RYUKYU

KINGDOM AND PROVINCE BEFORE 1945

GEORGE H. KERR
HOOVER INSTITUTE AND LIBRARY
STANFORD UNIVERSITY

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Issued by
THE PACIFIC SCIENCE BOARD
National Academy of Sciences—National Research Council
Washington, D. C., U. S. A.

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The Author assumes full responsibility for interpretations of fact which may be at variance with traditional or current views held among students of Ryukyuan History in Japan or Okinawa.

It is impossible to record the names of all who contributed in one way or another to the preparation of this historical review. The Author thanks each individual who remembers the hours spent in answering questions, or in field trips to historic sites throughout the islands. On Okinawa, for instance, Professor Shimabukero Zempatsu, Mr. Shiroma Chokyo and Mr. Minamoto Takeo found time in their busy days to give freely of their rich store of information. Men of University age who took an interest in local history included Mr. Kakazu Sunao, Mr. Nakachi Tetsuo, and Mr. Kamemura Toshio, all of whom spent many hours translating chronological tables, and in making arduous exploratory journeys from the Mabuni district in the south to Oku village at the north. Mr. Kabira Choshin and Mr. Kabira Chosei were constantly helpful.

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Preparation of this review of Ryukyuan History was proposed by Brigadier General James M. Lewis, Civil Administrator of the Ryukyu Islands, in January 1952. Funds for the undertaking were made available by the Department of the Army through the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, Washington, D. C.. The Civil Administrator and his principal aides at Naha made it possible, in a most helpful way, for the Author to spend many weeks in travel throughout the Ryukyu Islands, investigating sites which form the background for the events narrated here.

Dr. James T. Watkins, IV., of Stanford University, has added to old debts of friendship incurred by the Author, by reading this record of an area and a people with which he is long and well-acquainted, and by preparing a Foreword for the Japanese edition.

June 15, 1953

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PART III

OKINAWA PROVINCE

FOREWORD

This review of Ryukyuan History was prepared at the request of Brigadier General James M. Lewis, Civil Administrator for the Ryukyu Islands, who desired a text suitable for translation into the Japanese language for use at the University of the Ryukyus.

Many of the details included here are of slight interest to the American reader, but are essential to an account of local history, to be read locally in the Ryukyu Islands. Nevertheless, it must take its place for the time being as the only full-length account of Ryukyuan History available in the English language.

As such it may serve the purposes of the Pacific Science Board and the U. S. Civil Administration at Naha until a properly prepared English language edition may be issued.

The "Note on Chronology" explains some of the complex problems of dating which rise in using Japanese and Chinese sources. The Japanese text will include a complete parallel list of all dates appearing in the text, with their equivalents in other pertinent dating systems.

There is a voluminous literature concerning Ryukyu, written by Japanese or Ryukyuan scholars. Individual works tend to be of specialized interest, and are of course written from either the Ryukyuan or the Japanese viewpoint. Much remains to be done in exploring Chinese references to Ryukyu before 1945. It is hoped that the present work will introudce the Ryukyuan student to the Western literature concerning the islands, and will cultivate in the reader a sense of the "frontier character" of the archipelago, lying as it does between Japan and China, and between Japan and the maritime world of the Pacific.

The Author concludes his study in the belief that the record shows that the people of Ryukyu are much more eager to be recognized and accepted as "Japanese", than the people of Japan are ready or eager to claim them without reservation. In the eighty years since Japan deposed the Ryukyu King and asserted full political control Japan has become vital to Ryukyu in economic and cultural matters. On the other hand, Ryukyu has had importance for Japan only as a territorial frontier in a military sense, and as a quasi-colony the acquisition of which won Japan 19th-century prestige of "face" in her disputes with China. Japan is prepared to use the Ryukyus in any way to gain advantage for Tokyo; it is ill-prepared to make sacrifices for the island people.

Okinawa and its people have sometimes been likened to Texas and the Texans. They are proud of their tradition of former independence, and cherish special cultural characteristics which set them apart and give them self-respect. But like the Texans whose pride and patriotism as citizens of the United States should not be challenged, the people of Ryukyu consider themselves patriotic and true citizens of the larger unit, Japan. The attitude of the sophisticated Japanese of Tokyo toward the farmers and fishermen of Okinawa Province finds its parallel in the attitude of the native New Yorker toward the drawling, ranch-born cowhand on the most distant border ranges. With great reluctance the Okinawan will admit that the record shows Japan's discrimination in economics, politics, and social advantage. Nevertheless, the ties of race, common language, education, political and administrative institutions, and economy were and may be assumed to be permanent.

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Note on Chronology and Comparative Date List

Prior to 1875 records of the Ryukyuan Kingdom were dated according to Chinese usage (nien hao). Japanese records for the same period were customarily dated with the reign names (nengo) of the Japanese Emperors. After 1875 all official Ryukyuan records were expected to conform to Japanese usage, although it took some years for old habits to be abandoned.

Modern Japanese records are not uniformly dated. For example, the year 1926 may be referred to as "Taisho 15", "Showa 1", or "the year 2586", dating from the traditionally accepted year in which the First Emperor Jimmu is said to have established the Imperial House of Japan.

Much work remains to be done to reconcile and adjust the solar and lunar calendars in the naming of months. There are other chronological problems such as the dating of records at the Ryukyuan Office on the Fukien coast which are too specialized for consideration in this text, but must be kept in mind by the careful student of history as he moves from a general survey such as this to the use of source materials.

Use of the Western calendar brings uniformity to the historical record, and like the use of Arabic numerals in Japanese and Chinese texts, it should be used without prejudice.

In the Comparative Date List, which will appear in the Japanese text, certain names and dates appear in parentheses. These do not appear in the body of the text, but are given in the Date List as a guide for reference in comparing Japanese nengo with Chinese nien hao.

PART ONE

THE KINGDOM OF CHUZAN

Chapter I

THE REMOTE PAST

1. The Sea Frontier and Ancient Settlements
2. Surviving Physical Evidence of Prehistoric Life in Ryukyu
3. Early Chinese Notices of the Eastern Sea Islands
4. Did Ryukyu and Japan Share a Common Prehistoric Culture?
5. Origin Myths and Safe Havens in the Sea Islands

NOTE

Ryukyuan names, titles and dates are presented in this mimeographed edition on a tentative basis. Scholars at Tokyo and at Naha and Shuri have not yet reached full agreement on the proper transliteration of names and titles, nor have they established final authority for each of the dates to be found in variant texts. Later editions of this History may be expected to incorporate corrections and changes.

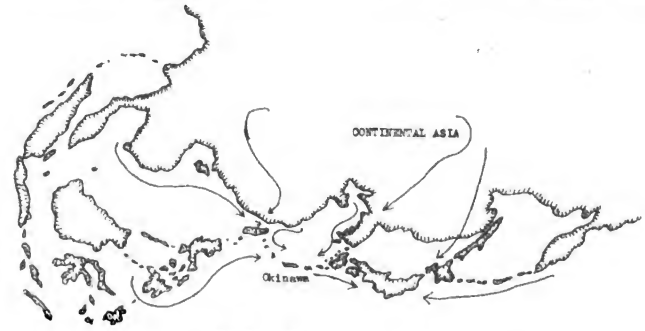

Figure 1. Migration Routes Along the Prehistoric Sea Frontier

Chapter I

THE REMOTE PAST

The Sea Frontier and Ancient Settlements

Good maps give us our first clue to the ancient past in the islands which we now call the Ryukyu archipelago. We can see at once that they are only a small segment of an island chain which lies like a curving barrier between the wide Pacific Ocean and the continental land-mass of Asia. In a sense the islands form a pathway linking tropical Malaysia and the Indies with bleak subarctic wastelands, far to the north. In prehistoric times all these islands were nameless, and were open to any migrant peoples hardy enough to make their way from one to another. (1)

No one knows how long ago primitive men first found his way into the sea-islands, but a glance at the map suggests that there were three main routes along which he may have travelled. A northern element could move down from Siberia by way of the Kamchatka Peninsula, the Kuriles or Saghalin, and through the main islands of Japan. A continental element could make its way down the Korean Peninsula to the Tsushima Straits, and thence along the island-dotted coast of Kyushu toward the northern Ryukyus. A third element could come up from the tropical and subtropical south, moving through the Philippines, and across the Bashi Channel islands to Formosa, or skirting the south China coast before striking across into the Yaeyama and Miyako islands.

Even in primitive times movement along this island pathway was relatively easy, for our maps show us that these rocky islets are closely placed, that they are within sight of one another on clear days, or within sight at any half-way point between. It is not possible to be many hours offshore - even in a primitive canoe - without sighting the blue line of a distant landfall.

There is one exception to this, which has some bearing on history. When passing between the islands of Okinawa and the Miyako group, 200 miles to the south, it is impossible to see land in any direction at the half-way point.

Migration southward to Okinawa from the Korean Peninsula or the Japanese islands must have been relatively easy even with primitive rafts and awkward canoes, for the over-water passages are short. But to move southward willingly from Okinawa toward the empty horizon which must be crossed to reach Miyako or Yaeyama, required planning, courage and fairly seaworthy craft. It required skillful navigation, as well, to counter and overcome the strong, northward sweeping Black Current and to ride out the heavy storm-seas which are common here throughout the year.

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(1) The Ryukyu archipelago includes more than 140 islands and reefs, but only 36 of these play any significant part in local history. The northernmost island lies just off the tip of Kyushu, Japan; the southernmost lies more than 700 miles away, off the tip of Formosa. They are not evenly distributed, but form eleven clusters, sometimes compared to a series of irregular knots in a rope lying in the sea. From this rose the name Okinawa which means literally "Rope in the Offing."

This great Black Current runs like a powerful river in the ocean, moving up past the Philippines, past Formosa, through the Ryukyu Islands and on past the islands of Japan. It may be presumed to have played an important part in the distribution of primitive man among the Ryukyu Islands. Many unhappy boatmen from more southern areas were driven far northward by storm and by the unrelenting current in prehistoric centuries. (2)

We do not yet know how many successive waves of extensive prehistoric migration and settlement took place in ancient Ryukyu. Some prehistoric people came willingly into the sea islands as roaming adventurers, seeking new hunting or fishing sites or new lands to cultivate. Some communities may have moved en masse from the Continent or the northern islands to make way for hostile neighbors who pressed them too hard. We will never know how many individuals fled into the islands seeking escape from enemies, nor how many small groups from the south were shipwrecked on strange shores and though unprepared, were forced to make new settlements.

This process of gradual settlement went on for countless centuries. Until there has been a thorough archeological reconnaissance throughout the islands, however, we will not be able to set an outer limit of time upon the prehistory of man in Ryukyu; nor can we establish its essential details. (3)

The development of Chinese colonies and petty local kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula and in Western Japan effectively blocked off the migration route to Ryukyu from the Continent at least two thousand years ago. Similarly, between the second and the seventh centuries of the Christian era, the emergence of a strong new Yamato State controlling central and western Japan drove many primitive people southward from Kyushu, then effectively blocked off any further mass movements of peoples (such as the Ainu) from the farther northland.

We can make several useful but tentative assumptions concerning the general character of migration and settlement. The ancestors of the Ryukyu people must have been hardy folk to survive a never-ending battle with great typhoons and

(2) These accidents still occur. In May, 1874, three disabled outrigger canoes carrying sixteen Palau islanders drifted past Yaeyama and Yonaguni, and were stranded on Northern Formosa after sixty days at sea and a storm-tossed journey of 1600 miles northward from their usual fishing grounds.

(3) Using recently developed techniques - such as study of radioactivity of carbon found in ancient hearth-sites - an intensive study of prehistory in the Ryukyus should throw much light upon the migration of southern elements through Ryukyu into the islands of Japan proper, and upon the physical or racial relationship of the Ryukyu people and the Japanese. Neglect of Ryukyu archeological problems before 1945 was not entirely accident. In the late 19th century Japanese scholars were preoccupied with problems rising in the home islands. There were no Ryukyuan scholars trained in modern investigative methods. After 1879 it was Government policy at Tokyo to hasten assimilation of the old Ryukyu Kingdom and its people, and to discourage study of local history and prehistory. Nationalist policy frowned on research which brought into question official traditions associated with Japan's "Age of the Gods," the Sun Goddess, her Grandson the First Emperor Jimmu, and his descendants in the Imperial Household.

the high winter seas which are characteristic of these waters. Until the 2nd or 1st centuries B. C. there was probably little to distinguish the level of primitive life throughout the Ryukyu Islands from the level of neolithic life in the islands north and south of the archipelago. About two thousand years ago the accelerated introduction of elements of Chinese civilization via Korea transformed the daily habits and even the language of the Yamato people - the Japanese - and created an active and self-conscious political life centered at the eastern end of the Inland Sea, near present-day Osaka. By the end of the 6th century A. D. Japan had emerged as an organized State, ready to establish formal relations with the Chinese Empire on the Continent. The Yamato people were conscious of the less-developed communities beyond the borders of their authority - the Ainu in Eastern and Northern Japan, the Kumaso and Hayato people in central and southern Kyushu, and the ancestors of the present-day Ryukyuans, living in the islands to the south.

The Ryukyu Islands did not share this early transformation of the Yamato people from a loose association of rival Clans into a formal State with an established government. They remained a shadowy and primitive border region for a much longer time, known at the Japanese capital simply as Nanto, the "Southern Islands."

Surviving Physical Evidence of Prehistoric Life in Ryukyu

Thus far the only physical evidence of ancient settlement in Ryukyu is fragmentary material found principally in scattered shell mounds. There is no certainty that all such mounds and kitchen-middens have been located and mapped; many were destroyed in World War II and its aftermath. No extensive investigations have been made of the great caves found in Ryukyu which, by immemorial tradition, have been used as places of shelter and safety.

Shell mounds have yielded chipped arrowheads, harpoon points of wild boar bone, chipped and polished implements of stone (axes, hoes and hammers), and shell artifacts which are presumed to have served as personal adornment. With these, and with simple decorations applied to their crude pottery, the early inhabitants gratified a primitive aesthetic sense.

We do not know what articles of wood, fibre or hide they may have had, for such materials could not survive the ravages of time. Years of slow and careful investigation must pass before we can establish any basis for relating these earliest settlers to equally primitive inhabitants -- stone-age man -- in Formosa to the south, Japan to the north, or to the neolithic settlers on the Korean Peninsula. The remains of dogs have been found in the refuse heaps of ancient Ryukyuan settlements but no human skeletal remains have been identified with certainty. Until extensive archaeological work is done, it is impossible to know whether these settlements were continuous, or whether there is any link whatsoever between ancient man in Ryukyu, and the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the archipelago.

A careful mapping of artifacts, of religious practices, of myths and traditions, and of local language traits may someday give us a more definite picture of ancient life, and of successive over-layers of influence coming into the islands. Until that is done, it may be fruitful to advance an hypothesis

that the physical distribution of the islands themselves made it possible for an extensive and continuous migration of peoples from the north (from Japan, Korea and the Continent), and that the relative ease of movement of family and community units facilitated the spread of a fairly complex physical culture from that direction. In contrast, movement northward from more southerly regions into Okinawa and beyond, necessarily was subject to greater hazards of storm and difficulties of transport. It is not unreasonable to suppose that immigrants from the south came less often in organized numbers, and with less burden of cultural equipment. This is speculation, but such an hypothesis seems to find support, for instance, in the fact that the artifacts of Jōmon neolithic culture which are found distributed over much of Japan, can be found also as far south as Okinawa, but not beyond. There also survive in contemporary Ryukyu certain culture elements which in Japan or Korea are associated with the mound builders of ancient times. For instance, the use today of the so-called "curved jewels" (magatama) by Ryukyuan priestesses (noro) has its antecedents in widespread use among the shamans of South Manchuria and Korea, where the claws of wild beasts were believed to hold magic powers. Such magatama are found widely associated with neolithic and early historic culture in Japan, where indeed they form the sacred "jewels" of the Imperial regalia. Similarly the ancient "humming-bulb" arrow (nari-kaburaya), which is of Continental rather than Oceanic origin, is known to have been used widely in the very early historic period of Japan. It is known and used commonly today (in facsimile) as an ornament in certain traditional Ryukyuan ceremonies. Ancient arrows of this type formed the most important treasure kept at the Sogenji temple at Naha before 1945.

The basic form of domestic architecture in Ryukyu today, like that of Japan, is essentially a tropical construction, consisting of mat-covered platforms raised well above the ground, roofed with thatch and fairly open on the sides. These and thatched storehouses for communal use have their close counterparts in the dwellings of mountain people in Formosa. In certain well-defined areas of northern Okinawa (and in some other smaller islands) women carry heavy loads by means of a tumpline, or band which fits across the forehead and passes over the shoulders to support weights upon the back. This is common practice among the Tayal people of northern Formosa. By contrast the women of southern Okinawa carry heavy loads upon the top of the head, as the women of Korea are accustomed to do.

Such common features of daily life in contemporary Ryukyu, which suggest early cultural ties with other peoples, are taken at random here to hint at the complex problems which await study by the cultural anthropologist and prehistorian. They suggest clearly that there is no ready answer to the common question "Where did the ancestors of the Ryukyu people come from?" We must turn to early Chinese and Japanese sources for our first notices of the archipelago.

Early Chinese Notices of the Eastern Sea Islands

Certain ancient knife-shaped coins found in a shell-heap at Gusuku-daki, near Naha, give mute evidence that there may have been some contact with the Continent as early as the third century B.C. or shortly thereafter. Coins such as these were manufactured in the North China Kingdom of Yen, which fell in 265 B.C. These may have been brought directly into the islands, although it seems more probable that they were traded along from settlement to settlement across Southern Manchuria, into the Korean peninsula, and southward to Okinawa. Taking a

clue from the presence of these coins in the refuse heaps of ancient Ryukyu, we may briefly notice the character of legends and historic notices scattered through early Chinese records which concern "Islands in the Eastern Sea."

According to the Chan Hai Ching, the Kingdom of Yen is said to have had relations with the Wa people or "dwarfs", living in the islands southeast of Korea, i.e., in the neighborhood of present-day Japan. The Kingdom of Yen itself came to an end in a great revolution which overtook Chinese society in the second century B.C. Chin Shih Huang Ti, First Emperor of a united China, (221-210 B.C.), destroyed the feudal states, dispersed the ancient hereditary aristocracy, and created an administration which for the first time concentrated the physical and human resources of the entire nation. He was a builder, as well as a destroyer, and conceived his projects in a grand manner. Though he is famed for his attempt to burn all records of the past (whereby he intended to "begin history anew"), and for construction work on the Great Wall of China, we are interested here because of several missions he sent out to the Eastern Sea. He wanted the secret of immortality and the recipe for transmuting base metals into gold, and to this end in 219 B.C. sent out a mission said to have included three thousand young men and women, numerous artisans, and a cargo of seeds. With these he hoped to win the cooperation of "Happy Immortals" who lived somewhere in the Eastern Seas. The ships never returned, and in after years the legend grew that the expedition had sailed over to Japan or to the Ryukyu Islands and there made a settlement.

Chin Shih Huang Ti's ambitions and projects set in motion a tremendous revolutionary process in China. Centralization of resources and authority made possible the development of the powerful Han Empire which succeeded him (210 B.C.-220 A.D.). Han Chinese armies marched to the borders of India on the West, established outposts in Indo-China, and created important and powerful settlements at Lakliang, in what is now northern Korea. From these frontier posts, Han embassies and trade missions travelled westward all the way to the Roman frontiers near the Mediterranean, and pushed east and south through Korea to trade with representatives of the Wa people, then in the islands east and southeast of Korea. We have no evidence that Han Chinese missions ever reached the Ryukyu Islands, but we do know that Japanese missions reached the Han capital at Lo-yang, where notes concerning an embassy of 57 A.D. refer to a general practice of tattooing among the people of the "hundred kingdoms" in the eastern islands. Today tattooing survives only among the primitive Ainu living in Hokkaido, among the older generation of Ryukyuan women, and among certain of the mountain communities (notably the Tayal people) of northern Formosa.

The imperial expansion of the Han Chinese disturbed and agitated all the so-called barbarian peoples living beyond Empire frontiers. Military expeditions, diplomatic missions and trading activities created a centrifugal pressure upon weaker border peoples. (4)

(4) In the course of the history of Ryukyu which follows here, we shall encounter evidence of this process again and again. Stated briefly, it is this: whenever a vigorous people reorganizes its political and economic institutions and achieves fresh centralization of its resources, foreign relations -- especially border relations -- are examined and adjusted with new vigor. Small border states cannot escape the influence of sweeping change in greater states nearby. If they accept the demands of the neighboring Power, they survive as satellites. They may seek a protective alliance with another strong state, if a friendly one lies nearby. But even then they may be swallowed up. The history of Ryukyu (and of Korea) provides classic demonstration of this common pattern of human behavior.

The Han Chinese Court inherited and developed old Taoist traditions of magic islands in the Eastern Seas. For a great part of his life the powerful Han Emperor Wu Ti persisted in efforts to send messengers to the three fabled islands of P'eng Lai, Fang Chang, and Ying Chou. Among the deities worshipped at the Court was a "Princess of the Spirits" who spoke through the mouth of a sorceress. It is said that her cult was introduced at the Capital from the north China coastal frontiers. This is consistent with other evidence we have that in the general area of Korea and the islands women exercised great influence as intermediaries between the spirit world and mankind, and as temporal rulers or chieftains, as well.

Han records note that the country of Wa -- (i.e. the islands beyond Korea) -- was divided into more than one hundred independent units, of which more than thirty had established relations with the Chinese settlements in North Korea. (5) Later Chinese records (of the Wei Dynasty) note that during a period of intense civil conflict in the second century A.D., a woman referred to as Pimeku became preeminent in the islands through her influence as a sorceress, and that she sent embassies to Chinese officials in Korea in the years 238 to 247 A.D., seeking allies in her local warfare. Pimeku was described as old, and unmarried. Her death was followed by civil war which terminated only when a girl of thirteen, a relative of Pimeku, was made ruler. Japanese traditions preserved in the Kojiki and Nihongi indicate that female rulers were often encountered in Western and Southern Japan. Indeed, Chinese writers frequently alluded to the islands as the "Queen Country." (6)

Did Ryukyu and Japan Share a Common Prehistoric Culture?

These accounts suggest that until the second century A.D. the inhabitants of Western Japan and of Ryukyu may have had much in common in their political

(5) Do these passages refer to people settled in Ryukyu?

"To the west of Ma-Han [on the Korean peninsula] is an island occupied by a Hoo [Wa] Kingdom. The men are short and small, their heads covered with shevelled hair, wearing leather garments, but only on the upper part of the body. They are fond of rearing oxen and swine, and by means of their vessels they keep up an intercourse with Han, where they find a market for their goods." (p. 78)

"More than four thousand li south of the woman-ruled kingdom [i.e. south of Kyushu or west Honshu] one arrived at the Kingdom of the Dwarfs, where the inhabitants were only three or four feet high" (p. 81).

Translated by Alexander Wylie from Book CXV of the Hou Han Shu, (History of the Later Han Dynasty) compiled in the fifth century A.D. by Fan Ye. "Ethnography of the After Han Dynasty: History of the Eastern Barbarians." Revue de l'Extreme-Orient Vol. I, pp. 52-83, 1882.

This aptly describes the primitive Yami people who survive today on Botel Tobago island, approximately two hundred miles due south of Yaeyama and Miyako.

(6) See Sansom, G. B.: Japan, A Short Cultural History (1943), p. 29. The name Pimeku was derived from an ancient Japanese title Himeko or Sun-daughter, i.e. "Princess."

and social institutions. Politics and religion were closely related. From legendary times until the present day the Noro priestess has exercised a powerful influence in the Ryukyu community. A daughter of the Ryukyu King always assumed the role of the Chief High Priestess. Today the Noro in the country villages continue to function as the guardians of sacred and semi-sacred objects (including the magatama) required in local religious ceremonies, to act as mediums between the spirit world and the common man, and to serve as important counsellors in everyday local affairs.

Though the position of the Noro changed gradually, they remained preeminent in the local community for a thousand years. It was their duty in most ancient times to preserve the fire on the hearth. It can be imagined with what difficulty fire was transported from island to island in primitive days, and what hardship a community suffered if its precious fires were extinguished by accident. It was a communal treasure. In ancient days a daughter in each household was assigned the task of conserving and feeding the flame upon the hearth. In itself it was a living thing, coming down from generation to generation. Because of the importance of her duties, a taboo system grew up about the office of the fire-custodian. She was expected to remain a virgin and was thought to be in close communication with the ancestors from whose care the fire descended. When new households were established, fire was transferred from the family home to the new dwelling. In this way the continuity of the fire came to represent a blood relationship and continuity as well. As the community enlarged, the custodian of the oldest or original hearth-fire assumed preeminence. This was the root-deity (ne-gemi) in the village. The young girls selected to tend the fires in branch households came to be known as okode who were selected independently within the individual family. The custodian of the fire upon the oldest hearth assumed an official distinction. Her office was hereditary, passing usually to a female child of the Noro's brother, and provided for by a plot of land set aside for this purpose. Thank offerings brought by members of the community enlarged her income. Within her house, or near it, three simple hearthstones served as the center of worship. Vestments of white cloth (symbolizing ritual cleanliness) and her string of beads (including the magatama or curved jewels) have been symbols of the Noro's office since prehistoric times. Her duties required care of the hearth fire, worship of the ancestors through ritual devotion, divination to settle upon auspicious or inauspicious days for marriage, burial, travel or the simple tasks of the agricultural community. (7)

In this we have a form of ancient religious practice (shamanism) common to the Ural-Altaic people settled across the Eurasian landmass, from northern Europe to the Pacific shores of Siberia, and down the Korean peninsula. Thus in the realm of religious life there would seem to be evidence of ancient cultural relationships linking the early settlers of Ryukyu with the early Japanese,

(7) The author is indebted to a study entitled "The Noro Priestesses of Loochoo" by Robert Steward Spencer (Transactions Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Vol. VIII, pp. 94-112, December 1931) for invaluable clues to the significance of shrines and rituals observed in 1952 in Okinawa , Iheya, Miyako and Yaeyama islands.

and perhaps with the Continent through southwestern Japan and Korea. (8)

During the period of great agitation which the Chinese noted among the communities of Southwestern Japan, one well-organized military group emerged preeminent in Southern Kyushu, subdued a significant number of its neighbors and gradually pushed eastward along the Inland Sea to the fertile plain of Yamato. There it found a permanent base, and there a new State came into being. Tradition ascribes leadership in this important movement to Jimmu, grandson of the Sun Goddess, makes him first Emperor, and names him direct ancestor of the Japanese Emperors of modern times.

We are concerned with these events only insofar as they may throw light on the early history of Japanese-Ryukyu relations. In Japan, A Short Cultural History, Sir George Sansom has noted the probability that there were large numbers of people in southern Kyushu who had come up into Japan from southeast Asia or the southern islands along the Ryukyu chain, and that some of the fighting forces used in the victorious migration eastward toward Yamato may have been recruited from this southern element in the Kyushu population. There has also been some speculation that during the local warfare which marked the departure of the Yamato expedition from Kyushu, a significant number of defeated people may have fled southward into the Ryukyu Islands in defeat.

Be that as it may, there seems to be considerable evidence that the language of the Ryukyu people in historic times most closely resembles that of the Yamato people before they became literate, that is, before they received an overwhelming quantity of Chinese into their older language forms. The language of the ultra-conservative Imperial Court (and of the Heian period literature which was dominated by it) contains many words and terms which have allied forms kept alive in the everyday language of contemporary Ryukyu. The first approach to the problems of analysis of this early linguistic relationship was made by Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1893, during his tenure as Professor of Philology in the Imperial University at Tokyo. In his Essay in Aid of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Luchuan Language (1895), Hall suggested that Japanese was the language of the latest and most successful of the invaders of Japan, thrusting back and absorbing the language of the aborigines. Many Japanese scholars have addressed themselves to this linguistic problem in recent years, and find in the language of the Ryukyu Islands a useful source for comparative analysis.

Origin Myths and Safe Havens in the Sea Islands

Having reminded ourselves of legends of the Sun Goddess, and of the traditions surrounding the appearance of her grandson Jimmu near the southeast tip of Kyushu Island, let us note briefly some of the so-called "Origin Tales" of Ryukyu. These are examples of the raw material from which scholars may one day reconstruct a reasonably accurate recapitulation of pre-history.

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(8) For Chin and Han interest in the mysterious islands of the Eastern Sea, and for Han expansion and its repercussions down the Korean peninsula toward Japan, see Fitzgerald, C.P.: China, A Short Cultural History, 1938; for early Chinese and Korean notices of conditions in the Japanese islands, see Sansom, G.B.: Japan, A Short Cultural History, 2nd ed., 1943, Chapter II.

Two principal origin myths have been handed down in Ryukyu. They were not reduced to writing until the 17th century, but the first (preserved in the Ryukyu Shinto-ki ca. 1603) is presumably the older. According to this account, at the beginning of time two Deities were in existence, a male Deity named Shineriku and a female, named Amamiku. In due course they built huts side by side. Although they indulged in no sexual intercourse, the female Deity Amamiku became pregnant, thanks to the influence of the passing wind. Three children were born to her. The eldest, a son, became the first Ruler of the islands. The second, a girl, became the first Noro or priestess, and the third, a son, became the first of the common people. Fire, which was essential for their well-being, was obtained "from the Dragon Palace." (9)

There is a universal quality here through which the Okinawans, in their most ancient myths, share beliefs with early man in many parts of the world. They provide for the virgin birth of figures who personify, respectively, the essential social functions of administration, religion, and economic production. The "Dragon Palace" (ryugu) suggests an association with the open ocean, upon whose bottom the Palace was believed to rest, and hints at an ancient memory that fire was successfully and with religious care brought as a treasure from over-seas.

Be that as it may, another version of the Origin Myth was incorporated in the first formal History of Ryukyu, prepared by Sho Jō-ken (Hanji Choshu) in 1650. This is a more elaborate story. Chinese and Japanese elements have crept in, just as the origin myths of Japan, first recorded simply in the Kojiki (712 A.D.) were enlarged with many Chinese elements in the Nihongi written soon thereafter (720 A.D.). According to this second version, after the appearance of the Male and Female Deities, generations of mankind lived in caves and fields until at last there emerged a Heavenly Grandchild (Ten Tei Shi) who had three sons and two daughters. The eldest son became founder of the Tenson Dynasty, the first line of Ryukyu Kings; the second was ancestor of the Lords (the Anji) and the third became the first farmer. The elder daughter became the first High Priestess (Kikoe-ogimi) associated with the Royal Family, and the younger became the first community priestess (Noro).

In this unsubstantial but interesting realm of tradition and folktale, we must note the existence in the Southern Islands (Nanto) of many stories of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu. One repeats the tradition of her descent into a great cave and of her return to bring light to the world after fearful darkness. In Japan this legend is associated with a cave near the Ise Grand Shrines on the Shima Peninsula; in Ryukyu it is associated with a deep hillside cavern overlooking the sea on the eastern shores of Iheya Island. This legend of Ama no Iwa To, perhaps introduced from Japan in later years, is still alive; the place is still held sacred by the local priestesses and the Okinawans have not lost pride in repeating local beliefs that the First Emperor, Jimmu, began his great north-eastward-moving conquest of the Japanese islands from this minor island in the Ryukyus.

The great cave on Iheya Island is also known as the Kumayaa or "Hiding Place", and about it cluster legends that suggest its early and frequent use as a refuge in times of great storms or of threatening enemies. Hundreds of

(9) The legends are related by Shimakura and Majikina: Okinawa Issennenshi, 1901 ed., pp. 27-28.

people could shelter in its depths. The small entrance is high and safe above the pounding surf; nearby are springs seeping down through grassy land toward the shoreline mudflats, and upon these the outgoing tide each day leaves delectable and easily harvested marine food.

Iheya Island has been held in peculiar reverence in the folklore of Okinawa, as if there persisted some dim memory of the arrival and shelter there of prehistoric ancestral people. It is noteworthy, for instance, that until modern times the Noro priestesses of Okinawa Island gathered annually at Nakijin in the Motobu Peninsula, on the tenth day of the eighth month. At a high point in the hills overlooking the channel toward Iheya, they perform a complex and hallowed ceremony during which they pass around the sacred structure of the hearth gods (uranju) three times, chanting prayers and making the motions of rowing over the waters as they go. Similarly, until the 15th century the Lords of Nakijin Castle caused a special place to be constructed from which they could worship facing toward Iheya. It has already been noted that Iheya itself was governed by priestesses until the 19th century, longer than in any other district.

There are other large sheltering caves on the island of Okinawa proper, (and in Miyako), each with a legendary or sacred tradition of use concerning it. All deserve the most careful archeologic investigation for the light they may throw upon successive waves of immigration and periods of settlement. Only one other sacred cave site need be mentioned here. This is the Seifa Utaki, on Chinen Peninsula, a place of worship since the most remote legendary period. Until the 18th century, all Kings of Ryukyu were obliged to visit and worship at Seifa Utaki and the site was held in the greatest popular veneration until recent years. The shrine area itself consists of a number of sheltering caves and overhanging ledges opening to the east and south among towering rock formations. It is located on a high promontory over the sea. All buildings have been destroyed, but the outer and inner precincts can still be traced.

Nearby and below it to the south, are the twin springs Ukinju-Hainju, or "Quiet Water and Running Waters", held sacred as the traditional site of the "first rice plantation" on Okinawa. Two small, clear-running springs supply water from under the hills to an area of level field land surrounded on three sides by steep, sheltering bluffs. The fourth (eastern) side opens away to extensive flats exposed by low tide. A barrier reef offshore protects lagoon-like fishing areas.

Are these the points at which prehistoric immigrants first landed on the islands? We can permit ourselves to imagine the joy and relief with which primitive men and women may have come ashore here over the reefs, to find abundant sea-food, fresh water and good land, and on the hills above a natural shelter from the fearful typhoons which sweep across these waters every year. But until archeologic studies provide us with more certain data, we can do no more than speculate, noting meanwhile on our maps that the Ukinju-Hainju legend of the "first rice", the immemorial shrine of Seifa, the sacred caves of Kin, and the "Hiding Place" of Iheya are all associated with the origin tales and legends of prehistoric times. They are all located on the eastern and south-

eastern shores of the islands, at points most directly washed by the northward-moving Black Current. (10)

Thus we may use supposition and conjecture to relate the sparse evidence of geography, incomplete archeologic research, legend, and scattered early Chinese references to the islands in the Eastern Sea. It is noteworthy that what appears to be the earliest record of a Japanese notice of the Ryukyu Islands is preserved in Chinese accounts, and concerns the first formal Embassy from the Imperial Court of Japan to the Court of China. In a sense "prehistory" ended when the Japanese began to record notices of the archipelago on their southern frontier, though for a long time thereafter the people of Nanto themselves made no records of their own.

(10) We also notice that Japan's official tales of the First Emperor Jimmu and of the Sun Goddess Amaterasu have their point of origin at the southwest tip of Kyushu, near tropical Aoshima, and at Uji-Yamada near the tip of the Shima peninsula. Aoshima is noted for its unusual tropical plant-life which appears to have been washed in from the south and sustained by the warming influence of a strong shoreward-moving branch of the Black Current.

Chapter II

THE SOUTHERN ISLANDS

Chinese and Japanese Notices from the 7th to the 12th Centuries A.D.

The name "Ryukyu" first appears in Chinese annals for the year 605 A.D., and introduces an incident involving envoys from the Japanese Court. (11) The Sui Dynasty had been established only a few years earlier (581 A.D.) by a Chinese general named Yang Chien. After many generations of turmoil China was unified once again in 589 A.D. Drawing on the wide resources now at his command, the Sui Emperor presided over a brilliant court at Lo-yang. Ambassadors, missions and expeditions were sent into the barbarian border countries surrounding China. At the Court itself Taoist priests and magicians were in high favor. The never-ending search for a secret means of transmuting base metals into gold received royal patronage, and the Emperor (like many of his predecessors) was eager to find the greatest secret of all, the secret of immortality.

The tradition of an elusive "Land of Happy Immortals" in the Eastern Seas had persisted since the emperors Chin Shih Huang Ti and Han Wu Ti had sent out their fruitless expeditions eight centuries earlier. In each instance it had not been enough for the Emperor to achieve imperial supremacy, and to rule without rivals; temporal success was incomplete without immortality, the greatest prize of all. The Taoist priests did not hesitate to assure the Emperor that it could be found and to encourage a great search for it.

Orders for an expedition to the "Land of the Happy Immortals" were issued in 605 A.D. A first unsuccessful attempt was made in 607. On the second attempt in the next year, islands referred to as Ryukyu were found in the Eastern

(11) Chinese influences had long since reached the Japanese islands indirectly through Korea. A knowledge of reading, writing, administrative organization, ceremonial, and other arts and crafts of Continental origin had been slowly transforming the living habits of many primitive communities in Honshu and northern Kyushu. Many Chinese refugees from the war-torn mainland are believed to have been migrating to the Japanese islands at this time, by way of the Korean peninsula. Under the leadership of the Suiko Empress and her nephew, Prince Regent Shotoku Taishi, the vigorous but quarrelsome Yamato Clans (uji) were being transformed from a loose association of rival, semi-autonomous Chieftains into a centralized State organization with its headquarters at Nanima near present-day Osaka. In 604 A.D. Shotoku Taishi issued a formal code or series of moral admonitions for the guidance of the ruling classes. Embassies were then sent directly to the Chinese Court to observe the latest methods of administrative organization. By 645 A.D. (the Taika Reform) the authority of a central State had been established, the military and economic resources of the Yamato people concentrated, and a period of expansion begun which was as significant in its day as the Japanese Restoration and expansion of the 19th century. The Ryukyu Islands lay on the frontier between Japan and China, forever afterward to be subject to intermittent pressures, first from one and then the other of the two important neighbors.

Seas, but they were not peopled by Happy Immortals, and were not composed principally of gold and silver, as legend had promised. Nevertheless the Chinese Envoy who commanded the expedition advised the islanders to yield to Sui rule and to acknowledge the Chinese Emperor as their suzerain. They refused, a battle ensued, and many captives - said to have numbered a thousand persons - were taken forcibly to China. The Chinese records note that the invaders were unable to make themselves understood in the islands, for the natives knew no Chinese and the Chinese could not comprehend the language of their captives. (12)

While the Chinese expedition was abroad, Japan's first Ambassador to China (Ono no Imoko) reached the Court at Lo-yang, bringing with him the first mission of official students and "national leaders" to leave Japan for study and observation overseas. In 608 the Chinese explorers returned to the capital from Ryukyu with their captives. Though they had failed to bring back the secret of immortality, they described the distant sea islands, and laid their souvenirs of cloth and weapons before the Emperor. Seeing them, the Japanese envoy exclaimed at once that they must have come from the Southern Island of Yakushima. This gives us a clue that the Japanese Court at Naniwa was in communication with the islands south of Kyushu. The heart of Kyushu had not yet been successfully brought under control, but the waterways of the Inland Sea were open. At that time the Yamato Court maintained a supplemental headquarters (the Dazai-fu) in northern Kyushu (near present-day Hakata) to supervise trade and diplomatic intercourse with the Korean peninsula, and to control administrative outposts in the unconquered mountains of Kyushu.

Japanese records are barren of detailed reference to the Southern Islands and the Kyushu people in their early years, but there is little reason to doubt that the Yamato people adopted the same policies toward frontier peoples to the south as the records show them to have been then adopting toward primitive people - the Ainu - in eastern and northern Honshu. Those who were willing to enter into peaceful relations and to receive gifts and send tribute were rewarded; those who refused to accept Yamato rule were liable to suffer the consequences of military expeditions sent against them. It is not until 698 A.D. that we find a clear indication of Japanese attempts to establish relations with

(12) The records are sparse. We are not certain if the Sui explorers found the Ryukyu Islands of today or whether they had merely crossed the narrow straits to Formosa. For centuries the Chinese referred to all offshore islands south of Japan and including Formosa, as "Ryukyu". See: Akiyama Kenzo: "Review of 'An Account of Ryukyu' in the Zui Dynasty Records" ("Zui-sho Ryukyu Koku den no sai ginmi") in Rekishi Chiri Vol. 54, No. 2, pp. 93-126 (1929).

Haguenauer, C: "A Critique of the Discussion Treating Ryukyu as Taiwan in the Zui Dynasty Records" ("Zui-sho no Ryukyu o Taiwan ni hikaku-sen to suru ichi shiko ni tai suru hihan") in Rekishi Chiri, Vol. 58, No. 5, pp. 19-22 (1931).

Haguenauer, C: "Le Lieou-K'ieou Kouo du Souei Chou etait-il Formose?" in Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise Tome II, No. 3-4, pp. 15-36 (1930). This question was raised in Chinese claims to the islands laid before the American ex-President Ulysses S. Grant in 1879 during the Sino-Japanese sovereignty dispute of 1872-1882.

primitive Nanto people. The Chronicles of Japan (Shoku Nihongi) simply state that in the 4th month of that year (the second year of the Emperor Mommu's reign) a learned courtier named Fumi no Imiki was dispatched to the Southern Islands with seven principal associates. The small expedition was directed to claim these islands and was given arms to carry out its mission. We can assume that the leader had authority to enlist the aid of local government officials along the way, for some sixteen months later it was recorded at Court that "Men from Tanejima, Yakushima, Amami, Tokunoshima and others, accompanied by court officials, came and presented produce from their places. They were given titles and presents, varying in each case. From this time on Tokunoshima began to obey the central government." (13)

Within the month, the presents thus brought in as tribute were offered at the Grand Shrine of the Sun Goddess at Ise and at other shrines, in customary token of this new extension of the Imperial authority. Four months later Fumi no Imiko and his aides returned to Court, to receive rewards and new ranks for their achievements. It thus appears that the first Japanese expedition to Ryukyu of which we have record had relative success where the Chinese invasion, ninety years earlier, had failed. This was only part of a general campaign to subjugate restless and defiant communities (the Hayato people) throughout central and southern Kyushu and the smaller adjacent islands. They resisted the extension of Japanese rule as long as they could, but ultimately were forced to submit to superior arms and organization. A note in the Chronicles indicates that the ancient system of female chieftains continued in effect among them, for it is recorded that in 701 A.D. "The female head of Satsuma, Kumehadzu ... [and other chieftains]... followed by Hi people [inhabitants of Hizen and Higo] using arms, threatened the Imperial envoy Osakabe no Maki and his party, who had come to claim their country. Hereupon the viceroy of Tsukushi was given an Imperial order to punish them according to their misdeeds". (14)

In the following year there is a further record that "[Tanegashima] Satsuma, far away from authority, disobeyed orders. [In this predicament] military [forces] were dispatched to bring them to order. After that, census was taken, officials appointed". (15)

In the Court records thereafter there are brief entries noting the arrival of Southern Island people bearing tribute from time to time: for instance, 232 persons were received at Nara in the year 720, and were "given rank". That is to say, when they had submitted to the Imperial authority, they were assigned their proper place in the elaborate hierarchy of titles and social order by which the Japanese nation was then organized, and with which the Japanese Government has seriously concerned itself throughout history. (16)

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(13) Snellen, J. B.: "Shoku Nihongi", Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Vol. XI, p. 179, December 1934.

(14) Snellen, ibid., p. 184.

(15) Snellen: ibid., p. 202.

(16) We shall see in later pages that the question became one of major importance when the Meiji Government transformed the independent Kingdom of Ryukyu into a Province of Japan in the late 19th century.

The 7th and 8th century chronicles are full of accounts of border warfare and crude diplomacy on the land frontiers, and of the reaction these events had upon policies and government at the capital. It was a hard struggle which further drained the Imperial Japanese Treasury, already overburdened with the cost of building and maintaining new capital cities and great temples at Asuka, Fujiwara and Nara.

Whatever the reasons may have been, it is evident that the period of early, organized Japanese expansion had run its course by the 9th century, when the natural water barriers north of Honshu and south of Kyushu had been reached.

During these years and in subsequent centuries Japanese influence may have been slowly infiltrating communities in the Southern Islands through two processes, one the movement of people from the Home Provinces to lands beyond the frontier as exiles, and the other as arrival in the islands as accidental castaways.

We know that from earliest times it was Japanese custom to send into distant exile any noble or official though dangerous near the Court. Rugged isolated peninsulas and small off-shore islands served this purpose well, and history is full of the exploits of men who, alone or with faithful retainers, were forced to exchange the luxuries of Court life for the hardships of life beyond the frontier. Occasionally criminals, deserters from the conscript army, vagrants and others marked for punishment were transported in fairly large numbers to border settlements. Intermarriage with the local inhabitants was not uncommon, and it must be presumed that the establishment of each frontier settlement carried a civilizing and modifying influence into the more primitive communities around it.

As for castaways, we know that there was a gradual increase in ocean shipping as the Japanese sought direct intercourse with China. Ships were primitive, and the art of navigation undeveloped. It was customary to avoid open stretches of water, to hug the coasts, and to navigate by sighting promontories and islands.

The system of official missions between Japan and China instituted in the year 607 A.D. continued with some irregularity until 894 A.D. when Sugawara Michizane recommended that the Court consider the rigors of the journey too great, and disturbed conditions within China too uncertain, to warrant further voyages. Some of these missions were on a large scale, with as many as five hundred men setting out in four ships to make the crossing. In earlier years the voyage was made by crossing the Straits of Tsushima, coasting up the island-studded waters of the Korean Peninsula and then crossing over to ports on the Shantung Peninsula. In later years the route was more southerly, running down just west of the Ryukyu Islands to the mouth of the Yangtse River. There are some hints that ships occasionally touched at one or another island in the Ryukyus; for instance, it is said that while on his second mission to the Chinese Court (753 A.D.) the great scholar-administrator Kibi no Makibi and his companions went ashore in the Southern Islands. Chisho, a priest-scholar, enroute to

China in 853 A.D. was driven ashore. (17) Disasters were frequent. It is said that not one of the many missions which took the southerly route across the seas was able to return without damage or loss. Since there are well-established records of shipwreck on intermediate islands and on the shores of Kyushu as far south as Satsuma, it must be presumed that some of the castaways remained permanently in the outer islands. The Japanese chronicles contain scattered notices of priests, diplomats, students and craftsmen who never returned from the journey across these stormy waters. The members of such missions were chosen from among the ablest men of the country, hence we may hazard a guess that castaways who continued to live among the Southern Island people may have exercised substantial cultural influence upon them.

When retelling history and traditions in later times, the people of Okinawa refer to these centuries as the period of the Tenson Dynasty and single out one line of local Chieftains as a Royal House. There are in fact no details known of the internal affairs of Ryukyu. With due caution we can assume that there were many petty chieftains scattered among the islands, often quarreling among themselves, sometimes fighting, and occasionally joining together in loose association under the leadership of a paramount Chief. (18)

Ryukyu legends and traditions do not begin to merge with established history in nearby Japan, China, and Korea until the 12th century of the Christian era, when Japan was torn by the rivalries of the Taira and Minamoto Families, and the rise of the Mongols in Inner Asia overthrew the Chinese Sung Dynasty, brought the old Korean Koryo Dynasty under Mongol domination, and threatened seriously to invade and overwhelm both Japan and the Ryukyu Islands. Within this setting of general political and military upheaval throughout northern Asia, the Ryukyu people find their first great hero, a swashbuckling adventurer who is said to have reached Okinawa from Japan in 1166.

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(17) Chisho reported that the island people were cannibals. There is no evidence to support this; he may have been reporting on the ritual burial preparations which required that the bones of the dead be cleansed and washed in liquor during a time of family feasting, or he may have reached the islands during a time of famine.

(18) The tradition of the Tenson Dynasty founded by the Gods and continuing to rule through thousands of years is analogous to the origin stories of many nations. It illustrates common attempts to find a basis of royal authority in "divine right". In Okinawa it was a late invention, an attempt to explain and rationalize the unknown past. It contains elements which parallel both the Chinese and Japanese origin stories. From China it draws the moral interpretation of a Heaven-given mandate to rule through succession in one family, only so long as the Ruler is virtuous. A wicked Ruler deserves to be overthrown, and his family loses the right to the succession. Such was the explanation of the fall of the Tenson Family and of later Families in the royal succession. On the other hand, the Japanese have held to the idea of an unbroken institution of the Kingship within one Family, whatever the virtues or faults of its individual members. As Professor Higaonna Kanjun has pointed out, the Okinawan interpretation is a compromise; although five families ruled successively in Okinawa after the First King, Shunten, they are referred to traditionally as having maintained one sequence in royal authority. Thus, King Sho Tai, who was forced to abdicate in 1878, was counted the thirty-sixth King of Ryukyu, although he was only nineteenth in the family of King Sho En.

The Tametomo Tradition

Detailed traditions of Minamoto Tametomo's arrival in Ryukyu in 1166 were not recorded until four centuries later by a Japanese Buddhist Priest named Taichu, from Kyoto. Shortly thereafter (in 1650) the story was incorporated in Haneji Choshu's History of Chuzan. This became the standard for subsequent accounts. Let us summarize and examine briefly the Tametomo story and traditions of the 250 years thereafter.

Minamoto no Tametomo, an exile from Japan, landed at Unten Harbor in Northern Okinawa in 1165 or 1166 A.D. Soon thereafter he married a daughter of the lord of Osato and became father of a son subsequently known as Shunten. When Tametomo sought to return to his native land he was forced to leave this wife and son behind, whereupon they settled at Urasoe just inland from the herbor where farewells had been said. (19)

In time Tametomo's son displayed the precocious characteristics of his Father's family (the Minamoto), established himself in the trust of the local people, and was chosen to be Lord of Urasoe at the age of 15 years.

It was a time of trouble; local lords (anji) were in revolt against the twenty-fourth and last overlord of the Tenson Dynasty. He was assassinated by one of his retainers, Riyu, who attempted to usurp the supreme authority. Shunten, the young Lord of Urasoe, rallied enough support to destroy Riyu, and was himself acknowledged as supreme Lord among the anji of Okinawa.

He was only 22 years old, and destined to rule for 51 years thereafter. Under his guidance many advances were made in the political, economic and cultural life of the people.

Upon Shunten's death (aged 72, in 1237 A.D.) his eldest son Shumba-Junki became King. During his reign of 11 years further advances were made. A castle was developed at Shuri back of Urasoe, on the heights overlooking the sea. The introduction of writing (the Japanese 47-character kana syllabary) is alleged to have taken place at this time. Changes were made in annual observances of the New Year, and new styles in clothing and hairdress were adopted.

Shumba-Junki's death in 1248 A.D. brought his eldest son Gihon to the throne at the age of 44. Again it was a time of disaster; many typhoons and a drought caused crops to fail. The next year brought famine throughout the island, and in the following year epidemic sickness swept the country. More than half of the population are said to have died.

As King, Gihon accepted responsibility for conditions within the country. A young lord of high rank named Eiso (aged 25 years), was appointed Regent (Sessei) to take over Gihon's duties.

(19) Hence the name Machiminato, or "Waiting Harbor".

Six years later Gihon abdicated, Eiso became King, and his predecessor "withdrew into the forest alone." The time and place of his death are not known.

Eiso governed as Regent from 1253 to 1260, and as King from 1260 until his death at the age of 71 years in 1299. It was a period of great importance in foreign relations as well as in local development.

Economic order was restored. The land was divided anew. A regular taxation system was introduced, whereby levies upon rice-fields and upon households were made to take the place of the earlier practice of levies made as occasion demanded. Controls were extended to other islands, and in the next year the off-lying islands of Kume, Kerama and Iheya began to send in tribute to Okinawa in 1264, and officials were sent up to govern Amami Oshima, halfway between Okinawa and Kyushu, in 1266. To handle this expanded administrative work, a government office was established at Tomari, at the head of an inlet below Shuri Castle.

Sometime between 1265 and 1274, a Buddhist priest named Zenkan arrived as a castaway upon Okinawa. There he settled, introducing Buddhist doctrines and ceremonial for the first time. At the King's direction he built a temple called Gokuraku-ji or Temple of Paradise.

Late in his life (in 1292) Eiso received a message from the Court of Kublai Khan, demanding that Ryukyu submit to the Mongol authority and contribute to the proposed invasion of Japan (via Korea) which was then under preparation. The king rejected the Mongol demands. Four years later they were repeated, and were again rejected. This time the envoys from China made a show of force. They were driven away, but are said to have taken 130 Okinawan captives with them.

Eiso died in 1299 A.D. He was followed in succession by his son King Taisei (1300-1308), and his grandson King Eiji (1309-1313) whose reigns appear to have been uneventful. When Eiso's great grandson Tamagusuku came to the throne at the age of 19, in 1314, there began again a time of trouble and a new era for Okinawa.

Such is the bare outline of traditional history. Without committing ourselves to these traditional dates, we can with considerable profit consider this era in Ryukyu History in the light of external affairs (in China and Japan) for which verifiable data are available. We can also draw certain tentative conclusions concerning the evolution of administrative and cultural affairs within the islands themselves.

With the Tametomo story Okinawa begins to have a history of its own; we emerge from the legendary period to somewhat firmer ground. The story forms an important link between Ryukyu and Japan, both in traditional stories and in modern political disputes which contend that Tametomo was of Imperial Japanese descent through the Minamoto Family, and hence established a Japanese claim upon the islands. We must turn back for a moment to examine the Japanese basis for this claim, and to review Japan's developing relationship with the Southern Islands. There is indirect evidence that the Japanese remained

uncertain of their authority in southern Kyushu long after the Ainu were finally subdued in northern Japan (812 A.D.). Although the garrison at the Dazaifu was reduced to 9000 men in the 9th century, no garrison member on the registers seems to have been recruited from Satsuma, Hyuga or Osumi districts. Development of border regions in northeastern and southwestern Honshu produced hardy men often impatient of controls exercised by the courtiers of Kyoto. The capital and the nearby provinces were relatively overcrowded by the 10th century; the border regions were relatively unpopulated. Over the years it became common practice for the Court to make grants of land-title to Court favorites, who in turn appointed Resident Managers (jito) to oversee distant estates (shoen). Similarly, the titles and income of Governors of provinces were given to men living at the Court, with the actual duties of administration deputized to Acting Governors willing to live in the countryside far from the comfortable capital city.

Since it was the privilege of the Emperor to have many sons by different mothers, the Court at Kyoto was overcrowded with Imperial Princes and Imperial grandsons, each of whom had claim upon the resources of the Government. To meet problems rising from this difficult economic situation, the Emperors from time to time decreed that certain younger sons should be reduced to subject status, and given grants of territory to be managed as private estates. Thus it was that in the 9th century a grandson of the Emperor Kwammu founded the Taira Family with its estates in western Japan, and in the 10th century a grandson of the Emperor Seiwa founded the Minamoto Family with its estates in the eastern districts. Minamoto no Tametomo, the subject of our inquiry, was a member of the fifth generation of this Minamoto Family.

As the Taira Family increased its estates and its power in the outlying border districts, it came to wield ever-greater influence at the Kyoto Court. The founding of the great Satsuma estate (to which Ryukyu in time became subordinate) is an excellent example of the process. About 1030 A.D. a member of the Taira Family was acting as Viceroy in charge of the Government administrative headquarters (Dazaifu) in northern Kyushu. He was joined there by a brother who was an officer of the powerful Police Commissioners (Kebiishi-cho), a punitive organization enlisting the services of warriors fit for harsh action on the frontier. Together the brothers appear to have developed a huge estate in southern Kyushu by using forced labor they were in a position to command. These lands in time became the Shimazu domain. In the customs of the time, the founders of the estate sought patronage at Court by presenting title to the estate to the Regent at Kyoto, who in turn exercised the rights of ownership indirectly through the jito or estate-managers. These managers lived and acted far from the Court, and as Kyoto grew weaker in authority the local managers increased their independence of it. Ultimately the Shimazu domain was extended into Satsuma and Osumi, and became one of the greatest territorial manors in Japan. Throughout its history Satsuma men maintained an uncommon degree of independence from central authority.

Between the years 1156 and 1185 A.D. the Taira Family was supreme in Japan. Their greatest rivals and most bitter enemies were members of Tametomo's family, the Minamoto Clan. Tametomo was a precocious youth, noted for his tremendous stature and strength, and especially for his ability as a bowman. It is said that his powerful right arm was several inches longer than his left, hence he

could draw a bow to much greater advantage than the normal man. If the records are to be believed, he was unruly and turbulent as a small boy, and to get rid of him his father Tameyoshi sent him far away into Kyushu at the age of 13 years (1152). There he immediately stirred up trouble, associating himself with Ata, the Acting Governor of Kyushu, and arrogating to himself the title of "General Superintendent" (Sotsui-tushi). In time he married the daughter of the Acting Governor, but almost immediately thereafter left Kyushu to lead in an attack upon the Taira Family forces at the Capital. He was only seventeen years old when he joined this dispute concerning the Imperial succession. Tametomo was on the losing side. In punishment the sinews of his great bow-arm were cut, and he was banished in 1156 A.D. to the distant islands of Izu. There he is said to have lived until the spring of 1165, when (according to one version of the story) he sought to escape by making his way southward by sea to "Oniga-shima" or "The Island of Devils" which traditionally has been presumed to be Okinawa. He is said moreover to have been aided in his escape from Izu by his father-in-law, Ata, the Acting Governor of Kyushu. Another version says that while sailing among the Izu Islands he was blown far to sea by storm and so by chance drifted into the Ryukyu Islands. (A third account says that he died in Izu, and makes no mention of Ryukyu.)

The impressive young gient (he was then 28 years old) must have been well received in Okinawa, if indeed he reached there, for according to tradition the Lord of Osato in Central Okinawa gave Tametomo his daughter, and by her he had a son within the year. He was eager to get back to the wars in Japan, however, and after one attempt to take his Okinawan wife and son with him, he went alone, back to the small island of Oshima lying in Sagami Bay near Izu. Using it as a base of operations against the mainland, he harried the local lords of Izu. They in turn appealed to the Kyoto Court for aid, and secured an order to move against the turbulent exile. In 1170, it is said, the Vice Governor of Izu attacked Tametomo with overwhelming forces. Recognizing the hopelessness of his situation, Tametomo committed hara-kiri, which may be the first occasion in which this warriors' practice is recorded in Japanese history.

Although evidence to support the Tametomo legend in Okinawa is yet to be forthcoming, there is nothing in the details that are incompatible with the general conditions of that age. Reduced to its simplest statement, we observe that Japanese life was in a state of political turmoil; its repercussions were felt on the southern frontier. The struggle between the Taira and the Minamoto Clans marked the breakup of an old order which had been established in the 7th century. The conflict at the Court, heretofore the center of authority, deeply affected the border regions. Authority itself was shifting to provincial centers. Tametomo's nephew Minamoto Yoritomo destroyed the Taira power in 1186, and removed the center of military government and administration from Kyoto to Kamakura, in Eastern Japan. The defeated Taira fled into the remote mountains, or to offshore islands to escape the ruthless vengeance of the successful Minamoto warriors. There is considerable reason to believe that many Taira adherents fled southward into the Ryukyu Islands. Traditions concerning such a movement are particularly strong in the island of Amami Oshima and in Yaeyama, and are the source of pride there in the 20th century.

The circumstances under which this story of Tametomo was introduced to the History of Chuzan more than 400 years after the alleged events took place, leaves it entirely open to suspicion that the much more likely story of Tametomo's sojourn in Kyushu and his long period of exile in Izu were drawn upon thus late to provide an heroic origin for Shunten, the first King of Ryukyu.

Legends of Shunten, First King of Okinawa

Shunten's life and the fortunes of his dynasty are placed by tradition in a period in which we know that many men of noble lineage in Japan were extremely active on and beyond the frontiers. They were familiar with the luxuries of Kyoto life as well as the hardships of camp and campaign life in the Provinces. The occasional arrival of such men among less sophisticated communities in the Southern Islands can be assumed to have exercised a considerable cumulative influence upon them. That the local Lord of Osato should have honored a newcomer from Japan by offering him a daughter in marriage is wholly in keeping with custom. If the newcomer were a man of prodigious talents such as tradition ascribes to Tametomo, his appearance in a 12th century Okinawan community would indeed be cause for fable and legend in after-years. We must wait upon further evidence to be found in Japanese records to support the details of Tametomo's life during the years of banishment.

In the story of Shunten's life we may have the tradition of an exceptional leader who made substantial progress toward asserting the authority of one local chieftain over others scattered through the islands. It is misleading to attribute full-fledged "kingship" to an Okinawan chieftain in these early centuries, for it is only by degrees that leadership was institutionalized. That is to say, distinctly individual and personal leadership exercised through force of personality, physical strength and political shrewdness, was only slowly replaced by formal institutions of government -- laws and ceremonies -- supported and strengthened by reverence for the office regardless of the person holding it. Tradition has assigned to the 13th century an extraordinary number of important innovations and developments in the political and social life of the Okinawans. The knowledge and use of writing are said to have been introduced, and it is noteworthy that this was not the complicated Sinicised Japanese used at the Kyoto Court nor the pure Chinese introduced at a much later date from China. It was the relatively simple phonetic syllabary in its earliest form, which had been developed in Japan at least four hundred years earlier.

It is interesting to speculate upon the facts which may have given rise to traditions of King Gihon's willingness to abdicate and place the administration in the hands of Eiso. This youth is said to have been a descendant of the chieftains of the Tenson dynasty who had ruled before Gihon's grandfather Shunten became King. Thus, he, like Shunten, was provided with an impressive pedigree reaching back to divine ancestors.

The tradition of a universal time of trouble, of successive years of storm, drought, poor crops and famine, are curiously supported by external and indirect testimony; the Japanese records bear indisputable evidence of a prolonged period of successive natural calamities at about this time. Terrible earthquakes were followed by great fires. Typhoons swept the country, destroying cities and causing devastating floods. There was famine, followed by epidemic sickness which took the lives of tens of thousands of undernourished people. The winters were exceptionally harsh. Across the world Medieval Europe suffered a similar time of trouble; great storms swept the Continent, winters were long and bitter, crops failed, famine haunted the countryside and the Black Plague scourged the walled towns. It appears to have been a period of universal climatic disturbance and human hardship, shared as much by the Okinawans and Japanese in the Eastern Seas, as by the inhabitants of England, France, Denmark

or Germany. (20)

Traditions of Centralization under King Eiso, and their Possible Significance

We have seen that tradition attributes to King Eiso the centralization and development of an economic order which gave new strength to the government at Urasoe. Gihon's administration had not been prepared to cope with the demands of a famine year. Here Okinawan traditional history provides a good example of Arnold Toynbee's thesis of challenge-and-response. Stirred by the terrible loss of life, Gihon's successors reorganized and regularized land distributions and collection of taxes-in-kind. That meant reserves, and reserves meant strength. In the villages of 20th century Ryukyu one may see a community storehouse, usually associated with the village shrine, which in most details bears a strong resemblance to the community storehouses described in the early Japanese records which were established by government order in outlying districts to provide for emergencies. These repositories of grain and of arms, enabled the government to organize and support local levies of men needed in the development of public works and in the extension of authority on the frontiers. It is interesting to note therefore that the extension of Okinawan authority to Amami Oshima at the north and to other nearer islands (Kerama, Iheya, Kume) took place during or shortly after the institution of regular taxation on Okinawa island itself. It is testimony that the government at Urasoe was gaining strength.

The Shimazu Family as "Lords of the Twelve Southern Islands"

Tradition says that a Buddhist priest was cast ashore on Okinawa in the 13th century, and that he was permitted to construct a place of worship. There is a high probability that this tradition is well-founded, for these were years of extraordinary and far-reaching Buddhist missionary activity throughout Japan. Old temples were rebuilt and new ones founded at Nara. Many new ones were built at Kamakura, the seaside town in Eastern Japan in which Tametomo's nephew Minamoto Yoritomo established his new Camp Government (Bakufu). From Kamakura Buddhist missionaries travelled into every part of Japan to spread new doctrines of salvation. These priests were willing to undergo hardship and to travel anywhere. It is therefore not surprising to read of a priest being shipwrecked on Okinawa in this period, and of his willingness to remain there.

While these events were taking place in Okinawa (according to tradition), certain others were taking place in Kyushu which ultimately were to bear upon the fate of Ryukyu. This was the development of the powerful and semi-independent

(20) For a study of the evidences of climatic cycles in Japan, see Nishioka Hideo: Kendan no Rekishi ("History of Temperature") Tokyo, 1949; for a study of climatic changes in relation to world history at this time, see Pettersson, Otto: Climatic Variations in Historic and Prehistoric Times (1912); Brooks, C. E. P.: Climate Through the Ages. (1949); Carson, Rachel: The Sea Around Us. (1951). Great storm damage is recorded in Europe for the periods 1170-1178, 1240-1253, 1267-1292, 1374-1377 and 1393-1404.

domain of the Shimazu Clan in Satsuma. We have already referred to its creation by two brothers in the Taira Clan about 1030 A.D. Tametomo's nephew Yoritomo made himself master of Japan, taking the offices and titles of "Superintendent of the 66 Provinces" in 1190, and "Barbarian-Subduing Generalissimo" (Sei-i-Tai-Shogun) in 1192. One of his many illegitimate sons, named Tadahisa, was adopted into the Koremure Family and in time received appointment as High Constable (Shugo) of Satsuma. Proceeding to his territories in 1196 A.D. Tadahisa soon enlarged it by bringing Osumi and part of Hyuga under his control. He built a castle in Satsuma, and adopted the place-name for his own. His appointments and titles included a reference to him as "Lord of the (Twelve) Southern Islands" though there is nothing in the traditional history of Okinawa to indicate that he made efforts to govern south of Kyushu.

It was customary throughout Japanese history for such titles and honors to be handed on from generation to generation within a great Family, unless forbidden or cancelled by the Emperor's Court or the Shogun. Often the title continued to be used long after the office for which it was created had lost its meaning or substance. In this instance, the title "Lord of the Twelve Southern Islands" when first bestowed (not later than 1187 for Tadahisa) may have been only a reference to the small islands known vaguely to exist southeast of Kyushu. No specific delimitation of territorial authority may have been intended. But as the title was renewed again and again with each succeeding generation (in 1227, for Shimazu Tadatoki; in 1263 for Shimazu Hisatsune; in 1325 for Shimazu Sadahisa, etc.) the development of a government in Ryukyu and the extension of its authority ultimately as far south as Miyako and Yaeyama, meant that the traditional claims of the Shimazu Family came to include all of Ryukyu. It was not until after the invasion of the islands in 1609, however, that the facts matched the title. We shall see in later pages how the grant of a 12th century title became the excuse for Japanese action at that time.

As for relations with China in the 13th century it should be observed that the early references to all islands between Japan (Kyushu) and the Philippines as "Ryukyu" continued through this period, hence the story of 130 natives being carried back to China in 1296 must be received with reserve; they may have been natives of Formosa. (21)

We may conclude that the traditionally accepted history of the Shunten and Eiso dynasties (covering eight reigns in 160 years) contains a mixture of legend based on some fact. Summing up, there appears to have been an increasing intrusion of Japanese influence during the stirring years of Taira-Minamoto rivalry in Japan. Leadership among the petty chieftains or "Kings" of the Southern Island people came to accept the overall leadership of outstanding men (Shunten and Eiso) and their immediate descendants, thus preparing the way for a developed institution of kingship. The terrible hardships of famine, storm and epidemic made it necessary for the people living in the islands to improve their economic life as best they could to meet recurrent crises. This in turn provided the means to extend and support administration in the off-lying islands, and to encourage resistance to Chinese (Mongol) demands for submission. It also probably meant a new degree of comparative luxury for the ruling family. The death

(21) Note that this is the first instance in which an invasion of the Korean corridor-peninsula affected the life of the Ryukyu Islands. It was to occur again in the late 16th century, in the late 19th century and in 1950.

of King Eiji in 1314 brought to the throne his 19 year old son, named Tamagusuku, who was not morally strong enough to maintain intact the heritage of his ancestors. It is to a consideration of his reign, the break-up of the kingdom, and the development of foreign intercourse that we must now turn. (22)

(22) For a collection of excerpts from Chinese texts (the dynastic annals and other sources) concerning the confusion of Ryukyu with Formosa, and the general clarification of this problem in Chinese records, see Schlegel, George: "Problemes Geographiques; Les Peoples Etrangers chez les Historiens Chinois Lieuou-Kieou-Kouo" in T'oung Pao, Vol. VI, pp. 165-214, 1895. Texts in Chinese and French.

Chapter III

THE THREE KINGDOMS

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Chapter III

THE THREE KINGDOMS

Sanzan: Three Rival Lords Bid for China's Recognition

Upon the death of King Eiji (1314), his nineteen-year old son Tamagusuku became King. He is said to have been debauched as a Prince, and as King he found himself unable to command the respect and loyalty of his principal officers. The administration of local affairs fell into confusion. Disputes at Urasoe culminated in open rebellion against the young King's authority.

The Lord of Ozato in the south broke away and called himself King of Nanzan. His headquarters were at a castle built on a bluff approximately two miles inland and southeast of the present-day fishing port of Itoman, and about nine miles south of Urasoe. Little remains today at the castle-site (now occupied by a primary school built within the old walls), but there is physical evidence to support local tradition that an inlet from the sea then reached nearly to the base of the bluff. This provided a harbor for trade and for fishing, while the rolling countryside to the east and south supported food-producing farm villages.

In the north the Lord of Nakijin withdrew his allegiance from Tamagusuku and established himself in the high foothills of the Motobu Peninsula at the north. Territories under his control were much greater in extent than the lands left under either King Tamagusuku or the Lord of Nanzan, but in the territory of Hokuzan wild mountainous terrain and the limited number of farming and fishing settlements between the hills and the seacoast, offset advantages of extended territory. There is an accepted popular view that in earlier days the inhabitants of northern Okinawa were generally a rougher, less sophisticated people. To them the somewhat belittling term "Yambarā" has long been applied. At Nakijin itself a strong castle was erected on an isolated mountain outcropping. Back of it the land fell away steeply and roughly for a short distance, then rose toward the central mountain mass of Motobu. On the east there is a precipitous drop into a stream-filled gorge. On the north and northwest the land drops away only a little less steeply toward the shore and a harbor inlet which at one time reached to the mountain foot. Unten Harbor lies approximately two ri (five and one-half miles) to the east. Enough remains of the old castle keep and its encircling strong defensive walls to give evidence of a relatively high degree of engineering in that age. The Lord's residence occupied the innermost and highest court. Here was a small spring of clear water and a park or garden area. Service buildings and residences for important vassals were at a lower level, but within the walls. The remains of three shrines (uganju) stand at the crest of this eminence, overlooking the port-inlet below, and the channel between Motobu and the Iheya-Izena islands. Much of the stone-work is solid and massive, but it everywhere shows roughness and lack of fine cutting and precision fitting characteristic of castlewalls and residential building in central and southern Okinawa. (23)

(23) For notes, ground plans and four sketches of an Okinawan castle, see Perry's Expedition to Japan, Vol. I, Chap. VIII, pp. 169-171. This is at Nakagusuku, the largest surviving castle ruin, but may be taken as representative of the general plan of medieval castle architecture in Okinawa.

The defection of the Lords of Hokuzan and Nanzan, and the loss of revenue from these areas were serious blows to Tamagusuku's Chuzan government. Local lords in the outer islands were quick to take advantage of Chuzan's weakened authority and ceased sending tribute to Urasoe.

Further difficulties rose when King Tamagusuku died in the third month of 1336, leaving a child of ten years to succeed him as King Sei-i. Then followed a course of events which has been common to many courts in many parts of the world; the young King's mother meddled in government affairs, abused her privileges and position of authority, and further alienated popular support for her son.

About this time (1337), a man named Satto rose to the governorship of Urasoe, the local district in which the Court of Chuzan was situated. The King's authority extended very little beyond Urasoe, to embrace only Shuri, Naha and adjacent villages. Upon the young King's death (1349) Satto made himself King. Tradition says that he enjoyed widespread popular support. We can assume that he was a vigorous and far-sighted man with a talent for effective leadership, for by the time of his death nearly a half-century later, he had brought about fundamental changes in the pattern of Okinawan life.

We now move into consideration of a period of rapid development in the economic and cultural life of Ryukyu, for it was in King Satto's reign that Chuzan assumed a tributary relationship with China that was to endure for more than five hundred years. For nearly a century Okinawa itself was divided into three small principalities, each competing with the others for recognition by China. The development of formal relations with Korea, China, and Japan, the introduction of Chinese administrative forms modified to meet Ryukyuan needs, and the expansion of trade as far south as the East Indies (Java, Sumatra and Malacca) are perhaps the three most significant features of the era.

External Relations and Okinawa's Position in the Chinese Tribute System

Conditions of formal subordination to China now developed which were to become a basic cause of Sino-Japanese dispute in the 19th century, and to give rise to both Chinese Nationalist and Chinese Communist claims to Ryukyu in the years following World War II. To understand them we must glance once again at circumstances in nearby Japan, Korea and China insofar as they exercised influence upon the history of Okinawa.

It is a matter of record that after the rigors of the 11th and 12th centuries a period of milder climate set in everywhere in the northern hemisphere. Records of the 14th and 15th centuries bring evidence of more favorable conditions for development of seaborne trade and exploration. Within Central Asia the organization of the Mongol Empire broke up, while under the Ming Dynasty which succeeded it (1368-1644) China's land trade dwindled over the long caravan routes through Inner Asia. Transport by sea largely took its place in foreign commerce, and was based principally upon the ports of Kwangtung and Fukien provinces. In these same years the Japanese and the Koreans began to develop far-ranging trade, for they too, of course, shared in the benefits of a milder climate and calmer seas.

A shift in the distribution of power in Japan had important though indirect consequence for Ryukyu. Ashikaga Takauji (a Minomoto descendant) removed the seat of military government from Kamakura to the Muromachi ward of Kyoto City in 1336. The Imperial House had been divided by factionalism, and for nearly 60 years thereafter two Emperors and two Imperial Courts existed in bitter rivalry, each supported by a coalition of quarreling feudal barons. Although the Ashikaga Shoguns maintained a fiction of supremacy at Kyoto for many years, their scattered family estates were steadily diminished. Other great barons felt strong enough to take advantage of the weakened central administration, and often defied it with impunity. We are interested in two effects of this process. The Ashikaga Shoguns maintained a show of authority by giving or withholding territorial titles among the barons long after Kyoto lost its power to enter upon the territories of their vassals. To create new titles was flattering, but to cancel or withhold an old title created ill-will. Thus successive Ashikaga Shoguns renewed the old title "Governor of the Twelve Southern Islands" by conferring it upon successive generations of the Shimazu Family. In this way a Shimazu claim to authority in Ryukyu was kept alive which in fact was exercised by neither the Ashikaga Shoguns nor the Lords of Satsuma. The second effect of a diminishing territorial authority at Kyoto was to make it impossible for the Shoguns to control the activities of Japanese pirates who worked out of local ports in southern and western Japan. Loss of internal revenues which could not be collected by force caused the Shogun to pay more attention to promotion of overseas trade with China.

Turning to 14th century Korea for a moment, we discover that the peninsula was harassed by Japanese pirates from the south and east, and by raiding Continental enemies from north of the Yalu River. An invasion in 1361 marked the beginning of the end of the old Koryo dynasty. In 1392 General Yi T'ae-jo established a new government and a new dynasty with which Okinawa was to carry on a luxury trade for many years.

In 14th century China changes were taking place that were to effect the entire Far East and have some repercussions in the Western World as well. Cruelty, corruption and extravagance at the Mongol Court provoked country-wide rebellions in 1348, which continued until the last Great Khan had been driven out of Peking in 1368. The Ming Dynasty was founded by a Chinese who had been born a poor peasant, had become a Buddhist monk, a beggar and a bandit leader, by turns. But as a bandit he was shrewd, and held the cities he captured until, in 1356, he took Nanking.

Then followed years of campaigning against rival Chinese rebels, and against the Mongol government. The new Emperor ruled for thirty years (1368-1398), during which there was a new centralization of China's resources. Order was restored within the country, and all bordering "barbarian states" were expected to submit and acknowledge China's supremacy.

As soon as he was firmly on the throne, the Ming Emperor Hung Wu Ti sent envoys to neighboring states, calling upon them to submit to him. The first envoy sent to Ryukyu reached Chuzan in 1372, to announce Hung Wu Ti's accession and to invite King Satto to send a mission in return, signifying Chuzan's recognition of Imperial Chinese supremacy. The invitation was accepted, and in 1374 the King's younger brother Taiki went over to Nanking with suitable

attendants and a gift of many kinds of produce. This was a congratulatory occasion. Formality required that the Chinese Emperor confer elaborate gifts upon the visitors, and upon their return to Okinawa, a high-ranking Chinese officer accompanied them, with gifts of books, textiles, ceramics and ironware for the King and his Court. The envoy from China carried with him documents and a seal, to be delivered to King Satto as a symbol of investiture, confirming him in offices which he had assumed without Chinese help and had long held through his own abilities. Members of the Chinese envoy's mission were allowed to carry with them goods to be disposed of in private trade.

Thus in 1372 there was instituted a relationship between the Court of China and the Ryukyu Islands which was both political and economic in character. Within the next ten years King Satto's brother, Prince Taiki, made three further trips to the Chinese capital bearing goods (tribute) which included local textiles, sulphur (from Tori-shima) and 40 horses. These last were valued so highly that the Chinese (in 1376) sent an important officer for the special purpose of buying horses and sulphur. The Okinawans were already engaged in a wide-ranging trade throughout the Eastern Seas, but from official commerce with China they could hope to gain great political prestige as well as considerable economic profit. This was of course well known to the Lords of Hokuzan and Nanzan, and they too sought to open relations with the Ming Court by sending tribute gifts across to the continent in 1383. In the political sense the Kingdom of Chuzan took its place on a basis of equality with many other "barbarian countries" willing to send missions to the Ming Court on Chinese terms. With Ryukyu, Korea, Annam, Champa (Vietnam), Cambodia, Siam and Tibet, China's tribute relations remained formal and constant until the 19th century, but the number of tributary states recorded in Chinese annals fluctuated according to political and economic conditions in the subject countries, or along the routes leading from them into China.

Thus within the century following Satto's acceptance of a tributary relationship on behalf of Chuzan, we learn that more than fifty tributary states sent missions to the Chinese court over the southern sea-routes alone. Java, Malacca, Ceylon and Burma continued with some regularity to comply with Chinese formality as "tribute states", but embassies from Persia, the Cormandel Coast of India, and other distant points were irregular. (24)

China's claims to the Ryukyus in the 20th century are no greater and no less than her claims to Korea, Burma, Annam, Cambodia or Siam. They grew out of a traditional Chinese world-view which admitted no other nation or people to be equal. Ancient China has been called a "cultural island in a sea of barbarians", for the Chinese had developed a settled culture of their own in the Yellow River Basin of North China at least 3500 years before the Ming Emperor Hung Wu sent envoys to King Satto of Chuzan in Okinawa. China was then surrounded by less cultured people. The barbarians of the north and west were roving nomads of the steppe country. The barbarians of the south and east were primitive peoples living in the forests and hills of Yunan and Kwangtung. Any barbarians who wished to become civilized and share the benefits of Chinese culture could do so by bringing tribute from their country and paying ceremonial reverence to the Emperor. In Chinese theory he was the Son of Heaven, endowed with all the virtues, and burdened with the duty of acting as mediator between the supernatural forces of the universe and all mankind. If

(24) For data on the tributary system (including records of tribute from Okinawa) and a discussion see Teng, S. Y. & J. K. Fairbank: "On the Ching Tributary System," Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, Vol. 6, No. 2, June 1941, pp. 135-246.

barbarians would voluntarily submit, he would bestow on them rich gifts, representative of China's cultural superiority. They could learn from China; China had little or nothing to learn from them.

The great difference in cultural levels between the Chinese and the people on China's borders was in fact a true difference through the first two thousand years of Chinese history, for there was no direct intercourse with, or knowledge of, any of the other great cultural centers of the world, such as India, Egypt, Greece or Rome. By the time trade with the Roman Orient and with India did begin in Han times (220 B.C. - 221 A.D.) Chinese attitudes toward non-Chinese peoples and cultures were fairly definite; they have remained virtually unchanged into the 20th century.

Although the Chinese Emperors could recognize no equals, they were prepared to recognize that even among the barbarians there were kings, and to these kings the Chinese emperors condescended to grant patents of authority. These usually took the form of an engraved seal, bestowed on the king at the time of his first submission. Thereafter the seal was handed down from generation to generation. Upon the death of a "barbarian" king his successor was expected to notify the Emperor of China of that fact and to ask for investiture in the succession.

There were a number of associated relationships and activities. Upon the death of an Emperor of China his successor sent envoys to the Tribute States to notify them. They in turn were expected to send missions to the Chinese capital to convey expressions of condolence, and at the same time to offer messages of congratulation to the new ruler. Occasionally other reasons were found for the exchange of official envoys, such as missions to bear congratulations upon the birth of an heir, or the assumption of office by a Crown Prince or Heir Apparent.

Upon all these occasions it was the duty of Tributary States to send gifts which the Board of Ceremonies stipulated must be the produce of the Tributary country. In Ryukyu's case, we shall see, an exception seems to have been made; since it had no important resources of its own, it was allowed to present rare goods from other lands as well. It was equally the duty of the Chinese Emperor to manifest his benevolence and the greatness of Chinese culture by sending back rich gifts to the King and Court of the tributary state, and to bestow valuable rewards upon the envoys.

Rules governing the whole procedure were most exact. When a tribute mission reached the borders of China Proper, it was entertained at the Chinese Government's expense while within the country. A special official came down from the Capital to conduct the visiting envoys to the Court. Conversely, when China's envoys visited a tributary state to confer investiture, the latter bore the expense, and conferred gifts upon the visiting Chinese. Usually there were two, a Chief Envoy and a Vice Chief, to sustain the mission if death or accident overtook the Chief while on his journey. The number of men in each mission was prescribed rigidly by the Chinese Court Regulations, which specified how many visitors from each tributary state could advance to the Imperial Court and how many must remain at the border place of entry. For Ryukyu it was stipulated that not more than 300 men could come to the border

station, while only 20 could proceed overland to the capital. Since anywhere from six months to two years might elapse in carrying through one of these arduous journeys, it is obvious that tribute missions were a great burden upon the treasury of a small state unless the value of China's gifts and profit from the trade carried on at the border stations exceeded the cost of tributary gifts and entertainment. (25)

The tribute system regulated both trade and diplomacy. For the one it provided a minutely regulated hierarchy of relationships between the Chinese Capital and foreign governments and people. Occasions for the exchange of envoys permitted the Chinese to make a display of ceremony on a scale which was virtually certain to impress foreign visitors deeply. Limitations placed on the size of an envoy's suite meant that he and his party were dwarfed by the scale of setting in which congratulatory missions were received. It is not difficult to understand the effect upon an Envoy from Chuzan in Okinawa, for instance, being escorted to the enormous city gates of Nanking and through walls that stretched for more than twenty miles around the new Ming palaces and city. Out of this relationship the governing class in Ryukyu developed an awed respect for China's size and power which persisted into the early years of the 20th century. China's envoys, on the other hand, going out to the "barbarian states" upon the occasion of investiture of a new ruler, had opportunities to report on conditions within bordering countries and upon the character of a new ruler or new government.

In the section concerning Tributary Ritual preserved in the Collected Ceremonies of the Ming Dynasty (Ta Ming Chi-li) we discover an indirect commentary upon the position assigned to Ryukyu in the tributary system. Although a new edition was prepared in each reign, Chuzan's position is found to have remained constant throughout the Ming and Ch'ing periods (i.e. from 1368 onwards) with only minor changes. It is noteworthy that the Ryukyuans were not considered Chinese people and that the management of Ryukyu-Chinese relations did not come under the Colonial Affairs Department, but under the Reception Department (Chu Kê Szê) of the Board of Ceremonies. The list of "unconquered barbarian countries" preserved in the official records included the following: Korea, Japan, Great and Small Ryukyu (i.e. Chuzan and Formosa), Annam, Cambodia, Siam, Champa (Vietnam), Samudra, the Western Ocean people (Hsi-yang), Java, Pahang, Paihua, Palembang and Brunei (in Borneo). The dates given for the establishment of nominal tributary relationships show that Ryukyu was first among these (in 1372), and was expected to send tribute every two years in addition to the irregular missions concerned with royal investitures and congratulatory occasions. Korea, Annam and Champa (Vietnam)

(25) The Chinese Court was prepared to receive gifts from small organizations such as Tibetan monasteries, Buddhist temples, the hill tribes of Yunnan, and independent merchant caravans as well as from highly organized states and courts. All gifts from non-Chinese barbarians were automatically accepted as tribute. In Chinese records of later years England, Holland, Spain, Portugal, the Papal States at Rome, France and Ryukyu were all classified as states tribute to China's Emperor.

established relations with the Ming Court in the next year. (26)

Only Ryukyu and Korea remained constant in this relationship throughout succeeding centuries. For Ryukyu the very life of a small kingdom came to depend upon successful management of international commerce and the maintenance of a neutral trading position.

If Chuzan had observed the Ming trading regulations to the letter of the law, only one mission consisting of three ships should have been sent across every second year, with certain stipulated exceptions. The official records show a fairly close adherence to this rule throughout succeeding centuries. There is evidence, however, of a vastly greater trade carried on in Chinese ports in connivance with local officials whose indulgence could be bought. Excuses were found, for instance, to send extra ships to greet Chinese envoys, or to escort them upon their return to China, each ship carrying goods for private trade. The recognized official Tribute Missions carried two kinds of goods with them, "tributary goods" and "supplementary goods." The tributary articles were forwarded to the Chinese Court in the name of the king of Chuzan, and after suitable presents had been distributed, the goods were offered for sale at prices stipulated by the Chinese Court. These prices were usually considerably higher than prevailing market prices. Horses, sulphur and textiles (produce of Ryukyu) were normal tribute articles. On these goods the Ryukyu Court could realize a profit. Furthermore, the value of the Chinese Emperor's gifts to the King of Ryukyu and to his envoys (according to their rank) usually more than offset the cost of the gifts which the tributary mission was required to offer to the Chinese.

"Supplementary goods" included the goods which the envoys and members of their suite were allowed to carry with them for private sale. Theoretically these, too, were limited in quantity, but in fact the kind and quantity of goods seem to have been determined by the Okinawan's ability to capitalize the venture, and their opportunity to arrange successfully for its transport to the Imperial City. Goods carried into the Chinese port of entry to be disposed of to local Chinese buyers formed the genuine foundation of the "tributary" system. Upon this foundation was erected the structure of elaborate ceremonial visits to the Emperor's Court.

According to the Ming regulations (altered slightly from time to time), Chuzan's three ships were each to be manned by no more than 100 persons. Upon

(26) The Ming Emperor sent embassies inviting Japan to submit to tributary relationship in 1368. Their road was blocked at Hakata, in Kyushu, by barons unfriendly to the Ashikaga Shoguns, and four years passed before they could present their credentials to the Shogun Yoshimitsu. An answer was delayed for thirty years, when at last (perhaps attracted by the prospect of a rich overseas trade profit to supplement diminishing local revenues) the Shogun sent a merchant and a priest of the Tenryuji Temple to the new Chinese capital at Peking. These envoys accepted condescending letters (addressed to Yoshimitsu as "king of Japan") and a succession of rich gifts. Yoshimitsu conceived an immense admiration for Ming China, and upon occasion wore Ming robes, rode in Ming palanquins and had Chinese servants about him. This subordination angered many Japanese. Yoshimitsu's successor Yoshimochi broke off the relationship abruptly, and it was resumed years later only sporadically, on a commercial basis.

arriving at the port of entry (usually Chuang-chow, or Fu-chow, in Fukien), inventories of goods were checked and preparations were made for the long overland trip to the capital. From 1402 until 1873 all missions went to Peking. Since only 20 men were allowed to go up to the Emperor's Court, 280 men settled down in quarters assigned to them at the port to await the return of the King'e envoys many months later. Although this large number of sailors, merchants and clerks were restricted to the port-city and its immediate suburbs, the importance of this cultural contact with China cannot be overlooked. It meant that plebian Okinawans became thoroughly familiar with every-day town life in a Chinese city, and upon their return to Okinawa they were in a position to introduce many Chinese artifacts, manners and customs to the townsmen of Naha and Shuri. Furthermore, they were not alone among foreigners at the Chinese trading port; there they spent months in association with traders and seamen from Korea and from ports throughout Southeast Asia. (27)

While the ordinary members of the mission remained under surveillance at the port, the Chief Envoy, the Vice-Chief and their eighteen compenions (secretaries and personal servants) went over rigidly prescribed routes to the capital, escorted by a large suite of Chinese officials. All expenses of the round-trip were defrayed by the Chinese Government. At the capital the Okinawans were lodged in a special Residence set aside for the entertainment of foreign ambassadors.

The formula for entertainment at the Court required the presentation of gifts (local products of Ryukyu) at the Imperial Audience Hall, at the palace of the Empress and at the palace of the Heir-Apparent. These lofty persons then caused banquets to be given in honor of the Ryukyuans at the Tributary Mission Residence. Valuable gifts were bestowed on the envoys and their companions. An opportunity was provided for the display and sale of the Tribute goods and the supplementary trading articles in their baggage.

In the course of this it was necessary for the Ryukyuan envoys to perform the ceremonial worship of the Emperor (the k'o-t'ou) required of all tributary rulers and ministers of the highest rank. This consisted of an elaborate ritual of bowing three times and prostrating the body nine times in succession. (28)

(27) Europeans who first visited Chuang-Chow in the 19th century noted the presence of a large Ryukyuan settlement in the suburbs, noted the ceremonial coming and going of Ryukyu's envoys and observed that the reception and dispatch of tributary missions was in the hands of the local Superintendent of River Police. The presence of many Ryukyuan tombs - including the tombs of a number of envoys - was taken to indicate a substantial, permanent Ryukyuan community.

(28) European envoys refused to perform this ceremony, and so made it extremely difficult to establish useful Western diplomatic relations with the Chinese Court in later years. European envoys were personal representatives of their sovereigns, and expected to approach the Chinese Emperor as an equal, not as a subject. It was not until 1873 that a satisfactory compromise was reached, when the Emperor held an "informal" reception in a minor building in the Palace Gardens. (For a summary of Chinese and Western references, see Yano Jinichi: Shina Kindai Gaikoku Kankei Kenkyu, pp. 151-180, Kyoto 1928).

To perform correctly, foreign visitors were required to accept instruction in Palace etiquette, and in this the Ryukyuan envoys earned a high reputation among the exacting Chinese officials. (29)

Upon their withdrawal from the capital enroute to Okinawa once again, the envoys were accompanied by a high-ranking Chinese Court official. When they had rejoined their large party waiting at the port, trading affairs were concluded, cargoes loaded, and after a last ceremonial leave-taking (the elaborate k'o-t'ou performed while facing in the direction of the distant Court) the Ryukyuan Mission embarked for Okinawa.

It can be seen from this account that while the sailors and merchants idling in the port were learning something of every-day Chinese life, the envoys themselves were in a position to observe (if not to take part in) the life of the Chinese Court and its splendors. The impressions carried back to Okinawa therefore became known and influential at two levels of Ryukyu life - the life of the gentry and officials of the Chuzan Court, and the life of the common people in Naha and Shuri. When we recall that this formal relationship was maintained steadily through exactly 504 years, we gain a better understanding of events in the 19th century, and of the impressions gained by Europeans and Americans who first attempted to open relations with the Ryukyu Kingdom. These are described at greater length in Chapter IX. (30)

When the Chinese Court sent representatives to Ryukyu (or to other foreign courts) to confer investiture, their itinerary, clothing and conduct were prescribed to minute detail. Korea took precedence over Ryukyu in ceremonial at the Chinese Court, and Chinese envoys to Korea were men of the third rank or higher whereas envoys to Ryukyu (and to Annam) were of the fifth rank or below, chosen from among members of the Board of Ceremonies, the Censorate or the Hanlin Academy. For the purposes of their journey, however, they were allowed an "assimilated first rank". That is to say, the Emperor conferred on his envoys the robes and equipment appropriate to men of the first rank, and their ceremonial was of the first order, but upon their return to Peking from Ryukyu or Annam, they turned in their magnificent robes and reverted to their permanent status.

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(29) This was in marked contrast to the behavior of the Japanese who upon occasion were received at the capital; official relations were resumed briefly in the 15th century, and the diary of Buddhist priest Inho, a tributary envoy in 1451, records a serious incident in which Japanese refused to be tutored in ceremonial, desiring instead to get on directly with the business of trading for which they had come. See Takekoshi Yosoburo: The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, Vol. I, pp. 225 et. seq.

(30) We will anticipate here only to note that, to the Westerners who first visited Okinawa, Shuri and Naha showed a much greater degree of Chinese influence than other parts of the island, and this led to many confused beliefs and reports concerning the origin and allegiance of the Ryukyuan people. Westerners were unanimous, too, in commenting upon (and suffering irritation from) the successful manner in which the Okinawan Court insisted in placing every foreigner ashore under close surveillance at all times. They did not know that throughout five hundred years this had been the Okinawan's own experience when visiting China. To officials in the Ryukyu government, it was the normal and expected treatment of foreign visitors, both in China and Japan.

It is clear that the Chinese Court developed the ceremonies and usages of the tributary system for political purposes as well as for commercial advantage. As mediator between Heaven and Earth, the Emperor was considered to be at the apex of human society. In the Chinese world-view the Emperor had no equal among other rulers, nor did China and Chinese culture have equals in other lands. The Tributary system was devised therefore to establish a workable formal relationship between the Chinese and non-Chinese people. It is not difficult to imagine that the envoys from Ryukyu were impressed by the vast extent of the Chinese countryside through which they passed enroute to Nanking or Peking, and that they were awed by the grandeur of the capital cities and the ceremonial of the great palaces. Confucius had said that a great ruler (meaning of course a Chinese ruler) was like the Pole-Star about which all other stars revolved. This simile was used often in Chinese history, and in reference to this in later years, the envoys of Ryukyu, Korea, and Annam, (as well as of England, France, Russia and the United States,) were received in the Tzu-Kuang Ko or "Hall of the Effulgent Pole-Star," the Foreign Envoy Audience Chamber.

In accepting the tributary relationship, King Satto brought the Court of Chuzan - and hence the gentry throughout the island - under direct Chinese cultural influence. The Chinese did not need to make a show of arms to secure acceptance of subordination, and so long as the Okinawans fulfilled the ceremonial obligations required of them, there was no attempt on China's part to interfere in any way with Chuzan's internal administration. It was to prove a highly satisfactory relationship for the people of Chuzan, lasting as it did for five centuries. It was implied that China would protect them; they received the benefits of a flourishing trade, and the gifts of a highly polished civilization, and they were (despite all this) free to govern themselves as they wished. Although the quantity and periodicity of trade which flourished under this political relationship varied from period to period, the formal bonds endured without change.

Okinawa: A Trading Base Linking China, Japan and Korea with the East Indies

Turning back to our review of Okinawa's internal history, we discover that the Lord of Nanzan (who called himself King) was not slow to profit by Chuzan's example; in 1383 he, too, began to send envoys to the Chinese Court, and received China's permission to send over one ship in each tribute period.

As if to remind the Okinawans of their attachment also to Japan, a Japanese Buddhist missionary-priest named Raicho about 1367 founded Gokaku Temple on the bluffs (at Naminoue) overlooking the entrance to Tomari Inlet and Naha Harbor, and the King bestowed his patronage on it.

In 1389 for the first time we find a record of official communication between the Court of Chuzan (King Satto) and the Korean Court. Okinawan envoys carried with them to Korea presents of rare woods, pepper, and other items which were not indigenous products of Ryukyu. These appear to have come from the East Indies or Indo-China, and were evidence that Ryukyuan seamen even then boldly sailed to far distant places in search of a luxury trade. Miyako and Yaeyama became way-stations; and King Satto's prestige was great enough to

cause the local Lords in these outlying southern islands to send up envoys and tribute to Chuzan (1390). Other off-lying islands such as Kume-jima resumed former subordinate relationships. (1391).

There now began a quarter-century of accelerated change on Okinawa, and in Okinawa's relations with the outside world. In the absence of specific data we must infer that the Chinese Court was impressed by the wide-ranging activities of Ryukyuan mariners. Although by this time Chinese emigrant communities had begun to develop throughout Southeast Asia and the Indies, the Chinese themselves were not notably active as seafarers; there was a coastal trade in Chinese junks, but adventurous open-ocean voyaging over long distances was not common. Foreign trade was brought to China's ports in foreign ships, and the Chinese were ready to encourage this pattern of economic activity. The Annamese, the Koreans, the Japanese and the Okinawans were the only border people on the sea frontiers conversant with the Chinese language. Neither the Annamese nor the Koreans were wide-ranging seafarers; the Japanese were pirates rather than traders in China waters, and were feared all along the China coast. Moreover, with the exception of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu, Japanese barons admitted no allegiance to the Chinese Court and their men were unruly and arrogant merchants at the port cities.

Circumstances surrounding the development of a Chinese trading base on off-shore Okinawa suggest that it was not accident but carefully calculated policy. In the Okinawans the Chinese were to find excellent middlemen. On the Okinawan side, Chinese favor and assistance was praised, and recorded as a demonstration of "Imperial Benevolence." Scrutiny of Chinese administrative records may show a basis in more realistic consideration. (31)

These were the years in which an influential faction at the Ming Court was promoting and organizing the first of seven great expeditions which sailed as far as Arabia. Hundreds of ships and many thousands of men were involved; vast treasure was expended. These provide circumstantial evidence that many men in the Chinese bureaucracy were giving thought to the problems of foreign trade and to the presence abroad of permanent overseas Chinese trading communities.

Okinawa presented itself as a likely place for a profitable trading base. However condescending the Chinese might be toward these tributary barbarians, they may have recognized in Satto's envoys, and in Satto himself, qualities worthy of exploitation. Chinese envoys were instructed to make reports on internal conditions within the island.

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(31) Sir George Sansom summarizes this period of China's overseas activities in "The Asiatic Trade" Chap. 7, pp. 134-151, The Western World and Japan noting that the records concerning the origin of Cheng Ho's seven great voyages (1405-1433) were suppressed and presumably destroyed. For detailed discussion of Japan's tributary and trade relations (always unsatisfactory to the Chinese) see Takakoshi Yosoburo: The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, Vol. I, Chap, XVII, "Foreign Trade in the Ashikaga Epoch," pp. 211-229.

The Founding of Kume-mura, a Chinese Immigrant Community

In 1392 the Ming Government sent over a large number of Chinese families to settle at the trading base on Okinawa. They are referred to in traditional history as "The Thirty-six Families" but this must not be taken as a literal, numerical description. They came from the Fukien coastal region, where it is customary to use the phrase "The Thirty-six Families" in the sense of "representative of all the local people." The immigrants settled near the chief anchorage for trading ships. The land assigned to them was tax-free. The Chuzan Government allotted a rice-stipend for the whole community, based on the number of adult males fifteen or more years of age. They were given social privileges at the Court, and enjoyed great prestige and special position among the common people. From the Chinese point of view it was expected they would "civilize" the Okinawan barbarians. From the Okinawan point of view they were looked on with admiration; they were the "modern people" of their day in Okinawa, and represented the great cultural world of which many Ryukyu leaders were eager to learn. They taught the Chinese written language, and assumed many official and quasi-official clerical duties in connection with exchange of communication and trade with China. Of the Chinese customs introduced at this time, many became so assimilated and blended with local tradition and custom as to be virtually indistinguishable today, but the origins of some remain even now traditionally associated with the founding of the village which came to be known as Kume-mura. One of these for instance is the haryu-sen or Dragon Boat Race which is one of the great popular festivals of South China, now held annually in many villages throughout Ryukyu.

The founding of Kume-mura may be said to mark a great moment in Ryukyu history; thenceforth into modern times the very name "Kume-mura" carried with it connotations of alien blood. It suggested distinction in scholarship and association with matters of foreign trade and diplomacy, just as "residence" in Shuri suggested association with government and with the aristocracy. (32)

Cultural Relations with China, Korea and Japan

Ties with China were strengthened rapidly. In 1392 both Chuzan and Nanzan sent scholarship students to China, as Japan had done seven hundred years earlier. In later years these were often sons of the Kume-mura immigrants as

(32) In 1907, C. P. Leavenworth took his Chinese interpreter into Kume-mura upon being assured that he could find scholarly descendants of the "Thirty-six Families." He reports (in his History of Loochoo, p. 42) that he found persons proudly claiming Kume-mura Chinese descent, but otherwise undistinguishable from other Okinawans in literary accomplishments, physical characteristics or social life.

One cannot refrain from noting earlier and later parallels in cultural and political history. The Japanese had received alien Korean and Chinese settlers on similar terms in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries, giving them high honors, but barring them, as aliens, from certain levels of the social and official hierarchy. The position of the privileged Foreign (European) Settlements in 19th century Japan offers other parallels.

well as young princes and sons of the highest officials, selected for their individual capacity as well as for their rank. It was the beginning of a practice that was to last into the 19th century. They were the elite of Okinawa, through whom the ruling gentry were always kept aware of China's size and strength, and were ultimately to provide opposition to Japan's assimilation policies after 1872. (33)

King Satto now strengthened the new relationship with China by selecting an Okinawan well-known to the Ming Court, to receive the title of O-sho, literally "King's assistant". Personal rule was not yet a thing of the past, but this foreshadowed its end, and the substitution of the system of King's ministers who could govern in the King's name. First to fill this important new post was Iratu, Satto's envoy to the Ming Court in the years 1383, 1386, 1391, 1394 and 1395.

In 1392 an Okinawan ship had been wrecked on the China coast. As a gesture of interest in Chuzan's shipping, the Ming Court not only sent back the stranded mariners but offered the services of a Chinese shipbuilder and navigator to instruct Ryukyuans in what the Chinese believed to be the latest and soundest principles of shipbuilding.

King Satto died in 1395 at the age of seventy-five years. He was succeeded by his eldest son Bunei, aged 41. The development of political, commercial and intellectual relations with China did not diminish. Envoys and students went abroad in that same year, and in the next a special headquarters for the Chinese diplomatic and commercial missions was founded at the port. There were two principal buildings, the Residence (Tenshi-kan) built for the ceremonial reception and entertainment of Chinese envoys of high rank, and the Trading Center (Oyamise). Special warehouses were established to handle incoming and outgoing trading goods.

Increased prosperity and activity in Chuzan intensified rivalries of the northern and southern princes. The old Lord of Hokuzan died a few months after King Satto, in Chuzan. Satto had enjoyed the honors of investiture from the Ming Court; now it was necessary to petition for the investiture of a new King in Okinawa. In 1396 and 1397 all three principalities sent tribute to the Ming Court, each vying with the other to secure the coveted investiture. Haniji, the new lord of Hokuzan, sought to be recognized as King of all the Ryukyu Islands. Envoys were sent to Korea for a similar purpose. It was a situation breeding trouble as well as opportunity, and was further complicated by the death of the Lord of Nanzan in 1398. He was succeeded by his brother Yafuso in the midst of confusion and rivalries at the Nanzan Court. He too appealed to China for recognition and investiture.

At Nanking decisions concerning investiture had to be put off for some years, for China itself was torn by war and rebellion. Chuzan's trading relations with China, so carefully nurtured by King Satto, were interrupted. By

(33) The institution and the curriculum of the Kuo Tzu K'an (Kokushi-kan) or school at Peking attended by foreign students - including the students from Ryukyu - may be worthy of careful study in developing an understanding of Ryukyu's political and social position in Far Eastern history.

coincidence, Chu Yuan-chang, founder and First Emperor of the Ming dynasty, also died in 1398, after a reign of thirty years. China also suffered from succession disputes. Nanking fell (in 1402), the young Emperor Hui Ti fled before rebels. His uncle made himself Emperor, known in history as Yung Lo. When Ryukyu was able to send envoys again, the capital had been removed to Peking, and the vast palaces and government buildings of the Imperial City were under construction.

It was not until 1404 that a formal investiture mission was received on Okinawa from the new government in China, and King Satto's son Bunei was confirmed as King of Chuzan. He had meanwhile sent missions to Korea and to Japan, and trade flourished as far south as Siam and Java.

Despite the tensions built up by rivalry among the three Okinawan principalities and by the succession quarrels within them, this was a period of active cultural development for Ryukyu. Okinawa was in a position to draw upon her neighbors in periods of great creative cultural activity. A new dynasty in Korea (founded in 1392) was just then moving into a period of brilliant achievement; while the new administration was being organized according to proper Confucian principles, a new capital city (Seoul) was being built, a new phonetic alphabet was being perfected, movable metal type was being developed, encyclopedias and histories were being written, and ceramic techniques of a high order were being perfected. King Bunei and his successors sent missions up to Korea to study as well as to trade, and it is to Korea that Okinawa owed certain developments in Buddhism. Buddhist texts, ceremonies and ritual furniture were introduced and possibly some influence was felt in architecture. As a gesture of friendliness, the King of Chuzan ordered that all shipwrecked or stranded Koreans should be taken back to Korea, including those who escaped from servitude under the Japanese pirates then roving in adjacent seas.

All three Okinawan principalities sent missions to Korea in 1397, but only Chuzan appears to have had formal relations with the Court of the Ashikaga Shoguns at Kyoto (1403). It is said that certain (Japanese) Shinto practices were introduced to the Southern Islands about this time and that they became quite popular. In 1409 an official embassy was dispatched to Siam.

With the examples of Japan, Korea and China now so near at hand, with the elaboration of government offices, and with the spread of literacy, it is not surprising to discover that the Ryukyu leaders ordered the preparation of their own Royal Annals. The first volume of a "Treasury of the Royal Succession" (Rekidai Hoan) was issued in 1403. This series of records was destined to be maintained faithfully until 1619.

Meanwhile political changes were underway that were to alter the succession, unify Okinawa once again, and make of the Ryukyu Islands a trading base known throughout maritime Asia.

Chapter IV

THE GREAT DAYS OF CHUZAN

1. Unification of the Sanzan under Sho Hashi
2. Beginning of Troubled Relations with Japan
3. Trading Throughout Far Eastern Seas, From Japan and Korea to Sumatra
4. Meeting the Western World: Okinawans and Portuguese at Malacca in 1511
5. Cultural Prosperity and Political Confusion on Okinawa
6. The "Second Sho Dynasty" Established under Sho En and Sho Shin
7. Sho Shin's Reign and its Aftermath: The Great Days of Chuzan

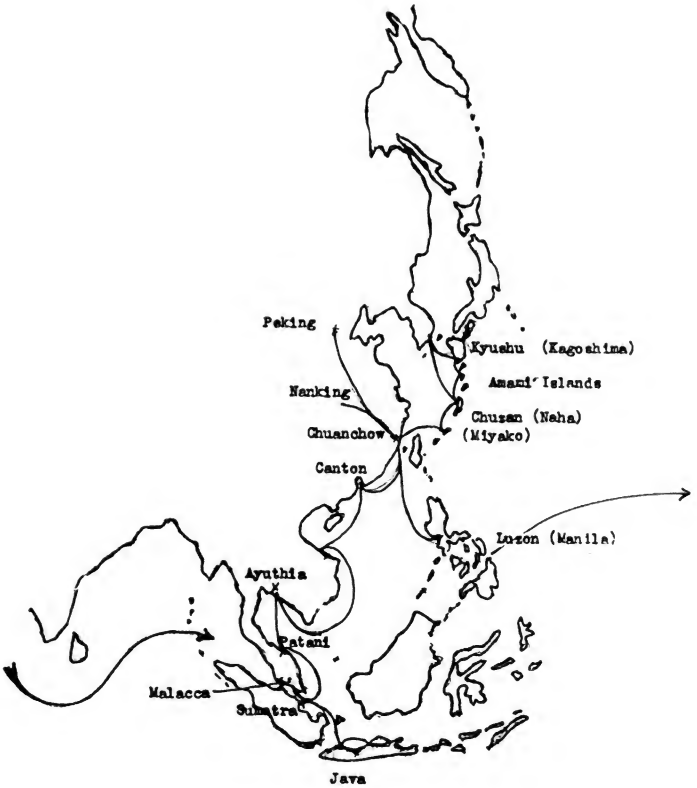

Figure 2. Trading Routes in the Great Days of Chusan

Trade from Mediterranean Europe, the Middle East, and India passed through the Straits of Malacca and northward along the coast to Canton and Chuanchow, China. Manila Galleon trade with New Spain (Mexico) established after 1565.

Chapter IV

THE GREAT DAYS OF CHUZAN

Unification of the Sanzan under Sho Hashi

Within the space of three years the three petty Kings of Okinawa were dead, and each of the three castle-courts was shaken and torn by factional disputes. Bunei succeeded his father King Satto in 1395, but eleven years passed before an investiture mission came from China to confirm him in his title. While he waited at Chuzan, an ambitious, shrewd and far-sighted young man named Hashi had begun to rise in local prominence. Taking advantage of the general uneasiness and unrest which marked the change in rulers, Hashi rallied considerable popular support to himself and in 1402 brought about the downfall of a local chieftain, the Lord of Ozato District. Five years later he raised a wider rebellion among the people, drove King Bunei from Urasoe, and placed his own father on the throne at Chuzan under the name Sho Shi-sho.

King Bunei simply vanished from history. Tradition says that no one knows where he died, but one may speculate that it would be extremely difficult for a royal person to survive long without detection within the narrow boundaries of Chuzan. He may have escaped overseas to some remote island hiding place, or he may have been done away with by Sho Hashi's partisans, and the act concealed. (34)

Hashi had placed himself in a delicate position vis-a-vis the Chinese Court, if it took seriously its own claims to authority among the Tributary States. Immediately after he received investiture Bunei had been forcibly overthrown by Hashi. The Chinese envoys had scarcely had time to return to make a report to the Emperor Hung Wu. Both Nanzan and Hokuzan had been bidding for Chinese recognition as overlords in Okinawa, and their claims (as well as their tribute gifts) were well known at the Chinese Court. Since the Chinese Emperor himself had only recently seized power by overthrowing his predecessor, he was not in a position to be critical of Hashi, and Hashi, on his part, shrewdly did two things well-calculated to win approbation in China.

He did not assume royal authority for himself, but proclaimed his father to be King of Chuzan, and he accompanied this act of filial piety by a wide reorganization of the administration after Chinese precedents. Such a demonstration of filial piety met the highest standards of the Confucian moral code by which the Chinese professed to live. And since, then as now, imitation was the sincerest form of flattery, he appealed strongly to Chinese self-esteem by adopting as much as he could of China's political and cultural institutions. The new King (Sho Shi sho) immediately sent envoys to Peking to ask for investiture. A second mission was sent in the next year, and at last the Ming Court responded favorably.

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(34) By coincidence the young Chinese Emperor Hui Ti had been driven from Nanking two years earlier, and had vanished. He was presumed dead until he was discovered thirty-six years later, living in disguise as a monk.

Chinese Court administrative organization had to be severely modified to fit conditions on Okinawa, but the essentials of the court hierarchy, rank, badges of honor and Boards of administrative supervision were adopted. (35)

The next few years were full of activity. Shuri Castle was enlarged and became the seat of administration. Students were sent to Korea to study. It is said that many places of worship were constructed in Chuzan, and that both Chuzan and its rivals Nanzan and Hokuzan continued to vie with one another in sending students to Peking at government expense. Despite the outbreak of serious quarrelling over the succession dispute at Nanzan, Taromai, Lord of Nanzan, at last received the coveted writ of investiture from the Ming Court in 1415. Peking thus committed itself to recognition of two Kings on Okinawa.

Hashi was at this time organizing and carrying through a military campaign against the Lord of Hokuzan. His repeated attacks upon the fiercely defended Motobu peninsula stronghold were at last successful. The Lord of Hokuzan and his principal vassals were killed and the Hokuzan Castle overrun. Hashi was aided by the Lords of Urasoe, Goeku, Yontanzan (Gosamaru), Nago, Haneji and Kunigami. The last three of these appear to have been disaffected vassals of Hokuzan, whose districts blocked off Motobu peninsula from the main land mass of Okinawa. Thus was brought to an end the independence of northern Okinawa after ninety-one years. The region was not easily subdued nor easily controlled for many years thereafter. Special garrisons had to be stationed at the north; descendents of the Hokuzan gentry were not admitted to residence at Shuri for many years. The "Tombs of the Hundred Faithful Retainers" (Momojana) are preserved today on the bluffs overlooking the harbor at Unten, while in the Motobu countryside many families cherish traditions (and a few physical mementoes) of their ancestors' service in and near the Northern Castle.

The Lords of Hokuzan had constituted an ever-present military threat on the northern borders of Chuzan, but they had not been serious rivals in a political or cultural sense. Only nine missions made the long journey to China from Hokuzan Castle in the 14th century as compared to fifty-two from Chuzan and eighteen from Nanzan in the same period. No students from the north and only four students from the south undertook the arduous training required of them in language and the Classics in China. Chuzan by contrast, sent twenty young men abroad in what can only be called an early "National leader" program. On the southern borders of Chuzan - almost within sight of Shuri Castle - the Nanzan Court offered political rivalry, but apparently was not thought to be a serious military threat to Chuzan's welfare. For whatever reason, Hashi did not attempt to overthrow the Nanzan princes until 1429. He applied his energies instead to an intensive cultivation of overseas trade and to the development of both Shuri and Naha.

(35) If we seek a Japanese parallel, we find it in the Taika Reforms of 645 A.D., after which the forms and the titles, though not the substance, persisted until 1868.

Hashi sent missions regularly to China and to Korea in the name of King Sho Shi-sho, his father. In 1419 he dispatched one of his highest associates on a mission to the King of Siam, and to Java. There had been a misunderstanding concerning trading arrangements at Ayuthia, the Siamese capital. The Okinawans wanted freedom to sell their goods to private merchants; officials of the King of Siam insisted on a royal or government monopoly. Envoy Kakinohana undertook to restore good relations, and the King of Siam in turn sent a formal mission up to Shuri. (36)

Sho Shi-sho, the nominal King, died in 1421 at the age of sixty-seven years. Hashi (then fifty-one years of age) succeeded his father, and in the following year sent envoys to secure his writ of investiture from the Chinese Court. His younger brother Sho Chu was appointed Warden of Hokuzan, thus ensuring allegiance in that quarter.

Hashi was a builder and an innovator. Distance markers were set out on the high roads. (37). New buildings (the Tenshi-kan) were erected at Naha for the reception and entertainment of the Chinese envoys. The Tempi Shrine for ancestors was erected in Kumemura, the center for Chinese studies and ceremonial. A mission from Japan is said to have introduced some new plants and artifacts.

In 1425, four years after he became King in fact, Hashi received formal investiture from the Ming Court, but in that year both the Chinese Emperor Yung Lo and his successor, Hung Hsi, died. A boy of eight, Hsuan Te, became Emperor. In the following year Hashi sent his experienced envoy Kakinohana to Peking with the delicate task of carrying thanks for his own investiture, congratulations upon the accession of a new Emperor, and condolences for the deaths of his predecessors.

Apparently the mission was carried off with notable success, for the Emperor of China condescended to send back to Hashi a tablet inscribed with the characters for "Chuzan" upon it, and in the next year gifts of lacquer and of embroidered official robes. (38)

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(36) A letter dated 1425 (1st year of Hung-hsi, or Oei 32 from Hashi to the King of Siam referred to trade and tribute exchanged under former kings Satto, Bunei and Sho Shisho. This was thought to be the oldest surviving document in the Ryukyu archives before 1945.

(37) Since there were no wheeled vehicles in use, the roads were simply lanes wide enough for palanquin bearers and ordinary foot traffic.

(38) "Dragon robes" used in Ming diplomacy were of two kinds; five clawed dragon designs were reserved for robes worn by the Emperor and Imperial Princes, whereas the mang dragons, having only four claws, were conferred on nobles and lesser officials. The Mongols had established this usage. Ryukyu may have been the first of the foreign rulers to receive them from Ming, though subsequently they were sent as far as Java (1452) and Arabia (1519). Bolts of mang dragon cloth were sent to Holland and Portugal (17th century) and to the Pope at Rome (1725). The last gifts sent abroad were to Ryukyu, in 1874 (after Japan had begun to take over), to the King of Annam in 1877 (after the French had taken over) and to the King of Korea in 1886. Ryukyu and Korea are the only Courts in which Ming robes were actually worn. A Chinese history of Ryukyu written in 1774 notes that the Kings of Ryukyu wore the dragon robes only when receiving envoys from China.

See: Cammann, Schuyler: China's Dragon Robes pp. 157-158.

The King had been developing the castle at Shuri, on its commending site overlooking the landing places at Tomari and the harbor of Naha, and here on the road leading into the castle, he erected (in 1423) a great gate in which the Emperor's gift, the "Chuzan Tablet", could be hung. In the next year (1429) Hashi turned on his southern rival, overthrew the Lord of Nanzan (Taromi) and established a unified rule over the three districts of Okinawa. Henceforth the local district names Hokuzan and Nanzan survived in some usage, but the whole kingdom came to be referred to commonly as Chuzan, and was so known until the middle of the 19th century. In recognition and praise of Hashi's achievement in uniting all of Okinawa under his rule, the Chinese Emperor conferred on the ruling family the name Sho and on Hashi the title King of Ryukyu (Liu Ch'iu Wang).

The Beginning of Troubled Relations with Japan

In the missions exchanged in this year (1432) Hashi was called upon to play a delicate role in reestablishing formal relations between the Chinese Court and the Court of the Japanese Shogun, Ashikaga Yoshinori. Concessions were necessary on both sides. The Ashikaga had made it clear that they did not consider themselves vassals of the Ming Emperor, but they needed the profits that trade with China would bring. The Chinese, on the other hand, were suffering great loss at the hands of Japanese pirates who intercepted Chinese shipping on the high seas and boldly raided Chinese ports and coastal towns. An appeal to Yoshimochi, the fourth Ashikaga Shogun, had been fruitless; bona fide Japanese traders who were impatient of the Tributary formalities in China had hinted that unless they were permitted to trade freely, piracy might increase. A solution was found by creating a direct tribute relationship between the Ming Court and the great Zen Temple, Tenryuji, in Kyoto. The Ming Court enjoyed the privilege of appointing a Chief Priest for the temple administration (in this instance, Doen, one of Japan's envoys of 1432), while in turn the Ashikaga Shogun granted the temple a virtual monopoly of the legitimate China trade. This trading privilege the temple administration soon began to farm out by selling permits to prosperous merchants, barons and other temples. Thus official trade with China was carried in vessels sailing as "tribute ships" under Tenryuji licenses. Among the great Lords who shared in these enterprises was Shimazu, Lord of Satsuma.

Chuzan seems to have been in fairly regular communication with Kyoto in these years. Gifts sent up to the Shogun were recorded at his Court as "tribute" in terms suggesting vassalage on the part of the King of Ryukyu, but there was not even the nominal ritual of an investiture nor any Japanese attempt to interfere with the internal administration of Chuzan. Nevertheless, generation after generation of the Shimazu Family continued to receive from the Shogun the formal title "Lord of the Twelve Southern Islands." The Shimazu, on their part, did nothing to give substance to the claim.

Nothing of special note appears in the records of seven Okinawa missions sent up to Japan between 1403 and 1448. Messages for the Ashikaga Shogun's court were sometimes written in kana, Japan's phonetic system. Medicinal herbs, lacquer-ware and coins were mentioned among the gifts and trading goods sent up.

No definite date can be fixed to mark the change that now began to take place in Ryukyu-Japanese relations. It can be attributed, however, to the change in political and economic affairs within the Japanese islands themselves. Japan was approaching a long dark period in which the country bordered on anarchy. The Imperial Court was powerless and poverty-stricken. The Ashikaga Shoguns found their authority successfully challenged in all parts of the country, and their land revenues reduced drastically as a consequence. Nevertheless the Shogun Yoshimasa lived in a state of extraordinary luxury, even through years of terrible and general civil war (the Onin no ren).

Because of these internal conditions, the Shogun's Court became increasingly dependent upon the profits of foreign trade. But by the same token they became increasingly unable to curb the activities of Japanese pirates, based in small ports belonging to feudal barons who held the Shogunate and the Shogun's orders in light regard. Japanese pirates ravaged the coasts of Korea and China, sacked such important cities as Ningpo and Yangchow, and ultimately forced the Ming Court to order all Chinese ports closed to Japanese ships. As legitimate trade dwindled, the Shogun's government, the independent barons and the merchants of Japan began to look for alternatives. It is here that Okinawa began to pay the price for neutrality, prosperity and military weakness.

Trouble to come was foreshadowed in 1450 when the powerful baron Hosokawa Katsumoto, Lord of a great part of Shikoku Island, intercepted and seized a Ryukyuan vessel bearing cargo into Hyogo for Kyoto. This is an early sign of rivalry for control of the Ryukyu trade (and ultimately of Ryukyu itself) which was to culminate in the Satsuma Expedition in 1609.

Some Okinawans went up to Japan as private traders, some as envoys from the Chuzan Court. Despite repeated seizure of cargo enroute to Kyoto, Ryukyu missions continued to carry luxury goods to the Ashikaga Court, and in 1458 the Shogun Yoshimasa deigned to grant a personal interview with envoys sent up by the King of Shuri.

In 1471 Yoshimasa ordered subordinate daimyo to send ships to Ryukyu to take advantage of the lively trade there. Until a careful study is made of all data relating to this period in Japanese-Ryukyu relations, it can be supposed that Yoshimasa had decided to establish a trading monopoly to supplement or to replace the unsuccessful Tenryuji monopoly of trade with China. Whatever the cause may have been, we can sense in the increased formality of Ryukyu missions sent to Kyoto an Okinawan reaction to increased formality of interest and pressure. The Okinawan Court seems to have been eager to establish well-defined diplomatic relations with Japan, possibly with a view to duplicating its highly satisfactory and profitable formal relationship with the Chinese Court. We read of an embassy planned for 1476, for instance, which was designed to congratulate the Shogun Yoshihisa (then 10 years old) upon his assumption of the authority abdicated by his father Yoshimasa. This embassy had to be abandoned, however, because of the death of the King (Sho En) at Shuri.

Four years later the Shogunate moved further, ordering the Lord of Satsuma to supervise Ryukyuan shipping, and directing Ryukyu to pay tribute to Kyoto.

In response to this the King of Ryukyu sent one of his ministers (Jana) up to Satsuma to confer with officials there.

These events mark the beginning of a long, divided relationship with Japan, in which Ryukyu sent missions and paid tribute to the Shogunate at Kyoto and, with the Shogun's permission, established a direct association with Satsuma. Shimazu acted (nominally at least) as agent for the Shogun. For approximately one hundred years Japanese-Ryukyuan relations remained on this basis, with a slow penetration of Japan's cultural influence throughout the Southern Islands. The Kings of Ryukyu found it diplomatic as well as profitable to send congratulatory envoys to Kagoshima when new Lords succeeded to the headship of the Shimazu Family, or new heirs were born. A more substantial advantage rested in the implied obligation of Satsuma to protect Ryukyu from external interference. This was clearly demonstrated in 1516, when Miyake Kunihide, a feudal baron of Bitchu, on the Inland Sea, decided to invade and appropriate Ryukyu for his own use, and was blocked (and killed) by Shimazu Tadaharu. There was occasional correspondence between Satsuma and Ryukyu concerning trade, and from time to time messages were transmitted between the Chinese Court and the Shogun's court through the good offices of the King of Ryukyu and his envoys. To serve the Satsuma-Ryukyu trade, a halfway station was developed on the small island of Tanegashima, southeast of Kagoshima. This was analogous to the halfway point for trade and diplomacy which was maintained throughout these years by Ryukyu at the Chinese ports (principally at Chuan-chow in Fukien). Ryukyu itself was not only a halfway point between China and Japan in matters of trade, but had become indeed an important entrepot for trade throughout Far Eastern waters. It is to a brief consideration of that trade, and its effects on the internal life of the Ryukyu Kingdom, that we must now turn back.

Trading Throughout Far Eastern Seas, From Japan and Korea to Sumatra

Ships are means of communication with all nations;
The country is full of rare products and precious treasures

By order of Sho Hashi, these words were inscribed on a bronze bell hung in the main audience chamber of Shuri Castle. They reflect the vision of this remarkable King who was determined to overcome the natural poverty of local resources by developing the potential resources of international commerce. Under his guidence Chuzan became a lively trading center. The seas about Okinawa were no longer barriers but highways. Ships from Naha began to appear in most of the important ports of the Far East. Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Siamese and Indonesians travelled aboard Chuzan's vessels. The ship's holds carried rich cargoes of luxury goods from port to port. While the warehouses at Naha served as a transhipment base for much of the cargo handled, some items from each homecoming voyage passed into the storehouses of the Court, and into daily use among the people of Naha and Shuri. It is evident that the King's agents scrupulously observed the formalities of polite intercourse in the ports to which they went, with the result that they could continue to perform the duties of middlemen in commerce between states which were not in direct communication. This was especially true when Japanese pirate raids upon the Chinese coast caused relations between Japan and China to be broken off.

From Japan the Chuzan merchants carried into Chinese ports cargoes of swords, lacquerware, folding fans, elegant folding screens, and some textiles. From China to Japan went ceramics, certain fine textiles, medicinal herbs, minted coins and the like. To both of these countries (and to Korea), the ships from Naha carried rare woods (especially the highly prized sapran dyewood), peppers and other spices, incense, rhinoceros horn, iron, tin, ivory, sugar and curiously manufactured articles which they had picked up in the ports of southeast Asia. To acquire these things in trade, the Chuzan merchants took cargoes of Japanese and Chinese goods southward. Chinese interpreters went along, for much of the exchange was conducted through local settlements of overseas Chinese in the southern ports.

The arrival of ships from the south from time to time must have been of holiday interest, for the citizens of Naha could never be sure what strange new bird or animal might be brought off the ship, what new plants or flowers might be aboard, what new musical instruments, what colorful new costumes or textiles. The returning seamen could tell exciting stories of adventure in distant ports, sing new songs and demonstrate new dances and games. Curios and goods too damaged for use at the Court might become available through barter and trade.

Trade with Chuzan and through Chuzan with other countries became sufficiently interesting to prompt the Chinese Ming Court to establish a special Ryukyu Trading Depot at Chuang-chow in Fukien Province, in 1439, which continued in use until 1875.

Between 1432 and 1570 at least forty-four official embassies were dispatched by Shuri to the south - to Annam, Siam, Patani, Malacca and the kingdoms in Java. Traders reached Luzon, Sumatra, Borneo. Customarily each trading expedition was under command of an envoy commissioned by the King. Some of these men made the long voyages again and again. Sometimes more than one junk would set out under command of the King's agent, and there were times when as many as 300 men were in the company. It required a minimum of at least five months to make the journey to the Indies. Traders usually set out in the autumn months, crossing to the coastal waters off Fukien, China, and then coasting southward keeping within sight of headlands. Given favorable winds, the outward voyage to Malacca required about fifty days. From there the voyage could be extended to other ports and islands in Southeast Asia until it was time to turn back and ride the winds toward Naha at the end of spring. Trade with the south continued through two centuries, but shifted from port to port with changing political fortunes in the countries visited.

The Okinawans seem to have established and maintained good relations everywhere, exhibiting a mild and friendly character. Japanese pirates molested them in Japanese territorial waters, but seem to have withheld serious interference with their trading further south. As relations between China and Japan grew worse, and Japanese free booters ravaged the continental coastal districts as far south as Kwangtung Province, it became necessary (after 1509) for the Ryukyuans to carry certificates known as kuei-chou. These enabled them to pass through the protective Chinese cordons guarding ports and estuaries against Japanese privateers and raiders. These certificates stated that the Ryukyuan ships were in search of tribute goods for the Chinese Court. Among all the tributary states only Ryukyu seems to have been privileged to trade at any season and without enforcement of time limits allotted by government direction.

In a similar manner the Siamese relaxed ordinary restrictions to grant special trade favors to the merchants from Naha. Chuzan's relations with Siam persisted longer than with any of the other far distant southern countries. Only Siam sent a ship of its own to carry an envoy to the King at Shuri; the other countries sent envoys, gifts or letters to Okinawa aboard Chuzan's ships.

We do not know when the earliest exchange with Siam took place, though later documents refer to Ryukyu-Siamese trade in the reign of Satto (1350-1395). There is express mention of a mission leaving Shuri for Siam in 1404. On page 41 we noted that the oldest document preserved in the pre-war archives of Okinawa was a copy of a letter sent by King Sho Hashi to the King of Siam in 1425. This referred to trade carried on satisfactorily in earlier years and then reviewed a problem which had risen in 1420. Siamese officials had objected that Ryukyu's tribute gifts were insufficient, and had on these grounds forced the Ryukyuans to sell their trading articles (sappen wood) directly to the officials of Ayuthia. This had meant heavy loss for the Ryukyuans, who depended upon sales in the open market to realize a profit for the voyage. On the next trip they carried a larger gift ("tribute") for the Siamese officials, but again they met with the same situation and again suffered a loss. The King, Sho Hashi, now took a hand in the matter, and addressed a letter to the King of Siam requesting a more liberal treatment of his merchant-voyagers. The matter was adjusted satisfactorily when (in 1432) Siam relaxed her monopoly practices and allowed the Okinawans to trade freely.

The pre-war archives of Okinawa held records of at least fifty-eight trading missions to Siam over a period of 146 years. Qualified estimates have been made that perhaps 100 other voyages were made for which no records survive.

In 1478 the Ryukyuans at Ayuthia suffered the loss of their ship by fire. Two years later the Siamese government generously arranged to send them back to Naha in a Siamese ship escorted by a senior Siamese official.

Relations with Java appear to have begun in 1430 and to have continued for approximately one hundred years, first with Eastern and then with Western Java (Sunda), as political conditions dictated within the country. Relations with Sumatra, most distant trading point for Ryukyu, did not long continue. A ship was sent to Palembeng in 1426, and returned to Naha in the next year with a Sumatran envoy aboard. Shuri returned the courtesy with the customary gifts, documents and trading articles. This Okinawan mission remained in Sumatra for nearly ten months. There were later missions, but the last for which there is record took place in 1440.

Trade with Patani, on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, became increasingly important as that port grew large with refugees crowding from war-torn Java and Malacca. There are records of twelve Ryukyu missions, but it is presumed that there were more. The last visit was made in 1541.

The pre-war archives of Okinawa Prefecture contained documents covering trade with Malacca in 1463, but these in turn referred to earlier relations. Malacca itself had only recently grown in prominence and importance through the influx of refugees from Java and areas being pressed by Java. Here the Okinawans were at the cross-roads of Southeast Asian trade, about mid-way between Indo-China and India. Something is known of at least twenty Ryukyu

missions to Malacca (four of them ended in shipwreck), but it is the last one, in 1511, which is of interest and special significance in Ryukyu History. Here the people of Chuzan first met with Europeans.

Meeting the Western World: Okinawans and Portuguese at Malacca in 1511

The Portuguese captain Affonso du Albuquerque arrived in the Straits near Malacca in early summer, 1511. (38a) The city was besieged and occupied in early autumn, with considerable bloodshed and burning. Late in the year two Okinawan ships arrived in the Straits, anchored at some distance from Malacca and waited for a safe-conduct. When it had been granted, they entered port, concluded their business, and sailed away, the last ship from Chuzan known to visit the Straits. Because of earlier political events the Okinawans had shifted their trading operations from Sumatra to Java, and from Java to Malacca. Now they withdrew from trade in the Straits area altogether, and confined themselves to trade at Patani and with Siam (Ayuthia).

This confrontation with the Portuguese and slow retreat from Southeast Asia provides an interesting moment in Ryukyu History, for it was here that Chuzan reached its most extended limit of direct activity and observation, and its widest area of cultural contact. It is a matter of curious interest, too, that the agents of Portugal and the agents of Chuzan should have met briefly at such a distant place thanks to the vision of two Princes who had died half a century earlier. Our attention is drawn for a moment to the lives of Sho Hashi in Ryukyu and Prince Henry the Navigator in Portugal in whose imagination and interest lay the origins of such far-ranging adventure. They lived as contemporaries for forty-five years, unknown to each other on opposite sides of the world. Each had sought the wealth of the Indies, and each had consciously directed the energies of his small state into the expansion of ocean-borne commerce.

After Albuquerque's encounter with the Chuzan mission, interest in the Ryukyu Islands quickly developed in Europe. The imagination of the Spanish and Portuguese conquistadors was stirring with legends of a "Fountain of Youth" and visions of a land of inexhaustible golden treasure, just as the vision of the Chinese Emperors, two thousand years earlier, had been stirred by tales of "Islands of the Immortals" in the Eastern Seas. Ryukyu appears to have been mentioned in European literature by name for the first time by an Italian who, writing in 1514, mentions Lechi. (39)

Basing his decisions upon glowing accounts picked up in Chinese settlements of Southern Asia and the Indies, the captain-explorer Fernao Perez d'Andrade in 1517 sent his subordinate, Jorge Mascarenhas, to Chuang-chou with several junks. He was directed to gather what information he could on the Fukien Coast concerning the rich country of Lequia, said to lie in the seas east of China. Mendez Pinto in his remarkable accounts of travel and adventure in the East, asserts that in 1540 he and his companions had encountered an Okinawan junk on the coast of Cambodia, and claimed that he himself was one (continued on page 48)

(38a) Albuquerque anchored off Malacca July 1, 1511, with 19 ships and 1400 soldiers. The Chuzan ships arrived with men aboard called "Gores" by the Portuguese. It has been suggested that these may have been Koreans travelling on Ryukyu ships. On the Malacca incident, see Kerr, Robert: A General History and Collection of Voyages and Travels..../ etc./, Vol. VI. Portuguese Discovery and Conquest of India, Part II, Book III, Chap. 1, Section v. (1509-1515). London, 1812. Also Whiteway, R. S.: Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550; Akiyama Kenzo: Gores naru meisho no hassei to sono rekishi-teki hatten (Origin and Historical Development of the name "Gores") Shigaku Zashi Vol. XXXIX, No. 12, pp. 1349-1359. Showa 3 (1928).

(39) In preparing this text, the author has found listed or used at least thirty-six variant European-language spellings of the name Ryukyu, including such unlikely phonetic transcriptions as Lukess, Loqueo, Likeo, Leuckes, Loque, and Leuhiees.

of the three Europeans cast up on Tanegashima, in the northern Ryukyu Islands, in the year 1542.

With this beginning early in the 16th century, the Portuguese entered Far Eastern waters. They were soon followed by the Spaniards, the British and the Dutch. The Renaissance in Europe was giving them all new methods and new instruments with which to calculate distance, the new science of navigation based on accurate mathematics and astronomy, new ship design, and, above all, firearms. The adventurous sailors from Chuzan conspicuously lacked all these things, and gradually fell back before such competition. By the end of the 16th century they were reduced at last to the limited role of middlemen trading only between Japan, Chuzan and China.

The most flourishing days of Okinawan History were at an end. The islands were soon to succumb to a Japanese invasion from the north, and to lose autonomy in the management and profit from their trade. But before we trace that history, we must review briefly the "Golden Age" at Shuri.

Cultural Prosperity and Political Confusion on Okinawa

For more than two hundred years Naha served as a port for trans-shipments of precious metals, rare woods, incense and dyestuffs, fine textiles, ivory, and porcelain. Rare plants, animals and birds were brought in. We read of a shipment of parrots and peacocks being sent up to the King of Korea, who in return sent back a splendid bronze bell. There were many transient foreigners in Naha port, wearing strange dress and speaking strange languages. There was a Korean trading settlement similar to, but less important than, the Chinese settlement at Kume-mura. The ordinary Okinawan seamen as well as the King's envoys brought back gifts for their friends and families. Exotic goods were available for purchase in the domestic market. The richness and variety of material things brought in from overseas stood in strong contrast with the poverty of native Ryukyu resources.

In 1427 a Chinese mission to Okinawa bought lacquer and grindstones needed in the manufacture of fine swords. These articles of trade had been brought to Ryukyu from Japan. The Okinawans were producing a fine lacquer of their own, using distinctive colors and developing special techniques for mother-of-pearl inlays. Okinawan lacquer came to be highly prized as a luxury export item. Earthenware from Luzon and from other areas of Southeast Asia was imported in quantity, some to be used in Ryukyu and some to be shipped on to the Kyoto market where it was in great vogue among the aesthetes - the cha-jin - in the Shogun's Court.

In this period the textile industry of Okinawa began to develop high specialization. Fine fabrics were introduced first from China; the heavy brocades were known and used only at the Shuri Court, and presumably, at the Northern and Southern Castles during the brief period of their independence from Shuri. The weaving and dyeing of fine gauze fabrics contributed to wider use. But it was principally from the far islands of the East Indies that the Okinawans imported (and developed) the weaving and dyeing techniques for which they are most famous. By dyeing the threads appropriately before weaving, and

then applying each thread to the loom with painstaking care, the desired design and pattern was brought out. In Okinawa and Japan this prized variety of cloth is known as kasuri; in the countries of Malaya from whence it was imported, it is known as ikat. The East Indians learned the techniques from India. (40)

Methods of tieing-and-dyeing, and of stencil dyeing were likewise introduced from Java and Sumatra, developed in the Ryukyus, and applied to local textile fibers.

Costume at the Court and among the gentry of Shuri and Naha underwent a change. Certain pictures (of a later date) show that the King and princes of the Royal House wore costumes of Ming Chinese origin for high ceremonial occasions, cut of Chinese textiles to conform to native Okinawan style. The distinctive turban (the hachi-maki) which was worn to denote rank by the color of the textiles used in it, must be presumed to have been introduced from the far southern islands, where turbans were common.

Music and dancing also drew on southern inspiration. The three-stringed musical instrument known as the jamisen, certain dance forms, and a style of individual fighting (toshu style) are said to have been introduced by returning traders. The sotetsu palm (cycas) which was destined later to play an important part in the Ryukyuan economy, was brought up from the south, together with chickens, monkeys, peacocks, and parrots. It can be imagined with what interest and pleasure the people of Naha and Shuri awaited the return of each far-ranging voyage, bringing, in the King's name, rare treasures and precious objects.

The third of King Sho Hashi's southern expeditions returned to Naha in 1439, but in that year the King died, at the age of sixty-eight years. Sho Chu, second son of Sho Hashi, succeeded to the kingship, sent a younger brother up north to maintain order in the Hokuzan District, and dispatched envoys to the Ming Court and to Kyoto to bear gifts and to announce the change at the Okinawan Court. In a sense, the reactions of Peking and Kyoto were parallel, but essentially contradictory. The Ming Emperor three years later confirmed Sho Chu in his kingship through the usual writ of investiture; the Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimasa, renewed the traditional Shimazu Family title to the islands.

Sho Chu lived for only five years after his father's death. His son Sho Shitatsu succeeded him (in 1445), sent tribute (including coins and drugs) to the Ashikaga Shogunate, received investiture from Peking (1448) and then he, too, died. The succession now passed to Sho Kimpuku, sixth son of Sho Hashi, and therefore great-uncle of the deceased King. It was in this year (1450) that the Japanese feudal lord Hosokawa Katsumoto interfered with Okinawan trading missions passing into the Inland Sea of Japan. Since the Southern Islands were nominally held in fief from the Shogun by the Shimazu Family, such an action seriously challenged both the Shogunate and the lords of Satsuma.

(40) For a study of the origin, development and distribution of Okinawan textiles, see Tanaka Toshio and Tanaka Reiko: Textile Fabrics of Okinawa Tokyo, 1952.

Kimpuku's short reign was notable for important roadbuilding projects undertaken at his order. An embankment and road (known as the Chokotei) were built across the lowland between the harbor inlets of Naha and Tomari. When this was completed a second major road was constructed between the ports and the castle on the hill.

Kimpuku reigned only three years, and upon his death the Court was torn by succession disputes. The Kingship was still a personal dignity and responsibility. Transmission of power and authority was not easily accomplished, especially when it was not in a direct line of succession. Each succession period was one of great uncertainty for the officers and members of the Court. It will be remembered that two sons of Sho Hashi (Sho Chu and Sho Kimpuku) had enjoyed the succession. A dispute now developed between the late king's son Shiro, and his uncle Furi. Anger led to battle within the Castle, in the fighting both men died, and the palace was destroyed by fire. (1453)

The loss of treasure of every kind was heavy, but to the Shuri Court the loss of silver seals of office, conferred by the Ming Emperor as symbols or patents of royal authority, was the greatest loss of all. Sho Taikyu, seventh son of Sho Hashi, now became King, applied to the Ming Court for a new seal to be treasured at Shuri, and for investiture for himself. These were granted.

Taikyu ruled for six years, during which the Kingdom was troubled by quarrels among certain powerful lords. The classic story of loyalty in Ryukyu tradition is drawn from this period. Gosamaru, Lord of Nakagusuku Castle, became suspicious of the conduct of his rival and enemy, Amawari, Lord of Katsuren. Nakagusuku lies on the heights midway between the Katsuren Castle and Shuri. Learning that Amawari was maturing plans for rebellion, Gosamaru quietly mobilized his own men and resources to bar the path to Shuri from Katsuren. But Amawari learned of Gosamaru's preparations before his own were complete. Gaining the King's ear, he disclosed Gosamaru's warlike preparations and accused him of plotting rebellion. Appearances seemed to sustain the false accusation, royal troops were sent against the castle, and rather than resist the King, the loyal Gosamaru committed suicide. Too late, the King learned the truth, and ordered Oni Ufyagusuku to punish the traitor Amawari, who was thereupon besieged and overthrown in his stronghold on the heights of Katsuren Peninsula.

Taikyu's reign is remembered principally for royal patronage extended to shrines and temples. The King's predecessor, Kimpuku, had ordered a shrine to be built at Wakasa dedicated to certain Japanese Shinto dieties which was called the Chōju-gu, or "Shrine of Longevity." Japanese Buddhist priests in the island now received patronage; a priest named Kai-in supervised the building of three temples, Tenryuji, Kogenji and Fumonji.

The people of Ryukyu have no tradition of philosophical speculation, and have produced no notable religious or philosophical leaders. The worship of creative natural forces is everywhere evident in phallic emblems (ishiganji) standing by the roadside, or the three hearth stones of the public shrine found in every settlement. The sacred groves (utaki) to which the noro priestesses repair to ask for blessings, or the intercession of the nature gods, are found near every village. These were dedicated to worship of the objects and forces of nature. Like the Greeks and the Romans, the Japanese and the Okinawans shared common deities.

Other temples and shrines flourished as well under King Taikyu; large bells were cast for the temple of Confucius (Tempi Byo) and for the Manju-ji. Like the Tenryu-ji, this was founded by Japanese missionaries, priests from one of the great Zen Temples dominating the commercial as well as the intellectual and religious life of Kyoto at that time.

Upon one of the bells the King caused to be inscribed "Ryukyu, Beautiful Country of the Southern Ocean." This is an interesting reflection of Ryukyu's sense of cultural and geographic orientation in that day, "south of Japan", and not "east of China".

Not only bells but coins, too, were cast in this period (modelled on a Yuan Chinese coin, and known as Taisei Tsuho, 1458), indicating a considerable import of metals.

It was possible to make more than one thousand per cent profit on some shipments of luxury goods in the 15th and 16th centuries. Even so, royal patronage and large expenditure on temple-building, metal-casting, religious ceremonial and luxury at the Court began to place a heavy strain on the limited Ryukyu economy, and in time this had serious political consequences. (41)

The King's treasurer was an unusual and able man who had been born into a farmer's family on the Iheya Island in the year 1415. Tradition in later years alleged that he was distantly descended from that unhappy King Gihon who had wandered into the wilderness and disappeared during a time of hardship two hundred years earlier, but this must be taken as an attempt in later years to increase his prestige by providing him with a royal background. Little is known concerning his youth. Tradition says that he was orphaned and that in filial piety he undertook to support his uncle, his aunt and a brother and sister, and that he married a local girl. He is said to have been an extraordinarily skillful farmer, making a meagre area yield more than his neighbors could extract from better soil and larger landholdings. He was accused of stealing water from his fellow villagers, a capital offense in communities dependent upon communal irrigation systems. To escape the wrath of his neighbors he fled across the channel to Ginama, in northern Okinawa. There he lived for five or six years, but again came to odds with his fellow villagers, and once again had to flee. This time he made his way down to the capital, Shuri, and entered into service in the household of Prince Goeku. Here he attracted attention. When Prince Goeku succeeded to the throne as King Sho Taikyu, this twice-dispossessed retainer entered the Royal Household and in time became the King's Treasurer (Omonogusuku-ozashinosoba). Through his hands passed the heavy expenditures required to satisfy the King's wide patronage. None in the kingdom knew better than he what the total resources were and what the effect of unlimited spending might be.

King Taikyu ruled only seven years, and upon his death (1460) was succeeded by a son, Sho Toku, twenty-one years of age. It must be presumed that this headstrong youth paid little attention to the Treasurer who had managed his father's affairs. Life at the Court now was luxurious by Okinawan standards; the island was unified; trading missions continued to come and go, and

(41) One is reminded of the Tempyo period in Japan, 7th-8th centuries, to which these events are parallel.

the details of the period suggest that Okinawans were becoming increasingly aware of events in Japan, then divided among quarrelling and ambitious barons.

In the fifth year of his reign King Sho Toku decided to embark on an overseas venture of his own. He had earlier sent a military force against the island of Kikai north of Okinawa; now he himself set out at the head of an expeditionary force, hoisting the banner of Hachiman, Japanese God of War, as his patron. (42)

The invasion of Kikai was successful; a governor was appointed to control it on the King's behalf, and as a signal of gratitude, the Asato Hachiman Shrine was erected on Okinawa.

The young King lost the confidence of his Father's uncompromising old Treasurer, who resigned from his office and withdrew to his estate in the country. Other influential officers at the Court frequently consulted with him there. A crisis in Court affairs developed, and riots broke out among partisans at Shuri.

History is discreetly silent concerning the intrigues leading to conflict and the death of the young King in his twenty-ninth year (in 1469). His heirs and his family were cast aside. The old Treasurer came out of retirement. According to official tradition, he was made King by popular acclaim, in 1469. (43)

The "Second Sho Dynasty" Established under Sho En and Sho Sain

The new King, Sho En, was fifty-six years of age. With his thorough knowledge of practical administration, he was in a position to entrench his Family's interests so successfully that his heirs and descendants to the nineteenth generation continued to rule in Okinawa (1470-1873).

The descendants of the late King Sho Hashi were cast aside, and forever disbarred from holding important offices in the Ryukyu Government, though they continue to be recognized among the leading gentry of Okinawa even in the 20th century. Investiture from China was sought by the new King, and received in 1472. A suitably impressive tomb was erected on Izena Island to honor the King's Father. At some time in his life as a Court Official Sho En

(42) Hachiman, A Shinto deity, was also worshipped as a Buddhist incarnation, whose principal shrines were at Usa (Kyushu) and at Kamakura. Hachiman was patron of sea-adventurers, and of the pirates (wako) who terrorized the coasts of Korea and China. The crest known as mitsu-domoe, the symbol of Hachiman, hereafter became the crest of the Royal House of Ryukyu.

(43) It must be remembered that the history of these times was recorded during the reigns of King Sho En's descendants. The legends, summed up and stripped of supernatural attributions, suggest the character of a man who was an exceptional manager of his own economic affairs, an uncompromising individualist, and a man whose plebian origin could not deter his bold ambition. The later enshrinement of his obscure Father as "King of Iheya" and the legend of descent from an earlier King (Gihon) should not detract from the remarkable personality of this self-made man.

had lost the first wife of his youth, either by death or divorce, and had married again, when he was 48 or 49 years of age. His young wife (less than half his age) gave birth to a son and heir when she was 21 years old. That she was strong-willed and purposeful becomes apparent in later years.

Sho En ruled for only seven years. At his death he left a son Sho Shin, a stripling of thirteen years, who was passed over in the succession. The Throne went instead to Sho Seni, a younger brother of the late Sho En. Precedents for this could be found in the succession of Sho Hashi, twenty years earlier, when the Kingship had passed to his brothers. But that had created great trouble in the Court at the time. In this instance Yosoiodon, the strong-willed Queen-Mother, was not satisfied. The exact course of events which followed here is not clear, but a peaceful compromise was found within the Royal Family. Sho En's eldest daughter held the high office of Chief Priestess (Kikoe-Ogimi) by virtue of her relationship to the late King. She now received a "divine oracle" which bid her uncle the new King Seni to abdicate in favor of her brother, the youth Sho Shin. This he did after only six months upon the Throne.

He retired, taking the title "Prince of Goeku". It had been arranged for his daughter to marry the new boy-King, and presently a son was born, who was known as Prince Urasoe. This did not solve the succession problem, however. If Seni had abdicated in the belief that through this alliance his grandson would become Heir Apparent, he was doomed to disappointment. The Queen Mother Yosoiodon was the most powerful figure at Court, and had her own plans for the succession. Prince Urasoe was set aside, and the succession in time (fifty years later) passed to another royal son. Yosoiodon dominated the Court and government for many years thereafter. (44)

Sho Shin's Reign and its Aftermath: The Great Days of Chuzan

The Chuzan Kingdom reached its maximum extent and its height of cultural development, commercial prosperity and internal administrative order in the century following Sho Shin's accession. He ruled from 1477 until 1526. After he had been on the Throne for thirty years a monument (known as the Momoura-osoi) RanKan-mei was erected in the Palace grounds to record what his courtiers themselves believed to be the "Eleven Distinctions of the Age". These were indeed noteworthy, and are here summarized:

1. Buddhism was patronized by the King;

2. Taxes were lightened and inter-class strife abated;

(44) Yosoiodon's prominence and authority in public affairs is described in the Annals of the Korean Court (Li Cho Jitsu-roku) to which reports were made by Koreans living on Okinawa at this time. The use of an oracle received through the Chief Priestess to affect the succession recalls the incident (769 A.D.) in which Dokyo attempted to be designated Emperor at Nara through an "oracle" of Hachiman Shrine in Usa, and afterwards banished Wake no Kiyomaro to Osumi district, southern Kyushu.

3. Royal control was asserted and confirmed in Yaeyama and Miyako;

4. Private ownership and use of arms were done away with;

5. Law and order were established throughout the country;

6. Shuri was beautified with parks;

7. Places of amusement and pleasure were provided at Shuri;

8. Works of art were introduced at the Palace; music was patronized;

9. Relations with China were strengthened;

10. Chinese utensils and books were introduced;

11. A Chinese-style Palace was built at Shuri.

This was a record of which the King could well be proud. His father Sho En had addressed himself to economic development through land-reclamation, irrigation works, and road building, but foreign trade continued to be the principal source of wealth. These internal developments under Sho En merely made it possible to use more effectively the wealth which was accruing from foreign commerce. If judged by the troubled conditions then to be found elsewhere in Asia, Okinawa was indeed an island of peace and prosperity. But, as we shall see, this prosperity was not based on local resources and productive techniques, but on a vulnerable foreign commerce.

Perhaps the most remarkable achievement of this time was the thoroughgoing reorganization of administration. Hitherto government had been the personal rule of one man and his faithful retainers, predominant but not sure of himself among potential rivals. Now it was beginning to shift to an institutional base, in which the office of the Kingship and the organization of administration became more important than individual persons who occupied positions of authority at any one time.

It will be remembered that the chief officers and nobles at the King's Court were the Anji or feudal lords descended from local chieftains of the 13th and 14th centuries. Though some of them lived at Shuri, many of them continued to maintain castle-strongholds within their hereditary estates. Each maintained his own men-at-arms and servants, and drew his economic support from the labor of hard-working serfs who cultivated his lands. Every anji who possessed large lands and commanded many retainers was a potential antagonist to the authority of the Court at Shuri. This was especially so during times of stress which attended succession quarrels. Traditional rivalries ran deep among the aristocrats. The northern landholders and their people were a source of special concern to Shuri even a hundred years after the fall of Nakijin Castle.

King Sho Shin and his advisers proposed to reduce or eliminate the probability of armed defiance of Shuri's authority, and the dangers of divided

allegiance among subjects when disputes arose in the Court. Swords were no longer to be worn as personal equipment. Lords who maintained personal armed retainers were ordered to surrender all weapons at Shuri, where they were placed under control of the Government in a central storehouse.

The lords (anji) themselves were ordered to leave their country places and to move into Shuri for permanent residence. More than fifty did so leaving the chief vassal (anji-okite) on the estate as supervisor to govern the local district and to serve as a link between outlying areas and the capital. In time the Government was able to send its own representatives into the country districts to carry out administrative orders. These were known as jitodai, responsible to the King's officials and not to the anji who had so long exercised hereditary rule on a personal basis. (45)

This was a delicate matter, requiring a firm hand, great tact and considerable foresight. To minimize the chance of friction and trouble within the capital, Shuri town was now divided into three wards (Mihira). The anji from southern Okinawa (Shimajiri) were assigned house-sites in the Mawashi ward; aristocrats from central Okinawa (Nakagami) were given residences in Haye ward; people from the northern districts (Hokuzan) were required to live in Nishi ward. This was a move to overcome the old divisions of the Three Kingdoms into which the island had so long been divided. An exception seems to have been made concerning some of the local lords of Hokuzan (Kunigami) who were permitted to remain at their homes at Nakijin, in Motobu Peninsula, either through fear of trouble they might make at Shuri, or through inability to insist on an order which the Central Government might not be able to enforce. The King's third son was made Warden of the Kunigami District, to keep a watchful eye on the northern people.

Such a move into the capital must have worked hardship in some instances, and to have created considerable difficulty, cost and confusion for all concerned, for each anji took his family, a number of vassals, and servants with him to Shuri. Some of the vassals themselves had families and servants which had to be accomodated in the town.

These drastic changes required compensation to be acceptable. This took many forms. In demanding a major break with tradition and precedent, King Sho Shin offered new activities and created new precedents. In an effort to reduce the more extreme elements of the older feudal regime and to blur lines which had divided important factions in the Court, an attempt was made to suppress the old custom of self-sacrifice among retainers upon the death of their Lord. Intermarriage among the noble families was encouraged by the King to bring about an intermingling of ancestral lines and of the duties appropriate to the rites of ancestor-worship. A new system of court ranks and privileges was introduced which established rigid class distinctions and required a considerable attention to matters of formal ceremony and costume. As a setting for elaborate ceremonies (borrowed and modified from Chinese sources), a large new palace in Chinese style was built within the castle grounds. To make Shuri itself a desirable place in which to live, the slopes and escarpments below the castle walls were filled with parks and gardens for the amusement and pleasure of the gentry.

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(45) These steps are especially interesting, for they antedate by many years similar measures put into effect in Japan by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, (edicts of 1586 and 1587) and by Tokugawa Iemitsu (the Sankin-kotai edict of 1634).

The population of Shuri grew rapidly after the influx of so many households from the country, and since each of the anji drew on the resources of his own estates to maintain his establishment at the capital, there was a new concentration of local wealth to supplement the profits being gained in overseas commerce through Naha port. The lives of individuals at the Court were enriched through the encouragement of the arts and crafts. The use of gold, silver, lacquer and silks became common for the first time among the Court gentry, and to supply all these luxuries the Government sent a mission to China every year, and gave all the support it could to trade with Korea, Japan and Southeast Asia. (46)

The Enkaku-ji, most splendid of all temples constructed in Ryukyu, was built and furnished in 1492 by a Japanese priest who enjoyed royal patronage. The Sogen-ji was enlarged and the great stone gates constructed before it in 1494. Under the guiding hand of a Japanese priest named Nisshu Shonin Buddhist temples on the Naminoue headland were dedicated in 1522 to Amida, "Lord of Boundless Light", to Kwannon, "Merciful One Who Surveys the World with Pity", and to Yakushi, "Lord of Medicine".

Such activities stimulated all the arts and crafts. The temple bell of Enkaku-ji was cast in 1496. A great bell which had been received from the King of Korea, in acknowledgment of a gift of parrots and peacocks sent up to the Korean Court by the King of Chuzen, was installed at Gokokuji. Sculptors in stone and wood were engaged in decorating palaces, temples and bridges, though they were handicapped by lack of suitable materials native to the island. A finely sculptured bridge was laid across the pond before Enkaku-ji's gate in 1498. Shuri castle was embellished in 1508 with red-lacquered wooden fencing, stone embankments and bridges, and with stone dragon-carved pillars. The Royal Tombs (Tama-udon) were completed in 1501, and the superb stonework of the Sonohyan Shrine was completed on the brow of the castle hill nearby in 1519. (47)

The new regulations and ceremonials at Court required great attention to the details of dress and personal ornament. New techniques for the cultivation of the silkworm and new weaving implements were introduced from China by Do no Hya. Ornamental hairpins of the finest design and workmanship became an essential part of every aristocrat's costume after 1509, for these (and the color of the turban) became important symbols of rank within the Court's new hierarchy.

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(46) In all these developments the Okinawans passed through a period of creative activity which had its earlier close parallel in the 7th and 8th centuries in Japan, when the Chinese Court system was introduced, the administration centralized, and great wealth expended upon mansions for the nobles and patronage for temple building and Buddhist ceremony.

(47) Many of these architectural monuments were in later years to be designated "National Treasures" or "Important National Art Objects" by the Japanese Government. Many of them displayed influences and details reflecting the cosmopolitan experience of the Okinawans in that day. The dragon pillars erected before the principal audience hall of the Palace, for instance, seem to have had no architectural precedent in either China or Japan, but to have reflected an outstanding detail of temples and palaces of Cambodia and Siam.

Music and the dance flourished in an era dedicated to such expansive living, when there was surplus wealth to be spent, and many idle aristocrats seeking entertainment. Aka Ihako was a master of music whose name is the first to become prominent in Ryukyu cultural history. There is first mention of formal instruction, or schools for the children of the gentry, toward the end of the 15th century.

It was necessary for members of the Royal Family to take the lead in such innovations and changes. They formed a new dynasty, and needed to command the respect and authority of the people by enhancing their prestige in every way possible. This they did with such success that the second Sho Family line was broken only when the Japanese caused the last King to abdicate, four and one-half centuries later.

Reverence for the spirits of deceased ancestors was of supreme importance in the religious life of the people, and provided a strong element of stability and continuity in the social life of all classes. It could be used effectively in appealing for the preservation of an inherited, well-established order of things. In time it provided the very essence of conservatism in Government, for its cardinal virtue consisted in avoiding change, and in doing things as nearly as possible as they had always been done before.

Under the Queen Mother's direction the prestige of the new Dynasty was increased by attention given to the tombs of the family ancestors. The tomb of Sho En's father on Izena Island was rebuilt handsomely, and became a sacred place of worship. At Shuri new royal tombs were constructed, a place of impressive proportions and quiet simplicity, in which it was decreed that only Sho En's descendants through the Queen Mother Yosciodon could be entombed. (48)

Confucian rituals and the rites of Chinese ancestor-worship were studied and practiced faithfully at the immigrant settlement of Kume-mura. The Sogen-ji temple nearby was dedicated to the spirits of all the Kings of Ryukyu, including even those of the mythical Tenson Dynasty. This was now enlarged and enriched, and the tablets representing the spirit of the late King Sho En were enshrined with those of his predecessors.

The traditions and forms of ancestor-worship offered one of the most serious difficulties when the anji were ordered to leave their country estates and come into Shuri. Each of the lords as a matter of course expected to continue worship at his ancestral hearth and tombs. But this offered a risk that a lord dissatisfied with Shuri life or disgruntled by Court controls, might find an occasion to return to his lands on pretext of worship while using the opportunity to create trouble. It was therefore arranged that each lord would send a representative annually to perform the required ceremonies at the country place, while at the capital itself a place for "worship-from-afar" (yohai-jo) was established. One yohai-jo was created in each ward. Here the lord from the countryside could face toward his distant home and perform the appropriate rituals. This was an ingenious solution to a delicate problem for the

(48) In subsequent years this rule was observed until eighteen kings, their consorts and children were buried here. The last Crown Prince, Marquis Sho Sei, was buried here on September 26, 1920.

Government. In time each of these yohai-jo became a major shrine, with priestesses in constant attendance. (49)

By a bold stroke the King moved to centralize and control for the first time influential noro priestesses throughout the Kingdom. Hitherto they had lived and served only in local communities. They were identified with households and inter-related villages, but not with a national cult or organization. The Chief Noro in the King's own Household was known as the Kikoe-Ogimi who traditionally held rank and prestige very nearly equal to that of the King himself. By virtue of the tradition through which she came into office, she was necessarily either the daughter, sister or aunt of a reigning monarch. Next to the Kikoe-Ogimi in the King's Household, the Chief Noro of Iheya Island (Iheya no Amaganushi) at this time took precedence in the indigenous religious system because the first in that office had been an elder sister of King Sho En.

King Sho Shin now removed the residence of the Kikoe-Ogimi to a site just outside the Palace gate and constructed for her the handsome Sonohyan Utaki to enclose the symbolic hearth she was expected to attend. She was given authority to confirm in local office the village Noro throughout the islands, issuing certificates from Shuri. Thirty-three noro were appointed by the King, the others were nominated by the District officers (jito). Lands were set aside permanently in each village to provide an income for the local priestesses. Between the Kikoe-Ogimi at Shuri and the community priestess stood intermediary noro known as O-amu shirare or Kimi-bae. There was no attempt to interfere with or control the fire-custodian in each individual household. Nevertheless, there appears to have been some friction between them and the officially designated Noro of the village. This in turn encouraged the latter to develop a sense of mutual interest, and from that time until the present day the village noro have drawn together in common meetings and ceremonial occasions.

The consumption of wealth at Shuri and Naha in these years far outstripped the development of Okinawa's local resources. Maintenance of the relatively high living standards achieved during Sho Shin's reign depended upon an expanding and profitable trade. Every excuse had to be found to increase the flow of commerce and to maintain friendly relations overseas.

China was not dependent upon her commerce with Ryukyu, for it was a luxury trade, and occasional missions sufficed to maintain the political dignity required in a tributary relationship. For Okinawa, trade with China was vital to her well-being, hence we find Shuri making repeated petitions to Peking for an increased tribute schedule. These were usually rejected, though the schedule was slightly modified from time to time. Missions left Shuri (a) to announce the death of kings, (b) to petition for the investiture of new kings, (c) to offer thanks for the investiture when it was granted, and (d) to offer congratulations or condolences upon appropriate occasions at the Ming Court.

(49) The shrines were the Shun-dunchi, the Makan-dunchi and the Gibo-dunchi. The noro or priestesses in attendance were known as the Amu-shirare or Anganushi. For this and other data see Spencer, op. cit.

Relations with China were marred on rare occasions by minor or unusual incidents. In 1471 an envoy on his way up to Peking was arrested for wearing a robe bearing the mang dragon design, reserved (in China) for the use of the highest officers of state and certain of the nobility. The envoy insisted that he was within the proprieties, because the Chinese Emperor had sent this robe among other gifts to the King of Chuzan. (50) There were occasional trading disputes, and from time to time the Chinese complained of infractions of the strict rules governing travel from the ports to Peking. Occasionally Peking showed a mild intellectual interest in the islands. Upon returning to the Ming Court in 1534 the principal ambassador Chen K'an prepared a History of the Ryukyus (Shi Ryukyu Roku). Okinawa's unfailing effort to meet all the requirements of Chinese propriety in her formal tribute relationship prompted the Chinese Emperor in 1554 to give the King of Chuzan a tablet bearing the inscription "Country of Courtesy" (Shurei no Kuni), which was hung in a castle gate especially constructed for it by the most able architect of the day.

The outer islands of the Ryukyu group began to come more firmly under Shuri's control during Sho Shin's long reign. In 1486 there were serious conflicts among the local lords of Yaeyama. In 1500 the King sent a force under Ozato Sengen to restore order and to establish a government branch office in Miyako. A liaison office was set up on Yaeyama in 1524. There had been fairly close relations established and maintained with Kume Island, but about 1500 it became necessary for the King's men to move against the Anji on Kume, to reassert royal authority.

Death came to King Sho Shin in 1526, ending the longest and most prosperous reign in Ryukyu history. The arts cultivated in this period and the architectural monuments erected in Shuri and Naha formed the essential cultural tradition which sets Ryukyu apart in the centuries which followed. The islands were never again to enjoy such prosperity and expansive independence. The Court and the townspeople of Shuri and Naha were in constant communication with China and Japan, but were overwhelmed by neither. They were in the happy position of being able to choose to adopt what they wanted and needed, and to remain indifferent or, at best, mildly curious about insitutions as well as artifacts for which they had no pressing need. The bulk and prestige of China was enormous, but in their wide and constant voyaging the Okinawans were very well aware of the existence of other countries and other cultures.

The influence of neither China nor Japan reached very far down into the life of the common peasant living in villages far from the capital. Foreign contributions to Okinawan culture were first implanted at Naha and Shuri, and from there filtered into the rural districts. This process of cultural diffusion was accelerated after the feudal lords were required to live at Shuri, for as each lord maintained a considerable household staff recruited from his own district, young men from the countryside entered service for a period at Naha or Shuri. Upon returning to marry and settle in the home village, the youths took with them many things, such as the latest and most popular songs and dances, which cost nothing to learn or to teach.

(50) Cammann, Schuyler: China's Dragon Robes, New York, 1952, pp. 157-158.

During the three reigns which followed (1526-1589), the peak of prosperity was passed, and the islands fell under increasing Japanese pressure. King Sho Sei succeeded his father in 1527. In that year two stone monuments were erected on the road before the Sogenji gate bearing a royal order that all men, great and small, must dismount and pass these gates on foot. Was this a carefully calculated gesture on the part of the new King's advisers? The obvious purpose was to increase a feeling of awe and respect for the Throne. So long a time had elapsed since the previous accession the King's ministers had difficulty finding documents which prescribed the proper ceremonies, including the ceremonies for petitioning and receiving investiture from the Chinese Court. The new King and his advisers were well aware of the obscure origin of the late King's father, Sho En. The Sogenji had been erected not merely to enshrine the tablets of the "Second Sho" dynasty, but to honor all previous kings, i.e., to honor the institution of kingship itself. Personal rule had given way to institutional rule, not seriously to be challenged again for three hundred and fifty years.

To accomodate new activities at the Court the castle walls were extended and new halls built within the palace compound, while over a castle gate a tablet inscribed "Kei Sei" or "Succeeding Generations" was hung as a reminder to all of the continuity of the Throne (1544). The Ufumi Udun, or "New Palace", was erected on the site now occupied by the Shuri High School. Administrative offices were created. A town governorship (Naha Satonushi Soku) was established for Naha (1528).

Missionary priests from Japan were active throughout the 16th century in Okinawa, promoting the building of temples and the study of the Japanese language and literature. Occasionally they served as agents on business of government, as their fellow-priests were then doing in Japan. Nisshu Shonin promoted the construction of the Jizo-do in Wakata (Naha) in 1539. Twenty years later, a priest was appointed by the Court to accompany Yonagusuku Ryochu on an official journey to Satsuma. In 1572 students began to be sent up from Okinawa to study at the Five Great Temples of Kyoto.

This suggests that the study of Japanese language was now well advanced and was accelerating, and there was a fairly substantial interest in Japanese religion, literature and cultural traditions. It suggests, too, that in these years we might find first evidence of the division of educated leaders into two parties, one of which was educated in China and inclined to be pro-Chinese in outlook, and the other educated in Japan, or in Japanese subjects, and inclined to advocate alignment with Japan.

It is in this era that a genuine local literary tradition begins to appear. The Japanese kana syllabary had long been in use. Now for the first time (1532) the traditional chants, poems and prayers of the High Priestesses of the Royal Court were recorded, which became thereafter the most prized literary treasures of the Ryukyu Islands - the Omoro Zoshi.

It is not unnatural that in a period when Chinese and Japanese studies were competing for attention at Shuri, Okinawan leaders should become more reflective upon their own cultural achievements and should desire to record and preserve their sacred songs and prayers. Interest in the indigenous religion was never overshadowed by the color and formal pageantry of Buddhism. Old legends associating the Sun Goddess Amaterasu Omikami with the off-lying islands of Okinawa continued to flourish (the Shotai-ji Shrine was erected on Ie-jima to do her honor in 1554) and was indeed sufficiently strong to be picked up and indirectly embodied in early Portuguese accounts of missions in Japan. (51)

The importance of an institutional basis for the kingship was underscored upon the death of Sho Sei and the accession of his son Sho Gen, in 1556. This prince was reputedly mute, and there was serious objection and dispute as to his fitness to succeed. A Regency Council of Three (the so-called Sanshiken) therefore undertook to act on the King's behalf, and allegedly at his own request. From this time forward until 1878 the Sanshiken became gradually the most effective and important institution within the government structure.

Relations with China remained undisturbed, but the depredations of Japanese pirates and growing Japanese interest in the prosperous little Kingdom of Ryukyu meant a steady increase of Japanese pressure.

Ryukyu was doomed as an independent trading base because of its commercial success and because of its exposed position on the sea-frontiers of China and Japan. From the moment of contact with the Portuguese who were sacking Malacca in 1511, the Okinawans slowly but steadily retreated, trading over shorter sea-routes, and in less varied goods. Behind them, to the north, were the Japanese, watching with deep concern as Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch and English adventurers in turn came up from India through the Indies, Malaya, the Philippines and Formosa. No prosperous trading port in Asia was safe from the Japanese wako or the European adventurers. Though the swashbuckling Europeans were willing to trade, they gave no quarter to men unwilling to accept them on their own terms. The more prosperous the trading port, the greater the danger that it would be seized, pillaged, and put to the sword.

(51) Unpublished MS History of the Church of Japan, composed by the Religieux of the Company of Jesus who have been resident in that country from the year 1575 to the present year of 1634. In the Library of Ajuda, Lisbon, as quoted by James Murdoch, op. cit. Vol. II, p. 33-34, from Father Cros.

Chapter V

THE LAST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

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Chapter V

THE LAST YEARS OF INDEPENDENCE

Chuzan and the Distant Islands: Miyako, Yaeyama and Amami Oshima

During the great days of Chuzan the people of Miyako and Yaeyama (Sakishima) were developing a community life and a history of their own on the islands far to the south of Okinawa. Before we review the critical years which led to the loss of Chuzan's independence, we must leave the mainstream of Ryukyu history briefly to note Shuri's relations with the outer islands of the archipelago.

Certain characteristics of legendary and early historic accounts in Miyako and Yaeyama are shared with the traditions of ancient Okinawa, but it is noteworthy that they show a time-lag of about two centuries in their evolution. That is to say, Miyako traditions of first settlement, of the introduction of various cultural achievements and of community organization, are analogous with those of Okinawa in the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries of the Christian era, but are assigned dates in Miyako which correspond to the 14th and early 15th centuries. Similarly, the pattern of administration moving from a period of intense rivalry among independent local lords into a period of unified and centralized government is similar in both island-groups, but took place nearly a century later in Miyako and Yaeyama than it did on Okinawa. The time-lag grows less and less with the development in communications between the islands, but even today (1953) life in Ishigaki City in Yaeyama most nearly approximates the leisurely existence of days before the China Incident, a quarter century ago.

It is said that Yaeyama paid tribute to Chuzan on Okinawa as early as 1390, but not until the reign of King Sho Shin was there a serious attempt to establish Shuri's direct representation on the island. In 1486 Chuzan attempted to intervene and settle local disturbances which continued sporadically until 1500. Resistance to Okinawan attempts to bring about centralization throughout the islands continued in Yaeyama (under Oyake Akahachi) and in the neighbouring island of Yanaguni (under Ontura). Both were finally overwhelmed by an expedition from Miayko, led by Nakazone Toyomioya. He in turn submitted to Shuri, whereupon the King dispatched Sengen to bring about order and to set up a local administrative office(Kashira-shoku). This was improved upon in 1524, and in time developed into an orderly arrangement in which the local gentry carried on under the direction of a Resident Officer from Shuri, assisted by a secretariat and interpreters. In time it became customary for officers from the capital to be assigned for three-year tours of duty, during which they acquired local wives and reared local families. Upon their return to the Court they were required to leave these families behind. Exceptions were sometimes made if there was no heir at Shuri, but an official could take back one son only.

Whereas Yaeyama has relatively few legendary and quasi-historic sites, the flat, dry countryside of Miyako and its off-lying cluster of small islands are rich in traditional sites and ruins dating far back before the 17th century and marked

now by sacred woods and groves (otake). The deep communal wells upon which the island depends for its life are often found in large caves. Near many of the wells are the ruins of enclosures referred to as "castle sites". These are little more than rough stone walls which once supplied protection about the residence of a local chieftain and his retainers. Scattered over the rolling countryside are many tombs, some of them distinctly resembling the dolmen tombs and sarcophagi of Bronze Age Japan, some of them enclosures used until historic times for disposition of the dead through exposure to the natural forces of sun, wind and rain.

The legends of Miyako are the legends of culture heroes of three principal types: alien heroes who came from overseas introducing new objects and ways of living; local heroes who have travelled far and returned with wealth and strange or precious objects; and heroes of historic times who were notable reformers, striving to "correct" local ways by reconciling local practices with the more sophisticated ways of Shuri.

It must not be forgotten that in their extreme geographic isolation in legendary and historic times, Yaeyama and Miyako have always been oriented toward Okinawa, just as Shuri and Naha, on Okinawa, have looked throughout historic times toward Peking, Kyoto, and Yedo.

The legendary exploits of heroes on Miayko appear to have considerable basis in fact. The traditions point to a general condition of lawlessness and continual warfare before the 16th century, and to conditions of extreme and grinding poverty throughout Miyako's history.

Among the culture heroes who came from outside, introducing new objects and new techniques into daily use was the Lord of Uputaki Castle. He is said to have come over the seas "about 600 years ago" (i.e. about the 14th century), to have introduced new farming techniques to the local people, and to have dug two important wells, in use today. His castle was taken and the villagers around it were massacred shortly after Uputaki Anji's death. The village itself was later revived by a farmer named Pigitari Yunun-usu who is now deified and is said to be the only farmer worshipped in Miyako. At the Takagoshi Otaki the people of Miyako worship the Lord of Takagoshi Castle who also arrived "about 600 years ago". He, too, introduced advanced ways of rice culture and cattle-breeding, and in association with the two other Anji (one of them a woman) he attempted to resist the unification of Miyako under an ambitious Lord Yonaha-baru, of Hirara. Betrayed, Takagoshi Anji committed suicide. On nearby Terama Island, Ungusuku Kanedono is deified for having instructed the local people in making farming implements.

While tradition indicates that most of the culture heroes came down from the north, one tells of the arrival of seven Chinese brothers from the west who introduced improvements of such an impressive nature they were subsequently deified at seven different places by the local people. Of the later-day culture heroes one may cite Nema Ikari, who deplored the local lack of reverence in worship of ancestors. To improve the standards of his fellows, he went up to Okinawa to study the proper rites, and upon his return introduced new forms of burial and worship, and new types of tomb construction.

Cruelty, revenge and counter-revenge form constant themes in traditions of early Miyako. It is noteworthy how many heroes are men who died in overwhelming disaster. Another oft-repeated theme tells of the tragedy of separation and the fate that befell women and children left behind by sea-faring fathers. Miyako was early a way-station for Okinawan traders enroute to and from the ports of South Asia, and of Japanese merchants, adventurers and pirates. Local legends contribute to an understanding of their influence upon this distant island. There is the legend attached to Kubaka seaside castle ruins which tells of the daughter of the Lord of Kubaka who married an Okinawan named Tamagushiku. The father overheard his wife address her child as the "son of a wanderer". In anger he declared that he was a man of great importance in trade far to the southern islands. Taking the child from its mother he returned to Okinawa, where the child in time grew up to be a great lord. The disconsolate mother wandered on the shore below the castle walls, praying for death which indeed overtook her when she was swept to sea by a tidal wave. Tradition ascribes this story to the 15th century, as it does the story of Madama Naka Anji, or the young Lord who was son of a Japanese father and a Miyako girl, and who was killed in a cruel fashion by a jealous local woman. The deified ancestor of the Ia Family(Ian-shi) is a culture hero said to have come down from Kume Island and tradition says that his brother is deified on Yaeyama. A more substantial link with the past is supplied in the legend of Sunakawa Otono deified at the Maenuya Otaki because of his leadership in introducing Japanese shipbuilding techniques in Miyako. Two villages of shipbuilders live near this sacred grove today.

Summing up, we may say that documentary history for Sakishima does not begin until the opening of the 16th century, but that tradition points to a primitive society in the recent past, and to a movement southward into it of Okinawans and Japanese possessed of superior capacities for organization and leadership, superior tools and better agricultural techniques. It is not improbable that this took place principally in the 14th and 15th centuries, during the general expansion of maritime activities throughout East Asian coastal waters, though there is a proud tradition in Yaeyama that exiled members of the great Taira Clan settled in Ishigaki island in the 12th century.

The great event in Sakishima history seems to have been the expedition led by Nakasone Toyomioya against Akahachi of Yaeyama and Untura of Yonaguni. While the 15th century meant the growth of trade and communication with Okinawa, it also meant the growth of rivalry between two powerful families on Miyako, the Nakasone and the Kaneshigawa. The latter came from the Sunakawa shipbuilding area, and are said to have had many ships engaged in profitable traffic with Naha. The Shuri government determined to bring the southern islands under its control, but the expedition to Sakishima in 1486 met with limited success. Rebellious local leaders continued to refuse submission. Akahachi of Yaeyama proposed to invade Miyako. On Miyako the powerful local leader Nakasone Genga organized an expeditionary force for counter-attack, moved successfully against the neighbouring islands, and took back to Miyako booty and prisoners, including the daughter of Untura, of Yonaguni island.

The government at Shuri had meanwhile organized a punitive expedition of some 3000 men who were sent against Miyako in 1500. Nakasone successfully negotiated with the King's forces and averted disaster for the people of Miyako, and for this he was subsequently worshipped at the principal Miyako Shrine. Then followed the development of Shuri's controls, step by

step, though not without serious opposition. In recognition of his preeminent position, Nakasone was given the title of Miyako-jima Kashira, or "Chieftain of Miyako Island" in 1500, but in 1504 he took advantage of his powerful position to levy a private poll tax upon the Miyako people. Shuri on its part used a system of rewards and punishments; for those local lords whose authority it did not want to challenge openly, titles and honors were devised to "confirm" them in landholdings they already possessed. This in fact was merely extending to Miyako the practices of the Japanese and the Chinese who undertook from time to time to confirm the Shuri kings and the Shimazu clan lords in rights and titles over which neither Peking nor Kyoto exercised a real control.

A system of merit awards was developed, which enabled Shuri's representatives to divide and counter local opposition which could not be put down by direct action. Resistance to centralization was punished. An instance commemorated in local stories today involved Mahomari, a beautiful daughter of rebellious Nakaya Kanemaru. Because of her father's actions she was forced to go up to Shuri to become a royal concubine. When she had become pregnant by the King (Sho Shin), she was sent back to Miyako because of jealousy among the other Court ladies. Enroute she was shipwrecked on Terama Island, and there she was enshrined at Futatsu Se Otoki.

As part of the centralization project roads were built in Miyako to expedite the gathering of taxes. For example, Nakasone Genga ordered Kawamitsu Odon to construct the Shimoji Bridge Road in 1506. A stone direction marker was constructed on the top of the Karimata Watch Hill, a lookout site from which all the Miyako Islands could be kept under surveillance. Reports were made from there to the Shuri officials, giving note of all passing ships and their direction.

It required many years for Shuri to establish unchallenged control in Sakishima. The powerful local leadership of Nakasone Genga was replaced by that of Meguro Mori Toyomioya who fought his way to control of all Miyako about 1530. He in turn was overthrown by a youth named Yonaha Sedo Toyomioya, who founded Yonaha Village and is today enshrined (with Nakasone) in Miyako's principal shrine. Gradually the arts, crafts and living standards of Okinawa penetrated Sakishima. Buddhism is said to have been introduced about 1513 by one of the Kaneshigawa trading family. The Shuri government assumed direct control in 1532. As the years passed, opposition to Shuri subsided, public order was established, and the limited natural resources of the island were made to yield what they could for taxes. Because of the infertility of the land, and extremely hard work required to make it yield enough food for local use, the men of Miyako took to the sea as fishermen and as hardy crewmen needed on far-ranging trading ventures. Many local legends tell of the adventures of Miyako fishermen driven by storm to distant and sometimes savage islands. In 1567, for instance, a Miyako craft was stranded at Kaseta in Satsuma and there repaired and sent back to the islands by by the Shimazu Clan government.

While the men went to sea, the women of Miyako stayed at home to farm and to weave. Sometime in the 15th or 16th centuries new techniques in weaving were introduced, and developed into highly specialized Miyako jofu, most noted product of these islands. About 1584, it is said, a woman of Shimoji perfected

cloth of such quality that it was sent up to Shuri as a present for the King. The textiles of Miyako continued to be a major tax item thereafter until the opening of the 20th century. As an export item they were rivaled only by sugar cane which is said to have been introduced from China about 1597 by a man named Uruku Pechin Umaya. Within a few years' time both sugar cane and textiles were being sent up from Sakishima through Naha to Satsuma, for use and distribution in Japan.

While Shuri was thus extending its authority in Sakishima there was comparable interest, though less action, in the islands to the north. It will be remembered that in 1465 the aggressive young King Sho Toku in person had led a military foray into the islands north of Okinawa, along the sea road to Japan, and had there succeeded in establishing control over Kikai island. Now, three quarters of a century later, there was an attempt to push the northern frontier of the Chuzan Kingdom on to Amami Oshima. An expeditionary force under Nasashippu Oyakata established a temporary hold in 1537, but three decades later a new force had to be dispatched to reassert control (1571). Relatively little was done to develop an administration in Amami and it was doomed soon to fall permanently under the control of Satsuma.

Increased Japanese Interest and Activity in the Nansei Islands

Upon the death of the mute King Sho Gen in 1572, his second son, Sho Ei, took the Throne. There were few noteworthy changes in administration beyond the addition of an office in Government to supervise tile manufacture (the Kawara Bugyo). This in time was to become a flourishing business as tiles became popular substitutes for thatch for the roofs of official dwellings.

Sho Ei was the last King of a fully independent Chuzan. His reign ended in 1588, a year of ominous portent for Ryukyu. Toyotomi Hideyoshi had made himself master of Japan, and in 1589 sent warning that he expected cooperation from the Nansei Islands in his projected conquest of China. Here indeed was a dilemma for a small trading Kingdom whose commercial life and well-being depended wholly on the goodwill of its powerful neighbors.

Relations with Japan had not run a smooth course for some time. There had been some losses at sea in the 16th century when tribute and trading ships fell victim of the wako, the dreaded Japanese sea-rovers. Now they began to raid the shores of Okinawa itself and to threaten the port of Naha with the fate that had overtaken large trading settlements on the China coast and along the Yangtse River. There was a serious descent on the island in 1527. In 1551 the Shuri government ordered construction of two forts (Yaraza and Mie) flanking the entrance to Naha harbor. These were completed in 1553 (the year of the greatest wako raid in China, carried to the walls of Nanking), and by 1556 Okinawa was able to defend itself successfully against further raids, attempted from time to time.

There were relations with Japan on a more formal basis, both with the Shimazu Family in Satsuma and with the central government at Kyoto. Shuri was occasionally asked to act as intermediary between the Ashikaga Shogunate and the Chinese Court, but it was with the Shimazu Clan of Satsuma that relations increased steadily.

The interests of both Satsuma and Okinawa were affected in 1542 when a Chinese junk carrying three Portuguese was driven to Tanegashima by storm. This small island, hitherto notable only as a trading exchange post for Okinawa and Satsuma, now became the site of considerable activity, for here the Europeans first introduced firearms to Japan and instructed the men of Tanegashima in their manufacture. Future studies may disclose records of Satsuma's reaction to the Chuzan expeditions against Amami Oshima in 1537 and in 1571, for these were intrusions upon territory close to the Shimazu domain.

Japanese priests were active in the Ryukyus in this age, not only as missionaries but as diplomatic and commercial agents. This was a normal activity of the times; priests of the Five Great Temples of Kyoto were the Shogun's principal agents for many years, and barons throughout Japan used priests as their representatives in carrying through many secular missions requiring education and diplomacy. It was not uncommon, indeed, for a man to enter and leave the priesthood more than once during his life time and priests themselves were not above serving as secret military agents beyond the borders of their home feudatory.

Chance events drew Satsuma's attention more and more to the south. In 1567 a damaged craft from Miyako drifted ashore at Kaseda in Satsuma. The Clan Government ordered it repaired and then sent back the crew and their craft to Miyako. Four years later came the second invasion of Amami Oshima by forces sent up from Shuri. The Chuzan priests and students on their missions to Kyoto passed through Kagoshima. In 1573 officers of the new King Sho Ei (a youth of fifteen years) took occasion to send gifts up to Shimazu Yoshihisa, Lord of Satsuma, announcing the accession and asking for friendly relations.

Satsuma at this time was deeply embroiled in the wars from which Hideyoshi emerged as master of Japan. Otomo Yoshishige, one of the powerful daimyo of Western Japan, spent the last ten years of his life in deadly war with Shimazu Yoshihisa, and attempted to rouse all the allies he could bring to bear against Satsuma. It is probable that a mission sent to Ryukyu by Otomo in 1577 had something to do with this. The Ryukyu government, however, in that year sent a priest-envoy (Shu Ou Osho) to Yoshihisa to congratulate him upon his victorious conquest of three provinces in Kyushu. We are not concerned here further with this incident, except to note that Yoshihisa was forced to give up his new territory on the northern borders of Satsuma by order of Hideyoshi, who had sided with Otomo. It is not improbable that Otomo's mission to Ryukyu may have alerted Shimazu to the danger of a flanking attack based on Ryukyu. (52) The Chinese envoys who performed the traditional investiture ceremony for the young King Sho Ei in 1579 returned to Peking with reports that more than one hundred Japanese soldiers were stationed in Ryukyu, and that they were a formidable and rough company. This in fact, truly foreshadowed the end of independence for Chuzan.

Chuzan and War in Korea and Japan, 1592-1603.

In the reign of King Sho Nei (1589-1620) the Chuzan Kingdom fell victim to

(52) In the course of these campaigns in Kyushu, Hideyoshi had the cooperation of priests of the Shin Sect of Buddhism, who acted as spies and agents on his behalf. As a consequence, when this was proved, the Satsuma Government suppressed the Shin sect within the Shimazu domain. This had later importance in Ryukyu.

economic and political forces generated far from Shuri. To understand these we must turn our attention briefly to events in Japan and China, and in Korea, the natural corridor between them. This pattern of Korean involvement has been repeated since then, in the years immediately after the Japanese Restoration of 1868, and in 1950, following the unification of China under a Communist administration. In all three instances ambitious military expansion programs followed upon unification of political controls over national resources. Border countries - Ryukyu and Korea - were inevitably and profoundly affected by the consequences.

During the "Golden Age" of Ryukyu (the reigns of Sho Shin and Sho Sei) Japan passed through the anarchy and the Sengoku period. The central government could control neither pirates who ranged throughout Far Eastern waters, nor ambitious feudal lords who fought ceaselessly among themselves throughout Japan. In 1568 one of these barons (Oda Nobunaga) more powerful than his rivals, made himself de facto Shogun, and began a movement toward unification. One of his principal lieutenants was Toyotomi Hideyoshi, who, in 1577, conducted a campaign against the great lords of western and southern Japan. As we have seen, the actions of this formidable opponent heightened Satsuma's sense of danger from flanking attacks from the south, through the Southern Islands. Hideyoshi succeeded Nobunaga in 1582 and began soon after ambitiously to plan invasion of China via the Korean Peninsula. Both the Kingdoms of Ryukyu and Korea were called upon to contribute in aid of this continental enterprise.

Hideyoshi entertained other ambitions, hardly less great, to move southward overseas, taking Formosa and the Philippines. The Spanish Governor at Manila in turn proposed to move northward into Formosa to forestall Japan. We know that a Japanese force of more than a hundred fighting men were living on Okinawa. (53) Geography had placed Okinawa on this political and military frontier in the path of any adventurers going out from, or approaching, the shores of Japan. When the conflict between China and Japan came to open warfare in Korea, the leaders at Shuri were kept acquainted with military activities based on Kyushu.

The Shuri Court had neglected to send gifts to the Shogun's court at Kyoto during the years of confusion before Nobunaga and Hideyoshi came to power. Hideyoshi now reminded Ryukyu of this, and ordered Shimazu Yoshihiro to levy a tribute from Ryukyu in support of the Korean invasion plans. The Government of the new King, Sho Nei, sent apologies and gifts, and in midsummer of 1589 a priest from Shuri was received in audience by Hideyoshi.

It was shortly after this that Hideyoshi is said to have made a gift of Ryukyu to one of his lieutenants (Kamei Korenori) in a rather offhand way. During a conversation one day he picked up a folding fan, took his brush, and inscribed on the fan "Kamei, Lord of Ryukyu", handing it then to Korenori. In 1591 Kamei proposed to invade his new territory, but was blocked by Shimazu, obviously alert to the danger of having one of Hideyoshi's close lieutenants in control of the Southern Islands. This story seems to have been confirmed later from Korean sources, for when the Japanese were forced to retreat on one occasion, this treasured fan was picked up among personal effects found in the officers' quarters of an abandoned Japanese ship.

(53) See above, page 67.

The incident must also be seen in a larger context. Hideyoshi was convinced of his ability to conquer China, and it is a matter of record that he had decided upon the distribution of Chinese territories to his lieutenants, naming them to fiefs according to their valour, faithfulness and importence. Kamei was a minor lieutenant (only 13,000 koku), hence Ryukyu was a minor gift, easily bestowed, but eagerly received.

In all things Shuri sought to remain friendly with both sides, but when Hideyoshi's first invasion of Korea failed the Chuzan officials seem to have believed that they could be firm in refusing to aid Japan in attacks on China. If they had any expectation that the Ming Government would give them aid in resisting Japanese pressure, they were suffering from an illusion of Chinese strength and Chinese interest in their welfare. The Ming Government was on the eve of defeat and collapse.

Hideyoshi's death (1598) put an end to the second Japanese Expedition into Korea. The Daimyo who were abroad hastened home to take sides in disputes concerning the succession to power in Japan. These culminated in the Battle of Sekigahara (1600) where Tokugawa Iyeyasu emerged as preeminent ruler. He took careful note of those who had fought for him and those who were ranged against him. Shimazu Yoshihiro, Lord of Satsuma, Osumi and part of Hyuga, was among the latter, and though he obtained Iyeyasu's pardon, he was forced to retire, giving over his domains to his son. (54; for this footnote see bottom of page 70.)

With great skill Tokugawa Iyeyasu redistributed feudal territory. The barons who had supported him before the Battle of Sekigahara numbered 176, and to these he gave the name fudai-daimyo, reserving to them alone high offices in his government. The barons who reluctantly submitted to him only after the Battle of Sekigahara were named tozama daimyo - the "outside Lords". These numbered 86. Although the most powerful among them were given high Court honors and were treated as guests when they visited the Shogun's Court at Edo, they were in practice excluded from important posts in the administration. To make doubly sure of their reluctant submission, and to prevent effective coalitions of anti-Tokugawa forces, Tokugawa's vassals (the fudai daimyo) were given territories which in effect isolated tozama daimyo one from another and from Edo the capital.

The Shimazu of Satsuma were among the most powerful and wealthy of the "outside Lords". After the redistribution of fiefs, they found themselves isolated and confined to territories in southern Kyushu. There could be no further thought of expansion to north or east. The borders were closely watched on both sides. Although the Shogun's government carefully supervised relations among the individual daimyo, it made virtually no attempt to interfere in administration within the territories of such powerful Lords. If we are to understand Satsuma-Ryukyu relations and Satsuma's role as intermediary between Shuri and Yedo, we must understand how Shimazu chafed under Tokugawa restraint upon Satsuma's relations with other barons, and how jealously the Satsuma Clan maintained an independent rule within Clan territories.

The Satsuma expedition against Ryukyu in 1609 served as a safety-valve for the ambitions and war-like energies of the clansmen. For centuries they had enjoyed freedom to make war on their neighbors. After 1600 they were effectively blocked on the land frontier, and so turned southward, feeding their

pride through the subjugation of the people and islands of Ryukyu. The Shogun's Government could welcome this expansion of Japan's frontier and the establishment of defensive outposts in the islands to the south.

We have traced the history of a nominal title "Lord of the Southern Islands" granted first to Shimazu Tadahisa in 1206 and renewed again and again upon each appropriate occasion. Thus far it was never given substance through any action initiated by Satsuma. The Kings of Ryukyu had sent messengers, envoys and gifts to the Shimazu Princes as they would to any other powerful and respected neighbor. Now all this was about to change; for two hundred sixty years (1603-1872) the Shimazu were to exercise an effective control over the foreign affairs and internal administration of Ryukyu, leaving to the Kings and the Government at Shuri only nominal honors and an appearence of independence.

The Closing Years of Independence: Divided Counsels and Loyalties at Shuri

These years between Hideyoshi's first demands upon Ryukyu (1588) and the overwhelming Satsuma Expedition (1609) afforded the last interlude of peaceful independence for the small Kingdom. The King extended his patronage to Buddhist temple-building (the Futemma Gonren-do was built in 1590), and to road and bridge construction (the Taihei-Kyo or Taira-bashi was built of stone at Shuri, 1597). In 1606 an event of revolutionary importance in local economics took place. Cultivation of the sweet potato was introduced from Fukien Province, China, by Noguni Sokan. Cultural ties with Japan were being strengthened by the arrival of missionaries from time to time. A priest named Taichu began preaching a popular evangelical form of Buddhism at Shuri in 1603. He introduced the Nembutsu ritual and preached the possibility of salvation through the repetition of Amida's name in a simple formula. The poorest and most illiterate believer could hope for eternal bliss in Amida's beautiful Western Paradise. Another Japanese missionary priest named Eniyu founded a Buddhist temple, the San Ko-in, on Naminoue Headland. The Okinawans as a whole seem to have been tolerant of all organized religions, if not indifferent to them. The Confucian temple at Kume village was the center of formal literary studies and of rituals honoring the Sages of China. By their very nature Confucianism could appeal only to a minority of the upper classes whose studies

(54) Shimazu Yoshihisa had been defeated by Hideyoshi and forced to turn over his domains to his brother Yoshihiro in 1587. Nevertheless he remained in the background, directing many important affairs for his family. In 1600 Yoshihiro entered the Battle of Sekigahara against Iyeyasu. When Iyeyasu emerged the victor, Yoshihiro hastened back to Satsuma. His brother undertook to mediate with Iyeyasu, and won a pardon for Yoshihiro in 1602 on condition the latter would become a priest, and hand over control of the Shimazu domain to his son Tadatsune. In the next year Tadatsune went up to pay his respects and express his appreciation to Iyeyasu at Fushimi Castle (Kyoto).

As a mark of honor without military or political substance, Iyeyasu conferred one syllable of his name on Tadatsune who was thenceforth known as Iyehisa. It is reasonable to assume that Ryukyu-Satsuma relations were discussed during the conversations held at this time.

had included classical Chinese, and preeminent among these, of course, were students who returned after years of study at Peking.

Buddhist temples and rituals had a more popular appeal in the Naha-Shuri area, and were associated with Japan and with Japanese missionary endeavor in the popular mind. Only two of the many Japanese sects were well-established in Ryukyu - the Rinzai Zen-shu and the Shingon-shu. Okinawan converts and students went up through Satsuma from time to time as pilgrims to famous temples and sacred spots in Japan.

But the influence of neither Confucian studies nor of Buddhist doctrine was felt deeply in the countryside beyond the Shuri-Naha area. Throughout the islands the indigenous cult flourished under the hierarchy of the Noro. Its traditions and practices were sufficiently close to the Shinto practices and beliefs of Japan to attract the close attention of the Japanese priest, Taichu, who compiled the first formal account of religious practices in Ryukyu (the Ryukyu Shinto-ki) about 1608. This is not surprising, for Ryobu-Shinto (a mixture of Shinto and Buddhist belief and ritual) was then in practice throughout Japan.

Reverence for ancestors was a common element in Chinese, Japanese, and Ryukyuan emotional and religious life, and far outweighed either Confucian or Buddhist formalities in everyday affairs. The common people of the Ryukyu Islands cannot have been very deeply aware of any doctrinal or political competition for the attention, interest and support of their rulers at Shuri and Naha.

At Court, however, the competition among Okinawans who were "pro-Chinese" or "pro-Japanese" was keen and open, and found expression in political conflict as well as cultural preferences. We do not know what heated arguments may have been carried on among the King's councillors, but when Japanese demands were made upon Chuzan to support Hideyoshi's campaign to invade China through Korea, the Shuri Government decided not to comply, and an excuse was found to suspend the customary missions to Kyoto.

This decision seems to have been made by King Sho Nei principally upon the advice of a Councillor named Teido Jana Oyakata who was a man of the Kume-mura immigrant village, educated at Peking, and strongly pro-Chinese in his views on the conflict in Korea. When Satsuma sent an envoy down to Shuri to inquire into the break in relations with the Shogunate, Jana Oyakata is said to have caused him to be treated rudely. This Satsuma could not ignore.

In 1603 Shimazu Yoshihisa sent another envoy to Shuri, this time strongly advising the King to submit to the new order in Japan, and to pay his respects to Tokugawa Iyeyasu, the new Shogun. Again Sho Nei declined to renew relations with the Bakufu. It is probable that he and his Council did not fully appreciate the significance of Iyeyasu's victory in 1600, and the fundamental changes which came with a new centralization of power and authority in Tokugawa hands. Shuri's reply to Satsuma referred to conditions in Japan as they had been before 1600, not as they were in fact thereafter.

Upon receipt of this second refusal, Shimazu appealed to Tokugawa Iyeyasu for permission to chastize Chuzan for its rudeness and failure to pay due re-

spect to the new government in Japan. Iyeyasu by that time had left Edo and was living in nominal retirement at Sumpu (Shizuoka). In 1606 he granted permission to Shimazu to bring about the subjugation of Ryukyu. It is probable that Iyeyasu was glad to find military diversion for restless Satsuma at no cost to the Shogunate. He was at the time deeply concerned with problems of European pressure upon Japan. The Satsuma Clan must be barred in any attempts to enlarge its territories within Japan Proper, but it would be to Japan's interest to extend garrison forces into the Southern Islands which formed the sea frontiers through which Europeans must pass to approach the Shogun's port of Nagasaki. Satsuma, on its part, was ready to give its samurai their proper employment after three years of unaccustomed tranquility, and was not aware of the wealth which had accumulated at Shuri and Naha.

King Sho Nei received the writ of investiture from the Ming Emperor in 1606, unaware that Tokugawa Iyeyasu at the same time had cleared the way for a Satsuma invasion of the Ryukyu Islands. Three years passed by, however, before the southern expedition could be fully organized and got under way.

The Keicho Incident: Satsuma Invades Chuzan in 1609

In 1609 a force of 3000 Satsuma warriors set sail from Yamakawa, in Kagoshima Bay, under the command of Kabayama Hisataka. (55) The Japanese forces set out in a fleet of more than one hundred warships, moved down through the Amami Islands, past Tokunojima and Kikaijima, and put in at Unten Harbor on the Motobu Peninsula. There they had to overcome sharp resistance on Oshima and Tokunoshima enroute, but met with almost no resistance on Okinawa. (56) The inexperienced and ill-equipped Okinawans fell away before the seasoned Satsuma warriors, who hastened on to Shuri and Naha. Shuri Palace was looted, and the King, together with more than one hundred of his courtiers and Councillors, was forced to go up to Kagoshima to answer for their defiant conduct. (57)

(55) See Nihon Meisho Chishi Vol. X, p. 421. Kabayama Hisataka was an ancestor of Kabayama Sukenori, sent by Tokyo to Formosa in 1873 to observe conditions there before the Expedition of 1874, described hereafter in Chapter XI.

(56) Satsuma men who died at Unten were entombed in the cliff below the tombs of the "Hundred Faithful Vassals" (Momojana) who had died when Hokuzan Castle fell to Sho Hashi in 1416. A large monumental grave in Okinawan style was subsequently erected to honor the site, while on the summit of the cliffs above Admiral (then Captain) Togo Heihachiro, a Satsuma man, erected a monument in 1892 to call attention to the tradition (treated as fact) of Tametomo's arrival at this spot in 1165. Upon this tradition Japan's claims to Okinawa were based, and were taken to justify the invasion of 1609.

(57) Binkenstein, R: "Die Ryukyu Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa" Monumenta Nipponica Vol. IV, No. 2, 1941, pp. 296-302.

PART TWO

DUAL SUBORDINATION

Ryukyu, Japan and China, 1609-1878

Chapter VI

INTERNAL ADJUSTMENTS AFTER THE SATSUMA INVASION

1. The King's Pledge, an Economic Surrender to Satsuma
2. Dual Standards of Subordination
3. A Period of Institutional Adjustment and Japanization

Chapter VI

INTERNAL ADJUSTMENTS AFTER THE SATSUMA INVASION

The King's Pledge, an Economic Surrender to Satsuma

King Sho Nei was held in exile for three years, during which his self-possession, dignity and conduct earned the admiration of his captors. He was required to travel up from Kagoshima to pay his respects to the retired Shogun Iyeyasu at Sumpu, and to go on to Yedo to be presented at the ruling Shogun's Court. In these journeys he and his attendants were ostentaciously made a part of the entourage of the daimyo Shimazu Iyehisa, who travelled in great state through the Inland Sea and along the Tokaido into Eastern Honshu. For the first time in history the ruler of a foreign territory was seen in Japan. His position was indeed ambiguous, for although he was treated with courtesy and ceremony, he was nevertheless a prisoner. Not even the Taiko Hideyoshi had enjoyed the satisfaction of bringing a foreign king to his Court, and we shall see that in subsequent years the Satsuma daimyo used this relationship to political advantage within Japan.

In 1611 it was agreed that Sho Nei could return to Ryukyu and resume his position as King of Chuzan, provided he and his chief Councillors would give written pledges to accept certain stipulations governing the economy of the Southern Islands. The pledges taken and the rules to be imposed and enforced by Satsuma were as follows:

The King's Oath

I.

The Islands of Riu Kiu have from ancient times been a feudal dependency of Satsuma; and we have for ages observed the custom of sending thither, at the stated times, junks bearing products of these islands, and we have always sent messengers to carry our congratulations to a new Prince of Satsuma on his accession.

Such has been our custom; but in the time of His Highness Toyotomi Hideyoshi, we, inhabitants of this far-off southern land, had failed fully to comply with the requisitions made upon us for supplies and services; therein we were remiss in our duty, and were very guilty; thus did we bring trouble to our shore. You, our Lord, Shimazu Iyehisa sent an army against us to chastize us; I was dismayed. I was carried off from my home and became a prisoner in your mighty land; I, like to an unmated bird shut up in a cage, had lost all hope of returning to my home.

But our merciful Prince has shown his loving kindness; and taking pity on master and servants whose country seemed all lost to them, gave them his leave to return to their homes; not only so, but also allowed them themselves to govern some of their country's islands.

This is a boon indeed; we know not how to show our thankfulness. So will we forever be the humble servants of Satsuma, and obedient to all commands, and never will be traitors to our Lord.

II.

A writing /i.e. copy/ of this Oath I myself will keep and will hand it down to my posterity that they may observe and keep it.

III.

Each and every article of the ordinances already made and of those which shall hereafter be made by Satsuma for our observance shall be faithfully obeyed by us; and herein if we fail, may Heaven visit our sin upon our heads.

The Oath of the King's Councillors

I.

The islands of Riu Kiu have from ancient times been a feudal dependency of Satsuma; therefore we would have obeyed and carried out an order of any kind whatever given to us upon any matter. Yet now but little time ago, neglecting our duty, /we/ fell into the sin of disloyalty. We, master alike and men, were carried away captive and were in despair of returning even with our lives. How great then was our joy when you, Gread Lord, had compassion upon us and not only allowed us to return but also granted us unlooked-for emoluments. We know not how to show our thankfulness. Ever hereafter will we remain the loyal subjects of Satsuma.

II.

If, peradventure, any man of Riu Kiu, forgetful of this great-hearted deed, ever in times to come, plans a revolt against you, yea, if it were our Chieftain himself who should be drawn to join revolt, yet we nevertheless obedient to the commands of our Great Lord, will never be false to our Oath by abetting a rebel, be he lord or churl.

III.

A writing of this oath /i.e. a copy/ we each and all of us will keep /so/ that our sons may know forever and observe what we have vowed and therein may never fail.

The Ordinance of Shimazu Iyehisa /Prince of Satsuma/

Art. 1. - No merchandise shall be imported from China without leave first obtained of the Prince of Satsuma.

Art. 2. - No emoluments shall be given to any member of any family, however illustrious, on account of distinguished origin alone, but only to those capable of public service.

Art. 3. - No emoluments of office shall be given to a mistress of the Chieftain.

Art. 4 - No kind of private servitude is allowed.

Art. 5. - The number of shrines or temples to be erected shall not be excessive.

Art. 6. - No merchants shall be allowed to engage in external trade to or from Riu Kiu without a written permission from Satsuma.

Art. 7. - No inhabitant of Riu Kiu shall be sent to the mainland as a slave.

Art. 8. - All taxes or other imposts of a similar kind shall be levied only in accordance with the rules and regulations laid down by the authority from the mainland.

Art. 9. - It is prohibited [to the Chieftain] to entrust the conduct of public affairs in the islands to any persons other than San-shi-kuan (Council).

Art. 10. - No persons shall be compelled to buy or sell against his will.

Art. 11. - Quarrels and personal encounters are prohibited.

Art. 12. - Reports shall be made to the authorities in Kagoshima, the castle-town of Satsuma, in case of any official making any claim exceeding the amount of taxes and duties properly to be levied according to law upon merchants and farmers or others.

Art. 13. - No merchant ship is allowed to go to any foreign country from Riu Kiu.

Art. 14. - No measure of capacity [value] other than the Government standard measure known as the Kioban is allowed to be used.

Art. 15. - Gambling and all other vicious habits of a like nature are prohibited.

Strictly observe each one of the foregoing articles! Those who violate the same shall be liable to severe punishment! (58)

The first of these measures very effectively put economic fetters upon the Ryukyu Islands. Overseas trade with China was the very substance of livelihood for Shuri and Naha, and the source of the modest prosperity which the old Kingdom had enjoyed. Henceforth Satsuma was to be in a position to exercise complete

(58) This somewhat stilted English version is the official Japanese Government translation placed in evidence before foreign representatives during the Sino-Japanese sovereignty dispute, 1872-1882. Quoted in the Japan Weekly Mail, October 8, 1879., Vol. III, No. 42, p. 1383.

control over trade and the profits accruing from it. Articles 1, 6 and 13, if enforced, meant that every ship entering or leaving the islands would do so in the interest of Satsuma. Articles 2, 3, 8, 12 and 14 had to do with related matters such as taxation, standards of value and measure to govern economic activity and bribery of officials. Article 5 may have been written with forethought to prevent the development of large religious foundations in Okinawa to which wealth might be diverted from tax channels and accumulated under pretexts of piety. Articles 4, 7 and 10 represented a fairly liberal protection of the rights of the individual, while Articles 11 and 15 were intended to promote public peace and order.

It is noteworthy that only one - Article 9 - is concerned exclusively with internal administration, limiting the delegation of Royal authority to the Sanshikan alone. Nothing was set forth to define the authority or position of the representatives through whom Satsuma proposed to maintain influence with the members of the Sanshikan.

The excuse for the punitive expedition ostensibly had been Satsuma's desire to punish King Sho Nei and his Councillors for failure to show respect to the Shogun's Government, but although the Oaths required them to acknowledge failure and fault in these matters, the Articles to which they were told to put their seals made no mention of formal ceremonial obligations. Satsuma was more interested in commercial profits than in ceremonial flattery for the Tokugawa Bakufu.

With the exception of Jana Teido Oyakata, the King and his Councillors signed the covenants at Kagoshima. For his stubborn refusal to agree to his country's loss of independence, Jana was taken to one side and beheaded.

Sadly the King returned to Shuri in the autumn of 1611, to a changed government and a changed national life. (59)

Dual Standards of Subordination

During the King's absence the administration of the islands had been left in the hands of a Satsuma samurai named Honda Chikamasa, acting as deputy for Kabayama Hisataka. The invasion had caused little physical damage at Shuri or Naha, but the institutional changes brought about were revolutionary.

Amami Oshima, Kikai, Erabu, Toku and Yoron islands, lying between Okinawa and Kyushu, were removed from Shuri's control and attached to Satsuma, to be administered from Kagoshima thereafter. (60) Satsuma's new borders were now within sight of the northern tip of Okinawa.

On behalf of Satsuma fourteen High Commissioners (bugyo) with 168 aides

(59) The Kian Diary (Kian Nikki) survives as the most important source of first-hand observation of the invasion, reorganization and change.

(60) Thus although Oshima people recognized close cultural ties with Okinawa, they were in fact under Okinawa's organized control for less than three quarters of a century.

went down to make the first complete survey of the administration and economic potential of Ryukyu. Their activities extended as far south as Miyako and Yaeyama. After checking, revising and adjusting reports brought in from off-lying islands, it was decided by them that the Ryukyu revenues stood at the equivalent of 94,220 koku of rice, and that upon this basis, the Chuzan government should be required to pay over to Satsuma, as tribute, an annual equivalent of 11,935 koku. Satsuma was thereby able substantially to increase its own total revenues, but Ryukyu suffered a disastrous blow.

An economic and administrative pattern was now set which was to endure with little change until the end of the 19th century. To meet the Satsuma levy, two new taxes were laid on. To the Honde-mai, the existing Basic Rice Tax, were added the Bu-Mai, a Military or Defense Tax, and the Gyubabutsu-Mai, a Livestock Tax. The old administration had carried on principally through deputies of the Anji, governing for them in their hereditary districts. This loose arrangement was now replaced by a system of Jito or District Chiefs appointed from Shuri. An agent of Satsuma was established in Naha to supervise and report on the conduct of the Government, while a Ryukyu Office (Ryukyu Kan) was set up at Kagoshima to serve as point of liaison in Ryukyu affairs (1612). Satsuma thenceforth required the Ryukyu Court to apply to its agents for approval of heirs designated for the Throne at Shuri, for the appointment and dismissal of principal officials, and of course for the conduct of foreign relations. Between 1611 and 1850 eighteen embassies were sent up through Satsuma to Yedo, the Shogun's Capital, thus maintaining a nominal appearance of subjection to the Tokugawa Government. In actual practice, however, Satsuma stood between Shuri and Yedo, and Ryukyu policies were determined principally in the Shimazu headquarters at Kagoshima. (61)

This relationship of dependence upon Satsuma's will represents a strong contrast with the old tributary relationship with China, in which ex post facto confirmation of new Kings sufficed to satisfy the formalities demanded by the Chinese Court. Relations with Japan henceforth were close, and perhaps more eagerly sought for on the Okinawan side than by the Japanese. The execution of Teido Jana Oyakata, the ardent pro-Chinese adviser to the King, seems not greatly to have strained relations established during the King's exile. In 1612 the Japanese released and sent back to Shuri two nobles who had been held as hostages. One was the Lord of Katsuren, concurrently Abbot of the Enkakuji Temple. The other was the Lord of Ozato. A third notable hostage, Kunjan Anji, chose to stay in Kagoshima, assumed a Japanese name, and in 1614 joined Shimazu Iyehisa when he went up to assist Tokugawa Iyeyasu in an attack upon Osaka Castle and destruction of the Toyotomi loyalists.

Jana Oyakata's stubborn refusal to surrender Okinawa's independence, and Junjan Anji's action are sometimes cited as evidence that the 15th and 16th century Ryukyuan spirit of boldness and adventure was not dead. Between the 16th and 19th centuries, however, a great change was wrought, for early Western accounts uniformly describe the mildness, the yielding and passive character of the Okinawans, and the Japanese of the 19th and early 20th century took few pains to conceal a light opinion of Okinawa Prefecture and its unwarlike people.

(61) On Satsuma's administrative control organization at Shuri, see: Kuroita Katsumi: Kokushi no Kenkyu (Study of Japanese History) rev. ed. 1937, Vol. III, p. 582.

The Keicho Invasion forced the people of Ryukyu into a strange and difficult position in which they could develop no fixed and final standards of their own in politics, economics, or social organization. The situation was one to minimize and discourage any sense of strong individuality either for the nation as a whole, or for the individual members of society. Although a nominal appearance of sovereign independence was maintained in formal matters of national interest, the governing gentry were required to weigh official words and actions carefully, lest they come into conflict with either of the two powerful nations to which they were subordinate. The educated individual of the privileged classes was under no less a psychological stress in his personal life. Leaders at Court who were administrators were called upon each day to adjust decisions to external pressures, regardless of their own sense of loyalty to the King and to the local countryside. Standards of education and of social life and common customs were also under strain. A Chinese classical education remained the highest ideal and accomplishment for those who had leisure to study, and since the way remained open for students to go to Peking as a climax to their training, and provided a sure road to the highest offices in local Government, the "Chinese standard" was strong and constant. Dress, food, and ceremonial, no less than ethical precepts and forms of administration, were constantly under direct Chinese influence.

At the same time the "Japanese standard" was ever-present. A Japanese version of Chinese classical education and the opportunity to study at Kagoshima or at Kyoto competed with the "Chinese standard". Basic elements of race, religious practice and language formed natural ties with Japan. The mode of living for the general populace (outside the Court) was much closer to the Japanese mode of life than it was to Chinese custom. Such natural inclination toward identification with Japan was reinforced by expediency in the face of military and economic pressure from Satsuma.

As an example, Satsuma extended to the Ryukyu Islands the strict prohibition laid on the Shin Sect of Buddhism, whose priests had served as Hideyoshi's agents in campaigns against Shimazu Yoshihisa. Only the Zen and the Shingon sects were permitted to be active, the one centering at Enkakuji, the other at Gokokuji. The Shin Sect was rigorously repressed; there were no temples, no priesthood and no missionary activity.

For two and a half centuries the people of Ryukyu were required to accommodate themselves to two conflicting standards of behaviour dictated by Satsuma. While conforming to Satsuma's orders, they had to pretend to be independent of Japan and all things Japanese when they were in communication with the Chinese.

The key to this unnatural situation is easily discovered. Satsuma wanted the advantages of Ryukyu trade with China. The Chinese Government had from time to time forbidden all Chinese intercourse with Japan. Satsuma was determined, if at all possible, to give Peking no technical reason for laying an embargo on trade with the tributary state of Ryukyu. Thus, when Chinese envoys and merchants came to Ryukyu on their periodic missions, all Japanese living at Naha withdrew into the countryside. The Ryukyu people had to conceal all Japanese objects. Officials were directed to feign ignorance of the Japanese

language, although a form of Japanese, and not Chinese, was the usual language of the educated man. A handbook of directions for Okinawans travelling in China was prepared, giving a variety of probable questions and a list of answers which it was thought would suitably conceal Shuri's true subordinate relationship to Japan.

It cannot be seriously believed that the Chinese were kept in ignorance by these pretensions and deceptions throughout two hundred and fifty years, for even the most casual European visitor, writing of the islands from Nagasaki, Naha or the China ports after 1600, records the fact of Satsuma's domination. This was an elaborate make-believe consciously undertaken on both sides.

This situation undermined the values of independence and of self-respect and pride. Individualism and self-assertion faded; the arts of compromise and adjustment became essential to survival among the leaders. Boldness gave way to timidity. The necessity to accept external controls became a habit of mind. Two and a half centuries of dual subordination left a deep imprint upon the character-traits of the Ryukyuan people.

China's indifference to the changes on Okinawa was noteworthy. Peking's failure to make any defense of her Tributary State in the 17th Century seriously undermined Chinese claims to sovereignty in the Ryukyu Islands in later years. But at that time events on the distant islands were of little consequence to a continental power. Overseas trade through Naha was useful but not vital in any way to China's economic well-being. By contrast with Hideyoshi's earlier invasion of the Korean peninsula, the Japanese invasion of Ryukyu in 1609 presented no threat to the security of the sprawling Chinese Empire.

China's manifest lack of concern for the internal administration or welfare of its tributary states did not in any way diminish Ryukyuan respect for Chinese culture. China's vast area, the overwhelmingly great numbers of her people, and the size of the Manchu and Chinese armies were all well-known facts to the island people, and were held in respect and awe.

Since the Chinese were satisfied with form, with ceremonious acknowledgement of Peking's cultural greatness, the Japanese were free to act as they might choose in controlling the internal affairs of Ryukyu and in directing foreign relations. They could enjoy these opportunities so long as they did not disturb the ceremonial embassies between Shuri and Peking. In point of fact China made no serious objection to the Japanese position in Ryukyu until Tokyo forced the Okinawans to break off the tributary missions to Peking in 1874.

A Period of Institutional Adjustment and Japanization.

The adjustment of relations with Japan after 1611 proceeded smoothly and with apparent satisfaction to both Satsuma and Shuri. King Sho Nei's death broke an important link with the past in 1621. His latter days were embittered by memories of exile in Satsuma, and the hard necessity to accept a formal subordination which meant poverty for his small Kingdom. In remorse, before death he ordered that his body should not lie with those of his ancestors in the Royal Mausoleum (the Tama Udun) at Shuri. Instead it was buried in the hill-caves back

of Urasoe, some five miles to the north of the Palace. Furthermore it is said that he ordered a mask to be placed over his face in death, to signify his humiliation and reluctance to enter the presence of his ancestors. His successor, Sho Ho, could not merely assume the powers of office and announce the fact to Japan while requesting confirmation from China (the writ of investiture) as his ancestors had done. Now the succession had first to be approved by Satsuma's representative at Shuri. Application for recognition by China could not be made until after consent had been secured from Kagoshima.

By the time King Sho Ho came to the throne, Satsuma had returned to Shuri the power to organize offices and to administer punishments at the King's will, though always with the eye of the Japanese Resident officer upon his actions. (62)

The administrative structure was gradually enlarged. Primary functions of Government at this time were the collection of taxes in kind, and supervision of the public peace. From the nature of some of the offices, solemnly established and staffed, one suspects that a secondary function of Government at Shuri was to provide offices, titles, and income for relatives of the Royal Family, for descendants of the Anji and for the gentry of Shuri and Naha cities. All Government organization was held together by the elaborate network of ceremonial relationships prescribed by Confucian standards of good government. As new economic problems rose, or old economic activities developed new importance, offices of Government were created to manage them. (63)

By this time the administration had become thoroughly institutionalized. It was no longer dependent upon the personality or ability of the King, who reigned only by hereditary right although with great prestige as a ceremonial Chief of State. Sho Nei was the last King to play an important personal role in national affairs.

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(62) Note that this sytem of "Residents" was followed in Korea (1904-1910) and in Manchukuo (1932-1945), and was attempted at Peking and Nanking after 1937.

(63) Among the more important offices were the following, in order of their appearance or major development in the Government after 1621:

Financial Affairs (Sanya Bugyo) 1625
Forest Affairs (Sozan Bugyo) 1628
Board of Estimate
Governorship of Naha (Naha Satonushi) 1638
Sugar Management (Sato Bugyo) 1662
Religious Affairs 1657
Documents Office 1668
Transportation Office 1680
Supervision of Foreigners 1653
Horse Breeding and Management Affairs 1656
Tribute-ship Construction and Supervision 1663
Sugar Production and Management (Sato Bugyo) 1662
Tea Management (Cha Bugyo) 1676

Shrine and Temple Magistracy (Jisha Bugyo) 1684
Lineage Record Office (Peerage Office) (Keizu Nakadori) 1689
Court Library and Archives (Sho-in Bugyo) 1689
Writing Materials Production Office (Zohitsu-yaku) 1695

The Administration lay in the hands of the Prime Minister (Sessei) assisted by a Council of State Ministers (the Sanshikan) who shared his responsibilities. A Court (the Hirajo) consisting of a Chief Judge, fifteen associate judges of different ranks, a Secretariat and a clerical staff, constituted the only legal organization of its kind in the Kingdom, though special panels were appointed to consider special cases from time to time. The Prime Minister and the Sanshikan (Council of Ministers) were assisted by the heads of Administrative Departments, collectively known as the Council of Fifteen (Omote Jugo-nin) who advised on policy and nominated the members of the Sanshikan. The Administrative Departments (Bugyo) and Bureaus had their appropriate representatives. Shuri's representatives went into the country districts (majiri). These originally coincided with the domains of the Lords (anji), whose descendents now formed the nobility and gentry at Shuri. At this level of local government (the majiri), Shuri's representatives dealt with local persons put forward by the communal village organizations. Eligibility for office in the higher levels of Government was determined generally by family rank plus merit. The office of the Prime Minister (Sessei) was reserved for members of the Sho Family. (64) Of all the Princes who became Sessei, two were outstanding administrators. Prince Gushikawa Choei (or Sho Ko) held office from 1654 to 1666. He was succeeded by Haneji Choshu (or Sho Sho-ken), who was Prime Minister from 1666 to 1675. Prince Gushikawa led the Ryukyu Embassy to Yedo in 1649, and to him may be attributed many pro-Japanese policies carried on and enlarged by his successor.

The choice of men for the Prime Minister's office was limited. These two princes were most exceptional. It is not surprising that after them the Sessei faded in importance while the officers of the Sanshikan rose as a group to preeminence in administrative affairs, for there was a much wider choice of talent from which to choose membership.

Candidates for membership in the Sanshikan had to be of acceptable lineage, they must have passed the local literary examination successfully, and they had to be residents of Shuri. There were occasional exceptions when talented men of Kume village were allowed to transfer their residences to Shuri and so become eligible for membership in the supreme council.

Members of the gentry who took the qualifying examinations and failed, or those whose performance in office was judged to be unsatisfactory, found themselves transferred to offices lying far from the capital and sometimes were reduced in rank. Their children's children gradually sank back into the local gentry as petty village officials. Some became farmers. On this preeminence of Shuri families and the automatic privileges which residence at Shuri conferred, is based a unique social prestige which persists into the second half of the 20th century. (65)

(64) Members of the Royal Family who were not rulers or sons of the reigning king distinguished themselves by writing the character for the surname with two less strokes. Members of the gentry who trace a direct connection with the Sho Family usually, if not invariably, include the character Cho in their personal names.

(65) Whenever Okinawans assemble for the first time, in Ryukyu, in Tokyo, or in Okinawan communities overseas, it is quickly established whether a man has been born in Shuri, educated in Shuri or has married a woman of Shuri, in that order of important precedence.

During the period under consideration here the old feudal basis of administrative land divisions began to break up under pressure of economic need and shifting population. The special watch office which had been established in the Motobu area of Hokuzan district in 1416, was at last withdrawn in 1663. Three years later new districts were created on the Motobu Peninsula. Population pressure brought about the creation of Ginowan majiri (1671), to take its place near Nakagusuku, Urasoe, and Chatan majiris lying on the outskirts of Shuri and Naha. Two years later the majiri of Onna, Kushi, Oroku and Ogimi were established, and Yonagusuku majiri came into being soon after. There was some consolidation; Mawashi ceased to be a separate majiri, while Sunagawa and Cenka were combined, in 1689. Additional administrative officers were appointed wherever they were deemed necessary. Organizational activity of this sort reached its peak under the Princes Sho Ko and Sho Sho-ken. It must be assumed that they were inspired by patterns of administration evolved by the Tokugawa Government at that time in its effort to cope with economic problems and pressures which Yedo itself did not fully understand. Instead of freeing the economy so that individual initiative and private enterprise could raise production and bring forth the best talent of the day, regardless of social status, economic and social life was subjected to increasingly restrictive controls.

The area around Shuri and Naha was beginning to be overcrowded. It was natural that young men brought in to employment at the capital or at the port city preferred not to return to their quiet home villages or remote farmhouses. The movement from rural to urban settlement accelerated as the ever-growing towns offered more varied opportunities for livelihood. Taxation fell heaviest on the farmer, whereas the resident in Shuri or Kume-mura was tax free. By 1653 the situation had grown serious enough to prompt government action. Orders were issued that men could not transfer their registration nor bring their families in to be registered at Shuri, Naha, Kumemura or Tomari. Sumptuary laws began to be issued. There were regulations governing the kind and quantity of offerings allowable in funeral ceremonies. There was an attempt to establish controls of open market barter transactions (1687). To meet demands upon the limited supplies of copper cash available, the minting of new and smaller coins was entrusted to the Toma Family. (66)

In the old days of free foreign trade there had been a supply of imported copper sufficient to allow the casting of large bells, and other fine objects, and to make possible the dispatch of large sums of copper cash as gifts for the Japanese Shogun at Kyoto. Now Ryukyu found itself dependent upon Satsuma for metals needed to capitalize the China trade.

The Government did little to expand production, but administrative organization at this time worked fairly efficiently to extract taxes in kind from the peasant. The village was the tax unit. Each village had an assigned quota of tax to provide through the District Chief to the Central Government. Certain

(66) These were called "Dove's Eye" coins (Hatome Sen) being so much smaller and lighter than the traditional coins of China and Ryukyu. As the years passed, the "Dove's Eye" coins were recast many times, in progressively smaller size until they became little more than round flakes of metal carried in strings of a certain number and weight.

land areas were assigned for the support of the licensed noro or community priestess and her establishment. Other land areas were held privately in the name of the Lord (anji) who lived at Shuri. The greater part of the land area, however, was held as common property divided among community households for cultivation. The allotments were changed periodically, though the length of time that one household was assigned one specific land-area varied from village to village. If an individual household was unable to produce its share of the village tax assessment, the other villagers necessarily had to make up the difference. Lack of skill, shiftlessness, poverty of the assigned soil, or natural calamity, could each affect the capacity of the individual household to meet its quota. But the community as a whole accepted the obligation to meet the shortcomings of its individual members.

This system may have had much to do with the development of notable social characteristics in Ryukyu. The peasant who could not enjoy exclusive ownership of land, could develop little pride in doing more than the minimum of work necessary to meet his assessments. He had no hope of acquiring land which he could pass on to his children and their heirs. He was rarely called upon to exert initiative or imagination in his work. But, although it may have discouraged individual initiative, the system of community (rather than individual) responsibility to the government seems to have promoted a strong sense of interdependence and cooperation among leaders, the gentry at Shuri, and minor officials and village headmen in each district. Though the Okinawan peasant could develop no large sense of individual rights or "natural privileges", he was obliged and conditioned to work in the community interest. From birth until death his tasks were alloted him. He had few worldly goods; in a mild climate and in a static agricultural society he needed few; hard work benefitted the community, not the individual. Foreigners who visited Okinawa after the 16th century were uniform in describing the exceptional docility, friendliness and courtesy of the Okinawans of every class.

On the whole, relations between the classes seem never to have undergone serious strain, despite the barriers of privilege and the gulf of poverty which separated aristocrat from peasant throughout history. No exact figures are available for the 17th century, but the proportion of city-dwelling, non-productive gentry was very high in relation to the food-producing peasantry. This was not too serious in the early days of independence, for while the farmers produced basic foodstuffs, the luxury trade in the hands of the Naha-Shuri men produced surpluses needed to sustain the gentry. Subordination to Satsuma meant that this surplus earned in trade was drained off to meet the tribute levies, estimated at more than one-tenth the total revenues of the little Kingdom.

It was an economic accident of good fortune for the people of the islands that the sweet potato was introduced to Okinawa just before the heavy new demands of Satsuma had to be met. This hardy tuberous plant yielded a cheap but nourishing food for mankind and substantial fodder for livestock. A heady alcoholic drink could be distilled from it. It stored well and could be transported easily. Above all, it grew well throughout the islands, even in soil too poor or badly situated to be irrigated for rice or made to grow other grains or sugar. Its introduction to Ryukyu added a major basic element to the economic structure of the Kingdom. This importance was accorded early recognition

and today the Okinawans keep alive and worship the memory of Noguni Sokan who introduced the sweet potato from China in 1606.

Noguni Sokan was a minor official stationed for a time at the Ryukyu trading post at Fukien. To while away the tedium of his assignment he experimented with plants, and conceived the idea that if the sweet potato were cultivated in Okinawa, it might relieve or prevent famine conditions which so often affected his native countryside. Upon returning to Okinawa in 1606 (Keicho 12) Noguni tried planting sweet potato seedlings at several places. Gima Shinjo, an official of much higher rank, took notice and encouraged the experimental work. Within fifteen years it was being cultivated successfully throughout Okinawa. In Ryukyu it was known as the "Tō-imo" or "Chinese potato"; in Satsuma it was known as the Ryukyu-imo as well; elsewhere in Japan it came to be known as the Satsuma-imo. (67)

(67) The sweet potato became subsequently of such major importance in the local economy that it deserves further note here. The plant is of Central American or South American origin; the name batata may have come from Haiti. Spaniards took the potato to Europe between 1492 and 1500. It was known in England by 1560. It seems to have reached the Spanish settlement on Luzon, in the Philippines, sometime after 1570, and to have been carried secretly from there to the Chinese coast, where Noguni Sokan observed it about 1600. The Diary of Richard Cocks, an English trader at Hirado, has these entries: "June 19, 1615. I took a garden this day and planted it with potatoes brought from the Liquea [Ryukyu], a thing not yet planted in Japan" and "July 29, 1618. I set 500 small potato roots in a garden. Mr. Eaton sent me them from Liquea [Ryukyu]. I must pay five shillings per annum for the garden." According to the Okinawa Shi (prepared by Ijichi Sadaka, 1878), a Japanese named Ruiemon carried the sweet potato from Ryukyu to Yamakawa in Satsuma about 1665 or 1675. After his death in 1705 (Hoei 2) his tomb was worshipped as the Kara-imo-don or "Master of the Chinese Potato". About the same time (K'ang Hsi 39 or 1700) a stone alter was built at the tomb of Noguni Sokan near Noguni Village, Chatan Majiri, Nakagami, Okinawa; in order more properly to worship the spirit of so great a benefactor of Ryukyu. A stone monument erected in Ch'ien Lung 16 (1751) recorded Noguni's history at his grave-site, while in Japan Proper the scholar Aoki Konyo (1698-1769) spread the knowledge of the cultivation of the sweet potato throughout Japan, and for this was honored by a monument erected at his grave in Shimo-Meguro in Tokyo. So late as 1937 the local government created a handsome shrine in a public garden at Naha to honor Noguni Sokan and his patron, Gima Shinjo.

Higa Jutoko: Nakagami-gun Shi (History of Nakagami-gun) Okinawa Kyoiku, Nos. 44, 45, 46, 64.

Ichiji Sadaka: Okinawan Shi (History of Okinawa) Meiji 10 (1877)

Simon, Edmund: "The Introduction of the Sweet Potato into the Far East", Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. 42, Pt. 2, pp. 711-724, 1914.

The agricultural economy absorbed a new and stimulating social element, as well, at this time. A substantial number of Satsuma men who came down during, or just after, the Keicho invasion, decided to settle in Ryukyu, took up lands assigned to them by the Shuri government, and acquired wives from among the local gentry. The Japanese newcomers shared in the limited privilege of private land ownership and in some cases were assigned a share in the revenues of whole villages as well. (68)

Sugar cultivation was introduced from China in 1623 by the envoy Rin Koku-yo under the patronage of Gima Shinjo, who had encouraged the wide distribution of the sweet potato. Whereas the potato had provided new basic foodstuffs for the local people, sugar provided them with a new locally-produced luxury item eagerly sought after by Satsuma for trade in Japan.

For two hundred years before the Keicho Invasion the government had been dependent upon overseas trade of principal concern to a limited area around the Naha port. There was a shift now from dependence on far-ranging and varied overseas activities. For the next two hundred years Ryukyu would depend upon development of limited trade between China and Satsuma, the production of sugar for export to Japan, and the growing of sweet potatoes as the staple foodstuff for home consumption. The gentry at Shuri lost some of their independence, but the hinterlands became more important and were stimulated to greater production. Countryman and cityman alike were subjected to pressures from without.

A comparison of income suggests the overpowering weight of resources which Japan could bring to bear on Ryukyu. Satsuma's representatives had estimated the total production of Ryukyu to be approximately 90,000 koku in 1611, and had set 11,934 koku as a proper tribute figure to be levied on the small Kingdom. The Lord of Satsuma at this time enjoyed a revenue exceeding 700,000 koku per year; the Tokugawa revenues were calculated at above 3,000,000 koku.

A Shimazu Family document dated 14 January 1635 noted that among the major holdings (chi-gyo) of the fief was an item of 123,700 koku and a fraction, coming up from Ryukyu. Income from trade and the income from tribute levies were not shown as separate items. (69)

From the very beginning Satsuma was eager to exploit the favorable trading position and reputation of the Okinawans. Funds were advanced to the Ryukyu Government to finance the regular Tribute Mission to China in 1611. Thereafter

(68) Some of these early Japanese land-holdings are intact today, and remain within the families established in the 17th century. Though descendants of these early Japanese immigrants have become indistinguishable in dialect, living habits and customs from their fellow villagers (thanks to intermarriage with Okinawans in each succeeding generation), there is today (1953) a lively recollection of special position and privilege, and manifest pride in this ancestral distinction.

(69) Total Shimazu revenue, levied from Satsuma, Osumi, Hyuga and the Ryukyus was estimated to be 732,616 koku. A document prepared five years thereafter noted that income for the "Governor of Ryukyu" (Ryukyu Koku Shi) stood then at 90,884 koku. See: Asakawa Kanichi: Documents of Iriki, pp. 337, 358, 363. (One modern koku = 5.11 bu.)

both the Government of Satsuma and the merchants of Kagoshima provided capital to Shuri and Naha middlemen. In 1631 Satsuma was in particularly urgent need of funds. When the Ryukyu traders went over to Fukien that year one of the Shimazu's retainers (a member of the Ichiki Family charged with supervision of Ryukyu affairs) went along in disguise. His close watch on Satsuma's interests resulted in such profit that it became customery thereafter to include a Satsuma agent in all Ryukyu trading missions. (70)

At Shuri the cost of local administration grew with the elaboration of offices. Some were indeed necessary to manage affairs of genuine economic and social importance, but a significant number of them can only be classified as nominal titles created for offices which were filled by idle, unproductive sons and grandsons of the Shuri gentry. The margin of surplus above subsistence minimums grew steadily smaller. The limited total income of all activities in the Ryukyu Islands had to be divided and subdivided into ever-decreasing portions Satsuma's claims came first and had to be met in full. Claims of the Shuri Government and gentry came next. The burden of production to meet them all fell upon the farmer and the menial laborer in the towns and villages.

(70) For discussions of Ryukyu's trading position and data on trading procedures, Satsuma's participation, etc., see Takekoshi Yosaburo: The Economic Aspects of the History of the Civilization of Japan, Vol. III, p. 225 et seq.

Chapter VII

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1. Relations with the Traders and Missionaries of the Western World
2. War in China and its Effect in Ryukyu
3. Cultural Developments and Religious Change Under Japanese Influence
4. The Government Increases its Controls Throughout the Islands

Chapter VII

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Relations with the Traders and Missionaries of the Western World

Ryukyu lay near the sea-lanes travelled by Western ships approaching Japan from the south. The Portuguese had begun to arrive after 1542; the Spanish from Manila and Mexico began to arrive about 1580; the Dutch established themselves at Hirado in 1611, and the British opened a trading depot there in 1613.

At Iyeyasu's direction the Shogunate granted a liberal trading charter to the British, through Master Pilot Will Adams and his associates. This opened all ports of Japan to their trade and granted use of any harbor to ships disabled by storm. Naha came under these general provisions and was used as a port of refuge and way-station on the run between Japan, the Philippines and Siam. (71)

In a letter dated December 23, 1614, a British representative at Naha (Richard Wickham) reported to his Chief at Hirado (Captain Richard Cocks) that

> The people [of "Liquea"] much resemble the Chinese, yet speak the Japan tongue, although with difficulty to be understood of the Japans, they wear [their] hair long bound up like the Chinese, with a bodkin thrust through, but it is made up [on the] right side of their heads; they are a very gentle and courteous people. (72)

While this letter was being written, the famed Will Adams was on his way toward Naha port. He and several colleagues had sailed on 28 November for Siam. On 22 December a gale sprang up, and a bad leak in the junk (the Sea Adventure) forced them inshore at Amami Oshima. Finding no suitable anchorage, they took the damaged craft on down to Naha, putting in on 27 December. There were approximately 125 passengers and seamen aboard, a rough crew, numbering among them British, Spanish, Portuguese and Japanese adventurers. The Shuri Government gave them permission to land their stores and to begin repair work. "We found marvellous great friendship" wrote Adams. But after thirty days the Ryukyu officials began to urge them anxiously to hasten their departure, for junks from China were expected momentarily, and according to the Okinawans, the Chinese, angry if they found rival traders there, might break off trade relations.

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(71) Dutch fleets were in command of the seas at this time. British traders unable to make safe voyages to Europe undertook a carrying trade between ports in East Asia. This proved unprofitable for the British, who closed their base at Hirado in 1623. The Dutch remained until Japan was opened to general foreign intercourse and trade after 1858.

(72) Cock's Diary, Vol. I, p. 1, ft. 4. Edited by "C. St. P."

There may have been other reasons, too, for the idle crew were making trouble, quarrelling among themselves and making demands upon short-tempered Will Adams. A mutinous quarrel broke out in which a Japanese named Shobei, with a score of armed men was pitted against about forty boisterous seamen. The Chief Magistrate of Shuri was called down to interfere. He succeeded in making peace (on March 15), though ten days later Shobei found occasion to kill the ringleader among his opponents. Adams made himself personally welcome, however. His log or diary includes words and phrases which he transcribed in order to be polite to the Ryukyu officials, and he was invited by the King to visit and inspect Shuri. It is probable that his friendship with Iyeyasu was well-known to the Japanese agents on Okinawa and to the King's officials. While the ship's repairs went forward slowly, he bought a cargo of grain and ambergris from some junks which had come in from Miyako. At last, having given up the voyage to Siam as an unseasonable venture, he sailed for Kawachi in Japan on 22 May. On 10 June he made port, carrying with him the sweet potato plants for Captain Cock's garden.

The record of his expenditures during this long sojourn at Naha demonstrates the cheapness of goods and the low evaluation placed on the currency of Ryukyu. (73)

Cock's Diary records that on 2 June 1615 his subordinate Richard Wickham took a gift of two pieces of Ryukyu cloth and a "dish of pottatos" to the Daimyo of Bungo. Other entries for 1615 and 1616 note the desertion of a Japanese employee in the Ryukyus, a sum assigned for investment in ambergris at Naha, and that "13 barkes laden with souldiers" had left, ostensibly for Formosa. He was of the opinion, however, that they were searching through the southern (Ryukyu) islands for refugees scattered after the fall of Hideyoshi's forces at the Battle of Osaka Castle in the previous year. Under date of 28 July, 1618, Cocks notes that he had received letters "from Antony the Negro" and two others then stationed at Naha. In that year Will Adams made his second visit to Ryukyu while enroute to Indo-China. Neither he nor his company had any doubts as to where the real authority lay in Okinawa, for Captain Cocks at Hirado was on most friendly terms with the Daimyo of Satsuma. Cocks reports on letters he had received from William Eaton, then at Naha, in which Eaton commented on the cordial assistance he received from the Okinawans because the Lord of Satsuma had ordered them to be helpful to the British. (74)

Edmund Sayers, a British trade representative often at Kagoshima, recorded that "Soyemon Dono told me that the King of Shasma /Daimyo of Satsuma/ did much esteem our English nation and would suffer us to trade into the Liqueas /Ryukyus/ or any other parts of his dominion."(75) Within six years after these

(73) Purnell, J.C.: "The Logbook of Will Adams 1614-1619 and Related Documents" Transactions Japan Society, London, Vol. 13, pp. 169-170. One of Adams' companions, Edward Sayer, of the British depot at Hirado, mentions this incident. Purchas His Pilgrim's in Japan, edited by Cyril Wild, p. 217.

(74) "the King of Xaxma, /Satsuma/ whose vassall the King of the Liqueas is..." Cocks Diary, Vol. II, pp. 58-59.

(75) Paske-Smith, M.: Western Barbarians in Japan and Formosa in Tokugawa Days, 1603-1868. Kobe, n.d. p. 32.

notices of friendliness and cooperation were written, all foreigners were forbidden to enter the Ryukyu Islands, and those who did thereafter risked arrest, torture and execution. Thenceforth for nearly two and a half centuries the arrival of Europeans upon the shores of Ryukyu, either by accident or by design, gave rise to acute distress among the officials at Shuri and their agents.

This was not a change in character among the Ryukyu people, but a change in policy among the Japanese in Japan proper, extended and enforced by Satsuma in the Ryukyu Kingdom. In later years it influenced all European attempts to enter Japan through the Southern Islands.

It will be remembered that the three great lords - Nobunaga, Hideyoshi, and Iyeyasu - welcomed foreign ambassadors and traders in the late 16th and early 17th centuries. They found reason to grow progressively distrustful of Portuguese and Spanish missionaries whose aggressive activities were believed to threaten the internal safety, stability and security of Japan. Too many missionaries preached disobedience to the Shogun's government and sowed mistrust and dissension between Christian converts and the general populace. The Portuguese and Spanish Catholic missionaries were at last expelled from Japan, and the activities of the Dutch and English traders (who were indifferent to religious interests, if not antagonistic), were gradually restricted until at last they were allowed to trade only through Deshima at Nagasaki. The missionaries refused to obey the Government's strict orders to give up preaching. Some went into hiding in Japan, others departed openly, only to make their way back to the islands as secretly as they could, entering by Western trading ships and Chinese junks.

Tokugawa Iyeyasu had been fairly tolerant, but after his death (1616) his successors Hidetada and Iyemitsu instituted a harsh repression. Wherever they could be found, the foreign missionaries were seized, tortured and executed. Any Japanese known to have sheltered or aided a foreign missionary was subjected to ferocious punishments, together with members of his family, however innocent they might be.

Anyone thought to show undue friendliness toward a European in Japan in those days automatically drew suspicion on himself. Persecutions and martyrdoms reached their peak in the years 1617 to 1636, and were of course well known in the Ryukyus.

It was in these years that European missionaries began to appear from time to time in the Nanmei islands, seeking to make their way up to Japan. It is recorded that in 1622 two converts were discovered in Yaeyama, and were condemned to death by burning. In 1624 all foreign immigration was prohibited. In 1626 Juan de Rueda (or Juan de los Angelos), a Spanish Dominican priest, made his way from Manila up through the Ryukyu Islands. He had lived in Japan from 1604 until 1619, when he went to Manila. There he prepared some books in Japanese, and then, aided by his knowledge of the Japanese language, and in defiance of the Shogun's orders, he passed through Ryukyu, reentered Japan, was arrested, condemned to death and thrown into the sea.

In 1631 the Lord of Satsuma issued a prohibition against all Christian beliefs and activities, and it may be that special concern for the most distant

islands under his control prompted efforts to develop administration in Yaeyama, and the creation of a special Yaeyama Office at Kagoshima. That there was very real reason for concern was demonstrated in 1626, when two Dominican missionaries (Miguel de Ozaraza, a Spaniard, and William Courtet, a Frenchman) landed in Ryukyu. The first was arrested and held prisoner on Okinawa for a full year. Both were taken through Kagoshima to Nagasaki, and there tortured and killed. In 1639 a Western ship put in at Yaeyama briefly, then sailed again taking a young girl captive with them. Satsuma hastened to send dorn its own agent known as the Yemato Bugyo, or Japanese Commissioner, to keep permanent watch in this outpost. The examples of harsh and merciless punishments meted out to any man (and his family) who showed friendly interest in Europeans stood before the Ryukyu people through the years and, as we shall see, profoundly effected their relations with the West in the 19th century.

War in China and its Effect in Ryukyu

Relations with China after 1609 were entirely overshadowed by the importance of relations with Japan. The explanation is not complex. China's formulary for relations with tribute states did not involve any concept of mutual obligation. To the Chinese the opportunity to pay tribute to China was a privilege extended to barbarians, not a right which they could claim. In the Chinese view the Celestial Emperor at Peking was under no obligation to come to the aid of any non-Chinese state or people. The Court at Peking would protest only if China herself - continental China "within the passes" - suffered serious loss of revenues, trade or prestige. Although Ryukyu was one of the most faithful of the Tributary States, it was nevertheless one of the least in size and importance. The value of the stated tribute of horses, sulphur and other native Ryukyuan produce was traditionally less than the cost of entertainment and gifts which the Court usually bestowed upon Shuri's envoys or sent with its own envoys when the writ of investiture was conferred on the King at Shuri. Trade items brought into Chinese ports by Ryukyuan ships were essentially luxury items, and these had been diminishing in variety, quantity and quality after the Okinawans withdrew their ships from Southeast Asian waters.

While Ryukyu persistently sought to increase opportunities for profitable trade and tribute embassies, the Chinese Court sought to reduce them in size and frequency whenever it could. Peking was weakened by corruption and the incapacity of eunuch rule at Court in the early 17th century. Taxation was growing intolerably heavy, for the Ming Government had to meet the costs of an elaborate Court life and to support an increasing number of military undertakings. The invasions of Korea to expel Hideyoshi's forces had been costly. On the northeastern borders a new threat was rising. The Manchus were being organized and were destined soon to invade China through the Great Wall.

Under these circumstances the affairs of Ryukyu could be of only minor importance to the Chinese Court. It is in fact doubtful if the Peking officials had knowledge of Japan's invasion of Okinawa, King Sho Nei's exile and the reorganization of administration in Ryukyu until the events had taken place.

Despite the invasion of 1609, the Shuri Court managed to send its regular tribute mission to China in 1611, financing it through ten kwamme of silver and

10,000 kin of copper advanced by Satsuma. When the altered circumstances on Okinawa and the general impoverishment of Ryukyu were explained to the Chinese, Peking hastened to find in them an excuse to reduce the number of tributary missions, and decreed that Shuri need send only one mission in each decade thereafter.

Ten years later the next mission went to Peking. By this time the economy was beginning to recover from the shock of the Keichō Incident. Both Satsuma and Ryukyu were anxious to increase trade. The Embassy from Shuri to Peking sought for and secured a revision of the agreement of 1611; a new schedule was established by which the Chinese agreed to accept one tribute ship in five years. Since direct trade between China and Japan was forbidden, because of the depredations of Japanese pirates along the China Coast, the Satsuma Government ordered the Okinawans to conceal their true relationship with Japan at all costs. They were forbidden to wear Japanese clothes, to speak Japanese, or to have any Japanese objects in sight upon the occasions of the visits of the Chinese envoys bringing the writ of investiture to Shuri.

Here was subordination to China in form, and subordination to Japan in fact. This was the beginning of that "dual subordination" which is the most distinctive feature of Ryukyuan history in modern times.

China's troubles were increasing swiftly. In 1637 a squadron of five armed British vessels proceeded to Canton, and forced the Chinese to accept their cargoes. This was an important event, for it clearly defined the European concept of a right to trade coming into head-on collision with the Chinese concept of "Superior State" granting or withholding the privilege of trade, and accepting or rejecting barbarian requests for formal diplomatic relations, which in Chinese terms could only be tributary status.

The Chinese Government was hard-pressed. Russians had begun to appear along the northern borders and were soon to seek a treaty. (76) By 1644 Peking had fallen to rebels and the Ming Emperor hanged himself in the Palace. The Manchus established themselves in the northern capital, giving their dynasty the name Ch'ing, but it was not until 1662 that the last of the Ming claimants to the Throne had disappeared.

These events posed a problem for the Ryukyuan Government. In 1638 they had secured a second revision of the tribute schedule, making it possible to send missions in alternate years. But so long as there were rival claimants to authority in China, the envoys thought it wise to carry credentials which could be used with either the Ming or the Ch'ing representatives. In this the Okinawans appear to have been more persistent in maintaining relations with Peking than other tributary states; whereas Shuri sent fifteen embassies in the period 1600 to 1643, Siam and Tibet had sent only nine, and Annam only seven.

In 1646 Shuri sent Uezu Dyekata to Japan to report on the downfall of the Ming Government, and in the next year the death of the King (Shō Ken) provided occasion for a new mission to China, and a report to Shuri on the organization of the new Ch'ing Government. Questions were raised in Japan concerning

(76) The Treaty of Nerchinsk, China's first treaty with the West, was signed with Russia in 1689, to end a period of Sino-Russian armed conflict in the Amur River valley.

Ryukyu's relations with Peking, but the Bakufu left it with Satsuma to decide what adjustments should be made. The Ch'ing dynasty Statutes record the answer.

> In 1654 the eldest son of the King of Liu Ch'iu, Shang Chih handed in the patent and seal of the late Ming period, whereupon an imperial /Ch'ing/ command appointed him King of Chung-shan. This country is in the great southeastern sea to the east of Fukien. (77)

Embassies to China were perilous adventures during the years of rebellion and lawless confusion on the mainland. A crossing one way might require anywhere from three days to three weeks at sea. Pirates attacked the tribute ship in 1665. In the melee a murder was committed and valuable articles were stolen. Subsequently the envoys Chatan Chocho and Eso Oyakata were held responsible by Satsuma, and were tried, sentenced and executed. Seven years later an embassy was waylaid by bandits on the road from the port to Peking. In its successful defense Hirata Tentsu earned a hero's place in Ryukyu annals.

There were other troubles. Ryukyu lay near Taiwan (Formosa), which formed one major base of a triple revolt against the new Manchu Government. Cheng Ch'eng-kung (known to the West as "Koxinga the Pirate") drove the Dutch out of Taiwan. His son Cheng Ching commanded large fleets which ranged along the coasts in attacks upon the Manchu forces, who in turn were aided by Dutch ships and soldiers. For a time these forces ravaged the Fukien coast with such ferocity that the Peking Government in 1662 ordered all seaside inhabitants to abandon their villages and move inland. This measure created great hardships all along the coastal area through which the Ryukyuans expected to trade, and was not abandoned as a policy until 1681. (78)

Meanwhile two high-ranking Chinese who had deserted the Ming cause and fought for the Manchus, now deserted the Manchus and attempted to carve out new Kingdoms for themselves. Wu San-kuei revolted in 1673, set himself up in Hunan and called himself King of Chien. Keng Ching-chung revolted in Chekiang in 1674, and in the course of the struggle at one time sought to establish cooperation with Cheng Ch'ing on Taiwan. It was reported in Ryukyu that the Ch'ing Government might fall as a consequence of these widespread rebellions. To learn the true state of affairs Shuri determined to send an Inspector or Commissioner (Tanmon Shogi Taifu) to the continent, entrusting to him letters addressed to Keng Ching-chung as well as to the Ch'ing Emperor. Takara Uyekata embarked on this delicate mission in 1676, but on November 9 of that year Keng surrendered and went over once more to the Manchu side. Peking was so preoccupied with these internal affairs that nearly thirteen years elapsed between Sho Tei's accession to the Throne on Okinawa (in 1669) and his ceremonial confirmation as King by Chinese envoys in 1682.

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(77) Chia Ch'ing hui-tien 31.2-4, quoted by Fairbank and Teng: "On the Ch'ing Tributary System". Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies, June 1941, Vol. 6, No. 2, p. 183.

(78) Horses had been part of the required formal tribute for more than three hundred years, but in 1682 they were removed from the tribute lists. Were they too difficult to transport or did Peking now control a sufficient supply on the plains of Manchuria and Mongolia?

Meanwhile the natives of Kume Village, near Naha, were faced with a problem. They were of Chinese and not of Manchu descent. Their ancestors had been sent over from Fukien (Min-hsien) to settle on Ryukyu in 1392. For two hundred and fifty years they had retained the customs and dress of their ancestral homeland. Now came orders from the Manchus that all Chinese must adopt the queue and make other signs of loyalty to the new dynasty. The Kume villagers refused to do so, and from this period began to wear Okinawan clothing styles and distinctive headdress (the katakashira). This may be taken as indicative of loosening ties with the Continent, but is also testimony of the extreme conservatism of Chinese tradition.

Difficulties and uncertainties beset Shuri's relations with war-torn China for over half a century. The Ryukyuans by no means turned their backs on Peking, but from the reign of King Sho Ho onward - that is to say, after 1621 - there was a steady development of Japanese influence in the island kingdom, upon its institutions, its customs, its arts and its crafts.

Cultural Developments and Religious Change Under Japanese Influence

New cultural contributions were made to the islands through broadened and quickened intercourse with Japan. A new type of drama is said to have been introduced at this time. In 1613 a second collection of the Omoro Soshi was edited. A doctor was welcomed from Satsuma, bringing in knowledge of medicine new to the Okinawans. Temple-building stimulated the arts and crafts as well as the religious life of the people. On Okinawa the Gongen-do and the Kannon-do were built in 1615 and 1617 respectively, and the Torin-ji was constructed in Yaeyama under the direction of a priest named Kan O. (79)

One of the most important cultural events of this era was the arrival in 1617 of three Korean potters, Cho Ken-ko, Ikkan and San Kan who were sent down from Satsuma to introduce new ceramic techniques. These men were members of the large Korean community taken to Satsuma by the Japanese upon their retreat from Hideyoshi's invasion of the Continent. Their skills and craftsmanship became known in many parts of Japan Proper, but their community remained a distinct settlement near Kagoshima. Of the three who taught in Okinawa, two returned in time to Satsuma, but one (Cho Ken-ko) settled at Tsubo-ya, near Naha, and thenceforth counted himself a subject of the Ryukyu King.

Scarcely a year passed without the initiation of some important building program which stimulated the artists and craftsmen of Okinawa. The Benten-do had been constructed to house a superbly printed Korean edition of a Buddhist text, the Dai Zo-Kyo. It had been destroyed during the Japanese occupation of Shuri in 1609. King Sho Ho now caused it to be reconstructed (1621). A new building, the South Hall (Nanden) was erected within the Palace enclosure

(79) Of the entire Buddhist architectural and sculptural heritage in the central and southern Ryukyus, this small temple, in Ishigaki City, alone remains intact, under conditions approximating those of pre-war days. The Shounji, at Hirara City, Miyako, is also still standing, but has undergone much change and loss of character in recent years.

(1628) and a handsome residence for the King's son was constructed within the massive mountain-top enclosure of Nakagusuku Palace at Shuri (1628-1639). The Shrine on Naminoue headland was destroyed by fire (1633) and had to be rebuilt and redecorated. A great bell was hung at the Water-clock Gate of the Palace, to toll the hours of the day (1658). In 1660 a great fire destroyed the King's Palace. Although losses in such circumstances were heavy, the demands laid upon craftsmen and artists to meet the needs of reconstruction were stimulating opportunities for creative work and the expression of new ideas and talents. In 1671 work was begun upon a new Confucian temple in Kume-mura, an undertaking which required four years of labor. This project was not yet completed when the removal and reconstruction of the Ankoku temple was undertaken (1674). Shuri Palace was swept by fire in the ninth month of the year 1690 forcing the Court to use the Kanegusuku Shrine as a temporary residence. The new Palace survived less than twenty years. It burned again in 1709, and the damage was so extensive it required three years of effort before it was ready again for full ceremonial use.

In developing tiles used as structural material, the architects and builders of Ryukyu gradually evolved a distinctive and colorful contribution to the national life. (80)

We have already noted that the ceramics industry received an important stimulus during the reign of King Sho Nei, when Korean potters came to Ryukyu by way of Satsuma. Now began a general use of tile to replace earlier roofing of thatch or wood. In the year that the Naminoue shrines and temples were burned, tiles were first used on fire-watch towers which began to be built at Shuri and Naha. New glazing and firing techniques were introduced from Japan about 1670, and tiles became available in sufficient quantity for general use. Repairs at the Royal Palace at this time included the addition of a tiled roof to the Main Hall (Kokuden). Within a few years time, the Oki Shrine, the Rinkai-ji temple, the Chuzan gate and the Sogenji temple were given tiled roofs (1681-1682). Multi-colored glazed tiles were used at the Palace buildings. When the official granaries (Sanzo) were replaced after they had been burned in Miyako in 1682 tiles were used to roof them. In Yaeyama the government storehouses (Kuramoto) and the Torinji were given new roofs in 1675 and 1694 respectively. By 1702 tiles were being used in Kume-jima. It was from this time that the Tsuboya kilns established their preeminence. Tiles, no longer a luxury, came into common use on government buildings.

(80) An earlier parallel may be found in Japanese cultural history. In the Kamakura period the use of tiles was a luxury reserved for only the greatest palaces and temples. But as the incidence of natural calamity, riot and civil war increased after the 12th century, the use of tiles, of well-insulated storehouses (dozo) and of fire-watch towers became common. Tiles themselves were considered valuable and luxurious articles in the early days of Ryukyu history.

Other crafts, too, began to develop special characteristics which display the taste and ingenuity of Ryukyu patrons. So Kuniyoshi first used a Chinese method to apply mother-of-pearl as an inlay upon lacquerware about 1641, after which Ryukyuan taste, skill and great patience laid foundations for an art-craft in which today Ryukyu maintains preeminence. About 1659 new weaving techniques were brought over from China through which local craftsmen learned to produce raised figures (uki-ori) in fine fabrics. The next tribute mission (1664) had among its members Taketomi Uyekata to whom is ascribed patronage for an extraordinary number of new techniques, including new methods of gilding and lacquering, as well as improved methods of sugar manufacture. In the hands of local craftsmen each of these special techniques underwent creative development. About 1670, for instance, Tomoyose Keiyu of Kume-jima introduced a textile variation known as Kume-jima kasuri.

Painting and sculpture were not neglected by the Court and aristocracy but contributions in this field never achieved the volume, variety, or distinction that was achieved in music and drama. A Department of Painting (buryo) was established in the Court in 1667. Two sculptures in stone were erected at the gate of the Gokoku Temple in 1696. In the following year figures of the Sixteen Disciples (Rakan) were installed in the great gate of Enkakuji, and frescoes were completed to serve as altar pieces in one of its chapels. A Kwannon Chapel (Kannon-do) was built in Miyako (1699) and installation of a statue of Fudo Myo-o in the Shintoku-ji took place at Shuri in 1701. These scattered notices indicate that artists and architects were employed with fair regularity through these years.

The craftsmen of Ryukyu probably reached their highest degree of design and skill in stone masonry. The forests of Ryukyu produced no fine building timber. An exceptionally moist climate and the frequency of fierce storms stimulated the development of a style in masonry design which is peculiar to the Ryukyu Islands, but worthy of consideration among the best to be found anywhere in the world. As massive castle-building had been an expression of the Middle Ages in Okinawa, now bridge-building absorbed the talents of the masons and the patronage of the Government to a remarkable degree. The roads were designed essentially for foot-traffic, not for wheeled vehicles, but the number of massive stone bridges, and their location, sometimes far from the capital, make them noteworthy. It is probable that the patrons and builders were inspired by the bridges of Fukien Province, which they closely resemble. The country-side around Chuang-chow, the trading port, was especially noted throughout China for its numerous fine stone bridges. Structures such as these were unknown in Japan, where highway bridge-building was discouraged by the Tokugawa government as a matter of internal defense policy.

It was customary to perform ceremonies in reverence for the spirit of a stream whenever a bridge was thrown across it and completed. Monuments were erected to commemorate the bridge-building itself. Local tales cluster around them; traditions of superhuman forces aiding or interfering with the construction work, and of personal sacrifices required by the builders to propitiate the disturbed river-spirits.

The intellectual life of the gentry found its principal and happiest expression in poetry, drama and music. The sons of the gentry learned to read

and write in the Japanese phonetic syllabary (kana) before they took up the study of formal Chinese with Kume-mura tutors. Students selected to go to Peking for study returned to rejoin the social, intellectual and official aristocracy in which they had been reared. There was a gradual increase in the number of persons going up to Japan to study or to make a pilgrimage among famous shrines and temples. Literary works circulated in manuscript or in books imported from Japan or China. There was no publishing done in Ryukyu.

The Omoro Zoshi received a final revision and editing in 1623. Taichu's work on Ryukyu Shinto (Ryukyu Shinto-ki) which had been written in 1604, was finally published at Kyoto in 1648. Two years later the first compilation of Ryukyu history, the Chuzan Seikan, was undertaken by Sho Jo-ken (Haneji Choshu). On the King's order it was compiled in Japanese (wa-bun) rather than in formal Chinese. This is an interesting reflection of the times, for Sho Jo-ken was the Chief Minister (Sessei), who actively pursued a pro-Japanese policy in State Administration. Under his direction the third formal embassy proceeded to Yedo (in 1649) to thank the Shogun for permitting King Sho Shitsu to succeed to the throne at Shuri. (81)

Fifty years later (in 1697) the annals of the Royal Court (the Rekidai Hoan) were edited by Sai Taku. The Traditions of Miyako were prepared in 1705 and soon thereafter a dictionary of the old Ryukyuan language (the Konko-ken Shu) was compiled (1711).

These inquiries concerning local history and language indicate that the educated men and women of Shuri were conscious of their own heritage as one distinct both from China to the west, or Japan to the north. The movement in Ryukyu nevertheless may be taken to reflect the intellectual climate of Japan at that time. Comparatively large missions from Ryukyu visited Japan during years of considerable intellectual ferment at Yedo and Kyoto, and at the local castle towns. Kaibara Ekken (1630-1714) was writing essays on education and morality, addressed to the general public; Amamori Hoshu (1611-1708) was interpreting Confucianism, Taoism and Buddhism as three aspects of one truth. Yamazaki Angai (1618-1682) sought some compromise between the strict Chinese Confucian doctrines of the orthodox Chu Hsi school and the interests and demands of nationalism, and in a sense prepared the way for later intensive studies of the ancient Japanese language and literature, and for a revival of pure Shinto practice. Arai Hakuseki (1656-1726) was a preeminent scholar-statesman in Japan whose interest in strict etiquette and formality in the conduct of Government did not by any means limit a wide-ranging intellectual curiosity. It is interesting that in 1711, the year after the largest of the Ryukyu missions was in Yedo, Arai completed his Brief Notes on the Ryukyus (Ryukyu Koku Jiryaku), to be followed some years later by his History of the Southern Islands (Nanto Shi, 1719).

(81) The first mission had gone up in 1634. These missions were conducted from Kagoshima to Yedo by Satsuma officials, and the whole party was lodged in the Satsuma headquarters at the Shogun's capital. The number of men in the mission varied, but averaged between seventy and one hundred. Prince Gushikawa's mission of 1649 numbered only fifty, but in 1710 as many as one hundred and sixty-eight were in the embassy.

The Ryukyuan spirit finds its most unrestrained expression in music and dancing. Dance-forms introduced from Southeast Asia, from China and from Japan in the early years of national life were continuously modified under the inspiration of fine Ryukyu performers. Love of music and dancing - and proficiency in it - seem to have been common to all classes throughout history. No community gathering seems to have been overlooked as an occasion for singing and story-telling. Farmers and fishermen of the meanest villages delighted to dance on the beach or in any appropriate open area in the fields. Poems in local dialect celebrate the special beauties or noted features of local districts. A foreigner who lived at Nagasaki in the years 1690 to 1692 wrote that

> The inhabitants /of Ryukyu/ which are for the most part either husbandmen or fishermen, are a good-natured, merry sort of people, leading an agreeable, contented life, diverting themselves after their work is done, with a glass of rice beer, and playing upon their musical instruments which they for this purpose carry out with them into the fields. (82)

At the Court accomplished dancers were found among the highest dignitaries. Thus we read that in 1629 Prince Ozato, Ezu Satonushi, and Onaga Satonushi were invited to dance before the Shogun Tokugawa Iyemitsu, performing for him a special dance known as the Gozanfu, normally reserved for performance before the King of Shuri on most auspicious occasions.

During the administration of Sho Jo-ken, Shuri adopted the ceremonies of the Five Annual Festivals of Japan, and introduced the custom of having music performed in the castle gardens through the first fifteen days of the New Year.

The literary history of Ryukyu in many ways presents itself as a miniature review of the literary history of Japan insofar as the early editing of the traditional liturgies, chants and poems of the Court (in the Omoro Zoshi) may be likened to the 8th century collection of early verses in the Manyoshu, and the Norito edited in the Engishiki. Chinese was the official language of Court record and usage in State affairs, and a knowledge of the Classics was essentially the mark of a learned man and an aristocrat, as it had been in the Nara and early Heian periods in Japan. The Annals of the Ryukyu Kingdom were recorded both in classical Chinese and in Japanese. Women first distinguished themselves as poets in Japan and the first notable literature of entertainment were the tales and diaries of the Court ladies of the Fujiwara period. In Okinawa the first notable literature for entertainment was a Tale of Court Ladies (Nyokan Soshi) produced about 1706. (83) Fine arts, crafts, the literary accomplishments affected the lives of the gentry, the minority principally resident in the Naha-Shuri area.

(82) Kaempfer, Engelbert: The History of Japan, together with a Description of the Kingdom of Siam, 1690-1692. 3 vols. Glasgow 1906. Vol. I., p. 62.

(83) Among the noted persons of this era were the rural poets Nakashima Yoshiya (a lady who died in 1668), and Onna Nabe, Sokei Chugi and Toyokawa Sei-ei. Others were Shikina Seimei (1651-1716) noted for studies in Ryukyuan literature, and Kohatsu Ufushu (1662-1753), an outstanding mathemetician. Yara Seneki, Aniya Kenson, Sokei Chujitsu, Heshikiya Chobin and Ishimine Shinnin distinguished themselves as scholars in the literature of Japan.

In his efforts to reform and reorganize - possibly with a view to bringing his people more strongly under Japanese influence -, the Prime Minister Sho Jo-ken did not shrink from touching on the most sensitive and conservative areas of community interest. He set about to reduce the importance and authority of the Noro. We do not know how much of his effort was of his own inspiration and how much may have been prompted by Satsuma. On the one hand Sho Jo-ken was one of the best educated men of his country's long history. It has been suggested that perhaps the leading men of the times were generally skeptical, influenced by the rational Chinese scholar's attitude toward religious forms and practices, and that they had grown less and less interested in the noro system, to which women (unlettered, and conservative by nature) generally continued to cling. (84) On the other hand (Spencer suggests), the Satsuma Government may have prompted Sho Jo-ken to attack the noro system in an effort to break up an ultra-conservative, anti-foreign (i.e. anti-Japanese) hierarchy which reached from the King's Court to the meanest household in the islands.

Be that as it may, it was suddenly announced that the office of the official Diviner (Toki no Oya-ko, and assistant to the Kikoe-Ogimi) would be abandoned, and that the rank of the Kikoe-Ogimi would henceforth be considerably reduced, placing her at a level below that of the Queen and the Prime Minister (1667). Ten years later it became possible for the office itself to be invested in the Queen after her consort's death.

Even more startling to the public was the decision to abandon the Royal Progress which the King traditionally made, once in every two years, in order to worship at important shrines in Chinen and Tamagusuku, and on Kudaka Island. (85) This was one of the most impressive of all Royal ceremonies, for the King travelled with the Kikoe-Ogimi, the highest State officials, many nobles and a multitude of attendants. From this date (1674) the King contented himself with "worship from afar" and with the dispatch of a Master of Ceremonies (Shitagoriateri), as his deputy.

The established and indigenous religious organization was being shaken by innovations directly concerning it. The Government extended patronage to Confucian studies and ceremonial with new interest. A Japanese from Satsuma was brought into the Palace to instruct the young King (Sho Tei) in Confucian doctrines. One of the Court members (Gusukuma Uyekata) caused a new Confucian Temple to be built at Kume Village, and when it was completed (1679) the King himself proceeded to worship there, accompanied by a concourse of nobles. Thereafter the King's son was ordered to make an offering of incense before the tablets of Confucius on the second day of each New Year.

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(84) Spencer, Robert Stewart: "The Noro Priestesses of Loochoo" in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. VIII, Second Series, 1932, pp. 94-112.

(85) The Chinen Shrine was Seifa Utaki; Tamagusuku nearby overlooks the site of Okinzu-Hainzu; it is traditionally said that rice was first introduced to Okinawa through Kudaka, about two miles offshore, east of Chinen. The possible significance of these most revered sites has been suggested in Chapter One. Seventeen chants (Omoro) sung during these services have been preserved and should be worthy of close analysis in this context.

While the educated gentry were thus deferring to Confucian practice and interests, a form of (Chinese) Taoist ritual and divination was introduced which appealed widely to the common people. Soon the fortune-tellers (yuta) were challenging the noro in popularity, especially in the towns and larger villages. By 1698 the Taoist "Lord of the Earth" (To Tei Kun) had been enshrined with ceremony at Omine Village.

In 1685 orders were issued further regularizing the Buddhist clergy by establishing a three-year term of service for the priests serving at Shoun-ji in Miyeko and at Torin-ji in Yaeyama. All this meant that by the end of the first century of Japanese control traditional religious practices and beliefs native to the Ryukyu Islands were being hard pressed, giving cause for uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the noro, whose prerogatives were being reduced.

The Government Increases its Controls Throughout the Islands

If we summarize the first century of Ryukyu life under Japanese control we sense that broad administrative and social changes in Japan were refelcted in Okinawa. Though Shuri had lost Oshima and the other islands to the north, and was weakened in autonomy vis-a-vis Japan, it had been greatly strengthened in relation to the islands near Okinawa and in the south. Thanks to the reorganization imposed by the Japanese, government at Shuri worked more efficiently. Land measurement and tax reform meant a substantial increase in revenues for the Court and for individual land-holding aristocrats. But the increase in Government activities meant likewise a greater cost, which was passed along to the farmer and fisherman wherever possible. Efficiency in government meant harder and harder work for the tax-producing peasant. The tax-free townsman and official had more to spend.

Tokugawa policies were followed to a significant degree in that the Shuri gentry (like the samurai in Japan) were encouraged to cultivate the arts and letters, and to be concerned with etiquette, costume, rank and genealogy, while the effective government itself was directed by Satsuma's agents. The Government at Yedo often addressed itself to morals and manners rather than to problems of economic management; the peasantry had to maintain an idle, easy-going and unproductive aristocracy.

Much the same thing seems to have happened at Shuri, though on a smaller scale. The Prime-Ministers - especially Sho Jo-ken - resorted to elaborate regulation, repression and limitation of action as economic difficulties increased. For the well-born there were strict regulations of rank and etiquette, dress and ceremony. Orders were issued one after another in an attempt to "correct" and regulate society according to the stilted and often unnatural Confucian canons. Mourning ceremonies were carefully regulated in 1665, for instance, and the size, quality and number of funeral offerings were strictly prescribed. A "Proclamation to Encourage Art and Learning" was issued in 1667. (86) In 1658 the highest ranking subjects - the hereditary lords (anji) - were ordered to wear gold hairpins as a mark of rank. The samurai,

(86) c.f. The Bukke Hatto issued at Yedo in 1615.

descendants and vassals of the anji, were allowed to wear silver hairpins in 1666, and new regulations were established governing the attendance of officials at the castle to pay formal respects to the King. Regulations were issued governing the exact dates upon which summer clothes must be exchanged for winter costumes (1669). The lineage of samurai families was scrutinized and recorded for the King's consideration (1681) and the gentry were ordered to wear their appropriate and distinctive colored caps of rank (hachimaki).

While the governing elders at Shuri enacted one restrictive measure after another, life in the port-city of Naha below them went on with high spirit. As in Yedo, Osaka, and Nagoya in Japan, the licensed quarters became centers of fashion, good food, and entertainment. The women of the Tsuji and Nakashima districts (set aside for them in 1672) earned high reputations for their wit and literary accomplishment. Here was the finest dancing and singing in the Ryukyu Islands, in all of which men as well as women vied for distinction and popularity.

As long as men of Ryukyu were free to travel in Japan, and Japanese merchants and mariners visited Naha, there was an inflow of the latest Japanese forms of popular entertainment. There is evidence, too, that the popular artists and musicians of Osaka and Yedo adapted Okinawan textile designs and were influenced by the lacquer techniques and the music of the Southern Islands.

Because they were in a position to see and enjoy innovations from Japan and China, the townsmen of Naha and Shuri developed a pleasure-loving urban life which was in strong contrast to the poverty and drabness of life in the country villages. The Government became disturbed by the ever-growing number of persons attempting to leave the countryside, and in time found it necessary to proscribe migration into Naha, Tomari and Shuri. In doing so they anticipated similar measures which were imposed on its people by the Government in Japan in 1712.

The governing officers were served by an elaborate metsuke system of informers, intelligence agents and spies present everywhere and at all times among the common people. They appear to have operated with little effort at concealment, and judging from accounts written by foreigners in later years, they were held more in fear than in respect.

Japanese precedents in sumptuary laws and social regulations did little to solve the growing economic problems of the Ryukyu Islands or to check a sense of uneasiness in political and social life which was soon to be manifest.

Though the emphasis was on regimentation and restriction, the latter half of the 17th century was not without some effort to improve and promote economic production. The Government exhorted its subjects to be frugal. The importance of better tools was recognized, and to provide them the Government established a blacksmithy in each district, in 1667. With Satsuma's approval new land areas were opened for clearance and cultivation in 1669. A man named Makiya Jissai developed an improved cane-crushing apparatus in 1671.

Tea cultivation became important enough to require establishment of a Commissioner's Office (Osado-cho, 1676). Forest administration offices were established for the central and northern districts of Okinawa, while a program of afforestation was sponsored under direction of Shimoji Uyekata. Salt evaporating basins by the seaside were established about 1694 at Katabaru by a man named Shiohama. These were all gains which meant increased production of foodstuffs and raw materials.

By this time the peasants had discovered that it was more profitable to produce sugar for export than to cultivate sweet potatoes for local food supply. In 1693, just seventy years after cane cultivation had been introduced, the Government found it necessary to limit crop areas to 1,500 chobu (1,675 acres using contemporary values for the chobu). There is reason to believe that this directive was not willingly complied with, for new restrictive orders were issued again five years later.

Economic gains were offset somewhat by natural disasters. There was the annual loss from storm damage. A terrible earthquake, tidal wave and typhoon struck Torishima in 1664, which killed hundreds, destroyed homes and wrecked fishing craft. Famine conditions followed which had to be relieved in subsequent years by food shipments from Naha. Severe earthquakes were experienced on Okinawa and Miyako occasionally, and in 1694 a great typhoon did heavy damage to seawalls, dykes, roads and bridges for miles about the capital.

Satsuma was prepared to take no risks on Okinawa. In 1669 the Government's sword-smithy had been abolished; thirty years later a headquarters for the Police Inspectorate (Yokome Kanja) and a garrison post (Ashigaru-Kanja) were established in the eastern quarter of Naha. In 1699 Ryukyu was forbidden by Satsuma to allow the import of weapons of any kind.

Chapter VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

1. Sai On's Economic Development Program
2. Cultural Life in Ryukyu in the 18th Century
3. Overseas Relations
4. Education, the Gentry and Government Leadership
5. A British Shipwreck (1797)

Chapter VIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Sai On's Economic Development Program

The Ryukyu Kingdom entered a second century of Japanese domination through a series of national disasters. Failure of the sweet potato crop in 1706 brought famine. An earthquake killed many persons in Miyako. More than 3000 persons died in 1709 when famine came again in the wake of a great typhoon. Shuri castle was destroyed by fire.

At this time an unusual young man named Sai On was acting as Chief Officer in Kume Village. He had been born in 1682, son of a distinguished member of the Chinese community. The father had been abroad as an envoy for Shuri on several occasions, and the son had spent some time as an interpreter at the Ryukyu trading establishment in Fukien. While in China he studied diligently, applying himself to the works of certain Chinese scholars who were practicel administrators concerned with economic development problems.

In 1711 Sai On was appointed tutor to the young heir to the throne, Sho Kei, then a boy of eleven years. They were to remain in close association for forty years thereafter. Sai On could not hold the title of Prime Minister (Sessei), for this was reserved to a Prince of the Royal House, but in fact he became and remained in effect the Chief Minister and most important figure in Ryukyu for half a century. His relationship with Sho Kei fulfilled the highest Confucian requirements of an ideal government. This meant continuity of policies, a minimum of conflict at the Court, and great public prestige for the King's Minister.

In his thirteenth year Sho Kei succeeded to the Throne, and in his fourteenth year performed the formal ceremonies admitting him to adulthood. Sai On was raised in Court rank, and given a residence in Shuri which made him eligible for appointment to the Council of Ministers, the Sanshikan, at the highest level to which a non-royal subject could aspire. The duties of the Council members were reassigned in this year. In 1716 he was appointed envoy to Peking to seek the formal writ of investiture for his young protege. We may surmise with what pride this descendant of Chinese immigrants went to the Court of Peking to represent his King. His ancestry, his training in Chinese scholarship, his life in Fukien as interpreter and student, and now his opportunity to see at first hand the extent and power of China, form an interesting contrast to the background, training and inclinations of his predecessor, the Prime Minister Sho Jo-ken, whose inclinations, interests and outlook had been favorable to Japan.

Sho Jo-ken had had the task of reconciling the Ryukyu people to a position of subordination; Sai On faced the task of ensuring economic survival, and of maintaining neutrality.

Whatever pro-Chinese inclinations he may have had by nature or training, Sai On returned to Ryukyu to face the realities of Japanese tribute demands

laid upon a small Kingdom, poor in resources, and often scourged by storm. Under his direction the Government entered upon a long period of intensive economic development work. Okinawa's situation on the sea frontier, under obligation to both China and Japan, had to be faced with more positive measures than sumptuary laws and prohibitions. Confucian traditions which attempted to govern through moral suasion and sententious edict were not given up, but were supplemented by constructive and practical action. Within a few years the islands were producing more than they had ever done before, and life for the Shuri gentry (if not for the peasant) assumed an even tenor which was not interrupted seriously until late in the century, when a new series of natural calamities befell the Kingdom.

Sai On and his associates at Shuri governed through officers dispatched from Shuri to the thirty-five Districts (majiri) into which Okinawa was then divided. Of these, fourteen were in Nakagami, the region adjacent to Shuri which had once formed the old Chuzan principality. Twelve were in Shimajiri (formerly Nanzan) and nine were in the rugged Junigami (Hokuzan) area. Each District had further subdivisions of village and hamlet, in which there was virtually autonomous community organization whose leaders were responsible to the majiri officers appointed from Shuri.

Fortunately we have a varied record of conditions in Ryukyu at this time in Chou Huang's Brief History of the Ryukyu Kingdom (Ryukyu-koku Shiryaku). Introducing his report to the Chinese Emperor with a simple map, this observant Chinese envoy recounts the traditional history of Chuzan, describes at length its tribute relationship with China, the nature of the tribute and the edicts which had been issued concerning it, and then proceeds to a description of the administration. His description of the manners and customs of the people, their physical characteristics and what he believed to be the influence of climate upon them is an interesting document. Much of it appears to be a record of hearsay, of things reported to the envoy but not observed by him. Nevertheless, it is an important contemporary notice, for we see Ryukyu through Chinese eyes. Chou Huang felt that the Okinawans were barbarians in that they sometimes used knives for self-destruction in the Japanese manner (i.e., practiced hara-kiri). In reporting on public buildings which he observed, and upon Shuri's literary institutions, the envoy felt that these, too, were inferior. This is not surprising from a Chinese scholar, steeped in China's literary traditions and familiar with the magnificence of Peking's palace architecture. The report covered temples and their services, and other remarkable buildings, places and objects. The State Ritual is described, and there is a record of titles, ranks and offices among the ruling class. In describing the taxes and the tax-gathering system Chou notes that in his opinion Ryukyu was the poorest of all countries surrounding China.

In a section devoted to Military Affairs and modes of punishment customary on Okinawa, it is recorded that the Government imposed three types of capital punishment and five of less severity. All of these were common in both China and Japan, and all (except banishment) were cruel and extreme by modern penal standards. The latter sections of Chou Huang's record dealt with the civil and social relationships to be observed in Ryukyu, listed local products of interest, and concluded with a catalogue of noteworthy people, from illustrious Kings to notorious vagrants. (87)

(87) Shu Ko [Chou Huang]: Ryukyu-koku Shiryaku (Brief History of the Ryukyu Kingdom) 16 vols. ed. Tempo 2 (1831), in Bue-iden Kinrei-ban, Shoshi-bu.

"Chow Hwang's History of Lewchew" Chinese Repository Vol. VI, No. 3, July 1837, pp. 113-118.

This was Chuzan's government and people, seen by a Chinese official during Sai On's lifetime. Following the precedent set by Sho Jo-ken, Sai On prepared a Handbook for Administrative Officers and Others (Yomui Hen). Some of his success as an administrative officer may be attributed to his realistic attitude toward the necessity to adjust social class preferences to economic need. In this he provided refreshing contrast to both Chinese pretensions and Japanese practice.

In China it was immemorial tradition that the scholar and the aristocrat should appear to be above commerce and manual labor of any kind. To admit an interest in gainful commercial employment was demeaning, and involved loss of "face" or prestige. As a matter of fact few Chinese officials were not interested in personal and family gain in office. The Envoys from Peking to Shuri affected a disdain for commerce, but few, if any, came to Shuri without preparations for private trade, responsibility for which was deputized to their secretaries and agents in the diplomatic missions.

The Japanese on the other hand took more seriously the ancient Confucian doctrine of social distinction based on occupation. Early in the Tokugawa Period the distinctions between scholar, warrior, farmer and merchant were very carefully drawn. It was assumed that concern with money and commerce could be no part of a warrior's life. But while honoring the farmer (in theory) and the artisan and craftsman, the feudal aristocrats of Japan scorned the merchant (chonin) and in doing so got themselves into serious economic difficulties. The higher ranking samurai and daimyo ultimately found it necessary to borrow heavily from the merchant money-lenders; low-ranking samurai were forced to become farmers, to take up productive crafts, or to quit their rank and enter commerce.

Sai On and his contemporaries in Ryukyu inherited traditions which differed from these. In the great days of Ryukyuan independence, princes and High-ranking gentry directed the far-roving commercial voyages and the trading centers at Naha and on the Fukien coast. The whole fabric of Ryukyu culture had depended upon a profitable commerce. Agriculture took second place in the economy, and agricultural families had been free to engage in productive manufacturing. Sai On now attempted to limit the craft activities of the farming class, reserving them to the townsmen of Shuri, Naha, Tomari and Kume. At the same time he made it possible for the younger sons of the gentry to leave Shuri and settle in other places as artisans (1724). A mutual-aid fund was established in 1733 for the benefit of members of the gentry who found themselves in financial difficulty. Men were honored who distinguished themselves by aiding others.

Broadly speaking, the Government's acts and orders fell into three general categories during this century. The first had to do with restraint and punishment, the second established privileges and offices for the gentry who ruled the country. The third were constructive and often far-reaching measures directed to improvement of the economy.

Traditional moralistic admonitions were given point by a short-lived edict forbidding the distillation of sake. Officers were appointed to extend watch on the people's morals (So Yokome, 1657, and Sho Yokome,1721). Orders were issued

restricting expenditures and elaborate forms of ritual entertainment customary in connection with funeral services (1729). In 1730 it was forbidden thereafter to organize dancing and feasting parties upon the eve of a projected trip. The police organization was enlarged and strengthened during Sai On's administration. In 1752 criminal laws were extended to Yaeyama. Late in the century a Criminal Code was compiled (1732), and its general provisions made known to the public through local governors and magistrates (1786).

Sai On faced only one serious challenge to his authority, and met it with severity. A party formed in opposition to his policies, led by Heshikya Chobin and Tomoyose Anjo. Seeking to bring about Sai On's downfall they drew up a statement of accusations against him and delivered it to one of the Satsuma agents set to keep watch on Ryukyu. When the affair came to light, Heshikya and fourteen of his associates were seized and put to death. (1734).

In the category of Government acts essentially favorable to the gentry were changes, made in 1723, which shifted the income bases for the higher ranking Lords. These men who had lived hitherto on the income from their hereditary lands - a form of private taxation - were now granted regular rice stipends from the Government treasury. Sai On himself was made nominal Chief of Gushikawa District though he was in fact the principal Minister of State. It has been noted that samurai families (in 1724) were permitted to become artisans in Shuri without losing their status. Ten years later the tax on town artisans was abolished. Artists or craftsmen were honored with titles bearing privilege and stipend. Famed samisen players, outstanding dancers and makers of exceptionally fine combs were given government recognition. There were new honors for the Ministers of State, and decrees granting privileges and honors to the aged throughout the country.

The third category of administrative orders and Government actions deserves close attention, for it was in these economic development measures that the national leaders tried to meet and overcome the challenge of natural poverty and repeated natural disaster.

Sai On's name is best known for his study of irrigation and conservation problems, and for the generally practical application of his judgments. The most noted projects were along the Yoza River (in 1726) and in the Haneji River valley (1734), where afforestation and conservation were linked with river dyking, and the opening of irrigation canals. There was a long debate as to the feasibility of digging a canal across the neck of the Motobu Peninsula, and of transfering the seat of government to Nago. After hesitancy, Sai On decided against the project. He conceived the question to be of such lasting importance, however, that in 1750, toward the close of his long administration, he caused a monument of stone to be erected midway between Nago and Haneji, upon which is inscribed a statement of both sides of the argument, and the reasons for this decision.

Okinawa was without fine timber or stands of large trees sufficient in number, girth or height to provide heavy building material. Conditions of climate on the islands are not favorable to wooden construction, which must be repaired and replaced constantly. There has always been a high rate of storm damage to standing timber in the forest as well as to man-made buildings. Sai

On caused a thorough study of forest growth, forest use and methods of reforestation and forest control to be made. Farmers and fishermen were restrained in wasteful use of timber. The construction of dugout canoes was prohibited, for instance, in an effort to conserve trees of large girth for other use. Villagers were shown how to plant windbreaks along the sea, and the mountain ridges and roadbanks were planted skillfully in an effort to prevent soil erosion. Housing lots and grave sites were limited by order, to make room for a maximum use of arable land. Sandy flats lying between Naha and Tomari were reclaimed for building purposes. Irrigation and drainage projects were carried out in many other parts of the Kingdom. A regular system of inspection was instituted (1736). Sai On's written plans for agricultural extension (1734) and for afforestation (1736, 1747, 1751) were related to practical problems and embodied careful observation and experience, set forth as Government policy.

The total production of wealth increased. To handle it, the Administration promoted a great variety of measures. A new coinage was issued in 1712. A market was opened in Shuri, to promote local exchange of goods. In 1729 an attempt was made to standardize weights and measures. Offices were set up to plan and supervise the dredging of Naha harbor, and port officers were stationed at every important landing place. Agricultural Inspection Supervisors were appointed to each District office. There was an effort to promote development of metal-casting and of smithies needed for tool-making. Lime-kilns were introduced (1730). Tea plantations were opened and the country people were encouraged to plant banana groves as a source of textile fibre. The manufacture of ink sticks, of paper, and of objects made of paper (such as lanterns and umbrellas) became important to the local economy. New production methods and new styles in lacquer-ware, tiles and textiles continued to be developed.

To meet some of the problems of an increased population and unemployment orders were issued forbidding farmers to move into town (1728), and new villages were set up as part of the general development program. (88) Sai On's interest extended to all the islands, and his forestry and agricultural policies left their permanent mark in Yaeyama and Miyako as well as in Okinawa.

In anticipation of famine years, the Government undertook to establish grain storage warehouses. The importance of a new method to plant and harvest two crops of sweet potatoes in each year was recognized by honors for the man who did most to promote its development.

The King, Sho Kei, died in 1751, in the fifty-second year of his age. Sai On retired from his post in the Council of State in the next year, though he remained an important figure in state affairs until his death in 1761, in his seventy-ninth year. Much of his success may have been rooted in the full confidence which appears to have been established between Sai On and his King. The State Ministers who followed him continued his policies for some years. A program designed to bring land registry records into order was carried through in 1759, followed by a creation of a Land Magistracy Office, Denchi Bugyo, in 1766.

(88) From incomplete records it appears that an average of at least one new village was set up or recognized every four years in this country.

Superb old pine trees growing along the roads and along the crests of mountain ridges throughout Ryukyu in the 20th century are living monuments to Sai On's far-seeing 18th century policies. A grove planted according to Sai On's prescription on distant Tarama Island in Miyako still serves as a model for villagers establishing windbreaks to protect their precious soil. The Japanese Government sponsored construction of a new shrine at Naha to honor Sai On in 1937. In 1952 his principal essays in forest management policy were translated into English and distributed abroad because of their exceptional interest as documents in forest conservation history.

It has been remarked that Sai On and his associates approached economic problems with considerable success in view of the formidable limitations which Nature had placed on natural resources at their command. We may assume that they were strongly influenced by the conduct of contemporary administration at Yedo where a reaction had set in to the excesses of luxury in the Genroku period (1678-1704), and the extravagance of the Shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi. The Shogun's Treasury was nearly empty. Under the Shoguns Iyenobu, Iyetsugu and Yoshimune there were serious efforts to reform economic administration at Yedo. Sai On himself did not visit Japan, but other prominent contemporary leaders (most notably Tei Junsoku) had come into direct intercourse with some of the most influential Confucian scholars, moralists and administrators in Yedo and Kyoto. Arai Hakuseki, for instance, became chief adviser to the Shogun Iyenobu in 1709 and applied himself diligently to serious economic problems confronting the Government of Japan. He had more than a casual interest in his acquaintance with visitors from Ryukyu, demonstrated in the books he subsequently wrote concerning Ryukyu history and institutions. Tei Junsoku also held conversations with, and came under direct influence of, the utilitarian moralist and scholar, Ogyu Sorai. Dazai Shundai(1680-1747),one of Ogyu's outstanding pupils, took note of Ryukyu's economic importance to Japan in his essay Keizei Roku, in which he observed that the Daimyo of Tsushima traded profitably with Korea, and the Daimyo of Matsumae traded in products from Yezo (Hokkaido), but that Satsuma's "incomparable wealth is due to its monopolistic sale of goods imported from Ryukyu". From these circumstances it may be surmised that Ryukyu leaders who visited Japan found opportunity to discuss Shuri's problems with well-informed men who could direct their attention to Japanese government precedents. Many 18th century economic policy developments in Ryukyu seem to reflect theories and policies being tried at Yedo, or being advocated there. These men all tended to move away from the Tokugawa Bakufu concept of civil government toward a bureaucratic organization which was an ideal of the Confucian merit system. This fostered groupmorality, and laid great emphasis upon group responsibility, but the individual faded into the committee or council of which he was a member. Individualism in Government was discouraged; group action became a fine art of compromise and adjustment.

The governing classes of Ryukyu reached their widest and most penetrating contact with the Japanese ruling classes and intellectuals during the early years of Sai On's predominant influence. Prince Mizato and Prince Tomigusuku led a mission to Yedo in 1710 which consisted of no less than 168 persons, while the succeeding mission (in 1714, under Prince Yonagusuku and Prince Kin) numbered 13 men and included Tei Junsoku. Yedo was one of the world's largest cities atthat time. The men from Shuri were privileged to stay at the residence of

Shimazu, Prince of Satsuma, and to meet and talk with outstanding Japanese scholars and government leaders. They returned to Shuri with great prestige as well as with many new ideas in public administration.

A comparison of relative success for the administrators at Shuri with the administrators at Yedo may not be wholly fair nor reasonable, for the Shogunate had a vastly larger problem to confront, a formidable feudal tradition to overcome, deep divisions within the country and a massive population. Nevertheless the fundamental problem was the same, for it was one of meagre resources poorly distributed, and heavy population pressure. Ryukyu was favored by a degree of unity throughout the Kingdom, and the population was relatively small. (89)

Cultural Life in Ryukyu in the 18th Century

For nearly a century the gentry of Okinawa enjoyed a mild and pleasurable existence, rarely disturbed by affairs of large importance. The Heshikiya Incident suggests that there were divisions and rivalries among the aristocrats, and the tenor of some of Sai On's admonitions hint at an undercurrent of discontent with Satsuma's orders and rigorous requirements. Few things occurred to interrupt the flow of everyday life, and in retrospect the era appears to have been a peaceful interlude between two centuries of recurrent crises.

We may guess that the energetic, purposeful Satsuma samurai, stationed at local Japanese offices at Naha, sometimes grew impatient with the easy-going island people. There was great courtesy in human relations in Ryukyu, but little of the exacting and tense formality which made life in Japan a burden of minute rules and regulations. Foreign observers in later years observed that if happiness consists in few wants and those easily gratified, then the people of Ryukyu must indeed have been happy. This at least would have been true of the gentry, if not of the drudging peasant.

The days of a gentleman of Shuri were taken up with long conversations among friends, frequent picnics in the countryside, the composition of poems in Chinese and Japanese styles, and music, singing and dancing on every possible occasion. Weddings, excursions to noted scenic spots and local shrines, ceremonies at the Buddhist and Confucian temples and town and village festivals in their proper time, filled the day to day round of the seasons.

No member of the gentry would venture far abroad without the service of an attendant carrying a lacquered lunch-box. Food and drink were important, and represented in variety a blend of Chinese and Japanese tastes. The use of meat such as pork and fowls, and rich sauces to appeal to the tongue, represented Chinese influence; lavish care in arranging foods to appeal to the eye as well, represented a distinctive Japanese touch.

While the educated aristocrats of Shuri and Naha composed verse principally after Chinese and Japanese models, the use of the vernacular by country vers

(89) Japan's population stood somewhere near 30,000,000. There are no early figures available for Ryukyu, though S. Wells Williams hazarded an estimate of "less than 200,000" after his visit of 1837.

makers everywhere produced a form peculiar to the islands, consisting of stanzas in four lines, three of which have eight syllables, with the last a line of six.

Music and dancing were preeminent as entertainment among all classes. Workmen carried their musical instruments with them into the fields or to the seaside, so that during a pause for rest they could find entertainment wherever they chanced to be. A visit to popular horseracing grounds offered opportunities to combine picnicking, verse-making, singing and dancing. Even funerals were made occasions for excursions and banquets in the countryside.

Musicians were given high honors in the Government. An office for a "Chief Samisen Director" (Samisen Nishitori-yaku) was established in 1710.

Everyone enjoyed the dance-drama in which themes drawn from legend and history were treated with a light touch. There were some tragic stories recounted, but for the most part a rollicking and lusty atmosphere made dancing a popular institution in which all classes shared. In this it had many characteristics in common with the contemporary kabuki of Japan, and the Elizabethan theatre of Shakespeare in England. Though itinerant street-players and professional actors were technically classed among the lowest in the social order, they were popular. In 1718 a cousin of the Royal Family (Tamagusuku Chokun) wrote a drama which was performed at the Palace.

Weavers, painters, potters, sculptors and lacquerers were held in high esteem. The skills of local craftsmen were drawn upon whenever a new building was constructed at the Palace, or repairs, reconstruction or additions were made at Buddhist temples, and Confucian study-halls, or in the reception halls for Chinese and Japanese envoys. (90)

Indigenous religious rites received little encouragement from the scholars in Government, but patronage was extended to ceremonies introduced from China and Japan. Some Chinese Taoist practices (Dokyo) were absorbed into the strict Confucian rituals. For instance, on the King's order paper prayers were burned during ceremonials at temples and shrines. Much attention was given to the reform and regulations of ceremonies performed at funerals and in commemorative ancestor worship. Most particular attention was devoted to the preparation of rituals suitable for use before the tombs of the Kings. An established form was settled upon in 1768. The Government frowned on the medium (yuta) who offered to serve

(90) The only surviving significant wooden sculptures of this period are the two Nio-o or Guardian Deva Kings installed in the gateway of Torinji, Ishigaki City, Yaeyama, in 1737.

The Chuzan Denshin Roku ("Report made by an Envoy to Chuzan") prepared by Jo Ho-ko (Hsu Pao-kwan) after his visit to Shuri in 1719 forms one of the most detailed and important descriptions of Court and town life in this period. Of several editions the first in Japan appeared in 1721, the last in 1940 (Showa 15), translated and edited by Kuwae Katsuhide.

as intermediary between the dead and the living, or to act as a diviner of fortune, and as exorcist of sickness and evil spirits. The yuta were representative of the grossest superstition prevalent among the uneducated masses in China and in Japan. In Ryukyu they were not members of an institutional organization as the noro were. Popular support for the yuta was to be found principally, though not exclusively, among the uneducated women of the communities in which they lived. In 1736 they were forbidden to practice as healers of the sick.

There was some reflection in Ryukyu of contemporary Chinese and Japanese interest in Western science. At Peking during these years the Jesuit priests were under the high patronage of the K'ang Hsi and Ch'ien Lung Emperors. Father Ricci was the principal figure, assisted and followed by men like the astronomer Father de Orsis, the cartographers Regis and de Mailla. They were so successful in correcting the calendar and in revising astronomical and mathematical work in China that their works, in Chinese, penetrated Japan and attracted important attention. The Shogun Yoshimune prided himself as an amateur astronomer and had an observatory set up in his palace at Yedo in 1718. In 1720 he issued an edict easing the ban on Western books and on Chinese works concerning western science. A band of hard-working Japanese (the Rangakusha or Dutch Scholars) undertook the arduous task of learning Dutch and of translating scientific books from Dutch into Japanese. Their work centered at Nagasaki in Kyushu, and it is beyond question that the men of Satsuma kept themselves fairly well-informed concerning the subjects studied and the progress made.

Through Satsuma, and through the envoys sent up to Yedo, the influence of the Dutch scholars indirectly filtered down to Ryukyu. Sai On ordered the distinguished Ryukyu scholar and mathematician Kohatsu Riko to construct a telescope and observatory in 1739, and on the basis of observations made in the years 1740 and 1741, certain corrections were made in the local method of computing time. Kohatsu had many student-followers among the gentry. (91)

Medical studies in Ryukyu were stimulated by the dispatch of doctors to Yaeyama and Miyako to serve three-year terms. They were ordered to look after the welfare of the local people and to take care of persons cast ashore in the shipwrecks so frequent in these islands. In 1742 six doctors were appointed in attendance at the Shuri castle.

(91) Map-making was a function of mathematics entrusted to the Jesuit priests by the Chinese Court, who spent ten years preparing a complete map of the Empire for the Emperor K'ang Hsi (1708-1718). Taiwan's west coast was included but Ryukyu does not appear, nor is it mentioned in the detailed accounts of the project published in 1737. DuHalde, P.J.B.: A Description of the Empire of China /etc./ 2 vols. London, 1738, pp. vii-x.

Dutch scholars and scientists stationed at Nagasaki included Englebert Kaempfer (1690-1692) who wrote extensively of Japan and of Ryukyu; the botanist C. P. Thunberg (1775-1778) and Isaac Titsingh (1779-1785).

Education itself began to take on a more formal aspect, reflecting accurately in Ryukyu the development of private and public schools in Japan at that time. As Sai On stood preeminent in administration, so Tei Junsoku, his senior contemporary, stood preeminent in Ryukyu history as scholar and teacher. He, like Sai On, was a child of Kume Village who early distinguished himself as a scholar in the Chinese Classics. His learning attracted attention both in Japan and in China. For years he maintained a correspondence with Hsu Pao-kuang, envoy from China in 1719. At his own expense he caused a noted volume of Chinese moral maxims to be reprinted, which he presented to the Shogun Yoshimune through the Lord of Satsuma. Yoshimune was impressed with it, and at his order the scholar Ogyu Sorai prepared an annotated text, which in turn was translated into Japanese by Muro Kyuso, chief adviser to the Shogun in administrative matters. It was reprinted again and again, and remained an important practical textbook in circulation among the Japanese for nearly three hundred years. (92)

Because he was honored with the title "Governor of Nago" and the stipend appropriate to that office Tei Junsoku was known popularly in Ryukyu history as the "Sage of Nago".

The past was not neglected. Sai On found time to edit the Chuzan Chronology (Chuzan Seifu). Monuments were erected to mark historic spots, and Sai On himself in word and deed repeatedly underlined the fact of Ryukyu's national and cultural individuality vis-a-vis both China and Japan.

Professor Higaonna has noted a most important difference in the careers of Sho Jo-ken and Sai On. The former pursued policies designed to meet all obligations toward Japan and to encourage the introduction of Japanese learning and an appreciation of Japanese culture. The anti-Japanese policies of the State Minister Jana Oyakata had led King Sho Nei into the disastrous Keicho affair from which Ryukyu could never quite recover. Sho Jo-ken attributed his country's difficulties to its relations with Chinese learning and Chinese institutions. These he sought to counter by promoting the introduction of Japanese arts, crafts and customs, and in the first history of Ryukyu (the Chuzan Seiken) he attempted to establish evidence of a common origin for Ryukyu and Japan. But the benefits of his interest in Japanese culture, Professor Higaonna observes, went principally to the Japanized upper classes.

By contrast with the policies of Sho Jo-ken the innovations and advances made under Sai On went deeper, directly affecting the everyday life of the common man in the fields and woods, in the tools he used, and the crafts he lived by. The State organization and the educated man were concerned with accommodation to the demands of both Japan and China. To this policy of Sai On and his successors, Professor Higaonna suggests, we may trace the quality of neutrality and accommodation which is so marked in the character of contemporary men of Ryukyu.

Although Sai On was a man with a distinctly Chinese orientation in his personal life and training, his policies consistently attempted to strike a median,

(92) The people of Ryukyu boast that Japan received three great gifts from Ryukyu, namely the sweet potato, the sugar cane, and the "Six Courses in Morals" (Rikuyu Engi) or as Professor Higaonna says, "Food for the mind as well as the body."

to preserve a neutral position between Japan and China. This attitude was embodied in the Advice for Travellers (Ryokonin Kokoroe) prepared for Ryukyuans sent on missions to China. It appears in fact to have been a model of evasiveness, artfully clothed in polite language.

The story is told that a considerable dispute arose on one occasion when the Chinese Mission (in 1719) objected to the fact that Ryukyu was unable to buy more than one fourth of the total goods the Chinese envoys had brought with them. There was threat of a serious riot by the Chinese merchant-envoys; Sai On was called upon to mediate the dispute and succeeded in raising a small additional sum for purchase money, curbing the wrath of the Chinese, but sending them away disgruntled, with more than half of the goods unsold which they had brought over to Naha. (93)

Though Sai On prided himself upon a show of neutrality for Ryukyu, the administrative record reflects how closely the Shuri Government watched and attempted to follow precedents of Government in Yedo. Administrators in both capitals were Confucian moralists, sometimes inclined to be sententious, and often quite unrealistic in attempting to apply ancient Chinese theories and forms of government to urgent contemporary problems. But taking his record as a whole, we find that Sai On stands preeminent in Ryukyu history as a man of thoughtful decision and far reaching action.

Overseas Relations

Relations with Japan throughout the 18th century were close, if not cordial. The customary missions were sent up to Kagoshima and Yedo to congratulate new daimyo and new Shoguns upon their accession. Ryukyuans were present at the enthronement ceremonies of the Emperor Nakamikado. When the Royal Palace at Shuri burned in 1709 Satsuma generously sent down a gift of 19,500 timbers to aid in its reconstruction. A mission of thanks was sent from Shuri to acknowledge the shipment.

During the reign of the boy Shogun Tokugawa Iyetsugu (1713-1716) there was a general increase in security measures affecting Kyushu. This may have been inspired by knowledge of Jesuit map-making expeditions covering all of mainland China, Taiwan and the northern borders of Korea at the time. The daimyo of Kyushu were ordered to seize and burn any European vessel which might appear on the southern coasts, and to execute any Europeans taken prisoner. The Satsuma government became suspicious of Okinawan priests coming up from Ryukyu to study at Kyoto or tour the shrines and temples of Honshu, and placed a ban on travel by Ryukyuans beyond the borders of Satsuma. At the same time the Satsuma Government was ordered by Yedo to prepare a study of Ryukyu history, administration, the land system, costume, official ranks and insignia, the clothing of the common people and so forth.

(93) The details of the incident reflect what an extremely narrow margin of surplus there was in Ryukyu, for the total sum which Ryukyu could offer in purchasing funds could be increased by only one fifth, and that only by using the gold and silver hair ornaments collected from among the women of Naha and Shuri.

Between 1716 and 1745 Japan was ruled by Tokugawa Yoshimune, one of the most enlightened Tokugawa Shoguns. The influence of his frugal government made itself strongly felt in Ryukyu, where Sai On was kept well-informed of measures directed against excessive luxury, and of patronage for scientific studies, and practical experimentation. (94)

The edict limiting Ryukyu travel in Japan narrowed the area of contact between the two peoples and might be suspected of retarding the rate of cultural assimilation which was taking place through these centuries. Satsuma continued to make it a practice to welcome high born Okinawan envoys, giving them an opportunity to see the extent, resources and strength of the Shimazu principality. Thus, for instance, the young Prince Sho Tetsu toured southern Kyushu (in 1756) before he became King.

The stipend which had been traditionally set aside for promising youths in Kume Village was cancelled at last in 1729, but the Government continued to send outstanding young men to Peking to study. Each usually stayed about three years. Some upon their return served as teachers, some became administrators and some served in the diplomatic service, handling missions and correspondence having to do with the China trade and tribute missions. In 1742 a Commissioner of Chinese Composition was appointed to the high ranks of Government. Sai On and Tei Junsoku were the most outstanding examples of the "returned student" of Kume Village origin to rise to high government office.

A noteworthy event in relations with China in this century was publication, in China, of an account of Ryukyu History and of the tributary relationship prepared by Hsu Pao-kuang, a member of the Chinese embassy of 1719. Hsu is said to have felt some ill-will toward Sai On, who bested the Chinese in an argument over the value and amount of trade to be concluded by the mission, but on the other hand he is said to have established a life-long friendly correspondence with Tei Junsoku, then Magistrate of Kume Village. (95)

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(94) There appears to be opportunity for an important study to be made of the reflection in Ryukyu of the progress of administration in Japan at this time. One suspects that Sai On depended more heavily upon inspiration from Yedo than he or his associates admitted in their records.

(95) A French translation by Pere Gaubil of the Ch'ung shan ch'uan-hsin lu or Chuzan Denshin Roku appears in the Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses Tome xxiii, Paris, 1781 and an abstract in English in M'Leod, John: Voyage of his Majesty's Ship Alceste, along the Coast of Corea to the Island of Lewchew; with an account of her Subsequent Shipwreck. London 1818 p. 79-97.

In his work entitled China's Dragon Robes, Dr. Schuyler Cammann notes that in the Ch'ing sketches used to illustrate Hsu's Chung shan ch'uan-hsin lu the King of Ryukyu wears a robe of Ming style, presumably used only on occasions of high ceremony (op. cit. pp. 157-158). Dr. Cammann further comments on a late 17th century Ryukyu portrait (reproduced in the Dai Hyakka Jitten, Tokyo, 1934, fig. 1, facing page 241) noting that "The Prince wears a Liu Ch'iu hat, and his attendants carry Japanese pikes as symbols of power, while a pair of Japanese curtains sets off the picture. In short, the portrait gives an excellent example of the synthesis of cultures in this small island kingdom under the influence of two powerful neighbors." Op. cit. pp. 157-159.

By 1728 Shuri had secured permission from Peking to add a second tribute ship for the regular trade, and to send a trading ship across to meet and escort the tribute missions upon their return from the China Coast.

Upon the occasion of the formal investiture of King Sho Boku in 1756, China sent over the envoys Chou Huang and Ch'uan K'uei, with a distinguished calligrapher and poet Wang Wen-chih as secretary. Chou, the Chief of the Mission, prepared a sixteen volume topographical study of the Ryukyu Islands entitled Liu-ch'iu Kuo chih-lueh (Ryukyu Koku Shi-ryaku) and a brief volume of personal reminiscence which he presented to the Emperor at Peking. (96)

China continued to pay the expenses of embassies coming up to Peking from the Eastern Sea Islands, and to subsidize the training and indoctrination program which brought promising young students over from Okinawa. In an account written by one of the Europeans received a hundred years later by the Chinese Court, we find a description of the Tzu Kuang Ko, a Hall in the Imperial Palace in which the Ryukyuan envoys were received.

> In this Hall, which is hung with pictures of combats and of eminent Chinese Generals, many of them painted by the Jesuits, it is the habit to entertain the envoys from tributary or dependent states, such as Mongolia, or Korea, and in former days also the Liu Ch'iu Islands, Nepal and Annam, at the festival of the New Year. (97)

Only members of official missions reached Peking. Many more had opportunity to go over to the Ryukyu trading center in Fukien. Some went as attaches of the trading station (Huitung-Kan); some went as artists and craftsmen.

Education, the Gentry and Government Leadership

The accession of a talented young Prince, full of a youth's eagerness for learning, brought to maturity and positive action an interest in the problems of education which had been stirring at Shuri for some years.

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(96) For an abridged English version, see Bridgeman, E. C.: "Lewkew Kwo Che les: a brief history of Lewchew..." China Repository, Vol. VI, July 1837 pp. 113-118. A Chinese Supplement to the gazetteer (Hsu Liu-ch'iu Kuo chih-lueh) contains 1809 as the latest date in the text, (Fairbank and Teng, op. cit.) and was published about 1813 by two Chinese envoys as an official report of their mission to Shuri.

(97) Curzon, George N.: Problems of the Far East London, 1894. p. 291.

For an English translation (with notes) of sections of the Ta Ts'ing Hui Tien regulations governing embassies to Peking, see Chinese Repository Vol. XIV. No. 4, April, 1845, pp. 153-156.

The short reign of the young King Sho On was perhaps the last period of happy national achievement, peculiarly their own, which can be recorded in the History of the Ryukyu people.

The young prince was only twelve years of age when he succeeded his father, but he appears soon to have achieved a maturity of thought and conduct which gave great promise. A note of something more than the conventional praise of a King creeps into the accounts written of him by his own people, and the Chinese envoys who observed him in his seventeenth year (1800) commented on his fine features, his dignity and his learning.

Elementary schools for the gentry were established in the wards of Shuri, and an Academy was founded within the Palace precincts. It was traditional in China and Japan to hang a large tablet over the main approach to any school, temple or palace bearing lofty and inspiring sentiments for those who pass in and out on their daily tasks. For this purpose at the new Academy the young King himself wrote "Cultivate Men of Ability in the Sea Country" (Kaiho Yōshū) and the tablet was placed with great ceremony over the school gate to serve as an ideal in education for the gentry of Ryukyu.

It was also decided to increase the number of students going abroad to Peking to school and to alter the basis for their selection. This precipitated riots which were unique in Ryukyu annals. Normally four students and four assistants were selected from among Kume Village youths who successfully passed two rigorous examinations. Usually a period of three years was spent in Peking pursuing a formal curriculum. This included political philosophy, literature and medicine or the Chinese almanac (the regulation of human affairs according to the seasons). In exceptional cases students remained in China for as long as eight years. Upon their return to Okinawa they became government officials or teachers, given preferment in appointments because of their status as "returned students". It was proposed now to send students from Shuri as well as from Kume, thus breaking precedents so dear to Confucian traditionalisms, and affecting the monopoly of academic privileges enjoyed by the Kume Village people.

The whole organization of Ryukyu society and government at this time rested on the foundation of an elite educated in these schools. The population in all the islands probably numbered between 150,000 and 200,000 of which few more than 125,000 were living on Okinawa. (98)

(98) Population figures estimated from census figures showing the rate of increase between 1875 and 1890, before the economic system was greatly altered under Japanese directions, and compared with estimates made by foreign observers between 1800 and 1875.

The social hierarchy may be summarized briefly as (1) royalty, (2) the privileged classes (shizoku), and (3) common man (heimin). The King stood supreme. Next came members of the Royal Household, the brothers and sons of the King. The Royal consorts and mothers of princes had to be chosen from among members of a few distinguished noble houses which were themselves related with the Royal House through many generations of intermarriage. It has been noted earlier that the grandsons of Kings were privileged to retain the Sho Family name, but were required to use a modified kanji (Chinese character) in writing it.

Among the preeminent noble Houses were the O, Ba, and Mo Families, all cousins of the Royal Family in some degree. Next in the hereditary ranks of the shizoku were the anji, descended from the territorial lords who had moved into Shuri during the reign of King Sho Shin. A lesser degree of nobility bore the titles Uekata or Oyakata. These families were founded by men who had earned permanent rank and distinction through meritorious service to the State, or by men who were the younger sons of hereditary anji and royal princes.

Below the nobles stood a gentry class divided by a system of titles into three principal grades, each with a junior and a senior rating. These were the Pechin, Satonushi and Chikudun, descendants of the King's soldiers and retainers, the soldiers and vassals of the anji, scholars, priests and commoners who had earned gentry status in recognition of outstanding services. Within the three ranks of the gentry a man might rise and fall according to his abilities and desserts.

The masses (heimin) were the common farmer, fisherman and laborer, but in the Ryukyus even the farmer was given courtesy titles at times in ordinary usage.

Itinerant players (yenzgi), pig-butchers (wasa), beggars (munukuya) and prostitutes, were at the bottom of the social order.

In addition to these social ranks there were the official ranks associated with service in the Government. The principal ones have been described earlier in this text. The title and office of Prime Minister or Regent (Sessei) was reserved to a member of the Royal Family. The effective governing organ was the Sanshikan, or Council of State, whose members enjoyed prestige equal to that of the highest members of the hereditary nobility. The men who held offices throughout the administrative sturcture below them enjoyed social ranks and titles appropriate to their responsibilities.

It was through the Council of State that the daimyo of Satsuma and his agents brought their influence and authority to bear upon the Ryukyu Government. The agencies and offices which Shuri maintained in the principal centers on Okinawa, on the outer islands (Kume, Miyako, Yaeyama), and at the Trading Center on the China Coast, served the Satsuma Government well as eyes and ears noting all that happened in the waters south of Kyushu.

Each class and grade of society was distinguished by special forms and colors of dress. The colors and folds of the turbans (hachi-maki) distinguished grades among officers, and the quality and style of hairpins gave public indication of a man's basic social status. The higher nobles wore gold hairpins;

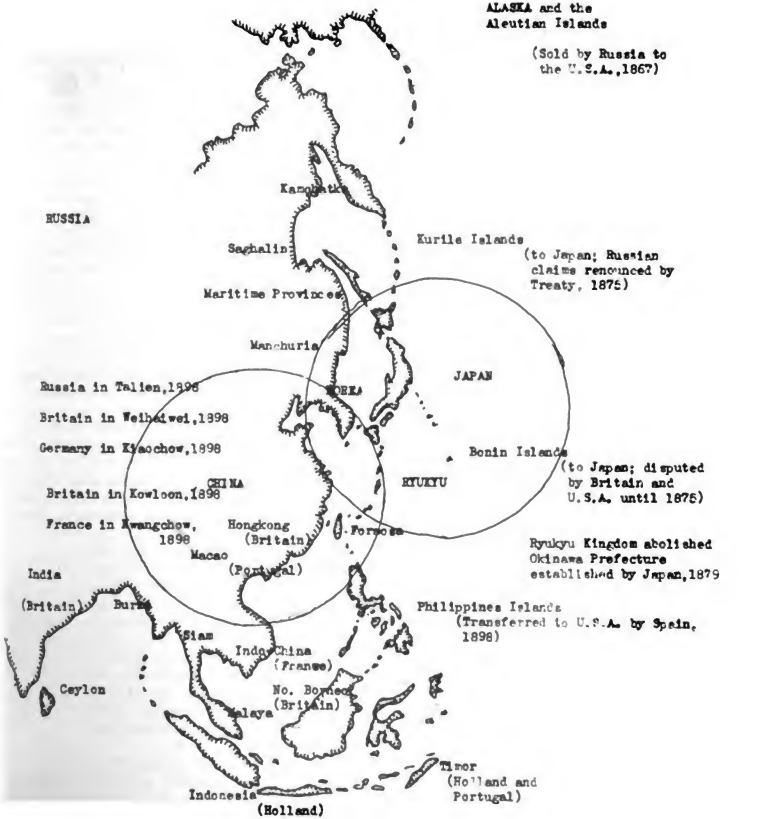

Figure 3. The Ryukyu Islands on 19th-Century Political Frontiers

lesser nobles wore silver hairpins bearing a golden flower; the gentry used silver hairpins and the common man wore brass.

That he was allowed to wear any pin at all may seem remarkable in view of a multitude of rules which forbade him such things as use of an umbrella in the hot sun (though he might do so in the rain) or the use of certain patterns of cloth, or the privilege of wearing wooden clogs (geta).

Since the nobility and the gentry numbered nearly one-third of the total population - a high proportion - it might be supposed that there was one drone for every active worker in the islands, and that an oppressive burden weighed upon a sullen and discontented people. Such was not the case. The peasants produced foodstuffs and textiles - the taxes - and did the heavy manual work required in town and country service, but the gentry were the artisans and craftsmen who produced a large proportion of the artifacts required for daily living among all classes. After the middle of the eighteenth century an increasing number of townsmen left Shuri and Naha for village and farm life.

It may even be suspected that this is a key to the remarkable reputation which the Ryukyu Kingdom bore as a land of politeness, for here nearly every third man counted himself a member of a privileged class, with a formal code of manners by which to live.

More than half the population of Okinawa lived in the four towns of Shuri, Naha, Tomari and Kume, and here the gentry predominated. The peasantry lived in utmost poverty, and suffered many strict social regulations, but there were no extremes of wealth among the gentry. Life at all levels was governed by classic rules of conduct. Basil Hall Chamberlain, writing less than a hundred years after the Academy (koku-gaku) was founded at Shuri, observed that

> In some most important respects the country really deserved the title bestowed upon it by a Chinese Emperor in 1579, and still proudly inscribed on the gate of its capital city, the title of "The Land of Propriety". There were no lethal weapons in Luchu, no feudal factions, few if any crimes of violence.... Confucius' ideal was carried out -- a government purely civil, at once absolute and patriarchal, resting not on any armed force, but on the theory that subjects owe unqualified obedience to their rulers, the monarchy surrounded by a large cultured class of men of birth, and the whole supported by an industrious peasantry. (99)

This description of Ryukyu as it was in the 18th century omits notice that a society such as this, so delicately balanced in population versus poor natural resources, and in gentry versus commoner, could continue to survive only in extreme isolation. Nor does it note the degree of ultimate political dependence upon the will and policies of Satsuma.

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(99) Chamberlain, B. H.: "The Luchu Islands and Their Inhabitants" The Geographical Journal (London) Vol. V, No. 4 April 1895 pp. 310-311. As we shall see in the next Chapter, Chamberlain's grandfather, Captain Basil Hall, spent forty days in Okinawa just 18 years after the Academy was founded.

Stripped of the pretense of political autonomy, the Ryukyu people were (by modern standards) in the position of indentured servants, employed through the agency of the Shuri Government. Shuri was under obligation to abide by Satsuma's will in the conduct of foreign affairs; it had to meet strict requirements in forwarding the annual tax-levy to Kagoshima; it had to yield the better part of its profits from the China trade.

The hard-pressed peasantry had to produce enough foodstuffs and simple artifacts for themselves, for the townsmen and for the tax-in-kind sent up to Kagoshima. The townsmen made some contribution of artifacts, but in a more important measure they served as middlemen responsible for the conduct of Satsuma's trade with China. Satsuma's agents kept close watch on all commerce, which was a government monopoly, frequently going along in disguise with the Ryukyu merchants who crossed to do business at the trading station on the Fukien Coast.

Under these circumstances there could be no significant accumulation of capital resources at Shuri and Naha; the small surplusses of one year were quickly consumed by dearth in another. Neither the economic fabric nor the political structure of the small Kingdom of Ryukyu could withstand a serious interruption of normal activity. Relations with Japan and with China were so neatly yet so precariously balanced that a major change in either was certain to have serious effect upon the Ryukyu economy.

A British Shipwreck (1797)

While the gentry at Shuri and Naha were discussing the new Academy and settling the dispute over a choice of students for study abroad great events were about to overtake them. European powers were expanding into the Pacific Ocean north of the Equator, and were beginning to challenge both Japan and China to open their doors to Western trade and diplomacy. Russian and Japanese interests were coming into armed conflict on the northern frontiers of Japan. British sea-power, too, was advancing into the northern Pacific to confront Russia there. The Russians had early moved over the vast Asiatic continent through Siberia to Kamchatka and were now moving across Alaska and down along western North American to the California coast.

Of all these things the people of Ryukyu were unaware, although they were soon to be profoundly affected by them. The Ryukyu Kingdom was so small that it was almost lost on any map of this huge area of East-West conflict. Shuri had no sprawling land area, as China did, to use in territorial bargaining with foreign Powers, nor did it have hundreds of thousands of vigorous, determined armed warriors to defend its coasts, as Japan did. A society which could afford only to riot over the nomination of two students for foreign service was not in a position to defend itself against the navies of 19th-century Europe.

In 1797 a British naval vessel, the Providence, was wrecked on the reefs of Miyako, while returning from a nautical survey of the waters north of Japan.(99a) Captain Broughton and his men were rescued by the people of Miyako, entertained most hospitably there and at Naha, and sent on their way homeward to England in

(99a) Broughton, W. R.: Voyage of Discovery to the Pacific Ocean, London, 1804. pp. 84-109.

a most friendly fashion. The favorable impression made upon the ship's company during this incident was reported to London, and roused the interest of British naval authorities in islands so strategically placed in the China Sea. After the Napoleonic Wars were ended, a decade later, Ryukyu was not forgotten; an exploration and survey of the Ryukyu archipelago was proposed at London, and carried out.

The profound consequences of this accident of shipwreck, chance observation, and continuing interest, will concern us in our next Chapter.

Chapter IX

RYUKYU AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN TO THE WESTERN WORLD

1. Position and Problems of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the 19th Century
2. Disaster Years: Drought, Typhoon, Epidemic and Famine
3. Unsettled Conditions at the Shuri Court
4. Okinawa's Place on Japan's Defense Perimeter
5. Satsuma's Ambiguous Position
6. China's Attitude toward "Western Barbarians" as an Example for Shuri
7. Foreign Visitors before 1844, and the Effect of the First Anglo-Chinese War
8. French Pressure on the Kingdom of Ryukyu, and Satsuma's Reaction
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Chapter IX

RYUKYU AND THE OPENING OF JAPAN

TO THE WESTERN WORLD

Position and Problems of the Ryukyu Kingdom in the 19th Century

Captain Broughton's accidental sojourn in Miyako and Okinawa may be taken as a turning point in the history of Ryukyu. The Governments of the Western World looked to Ryukyu as a possible door through which they could penetrate Japan. Western merchant ships and men-of-war began to visit the islands with increasing frequency. Naval diplomats, traders and missionaries began to write of the opportunities they believed they might find at Naha. None clearly understood the ambiguous state of "dual subordination". Gradually it came to be thought that Ryukyu might be useful as a base from which to bring pressure to bear upon the Shogun's government at Yedo. Missionaries believed they could introduce Christian publications to Japan through Kyushu. Naval diplomats proposed to use the islands for rendezvous, supply and repair while cruising in Chinese and Japanese waters. Merchants planned to trade with Japan through Satsuma and Naha.

The Japanese watched the development of European interest in Ryukyu with great alarm, and a majority of Japanese leaders were long determined to resist Western pressure at any cost. Ryukyu was on the frontier, caught between the pressures of the West and the resistance of Japan. Within the century the Ryukyu Kingdom was extinguished.

Disaster Years: Drought, Typhoon, Epidemic and Famine

The opening years of the 19th century were disastrous. By the time Europeans began to visit the islands with some regularity, the local economy had been shattered by a series of storms, tidal waves, and long droughts. Epidemic disease and repeated famines had weakened the Kingdom. By the middle of the century - when Commodore Perry arrived - the Ryukyu people had reached a common state of economic and political exhaustion.

Many European accounts of Ryukyu written in the early 19th century note how often the Okinawans described themselves as an impoverished people, unable to meet the demands for supply and for trade which the foreign visitors put upon them. It was generally interpreted to be a form of deception, an attempt to obey Japanese orders to circumvent foreign demands, and to keep the islands closed to foreign intercourse. A partial record of the natural disasters which overtook Ryukyu between 1800 and 1854 indicates that there was no pretense in the Okinawan claim that Ryukyu was a Kingdom of "desolate islands".

1802)
1803) Epidemics .....425 dead, including the young King, Sho On (aged 19), and his baby son and successor, Sho Sei.

1824) 1825)	Two typhoons Famine ..... 3,355 died
1826	Famine ..... 2,260 died Typhoon ..... 30 died; 116 ships lost; 16,500 houses destroyed
1832	Drought Typhoon and tidal waves..... 14 dead; 99 ships lost; 3,293 houses destroyed
1835	Drought Epidemic ..... 665 dead in Yaeyama Typhoon
1839	Drought
1842	Epidemic Earthquake in Miyako
1844	Typhoon in Miyako ..... 5 dead; 2,280 houses wrecked
1847	Mid-winter typhoon in Miyako
1850	Long drought
1852	Typhus epidemic Typhoon and tidal wave; famine in Miyako... more than 3,000 dead
1853	Epidemic in Yaeyama (? cholera) ..... 1,843 died
1854	Drought on Okinawa Epidemic on Miyako 680 dead Typhoon on Okinawa

The Government at Shuri became increasingly dependent upon loans from Kagoshima to enable it to carry on its formal relations with China. All villages subordinate to Shuri were pressed too hard. By mid-century the exhaustion of local economy was marked by unrest; protest here and there grew into riotous action.

Famine deaths and epidemic sickness undermined the productive strength of the farming community. The cost of repair and rebuilding after disastrous storms consumed material reserves. Loss of small craft affected villages engaged in fishing and in coastal transport.

To counter these repeated blows the Government continued its efforts to stimulate production and undertook administrative economies. A strict supervision of the forests was instituted by the Forest Magistracy between 1806 and 1821. Water conservation tanks were built here and there. Sugar extraction

machinery was improved. In anticipation of famine years, the sotetsu palm was planted everywhere through the islands, so that its unpalatable but nutritious seed would be available in times of drought. Zaa Pechin of Tomigusuku Mejiri is said to have organized a competitive exhibit of farmers' products as early as 1814 in order to encourage greater effort in the countryside.

Unsettled Conditions at the Shuri Court

The Government itself was faced with serious shortages. Each natural disaster added a burden to the modest budget. Each visiting foreign ship had to be entertained and supplied. Shuri had to meet the cost of increased personnel in all ranks required to look after foreign visitors. The missions to China and increasingly frequent missions to and from Kagoshima to report on these visits were in themselves a heavy financial burden. (100)

In the face of serious shortages in 1819 Shuri decided to reduce the stipends which had been available to the Kume Village community. Although the Kume Village people represented an elite of clerks and administrators important to the education of the gentry, the management of trade with China and with Satsuma, and the routine operations of government, the Shuri Administration asked them to eat less well and to pay over more to the Government in taxes. Two years later an order remitted and cancelled certain types of debts. This last was a drastic measure, but a precedent could be found in the Administration of Matsudaira Sadanobu, lately Regent at Yedo. (101)

In the midst of uncertainty, hardship, and confusion, the development of schools supported by the Government provides a bright relief in the records of the period. The National Academy (Kokugaku) founded in 1798 was given appropriate buildings on the castle grounds in 1800 and 1801. Elementary schools for the gentry were established in the several quarters of Shuri and Naha, and officials were appointed to supervise them. A "Hall of Learning" (Gakudo-kan) was established under the patronage of Owen Pechin in Izumizaki-mura, Naha in 1824. A Confucian Shrine was established in the grounds of the National Academy (1837) and new textbooks in Confucian morals - the Domo Suchi - were issued for use in the schools. Schools were erected in Yaeyama (1844) and in Miyako (1846).

The troubles of the Court and the Administration were increased by an illness of the King, Sho Ko, whose behaviour became so strange and unpredictable

(100) On losses and dangers enroute see: "Death of an Envoy from Lewchew" Chinese Repository Vol. X No. 12, Dec. 1841, p. 688

(101) Sadanobu's success in meeting famine conditions in his own fief of Shirakawa in 1784 had created a reputation sufficiently great to carry him to the highest administrative office in the country before he was 30 years old. He resigned in 1793, but his firm policies in meeting internal economic crises and disasters, and his attitude toward the importance of Japan's coastal defense may be presumed to have been well-known and remembered in Kagoshima and Shuri in the early 19th century.

that the Government found it necessary to remove him from the Throne. When in 1827 a special embassy returned from Kagoshima with Satsuma's approval of an abdication, (the second in Ryukyu's long history) Sho Ko retired to the countryside.

Such an unusual change in the Royal Household brought one more burden upon the Government treasury, for new missions had to be dispatched to China to announce the change and to ask for the traditional writ of investiture for a new sovereign. The accession rituals and ceremonies were costly. And the ex-King's Household in the countryside had to be maintained.

The King's abdication contributed to public uneasiness, already great in the face of natural calamity and the threat of a foreign invasion. It was not possible to keep the former King from the public eye. He is said to have wandered about on the public roads in strange dress, and to have insisted upon sending produce from his private gardens up to Shuri to the public markets.

The Royal Castle and the person of the King had become the most enduring symbols of Ryukyu nationhood. They were the outward and visible expression of national self-esteem and self-respect. They formed an identity vis-a-vis China, Japan and the Western World. The fate of gentry and common people alike was bound up in the King's relations with these external forces. The whole relationship of Ryukyu to China was founded on the King's formal relationship to the Court of Peking, and it had been in the King's name that the country was committed to Satsuma in 1609. It was felt that so long as the Court could prevent Western envoys from penetrating to the King's presence in Shuri, the dangers of an entanglement or binding commitments to them might be avoided.

These were Royal matters concerning only officers of Government. In the eyes of the common people the King's Ministers of State derived their authority from him, hence the necessity to remove a King from public office implied a weakness or question of delegated authority. Moreover, the King's behaviour - in theory at least - was expected to fulfill at all times the highest traditional standards of what was considered right and proper. (102) It was therefore a serious challenge to fundamental beliefs and standards when the King's behaviour made his removal necessary.

A certain mystery attached to the name of King Sho Ko and to the circumstances surrounding his abdication. A Testament attributed to him reads now as a penetrating though veiled criticism of his times, a protest against the role which he and his people were being forced to play by Satsuma.

> Darkness prevails; nobody awakens, while the bell will soon announce the arrival of dawn. It is hard to rule when both

(102) In Western Europe the idea that "The King can do no wrong" represented a modification of the idea of the "Divine Right of Kings". In Okinawa the tradition and usages of royalty lay midway between those of China and Japan, being neither the Japanese doctrine of "One line of Emperors, unbroken for Ages Eternal" nor of the discontinuous succession of dynasties, alien and native, which ruled China. As Professor Higaonna Kanjun has pointed out, the Ryukyu people conceived of the institution and office as an unbroken lineage nor divine right for the families or persons of the Kings.

the ruler and the people are hardpressed, and are robbed by those among them whose godowns are filled with spoils. Any blame will I take on myself. Only relieve the people of their privations; quench their thirst by opening the fountain. After all, men live but once. (103)

It was therefore in an atmosphere of universal uneasiness and uncertainty that the gentry and officials of Ryukyu were called upon to meet the pressure of foreign Powers.

Okinawa's Place on Japan's Defense Perimeter

To understand the development of Japanese policy in Ryukyu, we must turn back for a moment to review conditions and events in Japan which had a profound bearing on the fate of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Shuri's relationship with Satsuma at this time was conditioned by the mounting economic and political crises within Japan itself. The Tokugawa Government at Yedo did not fully grasp the significance of economic change which had rendered early feudal institutions obsolete by the late 18th century. The impoverishment of the samurai class brought about a decay in its standards. The idle hereditary soldier had to swallow his pride and become a craftsman or merchant, to sell his rank to a commoner, or to link his family to a source of plebian income through marriage. Infanticide became a common practice resorted to by the haughty samurai as well as by the hungry farmer when both became overcrowded and hardpressed in their individual households.

Hunger drove men to desperation. Famine years were followed by epidemic. Farmers rioted to protest the heavy burden of taxes to which the daimyo resorted in an effort to improve conditions among the samurai. Townsmen rioted again and again to get at the rice stores of rich merchants or of the feudal lords. The Tokugawa Government called again and again on its samurai to put down these demonstrations.

> Such were the economic conditions which the feudal government had to face in the first decades of the 19th century: and there is no doubt that they were ill at ease. The strongest rivals of the Shogunate, the great tozama or Outside Lords, like Satsuma, Choshu (Mori), Tosa and Hizen, had always held aloof from the Tokugawa. They had governed their fiefs in their own way, kept clear of most of the financial embarrassments which were weakening the Shogunate, encouraged industry and commerce in their domains without falling into the clutches of usurers, and, perhaps most important of all, had preserved among their people the old feudal virtues of discipline and frugality. The Bekufu, even in its most enlightened phases, had always governed in the interest of the Tokugawa family and their close adherents. Consequently there was little in the Tokugawa policy, or its execution, to command the allegiance

(103) Quoted, with slight grammatical correction, from Higaonna Kanjun: Outline of Okinawan History, (1951) p. 49.

of these great barons or of the discontented samurai--not only masterless men but also retainers of the Shogun and his hereditary vassals--whose numbers were constantly swollen by financial distress, and whose loyalty was breaking under the strain of misrule. The country was full of restless spirits, dissatisfied with their condition and thirsting for activity. There were nobles who wanted independence and foreign trade, to develop the resources of their domains; samurai who wanted opportunities to use their talents, whether as soldiers or as officials; merchants who wanted to break the monopolies of the guilds; scholars who wanted to draw knowledge from new springs; humble peasants and townsmen who wanted just a little freedom from tax and tyranny. Every force but conservatism was pressing from within at the closed doors; so that when a summons came from without they were flung wide open, and all these imprisoned energies were released. (104)

Thanks to the accidents of geography, the Ryukyu Kingdom formed the outer line of defenses before these "gates of Japan". Western governments felt that if they could gain a foothold in the Ryukyus, the penetration of Japan would follow with greater ease. The Tokugawa Government felt vulnerable in Ryukyu as it did in Yezo (Hokkaido) and the Kurile Islands to the north. It was torn with indecision, but was required by circumstances to leave the Ryukyu problem in the hands of the Satsuma clansmen. Here, too, there was indecision and conflicting policy. Some leaders felt that the islands should be closed tightly and defended from all Western attempts to enter. Others advocated the opening of a trade depot in the Ryukyus which might satisfy the Western Powers while at the same time keeping them at arm's length.

Yedo, the Shogun's capital, lay about midway between the Kurile Islands and Yezo at the north, and the Ryukyu Islands at the south. In 1786 a party was sent to explore the northern frontier, and maps of the Ryukyu Islands, drafted by Tukahara Pechin were sent up to Yedo through Satsuma in 1797. Among the prominent men deeply concerned with Japan's position and vulnerability was the scholar Hayashi Shihei. His home was at Sendai, in northern Japan, where the menace of Russian encroachment was felt most keenly. He made three visits to Nagasaki, where he learned something of the pressures from the West, and of the stirring colonial spirit of the European powers in those days. While he recognized the threat of Russian expansion, he was aware that Japan must become better informed concerning territories adjacent to it on the west and south as well. In 1786 - the year that a Russian man-of-war came coasting along the main island - Hayashi published a book called Sangoku Tsuran or "A Study of Three Countries" in which he discussed Yezo (Hokkaido), Korea and Ryukyu. (105) In 1789 he had an interview with Matsudaira Sadanobu, then Regent at Yedo, during

(104) Sansom, G. C.: Japan, A Short Cultural History, 1943 ed., p. 524.

(105) The Sangoku Tsuran was translated from Japanese by J. Klaproth and published in Paris and London in 1832 under the title San Kokf Tsou Ran to Sets, ou apercu general des Trois Royaumes, thus providing the Western world with one of its earliest accounts of Ryukyu.

which he emphasized his concern for the coastal defenses of Japan. On this subject, too, he published a later work, the Kaikoku Heidan, or "Military talks concerning the Coastal Provinces". Although Sadanobu later treated Rin Shihei with considerable injustice he did act upon the matter of coastal defenses near the capital.

In 1797 the first American ship - the Eliza - put in at Nagasaki carrying a cargo for the Dutch merchants of Nagasaki. (106) For six years thereafter the annual Dutch trade came aboard an American ship. The Japanese at Nagasaki became alarmed when an American brig arrived in Nagasaki in 1800 attempting to open trade which would not pass through the authorized Dutch station. The British Captain Broughton had already surveyed the coasts of Saghalin at the north, and had stayed in the Ryukyus to the south. The authorities in Japan began to feel heavy pressure.

Europeans and Americans coming from the south and east were principally interested in trade and in establishing diplomatic relations to cover and regulate it. A more sinister threat was felt from the north, for the Russians coming overland across Siberia had reached the Pacific as early as 1639. In 1795 the Japanese had discovered a Russian settlement on the nearby island of Urup. Little by little the Russians had enlarged their interests, until a grandiose scheme had taken form which projected an empire embracing the shores and islands of the northern and eastern Pacific. A Russian man-of-war anchoring in Nagasaki Harbor in 1804 carried an envoy whose plans for a Russian empire ultimately embraced California, Canada, Alaska, the Kurile Islands and Yezo (Hokkaido). These threats to Japan's security created consternation at the capital. An examination of coastal defenses from Yezo to Kyushu and of conditions in adjacent countries made it seem clear that Ryukyu was a weak point, not firmly enough under Yedo's control.

Satsuma's Ambiguous Position

Satsuma's position was ambiguous. The Shimazu Clan had no love nor strong loyalty for the Tokugawa Bakufu. There was growing evidence that Ryukyu's trading station in China was Satsuma's source for large-scale smuggling into Japan. In 1802, for instance, certain articles of European origin were uncovered in a shipment of Satsuma goods to Kyoto. Kagoshima was called upon to explain the matter, but the Yedo authorities could do little to check or punish the powerful Satsuma Clan.

(106) Holland was losing its position as a preeminent trading nation. War with England, Prussian intervention, French invasion and the confusion of the Napoleonic era cut the Dutch traders off from their Far Eastern stations. American ships were chartered by the Dutch to carry goods to and from Japan. Thus American attention was drawn directly to the potentials of Japanese trade, if only the Government at Yedo could be persuaded - or forced - to abandon its seclusion policies.

Satsuma maintained about fifteen ships in the Ryukyu trade, each making about two round trips to Naha per year. In an effort to attract the direct China trade from the Tokugawa port of Nagasaki, Shimazu established Chinese language schools and information centers concerning China at several small ports along the Osumi and Satsuma coasts of Southwestern Kyushu. These were intended to rival in influence the Chinese refugee settlements at Nagasaki, where the presence of Chinese-language interpreters made it relatively easy for Chinese and Western traders coming over from the China coast.

Shimazu Shigehide of Satsuma was in close and friendly association with the officers of the Dutch trading station at Nagasaki. He was a man of boldness and imagination, but also a man of extravagance. The income from the Ryukyu trade was the principal single source of revenue for Satsuma at that time, but it was not enough. (At one time he fell under heavy obligation to certain Osaka merchants, and pledged the revenues of the Ryukyu trade in return for a credit of five million koban.) It appears that Shigehide reached a secret understanding with the Dutchman Hemmij, Chief of the Deshima trading depot, in which it was proposed to send one foreign ship per year secretly to Satsuma.

This was in direct contravention of the Exclusion Edicts and of the Tokugawa monopoly of foreign trade through Nagasaki. Under other circumstances this disclosure might have led to war upon Satsuma, but since Shimazu Shigehide was the Shogun's father-in-law, the case was treated lightly. It meant however that Satsuma's interest in direct foreign trade was temporarily checked. (107)

The use of the Ryukyu Islands as a base for trade which could circumvent the laws of the Central Government sharpened Yedo's sense of vulnerability - economic vulnerability - in that quarter. While the Tokugawa regime was strangling itself economically by refusing to trade anywhere save through its Nagasaki agents, the Satsuma officials were accumulating wealth. Indeed, it has been said that the coalition of western clans (Satsuma, Choshu, Hizen, and Tosa) which finally succeeded in overthrowing the Tokugawa Government, derived a major part of its strength from Satsuma's profits in the Ryukyu trade.

Satsuma began to exploit its relationship with the Ryukyu Kingdom in an effort to increase its political strength and prestige. During the revival of nationalism in Japan, and the development of an anti-Tokugawa royalist sentiment, the matter of Imperial Court rank gained an importance it had lost hundreds of years before. The Lords of Satsuma desired to rise in the Imperial Court hierarchy. Looking back over their family history they saw that the Keicho Invasion of the Ryukyu Islands in 1609 had earned for Shimazu Iyehisa the Junior Third Grade of Court Rank and the title or nominal office of Chunagon. Shimazu Nariaki already had access to the highest circles at the Shogun's Court at Yedo (his sister was the wife of the Shogun, Tokugawa Iyenari). He now set about gaining for himself and his heirs a return to that exalted rank at Kyoto. This would make him technically eligible for the highest councils of the Imperial Court.

(107) Kuiper, J. Feenstra: "Some Notes on the Foreign Relations of Japan in the Early Napoleonic Period (1798-1805)" in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Vol. I, pp. 55-83.

He proposed to stress the importance of Satsuma as the only Japanese feudatory which had an "independent" Kingdom subordinate to it. The Yedo Government claimed to receive tribute from the King of Korea (who also paid tribute to Peking), but Shimazu alone among the daimyo could claim to receive tribute from abroad.

It became policy therefore to underscore every evidence that the Ryukyu Kingdom was a foreign state. The Ryukyuans themselves were under a strict obligation to cooperate, for an important rule laid down by Satsuma long before had stipulated that in its official intercourse with China, Ryukyu would make every effort to conceal its true relationship with Japan. The envoys coming up from Ryukyu to Kagoshima in the early 19th century travelled overland through Japan to Yedo with a great display of Ryukyu costume, manners and language. The Satsuma Government encouraged the publication and wide dissemination of woodblock prints illustrating processions of embassies from Shuri carefully shown to be foreign to Japan. In 1836 strict orders went down to Okinawa renewing prohibitions upon the use of the Japanese language, songs and artifacts in any circumstance in which they would be recognized by the Chinese or other foreign peoples in Ryukyu.

In 1841 and 1842 the negotiations to advance Shimazu's court rank went forward. The King of Ryukyu was required to sign a petition prepared by Satsuma and addressed to Shimazu in which it is said that Shuri might experience difficulties in Government if precedents were not obeyed and the Lord of Satsuma did not receive promotion to the distinguished rank once held by his predecessor. This was hollow nonsense, of course, for Shimazu's court rank meant nothing to the Ryukyu people in fact. Shimazu Yoshihiro and his successor Nariaki did receive promotions to grades not usual for the military lords, but they failed to reach the high rank for which they were intriguing. (108)

While at home the Okinawans were expected to deny any subordination to Japan and to conceal their true relationship; while in Japan, this subordination was emphasized and ostentatiously displayed. These were the years in which Western visitors were coming to Ryukyuan shores and attempting to persuade the Ryukyu Government to open the islands to international communications. It is little wonder that foreigners were baffled by the air of mystery which lay over Shuri's relations with Japan, and by the occasional inadvertent disclosure of the hidden relationship. Nor is it surprising that Western observers gained an impression that the Okinawan people - otherwise so refreshingly direct and friendly - were devious and full of duplicity, vacillating and without the power of initiative or decision in their official undertakings.

Poverty, famine, epidemic sickness and great storms - even the political intrigue and hard mercantile bargaining of the Satsuma Government - were hardships grown familiar through long acquaintance. The coming of the foreign ships, however, created fear and uncertainty. There were no firm precedents to guide the Shuri Government in its conduct. Formal rituals and customary procedures traditionally associated with the dispatch and reception of embassies were unknown to the Europeans. China and Japan proved to be uncertain guides in this crisis.

(108) For its services to the Imperial Restoration the Shimazu Family was ultimately granted high honors; numbering among its members two Princes, one Count and eight Barons.

China's Attitude Toward "Western Barbarians" as an Example for Shuri

The Chinese themselves were baffled by the insistent approach of the Western peoples. Hitherto the successful alien invaders of China - the Mongols and the Manchus - had come overland into China and had accepted Chinese civilization and adapted themselves to it. The idea of a sovereign equality among nations was incomprehensible to the Chinese, who expected the British, the French, the Dutch and the Americans automatically to accept positions of subordinate tributary states. If they wanted trade, they were expected to perform the rituals of subordination to the Chinese Emperor (the k'o-t'ou) and to accept the privileges extended to them by Peking. This had been the customary form with which the Chinese dealt with barbarians through two thousand years, and they could see no sufficient reason to alter it when the "Redhairs" began to approach China by sea. The Chinese clung stubbornly to the idea that international intercourse and trade were privileges which they could extend or withhold at will; the Europeans as stubbornly insisted that there was a universal right to trade in peace.

The Ryukyu Court was well aware of China's attitude toward foreign "barbarians". Lord McCartney's embassy from the British King to the Chinese Emperor in 1793 had been proclaimed a tribute mission by the Chinese authorities, and it had been refused privileges of trade on the grounds that China had everything it needed within its own borders. An embassy from Holland had been treated rudely and turned away in 1795. A Russian ambassador refused to perform the k'o-t'ou in 1806, and was not allowed to approach Peking. Lord Amherst's embassy of 1816 was dismissed abruptly without an audience with the Chinese Emperor because the British would not k'o-t'ou and accept the status of a tributary state.

The Shuri Court had to be mindful of China's attitude, and with these examples before them they had reason to believe that Ryukyu would incur China's great displeasure if the King at Shuri should show any friendly willingness to receive and treat with the foreigners who came to Okinawa. They knew that Peking was ready to send military forces into her weak border states to secure order and obedience. The Imperial armies had put down a revolt among the tributary Mongols in 1757, and Chinese colonists were sent in to occupy the area. Manchu armies were sent into the tributary towns of the Tarim Basin in 1759. Tibet was invaded and disciplined about the same time. An Imperial army had crossed the Himalayas into Nepal and forced that kingdom to accept Chinese suzerainty in 1792. Peking sent armies into Burma (1765-1769) and into Annam. Under the Emperor Chia Ch'ing (1796-1820) there was a persecution of Roman Catholics in China and under his successor Imperial forces had to be sent to quell rebellions on Formosa.

China was so much larger and overwhelmingly stronger than Ryukyu that the Ryukyuans had no choice but to attempt to avoid any cause for Peking's displeasure. Shuri was indeed faced with a dilemma when China suffered a serious defeat at the hands of Great Britain in the first Anglo-Chinese War, 1839-1842. This was an unmistakable demonstration that the Western nations were prepared to use force to gain their ends. If Shuri opened the country to foreign intercourse, it risked reprisals from China; if it refused to accede to Western demands, it might suffer attack and occupation. As we shall see, they had no firm assurance of support from Japan in either case.

Foreign Visitors before 1844, and the Effect of the First Anglo-Chinese War

There was sudden pressure now after two hundred years of isolation from the Western World. European and American ships put in more than thirty times in fifty years. Some came singly, some came in squadrons. Some were merchantmen and some were heavily armed men-of-war. Some were driven in by storm and wrecked or damaged on the reefs and rocks of Okinawa. Others came for the specific purpose of opening the Ryukyu Islands to trade. (109)

(109) Official reports, diaries and published travel accounts covering these voyages provide invaluable commentary on conditions in 19th century Ryukyu. It is not possible to identify all of the Western ships reported in the Ryukyu Islands in this period, nor is it certain that all arrivals were recorded. Each arrival, whether for the first time or on a repeated visit, caused excitement among the common people, and foreboding among the government officials. Broughton (British; H.M.S. Providence) had arrived in 1797. An incomplete record of later visits must include:

1804 Unidentified
1811 Unidentified
1816 H.M.S. Alceste (Capt. Maxwell) and H.M.S. Lyra (Capt. Basil Hall) remained 40 days
1821 Dutch ship drifted in
1822 Dutch ship in again
1824 British vessel at Takara-shima; violent clash with local authorities
1827 H.M.S. Blossom (Capt. Beechey) two visits
1831 British vessel H.M.S. Lord Amherst
1832 Three British vessels H.M.S. Partridge (Capt. Stevens)
1837 American ship Morrison; British sloop-of-war Raleigh
1840 Five British ships including Indian Oak (wrecked) and Nimrod
1842 British ships, unidentified
1843 H.M.S. Samarang (Capt. Belcher)
1844 French ship Alcemne (Commander Duplan) left missionaries Forcade and Ho
1845 British ships Samarang and Loyalist
1845 French ship
1846 French ships in twice
1846 H.M.S. Sterling left missionary Bettelheim and family in May
1846 British ships Daedelus, Starling, and Vestal (Admiral Thomas Cochrane) in October
1846 French men-of-war Sabine, Cleopatra, Victorieuse, under Admiral Cecille, commanding
1847 Three French ships
1848 French ships la Bayonnaise (Adm. Jurien de la Graviere) British ships
1849 American ship at Kume Island, seeking supplies, The Preble (Capt. Glynn) British ships H.M.S. Mariner (Capt. Matheson) H.M.S. Nancy Dawson (Capt. Sheddon)
1850 British ship, H.M.S. Reynard (Capt. Cracroft) bringing Lord Palmerston's demands
1851 British request repeated; British vessel at Yaeyama, seeking supplies
1852 British repeat request for better treatment of Bettelheim, H.M.S. Sphinx (Capt. Shadwell)
1853-1854 Commodore Perry insists on a formal Compact of Friendship and Commerce while wintering in Okinawan waters. Squadron includes Macedonian, Susquehanna, Vandalia, Southampton, Lexington, Supply.
1854 French arrive, demanding Treaty following Perry's precedent
1858 Dutch arrive, demanding Treaty

With few exceptions relations between the visitors and the Ryukyu people were conducted on a remarkably friendly basis. The annals of world-wide voyaging and discovery contain few comparable records of such consistent goodwill, praise and appreciation. The innate quality of mildness and courtesy which had caused the Chinese Emperor to dub Ryukyu the "Country of Propriety" (Shurei no Kuni) recommended itself no less to Western mariners of all ranks. Official reports of these visits, private journals and popular, published narratives are filled with comment favorable to the people of Ryukyu, whose behaviour stood in contrast to the rudeness encountered in Chinese ports and the extreme unfriendliness of the Japanese. Captain Broughton's reports to the Admiralty of London were the first of a long series which roused and sustained considerable interest in the Ryukyus. The British Admiralty determined to send a mission to survey the archipelago. In 1816 the presence of H.M.S. Alceste and Lyra on the North China Coast (while waiting for Lord Amherst to complete his mission to Peking) seemed to offer the first good opportunity for an extended inquiry. The two ships made a leisurely run down the coast of Korea and over to Naha. Captain Basil Hall's account entitled Voyage to the LooChoos and the West Coast of Corea became a classic record, well-illustrated, combining accurate and methodical investigation with a warm appreciation of life in this small Kingdom, hitherto scarcely known in the West. Dr. John McLeod, Surgeon aboard the Alceste, published a similar account of the voyage which, like Captain Hall's book, painted a picture of idyllic happiness and contentment, appealing to the romantic spirit of that age in Europe and the United States.

These two accounts assumed considerable importance in the 19th century, for anyone who proposed to visit Ryukyu (Commodore Perry and his aides, for instance) turned to them for information. The romantic picture of life at Shuri and Naha in 1816 created expectations which were not fulfilled when the naval-diplomats and missionaries of France, England and the United States began to arrive in numbers some thirty years later. Political and economic conditions within the islands had greatly changed; the Japanese had developed and stiffened their policies toward Ryukyu, and the island people themselves had become rapidly more impoverished through a continuing series of natural disasters.

Ryukyu was introduced to the Western World through these narratives and journals written by men who were familiar with life along the China coast, and were eagerly attempting to enter and observe Japan. It is interesting therefore to note that although characterizations of the Ryukyuan people varied in detail they were virtually unanimous in noting two contradictory aspects of life in Okinawa. The casual observer was invariably struck by the absence of violence among the people, by the unfailing courtesy of the officers of the State, the good behaviour of the common peasant, the absence of thievery and the gentle, yielding quality of the Ryukyu personality. These were all in favorable contrast to common experience and observation at Chinese coastal ports and at Nagasaki in Japan. Foreign visitors found these favorable things therefore had to reconcile with the system of spies and agents which were set to watch them day and night. Furthermore, they could not understand the hospitality extended to casual visitors, and the harshness with which the first unwelcome missionaries were treated when they attempted to establish themselves as permanent residents.

The nature of "dual subordination" was not understood. The diverse standards by which the Ryukyu officials were attempting to conduct their foreign relations were confusing to all concerned. Chinese standards required a strict ceremonial, and great formality. For more than 500 years the envoys from Ryukyu had travelled from Fukien ports to Peking under strictest surveillance by Chinese officers and agents. Furthermore, envoys of high rank were expected to have suitable attendants always at their side, ready for instant service. But when Shuri attempted to supply attendants and to keep watch on the roaming foreigners, they met with rebuff. In fact the foreigners were as ignorant of Chinese ceremonial as the Okinawans were ignorant of the forms and customs of international intercourse in the Western world. The confusion and misunderstanding which resulted were greatly complicated by the spying and prying of the common agent (metsuke) who served the Japanese representatives maintained by Satsuma on Okinawa. These metsuke were held in little respect by the general public, but they were feared. It was commonly observed among foreigners that the Okinawans by their own local standards were greatly disposed to establish warm and friendly relationships. If the metsuke were not present, there was a ready exchange of information, books and other gifts, and many Okinawans eagerly attempted to learn a few words of English or French. Under the eyes of the metsuke, who maintained Japanese authority in public places, gifts were rejected, conversation became stiff and cautious. The presence of the Japanese was felt but rarely seen by the foreigners, and was never clearly understood. On the whole, a visit to the Ryukyu Islands was anticipated with interest and usually recorded as an experience of exceptional pleasure. (110)

There was one important exception in the history of friendly relations with Western visitors during the 19th century, and this was to have serious and enduring effect. In 1824 a British ship dropped anchor at Tokarajima, a small island between Oshima and Kyushu used by the Okinawans as a port of transshipment on the way to Kagoshima. The ship's crew seized and killed cattle, and took what supplies they wanted. Angry villagers tried to drive them off the island, and in the melee several persons were killed on both sides. When this was reported to Yedo, the Government issued a new Expulsion Decree, (1825), which by custom was expected to apply in Ryukyu.

> As to the mode of proceeding on the arrival of foreign vessels many proclamations have formerly been issued, and one was expressly issued in 1806 with respect to Russian ships. Also several years ago an English vessel committed outrages at Nagasaki [the Phaeton, in 1808] and in later years the English have visited the various ports in boats, demanding fire-wood, water and provisions. In the past year, they landed forcibly, and seized rice and grain in the junks and cattle on the islands. The

(110) Gutzlaff, Charles: The Journal of Two Voyages along the Coast of China in 1831 and 1832....with notices of Siam, Corea and the Loo-choo Islands... N.Y. 2 Vols. 1833. Vol. I, Chap. 7, pp. 288-298.

Williams, S. Wells: "Narrative of a Voyage of the ship Morrison, Captain D. Ingersoll, to Lewchew and Japan in the months of July and August, 1837." Chinese Repository Vol. VI, May 1837-April 1838. pp. 208-229.

> continuation of such insolent proceedings, as also the intention of introducing the Christian religion having come to our knowledge, it is impossible to look on with indifference. Not only England, but also the Southern Barbarians and Western Countries are of the Christian religion which is prohibited among us. Therefore, if in future foreign vessels should come near any port whatsoever, the local inhabitants shall conjointly drive them away; but should they go away (peaceably) it is not necessary to pursue them. Should any foreigners land anywhere, they must be arrested or killed, and if the ship approaches the shore it must be destroyed. (111)

On August 14, 1840, the transport Indian Oak was wrecked on the coast of Okinawa while engaged in operations supporting the first Anglo-Chinese War. An official report on the affair began with the observation that: "/For its kindness/ the treatment of her crew was extraordinary in the annals of shipwrecks..." (112) The local people - commoners and officials alike - lent every aid possible to the work of salvaging cargo and supplies and in the construction of a craft which might be sailed over to Macao on the south China coast. The task required forty-three days. In the midst of this work the Okinawans were suddenly thrown into confusion by the arrival of a party of 270 heavily armed Japanese, part of the Satsuma garrison normally kept out of sight and contact with foreign visitors to the island. At their direction the nervous Ryukyu officials required the shipwrecked European seamen to remain strictly within certain bounds near the wreck and under constant though mild surveillance. In every other way the castaways were treated cordially, given abundant food and good quarters. Hamahiga Pechin was despatched to Yedo to explain the incident and Shuri's position.

China's defeat by Great Britain was followed by the Treaty of Nanking (August 29, 1842) which opened five Chinese ports to British residence and trade, ceded Hongkong to Britain as a commercial and naval base, permitted Christian mission acitivity within a day's journey of an open port, and stipulated conditions and terms under which China would be opened to foreign intercourse. In the next year a supplementary treaty provided for further trade regulations and promised "most-favored nation" treatment. That is to say, China promised to extend to the British any privileges which she might extend to other foreign nations thereafter. This of course opened the way for other foreign powers to seek trading privileges and concessions along the China coast, and soon the United States, France, Belgium, Sweden and Norway had similar treaties and there were new Chinese treaties with Russia. In the years 1842-1844 British ships conducted a series of marine surveys, checking those made earlier near Okinawa and charting new channels and reefs in the Miyako and Yaeyama islands. (113)

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(111) Quoted by Murdoch, James: History of Japan, Vol. III, p. 528.

(112) "Loss of the Transport Indian Oak, Captain Grainger, on Lewchew, August 14th, 1840." Chinese Repository Article IV, pp. 78-88, Vol. XII No. 2, Feb. 1843.

(113) "Notes on the Batanes and Madjcosima Islands" Chinese and Japanese Repository July 1, 1865, Vol. III, No. 24, pp. 313-326. Captain Belcher and his men spent 21 days ashore, December, 1843.

The nearby Okinawans were alarmed and so were the Japanese. If China made any formal claim to the Ryukyus, the terms of these treaties might be extended to apply at Naha. It was becoming clear that the old arrangement of "dual subordination" would be challenged, and the old pretenses of suzerainty would have to be given up, either by Japan or China.

French Pressure on the Kingdom of Ryukyu, and Satsuma's Reaction

In March, 1844, the French warship Alcmene put in at Naha, demanding trading privileges which the Shuri Government steadfastly refused to grant. (114) The French told the Okinawans that the British were planning to attack Japan, using the Ryukyus as a base of operations. They proposed therefore that Shuri should place itself under French protection. This, too, the Okinawans refused to consider, but to their great consternation the officers of the French men-of-war insisted on putting ashore a French Catholic missionary, named Forcade, and his Chinese assistant, Augustin Ho. These men, the French said, would remain to study the local language in order to act as interpreters when a large French naval force returned to press again for formal agreements between France and the Kingdom of Ryukyu. The strangers were given lodging in the Ameku Seigenji, a small Buddhist temple on the outskirts of Naha, but they were most unwelcome. The Okinawan officials were profoundly disturbed. They were ready to assist shipwrecked foreigners and to welcome courteously all temporary visitors who conducted themselves well; they were not prepared to welcome permanent residents from abroad, and most certainly not prepared to welcome Christian missionaries. Japan had been closed to the Western world for two hundred years because of the misbehaviour and political meddling of the Spanish and Portuguese Catholic missionaries. The Okinawans remembered the martyrdoms of Christian converts, and knew well what terrible fate befell any Japanese who was discovered giving aid or comfort to a Christian teacher. They remembered, too, that the Expulsion Decree of 1825 had recently been renewed (1837). Now under the threat of French arms, they were being forced to violate the strict policies of Yedo. The Bakufu officials had been kept well informed of the British victory in China and of the concessions which China had made in the Treaty of Nanking. The Dutch representatives at Nagasaki were eager to protect their own trade monopoly. They had warned Yedo that both the British and the French were planning to establish trading bases in Ryukyu. The extensive British surveying operations in Yaeyama, Miyako and Okinawan waters were well known to the authorities in Japan. Hamahiga Pechin's story confirmed the Dutch warning.

There were two schools of thought at Yedo. One advocated a moderate policy and possibly some conciliatory enlargement of trade with countries other than Holland. The other advocated a stern refusal of any overtures for further intercourse with the Western world. And for a time, these latter views prevailed.

(114) For a full account of French activity, with texts of notes exchanged with Shuri, see Marnas, Francisque: La "Religion de Jesus (Iaso Je-kyo) Ressuscitée au Japon dans la second moitié du XIXe siècle (2 vols. Paris and Lyon, 1896) Premiere Partie: Aux Portes du Japon: Livre Premier: L'avant-poste des iles Riu-kiu Vol. I, pp. 91-188.

Soon after Hamahiga Pechin visited Yedo an envoy arrived from the King of Holland, bearing advice that to avoid serious difficulty it would be well for Japan to relax its laws forbidding trade and official relations with the Western powers. After months of debate and conflict, an answer was given to the Dutch envoys which said in part:

> ...when the time came for determining with what countries /Japanese/ communication should be permitted, intercourse was limited to Korea and Luchu, and trade to your Excellencies' country /Holland/ and China. Aside from these countries, all communication was strictly disallowed..... Henceforth, pray cease correspondence.... (115)

This was not an end to the matter. It will be recalled that Satsuma's earlier attempts to establish direct trading relations with the West had been frustrated. Here a new opportunity presented itself. The French had come to Naha with warships to press for a trading agreement. Plans were now matured at Kagoshima whereby Japan on the one hand could keep the foreign Powers at a distance by satisfying them with a trading station at Naha, while Satsuma on the other hand would enjoy the fruits of a monopoly on trade which the Bakufu itself decalred to be legitimate between Japan and Ryukyu.

The French missionary Forcade and his Chinese aide attempted to establish themselves in the confidence of the people of Ryukyu. They had no success. They reported that the Okinawans were a happy and personally friendly people, but that they themselves were hedged about with sharp restrictions, spied upon, and made uncomfortable in a thousand ways. They became aware of the pressure of the Satsuma agents upon the Government at Shuri, but did not wholly understand it. Neither did they realize that the full force of the Exclusion tradition was directed toward Catholic missionaries associated with foreign political and military efforts to penetrate Japan. The French Government had learned nothing from history. It would have been impossible for them to have selected less suitable agents for the development of their interest in the Ryukyus as a stepping stone toward Japan. Added to this were two further disadvantages: the Chinese interpreter and convert who was expected to assist Forcade was known by the Okinawans to have been the inmate of a Chinese jail, and to be an uncultured refugee as much interested in saving his body through association with the foreign priests as he was in the salvation of his soul in Christianity. He was not a man whose background recommended him to the educated officials at Naha.

On May 2, 1846, the French warship Sabine dropped anchor at Naha. To the dismay of the Okinawans, a second priest, named Leturdu, was put ashore to join Forcade. The commanding officer (Guerin) made an official call upon the Chief Magistrate of Shuri. During the exchange of entertainment which followed he announced that he was about to move his ship to Unten Harbor, for a rendezvous with the ships Cleopatra and Victorieuse. This was done on June 7, over the strong objections of the authorities at Shuri. Satsuma's agents, as well as the

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(115) See Greene, M. C.: Correspondence between the Shogun of Japan, A.D. 1844 and William II of Holland. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XXXIV, Part IV, pp. 121-122.

Court officials, wanted to keep the foreigners under closest supervision. Furthermore there were the obvious difficulties of maintaining liaison with the French mission at that distant harbor.

On June 8, Admiral Cecille received the local Magistrate for the Hokuzan District aboard the Cleopatra at Unten. Ten days later he went ashore at Kami Unten with great fanfare of drums and trumpets to meet the King's representative and to open formal but unsuccessful negotiations for a Treaty.

While this was taking place at Okinawa, a series of conferences were being held at Kagoshima and at Yedo. Shimazu Nariakira (Saihin) heir presumptive to the headship of the Satsuma Clan, was even more interested in developing foreign relations than his grandfather Shigehide had been, for he had more than trade in view. He was a brilliant man, sensitive to the changes which were overtaking Japan's international position. He was convinced that the nation's Seclusion policies must be abandoned or at least be modified drastically. In the French proposal to open trade with Ryukyu he saw a larger opportunity, and although an important party of conservatives at Kagoshima were stubbornly opposed to his proposals, he took the matter to the highest officers at Yedo. (116) Here again he found divided opinion and serious opposition. Principal officers in the three most important magistracies (Jisha, Machi and Kanjo Bugyo) were antagonistic. Other prominent men were found to approve - most notable among them Lord Abe Masahiro, Chief of the Great Council of State (Roju) who had been recalled to office by the news of the French action in Ryukyu. At last the Shogun summoned the Daimyo of Satsuma and his heir, Nariakira, and in secret conference May 27, 1846, indirectly sanctioned a trading agreement with the French. He did this by leaving decisions in Nariakira's hands with the admonition that the matter must be concealed from the other feudal lords, and that it was to be worked out in a manner which would cause no future trouble for Yedo.

Nariakira attempted to exploit the Government's exclusion policy in a peculiar and devious way. While he publicly declared himself in support of the Exclusion policies, and advocated a strong coastal defense, he expanded operations at the Ryukyu Trading Depot in Fukien, with a view gradually to transfer operations to Naha and thence, perhaps, to a port in his own domain on Kyushu. He paid great attention to the manufacture of arms and projected the development of a monopoly of heavy arms manufacture within his fief. By rousing the fears of the country the demand for arms would increase steadily. By using Naha as an intermediary base, he expected to profit from the import of weapons. He was shrewd. He knew that the Bakufu would be unable to resist French or British demands in distant Ryukyu, if they were backed by force, and that concessions acceptable to the foreigners there - especially freedom to trade might satisfy the Western Powers while diverting their attention from the ports of Japan Proper. But at the same time Shimazu shared with other Japanese of his day a profound mistrust and fear of Christian missionary activity.

While these long-drawn-out negotiations went forward at Yedo, and ended favorably there, the Shuri Government, unaware of them, delivered a note to the French Admiral Cecille at Unten on July 5, 1846, in which it was stated that the

(116) Horie Yasuzo: Nihon Shihon Shugi no Seiritsu (Formation of Japanese Capitalism) Tokyo, 1938, p. 106, note 4.

King of Ryukyu must decline the offer of a treaty with the Emperor of the French. (117) On July 17 the French squadron left Unten for Japan, taking with them the missionary Forcade.

A third missionary, Adnet, had joined Leturdu, and these two were left behind to learn the Ryukyuan language and to prepare the way for possible future negotiations. Their mission did not prosper. No converts were made, but in the next year (1847) a young Japanese from Satsuma named Iwajiri Kisuke was sent down from Kagoshima for the express purpose of learning French. It was represented to the Frenchmen that he was a native of Tokara island, the trading station midway between Okinawa and Kagoshima. Unfortunately for Shimazu's plans, this agent-in-training died in the next year. Nevertheless, despite heavy opposition within his own Clan councils, Nariakira pressed forward with his secret plan to open trade with the French. On July 1, 1848, Mathieu Adnet died at Naha, and in the next month (August 27), a French ship took away Leturdu, who was then fully prepared to abandon the hopeless mission.

Meanwhile Admiral Cecille had sailed northward, saying upon departure that French ships would come later to seek reconsideration of Shuri's refusal to trade. At Nagasaki he was curtly rebuffed by the Shogun's local authorities who had no knowledge of the secret understanding which had been arrived at between the Shogun and Shimazu Nariakira. Cecille withdrew, unaware that his demands upon Ryukyu had set in motion policies which were to have a profound effect upon Japan's Seclusion.

Relations with Great Britain: The Problem of the Missionary Bettelheim

The French man-of-war Sabine was leaving Naha anchorage when the British ship Starling came in. Shuri's relations with Great Britain during these years were of less official character than they had been with the French, but they were of a deeply disturbing nature. French assertions that Britain intended to seize the Ryukyu Islands seemed to be justified by British action.

The preliminary surveys carried out by Captain Sir Murray Maxwell and Captain Basil Hall in 1816, and by Captain Beechey in 1827 had been followed by a thorough charting of the archipelago and by a considerable shipping activity occasioned by the war with China, 1839-1842. On the whole the British officers and men were scrupulously careful in their relations with the people of Okinawa, paying for supplies afforded them by the common people and returning entertainment for entertainment among the higher officials.

The relationship was now distorted by the arrival, under British auspices, of a missionary named Bettelheim.

The arrival in Ryukyu of the Catholic missionaries Forcade, Adnet, and Leturdu with their assistant Augustin Ho, and of the Protestant missionaries Bettelheim and Moreton, can be understood only in the light of a worldwide missionary movement which took place in the 19th century. This movement was one manifestation of the Industrial Revolution which was sweeping over Western Europe and the United States and must be noted if we are to understand clearly the events of the next few years on Okinawa.

(117) For text of notes, see Marnas, op. cit: Vol. I, p. 133.

The new Machine Age in Europe had made possible the creation and accumulation of capital wealth at a rate hitherto unknown in history. Accumulations of public and private capital in turn made it possible to invest freely in experiments and ventures of every kind. There was capital available to support research in pure and applied science and to promote expansive philanthropic enterprises. The development of the Machine Age released tremendous energies in the Western World, and much of it went into the exploration and expansion of new frontiers in every field of human activity. The frontiers of natural science were pushed back by men like von Humboldt and the Darwins. Applied science created new means of transportation, such as railways and steamships. The Great Powers developed fleets and armies on a new scale. Land frontiers were newly opened; the Americans pushed overland toward California, the Dutch went into South Africa, the British were colonizing Australia and New Zealand. Keen and often violent competition now developed for new fields of commerce, and there was firm belief in the right to trade and a duty to spread the Christian religion.

Missionary activity was but one aspect of this explosive release of Machine Age energy in the Western World. Thus the intellectual, cultural, economic and political activities of the West spread like tidal waves into every part of the globe, sometimes giving new life to old civilizations, sometimes modifying them, sometimes destroying them altogether.

The advent of men-of-war, traders and missionaries in the Ryukyu Islands at this time was part of the world-wide process of change. The first wave to reach Okinawa was manifest in the activities of explorers like Broughton, Maxwell, Hall, Beechey and Belcher. They had not completed their oceanographic surveys before the merchants on the China Coast began to explore the possibilities of trade in Ryukyu and Japan. Close after them came the naval-diplomats and the missionaries.

The worldwide Christian missionary movement was implemented by innumerable Mission Societies, Associations and Churches. Many were organized in a program of general support for foreign service; some were established in support of missions dispatched to one or another specific area or people. Such was the Loochoo Naval Mission of London.

The ship Morrison which touched at Naha in 1837 had had aboard several missionaries from China coastal stations. They were impressed deeply by the character of the Okinawans and were especially interested in the position which the Ryukyu Kingdom occupied as a mid-way point between China and Japan. While no Chinese were allowed to reside on Okinawa, it occurred to the missionaries that the considerable volume of trade through Okinawa to Satsuma and Japan might offer a "back door" for Christian missionary influence in both China and Japan proper. The Morrison's efforts to enter Japanese ports had been rudely rebuffed. At Naha its crew and passengers had been given a hospitable reception. The idea was conceived and developed that by demonstrating good Christian works in Okinawa, the fears and prejudices of the Japanese might be overcome. It was evident that anything done in Okinawa would be observed and reported in minute detail at Kagoshima and at Yedo.

These views were given wide circulation in England and the United States. In 1843 a "Loochoo Naval Mission" was founded in London by Lieutenant Herbert J. Clifford, of the Royal Navy. Clifford had been an officer on the Alceste under Captain Sir Murray Maxwell and Captain Basil Hall during the famous visit of 1816. According to Clifford, he had on that occasion sent some Ryukyuan officers away from the vessel one Sunday because a Christian service was being held aboard. In a brusque pidgin-english explanation he had told them that the ship's company was "chin-chinning Joss, just as you do". In later years and under the influence of the universal missionary movement, this incident caused the Lieutenant deep remorse and ultimately prompted him to found a Loochoo Mission which drew its support from pious naval men.

In good faith the Loochoo Naval Mission employed a lay missionary named Bernard John Bettelheim to carry out its purposes. He left England September 9, 1845 and arrived at Naha with his wife and children, via Hongkong, on May 1, 1846. He proved a most unfortunate choice for the purposes which the Mission had in view, for he was crude, impolite and arrogant in his behaviour toward the Ryukyu government and people, full of deceit in the belief that the end justified the means, and ready at all times to make it appear that if he did not have things as he wanted them, the British Government (or the French or the American governments) might send warships to support his position and demands.

He used the presence of French ships to give apparent weight to his actions, and accepted the hospitality and assistance of French officers, men and missionaries, but he carried the bitter conflict of Catholic versus Protestant Christianity into the islands. By his actions and statements to the Ryukyu people he associated foreign governments with Christian missions. In doing so he defeated his own purposes, for the extreme Japanese fear and mistrust of Christianity and Christian missionary activity was fundamentally a fear of foreign military encroachment. In his own words,

> I had English feeling enough not to allow that /permission to reside in Ryukyu/ to be refused to the union-jack /British flag/ which was granted to the tri-colored cockade /French flag/; and let me tell you, bye-the-bye, the union-jack, at this time, was to me tantamount to the flag of Protestantism. I trust to God we shall not have to strike it, while the rogary and distaff of the scarlet lady /the Roman Catholic Church/ remains hoisted. (118)

(118) Bettelheim was of Jewish ancestry, born at Pressburg, Hungary, educated at Pesth (Hungary), Vienna (Austria) and Padua (Italy), where he took a degree in medicine (1836). He practiced at a number of places, including Trieste and Naples, and served in the Egyptian Army, the Turkish Navy, and finally with the British forces near Smyrna. He was converted to Christianity at the age of 30, removed to London and there married a British woman (1843). The years 1845 to 1854 were spent in Ryukyu. Enroute to London from Naha he changed plans (and allegiance) once again, this time settling in the United States, where he served for five months as a surgeon with the Union Army. He died at Brookfield, Missouri, on February 9, 1870. Bettelheim's linguistic capacities were remarkable, for it is a matter of record that he knew Hebrew, Hungarian, German, French, Italian, English, Spanish, Latin, Greek, Arabic and Turkish before he took up Chinese, Luchuan, and Japanese.

(118) cont'd.

For his own account of his extraordinary relations with the British authorities, the French priests, and the people of Ryukyu, see Chinese Repository, Vol. XIX, 1850. For his Diary concerning Commodore Perry's visit to Naha, see Schwartz, William L.: "Commodore Perry at Okinawa. From the Unpublished Diary of a British Missionary", The American Historical Review, Vol. LI, No. 2, January 1946, pp. 262-276.

The story of Bettelheim in Ryukyu is retold here at some length in order to demonstrate the manner in which myths and legends can grow into the historical record, obscuring it quickly. Bettelheim won no converts in Ryukyu, and his own journal indicates that he made little or no contribution as a doctor, as a teacher of English, mathematics or astronomy. On the contrary, his presence was a source of friction, and planted mistrust and misunderstanding where confidence and objective judgment were needed. He made a positive contribution in the preparation of a Ryukyu-English dictionary and in the preparation of notes on the local language which he hoped to have published in England or the United States.

Bettelheim was a man of great emotional instability, swinging from one extreme of approbation of the Ryukyu people to another of unbridled threats and actions. Bemused by Captain Basil Hall's account of the friendly courtesy of the Okinawans, Bettelheim believed that the King of Ryukyu himself had come out to the ship to greet him when the Starling put in at Naha on that May Day in 1846. The ship's captain was reluctant to put the missionary and his family ashore over the vigorous protests of the Naha officials. By a ruse which deceived the Captain as well as the Okinawans who had come aboard the ship, Bettelheim landed with all his gear. Again by ruse and subterfuge he ousted priests from an ancient temple (Gokoku-ji) on the Naminoue headland, overlooking Naha harbor, and there he settled down for a struggle with the Ryukyu Government and people which was to last for nine years.

The Shuri Government faced a serious dilemma. It feared retribution from Yedo or Satsuma if it did not enforce the edicts of the Seclusion policy. It had taken the position that Ryukyu would welcome temporary visitors but that the Government could not permit permanent foreign residence. The two French priests who lived in seclusion at Tomari from 1844 to 1848 finally abandoned the mission. Bettelheim clung on tenaciously, although the Ryukyu Government petitioned every foreign ship arriving throughout nine years to take the missionary and his family away, by force, if necessary.

Bettelheim's presence was costly; there was not only the consumption of food required by his growing family, but the maintenance of a guard numbering close to a hundred which was thought necessary to keep him under surveillance. If Bettelheim wanted something in the market, he took it, throwing down what he or his wife felt was a sufficient payment in coin. In a time of near-famine he seized a load of sweet potatoes being carried through the alleys near his residence, and was only driven off by an aroused crowd. For the first few months the innate politeness and friendliness of the local people gave Bettelheim some encouragement, but his own extravagant behaviour soon estranged officials and

common people alike. If housedoors were closed to him, he would break through the walls at the back. "I was little moved with the cries of the women or frightened at the screams of the children, but seated myself in the first room I could get access to." He would repeatedly push his way into public town meetings, causing them to break up in confusion and despair. In these actions he became a great nuisance to the Government.

Bettelheim conceived himself to be in a key position to force a Japanese overture to Great Britain, and felt that the British authorities did not appreciate his worth. Again and again he tried to invoke official British pressure upon the Ryukyu government in an effort to have his personal demands met. While on the one hand he threatened the Shuri Government with the might of the British Navy, he petitioned the British authorities on the China Coast to intervene on his behalf. "I thought it not only allowable, but even my duty, to threaten that I would bring the matter before the English Government."

Admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane of the British Navy visited Naha in October 1846 and upon returning to the China coast accused Bettelheim of masquerading as a British official. Bettelheim on his part addressed complaints to the Government at London, to the press, and to friends and acquaintances everywhere, demanding action on his behalf and representing his own version of the difficult situation. The Okinawan side of the story had no publicity in Western languages. The matter became an international issue. Lord Palmerston dispatched a note to the Shuri Government from the Government of Queen Victoria at London, demanding that the Okinawans give better treatment to the British subject.

This letter was delivered by Captain Cracroft of H.M.S. Reynard in October 1850. Cracroft, together with George Smith, a Bishop of the Church of England, had been directed to inquire into Bettelheim's condition. While the British Foreign Office was discussing the problem of Bettelheim with its representatives at Hongkong, Bettelheim himself lost no opportunity to spread abroad his prejudiced views of the Ryukyu people and their problems. He flooded the mission press with letters describing his self-imposed exile as a virtual martyrdom, and he sought the help of every foreign visitor in bringing pressure upon Shuri to meet his demands. The most important single instance of his activities and their far-reaching influence may have been his interviews with Commander James Glyn, of the U. S. ship Preble, who visited Naha in 1848. It was to be expected that the visitor took Bettelheim's descriptions of life in Okinawa at their face value. The Commander's reports to Washington in time became an important source of information in the development of Government policy when preparations were made for the U. S. Mission to Japan. Commodore Perry's preconceptions of his problems at Naha were based in part upon the Glyn report, and account for his readiness to anticipate deceit, if not serious treachery, in opening negotiations with the Government at Shuri. (119) The Shuri Government meanwhile despaired of persuading any visiting ship to remove the unwanted missionary. The King's ministers now petitioned the Chinese Government to act on their behalf, and official representations were made through the Viceroy of Kwangtung and Kwanghsi to the British authorities at Hongkong, on the grounds that the Treaty of Nanking and its Supplements did not provide for mission activities in

(119) U. S. Senate Documents, 1851-52, Vol. IX, No. 59, Commander Glyn's Letter.

the Ryukyu Dependency. Here was the beginning of a modern Chinese claim to sovereignty in the Ryukyus, and was indeed the first time that China showed an interest in Ryukyu. The Chinese were smarting under the consequences of Britain's China policy, and this incident in Ryukyu gave them a plausible reason for complaint and criticism of the Western Power.

Bettelheim was not removed until Commodore Perry's fleet left Naha in 1854, taking him off in the ship Supply. The missionary had by this time constituted himself as self-appointed interpreter at the port, though it was his frequent and peculiar duty to transmit the Shuri Government's requests that he (Bettelheim) be removed from Okinawa. Though Commodore Perry at first valued his advice upon Ryukyuan affairs, members of his staff noted that the squadron's interests were better served whenever they dispensed with Bettelheim's services. On his part Bettelheim blamed Captain Basil Hall's "deluding narrative" for his troubles, claiming that Hall's romantic description of the character of the Ryukyu people, so at variance with his own experience, hid what Bettelheim believed to be extremes of duplicity and potential danger for all foreigners in Ryukyu. Acting more on Bettelheim's advice, therefore, than upon the testimony of a score of reports written by British, American and French visitors, Commodore Perry shaped his conduct in bringing pressure to bear upon Shuri to secure the first Compact of Friendship and Commerce concluded between the Ryukyu Kingdom and a Western Power.

Chapter X

PERRY'S MISSION AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1853-1872

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Chapter X

PERRY'S MISSION AND ITS AFTERMATH, 1853-1872

Ryukyu, Perry, and the Rise of Nationalism in the 19th Century

The Compact of Amity and Commerce solemnly declared Ryukyu to be a sovereign and independent State, acting in its own right. It was signed by the Regent and his associates on June 27, 1854, but with the greatest reluctance. They felt that they faced four grave threats. They feared possible reprisals from Japan or China (or both), feared the consequences of Perry's displeasure if they should longer delay, and they feared that "independence" meant "isolation" from commerce with China and Japan, which was vital to the economic life of the Kingdom.

From Shuri's point of view the fleet in the Naha anchorage represented an overwhelming force which neither Satsuma nor the Chinese Government were prepared to counter on behalf of Ryukyu. They did not know that Perry's orders from Washington strictly ordered him to use no force in his relations with the people of Ryukyu, unless in self-defense. Perry on his part was fully determined to complete a program which he had proposed and pursued for more than one year, although his success at Uraga, Japan (in May) had by this time greatly reduced the importance or need for a Ryukyu Compact in the overall strategy designed to open Japan itself to Western intercourse. (119a)

From our vantage point in history, one hundred years after the event, we can see that it was not an isolated political hardship, imposed by chance upon the Government of Ryukyu by a willful Commodore. In retrospect we see that the Perry Mission and its consequences fit neatly into a world-wide pattern of events occasioned by the rise of nationalism in the 19th Century. Great events were taking place in the countries nearby and the Chinese Government was beginning to disintegrate. A tide of revolutionary change was about to break within Japan, sweeping away archaic forms of government and bringing Japan into close association with the Western world. Ryukyu, on the frontiers between, could not escape being deeply affected by events in nearby lands. This time, however, the problems were not merely regional in nature. This universal change had many aspects, one of which was the need, everywhere in the world, for a clarification of borders and boundaries, and a formal definition of relations to be established among all Governments everywhere.

It may be a little difficult for the student at Shuri to see in Perry's Mission a link in a chain of events which began in the great Renaissance in Europe. The 15th and 16th century "Age of Curiosity" (which coincided with Sho Hashi's reign, and the reign of Sho En and Sho Shin) had been followed by the 17th century "Age of Exploration". Exploration had opened new sources of wealth for Europe, some of which was used to put the new learning of the Renaissance to practical use. The 18th century saw the birth of the "Machine Age", and the opening of vast new areas to settlement and economic development. Tradition and ancient forms of government and social organization were giving way before the

(119a) See Sakamaki Shunzo: "Japan and the United States, 1790-1853" in Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Vol. XVIII, Dec.1939.

demands of a new age of science. Political life and institutions were being adjusted, often painfully, to new opportunities which had risen in underdeveloped areas of the world, and to the demands of a new international industry and commerce. British colonists in North America had led the way, founding the United States only seventy-seven years before Perry arrived at Naha. The French Revolution, the Napoleonic Wars, and a series of revolutions in Latin America had created new States, or sharply defined new boundaries for older governments.

At the opening of the 19th century there were vast areas of the world that had been little explored and never mapped. In crowded Europe political and administrative frontiers were well-defined, but in the Far East and the continents of North and South America, Africa and Australia, political and administrative frontiers were vague and ill-defined. The development of new states and new colonies made it necessary to establish and clarify physical boundaries, to establish new ones and defend old ones everywhere.

Perry's insistence upon a Compact with Shuri which would define the sovereign status of the Ryukyu Islands was part of this world-wide process. During the ten years that Bettelheim was living in Okinawa, the United States had been engaged in a bitter dispute with Great Britain concerning the boundaries of the Northwest Territory (today the States of Washington and Oregon), and with Mexico concerning the boundaries and sovereignty of areas which now form the States of California, Arizona, New Mexico and Texas. The newly formed South American republics were disputing boundary lines in the Amazonian jungle and the Andes mountains. In Europe the German principalities were being drawn together to form a single Empire, and many small principalities of Italy - some of them no larger than Okinawa - were about to be forged into a Kingdom. Europeans were exploring and mapping Asia; the Russians, the French, and the British were surveying frontiers in Afghanistan, India, Tibet and Western China for the first time. Peking was being challenged to define and defend its relationships with all non-Chinese people upon whom it laid claim as dependencies. Because the Peking Government was unable to do so, China quickly lost Burma, Nepal and Tibet, and was now about to lose Ryukyu, Korea, and the border states of Indo-China. (120)

Perry's Mission to Japan in effect challenged Yedo to reduce to written Treaty-form the rights and privileges which the Bakufu would recognize, and to define territorial limits over which the Japanese would assert control.

Perry Proposes to Enter Japan Via Ryukyu

It is a paradox that by demanding a Compact in which the officials at Shuri were required to declare the Ryukyu Kingdom to be a sovereign and independent State, Perry set into motion a series of events which brought about the swift disappearance of all vestiges of independence, and the extinction of the Royal House which had been its symbol. Once the delicate balance of relationships with both China and Japan had been destroyed, the small Kingdom could not long survive as a political or economic entity.

(120) See Morse, Hosea Ballou: The International Relations of the Chinese Empire. Vol. I Period of Conflict, 1834-1860 London. 1910.

Perry himself was not sure of the true status of the islands when he began negotiations, but he believed that he could bring important influence to bear upon the Japanese at Yedo through an occupation of Okinawa and his negotiations with Shuri.

> This beautiful island is a dependency of Japan, and is governed by the same laws; the people are industrious and inoffensive, and I have already made considerable progress in calming their fears and conciliating their friendship; and, as I propose to make this a port of rendezvous for the squadron, it may be hoped that, in the course of time, the whole population of this island may become quite friendly.
>
> I am only waiting here to establish a good understanding with these people before my visit to Japan, that information of our friendly demonstration towards the Lewchewans may precede us, and assure the Japanese that we have no hostile intentions. (121)

Ten months later, while negotiating with the Japanese government at Uraga, Perry demanded that Naha be designated one of the Japanese ports to be opened to American trade and commerce. On March 17, 1853 the Yedo officials countered with a statement that since "Lew-chew is a very distant country" and a dependency over which the Emperor had little control, they could not include it among the ports to be covered by the Treaty under consideration. This action reflected the views and beliefs of the ultra-conservative and traditional elements in the Bakufu Government. They were being called upon to define Japan's frontiers, and for the time being were too preoccupied with internal crises and the threat of civil war among the daimyo to give much consideration to the Ryukyu question. In effect, therefore, the Yedo Government disclaimed responsibility for the southern islands.

Some of the most powerful leaders rising to challenge the Yedo Bakufu at this time came from Satsuma, and for Satsuma the Ryukyu relationship had much greater significance. Indeed, it was largely from the Ryukyu trade that Satsuma was able to finance its strong independent stand vis-a-vis the Bakufu in Eastern Japan. They had strong reason to believe that if Japan did not claim jurisdiction at Okinawa some other power might do so, and thus become established at Japan's very threshhold.

How very real this threat was they did not know at the time. Commodore Perry entertained a fear that British, Russian or French naval forces might seize the Ryukyu Islands. He therefore argued that the United States should forestall such a development by establishing itself in the islands. In a letter to the Secretary of the Navy at Washington, he set forth his views:

> Considering that I am acting very much upon my own responsibility, I should desire to be instructed as to the policy, which I do not hesitate to recommend, of continuing the influence which I have already acquired over the authorities and people of the beautiful island of Lew-Chew;...

(121) U. S. Senate, Executive Document No. 34, 33rd Congress, 2nd Session pp. 28-29. Perry to the Secretary of the Navy, No. 13, at Napa, Lew-Chew, June 2, 1853.

The department [of the Navy] will be surprised to learn that this royal dependency of Japan .... is in such a state of political vassalage and thralldom, that it would be a merit to extend over it the vivifying influence and protection of a government like our own.

It is self-evident that the course of coming events will ere long make it necessary for the United States to extend its territorial jurisdiction beyond the limits of the western continent, and I assume the responsibility of urging that the expediency of establishing a foothold in this quarter of the globe, as a measure of positive necessity to the sustainment of our maritime rights in the east.

I shall continue to maintain the influence over the authorities and people of Lew-Chew which I now command, but it is important that I should have instructions to act promptly, for it is not impossible that some other power, less scrupulous, may slip in and seize upon the advantages which should justly belong to us.... (122)

....it is my intention, should the Japanese government refuse to negotiate [a treaty] or to assign a port of resort for our merchant and whaling ships, to take under my protection of the American flag, upon the ground of reclamation for insults and injuries committed upon American citizens, this island of Great Lew-Chew, a dependency of the empire, to be held under such restraint, until the decision of my government shall be known, whether to avow or disavow my acts. Until such action is had, the responsibility will rest solely upon me, and I shall assume it as a measure of political precaution, for it is certain that if I do not take preliminary steps before leaving this port [i.e. Naha] for Yedo, for adopting such course, the Russians or French, or probably the English, will anticipate the design. (123)

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(122) Ibid. p. 81. Perry to Secretary of the Navy, No. 30, Hongkong, December 24, 1853.

(123) Ibid. p. 109. Perry to Secretary of the Navy, No. 39, dated Naha, January 25, 1854.

Perry's proposals ran counter to a fundamental American policy at that time. The Secretary of the Navy promptly rejected them in these words:

> Your suggestion about holding one of the Lew-Chew islands...is more embarrassing. The subject has been laid before the President, who, while he appreciates highly the patriotic motive which prompts the suggestion, is disinclined, without the authority of Congress, to take and retain possession of an island in that distant country, particularly unless more urgent and potent reasons demanded it than now exist. If, in future, resistance should be offered and threatened, it would also be

(123) cont'd.

rather mortifying to surrender the island, if once seized, and rather inconvenient and expensive to maintain a force there to retain it. Indulging in the hope that the contingency may not arise to occasion any resort to the expedient suggested....it is considered sounder policy not to seize the island as suggested in your dispatch.

Ibid. pp. 112-113, Secretary of the Navy to Perry, Washington, May 30, 1854.

See also Dennett, Tyler: Americans in Eastern Asia, pp. 274-275.

Conditions were such that Commodore Perry was able to cross through the frontier islands and enter Japan without seizing upon Ryukyu as a base of operations against the Tokugawa government at Yedo, nor did the Russians, the French or the British attempt to take them. His success in negotiating the Treaty of Kanagawa (March 31, 1854) without the actual use of force brought to an end American interest in the Ryukyu Islands.

Important though it was to the Ryukyu Government, the Lewchew Compact, concluded at Shuri on July 11, 1854, was soon overshadowed at Washington by other consequences of the Perry Mission. It was submitted to the United States Senate, which advised ratification on March 3, 1855, and six days later proclaimed by the President to be in effect. Occasionally thereafter American ships put in at Naha to obtain supplies or to conduct local maritime surveys. Ryukyu had lost its importance when the walls around Japan were breached. Diplomatic relations between Washington and Yedo were henceforth direct. Okinawa had virtually nothing significant to offer in commerce, which could likewise be carried on directly between the Western world and Japan after the Treaty of Shimoda was concluded in March, 1857. The outbreak of civil war within the United States in 1861 absorbed all American military strength and put an end to naval interest in the Ryukyus as an intermediary base for operations in Far Eastern waters. The Ryukyus remained exposed upon the physical frontiers of Japan, however, and on the Western Pacific rim of America's maritime interests.

Shuri's Relations with the European Powers

Although the United States had led the way in opening Japan and Ryukyu, the Crimean War (1854-1856) made Japan an area of concern for England and France at this time. Russia was attempting to force Turkey to become her satellite, in order to control the Dardanelles Straits. England and France went to the aid of Turkey in defense of their own Mediterranean interests. Half-way round the world, in the Northern Pacific, Russia maintained naval bases in Kamchatka which France and England proposed to blockade. It was important for both England and Russia to conclude treaties with Yedo, in order to ensure that Japanese ports were not used exclusively by either one or the other as bases for naval action, and both needed open neutral ports for shelter

and supply. A Japanese Treaty with England was signed on October 14, 1854, and with Russia on February 7, 1855. One by one thereafter the major European powers established formal relations with the Shogun's government. Treaties, revisions and supplements attempted to prescribe the rights and privileges of foreign nationals in Japan, and to define the boundaries within which the Japanese Government was to be recognized to be sovereign. Although England's Prime Minister had addressed letters to the Government at Shuri, no attempt was made by London to establish a formal treaty relationship there as Perry had done. British ships continued to drop anchor at Naha from time to time and to perfect earlier surveys of Ryukyu islands and channels. Shuri's Treaty with Holland (1859) was of little consequence either to the Netherlands or to Ryukyu. A Treaty with France, however, signed on December 17, 1855, anticipated a series of incidents at Shuri and Naha which had profound consequences for the people of Ryukyu. (124)

Satsuma and France: The Makishi-Onga Incident

Shimazu Nariakira directed the administration of Satsuma Clan affairs from 1851 until his untimely death in July 1858. Despite bitter opposition by an important number of Satsuma Clan officers, he continued to mature his scheme to establish a monopolistic trading relation with the French through Ryukyu. Two months after Perry left Naha with his copies of the Ryukyu-American Compact, the Satsuma Government sent a memorandum to Shuri concerning the treatment of foreigners, to which the Okinawan officials replied with a statement of their own views on the subject. In order to regulate public relations with the foreigners who arrived from time to time, the Shuri Government issued a series of orders which prohibited singing, dancing, and samisen playing while foreign sailors were ashore. The opening of trading booths was likewise prohibited.

A minor incident concerning the Shin Sect of Buddhism suggests how sensitive Satsuma had become in these years of intrigue and counter-plots in Japan proper. It was discovered at Shuri that the Shin Sect had some followers on Okinawa. The strict prohibition which had first been invoked by Satsuma before 1600, was now applied severely in Ryukyu, more than 250 years later; Nakoshi Seiryu and thirteen others were exiled to Yaeyama in the belief that as followers of a forbidden religious sect, they might serve as agents subverting Satsuma's interest in the islands.

In January, 1855, French ships came again, this time for the purpose of reviving the Catholic Mission, and concluding a Treaty. In March they built a residence on shore for a priest and his Chinese assistant, and by October treaty negotiations were under way. In this the French were more fortunate than the Americans or the British had been, for Shimazu Nariakira was directing Shuri's actions from behind the scenes, and with his full approval and encouragement the Okinawan officials were gaining in experience which could be of value to Satsuma. In recognition of this, for instance, Nariakira rewarded

(124) This Treaty, never ratified by the French Government, was negotiated by Vice Admiral Nicholas-Francois Guerin, who had been in Ryukyu with Cecille in 1846.

Itarashiki Satonushi for his able conduct of affairs relating to foreigners on Okinawa, and it was proposed to send Satsuma agents secretly to study the French language at Naha. By this year Nariakira's plans were well advanced. He was one of the most influential men of Japan, for he enjoyed the confidence of the Imperial Court at Kyoto and of many important feudal lords. He was ready to relax some restrictions within Ryukyu, but in seeking to establish trading relations with a foreign power (France) he took risks which few other men of his day might dare. Nariakira incurred the enmity and strong opposition of many within his own Clan, including the heir-presumptive, his half-brother, Shimazu Hisamitsu.

All went well with his plans for about eighteen months. In February 1857 the French Mission at Ryukyu presented to the young King Sho Tai an artillery field piece, with full equipment. Itarashiki Pechin was directed to become familiar with its use and management. In June Satsuma relaxed the orders restricting friendly intercourse between French visitors and the common people, maintaining only the strong prohibition upon Christian missionary work. In August Satsuma sent down an agent named Ichiki Shoemon with instructions to conclude a secret agreement with the French. The matter was first discussed with Ryukyu leaders named Mabuni and Onga, for trade ostensibly was to be with Shuri and Naha, though in fact goods were to be delivered through Ryukyu to Satsuma. The details of this conference planning were reported to Satsuma in September. In the following month Ichiki and Onga widened the base for their activities by giving secret instructions to local government officials concerning classes of goods in which they might deal with the French.

While these things were happening at Kagoshima and Naha, the reluctant Yedo Government was negotiating a Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States of America under the steady pressures and persuasion of Townsend Harris. Farsighted Shimazu Nariakira was well-informed of the progress being made at Shimoda and saw in it a threat to the monopoly of trade which he had hoped to establish through Ryukyu. He broadened his plans, and in December 1857 directed three men on Okinawa (Ichiki, Owan and Iwashita) to study the English language while carrying through their negotiations with the French.

Two months later (February 1858) Ichiki and Itarashiki took up direct negotiations with the French. The latter was of course an official of the Ryukyu Government, but Ichiki, from Satsuma, disguised himself as a Ryukyuan doctor from one of the more northern islands. Under the general terms of the French Treaty of 1855, it was agreed that certain students should go to France to study, that Ryukyu would purchase a small war vessel and certain arms from France, and that regular commercial traffic would be established.

As a reward for the success of these negotiations Itarashiki was appointed Jito or Chief of Makishi District on Okinawa and was known thereafter as "Makishi Pechin". This reward was made in April. In May Onga and Ichiki went up to Satsuma to report. Plans were drawn up for a new diplomatic affairs office at Shuri, which was established in July.

Shimazu Nariakira died on August 25, 1858, in his 49th year. He was then at the height of his influence and importance during the crisis in government

at Yedo, and was ruling the Opposition within his own Clan with a strong hand. His successor was his jealous half-brother, Shimazu Hisamitsu (known in later life as Shimazu Saburo). Upon the accession of the new daimyo at Kagoshima, the boy-King Sho Tai and his Council at Shuri were required to make a new pledge of fealty to the Shimazu Clan, renewing expressions of gratitude for favor bestowed by Satsuma and asserting:

> ...this solemn oath I will hand down to my posterity and warn them thus:- that they all, so long as the lineage of my family exists, shall forever observe that which I have sworn: and if any one of my posterity, ever in times to come, conceive a wicked thought and prove traitor to our country's laws, we shall forthwith bring you report thereof and punish the offender; and never will we neglect our duty towards you.... (125)

Hisamitsu at that time was filled with an extreme anti-foreign prejudice. Whereas his predecessor had advocated the peaceful and voluntary opening of Japan to foreign intercourse as a best means to avoid invasion by the foreign powers, Hisamitsu had opposed him at every point, and gave his ardent support to the most radical anti-Tokugawa and anti-foreign elements in the Clan Councils. It was soon after his accession at Kagoshima that the slogan "Exalt the Emperor! Expel the Barbarians!" (Sonno Jo-i) began to be heard, and for the first time there were open cries of "Down with the Bakufu!" The anti-Tokugawa forces extracted from the Emperor at Kyoto a secret agreement to issue an order expelling all foreigners from Japan, no matter what the consequences of the action might be. June 24, 1863, was fixed as the date for this extremely daring and dangerous attempt.

This was the background for the Makishi-Onga affair. The most powerful advocate of anti-foreign action and renewed seclusion for Japan came to power at a moment when the Ryukyu Government, under his control, had gone farther than any other local administration toward opening trade and diplomatic relations with the West. From the standpoint of a feudal lord, this was an intolerable state of affairs, and with cruelty and vindictiveness, Hisamitsu set about destroying every vestige of Nariakira's program and support.

He spared few within the Satsuma Clan and in Ryukyu. Within the month following Nariakira's death Ichiki hastened back to Naha with orders that all commodities ordered from France must be delivered within six months, that is to say, by March, 1859. This was obviously impossible. Ichiki himself did not appear to talk with the French Mission. The Okinawans were required to tell the French that he had died in a fall from a horse. To give convincing proof of this, a newly constructed tomb was shown to the French. It seemed, evident, therefore, that negotiations would have to be broken off. The demand for a quick delivery of French goods had been merely a shallow excuse to lay on the French the onus of being unable to fulfill the contract. The agreement was forthwith cancelled, and the French Mission sailed away from Naha. Ichiki emerged from hiding, returned to Satsuma, and lived thereafter until 1909.

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(125) Official translations of oaths of allegiance to Satsuma subscribed to by King Sho Tai and each of the Sanshiken were laid before ex-President Grant in 1879 during his consideration of the Sino-Japanese sovereignty dispute. Japan Weekly Mail Vol. III, No. 43, Oct. 25, 1879, p. 1421.

Hisamitsu's partisans were not satisfied. An agent for Satsuma collected documents relating to Ryukyu-French negotiations and took them up to Kagoshima. Meanwhile an official named Zakimi Uyekata at Shuri was found willing to accuse Onga Uyekata and his associates of treasonable plotting against the King. Makishi Pechin was arrested in September, 1859. Onga died under the rigors of imprisonment in March, 1860.

The attitude of Satsuma toward foreign intercourse was stiffening on all points. Hisamitsu and his associates believed that by a close union of the Kyoto Imperial Court and the military Government at Yedo (the policy known as Kobu Gattai) all foreigners could be expelled from the country within ten years, and the country closed again safely to Western interference. There were others however, who had wished to overthrow the Yedo Government because it had negotiated the foreign treaties initiated by Perry without the Emperor's consent. These extremists formed parties declaring Loyalty to the Imperial House (Kinno), and among them Satsuma patriots were outstanding.

Every concession to foreigners or foreign interests was bitterly condemned. All who had advocated compromise were under deepest suspicion. Hisamitsu and his advisers felt peculiarly vulnerable in the Ryukyu dependency, used so openly as a base for foreign operations in Japanese waters. The Ryukyu treaties and the trade negotiations conducted on the soil of a dependency of Satsuma, were exceptionally embarrassing to advocates of complete Seclusion. Contrary to much romantic writing about bushido in later years, cruelty and revenge were as prominent in the feudal code as pity or tolerance. Hisamitsu was relentless. In June, 1862, Satsuma ordered the Ryukyu Government to send Makishi Pechin up to Kagoshima. The Regent himself was required to report to the Satsuma Agency office near Naha.

Makishi and his escort set sail in July, 1862, but when only a few miles north of the Motobu Peninsula, this distinguished Okinawan committed suicide. At the age of forty-five years, he chose to cast himself into the sea and meet death by drowning rather than to face Shimazu Hisamitsu and his retainers at Kagoshima. (126)

(126) The intensity of anti-foreign feeling in Satsuma was heightened in September, 1862, when Shimazu Hisamitsu's retainers killed one British subject and wounded others in the Namamugi Incident near Yokohama. The British Government made demands on the Shogunate at Yedo and on the Shimazu Family at Kagoshima. Seven warships under Admiral Kuper entered Kagoshima Bay in August 1863, and in the brief skirmish which followed Kagoshima's batteries were silenced and several ships were destroyed, including junks from Ryukyu. Recognizing at once that unprepared resistance to Western naval power was futile and hazardous, Satsuma leaders made this a sharp turning point in policy. Henceforth they took the lead in opening the country and in sending men abroad to learn the technical skills of the Western world.

During these years Saigo Takamori, who had been a trusted aide of Shimazu Nariakira, twice suffered banishment under Hisamitsu, once to Oshima and once to Tokunoshima and Okinoerabu in the northern Ryukyu Islands.

At Shuri, court and gentry were split disastrously by the Makishi-Onga Affair. A "Black" and "White" faction developed whose conflicting influence was to be felt deeply for nearly fifty years thereafter. On an issue so serious it was impossible to maintain cool neutrality. Families were torn in their loyalties. There were charges and countercharges of unprecedented bitterness. Orders were issued strictly forbidding partisans to spread vicious rumors or to post in public places placards and broadsheets bearing slanders and attacks upon members of Government and prominent men.

In the midst of the crisis which followed upon the impeachment of Onga, Giwan Uyekata had returned from a mission to China (March 1859). In October he was given a high post in Government, and in May, 1862, became a member of the Sanshikan. He was now in effect the principal officer in Government. Makishi and Onga lost their lives for the part they had played in Nariakira's negotiations with the French; other high officers underwent various lesser degrees of punishment. Oroku Uyekata, for instance, was banished to nearby Iejima for a period of five hundred days. In the subsequent factionalism Giwan attempted to rule with firmness; when a man named Hahira, Shimajiri Yohito, and three others were arrested for posting anti-government sentiments in public places, they were held for a year and then executed at Hairagama village. These were stern measures in a society which had known little violence through five centuries.

Economic and Educational Affairs

The years 1854 to 1858 were full of economic hardship which taxed the Government's resources to the utmost and brought into play all the administrative talents which could be mustered. Because of the excessive costs of administration at Shuri and Naha, taxes had been laid on to the limit. There had been no opportunity to accumulate a margin of surplus in foodstuffs or trading goods. In 1855 there were riots on Terama Island, Shuri dispatched Matsukawa Pechin to look into the matter, and protests took Takehara Pechin and Yabe Anko to Kume Island to see what could be done to bring about relief there. Typhoons, epidemics and long drought brought the people of the southern islands to conditions bordering on chronic starvation. There was rebellious unrest. The Shuri Government now dispatched Onaga Choten to investigate and if possible to alleviate conditions. He found the normal moral standards of the community were being cast aside, and so while on the one hand he caused provisions of the criminal code to be read publicly before the people, on the other he lightened the tax burden on all families with many children. As if these disasters were not enough, the tribute ship for Satsuma was wrecked, though its envoy Toneki Uyekata and his men were rescued at sea and brought back to Naha by an American whaling vessel.

In the midst of political turmoil a serious inflation set in. To offset this a mint was established in 1861 at Tempozan in Kagoshima, to manufacture

coins for trading purposes in Ryukyu. These were known as Ryukyu Tsu-ho or "Current Treasure of Ryukyu" and were valued at 100 Japanese mon each. (127)

Within the year the value of the Ryukyu Tsu-ho had dropped fifty percent, but it had begun to come into wide common use. (128) In March 1863 a Price Control Magistracy was set up which restored the value of the copper coin briefly, making it again convertible at one for two iron coins. Within a year inflation set in again, continuing irregularly until 1868 when in the midst of economic crisis, one copper coin could be exchanged for twenty-four iron coins.

The immense importance of education for leadership in these crisis years was recognized in Ryukyu as it was in Japan proper, but whereas the Japanese turned more and more to the West for information and training, the governing class at Shuri turned back to the traditional and formal Chinese classical curriculum. (129)

Okinawa was no longer of international importance to the West, and the West in turn ceased to be of such great importance to Ryukyu. There were no longer exciting meetings and conferences and missions to stimulate curiosity or require a knowledge of European languages, politics or economics. While determined young men of Satsuma - Okubo Toshimitsu, for instance - defiantly were going abroad to study in Western countries, their contemporaries in the Satsuma Dependency of Ryukyu were offered only the dry crumbs of Confucian literary training. Semi-annual examinations required exercise in the composition of poems in the springtime, and of brief formal essays in the autumn.

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(127) An interval of 400 years had elapsed between the manufacture of the first known Ryukyu coins in the 15th century and these Ryukyu Tsu-ho. The tiny "pigeon-eye" (hatome) sen, which had been manufactured locally during the 17th and 18th centuries, had a value of ten per Japanese mon, or 1000 per Ryukyu Tsu-ho. Each string of 100 sen bore the King's seal. The new Tsu-ho became immediately popular and gained wide use.

Commodore Perry could not comprehend the absence of the old (15th century) coins in general use nor their scarcity. He wished to set a precedent for regular trade on a standardized money basis, hence, over strong official objections, he had insisted upon payment in coin for supplies which otherwise the Ryukyu Government would have provided gratis. Foreign coinage was of course of no immediate value to the Ryukyu people. Thus Yankee commercial logic came into conflict with the Ryukyu traditional courtesy system, though Satsuma was glad enough to see an accumulation of Western coins.

(128) For illustrations see Munro, N. G.: Coins of Japan, pp. 161-165.

(129) Satsuma was among the first to recognize the necessity to add a knowledge of the Western world to its traditional learning. Satsuma leaders had been among those debating the need to send a mission from Yedo to Hongkong to study political and military affairs in 1857, and under Shimazu Nariakira expected to send students to France under terms of the French Treaty with the King of Ryukyu. Shimazu Saburo's intense hostility to the West was transformed when the bombardment of Kagoshima illustrated how little he knew of it. In 1866 he broke all precedent by entertaining the British Minister, Harry Parkes, at Kagoshima.

Investiture of the Last King of Ryukyu, 1866

In 1864 envoys had gone to Peking to ask for the investiture of the young King, Sho Tai. Two years later Chinese ambassadors arrived, conducted the required ceremonies in midyear, and in November returned to China, unaware of course that they were the last to perform a rite which had been continued more than 500 years. (130)

The Meiji Restoration in 1868, and the Ryukyu Problem

The King, Sho Tai, was a young man in his twenty-fifth year at this time. Six months after his formal investiture at Shuri, another youth, aged fifteen years, succeeded to the throne at Kyoto. This was Mutsuhito, destined to reign in Japan for forty-five years as the Meiji Emperor. Under the one, the Kingdom of Ryukyu was to be extinguished. Under the other, Japan was to defeat China and Russia, and to conclude an alliance with Great Britain, rising thus within a generation to preeminence as a world Power.

On the 3rd of October, 1867, representatives from some forty feudal domains met at Kyoto to consider a memorial which had been presented by Yamanouchi Yodo, Lord of Tosa, in which the Shogun was advised to resign his authority into the hands of the young Emperor and his advisers. Komatsu of Satsuma was first to sign the record of clans supporting this revolutionary act. The Shogun's resignation was handed to the Emperor on October 14, and the Emperor's formal acceptance of it on December 15 marked the end of Tokugawa military government after two hundred and sixty-four years. From January 1, 1868, the reign-name (nengo) was changed to Meiji, or "Era of Enlightened Government".

The new Imperial Government enjoyed direct control only in the territories which the Tokugawa Bakufu had surrendered to it. It became necessary to call on the feudal lords individually to surrender their authority as the Tokugawa Family had done. The four most powerful clans in the country were Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen, and again, as in 1867, it was Satsuma which took the lead. Shimazu Hisamitsu surrendered the Shimazu Family authority to the Imperial Government in August, 1869. Within the next two years 273 daimyo had followed Satsuma's example. To make the transition practicable, and to ease problems of organization, the hereditary Lords were now appointed Governors or chief administrators in their former territories, and for income each was assigned a fixed percentage of the fief revenues. Hisamitsu, for instance, had been appointed Governor of Satsuma and of Ryukyu. Names and titles changed, but within the boundaries of the old fiefs the actual feudal relations of the past continued to an important degree. Local members of the old clan hierarchy became officials of the new administration. It was not until August, 1871, that an Imperial Decree announced that old feudal domain units would be abolished in fact as well as in name, and that a system of Prefectures would be created, including two (Kagoshima and Osumi) to take the place of the old Satsuma principality. The Central Government meant to exercise direct authority in local affairs.

(130) "Coronation of the King of Loochoo" China Review, Vol. VII, No. 4. 1878-1879. pp. 283-284.

There now arose the problem of what to do about Ryukyu. Should the annual tribute exacted from Satsuma be sent up to Tokyo? Should it be counted as tax due to the new Kagoshima Provincial Government? Should it be shared by Osumi? Should it be included in calculations or prorated income due the Shimazu Family? Above all else, what attitude should Japan take toward the Ryukyu Kingdom in international affairs? In 1854 the Yedo authorities had assured Commodore Perry that they were unable to arrange for the opening of Naha in the Ryukyu Islands nor Matsumae in Yezo (Hokkaido), because over these two distant places the Emperor exercised insufficient and limited control. Since that statement to Perry, the Japanese had witnessed Perry's forthright conclusion of a Treaty with Ryukyu as an independent Kingdom. They were persuaded that the United States Government had no ambitions or plans to seize Japanese territory. Other Western countries unmistakably did, however. The Russians had seized and occupied the nearby island of Tsushima in the straits between Honshu and Korea. Though the Russo-Japanese Treaty of 1855 had defined a northern boundary in the Kuriles, the question of claims to Saghalin were not yet settled. In fact, two Japanese missions to Russia (in 1862 and 1866) had failed and by 1870 the Japanese dispute with Russia concerning her northern borders had become serious. Japan at that time saw in the United States a friendly interest in her problems vis-a-vis the Russian threat. The President of the United States was asked to mediate, and the American Minister at Tokyo began to gather the necessary information, but Russia refused to accept America's good offices.

It had by this time become overwhelmingly important to Japan to define her boundaries clearly in order to establish and maintain her rights in the face of the predatory, empire-building nations of the 19th century. In 1871 the Japanese resumed direct negotiations with Russia; while the Iwakura Mission discussed the boundary problem at St. Petersburg, the Russian capital, Soejima Taneomi attempted unsuccessfully to reach an agreement with the Russians on the spot at Possiet Bay.

Both Great Britain and the United States for a brief time had claimed the Ogasawara (Bonin) Islands, east of Ryukyu, even though the Shogunate had sent officials there in 1864 to develop the administration and maintain Japan's claims to them. While the Russians sent colonists down into southern Saghalin (which Japan claimed to be her own), a mixed colony of British, Americans and Hawaiians were sent into the Bonin Islands by the British Consul at Honolulu as a direct challenge to Japan's authority.

There now occurred an incident in Formosa which brought to world attention the uncertain status and exposed position of the Ryukyu Islands.

PART THREE

OKINAWA PROVINCE

Chapter XI

TRANSITION FROM KINGDOM TO PROVINCE

(Hei-han Chi-ken, 1872-1879)

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2. The Formosa Incident
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Chapter XI

TRANSITION FROM KINGDOM TO PROVINCE

(Hai-han Chi-ken, 1872-1879)

Security on the Frontiers

In the years immediately after the Meiji Restoration (1868), the Japanese Government undertook immense tasks of reorganizing the administration at home, establishing the frontiers, and pursuing a new foreign policy according to internationally accepted formalities and procedures of the Western world. The conversion of the old Ryukyu Kingdom into a new "Province of Okinawa" was closely related to the settlement of Tokyo's relations with the many local feudal organizations inherited from centuries of Tokugawa rule. It was not by chance alone that the period of hai-han chi-ken almost exactly coincides with the disturbed era of crisis between Satsuma and the Central Government, 1871-1878.

Until 274 daimyo had surrendered their autonomous territorial authority, the new Central Government could not be certain of its life. The new system of prefectures (ken) was created in August, 1871, with the former feudal lords and their chief retainers taking over the titles and duties of local governors responsible to Tokyo. The old feudal relationship of territorial subordination survived only in Satsuma, which continued to look on the Ryukyu Kingdom as a tributary state.

It was essential for Tokyo that this relationship too, should be changed, that the allegiance of the King of Ryukyu should be shifted from Kagoshima to Tokyo, and that a direct relationship of control and authority should be established between Tokyo and Shuri. Such a vulnerable segment of Japan's defense perimeter could not be left to the hazards of indirect control exercised through Satsuma, for the complete loyalty of Satsuma itself was not certain in the early days of the Meiji Era. Satsuma had submitted unwillingly to orders from Yedo throughout the long period of Tokugawa supremacy. The tradition of semi-autonomy persisted after Yedo's name was changed to Tokyo, and the antagonism between local and central authority grew steadily until a climax was reached in the costly Satsuma Rebellion of 1878.

"Hai-han chi-ken" therefore can be summed up as the long process of detaching Ryukyu from Satsuma and attaching it directly to Tokyo, in order to make the southern frontier secure.

The Formosa Incident provided Tokyo with an opportunity to settle disputes with China concerning sovereignty in the Ryukyu Islands, and to adjust Shuri's administrative relationships with Japan. It was one of several major frontier questions. If we draw an imaginary circle around the main Islands of Japan, with its central point at Tokyo, we will see that in the ten years following the Meiji Restoration the Japanese Government had to face four major frontier issues on the perimeter of that circle. These were border regions in which

political authority had not been hitherto accurately defined or upon which there were claims rivaling the claims of Japan. Before we take up the Ryukyu Question, therefore, let us glance quickly at the others, for the settlement of each had an indirect bearing upon Japan's conduct on Okinawa.

To the north Japan had to meet the Russian threat which had become unmistakably clear as early as 1804. Treaties and agreements negotiated in 1855 and thereafter had led to no satisfactory conclusion. In 1870 the American ex-Secretary of State William Seward was asked by the Japanese Government to mediate in the northern boundary conflict. He had recently completed the purchase of Alaska for the United States. It was not surprising for him to propose that Japan should purchase the island of Saghalin and so eliminate Russian interests there. The Russians refused to act. Admiral Enomoto Buyo negotiated the northern boundary question at St. Petersburg (now Leningrad), signed a Treaty there on May 7, 1875, and secured for Japan the Kurile Islands in exchange for her claims to Saghalin. It therefore took Japan twenty years to establish a northern boundary and to secure international recognition for it by formal treaty.

Around the perimeter of our imaginary circle, to the southeast, Japan found herself engaged in a dispute concerning her claims to the Bonin Islands. Japanese had maintained intermittent settlements there since the early Tokugawa period, but in June, 1827, Captain Beechey of the British ship Blossom had laid claim to them for England. A mixed settlement of British, American, Italian, Hawaiian, French and Portuguese people had grown up in subsequent years. Perry surveyed the archipelago, bought land there, and wished to claim the islands for the United States to serve as an auxiliary for the proposed base at Naha. Japan began soon after to reassert her traditional control. Representatives of the British Government at once reminded Perry that Great Britain had taken possession of the islands. In 1873 the American Secretary of State (Hamilton Fish) formally withdrew all American claims, and two years later the United States actively supported Tokyo's efforts to win general international recognition of Japanese sovereignty in the Bonins. On November 24, 1875, Japanese officials landed and formally declared the Bonins to be Japanese territory. Two days later a British naval vessel arrived with orders to declare the islands British territory if the Japanese had not already taken them. By so close a margin in time, after twenty-one years of dispute, Japan closed this territorial gap on her southeastern frontiers. (129a)

Around our imaginary circle to the westward, Japan was engaged in a bitter dispute with Korea. Here, as elsewhere, it was a problem of establishing precise, formal relationships and of redefining boundaries with a neighboring territory. For centuries the Korean Court had paid tribute to Peking, as the Okinawans did, and had sent envoys and gifts to Japan upon special occasions. The small island of Tsushima, lying in the Straits between Korea and Kyushu, had served as an intermediate point in trade and diplomacy, just as Okinawa had done.

Japan's announcement of the Imperial Restoration of 1868 gave the Koreans occasion to break off the old relationship, charging that Japan had abandoned its true Far Eastern heritage and had become a servant of the Western world. Korea's refusal to recognize the new Government in Japan was expressed in terms which were obnoxious to the proud samurai at Tokyo. Feeling ran high, and there

(129a) There was some of the desirability of annexation of Hawaii by Japan in these years. The U. S. Minister at Tokyo (De Long) raised the issue with the Department of State at Washington. King Kalakaua of Hawaii himself later proposed a close alliance with Japan under Meiji Emperor's leadership.

were demands for a punitive expedition into the peninsular Kingdom. Beyond Korea loomed Russia in Siberia, casting its shadow over the unstable Korean Government and over neighboring Manchuria as well. There were some leaders at Tokyo who believed that this might be the time to make sure that Korea did not fall into hands unfriendly to Japan. There were others who felt that Japan was not yet strong enough to risk the dangers of a large-scale war. What if China should choose to intervene on Korea's behalf, and do so with the aid of European powers unfriendly to Japan?

The Formosa Incident

It was at this moment that an accident opened the way for a diversion of attention from the Korean policy crisis at Tokyo. In December, 1871, a great storm blew a Ryukyu junk out of its course between Miyako and Naha, and drove it upon the wild shores of southern Formosa. There the aborigines of the Botan tribe fell upon the wreck, plundered it, and killed fifty-four of the helpless seamen and passengers. A few survivors escaped and in time made their way back to Miyako.

The Shuri Government had a special interest in this junk, for it was employed in carrying the tribute-tax from Miyako to Naha, and in carrying back to Hirara City trading goods upon which the limited Miyako economy was seriously dependent. Reports of the affair reached Kagoshima through Japanese agents at Naha. Shuri was prompted to make a formal report to Kagoshima. This incident was seized upon by Tokyo immediately, to serve as a useful excuse for direct intervention, and for claims against China. In a sense this formed the foundation upon which Japan erected and defended all subsequent claims to sovereignty.

It is noteworthy that henceforth the Government and people of Ryukyu had virtually nothing to do with the Formosa Incident which grew out of their petition. When in September 1872 the Japanese Minister at Peking asked China to punish the aborigines on Formosa, the Chinese Government at first disclaimed all responsibility for government on the East Coast of that island. In these early conversations the Chinese referred to the Ryukyu people as "subjects of Japan" whose interests the Japanese had a right to defend.

Japan's Foreign Minister Soejima himself went to Peking in early 1873 to negotiate on this and other outstanding issues between the two countries. He observed at first hand China's vacillating and confused Government and her attempts to use foreign governments to check Japan's development as a modern state. (130)

(130) As an Ambassador Plenipotentiary, Soejima outranked all other foreign representatives at Peking. It was he therefore who became the first foreign envoy in modern times to be received in private audience by the Chinese Emperor. He was later joined by the other envoys in a general reception which the Chinese took pains to hold in a minor audience chamber traditionally used to receive the Ryukyu and Korean envoys and missions from other Tributary States. Portraits of great Chinese Generals hung upon the walls to suggest China's military power.

Soejima returned to Tokyo convinced that China was too weak to interfere with a Japanese expedition to Korea. He gave full support to Saigo Takamori's plans to consolidate Japan's position vis-a-vis Russia by bringing Korea to terms acceptable to Tokyo. In this Soejima and Saigo were opposed by Iwakura Tomomi, just returned from a tour of the Western world. He and his associates were convinced that an expedition to Korea would rouse serious opposition among the Western Powers which the new Restoration Government might be too weak to overcome. At any cost, he thought, Japan must first bring order and strength to her internal administration and economy.

A bitter debate was held in the Emperor's presence on October 14. When the decision went against them, Saigo, Soejima and other advocates of the Korean Expedition resigned from the State Council. A political crisis of the gravest proportions had been reached. Something had to be done to concentrate and divert the pent-up emotions of dissatisfied samurai who looked to Saigo Takamori for leadership.

China's failure to offer redress for damage inflicted upon the Miyako seamen in 1871 now provided an excuse for action which might satisfy samurai demands for military action overseas and at the same time serve the interests of Government leaders who were anxious to establish the borders of the empire and to develop a strong and unified administration within.

It is not without significance that the diplomatic negotiations and military actions in this affair were in the hands of two former samurai of Satsuma. Saigo Takamori's brother, General Saigo Tsugumichi, was placed in command of the Expeditionary Force which was now prepared to punish the Formosan aborigines on behalf of Ryukyu. Okubo Toshimichi ultimately became director of negotiations with the Chinese Government and with the Government at Shuri. By tradition and training both men were conditioned to expect unquestioning acquiescence by Shuri in any decisions made in Japan affecting the administration of the Ryukyu dependency. They now set themselves the task of winning international recognition of Japan's claims to the islands, and of bringing about reform in the island administration.

European diplomats stationed at Tokyo and Peking had shown a marked and unwelcome tendency to meddle in all the international negotiations of Japan. They resented Soejima's successes at Peking and feared the rise of the ambitious new Restoration Government. Settlement of the Ryukyu Question therefore became a symbolic affair of honor for the Japanese. The interests or complaints of the Ryukyu people were not allowed to stand in the way. Planning for the Formosa Expedition therefore went forward with great secrecy. Early in 1874 the Tokyo Government invited three Americans to join the organization, men who had had experience in the American Foreign Service, the U. S. Army and the U. S. Navy, respectively. (131) An American and a British ship were engaged

(131) General C. W. LeGendre, lately American Consul at Amoy, was a recognized authority in Formosan affairs; Lieutenant James R. Wasson, lately of the U. S. Army Engineers, was given the rank of Colonel in the Japanese Army. Lieutenant Commander Douglas Cassel, U. S. Navy, was released from active duty at Yokohama at the Japanese Government's request, and with the endorsement of the American Minister, John Bingham. Cassel was given the rank of Commodore in Japan's new Navy, which was dominated by Satsuma men.

for transport duty. The U. S. Navy Department furnished hydrographic charts and other data for Japan's use. In mid-April the Expedition got underway.

At Peking the Chinese suddenly reversed the position that they could not be held responsible for the government of territory lying on the eastern coast of Formosa. They now claimed full sovereignty throughout Formosa and claimed the Ryukyu Islands as well. In this sudden right-about-face they were supported by the British Minister at Peking. The Russian Charge d'Affaires at Tokyo warned all Russians to abstain from participation in any way. The American Minister at Tokyo reversed his former position, withdrew his approval, and ordered American shipping as well as American individuals to withdraw from the Expedition.

The details of action taken by the Expeditionary Force on Formosa and of the negotiations conducted there and in Peking are not properly a part of a History of the Ryukyu Islands. (132) Although the entire incident had begun as an effort to gain redress for the Ryukyu seamen of Miyako, the focus of attention shifted swiftly to Formosa, and to China's vague and wavering claims to sovereignty there. Throughout the preliminary negotiations, the military action, and the final settlement through diplomatic channels, the authorities at Ryukyu were not consulted, and the Ryukyu Islands themselves were mentioned only in passing.

At a field conference in South Formosa on June 24 and June 25, 1874, General Saigo and Chinese Commissioner Pan Wei reached a tentative settlement, subject to the approval of their Governments. Peking refused to accept the terms of settlement and demanded that the Japanese forces be withdrawn before new discussions could take place. When this became known in Japan, public feeling was roused to a new pitch of excitement. A declaration of war upon China seemed imminent. To avert this, Okubo Toshimichi of Satsuma, one of Japan's ablest Ministers of State, hastened to Peking to insist that China honor her obligations. He was accompanied by a French legal advisor (Gustave Boissanade) who maintained that China could claim sovereignty only over territory in which she actually exercised the functions of government. By this test Peking could claim neither eastern Formosa nor the Ryukyu Islands.

From the time of his arrival in China (September 2) until his departure late in November, Okubo was subjected to all the pressure the foreign envoys at Peking could bring to bear upon him in China's behalf. China made every

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(132) For a detailed account by an American who accompanied the Expedition, see House, Edward H.: The Japanese Expedition to Formosa. Tokyo, 1875. 232 pp.

Foreign pressure was so great that the civil government at Tokyo sent orders to Saigo Tsugumichi to delay departure from Nagasaki pending clarification of the situation. This he refused to do, assuming full responsibility for his actions. He thus provided the first modern instance in which the Japanese military High Command refused to abide by decisions of the Civil Government. He was successful, therefore he was forgiven, but he set a disastrous precedent.

effort to evade the terms of the settlement which had been reached on Formosa; negotiations were not ended until the British Minister, Thomas Wade - on China's behalf - added his personal guarantee that the Chinese would abide by written agreements.

China Recognizes Japan's Claims in Ryukyu, October 31, 1874

On October 31, 1874, the brief formal document concluding the Formosa Incident was signed and sealed at Peking. In it the shipwrecked men of Miyako were referred to four times, and in each instance they were simply designated "subjects of Japan". It was of such importance in subsequent Chinese claims to Ryukyu that it must be quoted in full.

AGREEMENT

/ Preamble. / Whereas, Okubo, High Commissioner Plenipotentiary of Japan, Sangi, Councillor of State and Secretary of the Interior Department / on the one part /, and / names of Prince Kung and nine other Chinese officials / of the Tsung-li Yamen of China / on the other part /, having discussed the subject of Articles of Agreement and fixed the manner of their settlement; and it having been understood that the subjects of every nation must be duly protected from injury; that therefore every nation may take efficient measures for the security of its subjects; that if anything / injurious / happen within the limits of any state, that state should undertake the duty of reparation; that the aborigines of Formosa formerly committed outrages upon subjects of Japan; that Japan sent troops for the sole purpose of inflicting punishment on these aborigines, and that the troops are to be withdrawn, China assuming the responsibility of measures for the future; therefore, the following Articles have been drawn and agreed upon:

ARTICLE I.

The present enterprise of Japan is a just and rightful proceeding, to protect her own subjects, and China does not designate it as a wrong action.

ARTICLE II.

A sum of money shall be given by China for relief to the families of the shipwrecked / Japanese / subjects that were maltreated. Japan has constructed roads and built houses, etc., in that place. China, wishing to have the use of these for herself, agrees to make payment for them. The amount is determined by a special document.

ARTICLE III.

All the official correspondence hitherto exchanged between the two states shall be returned mutually, and be annulled, to prevent any future misunderstanding. As to the savages, China engages to establish authority, and promises that navigators shall be protected from injury by them. (133)

(133) House, Edward H.: The Japanese Expedition to Formosa, Tokio, 1875. pp. 204-206.

To this Agreement the Japanese desired to add some documentary evidence recording the part which the British Minister had played in securing the Agreement through his own personal guarantee that the Chinese would meet its terms. A Contract was added.

CONTRACT

With regard to the question of Formosa, Mr. Wade, H.B.M.'s Minister, having spoken on the subject to the two parties, they, the said Commissioners of the two nations, have arranged for settlement thus:-

I.--China agrees that she shall pay the sum of one hundred thousand taels, for relief to the families of the subjects of Japan who were murdered.

II.--China wishes that, after Japan shall have withdrawn her troops, all the roads that have been repaired and all the houses that have been built, etc., shall be retained for her use; at the same time consenting to pay the sum of four hundred thousand taels by way of recompense; and it is agreed that Japan shall withdraw all her troops, and China shall pay the whole amount without fail, by the 20th day of December, the seventh year of Meiji, with Japan, or on the 22nd day of the eleventh moon, the thirteenth year of Tung Chi, with China; but, in the event of Japan not withdrawing her troops, China shall not pay the amount.

This settlement having been concluded, each party has taken one copy of the contract as voucher. (134)

For the time being the Formosa Incident ceased to have international interest. Japan had asserted her claim to international recognition as sovereign power in the Ryukyus, and had taken a serious military and diplomatic risk to do so. Britain's diplomatic representative in China had been identified with a document recognizing Japan's interest in Ryukyu. There now remained the task of persuading the people and Government at Shuri to accept all the consequences of this new relationship, and this they proved most reluctant to do.

Adjustment of Administrative Relations between Shuri and Tokyo, and the Reaction in Ryukyu

Shuri's appeal for action in September 1872 underscored a problem which already occupied the attention of Kagoshima authorities. In January, two prominent Japanese had arrived in Okinawa to begin discussion and adjustment of Ryukyu relations with Japan proper. The principal agent was Narahara Kogoro, hanshi or Chief Retainer managing the affairs of Shimazu Hisamitsu, ex-daimyo of Satsuma. He was accompanied by Ijichi Sadaka, member of an old Satsuma family charged traditionally with the investigation and management of Satsuma's interests in Ryukyu.

(134) Ibid.

These men first conferred with the Sanshikan concerning debt adjustments, the reorganization of government for the twelve northern islands (the Oshima Group), and the possibility of developing the coal mines known to exist in Yaeyama. Since the Shimazu Family had relinquished its rights and privileges to the Central Government, continued payment of tribute and of interest and principal on old Ryukyu debts by Shuri to the Shimazu Family was called into question by Tokyo. The twelve northern islands were held by Satsuma under terms of the agreement with King Sho Nei (1609). It seemed desirable now to shift the basis of Japanese authority to new and more substantial grounds by arranging for the outright accession of the territory to Kagoshima Prefecture. As for coal mines on Iriomote Island in the Yaeyama Group, a Japanese ship was even then conducting a modern survey of the waters about Yaeyama based on Western technical principles, and in Japan long-range plans for industrialization were being matured which required the exploitation of every available local source of coal.

To begin with, it was agreed that Shimazu would cancel Shuri's financial obligation (approximately 50,000 yen) provided an equivalent sum were used for the relief of indigent families among the Ryukyu gentry. In February Ijichi conferred with the Regent concerning overall administrative policy in the new era. This was a delicate issue, for opposition to Satsuma's growing power in the Central Government had led (among many other things) to a demand that Ryukyu's ancient obligations should not be transferred from the Satsuma han government to the government of Kagoshima Prefecture, but should be transferred directly to Tokyo. It was well-known that the Kagoshima Prefectural administration was little more than a continuation of the old han regime under new office names and titles. Finance Minister Inouye Kaoru led the way at Tokyo in demanding that Ryukyu be made responsible to Tokyo and not to Kagoshima. In June a Customs Official (Zaiban Bugyo) named Fukuzaki arrived at Naha to take up problems of economic adjustment, such as the issue, control and responsibility for Ryukyu coinage minted at Kagoshima.

It was in this month that Governor Oyama of Kagoshima was notified by Shuri of the fate which had overtaken the tribute-tax ship from Miyako ten months earlier. The matter was referred to Tokyo, and Tokyo in turn advised that King Sho Tai should come up to Tokyo to pay his respects to the Emperor. This would provide an opportunity to review the Ryukyu-Japan relationship and incidentally would demonstrate to the world the subordination of King to Emperor.

This the King declined to do on the grounds of illness. Instead, he sent his uncle Prince Ie and Ginowan Uyekata as envoys on his behalf. Fine local products were entrusted to the mission for delivery as gifts to the Imperial Court. Upon reaching Tokyo they were greeted with many courtesies by the Foreign Office. (135) On October 14, 1872, the Foreign Minister summoned the Ryukyu envoys and with no forewarning read to them a brief Imperial Decree:

(135) The Ryukyu Mission which went to Tokyo in 1872 was entertained "with Ainu chiefs and other foreign envoys" at the opening of the first railway in Japan, between Yokohama and Shimbashi, Tokyo.

We have here succeeded to the Imperial Throne of a line unbroken for ages eternal, and now reign over all the land. Ryukyu, situated to the south, has the same race, habits and language, and has always been loyal to Satsuma. We appreciate this loyalty, and here raise you to the peerage and appoint you King of Ryukyu Han. You, Sho Tai, take responsibility in the administration of the Han, and assist us eternally. (136)

Taken quite by surprise, Prince Ie could do nothing under the circumstances but accept the Emperor's decree with formal expression of thanks.

To cover the bluntness of this formal declaration of control over Ryukyu, the Imperial Court ordered that a residence in Tokyo be established for King Sho Tai, that he be granted a gift of 30,000 yen, and that a variety of presents be sent down to Ryukyu. Thus far the relationship had taken on precisely the character of the traditional relationship with the Chinese Court. Tokyo went further than Peking, however. The Ryukyu Government was directed to hand over to the Japanese Foreign Office all treaty correspondence and the original copies of Treaties which had been concluded with the United States, Holland and France. Thenceforth the external relations of the Ryukyu Kingdom were to be managed by Tokyo.

Two months later (November 1872) the Japanese Government formally notified foreign governments that Tokyo had assumed responsibility for the Ryukyu Kingdom. The United States Minister to Japan (DeLong) immediately called Japan's attention to the fact that Ryukyu had treaties with foreign powers and that such unilateral action by Tokyo might raise difficult problems. While waiting for instructions from Washington, DeLong began to collect information bearing upon the history and status of Ryukyu. The Japanese Foreign Office meanwhile assured the United States and other interested powers that Tokyo would assume full responsibility for all obligations and rights affected by the treaties in question. This satisfied the foreign powers. Washington issued instructions to DeLong on December 18, 1872, to accept the Japanese position.

Prince Ie's mission had been essentially of a diplomatic character. To supplement it in handling the practical details of an adjusted relationship, Yonaburu Oyakata conducted a mission of some thirty members to Tokyo. It was agreed that the old Bu-mai Tax and the tax in lieu of sugar shipments which had been paid to Satsuma, would henceforth be cancelled, and that the tribute formerly sent up to Kagoshima would now go to Tokyo in the form of a money equivalent for 8,500 koku of rice, based on average Osaka Rice Exchange prices in the autumn months.

On March 3, 1873, the envoys returned to Shuri, and three weeks later a memorial (hyogo) was issued in the King's name which acknowledged the Emperor's gifts, the new title Han - O and the Court Rank of the First Class. The King pointedly, though politely, indicated that these attentions had come upon him as a complete surprise.

(136) Dajokwan Nisshi No. 70. October 16, 1872; Subsequent reference: No. 76 (Oct 29): No. 78 (Oct. 31).

All in all, the year 1873 was a quiet one for Shuri. A festival celebration was held throughout the islands to note that the prisons of Ryukyu held not a single prisoner at that time. This seemed a matter of justifiable pride at Shuri, but in Japan certain journalists derided the Okinawans on this, saying that they indeed lacked spirit. It also meant then and later that no one was being prosecuted for disobeying Japanese orders concerning the conduct of internal and external affairs.

At Tokyo the Government was preoccupied with the Korean issue in the State Council, with the growing opposition of the samurai to their changing economic and social position, with the rebellions in Saga and Hizen, and with attempts to assassinate the principal Ministers of State. There were mass arrests, and Japan's prisons were overcrowded with political offenders.

The first signs of a cultural transition from old to new began to be seen in Ryukyu. A move toward standardization took place with the introduction of the solar calendar to replace the old lunar calendar of immemorial traditional use in China. This was of major importance, for the Chinese had always taken usage of the official lunar calendar to be a basic requirement and symbol of assimilation to Chinese culture. Above everything else, the Emperor's historic role had been that of "Mediator between Heaven and Earth", and "Regulator of the Seasons" by which an agricultural society lives. The introduction of the solar calendar to Ryukyu in January, 1873 therefore was the subject of shocked comment at Peking. It marked a significant advance in Japan's assimilation program.

In March 1873 a doctor trained in modern techniques was taken into the local Government service and toward the end of the year this medical office (Ikyoku) became known as the Okinawa Dispensary. Portraits of the Emperor and Empress were sent down from Tokyo to provide in Ryukyu a delicate suggestion of the new role and status which was being prepared for the islands. The significance of the new title Han-O was not yet clear. All the feudal han or fiefs of Japan Proper had been abolished or converted into ken. The daimyo of old had been termed han-shu ("han Lord"), while in traditional practice the term O was reserved for independent monarchs of small countries. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs set up an office at Naha in October, 1873, to take the place of the old Satsuma han agency which had functioned for two and a half centuries.

Although the Chief Minister of State in Tokyo, Prince Iwakura, had stood firm in opposition to proposals for an invasion of Korea or descent upon Formosa, an attempt on his life in January, 1874, and the samurai rebellions in Saga and Hizen in March, were grave warnings of civil war. The Expedition to Formosa described in earlier pages, was expected to relieve some of the tension within Japan, but it was evident that military operations there brought risk of frontal war with China. Foreign powers ranged themselves in support o Peking. With the issue of sovereignty in the Ryukyus as the point of departure, Japan's leaders were plunging the nation into grave danger. Military operations in Formosa were suspended in July, but the danger of general war mounted throughout the period of Okubo's mission at Peking.

In the midst of this crisis, the chagrin of Japan's leaders may be imagined when they discovered that the Ryukyu Court had permitted the traditional tribute ships and envoys to leave Naha and proceed to Peking, in 1873

and 1874, performing enroute and at Peking the ancient rituals of submission to the Chinese Court. (137)

Okubo at Peking demanded to see members of the Ryukyu mission which arrived while he was there. This was refused by the Chinese. By their very presence at the Chinese capital the Ryukyu envoys appeared to refute the Japanese claims which lay at the basis of the Sino-Japanese controversy.

Policies and Actions of Home Minister Okubo Toshimichi

Almost at once the Ryukyu Court began to pay heavily for these indiscretions. They demonstrated a profound failure to comprehend the importance of the Ryukyu Question to the Japanese Government. Tokyo's attitude stiffened. It was determined to require the Ryukyu Court to break off all traditional ties with China at once, and to close the Ryukyu Trading depot at Fukien. Furthermore, Tokyo began developing and strengthening an indirect system of controls within the Shuri administration. The Regent (Sessei) and members of the Council of State (Sanshikan) hereafter were to be appointed by Tokyo on the recommendation of the Ryukyu Government. Official ranks were to be reclassified and reduced in relative importance; although the King was to hold the rare First Class rank, Regents were to be considered to hold the Fourth, and Sanshikan the Sixth, ranks respectively.

Many of Japan's demands, instructions and requests issued in the period 1872 to 1875 went unheeded in Ryukyu, or were deliberately ignored. Anti-Japanese feeling at Shuri ran high. Orders to break off relations with China precipitated a crisis within the Shuri Court. Prince Ie and Ginowan Oyakata suffered heavy abuse, for they were held responsible in having accepted the surprising Imperial Message of 1872. Many leading men at Shuri advocated a formal appeal to China for aid in rejecting Japan's demands and for a return to the old status quo of dual subordination.

On December 15 the official Peking Gazette at the Chinese capital published notice of the arrival of a tribute mission from Ryukyu as if it were a routine matter, ignoring the fact that the ink was hardly dry on an official Convention by which the Chinese government recognized Ryukyu to be subject to Japan.

At Tokyo in January 1875, Okubo Toshimichi made a report to the Emperor which formally reviewed and ended the Formosa Incident. This contained only one passing reference to Ryukyu in a statement that "the position of a subject han [is] for the first time cleared up." In an affair touching upon the Imperial Court at that time it was intolerable to Okubo that his statements to the Throne should be contradicted by actions of the Ryukyu Court. He now began to bring great pressure to bear on Shuri.

(137) A tribute ship for China left Naha in the seventh month of 1874 and from there made the overland trip to Peking in the tenth month. See text of Memorial addressed to the Peking Throne from Fukien, published in Peking Gazette December 15, 1874, Translation in Japan Weekly Mail, Vol. VI, No. 4, Jan. 23, 1875, p. 70.

A mission was summoned from Okinawa to receive formal announcement of the end of the Formosa Affair, to receive distribution of the indemnity award from China and to hear a reprimand for allowing tribute ships and envoys to go to China in 1874. This was a large mission, consisting of about fifty persons. The principal officers were Ikegusuku Oyakata, Yonabaru Oyakata and Kochi Pechin. Leaving Naha on February 16 they took up residence in the compound (yashiki) of the Ryukyu han at Mochinoki-zaka on March 18. Ten days later they were received in audience by the Emperor, presenting to him the formal tribute articles customary on such occasions. (138)

The presence of the curiously dressed Ryukyuans at the capital attracted some attention in itself, but the subject at issue between the Ryukyu Court and the Government at Tokyo was of considerable though temporary importance to the press. It will be remembered that the authoritarian government was faced with the prospect of rebellion by samurai factions unwilling to accept the new order. In an effort to maintain a close control over public affairs, the Government had imposed extremely harsh Press Laws, and had thus antagonized the newspapers and journals of the capital. Some of them found in the Ryukyu problem a new issue with which to embarrass and harass the administration. The Choya Shimbun and the Nisshin Shinjishi for instance, called into question the Government's right to reprimand the Ryukyus, and asked the Government to produce a Treaty or formal Agreement by which Ryukyu was bound to accept Tokyo's demands. The Hochi Shimbun advocated that Japan abandon the Ryukyus entirely.

Upon concluding his work as President of the Formosa Commission Okubo resumed his duties as Home Minister. In this capacity he summoned members of the Ryukyu Mission on March 31 and gave them some preliminary indication of the demands which were about to be made upon the Kingdom of Ryukyu. He attempted to impress upon them the need to recognize what swift changes had overtaken the international situation and to emphasize the need to modernize ancient institutions in order to meet the challenge of new times. It was pointed out that the internal administration of the Ryukyu han should be brought into conformity with the newly organized ken governments of Japan wherever possible.

In this first interview Okubo outlined five requirements:

(1) The King himself should visit Tokyo to give thanks for Japan's efforts to protect the interests of Ryukyuans cast away on Formosa.

(2) Ryukyu should abandon the use of Chinese reign-names (nengo) and should adopt the Meiji era-name throughout the islands. Furthermore, Ryukyu should adopt and strictly observe all Japanese national official festivals according to notification from Tokyo. This would mean island-wide celebration of the Emperor's birthday, of the traditionally accepted Accession Day of the First Emperor Jimmu, and of the New Year in conformity with Western practice.

(138) See "On the Ryukyu Embassy", Tokyo Nichi Nichi Shimbun March 30 and May 25, 1875 and commentary, Japan Weekly Mail, Vol. VI, No. 22, pp. 466-467, May 29, 1875.

(3) Ryukyu should adopt the criminal law codes of Japan as developed in the Ministry of Justice (Shiho-Sho) at Tokyo, and to this end Shuri should send three officials to Tokyo for instruction.

(4) Upon revising the administrative organization at Shuri and Naha, the Japanese Government would send down officials from the Home Ministray to develop liaison with Tokyo.

(5) Ten youths should be selected by Shuri for education at Tokyo, in order that they might come to understand the trend of the times in New Japan.

Okubo dwelt at length upon the development and outcome of the Formosa Affair, and in doing so naturally introduced the subject of the original shipwreck, the indemnity paid by China and the threat of war which had been averted. He assured the Ryukyu envoys that relief rice would be paid over to the victims of the 1871 affair, and promised them the gift of a steamship which would provide them with safer and better inter-island service than the old, clumsy junks had done. Furthermore, in order to protect the Ryukyu people, a garrison force would be established on Okinawa.

Okubo had made a skillful and statesmanlike approach to a difficult subject. The five specific requirements presented no insuperable or harsh demands. A visit by the King to Tokyo would be carried out with ceremony and courtesy, but would demonstrate to the world at large that Ryukyu acknowledged its subordination to Tokyo. A change in the usage of reign-names and holidays would not work any hardship on the illiterate common people; the gentry might be irked by a change in custom, but no real damage would be done to their livelihood or status, while they would become accustomed to standardization of practice with Japan Proper. The development of new criminal law codes and procedures would be more difficult, but the suggestion that it would require the presence of only three men at Tokyo may have blunted the long-range significance of this proposal. Similarly, the indication that the Home Ministry at Tokyo would wait for Shuri to reorganize on its own volition put a mild appearance upon this fourth point. There would be no objection to a program of education for Ryukyu youths at Tokyo.

By enlarging on the prolonged and troublesome negotiations with China, the risks that Japan had taken on Ryukyu's behalf, and the magnanimity of the Imperial Government in granting relief rice and a modern ship to the Ryukyu people, Okubo tried to create in the envoys a sense of obligation to Japan. This was an important point in a country so markedly sensitive to propriety. Japan's ultimate purpose in the entire effort to draw Ryukyu within an established Japanese frontier was served most directly in the last point - the establishment of a Japanese garrison force in the Ryukyu Islands. This too was presented to the Ryukyu envoys as a benevolent and protective gesture, a Japanese sacrifice on behalf of the Ryukyu people.

Home Minister Okubo did not treat this conference as a negotiation; it was a polite but forthright statement of orders from Tokyo to Shuri. He had no reason to be pleased therefore when the Ryukyu envoys withdrew to their

headquarters at Mochinoki-zaka for deliberations which lasted one week. On April 8 they were received again by Okubo, to whom they expressed appreciation for Japan's interest. Going to the heart of the matter, however, they represented to Okubo that since Ryukyu was a distant and poverty-stricken Kingdom, it had never required a military force to defend it, but instead had relied exclusively, and thus far successfully, upon friendly negotiation to maintain its relations with other peoples. It had been successful even in dealing with Western ships, and had maintained peace for hundreds of years. The envoys expressed concern lest a garrison in Okinawa should attract the hostile attention and action of foreign powers. Secondly, as for the gift of a steamship, Ryukyu had no way in which to maintain it, or to pay for it, because of recent great financial losses. Thirdly, as for the relief rice promised by Japan for the victims of the Formosa incident four years earlier (December 1871), the Ryukyu Government authorities had already taken care of the families of the victims.

Here Okubo, the proud Satsuma statesman, met with unexpected frankness and firmness. His keen perception could not miss the implied comparison of Okinawan's success in dealing with the Western powers peacefully and Satsuma's unsuccessful, spectacular, and costly clash with the British in 1862. There was a touch of irony in reference to Shuri's financial losses and inability to pay for a steamship, for it had been Japan's action in cutting off the tribute-trade relations with China that had brought about Shuri's latest and most severe impoverishment. Furthermore, by terms of the Sino-Japanese Convention of 1874 Tokyo was under moral obligation to pay over to the Ryukyu victims the equivalent of 100,000 taels (approximately $150,000) which was approximately three times the sum owed by Ryukyu to Satsuma when the latter became a Prefecture.

Okubo once again reviewed all the arguments which stressed Japan's magnanimity in making these proposals to Ryukyu, and ended sharply that a refusal to accept the gifts offered by the Imperial Court was construed to be a grave affront. Nothing daunted, the Ryukyu envoys continued to press their reasons for rejecting Japan's wishes, and met with the Home Ministry officials on April 18 and 28, and again on the 2nd and 3rd days of May. A minor compromise was reached when they agreed that Ryukyu would accept the proposal to observe Japan's national holidays, and would send students as well as law enforcement officials to Tokyo to study.

With patience exhausted, Okubo adopted a more coercive attitude in a meeting held on May 7. There would be no more argument; Ryukyu would accept a garrison to be made up from the Sixth Kumamoto Division, the steamship would be delivered to Naha, and 1,740 koku of rice would be distributed to the families of victims and survivors of the 1871 shipwreck. (139)

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(139) For the text of the official notifications from the Dajokwan (Council of State) to the Ryukyu han government, see McLaren, W. W.: Japanese Government Documents TASJ Vol. XLII, Pt. 1, 1914, p. 287.

Japan Weekly Mail, Vol. VI, No. 22, p. 467.

Instead of the equivalent of $150,000, the Japanese Government actually paid over only a total of 8,700 koku of rice to the victims. An unverifiable story reached the foreign community in Japan that the Ryukyu envoys refused to accept the Chinese indemnity for "patriotic" reasons, and were offered the steam vessel instead.

Yonabaru Oyakata and his colleagues responded to this with the statement that they could not accept these conditions without reference to the Shuri Government.

Okubo met such stubborn resistance to his demands by a change in tactics. He realized that envoys sent to Tokyo quite legitimately could refuse to commit the Ryukyu government without reference to Shuri unless they were armed with full diplomatic powers. That would not be satisfactory, for it suggested a greater degree of independent action and decision for Shuri than Tokyo was prepared to admit to be proper at this time. Henceforth Tokyo's representatives would go to Shuri, armed with considerable authority and backed by a suitable show of force.

The First Matsuda Mission to Okinawa Presents Tokyo's Demands, June-September, 1875.

On June 12 the Chief Secretary of the Home Ministry, Matsuda Michiyuki together with a suitable company of aides, left Tokyo aboard the Taiyu-maru. This vessel was to be the gift of the Japanese Emperor to the King of Ryukyu, but was in fact to be used principally thereafter to ferry Japanese officials to and from the Southern Islands. The Matsuda Mission arrived at Naha on July 10, and proceeded to the Castle at Shuri on the 14th. They were not received by the King, who was said to be ill, but by Prince Nakijin, his personal representative, by the Regent Prince Ie, and by the Council of State.

While these formalities were being carried through, the Japanese moved in a more practical way to achieve their objectives. The conduct of Ryukyu-Japanese affairs was transferred from the Foreign Ministry to the Home Ministry at Tokyo, and a Home Ministry Branch Office was established at Naha to support Matsuda and to carry on after his return to Tokyo. More important, perhaps, a detachment of the Kumamoto Division arrived to form the Okinawa Garrison.

Matsuda now revealed a much wider program for change and much more serious demands than the Yonabaru Mission had received in Tokyo. The Japanese were not satisfied with the mere letter of thanks which the Council of State and Regent had forwarded to Tokyo. The King himself must go up to pay his respects and express Ryukyu's appreciation for Japan's benevolence. The local hierarchy of Court and Government must be revised, with a new distribution of ranks and responsibilities among the Shuri gentry. Furthermore, ranks at the Ryukyu Court must become equivalent to suitable ranks at Tokyo. For instance, the King would become a chokunin official of the First Class, which is to say that he alone would receive direct Imperial appointment. Six officials would enjoy sonin status, that is to say, would be appointed with the Emperor's approval, and would be drawn from the 4th to the 7th Court rank. Junior officials would be drawn from a classification to be equivalent to Japanese Court ranks eight to fifteen. Appropriate salaries would be paid out of the local Government treasury.

After several days consideration, Prince Ie, the Regent and the Council of State called on Matsuda at his headquarters and asked that the visit of the King to Tokyo might be postponed because of his illness. Instead they proposed

that Prince Nakijin might proceed to Tokyo as the King's personal representative. (140) This request Matsuda granted, but required an immediate acceptance and action concerning all other demands.

During these negotiations public feeling ran high. The small society concentrated about Shuri and Naha, rich in local traditions which set it apart from both Japan and China, was beginning to break up under irresistable pressures from Tokyo. The comfortable prerogatives were threatened which had been enjoyed by many generations of the local unarmed han-shi or samurai, and the subsidized academic and clerical gentry of Kume village. Now there were riots. Crowds gathered about the buildings in which Matsuda and his suite were lodging, and attempted to interfere with Government officials on their way to and from conferences with the Japanese. It was only with great difficulty that the negotiations were brought to a conclusion. Matsuda left for Tokyo in September. Prince Nakijin followed shortly thereafter, reaching Tokyo in November with six students and two officials destined to study legal affairs. On November 22 Prince Nakijin was received in audience by the Emperor in order to present the Ryukyu King's statement of appreciation of past Japanese action on his Kingdom's behalf.

At Naha and Shuri orderly administration gave way to chaos. Those officials who had accepted the Imperial Japanese Rescript in 1872 now became objects of public approbrium. Ginowan Oyakata who had done his best for his King and Government at that time, was now forced to resign from all official posts and to withdraw from public life in bitterness, ill-health, and seclusion in the countryside. He was crushed by the injustice of the situation. Just before his death in 1876 he is said to have composed an ode which suggests the tumult of advice and criticism which had driven him from service to his King.

> There are all kinds of insects
> Chirping in the fields—
> Who can tell one from another?

The Kume-mura people presented a most serious problem. They were of Chinese descent and were strongly pro-Chinese by tradition. Their settlement became a center of anti-Japanese protest and counter-action. Most of the han gentry had been educated in Kume-mura or by Kume-mura scholars who were deeply imbued with the traditional view of China as the great "Central Empire" (Chung kuo) and the world's most powerful state. Peking's defeats and humiliations in diplomacy and warfare after 1840 were represented in the Chinese view as magnanimous Imperial Chinese concessions to barbarians - including the British, the French, the Americans and the Japanese.

By acceding to Japan's demands to break off the ancient tribute relationship, many Shuri gentry believed that Ryukyu would incur China's wrath and

(140) Only once before had a Ryukyu King left his country (in 1609) and that was to become a hostage to Satsuma, guaranteeing Ryukyu's acceptance of change and reform dictated from Kagoshima. Under existing circumstances in 1875, the Shuri Government had good reason to hesitate to allow their King to proceed to Tokyo at this time.

would suffer punishment. It was known for instance that the Chinese Government was successfully putting down the great Mohammedan revolt of Yakub Beg in Eastern Turkestan, and that Peking was moving to re-conquer and chastize that wavering tributary region (accomplished in 1877). Fear of reprisals, as well as hope for China's championship vis-a-vis Japan, prompted some to urge the Shuri Government to resist Tokyo and to disregard Matsuda's program.

By contrast, the Satsuma Rebellion in Kyushu threatened to wreck the Central Government of Japan through general civil war. Emboldened by this state of affairs, from 1875 until 1878, members of the Ryukyu mission at Tokyo presented no less than fourteen petitions to the Tokyo Government seeking a return to the status quo ante - the old "dual subordination" - and appealed to foreign envoys of the United States, France, the Netherlands and China to act on Ryukyu's behalf. The argument was summed up poetically, if not practically, in the statement that "Japan is our Father and China our Mother". (14)

A memorandum prepared by Ikegusuku Oyakata was given wide publicity in the Tokyo press, in which he attempted to explain the position of the Government and people of the Ryukyu Kingdom. They were willing to accept Japan's demands and the consequences of direct Japanese control, but they had an unshakable moral obligation to China. If the Japanese Government would send an envoy to Peking to persuade the Chinese Government to send an envoy to Shuri bearing a formal statement of release of Okinawan obligation to China, and directing Shuri to accept Japan's exclusive jurisdiction, the entire matter could be settled satisfactorily from the Okinawan point of view. Ikegusuku reviewed Japan's argument that no woman could serve two husbands at one time, and that no country could serve two overlords. He pointed out that on the one hand many sovereigns in Europe received a necessary confirmation of their independent role from the hands of the Pope at Rome. Similarly, Ryukyu understood that Poland at that time was ruled conjointly by Russia, Austria and Prussia.

These arguments and entreaties came to nothing, for neither Japan nor China would act. At the same time, both were aware that the European powers were ready to "fish in troubled waters". France, Britain and the United States had ceased to show interest in the Ryukyus as a possible territorial base, but Germany continued to keep watch on opportunities which might present themselves. In 1875 the German ship R. J. Robertson was wrecked on Miyako. For a month its crew were cared for and cordially entertained until they could be taken away. Now in March 1876 a German man-of-war took gifts to the people of Miyako, and caused a monument to be erected at Harimizu in the name of the German Emperor. While conveying the thanks of the German Government, this warship found opportunity to cruise among the southern islands.

As a result of these confusions the Japanese representatives who remained at Naha and Shuri made little progress after Matsuda's departure. There was a general disregard of orders coming down from Tokyo and an attempt to return to the old pattern of living. The Shuri officials were indeed buffeted by storms of public opinion, and were driven to indiscretions which led Tokyo to move toward complete extinction of the monarchy and the establishment of a Provincial (ken) form of Government for the islands. Perhaps the most serious of

(14) Ogawa, H.: Meiji Gaikoku Yoroku (Diplomacy of the Meiji Era) Tokyo 1902, p. 69.

these indiscretions was the secret dispatch of envoys Kochi Oyakata and Rin Sei-Ko to China in 1876, to see what help might be secured in that quarter in an effort to resist Japan. At Peking it was said that they had come up from Shuri, according to traditional custom, to offer condolences upon the occasion of the death of the T'ung Chih Emperor.

While the Chinese at Peking began to debate ways and means to bring the influence of foreign powers to bear upon Japan, Tokyo acted. A barracks was built at Naha to accommodate a half-battalion of Japanese troops. In May, 1876, Kinashi Seiichiro was appointed Resident in Charge of the Naha Branch Office of the Home Ministry. He was at the same time made responsible for control of overseas travel, police affairs and judicial affairs. Henceforth travel regulations which applied elsewhere in Japan were to apply in the Ryukyu Islands. This meant that anyone desiring to cross over to China was required first to obtain permission from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Tokyo) which in turn referred applications to the Home Ministry office at Naha. While this effectively placed a legal block upon free travel to China, the underdeveloped state of communications made it virtually certain that there would be few Ryukyu applications for travel permits. Those who crossed to China without them violated the law and therefore placed themselves in danger of arrest and punishment if apprehended.

As time passed a number of Okinawans chose to go into exile rather than to accept the growing authority of Japan. Some twenty members of old Kume Village families (whose pride and privilege rested on claims of Chinese descent) now went over to Fukien and took up residence in the old Ryukyu Trading Headquarters. Whether by accident or intent, the Ryukyu Trading Headquarters and office at Kagoshima was destroyed by fire.

In June, 1877, members of the influential political association founded by Itagaki Taisuke (the Risshisha) presented to the Emperor a long memorial. Charging that the incumbent Government failed in its duties, the Risshisha urged the Emperor to issue an order establishing a representative Assembly or Parliament for Japan. Among the many arguments were these:

> Loochoo constitutes a Japanese han. Our troops are garrisoned there, the post-office and a branch of the Naimusho have been established there; but both the King and the people of Loochoo are endeavoring to free themselves from the authority of Japan. China is endeavoring to do the same with Loo-choo as Russia has done with Saghalin. If China succeeds, our territory will gradually decrease, and with it our power. (142)

The Tokyo Government was well aware that China proposed to reopen discussions of the Ryukyu Question by asking ex-President Grant of the United States of America to review the question during his visit to Peking early in 1879. It was important therefore for them to anticipate this by putting an end to the ambiguous and unsatisfactory administrative relationship with Shuri. The question was debated in the Council of State (Dajokwan). Admiral Enomoto Buyo who

(142) McLaren, W. W. ed.: Japanese Government Documents, "Memorial Advocating the Establishment of a Representative Assembly" Transaction Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLII (1914) pp. 477-478.

had recently negotiated the northern bounday settlement with Russia, is said to have recommended formally that the Ryukyu feudatory (han) be abolished, and that Okinawa Province (ken) be created in its place. The recommendation was adopted. The extinction of the Ryukyu Kingdom was to be made complete. Events moved swiftly thereafter. When the Chinese raised the Ryukyu question with General Grant, they were in effect asking the Japanese Government to give up territory which was no longer a distant dependency, but - on paper at least - a Home Province.

Crisis at Shuri: the King's Abdication, March 27, 1879

On December 28, 1878, the Japanese Council of State suddenly issued a brief order to the officers of the Ryukyu han stationed in Tokyo.

> It is hereby notified that the notification as to the residence in Tokyo of the representative officers of your han having been countermanded, you are ordered to return to your han at once. (143)

Simultaneously the Ministry of Home Affairs was directed to speed and facilitate the return of the Ryukyu envoys. On Wednesday, January 8, 1879 - scarcely ten days after receiving this abrupt notice - the three principal Commissioners from Shuri embarked with their aides and servants for Kobe where they were to transfer to a special ship awaiting to take them onward to Naha without delay. One Ryukyu Commissioner remained at the Iidabashi yashiki of the Ryukyu han. Matsuda Michiyuki, Senior Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, was ordered to leave at once for Shuri with secret instructions.

The suddenness and speed with which these orders were given and executed provoked wide comment in Tokyo, for there was still some serious doubt as to the strength of Chinese opposition to Japan, and some veiled expression of concern. It was known publicly that Kochi Oyakata had been sent by Shuri to Peking to invoke Chinese intervention and help, but the outcome of his mission remained unpredictable. In general the Japanese press supported any move which would clarify the ambiguous status of the han in relation to the other ken of Japan Proper. Okubo Toshimichi had been assassinated in May, 1878. Ito Hirobumi was now Minister of Home Affairs, hence the Ryukyu problem remained in the hands of Japan's most able statesmen.

Chief Secretary Matsuda arrived at Naha on January 24. His stay was brief, but to the point. The Government at Shuri was handed a list of Japan's complaints concerning neglect and failure in local administration, and a detailed list of points concerning which Shuri seemed to be in conflict with Tokyo. With unmistakable reference to Kochi Oyakata's mission to Peking, Matsuda reminded Shuri in writing that all travel overseas - whether to Tokyo or elsewhere - required advance notification to the Ministry of Home Affairs.

It is probable that the mere repetition of these points was not so significant as the importance to be attached to this final survey of conditions at

(143) Japan Weekly Mail, Vol. II new series, No. 2, p. 42, January 11, 1879.

Naha and Shuri before the Council of State at Tokyo should perfect its plans and prepare its orders for the dissolution of the han government. Matsuda left Naha on February 4, reached Tokyo February 13, participated in the conferences there, and on March 12 left Yokohama for Naha once again.

This time he was accompanied by more than thirty civil aides, the Second Police Superintendent, Sonoda Yasutaka, and more than 160 policemen. Simultaneously a Captain Masumitsu of the General Staff Headquarters, and a Major Hatano, commanding half a battalion, left Kagoshima to join Matsuda. The Japanese Mission arrived at Naha on March 25.

Proceeding to Shuri Castle on March 27, a formal communication from the Tokyo Government was handed to Prince Nakijin, announcing decisions to abolish the han, end the monarchy, and create a Province Government for the Ryukyu Islands. In summary, the principal points were four:

1. The Ryukyu Han is abolished and Okinawa Ken is established.

2. This action is taken as punishment for failure to obey Tokyo's orders of May 29, 1875 and May 17, 1876.

3. Prince Ie and Prince Nakijin will be granted the status of peers in Japan, as an act of Imperial grace.

4. The deposed King, Sho Tai, is immediately required to visit Tokyo. (144)

There were supplementary provisions relating to withdrawal from the ancient Castle, and establishing procedures for the transfer of authority and public business.

The people of Shuri and Naha waited tensely. All gates to the Castle were closed except the Kenkai-Mon and this was under heavy guard. All who entered or left were searched until the transfer of important documents was complete.

Upon delivering notification to Prince Nakijin, Matsuda issued a public proclamation:

> Because the Imperial Decree issued in Meiji 8th year (1875) has not been complied with, the Government was compelled to abolish the feudal clan. The former feudal Lord, his family and kin will be accorded princely treatment, and the persons of citizens, including samurai, their hereditary stipends, property and business interests will be dealt with in a manner as close to traditional customs as is possible. Any acts of maladministration, and exhorbitant taxes and dues levied during the regime of the former clan government will probably be righted upon careful consideration. Do not be misled by irresponsible rumors. All are advised to pursue their respective occupations with ease of mind. (145)

(144) Ota Chofu: Okinawa Kensei Go-ju-nen, (Fifty Years of Administration in Okinawa Province) p. 45.

(145) Ota Chofu: Ibid., p. 46.

Tokyo had prepared the way (March 3) for a transfer of administration by appointing Kinashi Seiichiro of the Home Ministry Branch Office to the post of acting Governor (Kenrei kokoroe) of Okinawa-ken. He now announced that the new Provincial government would operate temporarily in the offices of the Home Ministry Branch Office at Nishimura, Naha.

The King's withdrawal was expected to be the most critical moment in the transfer procedures, but although great crowds waited quietly and with strong emotion, he left the Castle of his ancestors on the evening of March 30, proceeding with his Household through the Kyukei Mon, down Matsuzaki-baba and through the Kokugaku Mon. Shuri Palace was handed over to a detached battalion of the Kumamoto Garrison.

The Tokyo Government's decisions to abolish the feudal dependency (han) and to establish in its place a provincial government (ken) were made public record by notices bearing Prime Minister Sanjo Saneyoshi's signature. The first (dated April 4) read simply

> It is hereby publicly notified that the Loochoo Han has been abolished and Okinawa ken established in its place.

The second(dated April 8) clarified the status of the northern islands of the Ryukyu archipelago which had been taken under control by Satsuma in 1609, but had always been acknowledged to be part of the territories of the Ryukyu Kingdom. It read:

> It is hereby notified that the Islands Oshima, Kikaigashima, Tokunoshima, Okyerabushima, and Yoronshima, under the jurisdiction of the Kagoshima ken, will hereafter be called the Oshima-gori, (Oshima Department) and belong to the Province of Osumi. (146)

Tokyo anticipated that all formalities of transfer would be complete by mid-April, and arranged to have the ship Meiji-maru ready to transport the former King to Japan. Imperial Court Chamberlain Tomikoji arrived on the Meiji-maru prepared to convey to Sho Tai an expression of Imperial appreciation, to discuss the protocol of the King's impending trip, and to accompany the Royal party on its journey northward. Unexpectedly, it was announced that the former King was still too ill to make such an arduous trip. His twelve-year old son and heir, Sho Ten, was entrusted to Tomikoji's care and sent up to Tokyo instead, where he presented a petition that his Father be permitted to defer his long-awaited courtesy call upon the Emperor.

Tokyo could no longer tolerate delay. The ship Tokei Maru entered Naha port on May 18 bringing to Naha the first Governor of Okinawa Prefecture, Nabeshima Naoakira, and Hara Tadanori, Assistant Secretary of the new administration. Also aboard were Major Sagara of the Imperial Household Ministry at Tokyo and Court Physician Takashina. Despite repeated petitions and protests,

(146) Official translations published in the Japan Weekly Mail Vol. III, No. 15, p. 454, April 12, 1879.

former King Sho Tai was certified by Dr. Takashina to be physically fit for the journey to Tokyo. All further entreaties were rejected, and on May 27 the last King of Ryukyu, then aged 50, set sail with ninety-six retainers to begin his life of exile in Japan.

Sho Tai arrived at Yokohama on June 8 and proceeded to Tokyo by train on the next day. On June 10 he presented himself in audience at the Imperial Palace. His position was a difficult one, for though he had bowed to the inevitable at last, his long delays and many excuses had not made him popular at the Japanese Court. For public information it was said that he had been ill for eight years solely because of worry concerning the uneasy and unsatisfactory state of affairs in Ryukyu, and that he had sent messengers to China to explain Japan's actions and to ask for China's aid and advice. On May 20, it was said, a reply had been received to the effect that China was too busy with internal affairs to act on behalf of Ryukyu, and that Ryukyu therefore henceforth must obey Japan's orders. On the following day, therefore, the King had determined to proceed to Tokyo. (147)

Such was the explanation transparently designed to ease the King's wounded pride by attributing to him the final decision to proceed to Tokyo. His long record of procrastination had come to an end. It had been a helpless drifting with the tides of opinion at Shuri rather than a deliberate or carefully planned policy of defiance. The Ryukyu Government and people alike had escaped stronger coercive measures principally because Tokyo had been faced with such grave internal political crises as the Satsuma Rebellion in Kyushu in the years 1875 to 1879. Neither Tokyo nor Shuri had means to gauge China's true strength or weakness, and a sense of uncertainty pervades many public and private records of the times. Would China risk war on behalf of Ryukyu?

Ryukyu Sovereignty as an International Issue: General U. S. Grant's Mediation

Announcement of the change from han to ken and the King's enforced removal to Tokyo cleared the way for a further attempt to dispose of the sovereignty issue. Fifteen years were to pass, however, before all shadow of war or of a violent resurgence of this issue could be removed.

The King set sail from Naha on May 27. On that day General Ulysses S. Grant, former President of the United States of America, was moving over the sea not many miles distant, enroute from Shanghai to Tientsin, where he was to be received by Chinese Viceroy Li Hung-chang, and to meet with a determined Chinese effort to reopen the Ryukyu Question, ostensibly on behalf of the deposed King, Sho Tai. To understand the American position in relation to this we must go back briefly to 1875 to pick up the thread of the story as one of international significance. (148)

(147) Mainichi Shimbun, Tokyo, quoted in the Japan Weekly Mail, Vol. III, No. 24, p. 766, June 14, 1879.

(148) Neither Japanese nor American documentation on the Ryukyu dispute can be reconciled with the Chinese records. The Chinese side of the affair

(48) cont'd.: is set forth extensively by Tsiang, T. F.: "Sino-Japanese Diplomatic Relations 1870-1894" in the Chinese Social and Political Science Review, Vol. XVII, April 1933, pp. 1-106, especially "The Formosan Episode, 1874" (pp. 16-34) and "The Liuchiu Controversy, 1877-'81" (pp. 34-53). In this presentation Tsiang ignores the history and nature of Satsuma's relations with Ryukyu.

See also: Morse, Hosea Ballou: International Relations of the Chinese Empire Vol II - The Period of Submission, 1861-1893, London 1918. pp. 270-275; 321-322. A summary translation of fifty-one letters, notes and memoranda made by Li and by Ho are found in Leavenworth, Charles S.: The Loochoo Islands Shanghai, 1905, pp. 159-186.

For documentation of the American role, see: U. S. Department of State: Messages and Documents 1879, pp. 606-607; 637-638; 194; 199-202; 1880, p. 686; 1881, p. 230. See also: Moore, J. B.: History and Digest of International Arbitrations to which the United States has been a Party, Washington, 1898, Vol. V., pp. 4357; 5048 and Treat, Payson B.: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Japan, 1853-1895; Vol. I., pp. 473-483; 493-498; 541-556; 567-569. Vol. II, pp. 25; 71-74; 98-104; 126-127; 141-144; 179-180.

In these discussions the Western commentary overlooks the moral implications of ceremonial rituals of investiture (sappo), a sense of responsibility to both China and Japan was possible according to Ryukyu standards. The reader of Ryukyu history in this period must find a middle way between Chinese and Japanese representations of the case.

Ryukyu's appeals to Tokyo for a return to the old position of dual subordination were of course reported to Washington. In July, 1875, the Department of State instructed the American Minister at Tokyo (John A. Bingham) to submit a review of the status of the American Treaty with the Ryukyu Kingdom. Bingham repeated what his predecessor DeLong had reported, namely, that Japan was fully prepared to absorb and observe all treaty obligations. When the Japanese refused to permit the traditional tribute vessels to clear from Naha for Foochow in 1876, the Imperial Chinese Treasurer in that city began inquiries. The King at Shuri was caught in an uncomfortable crossfire. His Ministers forwarded a detailed explanation to China, and asked Peking to intervene on behalf of Ryukyu. Concurrently, as we have seen, the Ryukyu officers at Tokyo appealed to the Chinese Minister there, and to the envoys of the United States, Great Britain and France.

Washington directed Bingham to refrain from making any formal representation to the Tokyo Government, but instructed him to stand ready to exercise his friendly offices if called upon to do so. Bingham believed Japan to be in the wrong, but Washington maintained that so long as the 1854 Treaty provisions were observed, the United States could not intrude upon this dispute with China. That it was not wholly satisfied with the course of the Sino-Japanese dispute became apparent in 1878 when Bingham was instructed for the second time to review the problem.

The Japanese themselves steadfastly refused to admit that a dispute existed, on the firm ground that China had signed the Peking Convention of 1874, and that this clearly recognized Japan's claims to sovereignty in the Ryukyu Islands. The Chinese as consistently ignored the Peking Convention, attempted to raise the dispute to an international level, and to rally foreign support for China's claims. China at first attempted to deal directly with the Japanese Government through Ho Ju-chang, Chinese Minister at Tokyo, but he could gain no hearing. At Peking, Prince Kung made no better progress in opening the question with the Japanese Minister whom he declared in exasperation to be a "mere postoffice" without information and without instructions concerning the Ryukyu Question.

Among the proposals for Chinese actions considered by Li Hung-chang and the Chinese Foreign Office at this time were four, made by Ho Ju-cheng which reflect the unreality of Chinese statesmanship and diplomacy in this period. They help furthermore to explain Japan's uneasiness and uncertainty concerning the Ryukyu problem through the years preceding China's decisive defeat in 1895. Anything seemed possible. He proposed four alternative courses of action:

1. China might send warships to compel Ryukyu to pay the biennial tribute;

2. China might form an agreement with Ryukyu whereby Ryukyu would start a war with Japan, whereupon China would then support Ryukyu;

3. China might take up the question with Tokyo through diplomatic channels, with a view to arranging arbitration;

4. China might sell her claims to Ryukyu for a sum of money. (149)

The Chinese were well aware of Japan's internal crises, and saw in this an opportune time to bring heavy pressure to bear if it were possible to promote some form of foreign (Western) intervention. The approaching visit of ex-President Grant appeared to provide an opportunity.

It is widely but mistakenly understood that Grant arbitrated the Ryukyu Question on behalf of the United States Government and awarded the decision to Japan. His relation to the issue, however, was that of a private citizen whose world-wide prestige put him in position to hear the views of both sides and to suggest, informally, what his own views would be if he were to arbitrate. He had left the Presidency of the United States in the spring of 1877 and had set out on a leisurely tour of the world. Many foreign governments and people (including Li Hung-chang) believed him to have continuing political power to a greater degree than in fact was the case.

When Grant reached China in the spring of 1879 the Chinese were aware that he would go on to Tokyo and would there meet with the Emperor and talk with the principal Ministers of State. They prepared to exploit this opportunity to

(149) Tsiang, T. F.: op. cit., p. 37.

associate the United States with their claims, by inference, if not by technical fact. The Chinese Viceroy Li Hung-chang conducted a lengthy correspondence with the Chinese Minister at Tokyo in which Ho advocated that China should threaten war with Japan if the Japanese did not withdraw from Ryukyu. He believed Japan to be too small and too weak to oppose a firm Chinese policy. He predicted that if Ryukyu were secured by Japan, then it would not be long before Korea would likewise be detached from China's frontiers of paramount influence. Furthermore he thought he saw in the island-bred people of Ryukyu good conscript material for the Japanese navy. Li agreed that China should fight to assert her claims in Ryukyu, but knew very well that Peking was in no position to become involved in war with Japan unless Western allies were on China's side. According to Li, General Grant indicated that he would mediate in the Ryukyu dispute provided China would alter its laws governing Chinese migration to California. At Tokyo the Chinese Minister Ho asserted that the United States was not prepared to allow Japan to hold the Ryukyus because America's Far Eastern shipping had to pass freely through the islands.

Four representatives reached Tientsin from Shuri during these early discussions, bringing petitions for Chinese intervention and documents purporting to establish Chinese claims of suzerainty. Among these men Sho Toku-Ko (or Kochi Oyakata), a member of the Royal Family, was discussed by the Chinese as a possible replacement for the deposed King, Sho Tai. When the Japanese representatives at Tientsin demanded to see these envoys from Ryukyu, they were refused, and Viceroy Li gave orders that the Okinawans must be protected from Japanese molestation, and given Chinese financial support.

Japan was well aware of the Chinese desire to make an international issue of this problem. A personal quarrel between the Chinese Minister Ho and his Vice Minister at Tokyo made it relatively easy for other foreign envoys, and the Japanese as well, to learn what was under discussion between the Chinese Embassy and the Foreign Office at Peking. As a consequence Tokyo was sharply on guard throughout the period of conversations with General Grant.

Viceroy Li Hung-chang met the ex-President at Tientsin and there reviewed China's arguments in the case. Grant promised to give the matter thought, and asked his staff to gather data for consideration. At Peking the Regent Prince Kung received Grant twice in settings of elaborate and flattering entertainment. He assured his guest that China was interested neither in the internal problems of Ryukyu nor in the number of countries to which the Ryukyu Government might want to send tribute, so long as tribute continued to be sent faithfully to China. Peking desired to see the Ryukyu King returned from Tokyo to Shuri, the withdrawal of the Japanese garrison from Okinawa, and Japan's abandonment to claims of exclusive sovereignty in the islands.

Grant was aware that Japan's basis for intervention in 1872 had been China's refusal to assume responsibility for the welfare of the shipwrecked Ryukyuans or for the administration of eastern Formosa. He also knew that the Chinese Government had officially recognized Japan's claims in the Convention of 1874. Prince Kung's arguments on these points therefore were not impressive. As for the military aspects of the question, this seasoned old General formed an opinion in China that "a well-appointed body of ten thousand Japanese troops could make

their way through the length and breadth of China, against all odds that could be brought to confront them." Grant cautiously promised Kung that he would inform himself on the subject.

The Viceroy, Li, outlined to Grant the bases for China's claims. He noted that the islands were semi-independent and that China had never exercised sovereignty, while at the same time accepting a regular but undefined tribute. He observed that the King and the people of Ryukyu were not Chinese and that although a few people of Chinese descent lived in the islands and played an important role there (i.e. the hereditary clerks, scholars and traders of Kume-mura), China had no officials stationed in Ryukyu. China levied no taxes and in the event of war neither received nor extended aid. Ryukyu had always benefited through special trading facilities at Foochow and the sons of the Ryukyu gentry had been privileged to study at Peking at China's expense. Grant was assured that the Ryukyu people preferred to be associated with China rather than with Japan.

Li Hung-chang went further. He pointed out the strategic importance of the Ryukyu Islands as a screen lying off the coast of China, and predicted that if Japan were allowed to remain in the Ryukyus, Formosa would someday be taken as well. (150)

On July 3, 1879, General Grant reached Tokyo and almost at once took up a thorough review of the Ryukyu problem with Home Minister Ito Hirobumi, War Minister Saigo Tsugumichi, and the Japanese envoy to the United States, Yoshida Kiyonari. Grant was strongly and favorably impressed by the vigor and progressiveness of the New Japan, and by the character of its leaders who had undertaken a revolutionary modernization of an ancient country. He recognized its internal political weaknesses, however, and feared that it might suffer disastrously if it were drawn into a war with China at this time, with strong probability of intervention by the Western Powers.

China placed great hopes in Grant's mediation. The Chinese Minister at Tokyo now made a formal request that the United States exercise its good offices in settling the Ryukyu issue. In a letter from Washington dated July 8 the American Secretary of State accepted China's request upon condition that the Japanese Government likewise asked for American mediation. Obviously, in view of Japan's official position that no dispute existed, such a request would not be forthcoming.

Ex-President Grant carefully assessed conflicting claims and counterclaims. China's were based on traditions and history, and upon an uncertain argument that it was both desirable and necessary to restore the status quo ante. Japan's position rested on the fact that China had already committed itself to recognition of Tokyo's authority in the islands; references to history were kept in the background, although there was some allusion to the ancient Tametomo tradition. Grant foresaw war if the issue were not settled by negotiation.

(150) It was Li who signed the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1895, which ceded Formosa to Japan at the end of the Sino-Japanese War.

On August 18, 1879, General Grant addressed identical letters to the Japanese Prime Minister Iwakura Tomomi, and to the Chinese Regent, Prince Kung. In them he recommended that (a) China withdraw certain offensive correspondence which the haughty Chinese Court had addressed to the Japanese Government, (b) that China and Japan each appoint commissioners to appraise the problem, with a view to arranging impartial arbitration, and (c) that no foreign countries or foreigners be allowed to become parties to the dispute itself, or be employed in any way in connection with the affair, except, perhaps, as interpreters. Japan's friendliness toward China was mentioned, and it was suggested that China would do well to follow Japan along the road to modernization and independence of foreign controls. Japan indicated no public official reaction to the letters. The Chinese vacillated.

On December 1, 1879 President Rutherford B. Hayes informed the Congress at Washington that the United States had indicated willingness to do what it could to facilitate the maintenance of peace between China and Japan in the Ryukyu dispute. Although Tokyo maintained a show of public indifference, Government leaders were perturbed. It was evident that the Chinese were still able to invoke extensive foreign interest in their claims to Ryukyu.

General Grant had advocated direct discussions between Tokyo and Peking. Japan's representative was given full powers to work out an agreement, and was led to believe that the Chinese representatives had similar powers. During the discussions of a possible division of the Ryukyu Islands, Li Hung-chang went so far as to suggest that a relative of the Sho Family then in China (Sho Toku-Ko) might be made King in the Southern Ryukyus to take the place of the abdicated Sho Tai. Tokyo wanted Peking to enlarge the trading privileges open to Japan in China, and proposed to give over to China the Yaeyama and Miyako Islands in exchange for these inland trading opportunities. Li knew that these outer islands were too small and too poor to become a separate Kingdom to substitute for the whole Ryukyu archipelago. He insisted that Japan withdraw at least to the Amami Islands, and restore Okinawa to the Sho Family.

The Ryukyu Islands were no longer a problem insofar as Satsuma's relations with Tokyo were concerned. They had become instead a pawn in a game of international politics. If Japan could win valuable trade concessions throughout inland China by giving up the poverty-stricken Ryukyu Islands south of Oshima, there were no serious reasons, either economic or sentimental, to stand in the way. Confidential inquiries were made to determine if China was really interested in discussing a final settlement on the basis of mutual concessions. Commissioners were appointed on each side. Japan entrusted her interests to its Minister to Peking (Shishido), where the Commissioners met to take up discussions on October 21, 1880.

After lengthy debate a settlement was agreed upon - or so the Japanese thought - which would reserve the northern islands of Ryukyu (Amami group) to Japanese jurisdiction, guarantee the independence and neutrality of Okinawa under a restored monarchy, and grant the Sakishima Islands to the south, to China. In return for this settlement, Japan would receive certain desirable trading privileges and benefits in the interior of China.

The Japanese Commissioner was prepared to sign this new Convention in November, but the Chinese continued to vacillate. Delay followed delay until at last an Imperial (Chinese) Decree on December 20 explained that there had been insufficient preparation on China's part, and that Peking could not sign. (151) When the Japanese discovered that the Chinese Commissioners had not possessed the full authority which they represented themselves to have had, negotiations were broken off at once. Japan did not again take up the Ryukyu issue as a diplomatic matter. Whether this latest confusion was a situation deliberately brought about by an effort to create trouble, or whether the Chinese officials merely fumbled in attempting to apply modern standards and usage to international negotiations, we do not know. Chinese records indicate that there was an involved political intrigue at Peking which actually had little to do with interest in the Ryukyu Islands, but which was designed to set one foreign power off against another.

In the Spring of 1882, the Viceroy Li Hung-chang attempted to reopen the case by attempting to persuade the United States Government to act on China's behalf once more. After reference to Washington, he was advised to reopen the question through direct negotiation with the Japanese on the basis of the 1880 Convention which had never been signed. The Japanese Minister at Peking at that time happened to be Admiral Enomoto Buyo, a veteran of border settlement negotiations, whose recommendations had led to the King's forced abdication in 1879.

Viceroy Li did not accept the suggestion. Nothing more is heard of the Ryukyu Question for nearly ten years. France had begun to detach the tributary state of Annam on China's southern frontiers, and was soon to occupy the Pescadores and blockade Formosa. Russia was meddling in Korean affairs. Ryukyu faded into obscurity as an international problem of the 19th century.

Throughout all of this, the people of Ryukyu were merely pawns, toward which neither China nor Japan felt any strong sentimental or moral obligation. There is some evidence that Li Hung-chang was ready to use the Ryukyu issue deliberately to draw Japan into war in 1882, but by that time the Russian-Chinese-Japanese crisis in Korea overshadowed all other considerations in foreign affairs, both at Peking and at Tokyo. Thus the question of sovereignty in the Ryukyu Islands seemed to be settled in Japan's favor through default by China, but it was not forgotten.

By adopting the policy of admitting no public official recognition of a "Ryukyu Problem", the Japanese government skillfully and successfully kept the way clear for a steady development of administrative ties between Tokyo and the new Prefecture. On March 11, 1880 foreign governments were notified that all claims against the former Royal Government of Ryukyu must be presented to the Ministry of Finance at Tokyo not later than May 30, that debts contracted after the year 1843 would be paid in Government bonds and money, but that earlier debts would not be liquidated.

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(151) For the Chinese version, see Tsiang, op. cit.; for the Japanese version see U. S. Department of State: Messages and Documents, 1881, p. 230, and Treat, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 141-144. There is disagreement concerning the precise details agreed upon in draft Convention.

The status of the Ryukyu Islands was not again to become a subject for international comment or debate until the outbreak of World War II. Japan could turn her attention to the problems of reorganization for the internal economy and administration of Okinawa Prefecture, and to the gradual assimilation of the Ryukyu people within the general pattern of Japanese life.

Chapter XII

THE "DO-NOTHING" ERA. 1879-1894

1. The "Do-Nothing" Policy
2. Population, Social Change and Leadership
3. Relations Between Old Residents and Newcomers
4. Administrative Change
5. Public Health and Welfare Work
6. Economic Change
7. Education and Assimilation Policies

Chapter XII

THE "DO-NOTHING" ERA. 1879-1894

The "Do-Nothing" Policy

International recognition of Japanese sovereignty in the Ryukyus had been won. Tokyo now faced the task of fitting the new Province into the framework of New Japan. It was an exhausted territory. A terrible cholera epidemic swept the islands in 1879; of some 11,200 persons who fell ill, more than 6,400 died. Local leadership was paralyzed by fear, uncertainty and a failure to comprehend the true extent of the change which would be required if the islands were to share in the economic and social revolution then taking place in Japan Proper. The Shuri treasury was empty. The soil was barren and the crops were poor. Japan had assumed an economic, political and social liability at a moment when the Government at Tokyo was beset with innumerable other problems of domestic and foreign policy, leaving little administrative talent or economic surplus available for investment in the tasks ahead.

It could not be charged that Tokyo had seized Ryukyu for economic advantage or exploitation, nor for any political assets it might offer. It was essentially a matter of defense, a move to secure the outer island approaches to the main islands of Japan Proper. Even in this, to possess the islands was not so important in itself as it was to deny them to potential enemies. This was negative motivation, and negativism (shokyoku seisaku) profoundly marked overall Japanese policy in Okinawa for at least fifteen years after the han was abolished and the Prefecture formally established.

The administrators at Tokyo were relatively well-informed of conditions within Ryukyu. Ijichi Sadaka, distinguished representative of the Satsuma family traditionally charged with management of Ryukyu affairs, had made detailed and wide-ranging reports on the history and current circumstances of the islands between 1871 and 1879. Experience in conducting an actual transfer of business at Shuri and Naha served to convince Tokyo that the older generation in Ryukyu was too conservative to be pressed hard for cooperation in the tasks of rehabilitation and reconstruction which faced them all after 1879. Even more important, no one was quite sure how far Tokyo should go in pushing reforms which might generate violent reaction among the pro-Chinese conservatives. As long as there were prominent Okinawan exiles living in China, supported by the Chinese, a danger continued to exist. (152)

(152) Chinese leaders at Peking were actively seeking a means to draw Japan into war, for they believed that the rebellions in Kyushu and the recurrent political crises at Tokyo were opportune signs of fundamental weakness. In 1882 Chang Pei-lun, Vice President of the Board of Censors, proposed to the Board in Peking that the Korean issue should provide the excuse for a break with Japan. At the Chinese Emperor's direction this proposal was sent to Li Hung-Chang, with orders that he prepare a plan for action. Li agreed with Chang's views on the necessity of war with Japan, but countered with a suggestion that

(152) cont'd.:

> Our best case for causing a rupture with Japan is not over the Korean Question, but in regard to the Ryukyu Islands. We have an indisputable right to these islands, and every foreign power would have to admit our claim, if we demand the restoration of our rights over them....
>
> Morally we have a right to the LooChoo Islands, and materially China is a large and strong Empire, superior to Japan.

Pooley, E. M., ed.: The Secret Memoirs of Count Tadasu Hayashi, London, 1915, Appendix A. pp. 316-318.

It was for these reasons that the Japanese Government contented itself with a rather mild program of change, concentrating first upon the creation and development of a new educational system. Tokyo bent its efforts to bringing up a new generation of young Okinawan leaders, educated from childhood to look upon Japan as the true mother country, and responsive to Japanese demands and requirements.

For the "Do-Nothing Period" there was little change in institutional and economic life. The interest which Tokyo displayed in the affairs of Okinawa was not directed to the health and economic well-being of the people, but to the perfection of an administrative system designed to secure order and general regimentation. Back of every major decision lurked the China Question. During the first twelve years of prefectural government Okinawa was visited by two Ministers of Education (Tanaka Fujimaro and Mori Arinori), and by the Prime Minister, Ito Hirobumi. More significant of the times, perhaps, were visits by military leaders destined soon to play outstanding roles in the approaching wars with China and with Russia. These included Yamagata Aritomo, the founder of the modern Japanese Army, General (later Marshal) Oyama Iwao and Lieutenant General Yamaji Motoharu, and Imperial Prince, General Kitashirakawa Yoshihisa, and Captain (later Admiral) Togo Heihachiro.

Population, Social Change and Leadership

After 1875 social life in the Ryukyus began to undergo a profound transformation. The old perpendicular arrangement of Royalty, nobility, gentry and common men was broken up. Hundreds of Japanese came down from the main islands to fill administrative and managerial positions created under the new Government. These strangers formed a new elite, taking precedence over the old aristocracy and finally replacing them. The old pattern of town-bred aristocracy versus country-bred peasant was now changed; hereafter it became a pattern of Okinawans-by-birth versus Japanese from other Provinces.

Tokyo's first problem was one of making an exact record of the human resources of Okinawa-ken and of their distribution. Upon this all other economic or administrative planning must rest. No one knew precisely how many

people there were in the Ryukyus nor what their classification might be. The old records of the Ryukyu Kingdom had been inaccurate, vague, and incomplete. Indeed, the records which had been made by Satsuma during the period 1609-1611, had formed the basis of all subsequent surveys and inquiries. In the confusion of the transfer of authority between 1872 and 1879 many records had been destroyed, or carried off to Japan.

Estimates made in 1875 placed the population figure at 165,930 persons, of whom 117,316 were believed to be on Okinawa itself. More than half of this number were living in the four towns of Shuri, Naha, Tomari and Kume, and in turn these townsmen were predominantly members of the privileged noble or gentry classes. Each re-check in the years thereafter reflected greater accuracy and provided more complete data upon which to develop the new administration.

A check in 1879 indicated the number of households to be 63,506, and the number of persons to be 310,545. A recheck in the next year brought the number of households up to 74,189, and the population to 351,374, but even these revisions could not be taken without reservations. They did show that Naha had 6,000 households and 23,600 people, while Shuri with somewhat fewer households had a slightly greater population. As the years passed, Naha grew steadily, and Shuri declined in population and in importance. The Japanese coming down from the mainland tended to settle in Naha, which rapidly became the principal city of the islands.

The old Kingdom has been described as a miniature empire within itself. All of the outer islands served Okinawa and all of Okinawa served Shuri, the single source and center of authority. The people of Shuri looked down upon people from other parts of Okinawa, and the people of Okinawa looked down upon persons from the outer islands virtually as "colonial" subjects, rustic and unsophisticated in manner. It will be remembered that natives of the outer islands were not allowed to go up to the capital to live, and that natives of Okinawa who served terms of official duty on the outer islands were not permitted to bring families back to Okinawa from Yaeyama or Miyako.

Between 1878 and 1895 all this changed. In terms of "colonial treatment" the leaders of Naha and Shuri found themselves one with the natives of the outer islands in the eyes of the administrators and merchants newly arrived from Japan proper. They were all "rustic and unsophisticated" by the standards of Tokyo and Osaka.

The break-up of the old Court life lowered the importance of Shuri and sent many people back to the countryside. Reduction or loss of hereditary pensions forced many privileged families to look about for employment. Competition for favorable positions was extremely great in Naha, hence there was a general movement of former aristocrats to the country villages of Okinawa and to the outer islands. Men who had a small capital to invest did so at promising village centers, and thus the foundations were laid for the growth of towns of considerable local importance many miles from Shuri and Naha. Many of the old gentry went out to the dependent islands as clerks, teachers or merchants, but for years the old attitudes persisted, and few outer-island people moved into Okinawa.

When the han was abolished there were only six princely families (Ojike) other than the household of the former King. It will be remembered that sons of the King by tradition retained their status for one generation only, passing in the second generation into the ranks of the Anji. Stipends for the princes ranged from 300 to 400 koku of rice or its equivalent, and from this they had to maintain a considerable household. The Japanese Government now nominated two of the Princes (Nakijin and Ie) to the ranks of the Japanese peerage, and in time made them barons (dan-shaku). Of the Anji-ke in 1879 there were only thirty-six families, direct descendants of princes and entitled to hereditary stipends of from 40 to 80 koku of rice. The next ranks of the old hierarchy were the sojito-ke and the wakijito-ke, which taken together numbered approximately seventy families when the great reorganization began to take place. The men of these families were the effective administrative element of the old regime. Members of the sojito-ke were either descendants of the anji, or men promoted to the highest possible rank open as a reward for public service. If a member of the sojito-ke was nominated to the rank of Councillor of State (Sanshikan) he was entitled to an income ranging from 200 to 300 koku of rice for the period of service. Otherwise members of the sojito-ke enjoyed stipends of only 40 to 80 koku. Junior members of this administrative class in the hierarchy (the wakijito-ke) included descendants of the anji and men who had held and lost sojito-ke status, or who were on the way up from the lower administrative ranks. It was from this administrative class in the old regime that the new Province of Okinawa was to inherit local political and economic leadership. These were the families which had the advantages of assured income, however small, and the opportunities for education for the sons of the house.

There had been one other class of dependents upon the King's treasury, the shimamochi who were pensioners rewarded for meritorious service by grants of 15 to 20 koku of rice, usually for two generations, though sometimes for one only.

The shift in social classes and privileges was not accomplished without difficulty. Although for purposes of international negotiation and bargaining Tokyo had been willing to claim the Ryukyus as an essential part of Japan, people from other Prefectures were not prepared to treat the Okinawan people on a basis of full equality within the new Japanese empire. Government at Tokyo approached the Ryukyu question as a colonial problem. The idea of a "public" to which the governing elite is responsible had not yet been established in Japan. It was especially difficult for the ex-samurai of Satsuma - Okubo Toshimichi, for instance - to think of the people of Okinawa-ken as equals; for two hundred and fifty years Shuri had accepted dictation from Kagoshima. It seemed only natural that the people of Okinawa Prefecture should continue to accept dictation from Tokyo with unquestioned obedience. From Tokyo all Okinawan people looked pretty much alike, whether they came from Shuri or from Yaeyama or Yonaguni, most distant of the dependent Southern islands.

Hence in April, 1879, it was announced abruptly that with the exception of the three favored branches of the old Royal Family, all the anji and gentry would become commoners thereafter, dependent upon their own resources. There was a great outcry, sufficiently alarming to the Government to cause it to

rescind the order in December and to apply itself to working out an adjusted schedule of commutation of pensions and stipends. The budget for 1880 therefore carried a total allowance for 189,134 yen to be paid out semi-annually to peers and their retainers, to holders of distinguished service stipends, and to Shinto and Buddhist priests who had hitherto been supported by the King's treasury. Grants per year ranged from a maximum of 2,000 yen, to a minimum of 200 yen. In all some 380 families only enjoyed the benefits of this adjusted pension system. (153)

The Japanese Government was thoroughly familiar with the problems and difficulties of abolishing this feudal practice. Commutation of revenues for the feudal lords in Japan had been made in 1871, and for the samurai (who numbered about 400,000) in the period 1873-1876. Applying much the same principles in Okinawa, the hereditary stipends enjoyed by the Shuri and Naha gentry were now commuted on the basis of current rates of exchange between rice (koku) and money (yen) of 1879, and thereafter hereditary pension bonds were paid over to the individual on a semi-annual schedule. As in Japan proper, those who had relatively large incomes were now in fact better off than they had been under the King's administration, for they had fewer responsibilities and virtually no personal expenditures for official purposes. This meant, too, that they had some capital funds to invest in new business ventures. Inexperience, poor management and lack of opportunity brought many pensioned families to the point of bankruptcy. For their relief the Government established a craft workshop at Shuri, subsidizing it with as much as 13,000 yen in 1885. The majority however now had to find new employment to supplement the pension bonds, if they had them. There was a general movement away from Shuri, and a liberalization of attitude toward residence elsewhere, and toward marriage with members of the land-holding gentry whose properties were scattered throughout the Province.

Throughout these early years the Government at Tokyo received the cooperation of the former King. When the decision had been made in 1879 he accepted the obligations imposed upon him and honored them faithfully. In October of the year of his abdication he addressed a message to the former Sanshikan, Urasoe and Tomigawa, on Okinawa, directing them to cooperate with the Japanese from other Prefectures. Although prominent Okinawans continued to slip away secretly to China, and to lend themselves hopefully to the schemes of Li Hung-chang and his associates, there is no indication that the deposed King lent his name or his family's influence to these undertakings. In 1884 he was permitted to return to Okinawa for a visit for one hundred days, during which the Prefectural Governor treated him with great honor and consideration. When the new peerage was created the title, rank and privileges of a marquis (ko-shaku) were accorded him. He was still kept under a polite restraint at Tokyo, however, and lived on there until his death in 1902, maintaining a degree of formality and some of the practices peculiar to the old Court of Shuri. His Household affairs were well managed so that the Sho Family continued to be the wealthiest among descendants of the old aristocrats of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

On Okinawa only two families, numbering in all some thirty-five members, maintained the social position and local social prerogatives of princes of the

(153) Ota Chofu: Op. cit., p. 4.

old regime on Okinawa in 1895. Distinctions among the classes of the old nobility and gentry had been removed in fact and were growing blurred even in the recollection of those who had enjoyed them before 1879. In all, the privileged classes numbered some 22,500 households, with a total individual membership of about 95,000. The common people (heimin) numbered approximately 235,000, bringing the total population of the Province to some 330,000. (154)

Relations Between Old Residents and Newcomers

The extension of Japanese organization, controls and influence to the islands set a pattern which was followed in later years in Formosa and Korea. Officials who were sent down to occupy high posts were men of high intelligence, well-educated and filled with a sense of responsibility for the unification and development of unity within the Empire. The arrogance which they sometimes demonstrated in relations with subordinates and the common people was not directed especially toward the people of Ryukyu, but was rather a habit of mind inherited from feudal days of the recent past. It should be remembered that most of them grew to manhood in the days when common people withdrew from the roadway and knelt in respectful silence if a great lord or governor passed by. As the lower ranks of government and of commercial management filled up, however, the newcomers tended to be drawn from less well-educated classes, and from the ranks of unemployed and restless men who had not fully adjusted to the new order in Japan Proper. For many years Kagoshima men dominated all activities. The unsuccessful rebellion in Satsuma in 1877 had left many discontented men adrift. They could not readily adapt themselves to life in other provinces, and migrated to Ryukyu where they found ready employment in the police force, and in the lower government offices.

The new commercial field seemed promising. Newcomers tended to live apart as a group, and as a group these "Resident Merchants" cooperated among themselves to block the development of competition by natives of Ryukyu. According to Professor Ota, who had long experience with "Resident Merchants", an Okinawan who sought to break the monopoly markets at Naha or at Osaka or Kobe was looked upon as presumptious. Casual visitors to Ryukyu - either in official duty or on business - tended to take back to other prefectures stories of the bizarre and unfamiliar things which they had seen in Okinawa, as all tourists do. Knowing no other country than their own, they tended to see the unusual things which set the Okinawan people apart from the people of their home prefecture. The people of Ryukyu were believed to belong to Japan, but were not accepted as part of the essential Japanese nation-family. They were rustic second-cousins at best. The newcomers were in fact adopting the attitude toward the people of Okinawa Prefecture that the people of Okinawa Island

(154) As this is written, three quarters of a century after the downfall of the Kingdom, the "man of Shuri" continues to enjoy a social prestige regardless of his family's rank, which is denied to natives of any other spot in the Ryukyu Islands. It is an intangible element in contemporary political life.

had adopted, historically, toward the residents of the outer islands. Peculiarities of dress, of food, of marriage and burial customs, of architecture, and (perhaps most of all) of language, made it difficult for the casual visitor from other Prefectures to accept the people of Ryukyu as members of his own nation and society.

The introduction of change, the enforcement of unwelcome rules and regulations, and the haughty discriminatory attitude of many newcomers from Japan generated ill-will and wounded pride in Okinawa. A phrase "Looking aside indifferently" (Hijuru yukumi) was sometimes used as an expression of avoidance for the police who had to be the principal agents in enforcing government order. The easy-going people of the "land of propriety" found themselves being pushed and hurried into the modern, mechanized age; the Japanese (rather than the French or the Americans or the British) were the agents through whom the Ryukyu Kingdom, against its will, was introduced to the modern world.

There was an influential minority group among the aristocrats and gentry of Old Ryukyu who recognized the trend of the times, and advocated speedy accommodation to the demands of reorganization. Seisei Tsuranoko Oyakata is named by Ota Chofu as an outstanding leader of enlightened opinion. Among the nobles and gentry the names of Goeku, Takamine, Ogimi, Katsuren, Giwan, Yonaburu, Tomigusuku and Isena became prominent as advocates of cooperation with the Japanese.

To strengthen their realistic position vis-a-vis the more conservative majority, a number of these progressives formed an association known as the Kai-ka To which served as a moderating and liberalizing element in a society being forced to adapt itself, unwillingly, to a new order.

Administrative Change

The effective structure of Government for the han (1872-1878) was simplicity itself. The King was nominal Chief of State. The Prime Minister (Sessei) was as always a Royal Prince or relative of the King. Four Departments sufficed to manage the administration. The Council of State was the effective governing body, directing affairs through the Home and Finance Department (Mono Bugyo-sho), the Foreign Office (Moshi Kunchi-ho) and the Judicial Department (Hira-ho). The last named was guided by a Civil Code, a Penal Code and a Code Governing the Distribution of Awards. Surrounding and supporting these principal offices were scores of minor offices and individual functionaries, each with its title, clerical aides and appropriate stipend.

The Japanese Government at Tokyo was now faced with the task of reconciling this traditional structure with the complicated structure of modern administration which was being developed in Japan proper. In order to extend to Ryukyu the services and functions of the Restoration Government, it was necessary to add greatly to the number of existing offices or to brush them aside and create new ones. Orders and requests had come down from Tokyo in a steady stream between 1875 and 1879 but for the most part they had been received and filed away without action. Inaction did more to block Japan's plans than open opposition. A general paralysis overtook the public business.

During the first seventeen years of the new order of things - the "Do-Nothing Period" - the contrasts between Okinawa and Japan grew steadily greater, for Japan proper was gripped by a revolutionary "change everything" spirit. The Okinawa Prefectural Government was really not much more than a local agency of the Home Ministry at Tokyo. Headquarters had shifted from Shuri to Naha and natives of other provinces of Japan Proper (especially of Satsuma) replaced natives of Okinawa in the higher administrative posts. The Japanese judicial and police systems were introduced, but the local administration of the villages and districts long retained their traditional forms and titles.

Ota Chofu describes the first tense weeks of the new era, when Okinawan office holders (of which his father was one) simply ceased to perform their duties as clerks and managers of government affairs. The Japanese police seized a considerable number of leaders, held them in jail, and subjected them to long persuasive lectures as well as to threats of physical punishment. Gradually the key posts were filled by Japanese who went to Okinawa for government duty. The Okinawan gentry were no longer masters in their own house.

The top levels of Administration only were altered to conform to the organization prevailing in other Prefectures. The Governor, the Secretary-General and the Section Chiefs were professional government officers appointed from Tokyo. The character and qualifications of the men selected for the Governorships were reflected in the accomplishments of their administration. A fair percentage of them went on in later years to posts of very great distinction in other provinces or at Tokyo, and it was sometimes said that Okinawa served as a training ground for talents applied elsewhere in Japan. Matsuda Michiyuki, for instance, who had been charged with bringing about the King's abdication, had by now (1879) become Mayor of Tokyo, the most important city of the Empire.

The first Governor was Nabeshima Naoakira, member of the family which had ruled as feudal lord of Saga. After two years of service he was succeeded by Uesugi Shigenori, a former feudal lord, and descended from one of the most illustrious families of Japan. By tradition the Uesugi Family of Yonezawa were great patrons of literature and education. Upon his arrival in Okinawa the new Governor proposed to break up the old Ryukyu conservatism through a vigorous program of education. He and his wife were exceptionally democratic in their social relations at Shuri and Naha. With his encouragement the first Okinawan students began to go up to Tokyo to school, and in later years he made gifts of scholarship funds for Okinawan youths. His administration was short-lived, however, for his proposals to speed change in Okinawa ran counter to basic policy then in force at Tokyo, which was to avoid friction and demonstrations of discontent in Okinawa. China was still threatening to reopen the issue of sovereignty in the islands. Uesugi had been in office less than one year when Iwamura Michitoshi, Chief of the Audit Bureau at Tokyo, was sent down by the Prime Minister to check on conditions in the new Prefecture. He did not approve of the implications of Uesugi's reform measures, and abruptly dismissed the Governor, assuming the post himself.

Iwamura continued to hold his position in the Audit Bureau, leaving the actual administration at Naha to his Secretary-General. This impractical and

unsatisfactory state of affairs ended after seven months, when Nishimura Sutezo became Governor in December, 1883.

Governor Nishimura was at that time concurrently Director of the Civil Engineering Bureau of the Home Ministry at Tokyo. He held office for two years and four months, during which there was a marked change in the emphasis of administrative policy. In social and political affairs Okinawa reverted to the old system which had been disturbed by Uesugi's ambitious reform program. In other matters, however, Nishimura's policies reflected his engineering background, as well as the general preparations for war with China which Japan was making throughout the Empire. Harbors and roads were developed as a foundation for strengthening the total economy, and new buildings sprang up to house the administration at Naha.

Nishimura's successor in the Governorship was a Satsuma man named Oseko Sadakiyo, whose administration left little mark on the course of history in Okinawa. After one year he was succeeded by a retired Major General, Fukuhara Minoru, who devoted himself wholeheartedly to an effort to bring about a reconciliation of the people of Ryukyu with the people of Japan Proper. While in office he associated freely with the Okinawans at the capital, and after his retirement (he was later created Baron), he continued to correspond with his friends in Ryukyu and to promote their interests at Tokyo.

Governor Fukuhara was followed in office by Maruoka Kanji, former Chief of the Shrine Bureau in the government at Tokyo. He was an ultra-nationalist, interested above all things in the revival and promotion of Shinto as a State religion and a binding element of patriotism which would prepare and sustain Japan in war as well as peace. These were the years when the crises with China were growing steadily, as each incident of Chinese military intervention in Korean affairs provoked a counter-move by Japan. It was during Maruoka's administration, too, that the Government at Tokyo had finally to meet the growing demands for popular representative Government through promulgation of the Constitution, on February 11, 1889.

The conflict at Tokyo between ultra-conservative and authoritarian nationalists and advocates of more liberal representative institutions for Japan was at the very center of Japanese political life. It had been faithfully if only faintly reflected in the character of succeeding administrations on Okinawa. Uesugi's liberalism and progressive policy in education had been cut short by Iwamura's conservatism. Nishimura's constructive moves toward economic development were followed by the static policy of Oseko. Fukuhara's liberalism in promoting good relations between Okinawans and Japanese was followed by the arch-conservatism of the nationalist Maruoka. He in turn was about to be followed by Narahara Shigeru, whose long administration (1892-1907) was to reflect a new freedom from concern with China in Ryukyu affairs.

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In 1880 the Prefecture was divided for administrative purposes into nine regions, namely, Shuri city, Naha city, and the districts of Shimajiri,

Nakagami, Kunigami, Iheya, Kume Island, Miyako and Yaeyama. The old regional headquarters were abolished in name, although the business of local government was little changed.

To facilitate operations, the Government established a printing office, the first in Okinawa, and by 1881 the Governor and his officers were ready to move into new buildings which had been completed for them in Naha. A jail was constructed, and when in 1882 the Police Superintendent, inspectors, and 160 policemen arrived, the formal business of the Police Department was inaugurated. Soon thereafter it was proclaimed by Cabinet order that while in the application of civil law officers were to continue for the time being to observe customary law in Okinawa, the application of criminal law would be uniform with the law elsewhere in the Empire. Provisions were made to transport criminals from Okinawa to Yaeyama, where primitive living and working conditions outside the town of Ishigaki made this a rigorous form of exile.

The administration of Miyako and Yaeyama presented an especially difficult problem, for not only was there less traditional organization to support the new administration, but there were peculiarly difficult social and economic conditions to overcome. An investigation in late 1881 had disclosed profound social disorder and hardship, which the local people attributed to the effect of the disastrous tidal waves of the late 18th Century, after which there had never been adequate recovery. There was a high disease and death rate. Since women who bore children were exempt from taxes for a period of time, the marriage bond was held in light esteem, families were not tightly bound together, and there was general licentiousness which the new administrators frowned upon. Furthermore in Miyako there was a continuing and bitter feud between the natives of that island and settlers who had been removed to it from nearby Irabu Island after a severe famine and storm. The land on Miyako was poor and yielded meagre crops, and the natives of Miyako were unwilling to give any space or cooperation to the immigrants from Irabu.

In consideration of these conditions in 1886, the Government appointed the Police Superintendents of Miyako and Yaeyama concurrently to the posts of local district supervisors. This arrangement continued in force until 1893. By 1891 the administration framework was fairly well established throughout the Ryukyus. The Governor now had a Secretariat, a Police Section, and a Home Affairs Section through which to work with the regional offices. These had been reduced in number from nine to seven by incorporating the Iheya and Kume Island offices with the Shimajiri administration. The distant islets of Daito, Kita-Daito and Minami-Daito had been explored, Japan's sovereignty over them had been proclaimed to the world, and they too were brought under the Naha city government. Local and District Courts were instituted and placed under the Nagasaki Court of Appeals. At last, in 1893, a system of village assemblies was created which was in time to form the basis of local representation in Government. The first tasks of the local majiri assembly however were only to advise upon the local budget and to reflect opinion on matters of distinctly local interest.

Public Health and Welfare Work

Although early 19th century visitors had described the dwellings and streets of Shuri and Naha in terms of favorable contrast with the port cities of China, even the most elementary standards of modern sanitation were unknown. However neat and clean the individual might be, there was no general understanding of the nature of disease nor of preventive action. Professor Ota tells of the experience of his youth when children were allowed to play unconcernedly in houses in which most serious infectious diseases were present, and of superstitious reliance upon the incantations of the sorcerers (yuta) who endeavored (for a price) to drive away the evil spirits of sickness and death.

The newcomers from Tokyo began at once to lay down regulations designed to bring about a physical improvement in living conditions on Okinawa. Administration of public health measures was in the hands of the police, and it is true that many of these men themselves had little or no understanding of the real significance of the rules they were expected to enforce. Nevertheless it is evident from the records of the years 1879 to 1945 that there was a slow but steady over-all improvement in conditions of public health and sanitation throughout the islands.

As testimony to the importance the Government attached to the "clean-up" program, the Imperial Household Department itself at Tokyo made a grant of one thousand yen to inaugurate the work in 1880. A public vaccination program was established, and fifty-six doctors were granted permits to practice although they had only the most elementary principles of practical medicine to guide them. Measures were devised to clean up general living conditions in the cities of Naha and Shuri, to regulate the processing and distribution of some foodstuffs and beverages, and to reduce and control communicable disease. In the interest of the first, the people of Naha and Shuri were forbidden to keep swine or dogs within the town limits. Public toilets were built in the Tsuji Quarter of Naha. Regulations were laid down governing the use of the public streets, and the Japanese system of periodic housecleaning ultimately came into effect. With a view to improving the handling of foods, butchering, meat-selling, and the distribution of milk products were taken under supervision, and the police had authority to supervise drinking water supplies. These were principally community wells and springs. An inspection system was set up for public bathhouses and brothels.

An additional seventy-five persons had been licensed to practice as doctors in 1884, and the primitive yuta were strictly forbidden to apply their traditional system of charms and incantations. The Prefectural Hospital established in 1885 promised to become a center for training and influence, but not much progress was made beyond this.

Despite the early interest in public health problems, and these few elementary steps taken over a period of ten years, Okinawa fell victim to epidemics in 1886. Food shortages in the preceding year had weakened many; it was a manifestation of the old cycle of drought, hunger and sickness. More than 5,000 persons suffered from small-pox, and of these more than 1000 died. Cholera struck

in the same year, with more than 1,000 deaths reported among 1,500 victims. Clearly the medical facilities and the public knowledge of elementary health rules were inadequate.

By this time the Prefectural population numbered 375,000. The organization of an Okinawa Branch of the Red Cross Society opened the way for appeals for help from overseas in times of emergency, but such measures were wholly inadequate to the fundamental problem of public health services and education for an entire Province. An office licensing mid-wives had been established in 1885, but five years were to elapse before a regular midwifery training course was created in the Prefectural Hospital. In 1890 a second Hospital (Wakasa Byoin) was established, followed in the next year by institution of standard examinations for all medical practitioners.

Economic Change

Tokyo's "peace at any price" policy for Okinawa is perhaps most clearly demonstrated in the failure to bring about significant changes in the economic life of the islands before the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-95. The Government did little even to improve the tax-basis for administration and virtually nothing for the development of private enterprise beneficial to the individual Okinawan. Professor Ota makes a useful comparison of policies developed for the Hokkaido and for Okinawa. Because of an abundance of natural resources and many opportunities for expansive settlement Tokyo invested both capital funds and administrative talent in the development of the northern island, and received a notable and ever-growing profit as a reward. The Ainu who were the aboriginal settlers were few in number, poorly organized and primitive, and presented no political problem in themselves. In time they were confined to reservations and ceased to be more than a minor tourist attraction. The problems of Okinawa offered a remarkable contrast as they were dealt with in the same years. The Ryukyus had no intrinsic material assets, no natural resources and little promise of economic return no matter how great an investment of capital or managerial skills. On the other hand, the large population presented a serious political problem. It was decided to do as little as possible to disturb the old way of life.

The Prefecture overcame the problems of internal and external communications very slowly, but until this was accomplished there could be little hope of bringing the islands into a satisfactory economic relationship with the prefectures of Japan Proper. An eight-year port construction program was inaugurated in June, 1880, but it was not until 1885 - during the governorship of Nishimura Sutezo - that a vehicular road was developed across the island, and little was done thereafter for a full decade. Overland transport continued to depend upon the individual burden-bearer as it always had. Throughout the "Do-nothing" period the Government and people alike depended upon water transport between seaside villages and the port of Naha, and between Naha, the undeveloped anchorages of the outer islands, and the ports of Japan Proper.

The old port of Naha now underwent change and development to meet the demands of a new age of commercial shipping. By traditional practice the three

entrances to the old harbor had been named the Yamato-guchi, opening to the northward and used by ships in commerce with Japan, the Tosen-guchi, opening directly to the west and reserved for ships in the China tribute and trading service, and the Miyako-guchi, opening to the southwest and reserved to shipping for the outer islands. The port approach was narrow, choked with silt, and obstructed by off-lying reefs. It was said to serve not more than fifty ocean-going ships each year at the time of hai-han chi-ken. Clearly it was inadequate for use as a base in time of war.

In the development of shipping services for Okinawa Prefecture there was an echo of the Formosen Expedition of 1874. The Tokyo Government at that time had given thirteen ships used in the Expedition to Iwasaki Yataro, founder of the Mitsubishi Company. Upon this award he developed a merchant marine which enjoyed a virtual monopoly on international shipping for Japan. The new Okinawa Prefectural Government had one ship of its own, the Taiyu Maru. This was the ship which had been presented by the Emperor of Japan to the King of Ryukyu in lieu of the large sum paid over by China in 1875 for consolation and relief of Ryukyu subjects murdered or injured on Formosa. This ship was now handed over to the Mitsubishi Company for operation between Osaka and Naha, via Naze in Amami Oshima.

In 1882 an enterprising Kagoshima man founded a shipping firm which he called the Kaiun Kaisha (Sea Transport Company). The Prefectural authorities now took the Taiyu Maru from Mitsubishi and entrusted it to the new Kagoshima Company for a period of ten years.

It was not until five years later that Okinawans began to have a financial and managerial share in the overseas shipping upon which the welfare of the islands so greatly depended. Marquis Sho's Household now founded a shipping line which continued in operation for about twenty-five years, reaching its greatest peak of prosperity during the years of the Sino-Japanese war.

By 1888 surveys were completed which made it possible to establish official distances along the roads and inter-island seaways within Okinawa Prefecture, but it was not until 1890 that a regular meteorological service was set up, so necessary both to modern shipping and to modern agriculture, and especially so in an area swept annually by devastating storms.

Poverty of natural resources, political uncertainty, and a laggard development of essential community services taken together meant that there was little inducement at Kagoshima, Tokyo, or Osaka for the investment of capital funds in pioneering new developments in Okinawa Prefecture, and there was virtually no local capital available. It has been estimated that no more than two or three Okinawans held property valued at more than 20,000 yen in 1880. Those who possessed 2,000 yen worth of property were considered wealthy. Private lands held in the rural districts formed only a very small part of the total area, for the ratio of public land to private holdings was approximately 76 to 24.

Only four or five men owned as much as five cho (ca. 12.5 acres) of land. A man who could command as much as 100 bags of land-rent rice was considered

an important land-lord. (155) Virtually no one under the old regime had accumulated large savings in any form, hence there was little to fall back upon when the crisis of change overtook the local economy.

The villages which had farmed common land under a variety of communal land-holding arrangements continued to operate on this basis, although a large proportion of the population - the town-dwellers - were now facing a profound change in their daily livelihood. As the town economies changed, the standards of living slowly rose. It became more and more difficult for the farm-dwellers to produce enough foodstuff and textiles. They had to provide not only for old standards of simple self-sufficiency, but enough also to pay for the additional things which city-dwellers believed now to be necessities. The movement of people from Naha and Shuri to the villages, taking with them urban standards, added to the demands on the country economy.

The former retainers and samurai faced the problem of eking out a living by finding employment which would supplement the stipends or lump sum payments they had received as commutation of their old incomes at the Court. They became tradesmen or craftsmen on the smallest scale, borrowing very small sums as temporary capital. Those who had lived in moderate comfort in the past found themselves reduced to the barest level of subsistence. Every member of the family was forced to work. Family heirlooms were sold or bartered, and in this conservative society the women of the household were expected to relieve the men of as much of the burden of demeaning work as they could. Hence where the lower classes of women had always played an outstanding role in small trading and shopkeeping enterprises in every town and village, they were joined by an increasing number of women from impoverished shizoku families. The moai system of mutual aid financing among the aristocrats, which had been introduced by Saion in 1743, continued to play an important part in providing limited capital for the gentry. Men who were comparatively wealthy put aside sums of 20 to 30 koku of rice into a revolving fund upon which their less fortunate colleagues could draw. This was especially useful during the period of most serious unemployment, before the dispossessed aristocrats could adjust themselves and find new sources of income. Gradually the men began to enter employment as minor clerks in new Government offices, or to become employees of the Japanese who were opening up new commercial and industrial establishments. The women went out to work in the farms or to manage small roadside market stalls. The old moai system played a part of decreasing importance, until about 1907, when, as we shall see, regular banking practices, loan associations and the like were at last introduced widely in Okinawa.

Before the Prefectural Government was established, rice was the basic commodity, used in calculating the revenues and expenditures of the Government, with textiles as an important auxiliary. After 1879 when foodstuffs could be imported, other payments were possible. Restrictions on the area which could be planted to sugarcane were gradually lifted, and the production of sugar was pushed vigorously. Much rice-land was quickly converted to canefield and within twenty-five years the total sugar output rose from 11,500,000 kin to nearly 47,000,000 kin.

(155) Ota Chofu: Op Cit., p. 59 et seq.

The Government continued to collect taxes in kind, however, long after the practice was abandoned in other prefectures. No private sales of sugar were permitted until the Government's assessment had been met through deliveries to the warehouse. The village, not the individual remained the taxed unit. Hence the unnatural situation rose in which energetic and ambitious individuals who brought in good crops in one part of the island could not dispose of their product until all the villages had met the Government's requirements. This made the closest cooperation among villages necessary and indeed compulsory. It may be said that this, and the moai system of mutual-aid financing among the townspeople, were two very strong incentives to full participation in mutual aid programs of all kinds.

Taxes in kind (sugar and textiles) were delivered to the Government by the village. The Government in turn shipped the yield to Osaka, where officers of the Ministry of Finance supervised its disposal in the public market. Since sugar was the most important item, from Tokyo's point of view, the Prefectural Government undertook to encourage sugar plantation. In the first year of the new administration a total of 69,800 yen was used as a loan fund to help improve production techniques and to help the individual farmer avoid bankruptcy because of excessive interest charged by private money-lenders. A Sugar-Commission was created which was in effect a compulsory cooperative organization. Local majiri sugar-growers, elected members to a Committee which in turn attempted to keep check upon the quality and standards of sugar produced by the local community. As for textile output, in 1889 a sum of money was advanced to a number of the old gentry class to help them establish a small textile factory, but this failed soon thereafter.

Problems of food supply and distribution grew in number as the economy shifted rapidly to the production of sugar as the major item of export. When restrictions were lifted upon the land-area allowed for cane growing, the area planted to essential food crops immediately diminished. This meant a growing dependence upon food imports. The farming community lost self-sufficiency even at a minimum standard of living. Farm villagers as well as town residents became dependent upon overseas shipping. The entire population became vulnerable to chance market fluctuations at Osaka where the price of sugar was determined. The so-called "Resident Merchants" from other prefectures were eager to promote a maximum increase in sugar production, and were in fact indifferent to the dangerous insecurity of food supply which now developed in the islands. The government was somewhat aware of the potential danger; in June, 1880, a movement was begun to regularize and control production of the edible cycads (sotetsu) which were traditionally considered "famine food" in the Ryukyus. In 1881 an Agricultural Experiment Station was set up which continued in operation until 1903. New grains, fruits and vegetables were introduced, including new varieties of bananas, papayas and citrus fruits. There was little success in promoting these on a large scale, however, for there was no market for surpluses not needed in the local farming community, and the returns from sugar production seemed more attractive. New sugar plantation was begun in Miyako, Yaeyama and Kume Island. Okinawa farmers were encouraged to join in a competitive Exhibition held by the six prefectures of Kyushu. New sugar-crushing machinery was introduced.

Droughts and typhoons did great damage in 1885, bringing with them the threat of famine. The Government issued orders requiring a license for the

collection, transport and sale of the sotetsu palm and its products, for about this time an export business began in which the handsome palm fronds were sent by way of Osaka to European countries for use as funeral wreaths. In the following year regulations were put into effect designed to promote control of insect pests affecting the rice fields. Agricultural associations began to be formed in the farming communities with a view to helping the Government to perfect and extend its controls.

Forest control regulations were instituted to replace the old restrictions upon felling timber, or using forest land. Permits were required for operations of any kind, either on public or private properties.

Every effort was made to exploit the mineral resources of Okinawa, but with scant success. Coal mines on Iriomote were opened in 1881, and put in the hands of the Mitsui Company in 1885. The Sho Family interests attempted to develop copper mining in Kunigami in 1887, but with no substantial result.

Naha had two or three small retail merchant shops in 1879. Elsewhere open markets equipped with temporary stalls served the commercial needs of the islands. Traditionally Okinawan women had handled barter and trade within the islands. The newcomers from Japan now established themselves as wholesale suppliers of goods imported from Japan proper, while the women of Naha and Shuri became middlemen or agents operating between the importer and the keepers of tiny shops and roadside stalls in the towns and villages throughout the islands. Kagoshima men led the way in developing modern retail trading in Okinawa, opening stores in Naha which continued to be local leaders for a half century after the establishment of the Prefecture. Marquis Sho's business managers organized the Maruichi Shoten at Osaka to serve as an agency to market Okinawan goods in Japan, but this was an exception. In general the so-called "Resident Merchants" dominated all external trade, and strove hard to block any Okinawan enterprise which could threaten the "Resident Merchants'" monopoly.

In his excellent analysis of the economic development of Okinawa under the Prefectural Government, Professor Ota Chofu notes that the "Resident Merchants" consisted principally of the Kagoshima group who imported grain and exported sugar, and the Osaka group who dealt with general merchandise and dry goods. Long after the Okinawan people themselves had begun to be successful in overseas commerce, traces of this Osaka-Kagoshima division were apparent in the economic life of the islands.

New currency regulations went into effect in 1879. Old coins were gathered in to be sent to Osaka for re-minting. The standard Japanese ven and sen were to replace the traditional Ryukyu kan and mon. Human beings throughout the world tend to be conservative when asked to give up a traditional standard of exchange for a new currency, and the Okinawan people were no exception to the rule. According to Professor Ota, it required approximately three years to effect the change-over in the Ryukyu Islands, and even then the old terms "kan" and "mon" lingered on in popular use. In September 1879 appraisal offices were

established in the public markets to effect evaluation of the old, worn coinage. People who were reluctant to accept the unfamiliar yen gave each other supplementary notes promising to pay in bronze coins of the old sort. These supplementary notes the Government had to declare null and void, and to threaten punishment for anyone attempting to use them in place of the new legal currency.

Immediately after the Prefecture was established an institution known as the One Hundred and Fifty-second Bank was financed by a man from Shizuoka named Kinbara Meizen, and managed by an enterprising assistant named Matsuda. This bank was authorized to act in Okinawa as agent for the National Treasury and served principally to care for the deposits and savings accounts of Government officials who were arriving in Okinawa in increasing numbers. There were few depositors among local citizens. Matsuda was eager to invest in land-reclamation projects and the development of local enterprise, but his bank was forced to close its doors in 1888. The One Hundred Forty-seventh Bank of Kagoshima succeeded it as Government fiscal agent. The land reclamation work begun by Matsuda was carried forward by his successors in the new organization, and in time the manager of the new institution became a dominant figure in the economic life of the islands.

In 1875 port records, kept as an investigative measure by a Japanese named Kawarada Moriharu, showed a close balance between the values of exports and imports. A review of import-export figures for the "Do-Nothing" period shows that this changed, and that for most of the time imports exceeded exports in value. Other figures indicate a great increase in the variety of consumers goods in demand for the Okinawa market, and an over-all increase in production figures. These must be taken to reflect the general rise in the standard of living throughout Japan; though Okinawa Prefecture shared in this advance, it lagged far behind other prefectures in the rate of progress made. The people of Okinawa themselves felt that until about 1907 the islands were used as a dumping ground for inferior products that would not sell on the market in Japan Proper. They also had to accept dependence upon an export crop (sugar) market, over which they had no control. This was indeed a true "colonial period" in which the Osaka and Kagoshima merchants and administrators enjoyed a virtual monopoly upon trade and shipping. The people of Okinawa took what they could get, and made the best of it. Newcomers from other prefectures, where progress in modernization was being made with ever-increasing speed and effectiveness, looked upon Okinawa and the Okinawan people as retarded country cousins, and mistook extreme poverty for indifference.

Education and Assimilation Policies

Leaders at Tokyo recognized that if Okinawan-ken were to be securely attached to the Empire, education was the key to assimilation. Prejudices of the older generation in Ryukyu must be overcome. The loyalties of the younger generation must be shifted from Shuri to Tokyo. Traditional ties with China must be broken wherever possible. The easy-going, rather casual life of the Okinawan community must give way to a more disciplined, vigorous organization, ready to snap to attention when given orders by the Government. Above all, the individual must be taught to believe without question that duty to the State comes before personal, family, or community interest.

At the time of hai-han chi-ken the Ministry of Education at Tokyo was under the direction of far-sighted and influential Tanaka Fujimaro, principal author of the national Education Act of 1872 which had made primary school attendance compulsory throughout the nation. He and his colleagues had been faced with the task of bringing unity to a nation which had long been divided into 276 feudal territories. Between 1872 and 1879 these administrators had gained a wide practical experience in the problems which now presented themselves in the new Prefecture of Okinawa.

They were keenly aware of the importance of a school organization which would reach into every community and touch every household throughout the islands. It was characteristic of village life in China and Japan that families should make a maximum sacrifice in order to finance education for a promising youth, and that villages should take great pride in the student who successfully passed the formal examinations. Conversely, the Confucian ideal of the child's obligation to its parents meant that a youth who accepted these sacrifices on his behalf, was himself deeply conscious of an obligation to the family and to the community. In Ryukyu an opportunity to study - or at least to learn the elements of reading and writing - were part of the birthright of every youth of the upper classes. Literacy was synonomous with privilege and authority in the eyes of the illiterate peasant. Teacher and student commanded the highest respect in the community. Through them the new Government could hope to establish an influential point of contact with every household represented by children in school.

The Education Ministry at Tokyo determined to create a school system in Okinawa Province which would gradually bring into existence a younger generation responsive to the new Government. They had very little with which to begin the task. There were approximately thirty schools in existence at the time of the King's abdication, but these had been closed. After months of confusion and uncertainty they were reopened in December, 1879. It was evident, however, that they were quite unsuited to the needs of the government.

Children in the mura gakko heard professional story-tellers relate traditional tales of filial piety and propriety. Children of the gentry attending the hira-gakko studied Chinese calligraphy and the elementary texts of the Chinese Classics. Youths who went on to the Shuri Academy (Kokugaku) at the age of seventeen or eighteen years, studied the Classics in greater detail and heard formal lecture commentaries upon them. Kume Village students who entered the Meirin-do studied Chinese literature as well, and learned to speak in the Peking dialect which was accepted as the official language of administration throughout China. Study of Japanese language, calligraphy and literature had to be undertaken privately, thanks to the old restrictions laid down and maintained by Satsuma in years gone by.

The Japanese Government immediately established schools for training clerks in calligraphy and arithmetic, appropriated funds to support both the Kokugaku and the Meirin-do, and salaries for the teachers in the lower schools.

Early in 1880 the Vice Minister of Education (Tanaka Fujimaro) visited Okinawa to see for himself what the problems were, and to confer with local authorities

concerning policy questions. The first of these was the need for interpreters, for the newcomers from Japan found that although they could converse with the educated gentry at Naha and Shuri, they could not make themselves understood in the countryside. It was moreover a matter of policy as well as of pride that the authorities should not learn the Okinawa dialects; the Okinawans were required to learn standard Japanese.

In February, 1880, a "Conversation Training Quarter" (Taiwa Denshu-jo) was opened in the precincts of Tempi Shrine. Here it was proposed to develop a corps of interpreters and clerks who could use standard Japanese in the Government service. By June a Normal School was established with a view to increasing as rapidly as possible the number of teachers competent to spread a knowledge of standard Japanese. By the end of the year the old Royal Academy at Shuri was transformed into a Middle School, three primary schools were established in Shuri, ten were opened in the Shimajiri District and one was established in the northern districts.

The Normal School was set up in the old Official Residence of the Satsuma Clan Headquarters at Naha. This in itself gave it some prestige. As rapidly as possible a "Ryukyu-Japanese Conversation Book" (the Okinawa Taiwa) was prepared in two volumes for general use. By May, 1881, the Normal School was prepared to graduate five young men from its short course. These were all ex-samurai of Shuri, and this may be taken to set the pattern of development in the educational system throughout the years to follow. Opportunities for a career in Government were not promising; business life was unfamiliar and not popular among the dispossessed gentry. They turned instead to education as a field in which they could distinguish themselves. As far as the Tokyo Government was concerned, this was all to the good, and deserved encouragement. Okubo Toshimichi had set the direction of policy as early as 1875 when he laid such great emphasis upon the need for reform and modern education in the Ryukyu Islands, and had ordered ten youths to be sent up to Tokyo as part of the basic agreement to govern the han administration in that day. Five young men were sent up to Tokyo to school in 1882, at Government expense. They were Jahara Noboru, Kishimoto Kasho, Takamine Chokyo, Nakijin Choban and Ota Chofu, and all were destined to play leading parts in the coming period of reorganization.

The journalist Ota Chobe in later life recorded his experiences, and the experience of the Prefectural Government in the first years of educational reform. As in other prefectures of Japan, ten years earlier, the common people were reluctant at first to send their children to the newly opened schools. Elsewhere there had been some fear of the costs which might accrue through participation. In Okinawa Prefecture this fear of the cost of an education (a luxury) was reinforced by deep, conservative suspicion of change in itself, and of the intentions of the newly arrived officials from Japan. Prefectural authorities adopted a policy which on the one hand encouraged cooperation by providing school supplies and exempting parents from varying degress of labor service, while on the other hand they introduced an element of compulsion by establishing a "school attendance quota" for each village. This brought into play the pressure of public opinion and the feeling of mutual responsibility for the village as the representative local institution vis-a-vis the Government at Naha.

By 1882 fifty-three primary schools had been established, one for each majiri in Kunigami and Nakagami, and one for Iheya Island. In the next three years schools were opened in Kerama, Ishigaki (Yaeyama), Miyako and Irabu. Even so, there were only 1,854 children enrolled by 1884, although there were more than 75,000 children of school age in the islands.

In 1885 three girls were permitted to enter the primary classes attached to the Normal School and this marked the beginning of general education for women throughout the Province. Two other noteworthy innovations for the year were the introduction of the study of English to the required curriculum at the Middle School in Shuri, and the introduction of formal gymnastics. Setting-up exercises had a two-fold purpose; while serving the needs of a physical health training program, they provided a basis in later years for the important military drill schedule which was to occupy so large a part of the school curriculum throughout Japan.

The years 1886 and 1887 brought a marked advance in education. New buildings were erected for the Normal School, and facilities elsewhere were improved. Education Societies were founded for the Prefecture and for the districts of Kunigami and Shimajiri. Military drill was introduced at the Middle School. A public exhibition was held for the purpose of stimulating general interest in educational problems. Most important of all, the influential Mori Arinori, who had become Minister of Education at Tokyo, found time to visit Ryukyu and to tour Okinawa, observing at first hand the problems which must be met if this new Prefecture were to be assimilated successfully.

Mori found that only 4,824 students were enrolled at school, representing approximately eleven percent of the boys and one percent of the girls of school age in the population. More than 1,800 of the students were above fourteen years of age. Some of them were married, and it was only in this year that students began to abandon traditional dress and to adopt habits and customs of school life which were standard throughout Japan. These changes began in the Normal School and spread slowly throughout Okinawa, and to Yaeyama and Miyako. This institution was at the very heart of Government planning for Okinawa Prefecture. If a corps of teachers sympathetic to Japan's objectives could be placed in the field, assuming the role of leaders in every village and on every island, no matter how small the community, a great advance would be made in overcoming local prejudices and resistance to Japanese rule. Students entering the teachers' training course were given grants in aid by the local government. Essential supplies and living equipment were allotted to each. In March, 1888, all the students of the Normal School and the younger children in the Shimajiri Higher Primary School, had their hair cut. The old top-knot and hairpin (kamizashi) had indicated social rank. Now the students of Okinawa began to go about with the cropped heads which were fast becoming the standard mark of the student throughout all of Japan. In the next year the Middle School students began to wear uniforms, while all teachers and prefectural officers were urged to exchange the traditional Ryukyu costume for the standard uniform of a government employee. By 1890 a private Girls' High School was established and a school for girls who wished to learn dress-making in the Japanese style had been opened.

These were all important measures leading gradually to the creation of a body of students and teachers whose daily routine, dress, reading material, organizations, and standards of achievement would make them part of a nation-wide, uniform educational system devoted to the services of the State. The presentation of portraits of the Emperor and Empress to every school in the islands was begun in 1889. They were not treated as mere photographs, but as semi-sacred objects, surrounded with elaborate ritual. They were in fact symbols of a State religion. These were to become the local symbol of nation-wide unity. From that time forward every student in every classroom of Japan, from the cold Hokkaido to the sub-tropical islands of Yaeyama, was expected to participate in a uniform schedule, applying himself to realization of uniform standards of accomplishment, measured by common ideals of service by the individual to the State. These ideals were summed up in the Imperial Rescript on Education issued with great solemnity at Tokyo in 1890. It was not by accident that this noteworthy event coincided with the inauguration of the Imperial Diet as an experiment in local representation in national Government.

Little has been written here concerning religious affairs in early modern times, for there was in fact very little active interest in insitutional religion. The Restoration of Japan (1868) had brought new freedom of religious practice as well as new freedom of speech. By 1872 proscription of Christianity was at an end. This liberalizing change did not make itself felt in Ryukyu for some years. French Catholic missionaries returned to the islands - this time to Amami - about 1892. There the centuries-old prohibition of the Shin sect of Buddhism still held, which had been initiated so long before because of Hideyoshi's actions in Satsuma. Early in 1876 a Buddhist priest (Tamara Hosui) ventured down to Okinawa as a missionary for the Shin-shu. He had noteworthy success, but conservative Shuri held fast to the old standards established by Satsuma. In 1878 nearly four hundred Shin-shu converts were arrested and punished, and only then were steps taken through the Naha Branch Office of the Home Ministry to remove this disability.

Religious affairs thereafter were of slight interest or importance. With the exception of Ankoku-ji, which was declared to be a "public temple", all Buddhist temples lost the support of the state and became dependent upon private support for their maintenance. This meant that the ancient buildings associated with so much of the old Kingdom's cultural history, fell into unavoidable neglect and disrepair. During the administration of Governor Maruoka Kanji, former Chief of the Shrine Bureau, the ancient Shinto place of worship on Naminoue was designated a national Shrine of the third class, and thus became entitled to annual government grants for its maintenance.

Japanese scholars gradually turned their attention to investigations of natural history in the Ryukyu Islands; ornithologists, botanists, marine biologists, were eager to make new contributions in their fields. In the Ryukyus they were offered an opportunity to explore new territory. These were the natural sciences; a beginning was made in the study of linguistic problems when Tajima Risaburo prepared his "Materials for the Study of the Ryukyu Language" (Ryukyu-go Kenkyu Shiryo), and began a long life of scholarship devoted to the language and literary heritage of the islands. The remarkable British Professor of Japanese Philology at the Imperial University of Tokyo, Basil Hall

Chamberlain, visited Okinawa in 1894 to collect materials later published as an Essay in Aid of a Grammar and Dictionary of the Luchuan Language (Tokyo, 1895). A number of prominent Okinawans were quietly preparing notes and essays recording their own experiences and observations of the period of transition from Kingdom to han, and from han to Prefecture.

Japanese leaders in the islands were opposed to investigations of matters of historical interest, and pursued a conscious policy of neglect of the old culture, the old monuments and old buildings. When educators born in Okinawa began to talk of introducing a study of local history into the curriculum of the schools, they met active and determined opposition. Okinawa still lagged behind the other Prefectures of Japan. Although there were 101 schools in existence by December 31, 1891, only 11,360 children were enrolled. The barriers of language and of differing local customs were not yet fully overcome. Local economic institutions had still to be revised, and local administrative organization was by no means ready to give the people of Okinawa Prefecture equal representation in the National Diet.

Conditions in the Shuri Middle School and the Normal School suggest the problems of the time. Both schools drew students largely from the ranks of the gentry of the old days. According to Professor Ota many students in the Middle School were idlers who would not take their studies seriously. Of a class of forty-one members who enrolled in 1880, only three finished the course eight years later. By 1895 the Middle School had graduated only thirty-eight men, and of these only three or four entered Government service. The Normal School, by contrast, had graduated 109 men in the same period.

The reason for this disparity is not hard to find. The teaching profession was much more attractive than a life in government service subordinate to Japanese officials from other prefectures. The teacher enjoyed the highest prestige in all local communities, no matter how poor or how remote from the capital. In this period of official encouragement and general educational expansion, the graduates of the Normal School could look forward to immediate employment in the educational system, but to little opportunity in other Government services. The loss of political power among Okinawans discouraged well-educated young men and destroyed all political ambition. There was a general discontent. Ambitious youths began to seek opportunities to go up to Japan Proper where the capable individual faced less discrimination and wider economic opportunity.

An Okinawan who criticised Japanese policy on Okinawa immediately heard charges that the Okinawan people wished to discriminate against people from other Provinces. If the critic persisted, he was charged with being disloyal to Japan. Even as late as 1894 youths were in the minority who had been educated in the new schools and had developed a degree of enthusiasm for Japanese innovations in daily life. The older generation as a whole was not yet persuaded that exclusive control by Japan was either honorable or profitable.

This situation was not a healthy one; the crisis of Sino-Japanese relations concerning Korea was soon to break into open war. Tension increased within Okinawa between advocates of pro-Chinese and pro-Japanese points of view.

In 1890 ten young men volunteered for military training as non-commissioned officers. In the next year seventeen followed them, but the Tokyo Government was by no means ready to extend the conscription laws of Japan to the island Prefecture. Fear of Chinese influence in Ryukyu and of China's efforts to revive the Ryukyu Question as an international issue was well-founded. The "Black" versus "White" factionalism which had begun during the Makishi-Onga affair remained bitter after nearly thirty years; Okinawan leadership was split deeply.

As late as 1891-1892 the Chinese Minister at Tokyo (Li Ching-shu) threatened to reopen the Ryukyu issue, but nothing came of it. At Naha many of the older generation were filled with an obsessive fear that China would indeed invade Okinawa and punish the "disloyal" subjects of the Tribute State. On the other hand, students at the Normal and Middle Schools organized "patriotic societies" in support of the Japanese.

Hostilities began on July 25, 1894. War was formally declared six days later, and continued for seven and one-half months. The excitement in Ryukyu was intense. Many Okinawans fully expected the Chinese fleet to appear in Okinawan waters. Families were sent into the countryside to wait this crisis, and hot argument embittered friends and neighbors who were not agreed upon the proper course of action if the Chinese landed.

Chapter XIII

PROGRESS IN OKINAWA, 1890-1940

1. War, Peace, and Politics
2. Administrative Evolution, Land Reform, and Representative Government
3. The Economic Development of Okinawa Province after 1890
4. Developments in Public Health and Welfare
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Chapter XIII

PROGRESS IN OKINAWA, 1890-1940

War, Peace, and Politics

After years of hesitation and inaction, the Government at Tokyo began to move forward about 1890 with a program of change and development in Okinawa Province. A period of administrative preparation was followed by fundamental land reform, the creation of a Prefectural Assembly and, at last, representation in the National Diet. The education program was pushed vigorously, with a considerable emphasis laid upon vocational training. The sugar industry was expanded many times over, and brought under the control of great sugar-producing corporations whose headquarters were in Osaka and Tokyo. Conscription was extended to every island in the Ryukyu archipelago.

The reasons for the swift change in policy are not clear. Three events are worth noting; all of them had their origin and conclusion outside of Okinawa Province, but the consequences within the prefecture were serious.

After years of resistance at Tokyo, the Cabinet yielded to popular pressure and brought about the granting of a Constitution (February, 1889), and the formation of a Parliament. Throughout the campaigns, elections and sessions of the first three Diets, the Government operated in an air of unrelieved hostility between the Cabinet (dominated by the Sat-cho hanbatsu) and members of Parliament. "Peoples Rights" (Minken) had been a central theme of political discussion for more than twenty years. It had been a debate in general terms, concerning the rights of all the people versus the oligarchy of senior statesmen around the Emperor. The regularization of Okinawa's provincial status and administration could not be long postponed, for the Government was in a peculiarly vulnerable position. Public debate on the issue of "peoples rights" kept the issue of special privilege constantly before the public eye.

The second external change which affected decisions at Tokyo was the decision to carry through the war with China, and its successful conclusion. It is doubtful if in 1890 any Government leader at Tokyo thought war with China could or should be avoided. For twenty years it had been a question of choosing the most advantageous time to bring about a decisive change in relations with the giant neighbor on the Continent. Popular demands for war with Korea and with China had been deflected in 1872 and 1874 by the Taiwan Expedition. Now again there was popular demand for an armed decision with China.

Opposition to the Government reached an intense peak in Japan just after General Election of March 1894. The new Diet lasted only three weeks, but throughout the short session the strongest attacks were made upon the Government's allegedly weak conduct of foreign policy. The declaration of war brought immediate unity to the country, and victory (confirmed in the Treaty of Shimonoseki, April 17, 1395) appeared to bring with it great international prestige, plus a prize in the potentially rich island of Taiwan. China's

decisive defeat banished the Ryukyu Question as a political threat for half a century. It was not to be heard of again until late in World War II. No matter what the most conservative and anti-Japanese Okinawans might feel, their objections to Japanese rule henceforth could be treated indifferently.

The third major influence rising from external circumstance, but affecting the internal development of Okinawa, lay in the acquisition of Taiwan. Ryukyu ceased to be a frontier area and became of secondary importance, henceforth to be merely an economically unrewarding link between Japan proper and the rich but undeveloped territory to the south. The peculiarities of Okinawan speech and costume were thrown into a new perspective; they were odd, but not so odd and difficult to understand as the speech, dress and customs of the Taiwan natives. The similarities of culture in Okinawa and Japan proper could now more clearly be seen to outnumber the differences which had to be overcome.

Administrative Evolution, Land Reform, and Representative Government

The appointment of Narahara Shigeru to the Governorship in July, 1892 marked the turning point of administrative policy. He was a haughty samurai from Satsuma, which strengthened his position at Tokyo though it did not recommend him to the Okinawan people. They could remember, as well as he, that he had been educated as a vassal of the Shimazu daimyo at Kagoshima, and had from his childhood shared the common Satsuma attitude toward the subordinate Kingdom of Ryukyu. (155a) He had first visited Okinawa in 1872 on an investigative trip (with Ijichi Sadaka), which had prepared the way for haihan chi-ken and the King's abdication. Under his Governorship, 1892-1908, the transformation from Kingdom to Province was nearly completed; Governor Narahara was succeeded by one of his principal assistants, Hibi Jumei, who carried on the Narahara policies until his resignation in June, 1913. Elsewhere in Japan the evolution of party politics and of Party Government meant a constant changing of administrators with each successive change in Ministries at Tokyo. It was greatly to the benefit of Okinawa that such a continuity could be maintained in the administration through twenty-one years. In the succeeding period of twenty-one years, Okinawa was to have no less than fifteen Governors.

In the years 1893-1896 the Government sent a number of highly qualified men to Okinawa to study local problems and to make recommendations. Three objectives were sought. One was to elaborate and strengthen Government control in every aspect of the social and economic life of the people. A second was to prepare the way for representative local government through local elections to Prefectural Assembly membership, and ultimately to membership in both Houses of the Diet at Tokyo. A third was to develop the tax structure in such a way as to shift as much of the cost of government as possible to a basis in the local economy. That is to say, while the functions and services of the Government were steadily enlarged, the costs of government rose in proportion, and this rising cost the Tokyo Government wished quite naturally to be borne by the people of Okinawa insofar as possible.

In 1892 and 1893 representative assemblies were convoked in each of the districts. Local leaders were allowed to express their views on the adminis-

(155a) Narahara is reputed to have been the samurai who actually killed the British subject, Richardson, in the Namamugi Incident of September, 1862.

trative budgets for their districts. Opposition sprang up at once in Yaeyama and Miyako, and was considered so serious that the Government is said to have threatened to send a warship down to maintain order. The old banjo or guardhouses of each majiri in Okinawa were replaced by yakuba, or government offices whose functions were gradually brought into line with those of the ordinary gun-yakusho (district office) of other prefectures. In 1896 an Imperial Decree created five gun and two ku in Okinawa. The Chief of Shuri-ku became concurrently the gun-cho or Chief of Nakagami county; the Chief of Naha-ku concurrently held the post of Chief of the adjacent Shimajiri District. The Governor appointed and discharged all personnel. Salaries of all members of Government except the Assemblymen and their assistants in the gun organization were paid from the National Treasury. Henceforth the local assemblies were given modest powers of local taxation and budgeting for local expenditures. By 1897 - always lagging a little behind - Yaeyama and Miyako were brought into harmony with the province-wide system.

In 1898 a Temporary Land Readjustment Bureau was created to begin the formidable task of converting traditional communal land - nearly seventy-six percent of the total area - to private ownership, capable of sustaining private enterprise and a modern government. Taken in all its political and economic consequences, this land reform must be ranked as one of the most significant events in Okinawan history.

The proposed land reform program would in the nature of things cause a profound disorganization of traditional community life. It had to be imposed from without, through orders handed down from Naha through the district officers to the local leaders of each community. It was certain to become involved in a grave political problem which was peculiarly confined to Ryukyu, and had no bearing upon the political problems then agitating other Provinces.

There was pressing need for local leadership to overcome the deep and bitter division of "Black" and "White" factions. These had continued to trouble the islands since the Makishi-Onga Affair in 1864. During the days of hai-han chi-ken the issue had been transformed into pro-Chinese and pro-Japanese factionalism. Now it was being transmuted into rancorous dispute concerning support for, or opposition to administrative and policy changes initiated at Tokyo or Naha, and carried into the remotest countryside by Okinawans in the Government service.

A number of prominent men formed an organization called the Kodo-kai through which they wanted to restore unity to the Okinawan community and reestablish themselves in local leadership. Their intentions were good, but they had insufficient understanding of the delicacy and political importance of their problem as it affected Japan's overall policies in international affairs. Japan was on the eve of war with Russia, and at the same time was seeking treaty revisions which would abolish extra-territorial privileges enjoyed by the Western powers. Above all, Tokyo wished to show the Western world that Japan had modern institutions of Government, under which the common people enjoyed just and equitable rule. The Kodo-kai in Okinawa now proposed to Tokyo that it withdraw its Governor (Narahara Shigeru) and replace him by appointing Marquis Sho Tai, the former King, to the governorship. From the Okinawan point of view this was justifiable for it had been part of the original proposal of Okubo Toshimichi in 1875 that the Sho Family would

be hereditary Governors (Han-shu). It was desirable, because the most stubborn of the anti-Japanese elements in the Okinawan community were prepared to unite with the liberal advocates of modernization if the Marquis could be restored to nominal honors and leadership at Naha.

Tokyo crushed the Kodo-kai movement at once. It was not only a challenge to Government decisions which had been issued in the form of Imperial decrees (1879), but it might be interpreted abroad as evidence of misrule or at least a dissatisfaction with Japanese administration. There was a possibility that foreign powers wishing to delay Treaty revision would revive the old issue of Japan's right to sovereign authority in the Ryukyu Islands. As it went forward, in fact, the Government experienced relatively little local friction of a serious nature during the five year reform period.

The magnitude of the task is apparent if we pause to note that except for minor changes, the land system in 1897 was what it had been in 1614, when Satsuma agents made a thorough investigation and drew up land allotments. This archaic arrangement was inadequate. About seventy-six percent of the land was designated "farmland" (hyakusho-chi) subject to reallocation at the will of the Government. It was not owned by private persons but was assigned and reassigned by the villages to the individual farm household. The remaining land (approximately twenty-four percent) was divided into several major and minor categories. For instance, extensive lands were held by nobles as hereditary private estates or manors (jito-chi). Some lands were set aside permanently for the support of the noro appointed to serve each village. Some land had been held by the Shuri Court for assignment to individuals at its pleasure for varied periods of time, and was now managed by the Prefecture. Reclaimed land (shiake-chi) constituted the only private land held by individuals or by village communities, which could be bought or sold freely. The taxes which supported the Government came from the farmland, and the farmers' households, but were levied upon villages to which the farm household belonged rather than upon the individual household. The village collected taxes in kind (grain or textiles or labor services) from the member households according to the land area currently assigned to the household. The length of time a farmer was permitted to use an assigned piece of land was determined by the village organization, and varied from hamlet to hamlet. Ten years was a usual maximum period. If the individual farm household was unable to meet its assessment, then the group of households to which it belonged made up the difference. (156) Tax assessments laid on the village were determined by a complicated system. All the villages of Okinawa were graded into five classes. Land, too, was graded according to its nature as determined in the long-outdated surveys of 1611-1614. A combination of the village grade plus the land grade led to a determination of the tax assessment to be expected from each village.

It will be seen at a glance that this cumbersome and inefficient system could not support the demands of a modern economy; nevertheless, until 1903

(156) Compare this with the ancient systems of communal land organization described in early Chinese classical texts and in the early Japanese texts of the Kojiki and Nihongi. Compare also with the communal land systems of the Philippine Islands before the 20th century.

this was the basis for taxation in Okinawa Prefecture. In that year Mori Kengo, an officer of the Finance Ministry in Tokyo, prepared a report in which he pointed out that the farmers of Ryukyu had to bear a disproportionate share of the tax burden, and that the periodic reallocation of land deprived the individual farmer of the incentives of private ownership. Mori further pointed out that the land was allotted without consideration of distance from the individual farmer's home, and was wasteful of time, labor and transport. Since the great majority of people owned no land, they had none to use as security on loans. The farmer could borrow only against his crops, which were uncertain from season to season, and he had to pay extremely high rates of interest.

By October 1903 the Land Reform was pronounced complete leaving only a village or two untouched or little modified. Owners of hereditary lands were confirmed in their ownership. Lands assigned for the support of the village noro became the private property of the noro's family. Arrangements were made to adjust land assignments and to confirm farmers in the possession of land to which they were given permanent title, and upon which thereafter they would pay land-tax.

Hitherto cereals, salt, textiles, charcoal and the like had been accepted as tax-in-kind. As the innovations and changes had increased after 1872, the need for a labor supply became increasingly burdensome, taking manpower from production. Before the reform the peasant was in fact a serf who could neither buy nor sell land, but had to remain inescapably tied to the land area assigned to his village if he chose to remain a farmer. After 1879 it became possible for surplus manpower in the countryside to move into the towns, but opportunities for employment were limited in number.

As of 1903 Okinawa was an area of complete impoverishment; the steadily growing population numbered 480,000, and the new Prefectural Government promised to become a permanent burden upon the National Treasury. The land reform was accompanied by a shift in the tax organization. Whereas the total tax income under the old system of village levies was approximately 460,000 yen the new taxation based on private land yielded only 126,000 yen. The difference had to be met by increasing the number and variety of taxes on goods, services, licenses and the like. Investment capital had to be drawn to Okinawa by improving opportunities for investors. Total production of goods, including foodstuffs, had to be increased, and the development of exportable commodities, such as sugar, had to be planned and carried through if the costs of governing the Province were to be minimized.

Imperial Edict No. 140, issued in April 1905, ordered a general reorganization of the Okinawa administration. Many rules and regulations governing private property were elaborated to solve problems which had risen with the land reforms. The salt, camphor and tobacco monopolies were united under one office, and the number of new taxes on local business was steadily increased.

At last, in 1908, a general system parallel to the town and village organizations of other prefectures came into effect in Ryukyu. The old names were abandoned; the smallest units, the mura, now became aza, the old Ryukyu majiri became known as son or mura instead. Shimajiri, Nakagami and Kunigami which had been based on the ancient division of the three principalities (Sanzan)

of the 14th century, now became gun, together with Miyako and Yaeyama. Itoman became a town (cho), followed in later years by Nago, Hirara and Ishigaki. The local Okinawa Prefectural Treasury assumed many burdens hitherto carried by the National Treasury at Tokyo, though a direct subsidy from Tokyo continued to be necessary to cover chronic deficits.

Upon the basis created in the majiri or gun councils, a Prefecture-wide Assembly was established, meeting for the first time in 1909. Members were not elected directly by the people but by the members of ku, cho and gun councils already in existence. Any man who paid ten yen or more in taxes on property was entitled to elect members to the local body, and so gain indirect representation in the Prefectural Assembly.

The first election and first sessions were watched with close attention by special observers sent down by the Government at Tokyo. First Chairman of the Prefectural Assembly was Takamine Chokyo. The intensive political party activity common in other prefectures was only mildly reflected at Naha, where sixteen Assembly members professed to belong to the Doshi-kai, and fourteen to the Minyu-kai, which were exclusively local associations.

The measures introduced by the Chairman to the first Prefectural Assembly are noteworthy, for they reflect a concern with education, with geographical isolation, and with public health, all of which were problems of deep and never-ending concern among Okinawan leaders. The first measure called for the establishment of a new school in Nakagami-gun, to be known as the Second Prefectural Middle School. The second measure introduced proposed construction of a submarine cable to link Miyako with Okinawa island. The third called for an investigation of local health problems, and the provision of free medicines wherever they might be needed.

The next move was to establish Okinawan representation in the Lower House of the Diet at Tokyo. Necessary election laws were put into effect in 1910, but these excluded Miyako and Yaeyama from the electoral district. At last, in 1912, two representatives went to the National Diet, and these, fittingly enough, were Takamine Chokyo and Kishimoto Gasho. Thirty years earlier, as lads of 18 years, they had been among the first students sent up to become acquainted with Japanese institutions which were then in the midst of political revolution. In going up to the Diet in 1912 Takamine and Kishimoto were fulfilling precisely the role which the Japanese leaders of the earlier day had envisaged for them. It was, too, a reward for the years in which they had borne the burdens of leadership in a province-wide attack upon conservatism and lethargy among the older generation.

As soon as this advance had been made toward representative government, the political parties at Tokyo moved to capture the votes the Okinawans represented. But these were only two, and party politicians at the national capital had very little of interest to offer in exchange for only two votes cast by members of Parliament who exercised virtually no personal influence in national political affairs. The Seiyukai opened an Okinawa office in 1912, but closed it and disbanded its organization three years later. Two years passed by; the old clansmen who then dominated the Seiyukai, were losing their exclusive grip

upon Government affairs. Old feudal rivalries and personal loyalties were being transmuted into party rivalries and allegiances. When the Seiyukai found itself hard-pressed by its rival, the Kenseikai, in 1917, it sent organizers back to Okinawa to reopen offices, for it needed every vote it could muster to maintain power at Tokyo. They were faced with the problem of rousing political interest among a people who had no traditional sense of allegiance to any of the clansmen or cliques then in power and could make very little contribution to the hungry party treasuries.

Okinawa had no representative in the House of Peers to represent the highest taxpayers of the Province until 1918, when election changes made it possible to send Hirao Kisaburo to take a seat in the Upper House. There he joined Marquis Sho, whose membership was an hereditary adjunct of his rank.

Under Premier Hara, (the first commoner to administer the State in the name of the Emperor), the election laws for Okinawa Province were revised once again. Yaeyama and Miyako were admitted to the electoral district, and the number of representatives was increased to five. As of April 1, 1920, the people of Okinawa for the first time enjoyed legal equality with other Provinces in the law-making body of the Empire, though much remained to be done to secure an equality of social and economic opportunity. With only five representatives in a Lower House membership of 381, they could carry little weight in budgetary matters, and had virtually no influence upon the appointment of Governors sent down from Tokyo. The Governors, on their part, exercised great and often decisive power in election matters within the Province, for they controlled the police who administered election laws.

The Governors sent down after the Narahara-Hibi era came to an end were Party appointees for the most part. Few showed sympathy or understanding for the basic problems besetting Okinawa. They were principally concerned with efforts to make the Provincial economy pay for itself. One appointee (Odagiri Bantaro) so disliked the idea of "exile" to a remote province that he resigned his office seven days after accepting appointment, and without setting foot in the islands. His action was deeply resented throughout Ryukyu. Several of the Governors showed considerable activity in advancing the interests of the great sugar manufacturing companies which came into existence in Taiwan. All of them, from first to last, faced a problem which was never solved, the problem of achieving a sound and self-sufficient economy for the island Prefecture.

From 1890 until 1945 the Government made use of a form of social organization which was highly developed and cleverly used throughout the Empire. Virtually everyone in a community was expected to become a member of one or more Associations such as the Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, Ladies Patriotic Association, Army Reservists Association, Farmers' Association, and the like. In theory membership was on a volunteer basis, but in fact every member of the community was under indirect pressure to join at least one of the many overlapping groups. If he did not, he might become suspect of disloyalty to the Government. By joining several Associations he not only won approval of the police and the local Government officers, but he gained a considerable return in the benefits of mutual aid and cooperative investment of

time and effort. Fees assessed for membership and special contributions of time, labor, material or money formed a substantial supplementary income for the local government. Local Associations performed many civic services which otherwise would have to be paid for by the Government, or else would be left undone. Nor were these associations beyond the reach of the political parties who controlled appointments to administrative offices throughout Okinawa Prefecture. Ostensibly the organizations were spontaneous community groups, in fact many of them - if not most of them - were proposed and promoted by Government officials "acting in their private capacities".

The Economic Development of Okinawa Province After 1890

Okinawa was rapidly becoming overcrowded. To meet this problem, the Government resorted to three major programs. One of these undertook land reclamation, afforestation and the improvement of yields on lands already under cultivation. A second program was designed to open up new land through the colonization of Yaeyama. The third called for the promotion of emigration to other countries.

The Matsuyama Land Reclamation Project begun in 1894 was expected to bring 5,000 chobu (ca. 12,250 acres) under production. Agricultural schools and vocational training courses in the regular schools gradually improved the efficiency of the individual farmer. Research and experiment improved the varieties of grains, potatoes, fruits, and vegetables under cultivation. Superior breeds of horses, sheep and swine were imported to improve local stock. Camphor trees and bamboo groves were planted under Government supervision, and strict controls were imposed upon the use of forest lands. Sericulturists and fisheries experts were brought down from Japan proper to give instruction.

Sugar production outranked all other agricultural and food-processing industries in importance, in value of production, area of land devoted to it and investment of capital by government and private enterprise. Limitations on acreage were lifted in 1888 but sugar was accepted as tax-in-kind as late as 1904. Between 1904 and 1920 total production value increased more than tenfold, reflecting the inflation induced by World War I. Before land reform the sugar industry was virtually monopolized by men from other Prefectures. Private ownership of land gave the Okinawan farmer a new incentive to produce. Ota Chofu tells us that he himself suggested the establishment of a research office in Osaka through which Okinawans themselves could discover ways and means of entering the metropolitan markets in their own interest. Between 1905 and 1907 there was a gradual change with the development of local enterprise. A Sugar Dealers' Association was founded, and the men from other provinces resentfully found their dominant market position challenged by Okinawan investors and management. It is said that there was a marked improvement in the attitude of mainland Japanese toward their fellow citizens in Okinawa Prefecture as the old colonial attitude was slowly forced to give way to a more equitable treatment of the hitherto inexperienced Okinawans. Inexperience led to the organization of too many small sugar companies however, and there were a series of failures.

Standards of quality for the manufactured sugar were not high. In 1907 the Government organized an "Okinawa Prefectural Provisional Sugar Improvement

Bureau" under the auspices of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce at Tokyo. The Governor himself became president of the Bureau. After 1912 all sugar for export had to meet certain standards. For a time a local newspaper company - the Ryukyu Shimpo-sha - took the lead in promoting development of the sugar industry, holding competitive exhibits among farmers and awarding prizes for improved production.

The work of this Sugar Improvement Bureau attracted capital from Tokyo and Osaka, and while the experimental farms run by the Government were subsidized seventy to eighty percent by public funds, there was a steady increase in investment from outside the Province. The sugar industry of nearby Taiwan was beginning to expand rapidly, and a curious rivalry grew up between the sugar specialists engaged by the Taiwan industry and those employed by the industry in Okinawa. The former were from the Sapporo Agricultural College (Hokkaido Imperial University) and the latter were principally from the Komaba Agricultural Department of the Imperial University at Tokyo.

This rapid expansion of the industry through investment of capital from Tokyo and Osaka was not fundamentally a healthy thing for the Okinawan economy, for the major share of the profits of Okinawan land and labor left the Prefecture. Local re-investment tended to be for the sugar industry or closely allied interests only. A high percentage of the Okinawan farm population became entirely dependent upon the metropolitan markets which left them vulnerable to market price fluctuations rising from conditions in Taiwan or in Japan proper.

From 1915 onward the influence of businessmen was in the ascendant at Tokyo. In that year the Governor of Okinawa, Omi Kyugoro, proposed an elaborate ten-year economic development plan which was severely criticised for many unrealistic elements in it. Nevertheless, it represented the first effort at long-term economic planning to have been undertaken in the Prefecture. Another act of the Governor, however, laid him open to suspicion that he was acting more in the interests of large business corporations at Tokyo than in the interests of the Okinawan economy. Under his direction, the entire assets of the Okinawa Sugar Improvement Bureau - which had been subsidized by public funds - were suddenly sold to the Okinawa Sugar Company, and this in turn was subsequently (1917) absorbed by the powerful Taiwan Sugar Corporation (Taiwan Seito Kabushiki Kaisha), together with the Okinawa-Taiwan Colonization and Sugar Company. With this the control of the basic agricultural industry of Okinawa passed into the hands of a huge corporation in which the principal shareholders were the Imperial Household, and the Mitsui and Mitsubishi Companies. This was "economic colonization" replacing the former "political colonization".

The area planted to sugar in Okinawa Prefecture rose from 1,700 cho in 1888 to more than 18,000 cho forty years later. Volume of sugar production rose from about 12,000,000 kin to approximately 110,000,000, but as we shall see, from 1919 onward the value of export-import trade showed increasing export deficits until by 1928 the islands were importing goods valued at 11,200,000 yen more than the value of exported products.

Before we review the history of general trade and finance in the Province, we must glance at local colonization which was the second major interest in the Government's program. Investigators from Tokyo had frequently reported on the potential value of thinly settled Yaeyama. Interest had been roused by the earliest police reports on conditions within the islands, and the Police Department itself published tracts advocating settlement and development of the distant and dependent islands of Ishigaki, Iriomote and Yonaguni. While there was a slow development of economic and political activity among the people native to the islands, attempts to develop colonization from crowded Okinawa failed again and again. The prevalence of malignant malaria and the frequency of terrifying storms, were very real obstacles to a successful program. But the difficulties were more than that; from the earliest days of the Ryukyu Kingdom, the Yaeyama islands (and to a lesser degree Miyako) were considered a place of remote exile, where opportunities were too limited to be considered seriously by anyone wishing to improve his economic situation. For example, it was not until 1925 that the settlement at Ishigaki achieved the status of a town (cho). There was no middle school for the education of children beyond primary grades until 1928.

A special development loan fund had been established in 1886 for use in Yaeyama, Miyako and the Kunigami District. A Hiroshima man named Nakegawa Toranosuke attempted to promote agricultural plantation in 1891, and in 1894 there were special efforts to develop sugar cultivation there. A Yaeyama Sugar Manufacturing Company was established in 1896. But all of these enterprises depended upon local labor with the exception of the coal mines on Iriomote. These were opened and operated by Formosan-Chinese laborers imported for that task, and the coal was exported directly to Formosa.

In 1935 a fresh attempt was made to expand colonization. The Yaeyama Daido Company was inaugurated, and a group of Yaeyama citizens visited Naha to petition for the establishment of an agricultural and fishery school on Ishigaki Island. Every device of propaganda and competition was used to promote voluntary migration from crowded Okinawa. In 1938 the Governor (Fuchigami Fusataro) presented a colonization program to the Prefectural Assembly. Members of the Assembly made an inspection trip in the following year. An appeal was made to the Ministry of Finance for funds with which to carry on a malaria suppression campaign, and these were granted in 1940. At last, in March 1941, the colonization of Haemi district was begun at Government expense, and on the eve of World War II an inspection team composed of Government officials and prominent journalists went down to see for themselves what progress had been made.

By contrast, the Government had no difficulty in developing its third major program, an overseas colonization movement which was to be of great economic significance to the islands. Going to Yaeyama meant hardship and exile and limited opportunity; going abroad to Hawaii, the Philippines, Formosa, North or South America was soon discovered to mean improved living conditions - and sometimes wealth - for the individual, and an important source of foreign exchange and local revenue for the Provincial Government.

Emigration began in 1899 when Toyama Matasuke led a party of 27 laborers to Hawaii for work in the sugar plantations there. In 1903 a total of 941 went abroad, of whom 307 went to Hawaii (among them a group of 45 led by Toyama's brother, Kyuzo), 51 went to the United States, 223 went to Mexico and 360 went to the Philippine Islands. By 1907 more than 10,200 had gone abroad to settle in places as distant and varied as New Caledonia and Peru and laws were passed at Tokyo, effective in Okinawa, which were designed to protect their interests as Japanese subjects. By 1930 there were more than 54,000 Okinawans living abroad, nearly half of whom were in South America. Sons of the early immigrants to Hawaii were beginning to enter professional life as doctors, lawyers and teachers. Many had established themselves in comfortable businesses. Some, especially in South America, became extensive landholders and a few became millionaires. Many emigrants sent their sons and daughters back to Okinawa to be educated at the Shuri Middle School from which many of the fathers had graduated, or at the Girls' High Schools. The traditions of mutual aid which had come down through the centuries of hard life under the old Kingdom were not forgotten; a steady stream of remittances in growing volume and value flowed back from overseas into the Okinawan Provincial economy. In 1937 it reached a maximum estimated at 3,567,000 yen, remitted by no less than 40,483 Okinawans living overseas. Ideas as well as material wealth flowed back into Okinawa, and there were few villages which did not maintain communication by letter with Okinawan communities abroad.

While promoting the sugar industry and colonization, the Government did not neglect the development of communications facilities essential to the expanding productive capacity and to the economic well-being of an island community. The submarine cable laid during the Sino-Japanese war gave Naha a direct link with Kagoshima.

The threat of hostile naval action in the sea-lanes between Ryukyu and the main islands of Japan demonstrated Okinawa's vulnerability in the Sino-Japanese war and again during the war with Russia. Until there was a sufficient import-export trade, the shipping companies were dependent upon heavy Government subsidization from Tokyo. Gradually the Osaka Shosen Kaisha emerged as the dominant shipping line, upon which the health and safety of the economy gradually became dependent.

In 1907 a second Harbor Development Program was launched at Naha under the direction of technical experts from Japan. Work continued through twenty years. Lighthouses were built on important headlands, and the weather reporting service and facilities were extended to outlying islands.

A cable laid between Yaeyama and Formosa in 1897 gave the Sakishima islands a telegraphic link with the outside world. Miyako remained cut off until 1913, when a cable proposed in the first Prefectural Assembly and charged to the Prefectural budget, was constructed to link Naha with Hirara.

After the telegraphic services were opened to the general public in 1906, lines were extended slowly within Okinawa itself, first to Onna (1912), to Nakijin (1916) and so on to other outlying towns until the Prefecture had sufficient coverage for its needs. Telephones were first installed between Naha and Shuri in 1910, and slowly thereafter to other areas. The Tokyo Government established wireless services throughout the Empire as soon as wireless

telegraphy became practicable, and by 1917 there was a wireless station on so remote an island as Daito-jima. These outlying weather and wireless facilities served the dual purpose of national defense and of weather forecasting which was particularly valuable in the typhoon season. As the airplane was developed and put to practical use, storm warning systems and weather forecasting assumed an importance hitherto unknown. As early as 1915 the Ryukyu Newspaper Company arranged for a civilian flyer to visit Okinawa to demonstrate the new flying machine. Though his exhibition proved unsuccessful, the people of Okinawa made their first acquaintance with this revolutionary form of transportation.

Of much more immediate and practical interest to them were the developments in local land transportation. Hitherto coastal shipping carried most traffic from beach to beach. The first modern vehicular road was opened in 1885, but it was not until 1897 that roads began to be developed in the rolling countryside of Shimajiri. Naha, of course, was the center of a network of roads radiating to the south, east and north. Jinrikishas and other wheeled vehicles were imported from Japan for town use and farm transport. In 1907 and 1908 a system of town and village responsibility for the building and maintenance of local roads was put into effect, and a road-building race began. This was haphazard, and uneconomical, for the roads of one village might lead only to the paths of another. Gradually the Prefectural Government took over responsibility for extending and improving the principal highways. By 1915 a trunk highway had been completed linking Naha with Nago in the best agricultural area of Kunigami. Concurrently a light railway was constructed across Nakagami from Naha to Yonabaru, and a horse-drawn tramway opened service between Yonabaru and Awase. Gradually light railways were extended north from Naha to Kadena and southward to Itoman, thanks to a subsidy granted from the National Treasury.

In time Okinawa acquired all the physical equipment necessary to support a modern agricultural economy - roads, railroads, airfields, postal, telegraph, and radio services, and modern aids to navigation. To these were added the technical schools and vocational organizations commonly found in the other provinces of Japan. The records show a steady increase in per capita wealth and in the per capita deposits in the banks and postal savings accounts. Direct subsidies from the National Treasury slowly decreased, though the size of subsidies for special projects (local railroad building, harbor construction and the like) grew in proportion to the size and length of undertakings.

Despite all this, Okinawa remained an impoverished island-province. It was cut off physically from the other prefectures; though thousands of persons might travel back and forth each year, there could not be the easy interplay of economic life which other Provinces enjoyed across their common borders. Production had risen, but so, too, had the total population figures, bringing unremitting pressure upon the developing economy. By 1940 there were approximately 575,000 people living in the Prefecture. We have noted that from 1919 onward the value of imports to the Province greatly exceeded the value of produce exported. The difference was made up by subsidies, hidden and direct, and by the substantial value of foreign exchange remittances from overseas.

Natural disasters affected the islands no less frequently after 1890 than in the centuries gone before, though there were more agencies to provide relief and a greater understanding of what could be done to anticipate and prepare for calamity. Great storms swept Yaeyama in 1899 and 1901. An eruption on Torishima in 1903 forced the transfer of the entire population (690 persons) to Kumejima in the following year, and threw the economy of that small island out of balance.

A great drought continued throughout most of 1904, during which the Home Ministry from Tokyo sent investigators, granted relief funds, suspended the payment of local taxes, and organized a "Society of Industrial Development" as a public works project to relieve the sufferers. The effects of this drought were felt for several years thereafter, for it wiped out savings, retarded the development of agriculture, and drove many persons to seek new employment which would not be dependent upon the plenitude or lack of rain. An epidemic of swine cholera affected more than 20,000 beasts in 1908. Ironically, the disease appears to have been introduced by a shipment of swine sent down from Kobe to improve the local breed of stock. The years 1911 and 1912 were marked by earthquakes and typhoons, one of which did exceptionally great damage in Yaeyama. Relief funds had to be provided to promote recovery through the following year. There were severe storms in 1917, 1918 and 1922. More than 7,000 buildings were damaged in 1931 while two typhoons in 1933 in quick succession wrought havoc estimated at more than 2,500,000 yen in cost.

Yaeyama suffered most often and most heavily from typhoon damage, and to this was added an intermittent scourge of insects affecting local crops.

Despite natural disasters and poverty of resources, the changes which took place in the Okinawan economy between the Sino-Japanese War and the end of World War II represented a favorable development bringing the economy of Okinawa abreast of the least prosperous Provinces of the main islands. Okinawa shared fluctuations of fortune in common with the total empire economy. A peak of activity and apparent prosperity was reached about 1918, for Japan benefitted through stimulated industries serving the war needs of her allies in Europe. The total of all bank deposits in Okinawa exceeded 96,000,000 yen; the total value of goods produced exceeded 80,000,000 yen, and the per capita production maximum for the entire population reached an average of 140 yen per person.

Then came a sharp break. Okinawa shared the empire-wide post-war depression. By 1925 the national banking crisis had affected Okinawa seriously. There was a general reorganization of banking institutions. The Tokyo Diet found it necessary to vote 2,620,000 yen for industrial development programs as a relief measure for Okinawa. A trade and products promotion office was established at Tokyo in an effort to support and increase markets for Okinawan goods. The alternative was the prospect of chronic unemployment and continuing, costly relief subsidization. In the 52nd Diet session (1926) financial aid was voted again. This time a total of 3,366,000 yen was appropriated for industrial encouragement, of which 2,500,000 was assigned to establish a new Industrial Promotion Bank, (Kogyo Ginko), which opened for business in 1928.

The effects of this program had hardly begun to be felt when Japan as a whole faced the consequences of the world-wide economic depression. Extremes of hardship were now experienced throughout Okinawa, generating social unrest and calling forth a maximum effort to organize relief for the farming and fishing communities which had no reserves of money or of goods upon which to draw. In 1933 the Government adopted a new industrial development plan drawn up by Governor Ino Jiro, who had come to Okinawa from Hokkaido. Under his guidance another attempt was made to colonize Yaeyama through migration from Okinawa. This time the efforts were on an unprecedented scale, entailing the full support of the Prefectural Assembly, a publicity program on a nationwide scale, and the organization of colonization training schools at Itoman and Kin.

The war in China after 1937 stimulated production throughout the islands, but by 1941 the Government found it necessary to invoke the National Mobilization Laws leading to totalitarian control of the economy in every aspect. War with the Western world was near at hand. The Government organized a National Savings Association branch in Okinawa Province, imposed detailed regulations upon all food producing activities, and expanded the rationing system under which the Japanese nation prolonged its economic life until 1945.

Developments in Public Health and Welfare

The development of health and welfare services did not keep pace with developments in communication facilities, under Government sponsorship, or sugar plantation and manufacture under private ownership and government subsidy. There were no first-class training facilities for doctors on Okinawa, and men who had trained at the universities in metropolitan Japan or at the Imperial University Medical School at Taihoku, Taiwan, were reluctant to return to practice in poverty-stricken Okinawa Prefecture. A so-called hospital was opened immediately after the Prefectural Government was established (under Japanese army auspices), and in 1885 a training course was instituted. More than 200 persons attended. Even so, by 1939 - after half a century under Japanese Provincial Government - there were only 178 physicians in the islands and 73 of these were living and practicing in Shuri and Naha cities.

After the Sino-Japanese war the Government's first concern was with the control, treatment and suppression of malaria, and each new attempt to develop a settlement program for Yaeyama was preceded by studies of malarial conditions in the islands. Investigations of venereal disease rates, leprosy, and tuberculosis were given publicity, followed by announcement of rules and regulations requiring periodic inspections, but there was little progress made in effectively combatting disease and unsanitary living habits. Until the years of the Russo-Japanese War Okinawa had the lowest venereal disease rate among the Prefectures of Japan; by 1930 it had the highest rates, both for venereal disease and for tuberculosis.

This was due in part to the increased movement of people throughout the islands as the communications system expanded, and the opportunities for work drew men into the cities or scattered them more widely among the islands. Traditional family ties were loosened and women generally enjoyed a much less restricted association with men. The increase in disease rates was due also in part to the general malnutrition which affected a people whose land was too poor to produce an abundance or variety of foodstuffs.

Attempts to provide medical facilities and to organize public health facilities fell short of the needs of the Province. In 1899 a smallpox epidemic took three hundred lives, or half the number of persons who fell ill. New buildings were provided for the Prefectural Hospital in 1901. An Isolation Hospital was established in 1908. We have noted that among the first measures introduced to the new Prefectural Assembly in 1909 was a proposal to support investigation of health conditions throughout the Province and to provide free medicines for the public. This was not successful, but it reflected the concern which Okinawan leaders felt for the problem. The most that came of it was the provision (until 1914) of free medicine for malaria victims in Yaeyama.

A Social Education Section established in 1920 in the Prefectural Government began to increase the effectiveness of public welfare work. Subsidies were made available to help in the development of sanitary services. A Malaria Research Laboratory was opened to advance preventative work in Yaeyama and Miyako. A training section for school nurses was established in the Okinawa Girls' Normal School. Special clinics were established for the examination and treatment of leprosy in 1928, and ten years later a sanitorium for lepers was established on Yagachi island, in Kunigami District. The Ministry of Communications meanwhile established a Health Consultation Center as part of the Postal Insurance System (1930), and mobile clinics began to make elementary medical services available to outlying country districts. School dentists were appointed in 1933 and by 1938 Government dispensaries had begun to be set up in remote villages. Even in the midst of war, nine new health centers were established as late as 1943.

Responsibility for public health and welfare activity rested with the Prefectural Governor, who was directed in these matters by the Ministry of Public Health and Welfare organized at Tokyo in 1938. Sanitation specialists in the Police Department were expected to supervise the application and enforcement of public health measures. The success with which they were applied depended as much upon the training of the individual policeman as it did upon the general level of education and understanding cooperation which he might find in the community to which he was assigned.

School Strikes and the Struggle for Higher Education, 1890-1940

As soon as the Province was granted the right to act in its own interests through the Prefectural Assembly, there was a noteworthy expansion of the budget in support of education. Less than 13,000 yen had been spent for education in 1887; by 1910 expenditures had risen above 100,000 yen, and by 1930 they were approximately half a million yen. Until 1908 the National Treasury bore the costs of education. In 1909 the first measure proposed in the new Assembly was one calling for the creation of a new middle school, and for some years thereafter local district and town assemblies vied with one another in a race to build primary schools. In some instances the burden proved too great for the local budget, and it became necessary to consolidate facilities and combine resources. Thirty years later, at the outbreak of World War II, the Province could boast of 296 elementary schools, six middle schools for boys,

eight high schools for girls, nine vocational schools and two normal schools. Enrollment of school-age children stood above 99 percent of the total school-age population. By 1935 the total expenditure for education had risen to approximately 2,600,000 yen, but more then a million of this sum had to be contributed from the National Treasury, and most of it was spent on primary and vocational institutions.

The history of education during the half century 1890-1941 was distinguished principally by a struggle to overcome official reluctance to develop educational facilities beyond the primary grade. The First Middle School at Shuri maintained preeminence, because of its age, location, and association with traditions of the old Royal Academy, and because of superior quality of instruction and facilities. Until 1897 it did not graduate more than ten men in each year, but in the next forty years more than 2,400 men completed the courses. It ranked far down in the list of Middle Schools throughout Japan, but within the Province it ranked first. Many emigrants to North and South America, to Hawaii and to islands in the South Pacific and Malaysia sent back their sons to Shuri for an education at the old capital. Approximately 44 percent of all graduates went on to higher education, some to higher preparatory schools, and then to imperial or private universities in other Provinces. Some went on to medical schools, but in forty years only sixteen entered the national military and naval academies. Nearly 500 became school teachers.

In response to public demand the capacity of the First Middle School was expanded from 50 (in 1890) to 800 (in 1917). Successive enlargements of the physical plant on the old Palace grounds led to construction of new ferro-concrete buildings, the best in Shuri, between 1925 and 1929. An Alumni Association formed in 1903, served thereafter as an interesting link among men who became community leaders throughout the home Prefecture, in Okinawan communities in other Prefectures, and in emigrant communities scattered overseas. The relationships established at Shuri contributed much to the breakdown of traditional prejudice entertained by the people of Naha and Shuri toward men from the outlying islands.

It took a long time for men of other Provinces to begin to overcome prejudice and contempt for their poorer cousins in Okinawa Prefecture. In 1894 the direction of the Provincial Department of Education was in the hands of a man named Kodama Kihachi, who held concurrently the position of Principal in the Shuri Middle School and Director of the Normal School. Despite his preeminent position, he took few pains to conceal an attitude of arrogant contempt for the people of Okinawa Prefecture. He mistook poverty for ignorance and incapacity, and was outspoken in his belief that there was no need at all for higher education in Okinawa. In 1894 he removed the study of English from the list of required subjects at the Middle School, stating that in his view it was quite unnecessary.

This provoked a public controversy which developed into a student strike in 1895. (157) The students were supported by their parents, and by Okinawans

(157) Among the striking students was Higaonna Kanjun, destined to become a noted professor in Tokyo, Kanna Kanwa (later Vice Admiral, Japanese Navy,), Iha Fuyu, and Majikina Anko, later outstanding authorities on Okinawan history.

who held minor posts in Government. Kodama was removed and the study of English restored to the curriculum as a required subject.

Five years later (in 1900) a Girls' High School was founded as part of the Normal School. It had to be supported from private funds until 1902, when the Prefectural Government assumed responsibility for it. Within thirty years' time it had graduated more than 2,000 students. The need for some advanced training for women prompted several private individuals to establish a Domestic Arts institute in 1905, with an enrollment of 379. Gradually the Naha municipal Government increased subsidies for it, and at last, in 1924, it became the Naha Municipal Girls' High School. Three years later the Prefecture adopted it as the Second Prefectural Girls High School. A third Girls' School founded by popular subscription, was made a Prefectural High School in 1930.

This was the general pattern of educational development after 1890. The Government readily promoted primary education, but had to be prodded and prompted by public interest before it would assume responsibility for higher education and the training of leadership. As Okinawans slowly came to occupy a greater number of local administrative offices, the process became easier. It may be said that there was more uniform popular sentiment concerning educational needs than there was concerning any other aspect of the organization or economy of Okinawa Prefecture. Popular support for the student strike at Shuri in 1895 was an early indication of this.

The history of the Second Middle School was an even more dramatic illustration of popular concern with education. Professor Shikiya Koshin, who was destined to become Chief Executive of Okinawa after World War II, played a leading part in the evolution of this school. The need for a second middle school for men began to be discussed seriously in 1908. As the opening business of the new Prefectural Assembly, Chairman Takamine Chokyo introduced a proposal that such a school be created as a symbol of the "New Okinawa". It was founded as an adjunct of the First Middle School, and in January, 1911, began classes with an enrollment of 100, selected from among 557 applicants. Professor Takara Rintoku, the first Principal, was assisted by Shikiya Koshin.

In choosing a site for the new school, politics overruled practical judgment. Despite a clamorous opposition, the school was built at Kadena. Although the students made a holiday in carrying the furniture to Naha from their temporary quarters at Shuri, and thence to Kadena, they shared general public dissatisfaction with the site. Enrollments decreased. The first class, graduated in 1915, numbered only thirty men. By 1918 the number of graduates had dropped to eighteen. It was now proposed to bring the Second Middle School and the Agricultural School (which had been removed from Nago to Kadena) under one administration and on the same grounds. This meant an irreconcilable conflict between the traditions of vocational training (represented in the Agricultural School) and literary training and accomplishment (represented in the Middle School curriculum). Students in the two schools clashed in pitched battles on the school grounds. Parents took sides. Teachers throughout the island debated the issue. A general strike paralyzed the school system.

Governor Omi, who pushed through this inappropriate plan for the two schools, had already demonstrated an unrealistic and stubborn view of condi-

tions within the Province. The Government had no choice but to dismiss him. Professor Takara had resigned as principal of the school, meanwhile, and now took a seat in the Provincial Assembly in order to fight for a separation of the two institutions. Parents, students and faculty won their point, and in June, 1918, the Second Middle School was removed to Naha. The Agricultural School remained at Kadena. Whereas in 1916 there had been only 76 applicants for admission to the Middle School at Kadena, by 1927 there were 619 applicants, and only 162 could be admitted. The total enrollment reached 800 youths shortly thereafter, and the total number of graduates had exceeded 1000 by 1930.

The next important issue to rise in the fight for higher education came with the need for new buildings at the Shuri Middle School to replace those which had been built in 1891. Several years of public discussion and campaigning were required to move the Government at last to build and equip a new series of ferro-concrete structures on the Nakagusuku Palace site, between 1924 and 1929.

Such public concern and debate inspired the people of Kunigami and Miyako to ask for middle schools of their own. A Third Provincial Middle School was established at Nago in 1928, and the Second Middle School of Naha opened a branch in Miyako which was soon detached to become an independent Miyako Middle School. In the same year (1919) a Middle School was established by the Educational Association to provide evening classes for those who could not attend regular daytime courses. After many years with the Second Middle School, Professor Shikiya Koshin left it in 1936 to establish the Kainan Middle School as a private undertaking financed from abroad for the children of emigrants.

In the same year a Girls' High School was established in Miyako, but Yaeyama did not succeed in obtaining higher schools until 1942, when a Boys' Middle School and a Girls' High School were established.

If a student wished to go on beyond the middle school, he had to choose between the Provincial Normal School or the more expensive life of a student overseas in other Provinces or in Taiwan. The Normal School played its most important role during the opening years of provincial administration. After 1890 there were changes, adjustments and a steady enlargement of enrollment and facilities. More than 3000 men and women had been graduated by the end of the first fifty years of Provincial Government.

Neither the vocational training schools nor the business schools were of a standard equal to similar schools in other Provinces, but they were always fully enrolled. In 1930 there were nearly 4,500 students enrolled in the vocational training courses. Of the twelve institutions then in existence, nine had been established between 1902 and 1907, the short period of intensive economic reorganization which followed land reform. The so-called auxiliary business schools had an enrollment of more than 12,000 by 1930.

By 1937 - when the war in China had begun which was to lead on to World War II - there were more than 100,000 students enrolled in the primary schools of Okinawa Prefecture, and these represented a new generation whose assimilation to Japan seemed assured. They were only dimly aware of the traditions

of Old Ryukyu, and of the experiences of their grandparents during the troubled years of transition from Kingdom to Province. They were learning to speak and to read a standard language approximating the language of the national capital at Tokyo and of all other Provinces. They were being taught to respect and observe the standards of conduct and loyalty established under the Meiji Emperor's Rescript on Education.

A review of the history of education after 1890 would be incomplete without some notice of sports and of travel, and of the part they were made to play in developing a new spirit in Okinawa. The Government desired to improve the physical condition of the nation's youth, to teach it rigid discipline and cooperation, and to inculcate a sense of the unity of the Japanese people vis-a-vis other peoples in Asia. Okinawa was included, of course, in the program of calisthenics, competitive sports and school excursions. Setting-up exercises in the schools had laid the foundations for military drill. Kendo, judo and karate were added to the curriculum in 1892, 1906 and 1909, respectively. Athletic meetings were held to celebrate the end of the war with China in 1895. Baseball and tennis became popular. In 1903 the United States naval vessel, the Vicksburg, paid a courtesy call at Naha Harbor, which was climaxed by a baseball match between the American sailors and the teams at Shuri Middle School. In the years thereafter there was an increasing participation by Okinawan students in athletic meets and competitive exhibitions at Tokyo, Osaka, Kyoto and elsewhere in other Provinces.

The value of travel was not overlooked as a means to strengthen Okinawan ties with Japan, and to increase respect for Japan and Japanese leadership in Asia. In May, 1894, Middle School students were taken to Kyushu for the first time, setting a precedent for later student excursions to all parts of Japan, to Taiwan (1899), to Manchuria and Korea (1906), to Shanghai and to Nanking (1910). Students in other provinces were sent down to tour the Ryukyu Islands, beginning with an excursion of Kumamoto Normal School youths in 1894.

An early beginning was made in developing a Library for public use. Plans were laid in a Government order of 1899. Two years later Marquis Sho Ten donated 2000 yen to be used in developing the Prefectural Library. This was ultimately to house the archives of the Ryukyu Kingdom and the Royal House. The Librarians were the most noted authorities on Ryukyuan History and culture, for Iha Fuyu, Majikina Anko, and Shimabukuro Genichiro succeeded one another in that order. By 1940 this had become a general collection of approximately 25,000 volumes, and a special collection of unique manuscripts, some of which dated from the 15th century. These were placed under the administration of Professor Shimabukuro Zempatsu, a graduate of Kyoto Imperial University and an authority on local history and folklore.

Traditions of Chinese study faded rapidly. In the summer of 1904 an American visited Kume village in a search for scholars of the old tradition of Chinese classical studies, but discovered that they were few in number, and had ceased to exercise a vital leadership. They were no longer part of the living educational tradition of the Ryukyu Islands. The younger generation

was being taught to think, speak and act as Japanese, according to disciplines and standards set up at Tokyo. Within the new century Okinawa was destined to produce distinguished writers and scholars whose careers amply contradicted the narrow views of Kodama Kihachi and his fellow critics.

Twice a year the people of Kumemura visited the Confucian temple (Koshibyo) with which the academy of Chinese studies, the Meirin-do, was associated. There they performed the k'o t'ou before the altar of Confucius, but this was a traditional academic gesture without political significance or social force, and was soon to be given up entirely.

For the younger generation, the arrival of a foreign (British) teacher in 1904 to instruct at the Shuri Middle School was of far more interest and importance. Ceremonies at the Temple of Confucius were vestiges of a past that could not be recalled; lessons in English held promise that Okinawa, through Japan, would share in the limitless possibilities of the 20th century.

Cultural Affairs in Okinawa after the Sino-Japanese War

In the years just after the war with China, some of Japan's most distinguished scientists visited the Ryukyu Islands. Publications which grew out of their inquiries provided the Government at Tokyo with important data to use in drawing up programs of economic reform and development. Between 1897 and 1905 anthropologists, botanists, zoologists, geologists, meteorologists, seismologists and medical men studied and wrote of phenomena in the Ryukyu Islands which were of interest in their fields. A beginning was made in studies of prehistory when the learned Dr. Torii Ryuzo discovered and first explored the Ogido shell heaps (1904).

Studies in language, religion and history came from the Japanese press from time to time. A new generation of Okinawan scholars began to appear, men trained in the universities of Tokyo and Kyoto, and in the leading Normal Schools of Japan. Professor Higaonna Kanjun began his distinguished career in 1909 by publishing the Okinawan Section of a Geographical Dictionary of Japan. Mr. Langdon Warner of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts visited Okinawa in that same year, lectured on Far Eastern arts and crafts, and made a collection of Okinawan textiles and fine lacquer. In 1910 the opening of the Okinawa Prefectural Library building to general use under the learned Professor Iha served to stimulate interest in old Ryukyu. The Sho Family assumed certain responsibilities for the maintenance of the ancient and historic temples of Engakuji, Tennoji, Tenkaiji and Ryufukuji, which had suffered long and serious neglect. In 1911 Professor Iha Fuyu published his important study entitled "Ancient Ryukyu" (Ko Ryukyu) which provided people a new perspective on the history and the culture of the Province.

In 1915 a report on the importance of preserving historic Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples was issued by the Government. This drew attention to the structures which had survived thus far the wear of storm and the neglect of

man. A Society for the Study of the Geography and History of Okinawa was founded in 1919 which proved a forerunner of an Association for the Preservation of Historic Sites and Relics of Okinawa established three years later. In the meantime a new series of anthropological, philological and historical studies had been carried through by Matsumura Ryo, Kitazato Ran, Yanagida Kunio and Origuchi Shinobu. All of these men found a prominent place in Japanese scholarship through their many studies of local history, language and folkways. In 1923 Professor Majikina Anko published his monumental work "A Thousand Years of Okinawan History" (Okinawa Issen-nen Shi). In 1924 Professor Miyara Toso visited Okinawa to make an extensive study of certain linguistic problems.

In 1925 two of Japan's most distinguished scholars visited the Islands. Professor Kuroita Katsumi was then preparing his great text concerning the study of Japanese History; Professor Ito Chuta and his assistant, Tanabe Tai, of Waseda University, were gathering data and photographs for the handsome volume Ryukyu Architecture (Ryukyu no Kenchiku). This will remain the most definitive record of palaces, temples, gateways, private residences and gardens which had survived from the 15th and 16th centuries, and which now are lost.

The year 1929 brought the fiftieth anniversary of Okinawa Provincial Government and was the occasion of much retrospective comment and publication. By this time a number of Okinawan scholars had established themselves prominently in the intellectual life of Japan, as writers or teachers in the fields of law, linguistics, folk-lore, and history. There began to be increasing recognition of the special quality of the cultural heritage from Old Ryukyu.

Each new publication attracted wider attention in the metropolitan areas of Japan, and it began to be realized that a study of the cultural heritage of the Ryukyu Islands might throw important light upon the early history and development of the political, linguistic and religious past of the people of Japan. Ultimately Okinawan studies became matters of interest in themselves.

Because recognition of the old values was so slow in coming, the Prefecture and the nation had narrowly escaped loss of the entire physical heritage from the ancient Kingdom. At the time of the King's abdication, Shuri had stood virtually undisturbed for more than five hundred years. Shuri and Naha between them embraced nearly all the important architectural and historic monuments surviving from Old Ryukyu. In the early days of hai-han chi-ken the Court lacked funds to maintain its public buildings and private residences in good repair. Throughout the "Do-Nothing" period the older generation lacked both funds and authority to protect and preserve buildings erected by their ancestors in centuries past. The Japanese administrators, on their part, were coming down from other Provinces in which an almost unbelievable destruction

of ancient cultural monuments was taking place at that time. With little appreciation of their own cultural heritage, Japanese newcomers to Okinawa had none whatever for the monuments and relics of a distinguished past in Ryukyu. No sentiment was allowed to stand in the way of modernizing progress.

At Tokyo a foreigner named Ernest Fenollosa (of Harvard University) had urged the Japanese Government to recognize the speed with which Japan's ancient cultural heritage was being destroyed. Out of his suggestions and planning grew a national Fine Arts Commission, empowered to search out and register the treasures of the Empire, in order that they might receive the Government's care and protection.

When Fenollosa left Japan in 1890, the Meiji Emperor in person remarked "You have taught my people to know their own art...." Thenceforth in other Provinces great care was given to important works of aesthetic or historic value. Many years were to pass, however, before the heritage of the Ryukyu Kingdom was brought under this protection. When in 1891 the First Middle School was moved from the old Royal Academy Buildings to the site of Nakagusuku Palace at Shuri, both sites were "cleaned up". Few relics survived on either site. Throughout Naha and Shuri old structures were levelled to make way for modern buildings and modern roads.

In 1912 protective legal measures of the "National Treasure" system were extended to an ancient Korean bell at Naminoue Shrine, but for the most part the buildings, gardens and monuments of Ryukyu origin continued to suffer serious neglect. It was not until 1928 - three years after Professor Ito Chuta made his detailed studies of the architectural heritage - that Shuri Castle was designated a "National Treasure". Ceremonies marked the beginning of a four year program of repair and restoration to overcome the neglect of half a century.

In 1933 six more ancient structures were added to the list of designated National Treasures. Oldest among these was Engakuji, built in 1492, the year in which Christopher Columbus discovered the New World while searching for a passage to Asia. The Sonohyam Shrine (1519), the Sogenji (1525), and four great gates at the Castle were for the first time recognized officially to rank high among the nation's historic monuments. (159)

At the risk of over-simplification we can say that the interest of Japanese intellectual leaders in matters concerning the Island Province shifted through three periods and at last - just before World War II - came into direct conflict with ultra-nationalist state policies which led Japan to war and defeat. Roughly speaking, from 1890 until 1920 the focus of attention was upon matters of pure and applied science. From 1920 until 1935 history, language, folk-lore and folkways attracted much attention because of their importance to the study of the ancient history and culture of the main islands.

A third and most important phase of intellectual and cultural life began to be apparent after 1930, one in which the artists and scholars of Japan proper

(159) Later designations included: Sogenji Gebehi, Shikina En, Ankokuzan Jukabokuki Hi, Bengadake Seki-mon, Oki no Miya, Sueyoshi no Miya.

began to recognize in the arts and crafts of Okinawa Province a special quality to be valued and cherished as a thing in itself. The story of this discovery is important.

Shortly after World War I, two young potters named Kawai Kanjiro and Hamada Shoji set out to see for themselves all the important kilns in the Empire. Their travels took them to the Tsuboya kilns at Naha. Hamada was sufficiently interested to go a second time for a year of creative work on Okinawa. After a third trip (in 1928) the creative work which he had done under the influence and inspiration of Okinawan craftsmen, attracted the attention of Japan's foremost authority on folk art, Professor Yanagi Soetsu. As a friend of Marquis Sho, and in his capacity as Director of the Japan Folk Arts Museum, Professor Yanagi was invited to visit Okinawa in 1939 as the guest of the Prefectural Education Bureau. In consequence of this visit, a party of twenty-six prominent members of the Folk Art Association went to Okinawa to make a detailed and systematic study of Ryukyu culture. Some studied textile weaving and dyeing, some investigated lacquer making, others studied ceramics. Out of all of this came exhibitions and lectures and publications in other Provinces which revealed to the Japanese public hitherto little-known qualities and characteristics of the arts and crafts of Ryukyu.

This investigation marked, in a sense, a cultural renaissance for the islands. Many of the traditional techniques of the artist and craftsman were being forgotten. The competition of cheaper machine-made goods was driving handmade craft objects from the marketplace. Fundamental changes in the organization of Ryukyu economy after 1890 had made the craft professions unrewarding. The administrators from other Provinces who filled the Ryukyu government had been indifferent if not plainly hostile to the customs, traditions and physical culture of the Okinawan people. In the interests of "progress" many fine objects had been destroyed at Shuri and Naha after 1879. For more than fifty years the children at school had been encouraged by their Japanese teachers from other Provinces to look upon the objects and customs of mainland prefectures as being superior, ipso facto, to anything native to Okinawa.

Professor Yanagi and his associates saw that the Okinawans were giving up their old standards and were attempting to create shapes, designs and color combinations which would satisfy an export market in Japan. (So long ago as 1894 the Okinawan lacquer artists had attempted to create something "new" and gaudy for the exhibitions and markets of the Chicago World's Fair in the United States.) Members of the visiting cultural research team urged their Okinawan friends and the Okinawan public to preserve and continue the special attributes of their unique cultural heritage. At a public meeting held in the Municipal Hall at Naha in January, 1940, a discussion of local dialects led to public criticism of official policies. This in turn led to strong reaction by the Governor (Fuchigami Fusataro) who rebuked the members of the Folk Art Association, and stated vigorously the official view that every vestige of Okinawan Provincial individuality must be erased. His ill-advised remarks stirred up an angry public discussion which brought out into the open once more the sore problem of discrimination, and the underlying tension and conflict between

natives of Okinawa and natives of other Prefectures which had persisted throughout the sixty years of Provincial government. (160)

(160) For descriptions of these investigations in Ryukyu and of the subsequent film-making, exhibitions and lectures in other Provinces, see Shikiba Ryusaburo: On Ryukyu Culture (Ryukyu no Bunka), Tokyo 1941; Kogei (issues No. 49, Jan. 1935; No. 99, Oct. 1939; No. 100, No. 103, Oct. 1940); Gekkan Mingei, (No. 8, Nov. 1939; No. 12, March 1940; No. 21, Dec. 1940).

Chapter XIV

ASSIMILATION PROBLEMS AND THE COMING OF WORLD WAR II

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Chapter XIV

ASSIMILATION PROBLEMS AND THE COMING OF WORLD WAR II

Problems of National Unity

At Naha angry debates concerning official policy toward Okinawa continued from January 1940 until April 1941. Japan was on the eve of war with the Western World. The military bureaucracy (the Gumbatsu) were in control at Tokyo. Governor Fuchigami's blunt remarks clearly stated the ultra-nationalist view that, for the sake of unity, all special regional characteristics peculiar to Okinawa must be stamped out.

Members of the Folk-Art Association boldly took exception to this narrow concept of national solidarity. They believed that the local dialects, craftsmanship, folkways and traditions of Okinawa Province were no more a threat to the solidarity of Japanese national interests than similar local variants in other Provinces. In their view, an Okinawan potter or weaver or lacquer-maker could be a loyal subject while at the same time remaining true to his local craft tradition.

These two positions represented extremes of opinion; the general populace in other Provinces were only vaguely informed of Okinawa or were indifferent to its problems and position vis-a-vis the Tokyo Government. Okinawans were known to be less primitive than the Ainu living on Government reservations in Hokkaido, and much more Japanese than the Formosan-Chinese or the Koreans. Beyond the fact that the Government had to spend large sums each year to maintain and subsidize this poorest of all Provinces, the question of an Okinawan minority meant little to the man-in-the-street.

In summary, the Okinawan people were ready to be recognized and accepted as loyal subjects of the Emperor, but the people of other provinces were not yet wholly prepared to accept them as fellow-subjects. The general attitude toward Okinawans was that of a patronizing city man called on to acknowledge the existence of unsophisticated country cousins. It has already been observed that Japanese of the mainland provinces adopted an attitude toward the people of Okinawa which was quite analogous to the attitude of the old Shuri gentry toward people from Miyako or Yaeyama. The processes of assimilation were analogous, too, though the problems were proportionately greater, and took a longer period of time to resolve.

Looking back over the record of official policy from 1890 to 1940 we can see that the Government was not lenient toward Okinawan desires to preserve something of the heritage of their ancestors or memories and traditions of the old Kingdom. Although Okinawan interest in China faded rapidly after the Treaty of Shimonoseki was signed (April, 1895), the Government at Tokyo remained suspicious of Chinese influence in Okinawa. As far as the majority of Okinawans were concerned, Japan's prestige soared, as it did throughout the world, while China's ancient prestige was dissolved by revelations of her weaknesses.

At least three incidents occurred, however, which kept the Tokyo Government on guard for any possible Chinese move to reopen the irritating Ryukyu Question. On the day that the Shimonoseki Treaty was ratified, Japan was forced to give back to China the Liaotung Peninsula which had been ceded to Japan by terms of the Treaty. This was a hard blow, brought about by successful Chinese appeals to Russia, France and Germany for intervention and pressure upon Japan. It was the kind of intervention which China had attempted unsuccessfully to bring about in the Ryukyu Incident years before, and set a precedent which alarmed Tokyo. At about the same time it was discovered that an unscrupulous primary school teacher at Naha (a Kagoshima man named Yamanojo Hajime) was swindling Okinawans by representing himself as a secret agent for the Chinese Viceroy, Li Hung-chang. Li was said to be ready to help pro-Chinese natives of Ryukyu in their resistance to Japan. Even this incident might have been dismissed, had it not been discovered that Chinese officials at Peking were actively supporting a so-called "Republic of Taiwan", and encouraging local Chinese on Taiwan to appeal to foreign powers to prevent Japan from taking over that island as provided for in the new Treaty.

Taken together, these were felt to be threats to Japan's position in the Ryukyu Islands. Official policy stiffened. There could be no leniency in the effort to wipe out all traces of the old Ryukyu regime, and no tolerance of separatism in however mild and sentimental a form it might present itself. Thus the Kodo-kai Incident (the appeal to return the former King to a hereditary Governorship) came at a time when Tokyo was especially sensitive. The administration was unalterably determined that nothing should retard the program which was to transform the Islands into a province indistinguishable from all other provinces of the Home Territory (Naichi). The official view thereafter remained one of hostility toward local traditions and folkways which marked off Okinawans from other subjects of the Empire.

Let us review briefly the assimilation of Okinawa in relation to the military and "spiritual mobilization" policies of the Government.

Assimilation to the National Military Training Program

Soon after the Sino-Japanese war ended, Tokyo prepared to extend universal military conscription to Okinawa Prefecture as it had been extended to other Prefectures in 1873. Hitherto there had been a scattering of Okinawan volunteers for training, but public opinion was strongly opposed to military service in any form. It was firmly believed by the older generation that a military force on Okinawa would simply attract enemies and invite invasion. Women went daily to the Shinto Shrine on Naminoue and to the Buddhist temple Enkaku-ji to pray that their sons and husbands would not be fit for military service. It is not surprising therefore that the professional military men at Tokyo, heirs to the fighting traditions of two-sworded samurai, were both mistrustful and contemptuous of the Okinawan as a soldier. It was frequently charged by Okinawans in later years that the physical standards for recruitment were set just high enough to exclude many Okinawan youths, who, in average height and weight, came at the bottom of the list when judged according to averages for all prefectures.

The Army turned to the schools to prepare for conscription and general education toward acceptance of military duties. In 1896 graduates of the Normal School were required to give six weeks of active service. As a gesture to popular sensibilities, the Kumamoto Detachment quartered in Shuri Castle was withdrawn from that revered spot.

In 1898 an Okinawan Garrison District Headquarters was established and the conscription law put into force. If there was any risk in this at all, it was overshadowed by what Tokyo must have felt to be a pressing need to build defenses throughout the islands. In this year Germany leased Kiaochow Bay, Russia leased the Liaotung Peninsula and England leased Wei-hai-wei, all on the China coast, while the United States acquired Hawaii and moved across to occupy the Philippine Islands just south of Taiwan.

Six years later the isolation and vulnerability of Okinawa Prefecture was demonstrated when Japan went to war with Russia and the threat of Russian naval raids interrupted regular shipping between Naha and Kagoshima. Guard units were stationed on the beaches to keep watch over the submarine cable landing at Yomitanzan, and a general sense of watchfulness and danger pervaded the islands. No Russian forces bore down upon the Ryukyus, but five fishermen of Hisamatsu Village in Miyako sighted the Baltic Fleet as it moved northward toward its doom in the Straits of Tsushima. Speeding to Yaeyama as fast as their small craft would take them, the five fishermen reported to the Yaeyama cable office, from which the news was flashed to naval headquarters. For this act the Miyako fishermen earned great praise and were hailed thereafter as the "Five Heroes of Hisamatsu" (Hisamatsu Go Yushi).

By 1907 Okinawa Prefecture was represented by enlistments in every service branch. A Reservists' Association was formed in 1910. Relations between the Armed Services and the people of Ryukyu gradually assumed the pattern to be found throughout the Empire. Ideals of physical fitness were inculcated in the schools and through the Okinawa Physical Culture Society founded by Divisional Headquarters. Athletic meetings were held from time to time. The traditional Okinawan form of boxing (karate) was recognized, while study of the Japanese arts of judo and kendo was encouraged. In 1919 the towns and villages which had good conscript records were honored by citations granted from the Ministry of War.

From 1930 until 1945 the influence of the military extremists at Tokyo began to make itself felt in Okinawa as in all other prefectures and possessions of the Empire. By Army standards Okinawa was providing the smallest physical specimens as candidates for conscription, and had the highest record of rejections. Okinawans found themselves being used in high percentage as military labor, or as laborers on civilian contracts in the military interest.

It is common knowledge that what the Army lacked in physical equipment or manpower it attempted to make up for in fanatic spirit. Between 1930 and 1940 the so-called "spiritual mobilization" of the youth of Japan laid the foundation for extraordinary sacrifices made in World War II, most prominently displayed in the kamikaze units, but shared at all levels of military and civil organization. Okinawa had no long military tradition upon which to form this new

"spiritual training" program. Nevertheless the youths of Okinawa identified themselves with the youths of other prefectures in facing the demands of military service.

It came as a shock therefore in January 1935 when General Ishii Torao, Commanding Officer of the local Garrison, vehemently and passionately denounced the spirit and conduct of young men of military age. Although his language and his attitude was common among the extreme militarists throughout Japan, it was taken as an affront among the Okinawan people and a slur upon their loyalty. No matter what they did to demonstrate their belief in themselves as patriotic subjects of the Emperor, this criticism by General Ishii was an echo of the old traditions of discrimination toward Okinawa Province.

The Role of State Shinto

"Spiritual mobilization" for war depended not a little on the assimilation of popular religious beliefs and practices to the cult of State Shinto, whereby the Emperor was declared to be of divine descent, and the local divinities of Okinawa Prefecture were declared to be members of a host of guardian gods defending the Empire. Above all it was desired to promote the worship of Amaterasu Omikami as a unifying element in the national spiritual life. The problem of using so unorganized a cult as Ryukyu Shinto in the political interests of a State religion was a grave one. This was especially true for a society in which the Confucian precepts of moral conduct and ancestor worship carried more weight than the mystical rites of State Shinto, formulated by, and prescribed from, Tokyo.

In 1909 it was proposed to build a Prefectural Shrine at Naha and to construct official shrines in each administrative subdivision throughout the Province. There was no enthusiasm for this; the plan was dropped until 1923, when it was proposed again. In 1924 the Shinto Shrine on Naninoue headland was designated the Provincial center for religious affairs. Curiously enough, the major spirits enshrined there were four Kings of Ryukyu (Shunten, Sho En, Sho Kei and Sho Tai) together with Minamoto Tametomo, believed in popular tradition to be father of Shunten, the first King. Since by tradition, if not by proof, Tametomo was descendent in the seventh generation from the Emperor Seiwa, the people of Okinawa Province were encouraged to think of their Royal Family as having an association with the Imperial Family in the remote past.

Shrines were established at Miyako and Yaeyama at this time (1925). At Naha, in 1927, the Yomochi Shrine was dedicated to the memory and worship of the three great agricultural heroes of Ryukyu, Noguni Sokan, Gima Shinjo, and Sai On, whose names are inseparably associated with the sweet potato plant, sugar cultivation, and forestry.

All those who died in the service of the State were included in the pantheon of national heroes, to be accorded the respect and worship of guardian spirits of the nation. As early as 1898 the bodies of the Okinawans who had died in Taiwan in December 1871 were entombed anew in the Gokoku temple at Naha. This was done with a view to creating a sense of veneration for men whose

deaths had been the immediate excuse for the Taiwan Expedition. This act implied that they had died in the service of the State.

The outbreak of the Shanghai Incident in 1932 gave a new impetus to the growth of State Shinto throughout the Empire. In Okinawa pressure was brought to bear on the local towns and villages to build new Shinto Shrines, and there was a considerable expenditure for this purpose between 1935 and 1941. In an endeavor to bring all the religious sentiment of the people to focus upon the worship of the State, sites for new Shinto shrines were selected adjacent to ancient Ryukyu sanctuaries of local significance.

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The death of Marquis Sho Tai in 1901 marked an important loosening of old ties with the Kingdom and its traditions. After two years of mourning the members of his extensive household at Tokyo gave up their old-style costume, hairdress, court language, and daily ceremony. Their children began to attend the regular schools in Tokyo and the parents began to adopt a pattern of social life which could not be distinguished from that of other residents in the capital. The most important symbol of the old Kingdom had ceased to exist.

It was necessary to introduce and develop the symbolism of the Imperial Family of Japan as the vital center of national life, and to develop, if possible, an unquestioning belief in the Emperor as the source of all authority and all honor. Although it had been proposed at one time that the Meiji Emperor should visit Okinawa, he did not do so. In his place members of the Imperial Family and chamberlains of the Imperial Household acting on the Emperor's behalf, travelled to Okinawa frequently to give evidence of Imperial concern for the welfare of the Okinawan people. Wherever possible the Imperial name was associated with acts of public benevolence or with symbols of military strength and authority. Thus in 1897 Imperial Prince General Komatsu Akihito attended the general meeting of the Okinawa Red Cross Society. A municipal park was opened in Naha in 1901 to celebrate the marriage of an Imperial Prince. The widow of Imperial Prince General Kitashirakawa visited Naha wile enroute to Taiwan, where her late husband's spirit was enshrined as the guardian deity in the new colony.

The deaths of the Meiji Emperor (July 30, 1912) and of his widow, the Empress Shoken (in 1914), were made occasions for dramatic and impressive ceremonies of "worship from afar" throughout Okinawa, when all Government officials, all school children and the general public, insofar as possible, were required to turn their thoughts and attention to the distant Imperial Palace in Tokyo. The accession of the new Emperor, Taisho, was marked by celebrations in which every hamlet throughout the Ryukyu Islands was required to take part.

In 1921 a warship bearing the Crown Prince to Europe dropped anchor in Nakagusuku Bay to afford the Prince an opportunity to visit Naha and Shuri. It was a matter of great local pride that Vice Admiral Kanna Kenwa, a native of Okinawa Province, was in the Crown Prince's suite, and captain of the vessel.

After each disastrous typhoon, drought or epidemic, token gifts of money were granted in the name of the Emperor for the relief of the common people, and in 1911 a grant of 1,500,000 yen was made to establish the Okinawa Public Welfare Foundation in a time of great economic distress and general political unrest.

The Influence of Mass Communications and Transport

Gradually thousands left Ryukyu to settle in metropolitan Japan. There they experienced little or no difficulty in their personal relations in the adopted community. Friction was more common in the islands, rising between officials of haughty bearing and the people among whom they were required to work, or between members of the "Resident Merchants" group and the rising Okinawan businessman. The story is told of the first natives of Sakishima to visit Tokyo (in 1893) who went to the capital to appeal for settlement of a local dispute over land, taxes and representation. They were sent off from Hirara with acclaim, songs composed in their honor and mass meetings reflected the excitement of this first direct relationship with the nation's capital. On their return, they were accompanied by a native of Niigata Prefecture named Nakamura Jissaku. The occasion was important, for the local men came back with great prestige bearing gifts from important officials at Tokyo. Their reception at Miyako was marred only by the arrogant and pompous Nakamura, whose behavior stood in strong contrast to the courteous reception the local men had experienced in Tokyo, where they had been received by such distinguished men as Okuma Shingenobu, Minister of State and founder of Waseda University, and Prince Konoe Atsumaro.

Officials who had migrated from Japan in earlier years, and members of the "Resident Merchants" clique found it hard to forget the old days of unchallenged supremacy among the unsophisticated Okinawans. The emergence of a propertied class of Ryukyu businessmen, rapidly gaining experience in managing their own affairs in Okinawa and at Kagoshima, Osaka and Tokyo, forced the "Resident Merchants" to draw together in defense of the monopolies they had so long enjoyed. Any Okinawan who objected to their high-handed behavior was exposed to abuse, and sometimes even to charges of disloyalty to Japan. In an attempt to defend their economic interests the "Resident Merchants" organized a trade paper, the Okinawa Shimbun, in 1905. At that time there were only 2,618 Japanese resident in Naha.

Convocation of an elected Assembly with powers of the local budget meant inevitably that Okinawans would be in a better position to assert their interests vis-a vis the well-entrenched "Resident Merchants". The latter therefore organized a new Association in 1911 to support and defend their position in the Assembly. Despite these moves, as the years passed, they were doomed to disappear as a "colonial-minded" group of residents from other Provinces.

Assimilation was not exclusively dependent upon education of the Okinawan people concerning the main islands of Honshu, Shikoku and Kyushu. There was an increasing sense of Provincial solidarity as well, though the traditional preeminence of Shuri and Naha remained a noteworthy feature of social and

political life among the islands. The extension of newspaper, motion picture and radio services to the outlying communities tended to draw them closer together, to provide them with common information, and to give them a common outlook on daily events on Okinawa and at Tokyo. There was a reciprocal though less intensive process through which the people of other Provinces came gradually to know more about Okinawa.

An Okinawa Prefectural Association was formed in 1899 to promote unification through a wider knowledge of administrative affairs. Publication of "Notes on Current Events in Okinawa" served to spread some knowledge of the Prefecture in Japan as well as to provide a common fund of information for minor officials throughout the islands. A "Society for the Improvement of Manners and Customs" was formed soon after (in 1902) with branches in each local district. Through this semi-official organization it was proposed to introduce and encourage Japanese manners and customs standard elsewhere in Japan but as yet unfamiliar to the Okinawan people.

As schools took the lead in promoting the "Japanization" of the Okinawan people at home, so the newspapers of Naha and of other Provinces undertook to promote mutual understanding through competitive economic contests and the tourist industry. Immediately after the first Prefectural Assembly met for the first time, tours were arranged for Okinawans wishing to visit the Kinki district in Honshu. As many as eighty persons from educational circles alone went up to visit other Prefectures in 1910, and a touring party of 170 came down from the main islands to have a look at Okinawa. Thereafter annual excursions by students and tourists became common.

Empire Unity after World War I

By the end of World War I the major obstacles of assimilation had been overcome. There was strong sentimental attachment to local scenes and everyday habits of living, but in matters of politics and economics, the younger generation thought in terms of nationwide Japanese interest. The stories of the Old Kingdom were the tales of grandparents. For ambitious youth, Tokyo or Osaka or an emigrant community overseas held the promise of the future.

The tide of political and social affairs had set toward a liberal era, nation-wide in character, which no local organization could stem. With the admission of Yaeyama and Miyako to full voting privileges in 1921, the internal unification process could be said to be complete. It will be remembered that the Manhood Suffrage Act was passed in the Imperial Diet on March 29, 1925. By this Act the total electorate in Japan was more than quadrupled. From Yaeyama in the south to Hokkaido in the far north, 12,500,000 men now had the opportunity to vote representatives into the Parliament.

The Cabinet and the bureaucracy (Kambatsu) were reluctant to countenance this change, but they could no longer resist popular pressure, and yielded to it. There was strong reaction among conservative military and police organizations. The Government sought to counter the Diet's action. In 1928 a special division of "Thought Police" was created to keep watch on all popular

organizations and leaders of public opinion. The developing threat of communism was an obvious danger, but the ultra-nationalist military organizations, planning the invasion of China and the conquest of Southeast Asia, extended their repressive actions indiscriminantly to include any critics of government or military policy. Their vigilance extended to the remotest parts of the Empire.

As the influence of civil government faded at Tokyo, the number of fanatic nationalist organizations increased. A "National Self-Regeneration Movement" was launched in Okinawa. Ten teachers in Yaeyama were placed under arrest for "ideological reasons". The public was urged to contribute savings to the purchase of a warplane to be contributed to the State (1933). Regulations governing a "National Spiritual Mobilization Training School" were issued in early 1934.

These extreme nationalist movements were not popular in Okinawa. The people of Ryukyu had no tradition glorifying war as the samurai tradition of Japan glorified the sword and the fighting man. The calm and easy-going Okinawan of the older generation could not rise to a pitch of emotional enthusiasm in service for the Emperor, even though the younger generation might be swept along in the tide of nation-wide admiration for heroic deeds and great achievements reported from the China battle-front.

After the attempted coup d'etat by Young Officers at Tokyo in 1936 (the so-called ni-ni-roku jiken), Japan retained the forms of representative Government but moved rapidly into totalitarian organization.

In March, 1938, the Diet passed a National General Mobilization Law (Kokka Sodoin Ho) and with this act surrendered representative government and many of the individual freedoms guaranteed in the Meiji Constitution. In October 1940 the Imperial Rule Assistence Association was formed to provide Japan with a single political organization to support the Army and the Cabinet.

By mid-year 1941 virtually all the provisions of the General Mobilization Law were in effect in Okinawa as in the other Provinces. This was "national solidarity" at its maximum development short of war.

World War II

The outbreak of war in the Pacific placed Okinawa once again on the sea frontiers of Japan. The Province had little to contribute in foodstuffs or material. The youth of the islands entered conscript service or volunteered for special duties. Girls and young women formed nursing corps and working units able to take over many tasks normally performed by men. A few Okinawans held important posts in the Central Government during these years of crisis. Thousands saw service in the armed forces. Every resource was mobilized to support the war effort directed from Tokyo.

By February 1944 Prefectural Government staff families began to return to their homes in other provinces. In April many men holding offices in the

civil government and police forces were transferred to Naval Administration, under martial law. By July a general movement of people to the relative safety of Taiwan or of Kyushu had begun to take place. Children of school age were sent on ahead of fathers and mothers, with older children placed in charge of younger. For the first time in 350 years Okinawa was actually threatened with invasion.

In October 1944 the first air attack upon Naha took place. Ninety percent of the city was burned. Shuri came under bombardment; after 550 years of peaceful existence, it now became the site of one of the most violent battles the world has ever known. On the evening of March 31, the students of Shuri High School assembled for graduation exercises in blacked-out ceremony. As they were handed their diplomas, they were at the same time handed their military orders. There were rumors of a landing up the coast. The occasional glimmer of lights at sea warned of a great fleet assembled on the horizon. Storms greater than any recorded in a thousand years of history were about to sweep across the frontier islands.

On April 1, 1945, the invasion began.