vedomost' ..., PdS no. 2, p.132-133.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

⁵² Piłsudski *op. cit.*, p. 134.

⁵³ Piłsudski 1998, "Short preliminary report on the Ainu school in the Korsakovsk region in 1903–1904," CWBP vol. 1, pp. 681-684. The original Russian version "Kratkiy predvaritel'nyy otchet ob aynskoy shkole v Korsakovkom okruge v 1903/ 4 g[g]." was published in: *Krayevedcheskiy byulleten'* 1991-III, str. 56-60; as well as in: PdS no.2, pp.121-123, 2002.

⁵⁴ Piłsudski 1998, "Short report on the Ainu elementary school in the Korsakovsk region for the years 1904–1905," CWBP vol. 1, pp. 684-690. The original Russian version "Kratkiy otchet ob aynskoy shkole v Korsakovkom okruge za 1904–1905 gg." was published in: *Krayevedcheskiy byulleten'* 1991-III, str. 61-68; as well as in: PdS no.2, pp.124-130.

prolonged stay at Korsakov (October 14 to November 29), Piłsudski arrived at Naibuchi⁵⁵ on the eastern coast, “where I organized during that winter an Ainu school with a dormitory, taking direct charge of the task. I met full sympathy and support from F.F. von Bunge⁵⁶ who was governor of the island at that time, and was again entrusted with a sum of two hundred roubles. Classes started immediately after my arrival and proceeded successfully.”⁵⁷ As a matter of fact, lessons could commence on December 2, since the house, which the governor offered for the school, had been built for a temporary summer station of army detachment, substantial repairs were indispensable to be used as a classroom and a dormitory. “The repairs were completed by December 1st, and on January 3rd six desks were sent from the nearest Russian school by the Inspector of the Settlements.”⁵⁸

The teacher was Tarondzi who taught pupils, varying from 10 to 6 in number, of the age of 10-17. “Unfamiliar with the methodology of teaching at school, he obviously is far from the ideal teacher, but for the time being – under my close supervision and as my assistant – he is fully suitable for the job.” Unlike the previous year, Piłsudski took direct charge of classes more often and experimented “a systematic course in Russian conversation.”⁵⁹ On December 18 - 20 he even took all the pupils to the Ai *kotan* for a three-day excursion to take part in a ‘fox-sending’ fest, which he co-organized with his former host⁶⁰ at Ai. This fest was already rarely performed then (the last one had taken place ten years before), and therefore he was eager to observe its entire ceremony.⁶¹

All the pupils were particularly amazed at and fascinated by the situation that they found themselves being able to write down the Ainu speech using the Russian characters. “They eagerly wrote extensive compositions, recollections, descriptions of their purchases, memoirs, besieging me every day with their various writings.”⁶² Thus, the literacy in Ainu was also emerging amongst the pupils in a spontaneous manner. In other words, the Sakhalin Ainu literary language was being spontaneously created with

⁵⁵ An Ainu *kotan* situated at the mouth of the Nayba river. In 1866 next to the *kotan* was established the Russian military post of Naibuchi, which was renamed Ust'-Dolinka in 1947. However, it appears that the school was located not inside the *kotan* but at the Russian post of Naibuchi, and hence the dormitory was necessary.

⁵⁶ Fyodor F. von Bunge was, in fact, acting governor then, during the absence of M.N. Lyapunov.

⁵⁷ Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski’s report... in the years 1903–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 199-200.

⁵⁸ Piłsudski 1998, “Short preliminary report... in 1903–1904,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 681.

⁵⁹ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 681-682.

⁶⁰ The chief of the Ai *kotan*, named Bahunke-ainu (Aikichi Kimura in Japanese), who was the uncle of Chuhsamma, Piłsudski’s Ainu wife. In 1902 Piłsudski lived in his Russian-style log house.

⁶¹ Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski’s report... in the years 1903–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 200.

⁶² Piłsudski 1998, “Short preliminary report... in 1903–1904,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 681.

the participation of its speakers concerned.⁶³ This must have been an unexpected but profoundly pleasant byproduct for Piłsudski. By virtue of this literary Ainu, in 1906 Tarondzi could send three letters written in Ainu from Naibuchi to Piłsudski in Japan⁶⁴. With due arguments it is presumable that Piłsudski himself must have responded to Tarondzi also in the same literary Ainu.

It is noteworthy that this year Piłsudski could acquire for the school also cash donations amounting to 218 rouble 5 kopeks in total⁶⁵, as well as various stationery goods, textbooks, everyday utensils, food and, most remarkably, the St. Petersburg's illustrated journal *Niva* for one year. Perhaps, his prolonged stay at Korsakov in the autumn enabled him to collect these donations. Out of the above sum only 141 r. 65 kop. were spent in total, expending 64 r. for the teacher's payment; 59 r. 32 kop. for sustenance for pupils in the dormitory; 7 r. 92 kop. for lighting; 1 r. 7 kop. for writing materials; and 9 r. 34 kop. for household and petty spending. Thus, 76 r. 85 kop. remained unexpended.⁶⁶

The boarding school was frequently visited by adult Ainu and the pupils' relatives as well as guests from other *kotans*, who "at times stayed there for a long time, listening to the classes or skimming, together with pupils, through the illustrated books [e.g. the journal *Niva*] that I had acquired for the school."⁶⁷ When the war was informed in January 1904, however, every family began to insist on taking the children away from the dormitory so as to be together in the hard dangerous moment⁶⁸, and until the end of March "almost all children attending school were taken home by their parents."⁶⁹ Thus,

⁶³ This was an ideal example of the literary language creation strategy which S.M. Shirokogoroff postulated in his posthumous article entitled: "Tungus Literary Language", i.e. the emphasis on the initiative and participation of the speakers concerned (*Asian Folklore Studies* L-1: 39, 49, 1991).

⁶⁴ Three letters (dated June 4; June 15; and Aug. 11 of 1906) are now preserved in the Library of Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków (sygn. 4646, str. 40-45). The original Ainu texts along with their Russian translation by M. Yamashita et al., were recently published by Latyshev entitled: S. Tarondzi, "Pis'ma Bronislavu Piłsudskomu" (IzINBP no. 4: 89-97, 2000).

⁶⁵ The sum was comprised of 200 roubles from the acting governor; 10 r. from Mr. Motonobu Nomura (Japanese vice-consul in Korsakov); 2 r. each from Messrs. I.P. Kalats and G.P. Shemanel; 1 r. each from Mr. A.P. Takai and Ms. Ye.N. Nikolayeva; 0.5 r. from B.O. P[iłsudski] (Piłsudski 1998, "List of donations and acquisitions for the Ainu school in 1903–1904," CWBP vol. 1, pp. 684). It is a great pity that the Japanese vice-consul and Mr. Takai were not lavish enough.

⁶⁶ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 683-684.

⁶⁷ Piłsudski 1998, "Short preliminary report... in 1903–1904," CWBP vol. 1, p. 682.

⁶⁸ Piłsudski 1998, "B.O. Piłsudski's report... in the years 1903–1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 200.

⁶⁹ Piłsudski 1998, "Short report ... for the years 1904–1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 686. Their anxiety and fear are to be seen in the opinion expressed by one Ainu from Naibuchi that it was not good that children from his settlement only were to be taught; **in case the situation would turn to the worse** [for those educated], only his fellow villagers would have to suffer; therefore, it would be better to educate only one boy from every settlement (*ibidem* – emphasis mine).

the school was closed, but that took place earlier than planned⁷⁰.

At the end of his report for 1903 - 1904 Piłsudski writes:

“It is to be deeply regretted that the first steps of the new cause fall in such a hard and terrifying year. It was also impossible to complement the planned program with the instruction of a class in some handicraft which for the future I would consider very important and even desired on the part of the pupils and their parents.”⁷¹

4. In 1904

The wartime turmoil in Sakhalin to which he was one of the eyewitnesses, was quite vividly documented by Piłsudski in his expedition reports for 1903-1905 as well as the reports on Ainu schools for the same period. The Ainu seriously suffered from discontinuation of the fishing operations directly connected with Japanese fisheries.⁷² It seems that what disturbed more the Ainu life on the island, however, were widely distributed various rumours concerning the imminent landing of Japanese troops and their ensuing military occupation on the island; the deportation from the island of Russians along with the Ainu as Russian subjects; and, particularly, the alleged Ainu's willingness to give support to Japanese landing troops.⁷³ Despite the view of A.I. Kostanov and L.S. Tvardovsky that Governor Lyapunov was not prepared for the war at all⁷⁴, nevertheless army detachments were dispatched to prospective landing spots including Naibuchi⁷⁵, and four militia corps (*druzhinas*) were formed in southern Sakhalin comprised of Russian settlers, as well as of the convicts who were directly recruited from prisons.⁷⁶ The Ainu were significantly afraid of quite probable plunder, violence and murder of militia corps directed towards them.⁷⁷

Piłsudski, too, faced a dilemma: whether to leave or remain on the island. In favour of the latter choice, on March 31, 1904 he set out for northern Sakhalin to conduct field surveys in the Taraika region and the Tym river valley⁷⁸, which had once

⁷⁰ Piłsudski 1998, “Short report ...for the years 1904–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 685.

⁷¹ Piłsudski 1998, “Short preliminary report... in 1903–1904,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 682.

⁷² Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski's letter while on an expedition to Sakhalin,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 187.

⁷³ Piłsudski 1998, CWBP vol. 1, pp. 187, 201, 685-686.

⁷⁴ A.I. Kostanov i L.S. Tvardovsky, *op. cit.*, str. 48.

⁷⁵ Here, the temporary army station where the Ainu school had been situated in the previous year, was occupied by an army detachment then. Militia corps were also sent thither. (Piłsudski 1998, “Short report ...for the years 1904–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 686)

⁷⁶ Piłsudski 1998, “B.O. Piłsudski's report... in the years 1903–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 201; I.I. Rostunov, red., *Istoriya russko-yaponskoy voyny 1904-1905*, str. 353, Moskva, 1977.

⁷⁷ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

⁷⁸ This tremendously hard but quite fruitful expedition to northern Sakhalin was minutely described in his report (Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 202-212).

been scheduled for the summer of 1903 but put off because of his participation in the Sieroszewski's Hokkaido expedition.⁷⁹

On his return trip from the Tymovsk *okrug*, on October 7, 1904, Piłsudski again dropped in Nayero,⁸⁰ where he stayed until November 1.⁸¹ According to an initial plan, he was to stay there longer by mid-winter so as to found a school for children of the Nayero Ainu and the Uilta inhabitants of Tikhmenevsk, and also participate in a bear fest which was to be held this winter at Nayero. However, none of the plans came true due to ongoing disorder under the war regime. The bear fest was postponed until the following winter. Uilta children did not appear, and Tarondzi whom he had expected to come along from Naibuchi to teach in the planned school also did not arrive. Therefore, during several weeks of October he taught four Ainu boys aged 12 - 16 Russian and arithmetic in a small room at the inspector's house. "The boys' attitude towards the classes was earnest, although the confinedness of the room, permanent commotion and lack of aids disturbed us considerably; we did not even have pencils and had to make use of small stubs."⁸²

In mid-November Piłsudski came back to his 'base camp'⁸³ on the eastern coast but still went on visiting Ainu *kotans* nearby (Sieraroko⁸⁴, Ootosan, and, without fail, Naibuchi) as well as Korsakov.⁸⁵ The same turmoil still continued everywhere as it had been in spring. Although he wanted to resume classes, there were neither rooms nor pupils. Parents were afraid to send their children to classes. Amongst the Ainu was heard the plausible rumour that the Ainu who had been taught would be enrolled to militia corps (*druzhinias*). In this connection Piłsudski quoted an interesting discourse of an Ainu friend: "Don't be angry, my friend, that I do not let my son be taught. But when there is such a terrible uncertainty whether we will be alive tomorrow or not, don't you think that it doesn't make any difference whether my boy will die literate or illiterate?"⁸⁶

Yet, Piłsudski was "reluctant to give up the classes completely because it is well known that without prolonged exercise persons with rudiments of literacy very quickly

⁷⁹ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

⁸⁰ The northernmost Ainu *kotan* situated on the eastern coast of southern Sakhalin, and nowadays called Gastello.

⁸¹ Piłsudski 1998, "B.O. Piłsudski's report... in the years 1903–1905," CWBP vol. 1, pp. 210-211.

⁸² Piłsudski 1998, "Short report ... for the years 1904–1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 685.

⁸³ Presumably, still it must have been the Ai *kotan* where his wife and son, Chuhsamma and Sukezo (born in 1903), lived.

⁸⁴ In Japanese literature it is written Shiraraka/Shiraura, nowadays Vzmor'ye.

⁸⁵ Piłsudski 1998, "B.O. Piłsudski's report... in the years 1903–1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 212.

⁸⁶ Piłsudski 1998, "Short report ... for the years 1904–1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 686.

forget their small knowledge.” Therefore, he persuaded Tarondzi “to agree to work also throughout the current year and keep visiting those who had been taught before and compel them to read, write and calculate to the extent the conditions would allow, and not refuse instructions to those who would wish to start learning.”⁸⁷ Thus, he devised out of necessity a visiting teacher’s method.

Tarondzi agreed to keep visiting the *kotans* of Rure, Naibuchi, Ai, Otosan, Sieraroko whilst Tuycino of Siyantsy (18 years old) took upon himself the task of teaching children at his *kotan*. It was said that Tuycino’s acquaintance, a certain well-educated Russian settler had promised to help him.⁸⁸ Based on the data of payment for both teachers, it is inferable that Tarondzi worked as visiting teacher from mid-December of 1904 to mid-February of 1905 whilst Tuycino taught children at Siyantsy, apart from the same period of two months, also for a certain period in the summer of 1904.⁸⁹ Seemingly, Tuycino started teaching by his own initiative already in the previous summer when Piłsudski was still in the north. It is evident that Piłsudski wished to reward his efforts in the summer by making the payment on December 30, 1904.⁹⁰ Despite these payments, he was not satisfied, however, with processes and results of the classes both teachers had engaged in, featuring them in general: “[A]s it could be expected, they were run extremely incorrectly, slowly, without spirit. Lacking the enthusiasm, tact, and the methodological presentation necessary for educators, my teachers had only one advantage indispensable in the case of a teacher in a school for aboriginal children – **the command of native tongue of the pupils**, the only means of providing any explanation to them.”⁹¹ He was, in fact, a harsh inspector as well as a strict educator.

Piłsudski did not seek any cash donation for this year, though actually he could not have done it since he had been in the north all this while, and therefore the resource fund was simply the one that remained unexpended at the end of the previous year: i.e. 76 roubles 85 kopeks. Out of this sum, 3 roubles 5 kopeks were expended for writing materials on November 25, 1904 and 40 roubles were paid to two teachers on January 20 and February 20 (cf. footnote 89), leaving 33 roubles 8 kopeks unexpended on

⁸⁷ *Ibidem*.

⁸⁸ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, p. 687.

⁸⁹ Piłsudski 1998, “Short report ... for the years 1904–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 690. Tuycino was paid 16 roubles in total (3 r. for summer lessons, 8 r. for the teaching from Dec. 20 to Jan. 20 and 5 r. for the one from Jan. 20 to Feb. 20), whilst Tarondzi received 24 roubles in sum (12 r. each for the teaching from Dec. 20 to Jan. 20 and from Jan. 20 to Feb. 20). Therefore, 40 roubles were expended until Feb. 20 as the payment for the teachers. (*ibid.*)

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*.

⁹¹ Piłsudski 1998, “Short report ... for the years 1904–1905,” CWBP vol. 1, p. 687. Emphasis mine.

February 20, 1905 when the final clearing of accounts was made.⁹² As for the remain, he decided to leave “28 roubles with the Inspector of Settlements⁹³ asking him to pay it to the teachers in case they would continue the classes. I kept 5 roubles 80 kopeks with me wishing to buy for this money some appropriate books or games for the pupils and send them to the children as presents from the school.”⁹⁴

After the final decision was made to abandon Sakhalin, presumably around February 10, Piłsudski particularly visited the inspector (Mr. Verzhbents) as well as the woman teacher from the village of Vladimirovka⁹⁵ A.I. Ivanova, and asked them, respectively, to call upon from time to time and support both the teachers and the pupils.⁹⁶

At the end of his report on the Ainu school for 1904-1905 Piłsudski expresses his sincere desire as follows: “The attempt proved that there are persons wishing to learn to be literate. When the life here returns again to normalcy and peace, this wish will, I am sure, emerge in an even stronger form.”⁹⁷ At the same time, he did not forget to add that a future task of the state was to provide necessary financial means whilst “the Russian society always so responsive to good cause” should be keener on dispatching the people devoted to the cause.⁹⁸

“As for the type of schools that would easily be accepted by the aborigines and will be suitable for them, I have discussed elsewhere (“Draft of rules”).”⁹⁹ This last passage confirms that the given report (dated April 28, 1905) was prepared soon after the Vladivostok manuscript (dated April 12, 1905) had been accomplished. Piłsudski takes note at each time that not only the former but also the latter were written at the village of Rykovskoye but, if based on his own description of the itinerary quoted earlier, only the former was prepared when he was staying at Rykovskoye about a month (April 14 to May 11). At all events his “Draft” was backed by the achievements of his field surveys conducted during the years 1902 - 1905 and, in particular, the results of his attempts to found Ainu schools in Sakhalin.

Actually, Piłsudski did not depart from his ‘base camp’ soon, partly because the

⁹² Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 687, 690.

⁹³ P.P. Verzhbents, the inspector of settlements (*poseleniya*) in the second sector (*uchastok*) of the Korsakovsk *okrug*, who, according to Piłsudski, “always had a positive attitude towards the education of Ainu boys.” (Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 687)

⁹⁴ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁵ This village grew to become the capital town of southern Sakhalin under Japanese rule, Toyohara, and nowadays called Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, the capital of the Sakhalin Oblast.

⁹⁶ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 687.

⁹⁷ Piłsudski 1998, *op. cit.*, pp. 688.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem.*

⁹⁹ *Ibidem.*

departure meant for him the parting with his family, and also partly because he had a great deal of matters to be dealt with before his departure. He was at Korsakov (February 10 - 23), Vladimirovka (Feb. 23 - 26)¹⁰⁰, Siyantsy (Feb. 27 - March 1), Ai (March 1 - 5) and Otosan (March 6). Piłsudski's last day was spent at Otosan where "my shaman friend performed in the evening a special farewell ritual on my behalf."¹⁰¹ On the following day (March 7) he departed northwards on a dog sled. Having arrived at Nayero on March 10, he reached Tikhmenesk on March 12,¹⁰² as mentioned earlier.

Concluding remarks

Scarcely three months elapsed since Piłsudski had submitted his "Draft" to Lyapunov, when the Russian troops on Sakhalin were compelled to capitulate to the Japanese counterpart on July 19, 1905, with general-lieutenant Lyapunov at their head surrendering himself to the Japanese side.¹⁰³ Due to the Portsmouth Treaty concluded on August 23 (September 5 in the Gregorian calendar), Russia ceded the southern half of the Sakhalin Island to Japan. Thereby the Sakhalin Ainu, for whom Piłsudski had prepared his "Draft", came as a whole under Japanese rule. Consequently, the Ainu were unfortunate enough to lose the possibility upon which Piłsudski had predicted in a heartfelt expectation that his "Draft" might be implemented by the Russian people devoted to the "good cause".

By the way, there are at least two implications that Piłsudski tried to disseminate his messages on this "cause" towards contemporary Japanese society when, in 1906, he spent eight months in Japan on his way back to Europe. It has now become evident that he wanted to exert influence, however small it may be, on the Japanese policy for governing the Ainu¹⁰⁴, since southern Sakhalin was already part of Japan then. First,

¹⁰⁰ Here he "dispatched mails and acquired with great difficulty the provisions needed on my journey" (Piłsudski 1998, "B.O. Piłsudski's report... in the years 1903-1905," CWBP vol. 1, p. 215). Most probably it was on this occasion that he met A.I. Ivanova.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² *Ibidem*.

¹⁰³ A.I. Kostanov i L.S. Tvardovsky, *op. cit.*, str. 55; Azusa Oyama, *Nichi-ro sensoh no gunsei shiroku*, p.186-187, Tokyo: Fuyo Shobo, 1973.

¹⁰⁴ Futabatai Shimei, the famous Japanese writer and Piłsudski's close friend, commented on him as follows: "Since he regarded the protection of the Ainu people as the most important duty in his life, he came to Tokyo. But Japanese society treated him so coldly that he seemed to be very much indignant. As for himself, his purse is often empty and he, being poorly dressed, eats what he can, being used to be satisfied with so little. But in spite of it he thinks it necessary to protect such a poor nation as the Ainu by all means." (the original Japanese text appeared in Gennosuke Yokoyama's article entitled: "Shinjin Hasegawa Tatsunosuke," published in 1909, but here its English translation by Kazuhiko Zawada is quoted from: K. Sawada, "Bronisław Piłsudski and Futabatei Shimei," A.F. Majewicz & T. Wicherkiewicz, eds., *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5).

he endeavoured to talk or exchange correspondence with Japanese Ainu specialists: for instance, Shogoro Tsuboi, Ryuzo Torii, Kotora Jimbo, Zen'ichiro Oyabe, Fujihiko Sekiba, Motonaga Murao, etc. Second, he published his 'first' article on the Ainu in Japanese in Japan entitled: "Karafuto Ainu no johtai (The situation of the Sakhalin Ainu)"¹⁰⁵. Although this article appeared in 1906 after his departure from Japan (August 3), he obviously aimed to present the contemporary situation of the Sakhalin Ainu to Japanese readers. By the way, this was nothing but a largely abridged version of the supplement attached to his "Draft" entitled: "Selected information on individual Ainu settlements on the island of Sakhalin" (cf. footnote 24)¹⁰⁶, which was published in a more elaborated and completed form of the Russian original text in Vladivostok in 1907.¹⁰⁷ It is quite probable that he might have preferred to publish "Draft" itself but hesitated, since in Japan nobody had asked him to do so. As Futabatei Shimei told (cf. footnote 104), the Japanese society at large and Ainu specialists in particular kept aloof from Piłsudski's hot arguments.

However, Piłsudski's "Draft" was not completely neglected in Russia. In 1999 at the second international symposium devoted to B. Piłsudski (held at Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk, Russia on October 31 to November 2), the late Professor Yuriy A. Sem made an interesting presentation entitled: "The draft for administration of the Ainu on the Sakhalin Island, prepared by B.O. Piłsudski." In his view almost all of "Draft's" basic articles were used in the elaboration of the rules for governing, not the Ainu but the indigenous peoples of northern Sakhalin, i.e. the Nivkh, Oroch (Uilta) and Tungus (Ewenki).¹⁰⁸ In this connection he enumerates nine points which the governor of northern Sakhalin, Arkadiy M. Valuyev proposed for the above purpose, presumably during the years 1905-1909.¹⁰⁹ True that Piłsudski's basic ideas were reflected in the hierarchic structure of administration, the division of northern Sakhalin into two sectors, western and eastern, the foundation for both sectors of storehouses, the medical

¹⁰⁵ The article was published in a monthly *Sekai* (no. 26, pp. 57-66; no. 27, pp. 42-49, 1906).

¹⁰⁶ Tomasz Wicherkiewicz, "Reading and comparing Bronisław Piłsudski's Russian- and Japanese-language articles on economic life of Sakhalin Ainu," *Linguistic and Oriental Studies from Poznań 2*, pp. 108-110, 1995.

¹⁰⁷ B. Piłsudski, "Kratkiy ocherk ekonomicheskogo byta aynov na o. Sakhaline," *Zapiski Obshchestva izucheniya amurskogo kraya* tom 10, str. 89-116; "Nekotoryya svedeniya ob otdel'nykh aynskikh stoybishchakh na o. Sakhaline," *op. cit.*, str. 117-157, 1907.

¹⁰⁸ Yu.A. Sem, "Proyekt upravleniya aynami o. Sakhalina, sostavlennyy B.O. Piłsudskim," *B.O. Piłsudskiy – issledovatel' narodov Sakhalina...*, t. 1, str. 49.

¹⁰⁹ Since Sem did not give any date of the document he had relied upon (RGIA DV f. 702, op. 1, d. 645, ll. 4-5), we have conjectured its approximate time span from the period of Valuyev's northern Sakhalin governorship. From June 1909 until Oct. 1910 he was governor of the newly introduced Sakhalin Oblast. (A.I. Kostanov & L.S. Tvarovsky, "Voyennyy gubernator (Ob Arkadii Mikhayloviche Valuyeve)," Kostanov, ed., *op. cit.*, str. 57)

care system and the constable station, and the promotion to agriculture. Nevertheless, with regard to autonomy we can barely discover a short phrase: “To organize *inorodchekiye obshchestva* (indigenous associations)”. No other implications are noticeable for either autonomy or self-help. Besides, the proposal to open a grammar school which a particularly appointed missionary team is to take charge of,¹¹⁰ obviously goes against the principle of “Draft” (Article 23). Moreover, it is not very clear if these proposals were actually implemented into action or not.

Meanwhile Latyshev considers that Piłsudski’s ideas developed in his “Draft” are well traceable in the similar draft of 1916 entitled: “Regulations for the indigenes of the Priamur *kray*”, which was prepared in Khabarovsk by the initiative of Priamur Governor-General, Nikolay L. Gondatti.¹¹¹ In her biography of N.L. Gondatti, Nina I. Dubinina details the features of the draft,¹¹² which are more reminiscent of those of Piłsudski’s, particularly, in that both are penetrated with democratic spirit and the sympathy towards indigenes, although she does not refer to any direct relationship between the two drafts. It is a great pity that this draft, too, could not be materialized¹¹³ due to the ensuing revolution as well as the civil war and the intervention by foreign troops thereto.

Therefore, we profoundly regret that the Russo-Japanese War decisively disturbed, amongst others, also the materialization of Piłsudski’s “Draft”, a humanitarian scheme of modernization strategy for the indigenes of Russia, which would be still available for and helpful to the solution of various conflicts taking place yet a great deal in our contemporary world. However, it does not signify that his legacy was completely lost with no traces. The most conspicuous heir of Piłsudski as educator was Tarondzi, called Taroji Sentoku in Japanese, who went on teaching children in the Ainu primary school at Naibuchi under Japanese rule.¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Sem, *op. cit.*, str. 49. See also: Latyshev 2000, “Proyekt Bronislava... str. 37-38; Latyshev 2001, “Proyekt Bronislava... str. 122-123.

¹¹¹ Latyshev 2000, “Proyekt Bronislava... str. 38. According to Sem, who earlier in this regard referred to the draft “Polozheniye ob inorodtsakh Priamurskogo kraya”, the file number of the draft is: TsGIA f. 1291, op. 84. 1915 g., d. 210, l. 4 (Sem, *op. cit.*, str. 50). N.L. Gondatti who was the last Priamur governor-general, has been known as both competent administrator and gifted ethnographer.

¹¹² N.I. Dubinina, *Priamurskiy general-gubernator N.L. Gondatti*, str. 122-125, Khabarovsk, 1997.

¹¹³ Dubinina, *op. cit.*, str. 125

¹¹⁴ Taroji Sentoku, *op. cit.*, p. 2.