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沖縄関係 米国管理下の南西諸島（沖縄）状況雑件 第三卷

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一、沖繩史關係

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概説
沖繩史

目 序

本稿は、昭和二十三年中、沖縄文化協會の依頼により四回に亘つて講演した時の腹案を基として、多少の修正を加へたものである。總論の種々が推多であつた爲めに、講義の目標が付さかぬたが、出来るだけ平明に、約一十年に亘る沖縄史の概要を述べ、東向文化交流の跡を闡明する事に重点を置いた。

沖縄の先史(縄文)は、徳川初期に於て、既に「此の國、人生れ初めは、日本より渡りたる儀、疑ひ御座無く候、然れば末世の今に、天地山川五形五倫、島嶼草木の名に至るまで、皆直達せり、然れども言葉の餘、相違ふは遠國の上、久敷通融絶えたる故也」と喝破したが、これは沖縄史の根幹を掴んだ論断であるといつても可い。近頃は徳川初期に至るまでの各時代の面影を留めてゐる。大工の鉤金と「首匠鉤金」と唱へてゐるのは、法隆寺古文書に見えた奈良時代の語であり、鉤金を「首匠鉤金」と唱へてゐるのは平安期の語であり、惣地頭賜地頭に鎌倉の面影を留め、升を京判、金を判金、銀を南鑛と唱へるのに、室町期から徳川期に至るまでのそれらの片影を残してゐるものである。言葉の末に、本土と異なる点のあるものも、單に遠船不慣の地たる爲めに音韻轉訛した事に原因するばかりではなく、本土において、學術音として使用された漢音以前の、記紀万葉時代の通音たる吳音が沖縄語の基本音となつてゐるからである。要するに本土から押し寄せる時代の浪によつて打ち揚げられた各時代の文化が原形のまま、遺留しそのまゝ、生きて働いてゐたのである。單に言語だけではない、風俗習慣の上にもそれ打認められる。この主流の外に、大陸や南洋から打ち寄せたる文化の浪も亦それの特色を残し、それ等の各種の文化の交流の汗に、自らを榮現したのが、沖縄史である。

本稿の目的は、この可憐なる島邦の生活の汗から、打ち寄せたる時代の脈搏を聴かんとするものである。

昭和二十五年一月

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察度王統の時代で、支那との交通が開け、文化の内容が益々發達して行くと共に愈々複雑の度を加へる時代

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尚巴志王統から尚円王統の初頃迄 沖繩が海外に發展して行く時代

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正確に云へば織豊期に属すべきであるが、慶長役の前提となる時代である為めに仮りに江戸期に入れた

第六期 江戸中期時代

尚円王統の中期 和漢両様の文運興隆し組踊等もこの時代に現れた

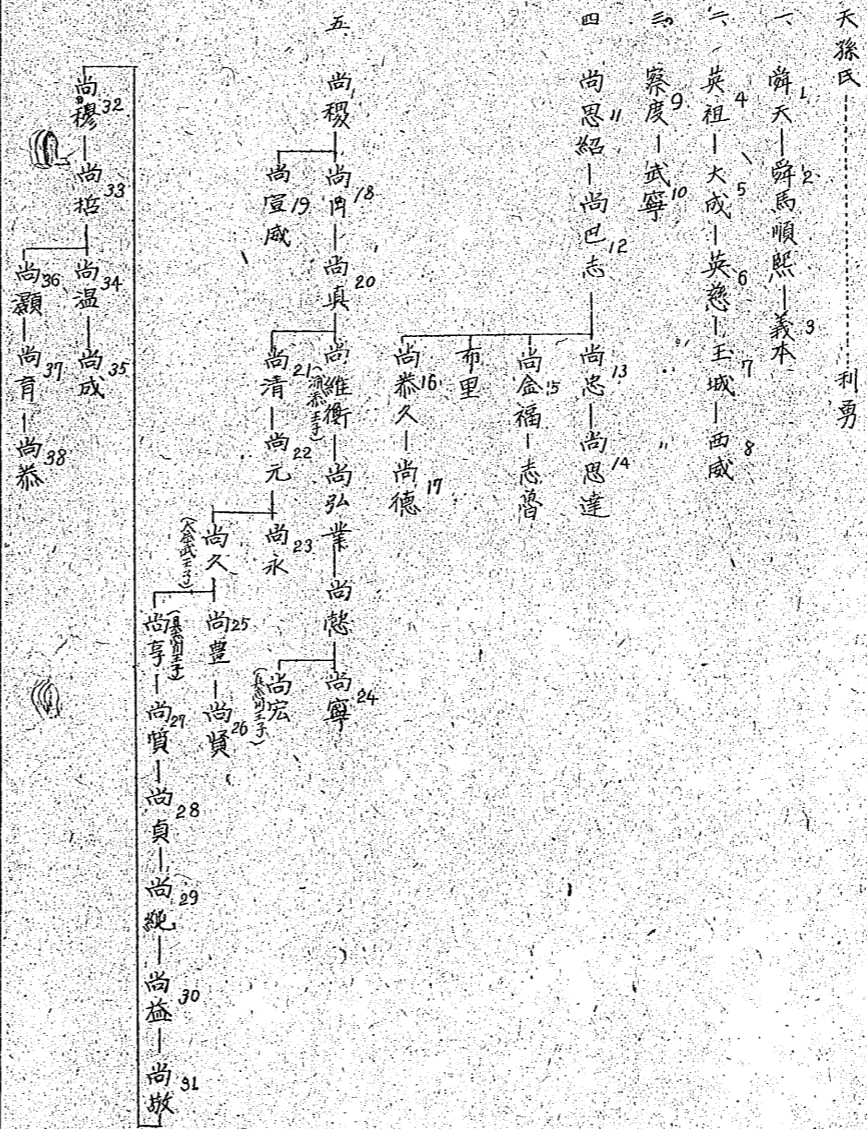
第七期 江戸後期時代

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明治維新の影響により内治外交とも整理されて行き、南島統治の古へに復讐する時代

天孫氏 歷代王統



第一期 南島統治の時代（天孫氏時代）

沖繩の歴史は、太古アマミキエと云ふ神が降臨して、これ等の島國を經營した事から出発する。學者は、アマミキエは、部族の名であつて、九州南部に在る海部と稱する部族で、五箇七箇の島々を経て奄美大島に達し、更に南下して沖繩の島々に落着いたものと考へる。是等の島々の根幹を為す住民が、九州南部のそれと関連するものである事は、弥生土器が発見される事や土俗言語の類似によつても疑ひのない所で、この事は徳川幕府の初葉、羽地朝秀（向象賢）が始めてこれを唱へ、それから七十年ほどおくれ、新井白石が、又これを提唱し、近頃は英人チエンボレン氏が言語學の止からこれを立証してゐる。

徳川幕府の中葉に藤貞幹（この人の姓は藤井ではなく藤である）と云ふ學者が、神武天皇が伊平屋島から出たと云ふ奇抜な議論を出して、本居宣長を憤慨させた事がある。この人は、神武紀元を六百年ほど切り下けな打れば、なめと論証したほどの自由人ではあるが、伊平屋島説は、白石の南島志に亦破を渡す。而も奄美大島と伊平屋島と

を混同した事から出たもので、論據とするには足りない。

沖繩列島を含む南島が太宰府の管轄であった事は、書紀、統紀、延喜式等に散見する所、九州南部から台湾島の北部に亘る一列の島々の通稱を見ても、口の島々、沖の島々、**●** **●** 九の島々、ハテの島と云ふ風に命名されてゐる事からでも、太宰府統治の構想を認める事は出来る。乍併事案に於ては、奥州白河口から以北を東夷と云つてゐたやうに、種子島から以南は南蛮で、当時の常識では、鬼ヶ島であった。

これは、領台前まで、沖繩で台湾を鬼の島と呼んでゐた事から推しても不思議な事ではない。列島が潮流の關係で、南洋の諸島と、人種又文化の交流のあつた事も否む事は出来ない。おもろや、民間傳承の中には、南方の分子が相当にある事を認める。ターバン等の風俗はその著しい例の一であり、羊皮履(ひきま)やかはさば(を穿いた風俗なども亦その一例である。雲南方面に残つてゐる苗族や、又その部族が南下した北莽のラオ族等の相貌が沖繩と著しく似てゐる事におどろかされる。

アマミキユは、俗には「アマンチエー」と呼ばれる。それを天孫氏と漢訳したのは、羽地朝秀の中山世鑑である。これは史記の支那古傳説にまねて古代史の体裁を整へたもので、神話傳説を「史」として取扱ふ事になると當時としてはこの外に書きやうはなかつたものであつた。世鑑は、文献以前の古代史を天孫氏時代に一括してゐる。

沖繩の別名とされた琉球と云ふ名は、字はいろいろで、且つ古への琉球は、実は今の台湾の事ではあるが、元と再この名が文献に現れたのは、七世紀の初に出た隋書で、世鑑はこの名が隋書に始めて現れた時を以て天孫氏統治の初年に比擬し、源為朝が沖繩に渡り、萬鹿大里按司の妹と通じ一子尊敦(そんどん)を挙げ、それが長じて天孫氏の苗裔に代つて島の主になつたと云ふ傳説と結び、天孫氏治世一万余年と計へてゐる。この期間だと實際は五百八十二年にしかならないが、世鑑は史記の天帝子などの傳承に倣つて無稽の年数をほめてゐる。

この時代の事は、文献の微すべきものがないが本土との交通が可なり頻繁に行はれてゐたものと見え、記紀万葉等の用語がなおもろしは勿論日常用語にも相当に残つて

居り、國語學者の間に離解^とされてゐる語彙、語法、語感で、吾等には日常茶飯の問題でしかないものも少くない。古事社等の叢書に、奈良以前の手法が断片的に残つてゐる事も専門家の認める所である。

島内を幾つかの間切に区画し、按司と稱するものがそれらの間切を支配してゐた事も、既にこの時代からの慣習であつた。「あんどしは」あるじし^の轉であるといふは

王等は後に支那と交通してからの傳來で、古へはすべて「按司」とも「世の主」とも唱へその中、勢力あるものを「按司の又の按司」とも「大世の主」とも形容した。「まさり」と云ふのも「かさり」と同じ意味の語である。

よまと民族が、この大八洲に到着した時に豊原^{あいはら}の瑞穂の國は、わが子孫の長く主たるべき地なり、と聲明して、その統治を祝福したやうに、恰度それと同様に、アマミ族が南の島々に到着した時に「あまみさよがりおさしよこのおほ島降りたれ」とも、する」と宣言した。

これは、この宣言が建國の理念となつて、王位及び王位を養ふ眞祖に齊せる祝福が、おほらおたかべ(神哥、祝詞)の骨子となつてゐる。

第二期 京鎌倉の時代

源為朝が鎮西から沖繩島に渡つたと云ふ事は、夙くから「やまと為朝」として傳説はあり、辨天を中尊に祀つてある崇元寺には、為朝の遺物と稱する鎧矢を所藏してゐた。この傳説を僧袋中が一六〇五年に採蒐しそれに依つて薩摩の南浦が記録に取り、その記録に依つて羽地朝秀が尸灰（中山世鑑）に書き上げた。後世内外の史承皆朝秀の世鑑を原典としてゐる。

世鑑の記事はかうである。鎮西八郎為朝は保元の軍に敗れて、近江國輪田に匿れて、傷の療養中捕られて伊豆の大島に流されたが、間もなく附近の五島を切從へてこれを所領し、永萬元平頭に吹流されて沖繩に至り、島尻大里（後の島嶺間切）按司の妹を娶つて、その翌年一子尊教を擧げた。その後為朝は妻子を引具してかへらうとしたが、再び風浪に妨げられて舟を引返し妻子を牧港に残して一人で帰國した。夫人は一子尊教を携へて浦添に行き、此の地に草庵を結んで住んでゐたが、この兎の畚量尋常に勝れ、十五才の時には推されて浦添按司となつた。

恰度この比、天孫氏二十五世の裔徳長へて近江利勇と云ふものに位を奪はれたのを、義兵を擧げてこれを誅伐し、輔按司に推されて大世の主となつた。後世論して辨天王と云ふのはこれで、沖繩王位の第一祖とする。後世尚敬時代に開國以来の諸王を崇元寺に奉爾することになり、天孫氏の事が問題になつた時に、程順則や崇徳等逆署して意見書を上り天孫氏の事は天孫の考ふべきものがないから、辨天を以て第一祖とすべき事を主張しその通りになつてゐる。辨天以来、英祖、睿度、尚巴志、尚円と五度も王統はかけた。支那では易姓革命と云ふ語があつて、革命は即ち易姓であり、その度毎に、國命が單まり國性が易る。けれども沖繩では、革命はあつたが、易姓はなかつた。國土と等しく、國土の象徴たる王位も亦永続不漸のものであつて、將定の藩や人に属すべきものではなく天地の徳を尊けて万民を化育すべき有資格者が常に世に臨すべきものと考へられた。即ち王位は天壤無窮であるが、王家は必ずしもこゝろは考へられてゐない。この辺は万世一系の日本思想と、易姓革命の支那思想との中間を衝く考へ方である。そのために、五度もかけた王統に拘りなしに、王位は「そんじ

んよりこの方幾代しと通討する慣例である。
 崇天の子孫が、三代七十二年統一して、浦添の英祖按司がこれに代った。國都が首里
 になったのは、尚巴志三山統一後の事だ。その以前は浦添であった。「うらそひ」と
 云ふ地名もとは「うらおそひ」で、浦々を支配する所と云ふ意味から出たと云はれ
 る。

英祖按司の時に、禪鑑と稱する僧侶が渡来して始めて臨濟禪を傳へた。いづくの僧
 とも傳へられてはなないが、鎌倉五山系統の人である事は間違ひない。「きやまくら
 し」云ふ語が、おもろにも感に使はれ、城の堅固なるを形容しては「やまとのかまくら
 した」としてゐる。浦添城^址から出る暗灰色の厚手の屋根瓦を専門家は鎌倉期のものと
 見てゐる。さう云へば「やまと旅」のばて、かはら買ひにのぼて」と云ふおもろの文
 句も思ひ合はれる。

一般に瓦が使用されるやうになつたのは遙かに後世尚貞以後の事で、古へはなかく
 貴重なものでも「かはらよせ、おぐすくけらへ」なども、おもろにはうたはれてゐる。

首里城から浦添城のと同じの古瓦の発見されるのも、多分國都移轉の際に持ち越さ
 れたものであらう。

この時また陵墓を寺の近くに營建して、極樂山と命名した。おもろ名では「ようじ
 北」と稱する幽閑寂寥の意味である。

いろは四十七文字は、為朝が傳へたと傳説には残つてゐる。けれども為朝傳説その
 市から既に何とも決定し難い事であるから、仮名の傳來もはつきりそれと決める事
 は出来ない。それにしても鎌倉期比に、交通が相当に行はれてゐたとすると、当然の
 結果としてこの種の文化も傳來した事であらう。仮字文が漢文よりも取扱ひやすく、
 その上、言葉をそのままに寫すには、音標文字の仮字を使用する以外には方便がない。
 漢文が輸入されてはるか後の尚寧頃までも、仮字で沖繩語を寫した碑文や辞令書が
 行はれ、今日までもその現物が残つてゐる。そしてその仮字が御家流以前の書風であ
 ることも、その傳來の古さを物語るものである。

-9- 英祖按司の血統が五代九十年ほど統一して、その末頃に、政治力衰へて、浦添謝名村

から出た蔡度に奔れば、これに呼應して北の方では羽地按司、南の方では大里按司が
独立して、浦添按司の蔡度と対立し大休後世の国頭、島尻及び中頭の三地方を根據と
する三勢力が現はれた。

支那人がこれを山北、山南及び中山と呼んだ為めに、この時代を三山分立時代と呼ん
でゐる。

ここに一寸注意されることは、蔡度でも、尚也志でも、また尚用でも、天下を取つ
たほどの傑物は、いづれも、鍛冶職や、鉄杖や、用水等に精通した傳說を有つてゐる
事だ、この種の生活資源は、沖繩で一尙及ぶしてゐるもので、これを確保する事に、
つて、いづれでも、民心を收攬する事が出来ると云ふものである。

三山分立の時代に、沖繩の尸次を左右するほどの大事件が起つた。支那との交通の
開けた事がそれである。

第三期 佐所前期時代

蔡度が浦添按司になつたのは、佐所幕府の初頃、明の太祖が元をこぼして帝位に即
いた頃の事で、十四世紀の半比に當つてゐる。世界を通じて、植民地主義の思潮が興隆
しかつた時で、小さな沖繩でもまたその大きな流れの外に立つ事は出来なかつた。

蔡度の即位後二十二年に、明の太祖の使節が渡来し、天下一統を告げ、且つ版圖を
促した。この使節は、佐所幕府にも、同年に同一人が行つてゐるか、その招諭を將軍
義満が受諾し、臣日本國王某と稱して忠誠を誓つたが、それと同様に、蔡度も亦その
辭を述べて師順の意を表した。

かう云つた当時の国際關係を朝貢と稱する。

孫文の門人周化人が、孫文の政治哲學を解説した中に、中国古代の朝貢關係を國際
平和の一構想として論じてゐるか、若し國際間の恒久平和と云ふ事が、人類文化の理
念であるとするならば、これも亦一形式ではあつたらう。江山万里之邦、天下一家之
春と云ふ春朕の一句が好んで用ひられる王道政治の表現であるが、明の太祖が蔡度に

道へて来た招諭にも亦「且つ聖人は天下を以て一家と爲す。相通交せざるは、豈一家の理なりんや」とあった。これは恰度「沖繩おまざりや一家内だ」と云ふ考へ方と同一である。この朝貢関係と云ふものは、相当重大な意義を有するものである故に、今少し詳しく説明を加へる事にする。

朝貢関係は蒙古の元以後の事で、天下の統一がなつて、國家が成立した時に、その事を周圍の小國に知らせ、忠誠を誓ふ事を勅告する。その時の通告文を招諭と稱する。その招諭に應じて使を派遣し忠誠を誓ふと、これを朝貢とも入貢とも唱へ、その時の進物を貢物とも方物とも唱へる。それから以後は毎年一貢とか二年一貢とか或は五年一貢とか云ふ風に、規定の貢期に従つて規定の貢物を納入する。その時の運漕船を進貢船と唱へ、使節を進貢使と稱する。沖繩の場合には、三司官級の人が王舅と稱して正使に任ずる。

このやうな朝貢の礼に対し、その國王に冊封と唱へて、冊を封じて某國王とすると云ふ勅書を與へる。この場合には、先國王を諭祭し、次に世子を冊封する例で、諭祭

文を白詔、冊封文を紅詔と稱する。冊封の使節を乗せた船を冠船と唱へ「世一代の儀礼である。

仁者は大を以て小に事へ、智者は小を以て大に事ふと云ふ語があつて、再返する見込みもないのに無謀な意地を張り通すのは、智者のする事ではない。かやうな無謀な考へを捨て、軍火の礼を脩め、自國の保全を期する事が眞明なる策と考へられ、かやうな考へ方に基いて朝貢関係が成立する。

朝貢関係は、大國に取りては実を捨て、名を取るものであるに反し、小國に取りては、名を捨て、実を取るもので、それによつて、内政の干渉を受ける事もなく、冊封と云つても名教だけの事で、冊封に依つて始めて國主としての効力が發生すると云ふわけでもない。事實に於ては王位に即いて後、世子某として請冊し、請冊に依つて冊封使が派遣される順序である。

冊封関係の實質が經濟関係である事は、**当**者両方共に承知の上で、進貢方物に對しては、それ以上の返礼が支給され、進貢方物に附隨して行く進貢附奉物頃と稱する。

ものは、然然たる貿易品で、それに対しては、会典に記載の法定價格があつて、市價よりも遙かに高く評價され、特に沖繩の場合は、南洋方面の原産地から船載されたものより、酌量の下に、十数倍又は数十倍の高価を以て支給される事になつてゐる。嗽は、利を以てし、事端の發生を未然に防ぎ、云々觀念である故に、何の利権をも朝貢國に期待するものではなく、單に本國の威信を示すに云々の事である。それ故に、先方に於ては、進貢度數の多かりんよりは、却つて少かりん事を欲した。現に中山が他の二山に比して、頻りに貢した事に対して、明廷は「中山最強く、その國富めるを以て、一歲常に再貢三貢天朝その幣を厭ふと豈も劫くる能はず」と説いてゐる。これは明の永樂十三年山北が七ひる前の年の記事であるが、明末慶長の變のあつた時にも、明廷は沖繩の疲弊を理由にして、十年一貢と定め、たかを欺詐して漸く五年一貢のり三年一貢とまで清き付けた。

丑等の事情から見て、朝貢國條は、單に國際平和保障の協定であつて、統率權の國題ではない事は明白である。

朝貢國條は斯くの如く脈理懷柔と云ふ大國の犧牲に於て、國際平和が確保されるわけであるが、朝貢の小國に於ても多少の負担がなされてゐる。それは冠船渡來の時、正副使を始め隨員等が各船より高價を持つて來り、これを唐人持渡品と唱へ、それを値高く買取つてやる事が、冠船渡來の最大の義務と考へられ、この準備銀の調達に頭痛の種子であつた。

進貢船の場合には、商品の品目も價格も共に会典に規定されてゐるので、合同館と云ふ役所で目錄に照して事務的に処理されて行くだけであるが、冠船の場合には、各乗員が思ひ出しの私物を携へて行く事であるから、品目も數量も一定しない。従つて價格の取定めも困難で、両方立合の上で談合する。その事を評価と唱へ、その役所を評價方と唱へる。評價方の事務に當つて、泰邊が巨腕を振つた事は、後述の如く話す事にして話を前に戻さう。

さて泰邊が明朝の冊封を受けてから、稍、後れて大里按司、羽地按司がそれより候を出し、方物を捧げて恭順の意を表し、明廷はこれに対して中山、山南、山北の各王号

を遺り、又印綬と稱して中山王、山南王、山北王等の印文を刻し、鍍金の銀印を贈り、又官位相当の冠服を下賜した。

この冠服を皮弁と唱へてゐるか、これは武官の服装で、つまり藩境を防護する役目を授けられる形で、恰度これは、朝鮮の李朝が封馮の家氏を始め、入貢の中國西國の有力者に護軍職を授けたのと同性質のものである。

この冊封と相前後して、航海及び往復文書作製の指南の爲めに、三十六姓移民を派遣した事が注意される。三十六姓と云ふのは、後世久米村人の異名ともなつた位顯着な名稱であるがその唱へは、福建省在住の人民を大體かく呼んでゐた爲めに、漠然と唱へた文章の修飾であつて実数ではなく、閩江下流の住民と云ふ程の意味である。是等の移民も集團的に一度に渡来したものであるが、最初から往復の船舶は福建都司管下の海衛所々属のものから支給される慣例になつてゐたので、その廻航員又は水先案内として渡来したものが下船してそのまゝ定住したり、又は次の航海まで逗留中簡易な商業に従事したりする者から始まつて漸次聚落を爲すに至つたもので、その大部分

は舟工と稱して海上勞務者で、文字もあまりなかつたらしい事はその常用の海圖が梅花嶼を五瓣の梅花で宝壺峽を宝瓶で図示してある事からでもわかる。けれども中には學識経験者もあつて、それ等の入々は最初から政務の顧問にも重用されてゐる。

三十六姓移民の居留地は久米村で、その當時は唐營と呼ばれてゐた。これは唐人町、又は南京町と云ふほどの意味で、南洋の日本町を支那人が日本營と呼んでゐるのも同然である。後に好字を撰んで唐~~津~~とした。久米と云ふ地名の出所はわかりかねるが、古へ久米村人自らはその地を「チエドミ」(朱明府)と呼んでゐたから好字を撰んで久米(Chiu mi)としたのではないかと考へられる。現に久米村人の傳へでは、世祿を支給されてゐたので、久しい米の意味でかく唱へるともあつてゐる。この辺は古へ久米地川の水が深く入り込んで、内兼久附近も入江であつたが、その辺の風景が彼等の故郷たる閩江下流とよく似てゐる。現に内兼久山の下の港(港)を彼等自身は吳江と命名した位で、原来彼等自身その地を選定して永住地としたものである。

是等の移民は洪武三十五年から移住したもので、やうに、明使にも傳へてゐるが最も早い人々は洪武五年蔡度が招諭を受けた比から居残つて政治の顧問になつてゐる。三山の表文は多分最初

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の人々が起草したものであらう。

是等の人々 は内命を受けて居残つたものと見えて、いづれも老境に入つてから、頼ひによつて致仕飯郷を許されてゐる。

三十六姓移氏は、移住後当分の間は、支那風の生活様式を続け、家には紅や青の彩色を施し、椅子卓子を使用してゐたが、百年ほど経つてからは、沖縄風の生活に入り、沖縄風の片髪等を給ふ者もあつた。沖縄の片髪は左寄りに束せるのが本来の形式で、そのために「カタクカシラシ」又は「カクタンチヨビ」と呼ばれるのであるが、三十六姓の人々は頭の真中に束せる事にしてゐた。明朝が七んで清朝が起り、天下統一に満洲流の辮髪を結はせるようになった時に、彼等はそれを嫌つて、全部片髪にかはつた。それから風俗習慣とも次第に土地に同化して何等差別のないやうになつた。

是等の移氏は南洋華僑の先驅を爲すもので若しこれが南洋各地に見るやうな経過を以て成長して行つたとしたら、沖縄全体がその勢力圏内に置かれてゐたであらう事は疑ふ余地がない。然るに沖縄では毫もその弊害を残さなかつたばかりか、却つて沖

縄の文化の發達を助け有名理順則や茶盞を出し内治外交のみでなく殖産興業の上にも貢獻したところ少くない。

そのこゝに至つた原因については、偶然の結果と見做すに可い。所謂は在はるらない。沖縄では彼等を客介として礼遇し、廿五才以上の男子には地扶持と稱して一定の倉米を支給する事になつてゐた。而してその支給方法は一人宛何程と云ふのではなく村全体に何程と支給されたものである。それ故に人口の増加は一人当りの支給額が減少する事になるので、その後の呼寄移氏と云ふ事もなく、又生活を官給で保障されてゐる關係上、高工業等に進出する必要もなく、專任の職務が往復公文書の作製や通事等であつた爲めに又その機会もなかつた。今日南洋各地とも、華僑の勢力に死命を削せられてゐる現状に照して、沖縄の場合に特筆されてよい事であらう。

第四期 室町後期時代

察度の王統は二代約六十年統一して、尚巴志王統がこれに代った。この王統も亦約六十年統一その間に七代も立つたので一代の治世十年にも満たないあほな時代ではあつたが海上の活躍國內の文化共に目覚ましいものがあつた。愼度室町後期海内の秩序紊れたとは云へ、國民の意氣衝天の概のあつた時代に対応してゐる。

尚巴志家にも伊平屋島から出て佐敷に渡りその地の土豪大城按司と縁を結び根柢を固めたもので、巴志の父の思紹と云ふのも後の諡名で由代大親と云ふのが本来の呼名であつた。

土地の長者であつた事はその呼名によつても知られる。

巴志は性未短の男であつたので佐敷の小按司と呼ばれたと傳へられてゐるが、それは誤傳で、童名が「こはちもいし」から「こあじし」に轉じたもので、巴志の名も赤童名の「はち」を寫したものであるらしい。尚姓はこの時代に明朝から贈られたものと傳へられてゐる。沖繩の尸史上では稀に見る豪傑で、父尚代大親を奉じて、中山王武寧

を攻七ぼしてこれに取つて代り浦添城により十年後には山北を七ぼし、それから十五年経つて山南を攻略し統一の業を成就した。

巴志を佐けて統一の業を成就させたのは懐機である。この懐機と云ふ人の傳記は詳細にはわかりかねるが、大体知り得た所では、永樂の初頃尚思紹時代に渡来した福州人で、思紹、巴志、忠、思達、全福と五代に歴任し前後五十年程も國政顧問の要職に居り、首里城内には王相府と稱する特別の官衙もあり、明朝への進貢も國王と並んで独立の贈答が行はれ、王相府所屬の役人も特別に置かれてゐたやうである。その私邸は今のイビカマ即ち新村渠と久茂地通との交点長壽寺の地に在つたが、長虹（隄）の浮道築造後長壽寺を建立した時に、寺地に施入して、首里山川の天山に新邸を営んで移転した。天山は本當の名は天翁山（天翁山）と稱し、東嶽帝を祀り道教の靈地としたもので、懐機尚巴志共に道教に帰依し、尚巴志薨去の時にも此處に葬つたものである。

尚全福時代に今の新村渠附近から崇元寺附近教丁に亘る浮道を構築したのも彼の企画によつたものである。

もとは此の辺は一面の海で、冊封使渡来の際は舟橋を架設して往復に使じたものであつた。

それを長限に造りがへたもので、この浮道を長虹限と名付けたのは、福州の虹橋等に倣つた思付であらう。この浮道建造の比に出来た海東諸國紀所載の地圖には石橋と図示されてゐるが、その当時は七口の水門を開いて海水の流通に使じたものであつたら石橋と云つても差支へなかつたであらう。七口の中今では崇元寺橋美栄橋の外に七ツ墓の辺に「マンカネ橋」と云ふ形ばかりの石が残つてゐるが「マンカネ」と云ふのは墓の異名であるから七ツ墓に因んだものらしい。浮道築造によつて首里那覇の連絡が便利になりわけでも那覇の繁栄が面目を一新した事は云ふまでもなく、土砂の沈澱が太しくなつて久茂地新地を長壽寺馮原も出来これ亦那覇発展の一翼となつた。察度が初めて明との交通を同じから巴志が三山を統一するまで約半世紀間に三山入貢の数は

中山 五十二回 (約一年に一貢)

山南 十八回 (約二年半に一貢)

山北 九回 (約五年に一貢)

となつてゐるが明史にもこの事を「中山極強く其國富めるを以て一歲常に再貢三貢」
「山北最弱故に其朝貢も亦最稀」と書いてはゐるが、山北の朝貢稀少なるは、必ずしも国力微弱なるが爲めではなかつたであらう。なほこれを留學生の數から見ると

中山 二十人

山南 四人

山北 一人

となつてゐる。遣使の數から三山の形勢は六と二と一の比、留學生の數から見ると五と二との比である。此の數字は三山の國勢の比であるばかりでなく、特に留學生の數は三山の文化の比でもある。俗に田舎山原と云はれ山北地方の文化が他の二山に後れてゐた事は以上の數字がこれを証明してゐる。けれどもそれだけ素樸雄健な氣象久しく衰へず、巴志統一以來尚真中夾集權まで引続き北山監守を置いたのもこの為

めであり、越来をニシ、中城をオニシ、讀谷山を大ニシと唱へるのも亦山北に対する中山の防禦線を標示するものである。

尚巴志王統時代は「からは旅」の時代と唱へてもよい。「からは」と云ふのは咬嚼地^作に「リジャワ」の古名である。沖繩船はこれまで盛んにやまと旅に上はつてゐたが明との交通が閉じてからは唐物の販賣によつて一層活潑になり泉州堺の商人との間に商品の掛賣等も行はれ、室町末期に四國の細川等が瀬内内の覇権を握つた頃は、沖繩商船がその掠奪に遭ふ事も度重なりその度に幕府は布施下野等の唐船奉行を急派してこれを制止させて見たが、幕府の力ではもういかんともする事の出来ない時代になつてゐた。これ等の事から「やまと旅」に見切を付け「からは旅」に乗り出すやうになつた。幕府が西國の雄鎮島津氏に南島貿易を管理させた原因もこゝにある。恰度明國貿易を対馬の宗氏に寄託した依である。

この時代の貿易の規模は、支那の処州の陶磁器を買ひ込んで瓜哇、スマトラ、ボルネオ、マライ等の各地に行きその地の土産就中蘇木、胡椒等^と交易し、これを支那朝

鮮及び日本土に持込んで莫大の利益を擧げてゐた。蘇木はシロワと沖繩で呼んでゐる紅色染料でその当時のストック品がすつと後までもあつて那覇近の素封家の中には「シロワ」成金も少くない。

この王統時代に首里城の營建を始め諸大寺の建立があり、長虹殿築造の大土木も起り、その余沢尚月王統までも続いて行くがその國富は貿易の結果で、尚巴志が首里城正殿に巨鐘を掛け、それに「舟楫を以て万國の津梁」^と爲し、異産至宝十方利に充滿せりしと銘を刻んだ如き以てその制海の意氣を認める事が出来よう。

尚巴志薨じ第二子尚忠立ち子思達に譲り思達薨じて子なく叔父金福その後を承け、金福薨じて、その世子志魯、父王の後を承くべくして、叔父布里これと争ひ、戦つて共に仆れ、布里の弟恭久入つて宗家を継いだ。王位継承の争ひこの時より太じきはなく、その上恭久時代には、逆臣阿摩和利勝連城に據つて反し、中城按司護佐丸孤忠を片つて憤死した。恭久時代の鐘名に「君臣道合」といふ文句が盛んに用ひられてゐるのは、時代の半面を物語るものである。

祝禱の

蓋し、室町期は也から終まで家督相続の争いと下克上とが時代の風潮をなしてゐたので、それがまた海を越えてはるか南島にも波及したものである。さらだても来るか、そのかの運命を一身の孤舟に托して萬里の波濤を縦横に乗り切つた滔天の意氣も亦この時代の思潮であると云へる。

第五期 江戸前期時代

尚月王統の上半紀尚真を中心とする時代。室町末期の混乱から、織豊二氏を経て江戸幕府の初期全社の完全に秩序を回復した時代に相当する。

尚月は侯爵尚氏の第一祖、伊平屋島から出た為めに、俗には「伊平屋王がなし」と呼ばれ、尚巴志の系統と区別して近末第ニ尚氏とも呼ばれてゐる。傳によると、尚月は二十歳の時に両親を失ひ、叔父叔母及び一人の姉と一人の弟とを扶養してゐたのであるが、天災災過且つ聖徳を備へ、その水田は旱天にも水の涸れる事になつたので、夜な／＼他人の水を節む者と疑はれて、村人の迫害を受け、危篤を加へられんとしたところを神明の加護によつて居村を脱出し、國頭宜名真に渡り、此の地に五、六年もゐたが、又々村人の排斥に遭ひ奥向村の鍛冶職等の庇護により、この地を脱出し、首里に上りて越末王子の尚恭久家に奉_公し漸く出世の縁に有り付いたと云はれる。尚月が伊平屋島の首見村で、しかなひ生活を続けてゐたと云ふ水田は、今日なほ親田と唱へて拜所の一になつてゐるが、廣長檢地の際の大畠では、二畝二十歩、收得一斗

二升余田數七ますと計上され、田位からなうと一畝当り八升の下村荒田に属してゐる。上田ならば一斗五升と云ふところを八升の荒田では身を粉にして働いたところで、一家の生計は立ちかねたものにならぬ。彼れの勤直な働き振りはこの荒田を七マシに区切つて耕してゐた事からでも想像が付き、普通田一枚と云へば大抵一畝内外であるが、彼れの田地は七坪内外にしか当らない。かやうな細心な生活振りが大まかな伊平屋所帯とソリの合はなかつた事も察せられる。彼れが居村をとひ出したのは、必ずしも盗水の嫌疑がなくとも、秀吉が中村をとひ出して信長に趨つたのと同様に解されてよいであらう。

尚田は尚恭久に取り立てられて御物城御領之側まで出世した。尚恭久治世七年で薨去し、嗣子尚徳が後を承けた時には二十一才の年少氣鋭、殊に國運なる時代の影響を受け、豊満な王城に覇氣満々と育ち、二十六才の時には、舟師を率ひて自ら鬼界岳遠征の壯途にすら上ほつた程の英雄王であつた。

その尚武の氣象は八幡武神を信仰した事によつても知られる。尚氏の家紋は八幡の神

紋から出たものである。

尚徳治世九年、この時尚田は五十五才の老熟本末の克明な性格に加へて、御領之側と云ふ職務官としての職責から云つても、奔放な尚徳の行爲には坐視するに耐へぬものがあるにちがひなく、尚徳としてはまたもとゝ自家の大親職たるに過ぎなかつたこの地味な老臣を眼中においてゐなかつたかも知れない。かやうな性格の相違から尚田も職に耐へかねて内向の領地に引籠つたものにならぬ、この事あつてから、時の老臣達の間には王家の爲めに憂へ、寄り寄り密談もし、また内向の尚田を慰留もしたものであらう。このやうな事が次第に進んで、尚徳を勘当し、尚田に出馬してもらふと云ふ談合にもなつたものであらう。

尚田五十六才にして、位を踏み在位七年六十一才にして薨じ、并宣威四十七才にして一旦その後を承けた。その時世子尚真十二才、生母「よそひおどんの大あんじおき」やかし三十二才の女盛りであつた。宣威が世子尚真を排して、兄の後を承け位に即いたのも、前代尚巴志家の例から推すと、珍らしい事ではなかつた。然るに不思議な神

の託宣があつて、僅か六ヶ月で退位、正嫡尚真を位に即行、狂を既倒に回したのは、母后トよせひおどんレの力である。

尚真は有名なすおさやかもいがないし、治世五十年の間に数々の岩嶺を挙げた中で、全國民の身分的階級を確立した如きは、下克上の世相に終止符を打ったもので、恰も室町末期の乱離から江戸期に入った形である。

尚月妃世添御殿は、尚月とは三十才も年がちがつてゐたのは前にも後にもあまり例のない事である。

傳によると、尚月が二十四才で伊平屋筋をとり出した時には、妻子を同伴した事になつてゐるが、その時には、「せそひおどん」は、未だ生まれてもゐなかつたわけであつて、その人が後妻であつた事がわかる。その尚月に嫁した年次は傳へがないが、尚真はその二十一才の時の子であるから少くとも十八九才の時に、當時四十八九才の尚月に嫁したものと考へられよう。恰度尚月が次第に出世して、御物城御鎖之側に任用される頃、の事になる。仍つて考へられる事は尚月が糟糠の妻を望より下して多分名門であつた

にちがひない若い婦人を迎へた事である。

尚月薨去の翌年、偶々朝鮮漂流民等が母后の出遊に会ひ、その行列の様相を叙述した記事が李朝庚録に出てゐるがそれによると、母后は漆輦に乗り、前後に厳しく武装したる儀仗を随へ、十三才の尚真が身に紅絹を纏ひ肥馬に跨つて扈從してゐる。母后のこのやうな権高な状相はこれ亦前後に例のない事で、さながら垂簾の政と云つたかたちで、ある。世添御殿と云ふ名も多分後見訓政の意味であらう。

まひてす名手摩の神の託宣と云うところ、その神託を取り次ぐものは、尚真の姉で初代の開得大君たる「おとちとち」のいかねと世添御殿の外にはなかつたであらうから、宣威の退位は長等の人々の合意の仕事である事が推量される。尚真妃は宣威の女でその腹に出来た浦添王子朝満が廢嫡され、母子共に玉陵磯からも除外されてゐるもの、この關係からであらう。而して又同時にせそひ御殿がその所出以外の血統が玉陵に入る事を拒否した真意もこれによつて解する事が出来よう。尚真の神号「おさやかもい」も多分母后の名を嗣いだものであらう。

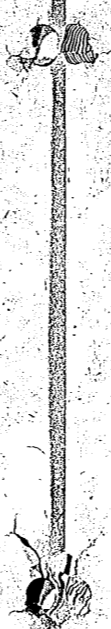
(註)

玉陵と云ふのは、首里金城に在る「玉おどん」の事、尚月庵去二十五年悉に尚真及び「世そひおどん」の終願によつて營建されたもので、その時に石碑を建て「世そひおどん」所出の子女及びその子孫以外はこの陵墓に葬る事はならぬと規定してある。

尚真十三才にして、父の後を承け、五十一年間の治世、次の尚清が立つた時には、明廷に於ても冊封の儀礼、冠船の規模等に關する参考書も七俵し、苦勞して資料を集めた位であつた。

この永い治世こそは「おぎやがもい」がなしいの御代として、黄金時代を記はれ、喜安日記にも「嘉靖の昔は春の花と栄えしかども」と榮華の喻にも引かれたほどの時代である。

数ある治績の中で第一に挙げられねばならぬ事は、中央集権の事である。間切毎に城郭を構へて割據してゐた按司部を首里城下に集め所領、間切には按司掾と稱する代官を置く事にした。



掾と云ふのは、按司家の家老職の事で、喜安日記に尚寧に扈從して、薩摩入をした人々の中に、大里按司掾とあるのは、大里按司が不興を蒙つて遠慮した爲めに代理として出てゐるものである。

中央集権制がだんゞ整頓されて番所と稱する地方政廳が設定された時に、この按司掾が地頭代と改められた。これも亦地頭の代行掾の意味で按司掾は按司家の家職であるが地頭代は政府の地方吏役である。

永年に亘る按司を裁去するについては、多少の波瀾があつたやうにも推測されるがその技術的方面の事に關しては何等の傳へもない。

御殿屋敷と稱して各按司家の邸宅はその間切にそのまゝ保存されたやうであるから、按司掾と云ふ國家老を留守居として残留し、按司の家族だけが首里在府と云ふ事になつたものであらう。

何にせよ、五十軒軒もあらうと云ふ按司部が一族郎等と率ゐて首里城下に転入した事であるから首里の繁榮推展は想像に難くない。帛の地色や替の地金によつて、身分を

標示させたのも秩序整理の爲めからであつた。按司家の傳統的な主従關係は、首里移住後も引続き襲踏されて来たものと見えて、殉死の風がなほ行はれてゐたので、母后世添おどん莞去の時を機會に断然その禁令を發し範を天下に示した。この事は円覺寺住持仙岩長老の進言に基いたもので石門の東の碑文は、この事を記念して、尚真、在世中に建てられたものである。

中央集権後回もななくして建てられた。百浦添欄干銘に「八珍丸鼎の盛饗を施し、錢帛衣帯の奇珍を賜ひ、或は芳名を鼎にし、美酒を蠶にし、或は壁に屏軸、床に管絃以て賓客を賞し、臣民を娛ましむ、亦味ならずや」と見えてゐるが、これは首里移住の按司部及びその臣僚に対し日々夜々の盛饗を賜つてこれを驕待優恤された王家の公界を説明したものであらう。このやうな宮廷生活や、又按司部が早く首里親國の手振りに慣れんとした努力がやがて首里言葉と云ふ複合的雅詞を生んだ。拗音などがこの時代から著しく目立つて來てゐるのに気が付く。

尚真尚清父子二代の治世中に、円覺寺、崇元寺、玉陵等の建立があり、ヤラザ森城

三重城等南北両砲台の創設があり、又王都の美觀もこの時代に整備された。是等の大經營は國庫の充實に依つてなされたもので尚巴志以來の海外貿易から来た巨富は恭久徳二代に大分消費されたであらうが尚月の財政的手腕によつて整理された。眞清二代の豪華な生活はこの遺産に依るものである。これは恰度文の檢地以來集積された秀吉の富が秀吉、秀頼二代の豪奢によつて消費され、家康がこれを整理して、家光に遺したのと同様である。尚真の時代はこれを三代家光の治世に比較する事が出来る。

これは國力増進の原因たる海外貿易の事を今一度取り上げて見よう。沖繩は海洋孤懸の島邦である故に、夙くから海上の生活が重大關心事で宮々嶽々の「おたかべ」(祝詞)にも「おわつさやあ」のう事も百果報のあるやしに御加護あらん事を祈念し、また一切の干穩無事を表すに「なだやす」と云ふ語が使用される。島人等は昔から楠舟や十冊舟とだふねを造つて道の島々をおしそへて、やまとやしろの旅に上ほり又シマウ、スマトラ、馬來の嶺島のからは旅にも上ほつて交通してゐた。

足利氏の初期、尊氏が天龍寺船を元に派遣せんと企て、おた項には宮古島保良村の船がシンガポール附近に現れてゐた。尚巴志項に真三良、大屋子などといふ沖繩の船大工が朝鮮に行き王命によつて沖繩型の船を造り、漢江で朝鮮船との競漕が國王親臨の下に二回も行はれてこれに倣ち、その模型を全道に廻はしこれによつて倭寇防禦の船を建造させる事になり真三良等は政府の保護を受け、永住する事になつた事案もある。

織豊時代から室町期にかけては茶の湯全盛の時代で、泉州堺の納屋助左衛門が呂宋産を輸入して巨万の富を博し、呂宋助左衛門と呼ばれた事は人の知る所で、これに釣られて堺や博多の商人僧侶等が陸統と沖繩に押しかけて行き南蛮物の文や買漁りをし、特に博多商人等は琉球國王の使者と詐稱して朝鮮に乗り込み對馬の宗氏の擴張りを侵した。沖繩船は南洋と支那とが主航路で朝鮮方面との交通は博多船に委託されたものでこれを好い事にして、長年の博多商人が勝手に沖繩を利用してゐたものである。朝鮮貿易の目的は高麗版大藏經の買出してあつて蓮小堀の中に在る弁才天堂も、もとは尚徳時代に渡来した麗版藏經を格納した終藏であつた。波の上宮に保管されてゐた

因室朝鮮鐘も亦この時代に伝来したものである。

此の時代の那覇港は支那朝鮮南洋及び日本商人が蟻集して交易に従事し、さながらの國際都市であつた。この時代までは薩摩商人は未だ現はれてゐない。中國西國の諸侯伯が鹿視耽耽として海外貿易の集散地たる那覇港を手に入れんと機會を窺つてゐた事も無理ではない。

既に慶長の薩戸入から五十年も前備中の三宅氏が出師を企て、二十年ほど前には紀伊の龜井武藏舟茲矩が琉球征伐の允許を秀吉に請ひ、秀吉は即座に腰の鞘子を取り龜井琉球舟と書いて渡した。三宅氏は幕府の命により、島津氏が山川港に取押へたが龜井氏は秀吉征韓の軍に従つて機を逸しこの鞘子も船中に遺失したのを拾ひ揚げられて今日に傳はつてゐる。慶長十四年の島津氏の征伐は第三回目で既に十四、五年も前の秀吉征韓時代に始まつてゐる。

島津氏は秀吉から一萬五千人の出師を命ぜられたがその一部を尙氏にも負担させるつもりで、差當つて、七千五百人十ヶ月分の食糧を調達するが左もなければ大島以下

五馬を譲渡するかいづれか、七五難題を持ちかけて来た当時の一人分の軍糧は一日五合の割であるから、七千五百人十ヶ月分となると一万一千二百五十名の馬になる。恰度この時分沖繩では冠船迎接の準備中であつたので一通りならず当惑し、群臣を集めて協議した。この時三司官謝名親方が顔色をかへて激昂し反村を喝へ拒否する事に決した。喜安日記にこの時のことを、「勅使迎への事、金銀米穀、山の如く霞の如く積みたりとも、身は飽き足らじ、いかにもなり難しと憚るところならう申されけりしと見えぬる。」

謝名親方は唐名を鄭廻と云つて、三十六姓の一、久米村の胡城家の先祖である。十と才の時に福州に渡り、多年南京國子監に留學、帰國後講師として子弟を訓へ、數回進身候人として入向し、功によつて浦添同切謝名の総地頭に任せられ謝名親方と稱し、三司官に扱擢された人で久米村出身で、此の人が最初である。喜安日記に「謝名は六尺ばかりの色黒き男なりしとあるが、この簡單な表現によつても、その面影を憶ふ事が出来るやうに、容貌料俸の俸文夫であり、その性質も極めて教岸な人であつたらしい。薩摩でもこの

人を手剛いものにして、評判が高かつたと見え、捕虜となつて薩摩に上陸した時には、音に聞ゆる謝名を見んとて見物の入道と爲ししたと、当時の記録は傳へてゐる。かう云ふ事が口実となつて、徳川幕府の初めに、島津家久が幕許を得て征討の軍を催す事になつた。

系譜に依ると、当時の三司官城間親方が鄭廻の讒言によつて職を退けられたと見え、てゐるが、城間親方の女が豊見城親方の妻で、豊見城、池城等は、いづれも縁戚で日本通の家柄であるから、官生出身の謝名親方とは主義思想の上からも両立しないし、それ久米村人にして三司官になつた事から既に首里名門の向には苦々しい事であつたから味方の足並が（最初から）そろはなかつた。

当時薩摩が沖繩に對して命令し又は向責する権利があつたかどうかと云ふ事は、話が理に落ちて面白くないからそれには、わざと觸れないことにしよう。結論だけ云ふならば、それはないと云ひ度い。けれども昔の戦争と云ふものには本来正当な理由はなく、強者の攻略に過ぎないのであるから、今更その是非を詮議立てするのもし野暮な話

である。尤に再この戦に沖繩方は手もなく敗北、尚寧以下捕虜となつて薩摩につれて行かれ、三年の後釈放されてかへり謝名親方は薩摩で斬られた。

戦後経営の第一の措置は支那党を一切政局から追放し、西来院南院を始め、池城、豊見城等の日本虎を重用し、沖繩全島の土地を大量して約一万石の貢租を賦課し、大島、鬼界、徳、興論、永良部等の五島を割取し、明國貿易を薩摩の管理に移した事であつた。

この役■に歴代の記録大方焼七した事は勿論三日に亘りて城内の宝物を莫檢封印し悉くこれを接收した。味方の死傷も少くなかつた中に、浦添親方朝師の子息真山才三十四才、百千代二十才、真刈二十才の三元弟が識名原に於て法元二右衛門正尊坊等の率ゐる一隊と渡り合ひ、正尊坊を討取り三元弟を並べて戦死した事は特記さるべきであらう。

第六期 江戸中期時代

尚真尚敬等の治世を中心とする時代で、具志川王子尚亨、羽地按司向象賢等の復興政策から具志頭親方泰滋の國力培養の政治に至る期間である。

尚寧の薩摩入は、社会の各方面に亘つて異常な影響を及ぼしたもので、沖繩の歴史は物心両方面に於て、是に太き一線と画さるべきものである。第一に薩摩の真意は、支那貿易の独占にあつたのでいかなる犠牲に於ても、その権益を獲得せしむればならなかつた。その爲めには沖繩をどこまでも、支那の附庸として擬装する必要があつたので、苗字衣服共すべそよまとのさたるものを禁止し、薩摩との関係を極秘にする方針を堅持しながら、物心両面に亘つて薩摩から離れて行かないやうに嚴重監視した。このやうな表裏のある政治、それに順應して行かねばならぬ生活が、吾々の性格は思ひ切つて自己を發揮する事の出来ぬ割切れぬ気質を根深く植付けた宿命は痛ましい事である。

41 尚寧は尚承の浦添家から入つて宗家を継ぎ、此を破局に陥れた責任を痛感し、帰還

後十年間の虚脱な生活を浦添に引籠んで送り、地下に祖先に見ゆるに忍びずとし遺言して面帽して浦添世表に葬られた。嗣子なく従弟尚豊が薩摩の御声がかかりて金武家から入つて後を承け、それから二代おいて尚貞が立ち愈々世直しの政治が始まるのである。

豊に尚尊の弟、尚宏、具志川王子を名乗り、尚尊に扈從して上國駿河に於て病故清見寺に葬られ世に駿河王子と唱へられ、その後暫く絶家の形になつてゐたのを、尚豊親位後実弟尚亨を具志川家の跡目に入れて再興させた。この人が有名な聖人按司加那志と呼ばれ、兄尚豊を佐けて戦敗後の國土復興に乗出した人を護得々、太田等諸家の先祖である。太田氏は支流でこの偉大な先祖を記念する為めに、具志川前切太田を家名とすると云はれる。

具志川王子尚亨は、その生家金武家の傳統を承けて、日本思想の普及にかめた人で、その子孫に護得々、直鴻等、和歌の名家を出したのも不思議はないばかりか、その思想を全面的に継承したのが、羽地朝秀の向象賢である。

具志川王子の政治は外交の調整が第一で、恰も明清更替の時に当り、具志川王子は、久米村の儀間の先祖である喜友名大夫蔡堅等とて清朝と交渉せしめ、十年一貢を脩正して、三年二貢とまで増付けた。これは薩摩の大満足とする所であつた。この外交上の大成功を以て彼は職を辞し、内治の復興を後進向象賢の巨腕に委ねたのである。

向象賢は羽地按司、名は朝秀、尚真の養子浦添王子朝満の後である。尚亨王子より七才の年少であるが、古へは七才も年がらがへば大先輩であつた。尚亨王子は夙くからこの後輩に矚目し、他日沖繩に黄金の種をばめて呉れるのは是の児を指して外にはないかと考へてゐた。

兎長じて後敏抜群知過を空しうしないものがあつた。尚亨執政五十七年にして職を向象賢にゆづり、なほ十年の間、陰に陽にこれを後見誘掖した。向象賢の任用は前にも云つた通り尚亨の推挙によつて、薩摩の同意を経たものであつたが、その眼識は外れなかつた。これは薩摩に取つても、沖繩に取つても幸福な事であつた。

向象賢の時代は恰度四代將軍の慶安の比にあつてゐるが、幕府でも慶安御觸書などを出して百姓町人の心得を示したが、彼れも亦次第に法令訓令を出して施政の方針を示してゐる。それがあるが有名な羽地仕置で後の恭温の式目と併稱せらるべきものである。向象賢は拙者就任以來つゝおそ大和へ祖税の滞納などした事がないと云つてゐるが、石盛にして一万余、彼衆の完納を済する事が彼の政治の第一の眼目でその爲めに、開墾の認可を改けて領意生産増殖を計つた。小祿、宜野灣、美里、與那城、恩納等の折向切はその結果として現れたものである。それと関連して、彼れは行政区画の大整理を断行し、國頭方中頭方島尻方等の三行政区を設定し、真和志南風原西原の三同切と交錯した首里の~~國頭~~を整理して新に三平等を置き、各~~同切~~を置いてこれを管理させ、地割制を布いて農民の責任生産額を規定し、又代官を各地に派遣して農事の監督をさせた。

長等の改革は、いづれも戦政の立直しに役立った事は云ふまでもないが、それよりも第一に彼れの意を用ひた根本策は精神作興であつた。戦後後当分の間は上下共に虚脱状態から脱する事が出来ず、特に士人階級は自暴自棄の氣風に陥つてゐた。彼は、「大和の御手打に相成候てより五十余年いかやう候へばかほどまでに衰微いたし候」と慨歎しその爲めに、彼は士人が傾城を自家に引入れて乱行するものは領知を没收し、家督を断絶する事にした。

幸地賢忠が門中相談の結果、具志川向切の田場に懇居させられ落發して瀧水と号じ、低唱微吟の表に一生涯を終つたのも、羽地仕置の槍玉に挙げられた結果で「露の身は持ちやい、遊ふしや笑て此の世振りすて、行きやしやがな」の迷懷はよく当時の心境を語り、朝露瞬目の世をほかなんだ世相を見るに足るものがある。

彼は又尚學謝名等の戮犯の責任を追求し、その直接の原因たる支那思想に断圧を加へる爲めに沖日同祖論を提示し、茶の湯生花茶馬~~等~~術~~等~~の~~大和~~藝能を奨励し、これ等の中一藝にても嗜まざる者は、吏役に任用しない事にした。玉城朝薫が五番能から組躍を索出し識名親方や、平教屋惣慶豊川等の和学者が輩出したのもこの結果である。

始めて神鏡の歴史を書いたのは向象賢で、その歴史が有名な中山世鑑で世鑑と命名したのには再び慶長の失敗を繰返さないやうにとの念願からであった。それ故に彼れはこの歴史の中で萬朝の事を詳述し、人も物もすべてをまことから傳承したものである事さ強調し、支那依存の謂れなきを諷刺したのである。彼れの主張は些か議論の飛躍があつて、学問的見地から云うと幾分首肯しかねるところもあるが、併しあの時代にあれだけの信念と見識とを以て所信を断行したばかりか、その所信の断行に當つて不逞軀の大勇猛心を有つてゐた事は敬服の外はない。彼れは自ら「若し恨に存せらるべき人は、羽地相手を相成るべく候、少も一身惜しみ申さず國中の恥辱には替へ申すまじく傲と云うてゐる。吾等は野國總官や倭向真常を世持神社に奉齋したと同様に、わが羽地世向を世繼神社として奉祀せん事を主張するものである。

向象賢時代に新聞切が増設された事は同拓事業に伴ふ結果である事は勿論であるが、蕃薯の輸入によつて食糧問題が解決された事を看過する事は出来ない。蕃薯は一五八二年尚永の晩年に野國總官が福州から種苗を携へてかへつたのが始めで、この植物

イモコト

は南洋の原産で土地でも持出しを禁じてゐたので、船綱に捲込んで竊に持出したと云ふ事である。慶長役の起る少し前比に倭向真常が、その栽培法を野國に教へて倭向胡城辺に試殖して漸次繁殖一六一五年に、三浦安針のウイリヤムアダムス (William Adams) が、那覇港に寄港して種苗を入手、それを肥前平戸の、リチャードコックス (Richard Cox) に送り、コックスが、五十本の苗を試植したが、この植物の本邦に移植された抑々の始めである。その後四國から九州に入り、享保の比青木昆陽が九州から種苗を取寄せ全国的に流布するに至つた。この有用植物が今日現に偉大なる貢獻を本邦食生活の上に果してゐる事は今更事新しく云ふまでもない。我等は常にこの蕃薯を食膳に上は才毎に青木昆陽先生に感謝する前に野國總官の甘藷翁や倭向真常先生に深甚追慕の黙禱を捧げるものである。

尚貞の後に尚登を経て尚■^敬が立つた。恰度八代吉宗將軍の名政治の行はれた頃で、貝志頭親方泰温がこれを補佐して、尚貞以来二度目の黄金時代が出現した。この時代は不世出の人物輩出した中にも泰温より二十才年長の程順則、泰温より十

九才年少の平教屋朝敏、四才年少の玉城朝薫等を挙げなければならぬ。
 程順則先生は名教親方罷文久水村に生れた朱子学者で、詩文に長じ、かつて近衛基熙
 の依頼を受けて北燕の勝景詩を題した事もあり、物徂某とも対談し、康熙の冊使除
 藤光とは、没年まで評文の應酬を續け親交を重ねてゐた。先生が福州で私費を投じて
 願刻した六諭行義は、その後薩摩侯を経て將軍吉宗に献せられ、吉宗が萩生徂某に命
 じて英を入れ、その英本によつて空齋樂が和訳し、この鶴葉和訳本が各藩に傳はり履
 刻転寫して天下に流布し享保の七年から明治の四十三年比まで、三百年間に亘つて本
 邦庶民教科書として重用された。六諭と云うのは、孝順父母、尊敬長上、和睦郷里、
 教訓子孫、各安生理、母作非為等六款の教條で、本天明の太祖の教育に因する勅語で
 あるが清明の順治以後締約として用ひられ、會稽の范觚がこれを祖述して六諭行義と
 題し、室鳩巢がこれを和訳して六諭行義大意とした。寺子屋教育隨一の教科書であつ
 たばかりでなく特に天保以後柴田鶴翁等の心学が流行して以後は、程敏の普遍化実用
 化の面から太く尊重され京阪方面の商家に於ては、子弟訓育の金科玉條とされ、この

本に依つて一身を興した者も少くはなかつた。蓋し本邦庶民の生命を養つた蕃藪と、
 その精神を養つた六諭とが共に、吾等の郷里沖繩から出てゐる事は、吾等の矜りとし
 る所である。

蔡温は名は文若、唐傑三十六姓の一人である。始め志多伯秀才神谷親康上後ち味唯
 に效せられ木吉親方を經て具志頭親方となつた。父は蔡鏗声亭先生中山世譜や歴代生
 業の編輯者として有名な学者である。蔡温は声亭先生の第二子として生れた。父声亭
 先生は進貢侯節として海外に出張し席の温まる遣も行く蔡温は、賢母の庭訓に依つて
 大器を晚成し、三十九才の時には三司官に擧げられ國師を兼ね、首里赤平に邸宅を賜
 つて右側に近侍した。

蔡温は父声亭先生について朱子学を修めたが二十七才の時存留通事として福州南臺
 の禾遠駅に逗留す、湖南の処士某先生に就いて実学を授け大に格沃する所あり、かね
 て又新港の液伝舟に出入して一切経を著讀し得る所あり、經世の学是に大成する所あ
 ったやうである。彼れの思想はその著醒夢要綱によつて略々これを覗ふ事が出来る。

蓋し実学は、清初の碩元に起るもの。その趣旨は、朱子学や陸王学の長を取り迷蒙を去り、墾荒均田興水利の七字を以て利用厚生の実績を挙げんと期するもので、蔡温の畢生の事業亦大方この七字に盡きると云つてもよい。

墾荒均田興水利と云ふ実学の七項目の中に於て蔡温の最も力を入れたのは、水利で、那覇港の浚渫から、羽地川の改修、首里坂下の茶湯崎に築港計畫もした。葺嶺工事の如きは今日にはその恩恵を蒙っている。恩納から名護に至る海岸の阿旦堤防は蔡温の施設になるもので、今日新様式の混凝土堤防が度々流されたに拘らず蔡温の阿旦堤は傲然としてゐるにもたらされる。

蔡温は又山山方式を定めて、植林に意を用ひた。それは水源培養の外に、菓葉用資材別けても唐船(中國航路)楫船(薩摩航路)等の材料としての用材を確保する爲で、これが爲にクリ船の建造を禁止した。

蔡温は、山林の竹木の本数を算へても登録してその保存を村方に命じたものであるが、適當の長さに繩を切り豫めその本数を算へておき竹木の根方に片端から結んで行き、

その残りを算へて本数を知つたと云はれてゐるが、これにすら頭のみさが知られる。墾荒の問題については、向象賢とはむしろ反対の方針を取つた。彼れは土地の開墾よりも、むしろ地方の培養に重点を置き、地割替の制度も農民に恒久的観念を喪失させるものとしてこれを停止した位である。

慶長以後の國家財政の窮乏から、最も逼迫したものは士人階級であつた。蔡温は是の対策としての政策を考へた。その一は、これまで皮革鍛冶、鐵鑄、表具彫刻、鹽職等地方農家の副業として許可し、そのかほり、大役を免除してゐたものであるが蔡温はこれを更め是等の諸職は、首里那覇泊入米村の住民に限り許可する事にした。この事は那覇四町入米村の士分の次三男中細工勝手なものを久茂地新地に移し、生計を営ましめたのと、対応するもので、これから士商工農の別が截然として立ち、町百姓田舎百姓の名も生じた。

第二は、扶持久に模倣組合を起させた。扶持人は年何回の宛行扶持に頼つて生活するもので、不時の入費に當惑するものが少かつたので、その扶持米の若干を曝出し

必要を感じてゐるものに貸渡す事にした。これが今まで残っている模合制度のおこりである。

向象賢はよまと学問やよまと藝能を奨励して一般文化の上に大きな潤沢を具へて呉れた。けれどもその対象は上層階級のよまと公界仲間であつた。小笠原流の礼法料理から、音曲遊藝の方面にも一段の進歩を促した。ビシ型更紗に有職模様を取り入れられたのもこの時から以後の事である。

蔡温はこれに反して下層民衆の生活を対象とした。鍬包丁剃等の日用家具が製造されるやうになり、その他の一般家内工業が発達したのは蔡温のおかげである。つまり沖繩自体の生活を掘り下げて呉れたのは蔡温である。蔡温は自家学問の態度を説いて「尤ぶ意を誠にする方を学んで以てわが心を正し、次に國を治まらる方を学んで以てわが心を養ひ深く之を心に得て孝悌忠信の間に往來し以て明良に會ふ時を俟つ。若し會遇の縁なくして疎忌せられれば、わが学ぶ所を棄れしむ、天を怨みず、人を怨みず、泰然怡然として以て身を修めんのみ、是れ士家本分の心志なり」と云つてゐるが、彼れ

が明君尚敬及相識名親方に會遇してその治國の抱負を表現する事の出来たのは、非常な幸福であつた。

國主尚敬は近世の名君で、蔡温より十九才の年少で、千敷屋朝敬と同年である。十四才にして位に即いた。この時蔡温は久米村総役であつたが尚敬度々駕を枉げて教を授けた。蔡温五十七才の時に実学秘書を建議する事になり、尚敬自ら書物箱を提げて出坐、下座について聴講し、講識了つて後再び書物箱を提げて退座されんとした時に蔡温恐縮し更りに上座に請せんとしたが、尚敬は今日は師弟の礼を取ると固辭された。又蔡温が羽地河の改修を了つて帰つた時に、尚敬親ら上座に出迎へ、感状を授典された。君臣の仲らひ水臭も壹ならぬ有様で、蔡温が萬福の經綸を遺憾なく遂行する事の出来たのは、名主尚敬の理解に依るものである。

これは偶然の結果に過ぎないのであるが、泡盛の古酒と云ふものも亦蔡温以後の事である。古酒の最上のもを康熙年間と崧に喝へてゐるが、康熙と云ふと蔡温執政中の事で、徳川の八代吉塚の亭係中に當つてゐる。八代將軍は世に米將軍と呼ばれる位

米價の引下げについて苦心した人で、この時代酒造用の米蔵を在来の三割以内で減額した。この政令が薩摩を経て沖繩にも布達されたが蔡温はかねてから風紀肅正の第一は飲酒の風を抑制する事でありと考へ（独物語）毎年醸酒の爲めに消耗する穀物を節約するならば物價も下直になり生活も楽になると考へ、一時造酒を制限した事がある。酒を貯えるやうになつたのは、これからで、その結果偶然にも古酒が出来、これを枳殻として技術的にもその方法が工夫されて今日に至つてゐる。

蔡温は次の尚穉時代に八十才の高齡を以て卒し執政中徐藤光同煙等二回、冠船をも迎へ政治家として又國師としての光榮ある一生を閉じた。併せての精神遺^案は余もなほ郷党の間に生きてゐる。蔡温以後三司官は四人居たと謂はれさぬが、それは蔡温の遺策が常に施政方針として活かされてゐたことを意味するものである。

蔡温の政治は社会の各方面に亘つて用意周到着々実績を挙げてゐる事で、一々これを例証する煩に耐へない事ではあるが、彼れ自身唐津の出身であるに拘らず、飽くまでも彼れは自國中心の政策を堅持した。「政道の儀は、朽手繩にて馬を馳せ候後同断

と断じた通り和漢両方の勢力何れにも偏する事なく、巧にその均衡を保つて、その無風帯の下に自國の保全を期する事を目標とした。

向象賢の大和藝能奨励以来、和学も目立って發達し蔡温の比には、平敷屋朝敏等の如き和学者も現はれ、和歌和文鑑賞の座典に、和歌の上句に琉歌の下句を付ける仲風調なども流行した。

平敷屋及奇等の一味が、薩摩の奉行にいろ／＼と國內の秘事を泄したとの嫌疑から疑獄が起り一味の人々は次断された。その詳細な罪状は傳へられてゐないが、事件の性格が後の牧志息河一件と酷示してゐる。蔡温の中庸政治の檢玉に挙げられたものである事は、漢文に村する知識が世間一掃にだん／＼乏しくなり、支那に対する往復公文書の作製も宛來なくなつた事を要へ漢文組立方と云ふ役所を置く事になつた事からでも察する事が出来る。

尚敬冊封の爲めに、渡来した使節が中山傳信録の著者として名高い徐藤光で、この人は程順則とすつと後までも親交を続けていたが、蔡温の事はあまり快く思つてゐ

なかつた。それは評價方の事について合んでゐたからである。評價の事は、前にも一寸觸れておいたが、唐人持渡品の引取について、値段及數量等に關し彼我の折衝をす
 る事で、この時の持渡品は、二千貫目程のものであつたが、沖繩には五百貫目の準備
 銀しかなく、久米村惣役程順則を始め、諸役當意この境■蔡温は末吉親方と稱し常語
 御師匠と云ふ役目で首里に任んでおられたが久米村方からの要理に依りて評價方を援
 助される事になり、那覇に下られる途中、唐人四五百名、大門前で包圍、話の付かぬ
 間は圍を解かない氣勢を見せた。蔡温は自傳の中でこの時の事を「末吉親方少も驚恐
 の気色これなくし」と書いておられる。蔡温は一行を下天妃に誘導して説得し五百貫目
 に差付けた。この時攝政三司官久米村諸役一同、久米村の金剛寺に隠れて様子を観つ
 ておられたが蔡温の首尾を聞いて一同安心の胸を撫でおろした。
 けれども唐人一行は、一千五百貫ほどの貨物を持ち戻らなければならぬので、徐大
 人からも蔡温に再考を依頼して来た結果、首里那覇の士族婦人の替を供出させ、更に百
 貫目ほどの物を引取り、あとは不承して貰ふ事にした。

蔡温も流石に概覽めがわかつたと思つて、旅行人心得に於てこの事件に關する辭解
 が詳しく準備されてゐる。この話を、に持出したのは、蔡温が和漢両勢力に対し阿
 ねる事も怖れる事もなく、どこまでも自國を本位としての強い信念を持つておられた
 事を説明する為めである。

ここに一寸旅行人心得と云ふ書物の事について説明を加へて置く必要があらう。旅
 行人と云ふのは、唐旅の僕人一行の事で、旅行中薩戸との關係を始めいろいろの國情
 を訊かれた場合の返答の仕方を書記した虎の巻で、これを讀むと向ふに落ちず語るに
 落ちると云つたやうな政治の方針を覗ふ事の出来る興味ある且つ貴重な文献である。
 而してこの書き物が蔡温の終末である事は注意されてよい事であらう。所謂兩屬政策
 と云ふものは蔡温によつて明確に立てられたものと云つてもよい。

蔡温は御當國の儀は小國の分力を以て王國の飾（飾）と云ひまた「（飾）少の國力を以
 て唐大和への御勤御座候に付ては、御分力不相應程の御事候とも云うてゐる。國力不
 相應の王國の飾をすゝる為めに、唐大和へ付して不偏不党の政治を取つたのが蔡温であ

る。この事は誠に止むを得ない事ではあつた。而してその政策の爲めに、河魁が兎に
角河魁だけの小じんまりした生活を兼しむ事が出来たのもあつた。けれども明確に
自分を主張する事が出来ず、遠慮がちな煮え切らない自己辯護に了る河魁人の性格も
この辺から養はれて来たとも云へない事はない。

尚敏の後に尚務を経て尚温が立つた。十二才にして父王の後を承け、治世七年十九
才にして薨じたが、有名な冊使李鼎元が渡来したのは尚温十七才の時、彼れは侯録
に「世孫年十七、厚重簡默、傲岸難容、自前にして豊饒、福相あり」と評してゐる。
極めて早熟老成の人であつたと見ゆ。首里の第一中学校の表玄関に掲げてあつた「海
邦養秀」の四文字は彼れが國學に題した筆跡であるが、いかにも厚重難容の氣品ある
書風でその人物を遺憾なく現してゐる。彼れの治世は短期間ではあつたが、首里に始
めて國學の出来たのもこの時代で文教の上に資する所は極めて大であつた。彼れが國
學に親臨して諸生に訓諭したのは十七才の時、詩々として知徳がね到るべき事を論
し最後によく成績を挙ぐる者は布衣の子弟と云ふことを簡拔し否らざるものは名門の子

弟と云ふ此を片けんと云うてゐるが、この辺の考へ方は荀子に出づるものであらう。
蔡温が士分の子弟に職業を興へたのも、同様に重々に考へてよい事であらう。

第七期 江戸後期待

尚頼・尚育父子二代約六十年の治世、文化文政大振と所謂幕末の時代に當つてゐる。
外交の風雲漸く急を告げて、小王国の飾が吹飛ばされんとする時代である。
尚温から一代を経て尚頼時代となる。この人が世に云ふ坊主御主で鐵骨相半ばする
人であるが

世界やくらやみかおそむ人もをらぬ、やがて閻魔かねもなゆらやすが
上下やつめでなかに藏たて、うばひとる汚世をさめどりしや

いさだらぬことや一人身にめしよわらへも、草のあはれ敗てたばうれ
 いづみぢりあけて湯きとめめしよわれ、ふたつないぬ人の命やれば
 のやうな概世慷慨の名歌を残している矣から見て決して凡庸な君主ではなかつた。恰
 度文化文政天保に亘る三十一一年間の治世は所謂幕末で、西力次第に東漸し東洋の風俗
 急ならんとする時に當つてゐる。

幕府は本末鎖港攘夷を以て莫前としてゐたに拘らず、高津有彬は一代の達識で、攘
 夷鎖國の政策が到底世界の大局と相容る、ものではないと見てとり、その来るべき大
 勢に順應する爲めに、福州茶遠販の琉球館を拡張して西洋諸國との貿易を營み、次第
 にこれを那覇港に移し山川港に引寄せ、頃には時代の迷蒙も覚めるであらうと考へ表
 面には水産の烈公を奉じて攘夷論を唱へながら内々は竊に同港の準備に取りか、つて
 みた。蓋し有彬は攘夷海防の論をあまり立て、各藩の武備を提唱する一方大規模の銃
 砲製作所を建造し銃砲の製造を一手に引受けんと画策したものである。
 幕末の風俗は次の尚書時代に入つて一層激越した。天保十三年即ち一八四二年の南

京条約を一期として幕府の外交は次第に軟化し、これと反対に、在野の輿論は愈々硬
 化、攘夷論は尊王論と合流して幕府の政治を否定して来た。
 阿部聞老は、輿論を考慮しながらも、幕府の傾向を逆視し世界の大局を一時南島に
 於て緩和牽制せんと計り、寛猛の処置を有彬に一任した。
 於是、不即不商の外交政策を以て外未勢力と折衝する事になり、沖繩の外交は一段
 と複雑多岐なものとなつた。

この頃有彬は腹心市来正右衛門を沖繩に遣り、佛人に就いて軍艦二隻の洋文及び牧
 志朝忠等五名の留学生派遣の事を協議させる事になり、正右衛門自ら片装を結び服装
 を褒へ、宇衝臣師伊知良親密上と名乗つて談判に参画した。
 佛人も亦日本兩國の曙光としてこれを歓迎し談判は順調に運んだ。然るかに有彬突然
 の薨去でこの向題が思はぬ暗礁に乘上つた。

有彬の異母弟は有名な三郎久光で、維新元勳の一人ではあるが、最後まで丁髷を落
 さなかつたほどの頑固一徹の人で、生髮事件もこの人の時代に起つた。これは有彬の

同國主義とは根本的にソリが合はず、藩甲でも奔彬虎と久光虎とが対立及目の状態であつた。

奔彬突然の薨去によつて奔彬虎と目された人々は悉く排斥され或いは死を賜ひ或は遠島を命ぜられる有様で、世にこの騒動を奔彬崩れと呼んでゐる。この影響が沖繩に波及して牧志恩河一件と云ふ大疑獄を起すのであるが、その前に差当り困惑したのは、無首に迷つた軍艦注文の一条であつた。奔彬の計画悉く破棄改度された今となつて、無論この問題が取り上げられる筈もないのみか國策を裏切るものとして重大な罪状となる事はわかり切つてゐるので、市来も自決して責任を一身に負ひ覚悟であつたが、それでは却つて事を表面化し收拾しがたき状態に陥れる惧があるので、責任者たる伊知良親王上が落馬急死したと云ふ事にして、俄にその墓標を清興寺山に建て一千両の遺約金を出して破談にした。然し乍らこの問題は最初から極秘裡に扱はれ、王叔玉川王子を始め三司信小禄物奉行恩河通^事、牧志等薩戸のイキのか、つた若^干の人が奉行所に於て合議してゐたもので、この密談は外圍では玉川王子擁立問題と疑はれ例の小禄恩

河一件の大疑獄となつて関係者一同検挙され、玉川王子は幽閉小禄恩河等は獄死牧志は薩摩に召還される途中伊平屋渡で投身自殺した。一世を聳動した事件である。

第六期 南島復帰時代

尚育尚恭^又子二代の治世約五十年間に弘化嘉永安政方延から慶應明治と目まぐるしい位に世の中は急テンポで変遷した。

この時代に注意されるのは新参譜代などの士族の株が密に賣られた事で、賣ると云へば些か語弊があるが政府が冥加金によつて新参なり譜代なりの株を平民に與へる事で新参ならば十六万貫譜代ならばその倍の三十二万貫、尤もこれは鳩目勘定であるか

ら普通銅銭に直すと、一貫文が二十文で金の二銭に当り、三千二百円と六千四百円と、
おふ勘定である。けれども米一升一貫文の相場であつたから十六万貫では一千六百石
の米の値段で相当の額になるわけである。

御手許不如意の際、御領上と云ふ形で、その褒美として、新参なり譜代なりの新家
諸を賜ると云ふ名目にはなつてゐたが、この事は、是等の身分的階級の権威が
薄らいで行く時代の前觸でもあつた。

維新の慶事はその度毎に沖繩にも傳聞し容易ならぬ御時世として、寄り／＼協議も
あつたが、明治五年に鹿児島藩傳事として、奈良原幸五郎（後の男爵繁）伊地知此之
正（沖繩誌の着者貞啓）二人が出張、竹嶼及履時代の推移を説明し、万事復古の誉に
出でたるものであるによつて豫めその覚悟あるべきを警告した。この使命は極めて情
理を尽し、幸五郎どんの女は上下にうけがよかつたものである。

然るに、とんだゆさちかひと云ふのは今次の慶事は江戸幕府が明治政府にかはり、
薩摩藩の鹿児島縣にかはつた分の事で、薩摩藩及び幕府に対する従来の御取合向が鹿

見島縣及び朝廷に振りかへられ、は清む事で、それに万事復古の御政治とある以上は、

大島以下の五島も、此際沖繩に返還される事にもならうと云ふ極めて気楽な考へ方
であつた。ところが時代はかやうな呑気なものではなく、極めて深刻に且つ急速にう
つりかへり、鹿嶋置縣から、板橋奉還とまで進み沖繩問題もこのまゝ、兩属と云ふ不明
瞭な態度は第一國際法規が許さぬ。仍て明治五年清國との關係を断絶する事を命じ、

琉球國王を更めて琉球藩王とした。伊江王子宜鴻親方等召命によつて上京し傳運を
受けた。世にこれを藩王御請と唱へてゐる。政府の真意は飽くまでも郡縣画一の政治
で琉球王國を一旦琉球藩として收得し、更めてこれを清算せんとするものである。案
の^定明治七年の台湾征伐を経て明治八年から十二年とか、つて強硬な談判を重ね、
藩を廢して沖繩縣を置いた。

然るに駐日の清國公使何如璋が本國政府の訓令に基いて沖繩問題に關し嚴重な抗議
を將込み一料は武功の行使すら許さぬい決意を示した。必が清朝は伊犁事件を露國と
の向に問題を起してゐる際で、新に日本と事を構へるのを不利とし、暗く讓歩の態度

を取り他日倭土重米一挙に事を解決しようとする。明治十三年漫遊中の前米國大統領
グラントに委嘱し日本政府との折衝に當らしめる事になり、グラント承朝、伊藤博文
等要路の人々と数次の会談を重ねて例の分島問題が成立した。

分島問題と云ふのは、喜古八重山の両尤島を以て琉球王國として従来通り清朝の冊
封を受けさせ、沖繩本島その他の高島を沖繩縣として明治政府の治下におかんとする
案である。この案は第一尚恭が一突に付して承知しなかつた。それに清朝でも議が
はり調印を拒んだ爲めに実現しなかつた。

その間に、沖繩の内部に於ける置縣後の整備は着々進み、恰度分島事件の起つた同
し年に、鍋島縣令の方針で、沖繩村誌二冊本が編纂され、沖繩語は元米國語の一方言
であるに過ぎないから、訛を去り正に帰すべきものであると云ふ見地から、普通語の
練習を以て教育の基盤とした。向象賢の政策がもう一度取り上げられたわけで近世新
沖繩の先覺達は大方この基盤の上に育つた人々である。

新旧思想の對立は、それでも明治二十七八年戦役の頃までは除かれなかつたがこの

戦役が日本の勝利を以て結末を告げてから、この思想の對立も漸く終熄に近付いた。

その頃新教育の基盤の上に育つた人々も成長し、これ等の人々の間に珍奇な一構想が
生み出された。明治も二十九年のことである。その構想と云ふのは、明治二年の版籍奉
還から再出發するつもりで尚恭家を世襲の沖繩縣知事に推戴せんとする請願運動で、
全縣下に亘る有志代表の連署を以て請願書を申達した。これが有名な「**同**會事件で、
勿論この問題は一蹴されて了つたばかりでなく一部の人間からは沖繩の独立運動とさ
へ誤解されたものではあつたが、その実は決してそんなものではなかつた。但だ今日吾
々の遺憾に耐へない事は、公同會諸人が今二十年も早く出て、明治五年の琉球藩改定
の時に、右から左へ版籍を奉還して、内地諸藩と一列に知藩軍のスタートを切らべき
であつたと思ふ。それが二十四五年も立ちおくれで、明治三十六年に至り、やつと土
地整理が完成し、新生沖繩の生活の規模が確立したわけである。

按ずるに今次の敗戦によつて、日本は三千年の歴史を遺憾なく捨て、武士道日本の
傳統をすら弊履の如く脱ぎ捨て、一路平和國家文化國家の出現に邁進してゐる。この

安こそ沖繩が三百年前の敗戦以来身り續けて来た理念であつた。

噫慕爾たるこの海邦、常に平和に恋々として一切の武備を捨て、民生を豊かにし、天地の化育に参して地上の樂土を實現せんと努力しつゞけて来たにも拘らず、周囲の激浪は絶えずその生活を脅威し搾取し竟にはこれを抹消せんとするに至つた。若し人類の文明にその曾つての過失を追想し反省する日が来るとしたら、その特こそ是等の、崗々の生活が理念が文化が深き同情と愛着とを以て追念されねばならないであらう。

(完)

A'3.0.0.4

東恩納寬惇著

沖繩涉外史

自序

本稿は作夏四回に亘り某処において講演した腹案を整理したものである。聴衆の大多数が恐らくは拙著概説沖繩史を一瞥されたものであるとの想定で努めて煩雑な内政に亘る事を避けて来た為めに、勳もすれば、靴を隔て、痒を搔くの憾なきにしもあらずであるが、本来この島邦の生活が、外部からの勢力に順応する事によつて、内政を調節したものである以上、外からの（はたらきかけ）によつて、内の（いきかた）を推量する事は、それほどむづかしい事ではない。読者の予備知識は自ら靴を脱いで痒を搔かれるであろう事を信じている。（一九五一年一月）

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沖繩涉外史

一、外交の意義

外交の事を沖繩語では(取合)と申します。この語は公私一切の交際の意味に使用されるのでありまして、国際上の取合即ち外交の意味に使用される時には昔の政治家は(唐大和の御取合)と云ひ、今少し詳しく云ふ時には(唐の御取合大和の御奉公)と表現して居ります。明治初年王政維新と共に沖繩の所管問題が日支間の緊争となつた時に、支那側は明朝以来の冊封進貢の儀禮關係を取上げ、日本側は慶長薩摩入以後の統治權の行使を楯に取つておりましたが、これは御取合と御奉公とを相手側から云うた事になります。取合は単に義理合の事でありませんが、奉公となると義理合だけでは済まされず、厳しい義務が伴つて居ります。このやうな涉外事項について、昔の政治家は自国の立場を説明して、(御当国の儀は、小国の御分力を以て、王国の飾り之れ有り)とも、(唐の御取合大和の御奉公御分力不相応程の御事候)とも申して居ります。こう云つたやうな(小国の分力を以て王国の飾り)を擬装しなければならぬ事、又しなければならぬやうに仕向けられた事から、沖繩の涉外關係が複雑

多岐な様相を呈して来るのであります。言葉を換へて申せば沖繩自体としては斯へも大和へも単に御取合向だけに留めておくのが理想であります。それがそう行かない点に、小国の宿命を痛感し、下位の国、下位の分力を以て、上位の事これあり候国は、下国の下段と可心得候と觀念し、それに対応するやうな対内策を立案して来たのであります。それ等の対内外政策の中で、下国の下段なりに生活の目的の立つた時代が沖繩の黄金時代であつたと云へませう。

二、沖繩涉外史の見方

沖繩は洋中孤懸の島国でありまして、海外諸国との交渉なしには、自給自足出来ないものでありますから、古来自ら舟楫を以て万国の津梁と爲すと自認してゐた位で、涉外關係は沖繩史の全部であるとは申さずとも、その大部分であるとは云へます。従つて涉外關係を叙述するとなれば、勢ひ沖繩史を講述する事になります。それ故に此処では便法を取つて見度いと思ひます。

涉外關係と申しても、日支兩國との問題が大宗で、南洋西洋等との問題はそれから分岐したものに過ぎませぬから、その根本を取つてそれからその枝葉に論及するのが便利かと思ひます。それについては明治初年日支兩國主張の要旨を挙げ、それを一括し時代順に配列して批判しつゝ話を進めて行く

方が最も適切な方法かと思ひます。

明治五年政府は維新の變革を沖繩に傳達し日支兩國の間における従来のあいまいな國際關係を清算しなければならぬ事を予告し、その準備として新に琉球藩を設定し、同八年から十二年にかけて矢つぎばやに種々の嚴令を下して、版籍奉還を断行し、琉球藩を廢して沖繩県を置き清國に対する冊封進貢の關係を停止しました。この処置に対して、清國政府は、駐日公使何如璋を以て嚴重な抗議を持ち込み領土權を主張して参りました。その時の兩國政府の主張は大略次の通りであります。まづ清國側の主張は次の通りであります。

- 一、琉球王即位の時これを冊封す。
- 二、清帝即位の時慶賀使を出す。
- 三、隔年一回貢物を輸す。
- 四、學生を送り北京國子監に入る。
- 五、琉球難民あれば薪水食糧を給し、本国に送還す。
- 六、此等の諸制規は西曆一千四百五十年明永樂三年以後今日に至り行はれ、大清寶典及禮部省章程に記載あり。

七、彼の通交は隋に始まり、明の洪武に貢を入れ諸島を併せて国と称し、王と号じ、尙姓を賜ひ、三十六姓の福建人を遣る。

十六姓の福建人を遣る。

八、年号及曆法文書に清の法に依り、米仏蘭諸國との条約正文も皆然り。これに対する日本側の主張は又次の通りであります。

一、西曆七百年以来南島朝貢これを管治す。

二、国王は日本の皇胤なり。

三、風土・文字・言語・宗教・人種・風俗・習慣、皆日本と同じ。

四、西曆一千四百四十一年嘉吉元年以来薩摩に属す。

五、冊封進貢は經濟上の騙瞞行為に過ぎず。

六、數百年來統治權を行使す。

七、琉球を獨立国と認めず、古來支那のその隣邦に対する冊封進貢等の關係は有名無実の虚礼なり。

八、征台の事は支那自ら、これを正当と認む。

兩方の主張の要点はさつと以上の通りであります。この兩方の云ひ分を取りまどめて、年代順に検討して行つたならば、沖繩の外交のみならず、内治の大概にも触れる事が出来るかと思ひます。

(一) 隋書の流求は沖繩にあらず

六八一年(大業四年)隋は大軍を擁して流求を征伐しましたが、目的を達せず、その土民の使用する布甲を分捕つてかへりました。恰度この時に、日本の使者小野妹子が来会はせて、これは夷邪久国人の用ひるものだと云つた事が隋書に出て居ります。琉球の二字が今の文字になつたのは、明朝以後の事でその以前はいろいろに作られてゐますが畢竟これは、音を写した借字で字義そのものに何の意味もないからであります。隋書には流求となり、その字形から、流れに從つてこれを求めたから、斯く命名されたと云ふ附会の説までも出て居ります。ところがこの隋書に出てゐる流求は今の沖繩ではなくその時の航路の日程や土地の風俗習慣等から見ても台湾島である事は既に學者の等しく認めてゐる処で詳論するまでもありません。問題になるのは、流求と夷邪久との關係であります。これは実は同一対音で、発音の相違によつて字面が異なつてゐるに過ぎませぬ。つまり日本側からは屋久又は邪久以南の群島をすべて邪久と唱へ、支那側からは台湾以北の諸島を漠然と流求と唱へてゐたものであります。現に近代でも台湾島を大琉球澎湖島を小琉球と唱へた事があります。それが沖繩が琉球王国として浮上がつてから、大琉球が沖繩にうつり、台湾諸島を小琉球と呼ぶやうになりました。

室町時代の中頃に、朝鮮の漂流民が沖繩に漂着し、滞在中の見聞が李朝實錄に出て居りますが、その

中に(紵を編んで甲を爲る)と云ふ事が見えて居ります。紵と云ふのは、粗い麻の事であり、これではヨロイを造ると云ふのでありますが、これは多分日本全国から北海道のアイヌ辺までも使用されてゐるアツシの類であらうかと思はれます。かう云ふものが、汎く行はれてゐるところから妹子は漫然と屋久人がこんなものを着てゐると云うたものかと思はれます。隋時代の流求が台湾島の事であつたとすると、その史実に依つて沖繩の風俗を主張するのは無意義であります。

然らば沖繩の国名の問題であります。奈良時代の初頭(七五四)に唐僧鑑真が遣唐使船に便乗して来朝の砌り、その一行の船が今の沖繩島に到着し四十日の余も逗留した事がありました。その時の記録は(唐太和上東征伝)と題して伝はつてゐますが、この記録は鑑真の弟子の思託のメモに依つて淡海三船が書きおろしたもので、鑑真の死後十四年に出来たものであります。それにこの島の事を(阿児奈波島)と記しております。(オチナワ)と訓んだものでありませう。これは沖繩が南島の汎称で太宰府の管治の下におかれてゐた時代の事で沖繩自体の歴史では遠く神代の時代になります。(おもしろ)にもすべて(おきなわ)とあつて(りうきう)と云ふ名は見えて居りませぬ。十五世紀頃の古い碑文には(おきなわ)の外に(りうきう)と云ふ唱へが出て居りますが、それは(りうきう)国)又は(りうきう)国王)と云ふ場合に限られて居ります。つまり琉球と云ふ唱へは、明朝が琉球国

王と云ふ称号を与へてから後の爵位名であつて、通称ではありませぬ。今日に至るまでも琉球の唱へは知識階級に限られて居りまして、一般には沖繩としか唱へては居りませぬ。この事は支那人も承知の事で、一七一九年に来た冊封使徐葆光の中山伝信録にも(島人下郷に居る者は、自ら屋其惹と稱す)と見えて居ります。それでは(おきなわ)と云ふ名はどう云ふ意味であるかと申しますと、これにも近來いろいろの説もありますが、私自身の考へでは(沖の島)の意味に解して居ります。これは九州の南端から、台湾島の北に亘る島羣を一番近い所の一群を(口の島々)と唱へる事から始まつて(沖の島々)、(先の島々)と次第して極南の(はての島)波照間)となつてゐる中で、(沖の永良部)等と共に(沖)の系列に属する島だからの命名であると思はれます。このやうに固有の名称が和名であつて唐名ではないと云ふ事が注意されねばなりません。

沖繩島を含む南島全体が太宰府の統治の構想の中におかれてあつた事は、以上の命名からでも窺ふ事が出来ませんが、実際の統治としては明確な機関は立つて居りませぬ。延喜式太宰府別貢の中に、(赤木は南島の進む所、その数は得るに随ふ)と規定されて居ります。つまり貢和の品目も数量も一定してはゐなかつたもので、その時々好便にまかせて進貢してゐたものであります。關東から以北ですら、平安時代までも(東夷)と呼んでゐた事から見ても、当時の交通機能から申せば不思議な事

ではありません。

(2) 日本の皇胤(為朝伝説)

次に、その国主は日本の皇胤なりと云ふ日本側の主張を取上げて見ませう。これは云ふまでもなく為朝伝説で、鎮西八郎為朝が沖繩に渡り、今の島尻郡高嶺に城を構へて居た大里按司の妹と通じて一子尊教を挙げそれが長じて全島を支配し後世證して第一祖舜天王と呼ばれたと云ふ伝へを指したものであります。この事は支那の人々もそのまゝ受け入れて、日本朝公の裔と史乘にも出してありますがその史実は一六五〇年に書かれた中山世鑑が始見で、伝説は古くからあつたやうであります。が根本に於ける確実な史料はありません。伝説の採録も一六〇五年以前に遡る事は今のところ出来ておられません。それに、この血統は三代七十六年で亡んでその後五回も血統がかはつて居りますから、皇胤云々は取り上げるほどの問題でもありません。

(3) 明朝以後の朝貢

一四〇五年の永楽三年以来、支那の朝貢国となつてゐた事は事実で、これは争ふ余地がありません。どころか、その実は一三七二年の洪武五年以後の事にも遡る事が出来ます。ところがこの朝貢国と云ふのが、これだけで直ちに属領と看做してよいものかどうか問題であります。

古来支那では、款を通ずる諸国を二列に朝貢国と看做し、正当の貿易をも進貢と看做す風があります。歴代の正史ですら通交の諸国をすべて夷蛮列伝に繰入れてある位であります。殊に明朝は文治を主とし、通交の諸国に対しても敵はずに利を以てし、事端の発生を未然に防ぎ辺境の安泰を期したのであります。寧波厦門福州等に設けられた貿易館に來遠驛懷遠驛柔遠驛等の名を付けた事だけからでも、その懷柔政策の一斑を窺ふ事が出来ます。

一三七二年明の太祖即位、同時に使を遣はして沖繩及び日本の來貢を促しました。その來書には、天の天命を享けて一統の業を成した事を述べ、最後に且つ聖人は天下を以て一家と爲す、相通交せざるは豈一家の理ならんや、と結んであります。その頃沖繩では、略々今の国頭、中頭、島尻の三地方を根拠として三勢力に別れ対立抗争して居ましたが、最初に中部地方を支配してゐた浦添按司察度がその來諭を受諾してその翌年使を派遣して忠誠を誓ひ、次いで南部地方の大里按司、北部地方の羽地按司がこれに倣ひました。明は是等の三地方を中山、山南、山北と呼び、その各支配者をそれら中山王、山南王、山北王に冊封しました。沖繩が琉球王国と唱へ、その各指配者が、王号を取るやうになつたのはこれからの事で、それまでは王の唱へはなく、一様に(あんじ)按司と唱へておりました。(あるじ)の転訛であると謂はれてゐます。後に中山が他の二山を統合した為めに、中山又中山王と

云ふ唱へが全体名になりました。

朝貢関係は冊封と進貢の二面によつて主権及び臣服の表示がなされるのでありまして冊封と云ふのは、冊を封じて某国王とすると云ふ任命の儀式、進貢と云ふのは、定められた時期にその地方の産物これも定められた品目と数量とを輸送納入する事でありませぬ。

(4) 冊封進貢は経済上の欺瞞行為なり

冊封は外交上の儀礼に過ぎませぬが、その儀礼がいかにも仰山なもので、新国王の治世を飾るに足る重大な儀式となつてゐたために、一國を傾けての行事となつてゐました。けれども冊封に依つて国王としての効力が発生するものではありません。先国王の死去と同時に、その継嗣が立ち、数年後に世子某の名で冊封を願出でそれを請封と唱へ、請封があつて又数年後に冊封使発遣と云ふ手順になります。王家の伝記である中山世譜は本来支那に見せるために作成された書物でありますから、それには新国王の継承から、冊封までの期間を遠慮して(世子某權掌國事)と云ふ事にしてあります。權掌國事の期間は短くて三年、長くて二十年、平均八年であります。つまり即位後八年たつて冊封があるわけで、中には治世短くて冊封が間に合はなかつた事もあります。このやうな場合には、次の機会に王号を追贈する事になります。例へば十一代尙貞の後に十二代尙純、十三代尙益が立つて居りますが

二代共冊封を受けなかつたので、十四代尙敬の冊封文には(中山王曾孫世子尙敬)と云ふ名指になつて居ります。是等の実例は冊封が単なる儀礼であつて、これによつて、王位の効力が発生するものではない事を物語るもので、支那側において認める認めないに拘らず實際の効力においては一向差支がなかつた、又認めないと云ふ意思表示をした事も曾つてなかつたのでありまして、結局請封がなければ冊封もないわけで、(凡そ實貢する所は存郵するを忘れず、庸あれば必ず報い遠と雖遣さず、懷柔を示し鉅典を昭にする所以なり)と尙益論祭文にある如きその例であります。

なほ冊封が儀礼であつたと云ふ例は、冊封使が親臨して冊封文を読上げた後に、一旦これを巻き収めて持ち回る姿勢を示します、その時に国王が鎮国の至宝として留めて欲しいと懇請する。然らば歴代の勅文は完全に保管してあるかどうかと質す。その時に役人がそれを捧げて出る。それを見てそれではと留めると云ふ慣例になつて居ります。然るに後世は火災等のために焼失した物の中にはあつたと見えて(旅行人心得)には国王死去の際歟罪した分もあつて全部は揃つてゐないと云ふ陳弁が予め用意されてゐます。

冊封に対して謝恩進貢と云ふ事が行はれます、これは二年に一度とか三年に一度とか云ふ風に貢期も貢道も船腹もすべて規定されてゐます。進貢方物は、時代により多少の出入があり、大明会典に記

載の分は二十五種にも上り、その大部分は南洋産物であります。清朝以後はこれは免除になつてその代りに土産の螺殼等が加へられてゐます。前後を通じて重要な貢物は馬と硫黄とで、馬は五十頭乃至六十頭、硫黄は四万斤乃至六万斤で、南倭北虜に備へる為めの必要軍需物資として徴用されたものであります。進貢品は献上方物として国庫に納入されるものであります。これに附帯して行く附搭物貨と云ふのは、純然たる貿易品で福州会同館で会典記載の価格表に照らして取引されます。法規に依ると、取引期間は、日本及びその他の朝貢国は三日或は五日間の閉市になつて居りますが、沖繩は期間の制限がありません。これは特恵の待遇であります。

附搭物貨の主なるものは、蘇木と胡椒とで蘇木と云ふのは、蘇枋木とも云つて赤や黄色の染料であります。余程貴重なものであります。延喜式にも出て居ります。唐時代には、富豪を形容する時に「蘇木積んで山の如し」と云うた位であります。胡椒は悪熱を去り腸胃を整へる薬用として珍重されたものであります。

取引価格は蘇木毎斤五百文、琉球、十貫文と云ふ会典の規定であります。市価五百文のところを沖繩の場合は遠く南洋から買出して来ると云ふ酌量の下に、二十倍の公価になつて居ります。室町中期比の日本値段は十斤一貫文（戊子入明記）でありますから、一斤百文。それが十貫文と云うと百倍に

なるわけであります。

蘇木の原地値段はわかりかねますが、胡椒はスマトラで一斤二十文、これが支那では毎斤三十貫と規定されてゐますから、千五百倍に当るわけであります。室町時代の米の値段は一升百文と云ふところでもありますから、二十文では二合これが三石になつてかへる勘定でありますから、支那貿易の味は忘れられませぬ。そればかりではありません。一行滞在中の費用も亦官給で、船舶も亦支給されるのでありますから、進貢はお話にもならぬ位有利な事業であります。それだけ先方に取つては、余儀ない負担でありまして、たゞ大國の恩威を示すと云ふ建前に過ぎませぬから恩威さへ立てば、成るだけ貢数の少からん事を欲したのであります。それ故に慶長薩摩入後は国力の疲弊したのを理由に従来の二年一貢を更めて十年一貢とされたのをいろ／＼怨訴して五年一貢から三年二貢とまで漕ぎ付けたのであります。ところが更に手をかへて運動をつづけ接貢船と名付け、進貢船の出た翌年迎への船を出す事に話がまとまり、事実上毎年一貢と云ふ事になりました。

斯う云ふ事情から見ても、進貢と云ふ事は経済上の打算からの欺瞞行為であると思はれても致方はありませぬ。勿論欺瞞を意識しての事ではありませぬまでも、進貢と云ふ名の下に貿易而も極めて有利な貿易を行つてゐた事は事実であります。この事は沖繩自体でもやましいところがあります。為めに

例の旅人心得はこの事に対しても、予め詰問を予想し弁解の用意を怠つては居ませぬ。これは興味
の多い問題でありますから、その原文を出して見ませう。

(問) 琉球は小国にて進貢物も、僅之物献上仕候へ共、唐より段々難有被成下儀候、然者進貢忠義之
誠、題目可入精候之処、買物相済不申内は北京江殆足不仕、買物相済次第漸北京江打立候、右次第
を以相考候へば、進貢は礼法迄之勤にして、買物之働題目入精候段相見得候、何様之訳にて右通候
哉。

(答) 略之。

この設問に対して種々苦しい陳弁を用意して居りますが、斯ふ云ふ仮問を予想してゐる処にも、そ
の真意の在る所を十分に窺知する事が出来るのであります。

(5) 空道

空道と云ふのは白紙委任状の事でこの場合には琉球国印の国王を鈴した白紙であります、進貢船に
は二道の空道を携へて行く慣例でありました。それは吉凶いづれにも、場合に依つては革命が起つて
朝がかはる事があつても、出先で機宜の表文を認める事の出来る準備からでありました。

一六四一年明の遺族事、朝鮮に擁つて唐王と称し、元を隆武と建て清軍に抗してゐました。この時

琉球も亦招諭を受けて、豊見城親方(唐名毛泰久)、国場親方(唐名王明佐)等を正副使に任じ、一
六四五年福建に派遣しましたが、その一行閩安鎮に風を待つて滯留中、隆武帝敗亡、空道を使用して
表文を認め滿洲貝勒大將軍に捧げて誠意を表しました。(王姓国場親方系譜)

一六七四年明の遺臣耿世忠また福建に拠つて靖南王と称し清朝に抗してゐた頃、琉球進貢船台湾に
漂着、越えて七六年帰国しましたが、この時靖南王の使者同乗して渡来、国主尙真に謁し、明朝の恢
復を援助する爲めに硫黄を貢納する事を依頼しましたので、同年七月三日附を以てその事を薩摩に報
告し、指揮を仰ぎました。それに対して薩摩は九月廿二日書簡を以て硫黄三万斤贈進の事を指令しま
したが、その指令書に(福州の儀は、北京通融の津口にて候、殊に唐国半分大明の手に罷成由候処に
硫黄所望不相達候では後年の障にも罷成候はん、偶々使者渡海仕りたる儀に候条、少々は達せられ可
然候哉、縦大清の天下に罷成候共、其時節は仰せらるべき様も可有之)云々。とありました。

是より先、国姓爺鄭成功が台湾島によつて回天の計を回らしてゐた頃、時の執政羽地王子向象賢は
寛文二年三月十五日附を以て書面を薩摩に遣り、窮状を訴へましたが、その文書もまたよく進貢の性
格を説明して居ますので、煩を厭はず、大略を引用して見ませう。(内務省文書第十三号)例に依つ
て文意を和けて引用する。

琉球の儀、前代より唐へ往来、商賈仕り、着用雑具等に至るまで、相續く弊に候処、近年乱國に
なられ、国姓爺海賊致し候故、通融罷成らず、万事不自由に罷成候、其上国司位も、唐より申請け
られ候、又八九年前に韃靼へ使者共遣置候上下に四十人程にて候処(註、一六五四年使節派遣遺請封
福州に十年余淹留一行六十人中彼の地にて物故せるもの四十人、張學礼記)未帰帆候、右通に候は
ゞ捨殺に罷成かはゆき儀候、国姓爺事は、毎年日本へ船遣し候由承候、それにつき此方存じ候は、
琉球船唐へ参り候刻は、異儀なく指通し候様に、国姓爺方へ仰せ談せられ候はゞ、御意に背き奉り候
まじきかと存候。琉球も韃靼方へ相順ひ候儀、本意にあらす候へ共、是非なき仕合に候、又大明の代
に罷成候はゞ、彌以て前の如く朝貢致すべくなど御座候はば、合点致すべき事も御座候はん(下略)
大体この通りであります。是等の事情を以て察しても、支那への朝貢と云ふ事が何等徳義上の關係
でもなく、単に経済便利の上からの方策でしかなくかつた事が最も明白であります。

(6) 唐人持渡品

冊封使船は一定の規格に従つて建造されるのでありますが、規格はその通りになつてゐても、その
材料例へば肝腎の櫓舵等各部の材料に手を抜かれては、大事でありますから、使臣親らこれを審査し
若し不十分な箇所があれば私財を投じて改造強化したものであります。汪母使録に依りますと、舟中

には犁鋤耕種の農具一式取りそろへ、絶島に漂流した場合の自活に備へ、又棺二個を用意しその上に
(天朝使臣之柩)の文字を銀牌に刻し帖付し万一遭難の時には親らこの棺中に横はり波に随つて飄蕩
し発見したものに銀牌を取つて埋葬等の費用に充てしめる事になつてゐるともあります。何にしても
命かけの容易ならぬ使命であつた以上、これに酬いるだけの役得が期待されるわけで、この役得が唐
人持渡品となるわけがあります。即ち正副使臣を始め随員一同思ひの貨物を持つて行き、商売を
するのでこれを(唐人持渡り品)と唱へ、持渡品を値よく買取つてやる事が冠船接待の何よりの御馳
走になつて居りました。勿論唐人との勝手貿易は禁止でありますから、政府の手で引請ける事になり
その買取資金を(準備銀)と唱へます。元より切詰めた予算でありますから、その予算内で引請けら
れるだけを取り、あとは持ち回つて貰ふ事にする、それを(持戻り品)と唱へます、少々の持戻り
ならば不承もしますが、あまり多くなると、先方も承知しないし、又實際の毒でもありますから、
この辺の歩みよりについて双方立会ひで評議を重ねます、それを評価(ハンガール)と唱へ、その役所
を評価方(ハンガール)と唱へます。評価の事務が冠船最大の難関でありました。つまり冊封進貢
共に裏面に廻つて見れば経済上の事情が伏在してゐたものであります、たゞ冊封の場合は僅に乗員
一行の役得に過ぎないのでありますが、進貢の場合は全面的に貿易でありまして、唐大和への通融に

依りて漸くながら国用相達し云々と云ふ事は、沖繩の絶えず、口にする所でありました。慶長以後の貿易が薩摩の經營になり、一定量を限つて沖繩自前の商売も許容されてはゐましたが、鹿兒島役人衆より内密に五貫四貫と銀子を託して唐物を注文し、それを(附託銀)と唱へ、それ等の余儀ない人々を(免許御免之衆)と唱へて居りました。結局、進貢は室町幕府の場合も同様、貿易の仮面で、冊封はこの仮面に対する使用許可証でしかなかつたのであります。

(7) 年号、曆法及文書の法式

支那の年号曆法及び書式を採用してゐた事は事実であります。明治維新の時に、支那の年号をやめて、明治の年号を使用するやうにとの布達が出て始めて年号と云ふ事が思議に上つたのであります。が、それまでは一般に支那の年号を無意識に使用してゐた事は事実であります。けれどもこれは曆の上の干支と同様、それがどうと云ふ自覚のなかつた事も事実であります。明初に三十六姓移民が渡来して、往復文書の作成は元より、各家の系譜の編輯もすべて是等の人達の子孫が扱つてゐたのであります。まして曆の如きも支那曆を複製して全体に配つてゐたのでありますから、曆も年号も支那のものそのまま使用したわけになります。

推古天皇の九年に我が国でも、支那から始めて曆法を伝授しましたが、年号だけは、大化以来日本

のが出来ましたが、曆は支那のものが根柢になつて居ります。本来曆は曆数の標識であつて、国境のものではない。倫理道德の基準は論語に依り、天文曆数は大統曆に依る外には依りやうがなかつたのであります。けれども支那の慣例から申せば、正朔を奉ずると云ふ事は、臣事する事の別名になつて居りますから、支那側がこれを重視するのも無理はありませぬ、それにしても、これは冊封と不可分の関係にあるもので、冊封が単なる國際上の儀礼でしかなかつたやうに、年号も亦曆日の一部たるに過ぎなかつたのであります。それについては、面白い証拠があります。この文書は現物を写真に取つたもので、(のろ)の(女の神職)に与へた辞令書であります。この通り(隆武八年二月五日)の日附になつて居ります。隆武は明の遺族唐王の年号で、清朝が瀋州に興つて順治と号じ、恰度その二年(一六四五)に当り、一年きりで紹武と改元、これも一年きりで唐王亡び、桂王の永曆元年となつて居ります。然るに沖繩ではそれを知らずに八年まで使用してゐたわけで、この一事によつても、年号と云ふものゝ内容に格別權威のない、単に年次を記す記号として使用されてゐるに過ぎない。恰度普通に西曆を使つてゐるからと云つて別に内容に対しての義務は少しも考へてゐないのと同様であります。

次に書式の問題であります。漢文は従来東洋全体の公用文であつて、支那の独占ではありませ

ぬ。日本を始め朝鮮・シヤム・ビルマ・安南皆漢文を使用してゐたのであります。条約文の場合でも公用文としての漢文を使用したに過ぎませぬ。明治以前までは日本でも特別の国文学者以外は知識階級は公私共に漢文を常用したものであります。本来漢文は漢字と共に発生した文体であつて、清朝と雖、日本同様この文体を襲用してゐるに過ぎませぬ。漢文を使用してゐるから支那の風俗であるとするならば、英文を使用するものは、英國の風俗であると云ふ議論も成立します。尤執奏咨文等に会典規定の書式に従つてはゐましたが、それはさうでなければ通用しなかつたから当然の事でありませぬ。現に李朝の頃に、琉球国王の名で朝鮮に遣つた咨文が違式になつてゐると云ふ事で返書を出すか否かについて問題にされた事もあります。

なほこゝに注意して欲しい事は、沖繩の漢文は、最初は明朝の三十六姓移民に依つて傳へられたのであります。慶長以後は薩摩伝の朱子新註により毛利貞翁一派の標註本を本として、官話生以外は最初から訓点に依つて讀んでゐたものであります。是等の標註本には片仮字が使用されてゐますので、支那では平仮字を番字とも倭字とも唱へてゐたに對して片仮字を球字と唱へて居りました(入學見聞録)漢文伝來後と雖、国内の常用文としては假字文を使用してゐたのであります。これは其時代の金録や辞令書の現物が残つて居ります。これに對しても、例の(旅行人心得)は、また苦しい弁解を用

意して居るのであります。

(問) 琉球之儀諸事之書付並帳冊之調様、日本之法格、少も違目無之候、右之様子を以相考候得は何篇日本之下知に相隨、国中之仕置仕候儀別々無之積候、此段有筋可申披候。

(答) 琉球は隋唐之時代より瀟湘(湘)国、日本国、暹羅国、高麗国、交趾(越)国杯江致渡海商買仕、国用相調來候、其時分日本之文法致稽古、国中相時勢り、今迄其通に候、尤其後明朝之始三十六姓勅命を請琉球江罷渡漢文被相教授得共、漢文は難字候故、国中過半和文相用申事候、殊に当分は日本属島之内宝島(註、薩摩)商船年々渡來致商買候故、日本之文法にて無之候得は諸用事違兼候付て、彌以右之文法国中相用申迄に候。

なほこの書式と関連して問題になるべきものは、公文書に出て来る唐風の姓名であります。沖繩には固有の氏名の他に、唐名と唱へる支那風の名があります。(尤もこれは公用の名であるので、士分以上だけに限られてゐます)。蔡程林(蔡)金等は、三十六姓移民の後裔であります。福建(閩)の氏名であります。その以外のものは、元祿以後系圖座が設定され士分以上の家は一統に系譜を備へるやうになつた時に、支那の百家姓に依つて各氏人に一姓を選定したものであります。何等血統的根拠を有たない、單なる雅号に過ぎぬものであります。物徂侯、服南郭と云つた風に江戸期に於てすら

漢學者の間には好んで唐様の名を名乗る風があつたのから見ましても不思議な事ではありませぬ。王家の尙姓は永楽の初頃三山を統合した巴志に明朝から附られたものと伝へられて居りますが確かな文献はありませぬ。

(8) 薩摩との關係

西暦一四四一年、足利義教が大覚寺尊信を誅伐した功に依り、島津忠国に琉球を与へたと云ふ事は薩摩側の史料に見えてはゐますが假令さう云ふ事実があつたにしても、これは秀吉が龜井慈矩に琉球守を与へたのと同様の一方的の取極めであつて沖繩の全然関知せざる所であります。日本側がその事を取上げて、それ以来薩摩に属すとしたのは、史実に通ぜざるもので、属領の事を云ふならば、むしろ沖繩島を含む是等の群島が大八洲の一であつたと考へるのが至当であります。但し薩摩の所屬となつてから統治権が實際に行使されたと云ふ意味であるならば、それは慶長以後の事になります。

一六〇九年の島津氏の征伐は、沖繩の涉外史に一段と複雑度を加へて来るものであります。これからの内治外交はすべて薩摩の指令に準拠して行はれたものであります。この事變の原因がどう云ふものであつたかは、今少し後に述べる方が便利なやうであります。それにしても、日本がこの事變を重く取上げて、兵力によつてこれを占領したものであると、強く主張してゐるのは、当局者に歴

史的見識が浅い為めに、誤解を招き易い判断を下してゐるものであります。三〇度線以南を日本領から切り放されたのも暴力によつて獲得したものと見られたのかも知れませぬ。

封建時代の形勢から申しますと、列藩諸侯はいづれも独立の姿を呈してゐたものであります。特に室町戦国期に於ては、全然独立国として宣戦攻伐集散離合はてしなかつたものであります。島津氏が尙氏を攻略したのも、亦この例にもれないものであります。然らば当時の沖繩を列藩の一として見てよいかと云ふに、これは遠隔の地事情を異にしてゐるので必ずしもさうも行きませんが、これは朝鮮が対島を自國領のやうに考へてゐたのと同様、内地諸藩と事情の異なる点は程度の差であります。一七四年（乾隆九年）陳查奇が書いた海国見聞録に（対馬島朝鮮と界を為し、朝鮮対馬に貢して、対馬日本に貢す。薩南馬琉球と界を為し、琉球薩南馬に貢して薩南馬日本に貢す。二島の王俱に指揮を聽く）云々。これは徳川時代の事を述べたので朝鮮が対馬に貢すると云ふ形になつてゐますが、対馬と琉球との特殊地位を比較した点はおもしろいと思ひます。

三、南洋各地との交渉

國際都市としての那覇

大明会典に挙げてある琉球の貢物は、馬、刀、金銀酒海、金銀粉匣、瑪瑙、象牙、螺殼、海巴、摺子扇、泥金屬、生紅銅、錫、生熟夏布、牛皮、降香、木香、連香、檀香、黃熟香、蘇木、烏木、胡椒、硫黃、磨刀石の廿五品目に亘つてゐますが、その中で土産は螺殼、海巴、生熟夏布、牛皮、硫黃、磨刀石等の若干種目で、その他の大部分は日本及び南洋の産物であります。是等広範囲に亘る産物を集散する所に沖繩の経営があり、この経営を円滑に運轉する事に沖繩の外交は重点をおかれたのであります。

支那貿易の(唐旗)日本貿易の(やまと旗)に対して南洋諸国との貿易を(からは旗)と唱へてゐました。(からはなばん)と云ふ語が(おもしろ)などには出て来ます。鶏の一種に(ハートリ)と呼ばれるのがありますが、これも本来は(カラハ)鶏の意味であります。(カラハ)は爪哇の事で(咬嚼巴)に作り椰子の事を土地でKelepaと申しますから、椰子島の意味であります。(ナバン)は南蛮で、(おもしろ)や古金文辭令書などには(マナバン)とも出て居ります。室町頃に流行した六種の香木の中に(真南蛮)とあるのもこれで、Malabarの事であり、印度西海岸の臥亞(Goa)の地方であります。一五四三年ポルトガル船が種子島に来て、始めて鉄炮を伝へた時に、乗組の通訳支那人五峯と云ふ者との筆談に依つて南蛮船である事がわかりましたが、この南蛮も(ラバール)即ち(ゴア)船の意味ではなかつたかと私は考へて居ります。梅毒の事を沖繩では(南蛮瘡)と唱へて居りますが、この病氣も印度から沖繩に伝来したものと故土肥博士は發表されて居ります。南蛮瘡の事をまた(チーバル)とも唱へます(瘡)を(バル)と訓む事がこれでわかります。(ナン)を(ラ)ン)と発声する事は南支那一帯の通音であります。疥癬の事を(ヒゼンガサ)と普通に唱へて居りますが、これは肥前瘡の義かと思ひます。松浦静山の甲子夜話卷七に、佐賀弘道館の學生が、熊本時習館に往きたる時、弘道館の學生が貴藩では越中ふんどの事を穿君禪(細川越中守)と唱へるかと思ひましたので、貴藩では(ひぜんがさ)を弊邑瘡と呼ぶかとやりかへした小話があります。沖繩では(コーン)と呼んで居りますから、これなどは交趾から肥前長崎へ輸入されたのかも知れませぬ。幕府の長崎貿易が(ひぜんがさ)を持込み薩摩の琉球貿易が(ななばんがさ)を背負込んだ形であります。

(からは旗)の中に含まれてゐる諸国は、シヤム・仏太泥・マラツカバジャワ・スング・スマトラ・パレンバン・サンボーツアイ等でありまして、是等諸国との往復文書は歴代室案に収録されてゐます。一五〇九年から、一五六四年まで約半世紀間における是等諸国との交通回数は次の通りであります。

シヤム 一九

マラカ 二
アンナム 一
スング 一
バタニ 七

尤これは沖繩から出したものだけで、先方から来たものは含んで居ませぬ。シヤムとの交通が最も頻繁であつた事が知られます。従つてその影響も大きく、有名な泡盛酒もシヤム伝であり、長派コーチャイと云ふ米もシヤムのカオチヤオ(Kachao)の転訛であると思はれます。この期間における那覇津は是等諸国の船が輻輳し又諸國人が店舖を構へて五市し、港内には、各国の舶載品を格納する倉庫も建ちながらの国際都市でありまして、その頃鑄造して首里王城の正殿に掛けられた鐘銘には「舟楫を以て万国の津梁となし、異産至宝十方利に充滿せり」と自讃した位であります。備中の三宅・武蔵の龜井、薩摩の島津等の西南の企画はいづれも、この貿易を独占せんとする野望に過ぎなかつたのでありますが、前二者は失敗に了り、最後の島津氏が成功して、沖繩の歴史に一転機を画するのであります。

さて(からは旅)は一五六四年シヤムに発進された宇字二十三号船が最後であります。恰も明の

嘉靖の四十三年に當つて居ります。倭寇の猖獗を極めた頃で、沖繩では尙清の晩年に當り、那覇港の入口に南北二座の砲台を築いて倭寇に備へたのは、この時から十年前の事であり、慶長の風雲を捲き起した鄭廻はその翌年二十七歳で北京留学の途に上つたのであります。

従来進貢船は十年の保存期間で、支那から支給したものでありましたが、嘉靖比からは製倭船の手不足から船舶の支給が停止されまして、進貢船も土小船と特に書出して沖繩出来の船を使用するやうになり、船腹が小さい為めに、進貢物も二隻には積み切れない仕儀になつて了ひました。(やまと旅)や(からは旅)に就航する船舶もまた唐船の古手を使用したものでありましたので、この方面もまた不自由を感ずるやうになつて、自然停頓の状態になりました。これまで、貿易の規模は、南洋の物貨を日本及び支那に転売するのが主でありましたが、その規模が立たなくなつて、土産及び日本産を支那に持込み、支那物貨を持ちかへるだけになりましたが、慶長以後はそれさへ事実上は薩摩の経営に移つて了ひましたので、沖繩側では貿易に対する興味が悉く失はれて了ひました。これと共になほ一つ(からは旅)の衰微した原因がありました。航海指南はもと三十六姓移民の任務で、航海用の海図も亦彼等によつて伝えられたものであります。彼等の大部分は閩江下流の海上労働者で、あまり文字の知識もありませんでした。それは彼等の残した海図が目標になる島嶼を絵模様で表示してある

事によつても知られます。彼等の中にも、多少学識経験者もありまして、それ等の人々は最初から往復文書の作成などに任用され、政治の重要顧問に任じた人々もあります。最初から航海指南に当つた人々でも、次の航海まで、その家族と共に小商売等に従事したのもありましたが、おひ／＼この方面に興味が向けられて、陸上の勞務に転向する者が殖えて参りました。特に留學生は言語等の關係から専ら彼等の子弟から採択されたのでありますから、第二世三世からは次第に學士に転向したやうであります。その頃になると、交通諸國に宛せられた文書にも（卅六姓、世久しくして洞淵、航海の指南に当る長史火長なまために疎曠した）と云ふ弁解の文句が更りに見えて居ります。かう云つた事情がまた（からは旅）を衰微させた原因となつて居ります。

けれどもこゝに看過す事の出来ぬ事は、是等華僑の子弟が政治面に進出するやうになつて、日支の思想が対立の状態になつて来た事であります。慶長の問題も一面から見ると、五山系統の僧侶と、官生出身の政治家との衝突が内因を爲して居ります。

所屬問題について伯徳令氏 (Batthain) の所見

提督彼理は、琉球の所屬問題につき、伯徳令氏の所見を次のやうに紹介してゐます。(彼理日記一巻 二二二頁)

この國は支那に対する進貢冊封の關係に於て、或程度獨立國の形を取つてゐるが、完全なる日本領である。その理由を略述すれば次の通りである。

一、那覇には日本の守備隊がある。(註、一八四四年薩摩は守備兵二〇〇人を送つて密に那覇港に鎮せしめ、且つ山川港にその後衛を配置した。齊興の腹臣調所笑左衛門は幕府の意を安んずる爲めに琉球表の守備六七百人と報告した。)

二、貿易は日本と行はれるのみである。若し支那の屬領であつたとしたら、こんな事はあるまい。日本は毎年四百五十トン程の船を三四十隻琉球に送つてゐるが、琉球進貢船の支那に往くものは年一隻、別に隔年一隻に過ぎない、のみならず支那船は一隻も那覇港に入る事を允されてゐない。

三、多数の日本人が琉球に滞在し、土着民同様自由に過歴し、土地の婦人との結婚、土地の耕作家屋の建造も自由であり、結局自國同様に生活してゐる。それに反し支那人は他の外人同様追跡され迫害されてゐる。

四、言語・服装・習俗・道德・習辭一に日本人と共通である。

四、薩摩の対内策

官位昇進問題

一六〇九年の薩摩人は、沖繩の貿易を独占するのが目的であつた事は、前にも云うた通りであります。支那では日本との通交を嫌つて居りますから、沖繩が薩摩の配下になつた事が公然となつては冊封進貢のこれまでの関係も断絶される事は最も明瞭な事でありました。現に慶長役当時尙寧等捕虜となつて薩摩に同行された時に、薩摩では何よりも先に貿易船を派遣する事を命令し、随員中の二三人が急遽帰国して準備にかゝり船を出しましたが、この船が福建布政司に押さへられ、貢期でもなく又常貢の外に多量の日本品を持ち込んで来た事を詰問され、(倭これが賑を為す)と布政司から政府に警告した位でありました。

斯う云ふ状態では切角那覇津を手に入れても、予期した貿易の利を壟断する事が出来ないのでありますから、その事について慎重万全の策を講じなければならぬのであります。それには、薩摩との關係を極秘にして、沖繩を依然として、支那の朝貢国たる琉球王国として置く必要が第一に考へられた事でありました。それで尙寧以下当路の役人一同誓書血判をさせられた時にも、(琉球之儀、鹿児島

之御手に入候由、於唐取沙汰申間敷候、付琉球万事善否之儀、唐人へ少も咄申間敷事)と云ふのが第一の要目になつて居りました。これと同時に戦後処置としても、(苗字衣服等日本に倣ふ事)を禁じ固有の地名人名等でも、(やまとめきたるもの)はすべて改変するか字面を更へるかにさせ極力その同化を阻止したのであります。

念の為に唐船滞在中の布令書を出して見ませう。

一、冠船滞在中、道之島船、那覇致着船候は、やまと年号、日本業之氏名、やまと書物其外部而唐人見候而差障候品は、飯里主御物城大和横目見調へ取隠させ可申候

一、やまと歌やまと言葉仕間敷候、若唐人共やまと言葉にて何敷申間候は、不通休可仕候

一、やまとめきたる候風俗無之様可相嗜候

沖繩の統治機関としては、二人の琉球在番奉行を三年交替で置いてありましたが冊封使一行の逗留中は奉行衆を始め、随員一同浦添間切の城間村に潜伏し、日本船は遠く運天港に廻航隠匿する事にして居りました。是等の苦肉の策についてはいろいろの悲喜劇も伝はつて居りますが、いづれも兎も兎に類したものでありますから、ここには省いておく事にいたしませう。それにしても、今でこそ兎も兎に類したとは申しますものゝ、その当時としては泣くにも泣かれぬ懸命の仕事であつたのであります。

然らばその秘密が十分に守り果せたかと云ふに決してさうではありませぬ。支那では一什を全部知り悉してゐたのでありますが、毛を吹いて傷を求めるやうなことはしない。假令ウソにも名分さへ一通り立てば、それ以上追及する事をしないのが、王者としての大度と考へられてゐたのであります。以上は、島津氏が経済上の対外政策の上から沖繩を琉球王国として支那の朝貢国の形にしておく方が便利であつた事情を述べたのでありますが、幕府及び列藩諸侯に対する対内策からも亦その方が特策であると考へられた事について述べようと思ひます。吾々はこの政策を官位昇進問題と唱へて居ります。

松浦静山の甲子夜話稿卷四十三に引いた天明嚴密録に「官位昇進其統合又は賄賂を以経登り候事只今多く有之候」と見えてゐますが、この書は徳川十一代家齊の治世天明七年頃の見聞で、種々の情實によつて官位の昇進が行はれた事を云うたものであります。恰度その頃薩摩でも島津齊興が家齊將軍との縁故（齊興の姉が家齊の夫人広大院）に因り沖繩をタシに使つて官位昇進の運動を起してゐます。

島津家は従四位下の宰相が極位極官でありましたが、その中で慶長の家久が琉球入の勳功を取り立てられて、従三位の中納言まで榮進して居ります。それで代々その如き昇格したいのが理想でそのた

めに色々の工作が行はれてゐますが、その中でも正徳年間の吉貴と、天保年間の齊興とが最も猛烈でありました。こゝでは齊興の場合を引用して見度いと思ひます。この問題を詳しく述べるのは、煩はしいやうでもありますが、薩摩の統治策の性格なり、また沖繩が久しく独立王国の形を取つて来た事情なりを知るに都合が好いと思はれますから、煩を厭はず、述べて見る事に致します。

天保十年（一八三九）伊江・大里二王子が慶賀使として上国した時に、島津家の用人調所笑左衛門が、大里王子の大親（執事）國吉親方をその自宅に招いて、藩主島津齊興の内意を伝へ、（大守様御官位御昇進の御懇望に御座候処、既に宰相御任官迄遊ばせられ候ては、此上御官位御昇進の儀、御吟味の程合、いかやう御座あるべきや、右に付いては、國王様より御書簡を以て、御願立に相成候は、江戸へ御持登りの上、御内意等御働なさるべく候、左候は、公迎においても、御吟味付きやすく御座あるべく候間、右の趣向王子へも相達し船国の上、王子一同國王様へ申上げ、摂政へも相達し、三司官までは相達し候ても相済むべく、（差支なしの意、其外他へ相洩し申さざるやう、極々内密に相心得）云々と云ふ趣旨でありました。つまり昇格運動を島津家自身で持出しては都合の悪い事がある、と云ふのは十一代家齊は子女四十二人もの子福者で、是等多数の子女を方付けるについては、相應の家格の者に然るべき者が見付からぬために、格式の低い者を引上げて、無理に資格を造つてやつた事

もありました、それについて、同列の者が種々格上げの運動をしたもので、その事がいろいろの物議を惹起す惧があるので、手をかへて特別の方策を考へ出したものであります。即ち沖繩側から、願ひ出させ、それを以て幕府に当らうと云ふ算段であります。

右様の趣旨を以て願文を認め、同十二年渡唐予定の兼城親方の使命を繰延べてその案文を携へて上国検閱を受けさせ、清書の上、十三年浦添王子上国の際に正式に提出するやうにとの打合せせでありました。

国吉はこの内意を受けて帰館し二王子と談合、その年十月右の要旨を携へて帰国し、国王を始め閣老の評議に附し、評定所筆者主取名嘉地親雲上に命じ、堅横二通の願書を認めさせこれを携へて上国させました。これも参考の爲めに、原文を引用して見ませう。(尤も訓み難いと思はれる箇所は多少和けておいた)

謹んで愚論を奉り候。然らば先達て宰相御任官の御事追々承知奉り、私は勿論国中一統有り難く存じ奉り候次第に御座候。然処今般公義御代替(註、天保八年家慶就職)について、先規の通り賀慶使差上げ候儀、誠に以て冥加至極、是亦有り難き仕合せ存じ奉り候。右に付恐入り存じ奉り候得共中上げ奉り候は、以前より賀慶使東国へ召連れられ候節は御官位共御昇進在らせられ候御先格と存

じ奉り候付、此度とても、其通り御昇進在らせらるべくと、私始め国中一統仰ぎ奉り居り候。抑々琉球国の儀誠の小国には御座候得共、清国へも通融候故、専ら官位等の儀を重く尊敬致し候に付、先達て御昇進の御事承知仕り、国中一統感服奉り、国政等申渡し候折も、至て承服宜しく、誠に御威光故と旁々有り難き儀、存じ奉り候。依之、此度も賀慶使召連れられ候付ては御先格の通り御官位共是非御昇進在らせられ度く、私並国中一統より深重懇願奉り候。右にも中上げ候通り、琉球は小国故か、人品も至で堅意地之れ有り、先規等の儀相欠き候儀共有之時は、別て疑惑を起し、国政の妨相成儀共、多々有之難波仕り候間、国中一統よりの期願も捨て置き難く、抱なく申上げ候次第に御座候。余事に御座候得は、御家老中へ向け、申上ぐべく候へ共、格別大切成る御内事と存じ奉り候付、恐を願み奉らず、御直に此旨御内々申上げ奉り候、恐れ乍ら、不悪御有恕被成下度存じ奉り候。誠恐敬白

五月

御名

進上宰相様

是等の文書は勿論陸摩で朱筆を加へて出来上つたものでありますが、右だけでは(官位の品不相分)との事で、更に一通の案文を渡し清書し添書として持参せしめる事になりました。その文書は次の通

りであります。

公義御慶事に付、賀慶使差上げ江府へ召列られ候節は、御先例御官位共御昇進在らせられる御事と存じ奉り候間、別紙を以ても申上候通り、何卒此度とても、不相易、従三位中納言様へ御官位共仰せを蒙らせられ候様歎願奉り候事

是等の談合は幕府は勿論、他藩に対しても極秘裏に運ばれ、十二年八月十七日国吉親方登城して公然と呈出され、(此度中山玉願意の趣尤至極にて別けて御満足に思召さる)との沙汰で、国吉親方(名は朝章、唐名向良朝)は厚き恩賞を蒙り、天保十二年八月九日附を以て三司官任命の内意を達し九月廿日を以て任職しました。これだけの手数をかけて持出された昇進運動も、予期ほどの効果はなく天保十三年十二月初日正四位上左中将に任ぜられ、使者一行よりは(最初三位の御位折角被仰上候処大信院様(註、齊興の祖父重豪、重豪の女徳姫將軍家齊に嫁したるにより後に従三位に拜し大信院殿榮翁と号す)御懇切程は無御座云々の報告がありました。このやうな昇進運動の工作は正徳年間島津吉貴の時代にも行はれて居りますが請願の書類等も大体正徳度のに倣つたものであります。是等兩次の書類は薩摩側のは旧典類從卷五に沖繩側のは御内用一件と題する二巻に収めてありましたが、これは今次の戦災で多分焼失したものと思はれます。其外内務省文書にもありましたが、その方の存否は

今確かめておませぬ。兎に角この運動の結果島津家では家久の従三位を除いては、吉貴と齊興と二人が、正四位下と正四位上とに昇進しその他の人々は従五位下か又は従四位下に停つて居るに過ぎませぬ。

島津吉貴の謂ふ所に、(私領国は別て異国に相掛候儀、外に類格も無之候)又は(琉球の儀は大唐にて朝鮮琉球と第二番の国主にて候)の類、すべて沖繩を異国に仕立てこれを属領として統御する面目を幕府及び列藩に誇示したものであります。そのために、賀慶使一行の江戸上りに際しては特に唐風の装束をまといしめ、幕府もまた朝鮮賀慶使に準じてこれを重視し通路等の繕ひ入念に輸出したるばかりでなく(新敷木にて繕候分は古木取合候様色付)云々等と左あらぬ様に威厳を保つたところに、文飾政治の虚勢をも認める事が出来ます。すべでかう云つたやうな真実に倣しない政治が後世沖繩の問題を歪曲したものであります。兩属政策と云ふ不合理な政治も決して沖繩だけの責任ではないさうするやうに余儀なくされたものであります。

琉球行列と唱へて、この江戸上りの絵図がありますが、これも薩摩の版権で、芝屋敷の出入商人に板株を貸下げ開放したもので、これも亦島津氏の宣伝に過ぎなかつたものであります。この行列図の中で天保度のが一番数多く残つてゐるのもまた齊興の昇格運動と関連するものであります。

五、西洋諸国との交渉

一八四三年の南京条約で香港が英国に割譲されて以来極東の風雲は日増に緊迫の度を加へて参りました。幕府もこの情勢に鑑みて、三五年の無二念擊攘令を緩和しましたが、これを楔機として幕府の外交は次第に軟化し、これと正反対に世論は漸く硬化し閉固・攘夷の両論が対立して参りました。斯の風雲が沖繩に近接したのは一八四四年の仏船渡来が最初で、例によつて、通信・布教・貿易の三条を要請しましたが言を左右に託して、之れを拒み、仏船は宣教師Hortade（顯爾迦切）通訳の支那人Augustin（高漢吾志担）を遣して去りました。越えて一八四六年には英船「Maitland」号によつて有名な伯徳令（Bairdham）が妻子同伴で渡来し永住の氣勢を示しました。ハンガリー生れの英国人である伯徳令は宣教師をかね英国海軍伝道教会（Lat. Chew Naval Mission）から派遣されて来たもので、これからペリー提督の船で引上げるまで十年近くも那覇に滞留し布教の旁琉訳聖書の述作に従事したものであります。この情報悉く薩摩を経て幕府にも上申されたもので、幕府も漸く周章の氣味になつて参りました。

その頃の薩摩の当主は斉彬の父の斉興で、愛妾遊羅の方に生ませた三郎久光を鍾愛し正嫡の斉彬を

疎じた事から、父子の間兎角円滑を欠き斉彬四十才を越してゐたに拘らず家督の沙汰もなく、家臣の間にもまた派閥暗闘があり、沖繩に派遣された役吏の間にもまた阿派がありまして、斉彬派の火々からは更に事情切迫の報告があるに反し斉興派の人々は、常に琉球表静謐の情報を送りこの事を幕府にも上達して居りました。これは斉興の官位昇進問題と関連するものでありまして、治績の如何がこの問題に差しひいて来るからであります。

島津斉彬は深慮遠謀一代の英雄でありますから、かう云ふ姑息の事から外交上機宜の措置を誤まる事があつては、由々しき大事に至る事を憂ひ、尙に入魂の伊達宗城に相談し、宗城から閉老阿部伊勢守正弘の耳に入れ、熟議の結果斉興に御茶拜領と云ふ事になつて隠居の内旨を与へ、嘉永三年十二月七日隠居の許可が下りました。

是れより先阿部閉老は、幕吏筒井肥前守政憲を以て、外交上の事につき斉彬の所見を叩かした事がありました。これに対し斉彬の思ふやうは、今幕府鎖港鎖国政策を取つて、海外との交通を遮断してゐるとは云ふものゝ、世界の大事は人力の克く阻止し得るものではない、況んや幕府の声望隆替寛永の古と到底同日の談ではないに於いてをや、若し一旦外国と事を構ふるに至らば、時運予測しがたいものがある。通商交信は恐らく時の問題であらうから、一方に国防を修めて不時に備へると共

に、福建・台湾・先島・連天・或は那覇に交易場を開いて暫く外国の欲心を繋ぎ、その要望を南辺に牽制して時を稼ぐ間には国内の事情も易るであらうから、漸次名瀬・山川・鹿児島と誘導する事も出来やうと謂ふのであります。

仍でこの意見を閣老にも具陳し、且つ、曰く琉球の久しく清国と交通せる事は周知であるから、国禁の故を以て之れを拒む事が出来ないばかりでなく万一清国の允諾を受けて来るやうな事があつては外交上頗る面倒な事になる。それよりむしろ暫くその地を鎖国から除外し布教だけは禁じて通信貿易は黙認する事にしよう。と云ふ意見でありました。阿部閣老もこの意見に賛意を表し、幕是の手前公然の允許を出すわけには参りませぬから(寛政臨機の処置)を薩摩に一任する事になりました。これは誠に含みの多い言葉でありましてその含みの多い認諾の下に(振り切つた)外交と云ふのが斉彬の肚でありました。

但し此処に一応考へて見ねばならぬ事は、斉彬が通信貿易を允して、布教だけはこれを拒否しやうとした事で、鎖国政策のねらひも(きりしたん)宗門の禁止で、その目的を達成せんばかりに通信貿易までも併せ棄てたもので、若し出来る事ならば貿易だけは保持し度いのが真意でありました。斉彬の意見は幕府のこの真意を掴んだばかりでなく慶長以来の島津氏の意図にも亦添つてゐたのであります。

長崎貿易琉球貿易

幕府は対外貿易政策を副作用を出来るだけ少くして遂行する為めに、長崎の一港を除くこの一港において、支那和蘭との貿易を行ひ且つこれを奨励しました。鎖国中の長崎貿易の唯一の競争者は薩摩の琉球貿易で、琉球持渡唐物の大坂市場における声価は、幕府の専売権を脅す事少くはなかつた。特に延宝進貢回数が増加以後に至りて長崎貿易の販路非常なる打撃を受けました。一八〇〇年、薩摩は支那輸入の薬種その他の器財を他国へ売捌の許可を得ん事を中山王の名を以て願出しましたが幕府は一八〇二年薬種類の輸入を嚴禁し、器財類も単に琉球国内の需要の範囲内に止め、自今琉球持渡唐物は単に白糸紗綾に限る事とし、這回廻送の薬種器財類を悉く送還せしめると同時に情状を酌量し、金二万兩を發して損害を賠償しました。幕府が一万兩の大金を投じてまで琉球貿易を牽制した事から見ても、幕府貿易の一勁敵たりしことが察せられませう。但し、幕府貿易が支那の外に和蘭をも含んでゐるに反し、琉球貿易は支那一国に限られてゐましたから、これを拡大して英米蘭の諸国をも包含せんとするのが、斉彬の真の意図でありました。これは後に斉彬が福州琉球館の拡張を計画した時に、(目下清国は英仏と事を構へ、長崎への商船も来らず唐物為めに拵底し、特に薬種類は品切の

有様なれば、この機を外さず、当方より出掛け商法の道を開きたらば、長崎への渡商いよく減する
ならん」と云うた事によつて明かであります。

於是、外人に対する沖繩の政策は表向幕府領国の趣旨に抵触する事なくまた外人の機嫌を損する事
もなく不即不離寛猛臨機の処置と云ふ事になつてその立場は一段とむづかしくなつて行つたのであり
ます。

齊彬はこの方針に基いて、運天に出島を築いて商館を建て仙人を導いて薩摩から小判金二万兩乃至
二万兩を融資し和産の反布類を下して交易を開始せんと計画しましたが、沖繩側では、これに対して
多量の日本産物を取寄せ手広く交易を開いては到底収拾すべからざる情勢にまで発展すべき惧あるに
つき止むを得なければ沖繩産物だけに止め、小規模に交易し度い道遠く利少ければ彼の方から自然に
交易を断念するに相違ないと云ふ肚でありました。

一八五〇年に入つて英米仏蘭等諸国の近海に出没するもの益々頻繁の度を加へ、交々来りて新水食
糧等航海必需物資の補給を求め特に米國は海岸地に石炭倉庫を建設する事と、日本通貨の兩替とを要
望しました。蓋し英仏等の諸國は魯國と黒海地中海に於て事を構へんとする際で、米合衆國だけが悠
々鎖國日本の門戸を叩かんとし、其陣容を沖繩に於て整へんとしたのであります。世間往々にして提

督彼理の真意は沖繩を占領する意圖であつたと申しますが、一八五四年七月十二日を以て締結された
琉米条約にはそのやうな意圖が片鱗だも現れておませぬ、極めて明白な和親条約で支給の物資に対し
ては適正な価格を請払すると云ふ点に自由通商の意思が覗はれるために薩摩はこれを官庁の手を経て
受授を行ひ人民同志の勝手貿易を禁止し度い考へてありましたがその条項は訂正の機会がありません
でした。兎に角条約文に見れただけでは占領の意圖は毫も認められませぬ。而して是れだけの条約を
締結するについて、米國側は彈圧に近い手段をも辞しなかつたほどでありますから、百尺竿頭一步を
進めて、實力を以て是等の島々を接収する事は易々たるものでありません。然るに事のこゝに出な
つたのは、日本を刺激して益々その鎖國の門戸を固くせんかを惧れたもので、米國の意圖は飽くまで
も友好的に日本を国際場裡に誘引せんとしたものであります。

一八五三年提督彼理が浦賀を訪問し久里浜に於て幕吏と会見し、米國大統領の親書に対し明春回答
の約諾を得てその期間を那覇港に送り、石炭倉庫建設の認可を受け、香港から石炭を取寄せて格納し
陣容を整へて北上、一八五四年三月三日幕府と和親条約を締結し七月十一日には琉米和親条約を締結
しました。この条約は全部で七ヶ条から成り、兩國の友好關係、必需物資に対する自由交易、米人募
地の保護、出入の米國船舶に対し水先案内の傭入等で土地の保有、基督教の布教等には何等妨されてお

ませぬ。

この条約の締結は、斉彬の宿望に一大光明を与へたものでありまして、条約の成立と共に、蒸汽船一隻米国に注文し度き事外国人への支給物資は従来の無償の例を改め、二倍乃至三倍の価格を要求すべき事、貿易品は日本産を使用すべき事等を指令しました。即ち斉彬は琉米交際の成立を機会に外交を貿易にまで誘導せんとしたものであります。

条約締結後米船の出入特に頻繁、翌一八五五年に入つて仏船また頻りに出入、米国に倣つて条約の締結を迫り、その年十月十五日脅迫して約文に調印させました。条約凡十一ヶ条、大体米国と同様であります。稍々異なる処は、家屋地所船舶等の賃貸は暫任、久用仏人の便利に委せると規定した点であります。

米仏兩國との和親条約が成立してから、島津斉彬の計画は愈々その全貌を現して来ました。即一八五七年九月密に人を長崎の蘭館に遣はし、琉球と通商の事、那覇には米仏人逗留につき大島に於て具體的打合せをし度き事、通商は運天港に於て行ひ度き事等を提議させました。

尋いて斉彬は琉球滞在の仏人を介して軍艦二隻注文の件、留學生派遣の件等を企画し琉球政府に命じて仏人を優遇させると同時に、腹臣市米正右衛門に琉装して宝島医師伊知良親雲上と名乗らせ、返

留仏人に接近し、琉球の意図としてこの事を漏らさせました。仏人は事の意外なるに且つ驚き且つ喜び、殊に布教の方面に於ても英国宣教師伯徳令失敗の後を受け仏蘭西旧教を宣伝するには絶好の機会であると悦び、契約書を作製して本国政府に報告し、一八五九年の三月までには注成品一切到着の予定でありました。

然るに一八五八年（安政五年）七月十五日、斉彬急逝、異母弟三郎久光後を承継藩内の党綱再び起り、斉彬の遺策悉く覆り軍艦注文の問題も宙に迷ひ、責任者たる伊知良親雲上落馬急死と云ふ事に云ひ纏ひ一万串の違約金を支払つて解約いたしました。是の年有名な安政戊午の騒動が起り攘夷党が組織処刑され二世の耳目を聳動し、これが原因となつて一八六〇年桜田の變となり討幕の機運を早めたのであります。沖繩でもまたその翌年牧志恩河二件と称する一大騒動が起りました。その事件の真相はこれまで斉彬の密命を受けて隠密の間に画策してゐた一派の人々を囿を充り国主の崩立を隠謀したと云ふ嫌疑でありまして容疑者悉く罪科に行はれ近世稀れに見る大事件となりました。いづれも時代の更生する胎動であつたのであります。

一八五九年七月和蘭國との条約締結その条項は米仏二國と大差ありません。沖繩が琉球王国の名を以て各國に當つた外交はこれを以て終焉を告げ、その結末を明治新政府がいかやうに収拾するかが残

された問題となりました。

六、台湾征伐

一八七一年（明治四年）十月十八日、宮古八重山の買納船二隻那覇港を築し、帰島せんとし、途次慶良間島に仮泊し、廿九日此の地を築したるに翌十一月朔日俄に颶風に遭ひ漂流する事数日、友船或は台湾北岸に漂着し、支那官憲の手により護送せられ、或は無事帰島し、又或は踪跡を失ふものもありましたが、その内宮古島船一隻は六日台湾島の東岸八瑤灣に漂着乗員等悦び上陸せんとしたが浪高く三人溺死しました。於是生存者一行六十六人翌七日人家を求めて徘徊道を失つて牡丹社蕃地に迷ひ込み漸く通れて、北双溪口に蕃地と交易する支那人劉天保と云へる者の家に着いたが蕃人等追迹し来り一行中五十四人を捕へ、これを殺害しました。

埔力庄の庄主楊友旺と云ふ者、妾を聞いて、その二子を遣はし劉氏に匿れて居た者九名、山中を徘徊せる者二名、高士仏蕃社に生擒された者一名都合十二名を助け又彼の五十四名の頭腹を購ひ其の屍と共にこれを双溪口に葬りました。彼の十二名の者、四十日余も楊氏の家に養はれ遂に伴はれて車城に出で、楓港に上陸し枋寮、車港、鳳山を経て十二月廿九日府城に到り先に護送された八重山人と共に

福州琉球館に送られ翌一八七三年六月二日帰唐船によつてその月の七日に無事那覇に帰着しました。

政府はこの機に乗じ、琉球所屬問題を一挙に解決せんとしたのであります。

政府はこの事件につき清国政府に抗議しましたが、彼の政府は台地は化外の民で政令の及ばざる旨を答へその責任を回避しましたので、始めて征台の議を決し軍旅を整へましたが、この時に英伊露西各国公使との事について質問したために、四月十七日大政官令を以て出師の理由を再明公布しました。その大略は（我人民を殺害せし罪を問ひ相当の処分をなし、後我人民航海の安寧保護の爲め）と云ふのであります。

五月十七日西郷都督高砂丸に搭して長崎を築じ二十二日台地に着き六月一日三道より軍を進め生蕃の巢窟を覆しその酋長を屠りました。八月内務卿大久保利通参理大臣として北京に入り軍機大臣和碩恭親王等と總理衙門に会見し往復弁難凡七回月余に亘りて決せず、談判幾度か決裂せんとし遂に駐清英國公使ウエード（British Envoy, Mr. Wade）の斡旋で十月三十一日条約に調印し、その第一条に（日本国此次弁する所は原と民を保つ義の爲めに見を起す清国指して以て不是と爲さず）

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.

この事件の解決は、琉球が完全なる日本領である事を清国をして承認させる言質となつたものであります。

七、明治維新と沖縄

一八六四年津波古親方（東国興）等を清国に遣はして尙泰の爲めに請封、越えて六六年趙新、于光甲等冊封正副使として渡来、就位後十八年の事であります。龔祖察度明朝の冊封を受けてこゝに至る四百九十四年、冊封度数二十三回は最後としてこの大芝居も永久の幕を降ろしたのであります。一八六八年大政維新幕府八百方石の封土を接收し、翌六九年薩長土肥四藩主連署して版籍を奉還し次いで列藩これに倣ひ、越えて七二年藩を廢して県を置き維新更始の洪謨悉く茲に確立しました。仍て翌三年琉球王国の名号を削りて琉球藩とし、琉球国王を裁して改めて琉球藩王としました。蓋し、特に藩主とせずして藩王とし王号を存したのは因襲俄に更め難きによつて漸を以て進まんとするの方針に過ぎませぬ。越えて七三年偶々琉球藩民の台湾生藩に殺害せられたる事あり、政府これを機として翌七四年間罪の師を興じ、主権の存立を明かにするの舉に出で、清国政府却つてこれを正當と認め琉球諸島所屬の問題は暗黙の間に認承されたものやうでありました。仍つて政府は急遽これを確定

せんとし、七五年から四年間に亘つて漸的に命令を下し七九年に至つて琉球版籍の奉還を命じ、更めて沖縄県を置き名実共に王政復古の号令に遵ふ事になり約一千年にして南島統治の原形に復旧いたしました。

然るに、この処分に対して、守旧派は更に密使を遣して清国の救解を求め、清国これを納れ七八年駐劄公使何如璋を以て日本政府に抗議させました。その質問書に対し兩國代表の主張は前出の通りでありました。交渉数次に亘り、互に譲らなかつた所に、偶々米國前大統領グラント氏來遊居中調停を試み、一八八〇年（明治十三年）の分島事件となつて現れました。

是の年二月八日、福岡助七在番奉行として、鹿児島県から琉球出張を命ぜられ六月廿二日着任しました。最後の在番奉行であります。

是の年九月廿八日に、これまで琉球王国の名を以て各國と締結された条約の正文を外務省に移管しその翌日、在番奉行福岡助七外務省九等出仕に任命され、ついで季連と改名しました。一六三二年川上又左衛門忠通が正式に琉球在番奉行を命ぜられてから、こゝに至つて二百四十一年、奉行の交替約百二十回、沖縄歴史の一半を彩つた奉行政治もこゝに完全に終焉を告げたのであります。

八、分島問題と両属政策

分島問題と云ふのは、清国の（割島分隸之説）と称するもので一口に云へば、琉球列島を二分又は三分して日支両国が各々その一部を占領し、両国の面目を立てやうと云ふ妥協案でありまして、謂ふ所の（小国の分力を以て王国の飾）を取つて来た姑息な政策の清算期とも云ふべきものでありまして而してその姑息な政策が両属政策でありました。

今から三四五十年前に出た喜安日記に「古老の人の云ふ唐を祖母の思ひをなし、日本を祖父とせよと云へり」とあるのが、この意味の文字に出た始めで、それから百年ほど後に出了た政治家等は日支両国を父母とせよと云つて居ります、即ち百年ほどの間に、沖繩の日支両国に対する關係は祖父から、父母に接近したとも云へませう。つまりこの調子で進めば早晚両方の顔があつて、直接の談合になる性質のものでありました。両属と云ふのは、本来この両国の支援を受けねば少くとも両勢力の機嫌を損なつては、國家の維持が出来ないから、これに随従する事、父祖母に事ふるが如くすると云ふ意味であります、併しこれは一方的な考へ方でありまして、第一日支両国が夫婦關係に立つものでない以上、兩國に対してこのやうな血縁を求める事は無理でありました。世間往々にして琉球を

支那の藩胤のやうに考へる向もありますが、私共から見ますれば、むしろ日本の私生児でありました。親に見放されて支那人の人さしに拾はれて行つたやうなもので、日本には生みの思があつたにしましても支那には育ての思があつたと云ふものであります。

Perry が、Lew Chew was peopled by a colony from Japan, to which people their phylogony, language, and customs have a close affinity; and to China, they owe the for more important debt of their partial civilization and literature.

と云うてゐるのもその事でありませう。その辺の情誼を無視して強引に引取つて行かうとした処に悶着が起り、その調停に持ち出されたのが十三年の分島問題であります。米國前大統領グラントは、支那漫遊中李鴻章等に面会し、その意中を含んで日本に來遊し私案として、分島問題を持出したのであります、最初の案は矢張李中堂から出たものであると思ひます。琉球三分説も彼れの創案でありその老獪な事は到底日本政治家の及ぶ処でなかつたやうに思ひます。琉球三分説も彼れの創案でありまして、日本はその裏をかいた形でありました。と申しますのは、慶長の役に大島以下北部五島は薩摩に分譲されたのであります、薩摩はこの事実をひたかくしにかくして支那を瞞着して来たのであります。支那はこの事実を知つて居りましたけれども強いてこれを穿鑿しなかつたのであります。

た。明治初年に所屬問題が起つた時に、日本側は慶長以後実力を以てこれを領有した事を主張しまし
ても、これに対して支那側は殊更にその事実を承認しなかつたのであります。三分説はこの引続きで
ありまして、琉球列島を三分し、大島を含む北部五島を日本に譲り、沖繩島を含む中部諸島に琉球王
國を立て、宮古八重山を含む南部諸島を清國にゆづり、冊封關係を従来通り持続せんとするものであ
りまして、北部諸島が已に事実上慶長以来薩摩領になつてゐたとしますと、今更それを日本にゆづる
と云つたところでそれはもつと、日本側は全く裏をかかれた形になる案でありました。併しそれ
では日本が承知する筈もありませんから、その点を修正して日本が譲歩出来る程度まで持つて行つた
のが二分案でありまして、これは多分グラントが李中堂に忠告したものであつたと思はれます。二分
案と云ふのは宮古八重山の二群島に琉球王国を立て、尙泰は日本の華族に列せられて日本がかへすま
いからその諸子の中一人を封じ、沖繩本島に沖繩県を認めんとする案でありまして、支那さへ承知す
れば日本に取つては取へて不足を云はぬどころか、始めから支那にして今回の日本の琉球処分を承認
して呉れるならば、その報酬として宮古八重山の二群島を割譲してもよいと云ふ案すらあつた位であ
ります。

乍併このやうに民族意識を無視して勝手に左右されては、沖繩自体が不憫であります。第一宮古八

重山の二群島を以て一國を形成する事は到底思ひも及ばぬ事でありまして、この事については現地の
民心が沸騰しこれを阻止する為めに、志士林世功は北京に於て自決し死を以て總理衙門に提訴しまし
た。

是等の提訴に依つて、清國も亦南群島が到底自足に耐へない不毛の地でこれを經營せんとせばその
失費に耐へない、これを放棄せば再び日本に奪はれるか、或は西洋諸國の手に帰するかも知れない、
若しさうなればわが太平洋の咽喉を扼される事にならうと躊躇したのであります。

恰もこの時、清國は露國と伊犁問題を撃争中で、日本が露國に接近する事を恐れ、首鼠兩端決しか
ねてゐましたが、駐日公使何如璋の内報に依ると、日本は(外強中乾、内憂勃発の兆候がある)、假令
これに譲つても頼むに足らず、これに譲らなくても恐るゝに足らない)云々とあつて、この報道が廟
議を動かし、日本との条約が三ヶ月後に批准交換期になつてゐるので、若し予定期間に露國との和
議が成立しない場合には、今一応の折衝を重ねて有利にまとめ、若し期限内に露國との和議がまとま
つた場合には、批准を拒否しよう云ふ事でありました。

然るに翌一八八二年一月、伊犁問題解決しましたので、翌二月の批准期になつて、南北洋大臣の意
見を徴する必要ありとの理由で批准を留保して來ました。翌一八八二年に入つてから、日支兩國は朝

鮮問題について再び対立の状態となり、支那は日本が琉球に用いた故智を又半島にも試みんとするものと考へ、李中堂等の議により、陸海の軍備を治めて暫く隠忍、他日一挙にして南北の問題を解決せんとし、(戦艦用ふるに足り、統御人を得ば日本自ら服し、琉案亦易く結ばん)とありましたが間もなくして、兩國正面から衝突し、折角の軍備もこれを球案の解決に用ひる機会を得なかつたのであります。

それよりして約七十年の歳月は流れ、時代は予想も及ばぬほどの一大転回を遂げ、明治維新以後の日本の覇業が悉く御破算になり、所謂球案が米国の手によつて再び祖上に載せられ支那がこれに対して発言せんとせるのも奇しき因縁と申さねばなりません。

九、沖繩の涉外関係を顧みて

沖繩の涉外関係は、十七世紀の初葉即ち薩摩入りを分界として、大きく二つに別けることが出来ます。その前半は貿易であり、その後半は政治であります。而してその前半に於ては、自国の存立のため、更に一歩進んで繁栄のために、日本内地・支那・朝鮮及び南洋各地と広範囲に亘つて通商貿易し、それ等の各国人も亦那覇津に朝集して商販に従つたものであります。この莫大な貿易の利益が

西国諸豪の羨望の的となつて、遂に島津氏の攻略となり、これからは薩摩の一傀儡として、常にその利益を剝奪さればかりでなく、その生存すら薩摩の鼻息を覗はすしては保持出来なくなつて、御国許の意思に迎合するだけが政治のやうになつて了りました。而してこの迎合政治が謂ふ所の兩属政策であります。

明治維新の結果としての琉球処分は、この兩属政策を専属政策に切りかへんとするものであります。然るにこれに対して、支那が承知せず、日支兩國の関係が緊迫した時に、米國が前大統領個人の名義に於て調停に乗出し、列島を二分して、その北半を日本に、その南半を支那に册属せしめんと提案し時々妥協に近付いたものであります。沖繩自体がこれに不服を唱へ支那が批准を留保し、結果に於ては不調に了りました。尋いで朝鮮の問題から日支の事変と支那も外交多難の時期に入りましたために、南願の迫なく不問の裡に放棄して了りました。

その間、沖繩の内部においても、各種學問の究明と共に人心の帰趨も定まり、慶長以来三百年間の空白を経て南島統治の古に復帰し、忠良なる日本国民としての自覚を取戻し、日本南進の前衛を以て自ら任ずるやうになりましたが、この自覚が却つて今次太平洋戦争に、世界史上希に見る深刻な犠牲を払つて、悦んで国難に殉ぜしめたものであります。要するに前には活きる為めの歴史であり、後

には活かしてもらふ為めの歴史でありましたが、その代償は有てゐるすべてを捧げなければなりません
でした。
人類の歴史は、こゝに弱きものゝ生きるための苦しみを、沖繩の涉外史に見出し、文明の名に於て
深き反省を要求されねばならないであります。

HISTORY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS
OF
OKINAWA

By Kanjun Higaonna

Preface

The booklet is a compilation of the edited scripts of a four-course lecture given by the author last summer. On the supposition that many of the audience had been acquainted with his "Outline of Okinawan History," the author avoided to go into details of the complicated relations of internal politics of Okinawa as far as practicable. As a result, the author is afraid, the booklet may appear imperfect to some readers and give them a feeling as if "scratching itchy places from outside the shoes." But, as after all the national life of Okinawa has been led largely by making adjustments of the internal politics to the outside influences, it would not be difficult for the readers to guess the "inside" from the "outside" repercussions. The author believes that through their own knowledge of the subject the readers will be able to "take off their shoes to scratch their itchy places."

January 1951.

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HISTORY OF FOREIGN RELATIONS OF OKINAWA

I. Meaning of Diplomatic Relationship

In the language of the Okinawans, the diplomatic relationship is a kind of "toriai"—a word which embraces all human intercourse, both public and private. Statesmen of old days, when applying the word to the international intercourse or diplomatic relationship, were wont to use the expression, "To Yamato no o-toriai (intercourse with China and Japan)" or more specifically "To no o-toriai Yamato no go-hoko (intercourse with China and service to Japan)." During the early years of the Meiji Era (1868-1912), when with the restoration of the Imperial regime in Japan the sovereignty over the islands of Okinawa was made a subject of dispute between China and Japan, the former based her arguments on the formal relations of investiture and tribute-payment that had been in existence since the Ming Dynasty, while the latter, on the sovereign power that had been exercised since the Keicho Era (1609) by the Satsuma Clan. Those arguments indicated the meanings of o-toriai and go-hoko as conceived by the other parties of such relations. The former was merely a formal relation based on honor and courtesy, but the latter was something more than formal, having been accompanied with strict obligations. Referring to the foreign relations of Okinawa, one of the statesmen of old days remarked, "While Okinawa is but a small country it maintains the prestige of a monarch," and again, "It is often a strain too heavy for the nation's capacity to bear to maintain relations with both China and Japan." On account of the very necessity to "maintain the prestige of a monarch" or the situation that necessitated her to do so, the foreign relations of Okinawa had to assume a highly complicated aspect. In other

words, Okinawa's own national interests could have been best protected by confining her relations with China and Japan to "o-toria," but it was the unfortunate predestination of a small nation like Okinawa that it could not steer such a course. Deploring the unhappy lot that "a minor nation with meager resources, but with something beyond her standing, must be regarded as the lowest of the minor nations," the leaders of Okinawa formulated their internal policies to cope with such a situation. If ever there was a Golden Age in the history of Okinawa, it was the period when her internal and external policies had succeeded in attaining a certain measure of stability for her national life such as was allowed to an insignificant nation like her.

II. Viewpoint for Interpretation of the History.

Okinawa was an island nation isolated in the sea, whose economy could not dispense with overseas intercourses with other nations. Since old days the islanders had boasted of their role as seafarers in the international trade, so that the foreign relations made up the major part, if not all, of Okinawa's history. A description of the foreign relations of Okinawa cannot but result in a general description of Okinawa's history. In the following pages, therefore, an expedient method will be employed.

Of the foreign relations of Okinawa, those with Japan and China formed the main trunks. Her relations with the South Seas areas and the Western nations amounted to nothing more than mere branches of those trunks. The expedient way to proceed with my description, under the circumstances, would be to deal with the trunks first and then with the branches, and such a purpose may most properly be served, if the arguments of both Japan and China in reference to a dispute that cropped up in the early years of Meiji between the two nations are itemized, arranged in the chronological order, and then given a critical interpretation in the course of my description.

In 1872 the Japanese Government informed Okinawa of the Restoration of the Imperial Regime in Japan and of the necessity to liquidate in one form or the other the ambiguous relations that had existed between Japan and China in reference to Okinawa. As a preparatory step, the Japanese Government established the Ryukyu Clan and, during the period from 1875 to 1879, issued strict orders one after another to have the fief returned to the Emperor, thereby replacing the Ryukyu Clan by the Ryukyu Prefecture, and to have the "tributary" relationship with China discontinued once for all. In defiance of those measures, China through Ho Juchiang, Minister to Japan, lodged a vigorous protest, insisting on her territorial rights on Okinawa. The arguments, in outline, of

China and Japan regarding the issue were as follows. The Chinese contended by enumerating the facts that:

- (1) King of Ryukyu, when coming to the throne, was always enfeoffed by the Chinese Government.
 - (2) Ryukyu sent envoys to China to congratulate the enthronement of a Chinese Emperor.
 - (3) Trade in the form of "tribute" was carried on between China and Ryukyu every other year.
 - (4) Students of Ryukyu were sent to China to be enrolled in the National Academy in Peking.
 - (5) Shipwrecked Ryukyuan, if any, were given food and fuel and repatriated.
 - (6) Those practices had been established since 1405 or the 3rd Year of Yunglo of Ming Dynasty, and were embodied in the Code of Ching as well as the Regulations of Department of Ceremonies.
 - (7) Ryukyu's intercourse with China commenced during the Sui Dynasty. She offered tributes to Emperor Hungwu of the Ming Dynasty, and acquired the status of a nation annexing the adjacent islands, while her ruler assumed the title of a king and was honored with a surname "Sho." Also the "36 Families of Fukien" were emigrated to settle down in Ryukyu.
 - (8) In matters such as naming of eras, calendar and preparation of documents, the Chinese method had ruled exclusively. The official texts of treaties with the U. S., France, and the Netherlands were also made out after the Chinese manner.
- The Japanese arguments, in outline, follow:
- (1) Since 700 A.D., Okinawa paid tributes to Japan and belonged to the latter's administrative sphere.
 - (2) King of Okinawa had descended from the Imperial Family of Japan.
 - (3) Natural features, and cultural traits such as letters, language, religion, racial characteristics, manners and customs in Okinawa are all Japanese.

- (4) Since 1441 or the 1st Year of Kakitsu, Okinawa had belonged to Satsuma.
 - (5) Investiture and tribute-payment never amounted to anything more than a subterfuge to camouflage trade relations.
 - (6) Japan had exercised sovereignty over Okinawa since several hundred years ago.
 - (7) Japan did not recognize Ryukyu as an independent nation. The tributary relations held by China since old days with other neighbors were nominal and empty forms.
 - (8) The justice of the Japanese expedition to Formosa (1872) was acknowledged by China herself.
- Such were the principal points of arguments of both parties. If those arguments are arranged in a proper order and dealt with chronologically, the readers may be given an idea not only of the foreign relations of Okinawa but also of the general outline of her internal affairs.

1. Ryukyu mentioned in the Book of Sui Dynasty is not identical with Okinawa.

In 681 A.D. Sui invaded Ryukyu with a large force of army. While the expedition ended in a failure, the invaders brought back with them a military wear worn by the natives. According to the Book of Sui Dynasty, Ono-no-Imoko, a Japanese envoy to China, who happened to be there at that time, saw the war prize and stated that it was a thing used by the natives of Iyaku. The Chinese characters meaning Ryukyu, as they are at present, have been in use only since the Ming Dynasty. Formerly, various different characters had been employed for designating Ryukyu. This shows that the characters themselves did not possess any meanings but were borrowed to copy the pronunciation. In the Book of Sui Dynasty, Ryukyu was designated by employing two Chinese characters, which meant "flow" (ryu) and "seek" (kyu). Even there emerged a strained interpretation that the islands were named Ryukyu because they were sought amid the sea following the flow of the tide. But it is already indisputably established by

the learned authorities that in view of the reported length of voyage, customs and manners of the natives, and other circumstances, what was named Ryukyu in the Book of Sui Dynasty in reality was Formosa, instead of what we now call Okinawa. Then what was the relationship between Ryukyu and Iyaku as mentioned in the Book of Sui Dynasty? The two were variations in pronunciation of what had been identical, with different Chinese characters having come into use to represent such variations. The Japanese gave the name of Yaku to all the islands south of the Yaku island, while on the other hand the Chinese had a vague idea of Ryukyu to designate the islands north of Formosa. Even in the recent period Formosa was called Major Ryukyu and Pescadores, Minor Ryukyu. But since the emergence of Okinawa as a nation, the name of Major Ryukyu became that of Okinawa, and Formosa and its adjacent islands became known as Minor Ryukyu.

The "Richo-Jitsuroku (Historical Notes of Li Dynasty of Korea)" contains a passage about the experiences of a Korean, who drifted ashore on the coast of Okinawa toward the middle of the Muromachi Period. It is reported in it that "the natives wove their military wear from 'cho.'" "Cho" was a kind of ramie or a coarse fiber similar to hemp. The military wear made of this stuff may have been something akin to "atsushi" worn by the Japanese throughout the country and even by "ainu" in Hokkaido. It appears that Ono-no-Imoko, having been aware of the widespread use of such a wear, made a desultory remark that the prize brought back by the Chinese belonged to the inhabitants of Iyaku. Since Ryukyu as understood in the period of Sui Dynasty was none other than Formosa of today, it would not make any sense to assert territorial rights on Okinawa on the basis of those historical facts.

Now in regard to the name of Okinawa. In 754 A.D., in the early part of the Nara Era, a boat of Japanese envoys to China on her homebound voyage took a Chinese Buddhist priest, Ganjin by name, and made a call at the present Okinawa and stayed there

for more than 40 days. The record of the priest's experiences is kept in a book entitled: "To-Daiwajo-Toseiden (Adventures to the East of Tang-tai Hoshang)," edited by Awami-Mifuné from the notes of Shitaku, a disciple of Ganjin, 14 years after the death of the latter. In this book, the name of Okinawa is represented by Chinese characters which may have been pronounced "Ochinawa." The time was when Okinawa belonged to the "Dazaifu (Government Agency in Kyushu)" under the general description of "Southern Islands," and was still the mythological age in Okinawa. Also in the "Omoro (collection of hymns and liturgical chants)" the island was invariably described as Okinawa instead of Ryukyu. While some of the inscribed epitaphs from the 15th century did carry the word Ryukyu in addition to Okinawa, the former was used only when the State of Ryukyu or the King of Ryukyu was mentioned. It is concluded that the appellation of Ryukyu was a title that came into being after the Ming Dynasty had instituted the status of the King of Ryukyu, and by no means a name popularly accepted. Even at the moment the name of Ryukyu is used only among the intellectuals, and the name of Okinawa is in popular use. This was also known to the Chinese. The "Chungshan Chuan Shinlu" or "Chuzan Denshin Roku" written by Hsu Paokwang, who came to Okinawa in 1719 as a Chinese envoy, contains a remark: "The islanders in the rural district call themselves 'wuchinya.'" As to the meaning of the name "Okinawa," there have been various interpretations of late. In my opinion, the proper interpretation is that the name has been derived from the Japanese description of the island as the "oki-no-shima," meaning an island in the offing. There are groups of islands running from the southern tip of Kyushu to the north of Formosa. From the nearest group down southwestward, they were named "kuchi-no-shimajima (near-lying islands)," "oki-no-shimajima (off-lying islands)," "saki-no-shimajima (far-lying islands)," and "hate-no-shima (farthest-lying island)." Thus it is concluded that Okinawa was so named, as the island, along with Oki-no-Erabu, belonged to the "oki" group. It should be noted

in particular that they were named in the Japanese, and not in the Chinese, manner.

While it may be assumed from the nomenclature as described above that the "Southern Islands," including the island of Okinawa, came under the contemplated administrative scope of the "Dazaifu (Government Agency in Kyushu)," there was no particular agency to exercise the administrative authority. It was even stipulated in the regulations governing the administration of the receiving of tributes in the "Dazaifu," as contained in the "Engishiki," an old book of laws, that: "The tribute of redwood from the Southern Islands may be in any quantity as may be offered from time to time." Namely, without prescribing the variety and the quantity, the tributes were received according as they were occasionally offered. In view of the fact that even down to the Heian Era the inhabitants to the north of the Kanto District had been called the "eastern barbarians," and of the primitive means of transportation, we should not wonder at such a state of affairs in those old days.

2. "Japanese Imperial Descent" (Legend about Minamoto-no-Tametomo)

Let us now examine the Japanese argument that the rulers of Okinawa had descended from the Japanese Imperial family. The argument was based on the legend about Minamoto-no-Tametomo alias Chinzei-Hachiro-Tametomo. Tradition says that he landed in Okinawa, was married to a sister of the Lord of Osato (Anji), who ruled the present Takamine in Shimajiri-gun, and had a son by her, named Sontōn, who later became the ruler of the whole island and was given the posthumous title of King Shūnten the First. The legend had also been accepted by the Chinese scholars and was recorded in history, in which Tametomo was referred to as a descendant of the Japanese Imperial family. But, although it appears the legend itself had come down from old days, its first record appeared only in the "Chuzan Seikan" written in 1650, and there are no reliable materials to substantiate the legend as a

historical fact. Besides, in so far as our inquiry goes for the present, the legend cannot be considered as having been established before 1605. Apart from the authenticity of the legend, the lineage lasted only for 71 years, becoming extinct at the third generation, thereafter five times followed by successors of unrelated blood. Therefore, the Japanese argument based on the "Imperial descent" of the rulers of Okinawa was a flimsy reasoning.

3. Okinawa as "Tributary" Nation of China since Ming Dynasty.

It is beyond any dispute that Okinawa had been a "tributary" nation of China since 1405 of the 3rd Year of Yunglo. In fact, the relationship may be traced as far back as 1372 of the 5th Year of Hungwu. However, the question here is whether or not a "tributary" nation was to be regarded unconditionally as a possession of the one who exacted "tributes." Since old times, the Chinese had been apt to embrace all nations with whom China had friendly relations in a sweeping category of "tributary" nations, and even to consider the legitimate trade as "tribute-payment." They even went so far as to list all the nations with whom they had trade relations as "barbarians" in the authentic histories of the successive dynasties. But it should be noted that the Ming Dynasty, placing particular emphasis on civilian administration, followed the policy to offer profits to the trading nations with the objective of forestalling the outbreak of any incidents in the outlying border districts. That the foreign trade offices established in Ningpow, Amoy and Foochow bore the names of Daiyuan-yi, Huaiyuan-yi and Jouyuan-yi may be regarded as an indication of the Chinese Government's intention to appease foreigners.

When Taitsé of the Ming Dynasty ascended the throne in 1372, he despatched envoys to Okinawa and Japan, demanding tributes from them. The message began with the statement that, by the will of the Heaven, the task of unifying China had been

completed, and went on to conclude that, since the principle of the Sage was to bring the world into the relations of one family, there was no reason why a friendly intercourse and trade relationship should not be established among the nations. In Okinawa at that time three powers were pitted against one another, with their bases respectively in the present Kunigami, Nakagami and Shimajiri. Satto, the Lord (Anji) of Urasoi, who ruled the central district, was the first to accept the Chinese invitation and sent an envoy in the following year to pledge allegiance. Soon the Lord of Osato of the southern district and the Lord of Haneji of the northern district followed suit. The Chinese Government named the three districts Chungshan, Shannan and Shanpei, and vested the rulers with the title of a king. This was the first time that the status of the Kingdom of Ryukyu was given to Okinawa and the ruler assumed the title of a king. Before that the rulers were invariably called "Anji," instead of kings. The word "anji" is said to be a corruption of "aruji," a Japanese equivalent of lord or master. Later, as the Chungshan (Chuzan) annexed the two other districts, the name of Chungshan became known as the name for the entire kingdom.

The so-called "tributary" relationship consisted of two phases, investiture on the one hand and tribute-payment on the other, establishing a formal relation of subordination to sovereignty. Investiture or enfeoffment was a ceremony to appoint a king to the throne, and in return the king had to make tribute-payment by delivering the prescribed quantity and variety of local products at prescribed times.

4. Investiture and tribute-payment never amounted to anything. More than a camouflage of trade relations.

The investiture was merely a diplomatic formality. But, as it had become an important occasion to decorate the new reign of a king, the practice was born to celebrate it even draining the National Treasury. However, it was by no means through enfeoffment that the authority of a king was established. With the

demise of a king, the heir succeeds to the throne; several years later an application for the enfeoffment is presented in the name of the heir; and it is after another several years that an envoy is sent to make the appointment. Therefore, the "Chuzan Seifu (Chuzan Chronology)," which recorded the history of the royal house and was originally intended for the Chinese reading, had to make up a fiction, in deference to the Chinese Government, that during the period from the accession to the throne of a king to his enfeoffment, "So-and-so, the heir to the throne, took charge of the affairs of the State without authority." Such period ranged from three to twenty years, with an average of eight years. In other words, the enfeoffment was usually made eight years after a king had acceded to the throne. In some cases the reign of a king was so short-lived that his title could not be formalized in time. In such cases, it was the practice to give him a post-humous title of a king at the next opportunity. For instance, Shojun, the 12th king, and Shoeki, the 13th, who came after Shotei, the 11th, did not receive the formal investiture of a title, so that in the letter of enfeoffment of Shokei, the 14th king, he was mentioned as "Shokei, the heir, great grandson of King of Chuzan." All those facts demonstrate that the enfeoffment was a mere formality and had nothing to do with the authority of the throne. The Chinese recognition did not have any practical effect. Nor had the Chinese ever withheld the recognition. Only the application for enfeoffment was prerequisite for the recognition. A passage from the Chinese encomium commemorating Shoeki read: "Any nation who pays tributes will be rewarded with aid and assistance without fail. Services offered will be repaid, overcoming any barrier of distance. Thus it is hoped the Grand Law of China will be given full play by showing generosity and benevolence." This is one of the examples which clarified the Chinese attitude toward the "tributary" nations.

Let us cite another evidence that the investiture was a mere formality. The established procedure of the ceremony of investiture was like this. The Chinese envoy reads the letter of enfeoff-

ment in the king's presence. Then he rolls up the letter and pretends to retire with it. The king cordially requests the envoy to leave it with the king, as it will be treasured as a talisman of the country. The envoy asks the king if the Chinese Imperial Messages for generations back are preserved in perfect order. Thereupon, one of the king's officials makes appearance, holding up the file of old Imperial Messages. The envoy, satisfied with this, agrees to give the letter to the king. It appears, however, that in later years, some of the Imperial Messages were lost in fire or otherwise, in view of the fact that a prepared reply to a possible question was contained in the "Ryokonin Kokoro" (Information for Travellers), stating that some of the old Imperial Messages were buried with the remains of the kings and not all of them were now preserved.

In appreciation of the honor conferred by the enfeoffment, what is known as "tribute payment" was made. The frequency of "payments" was prescribed, as, for instance, once every two years, or once every three years. So were the route of transportation and the size of the carrying ship. The kind of the tributes more or less varied from period to period. The Tai Ming Huitien (book of laws of the Ming Dynasty) prescribed 25 articles, mainly composed of products of south seas areas. But, since the beginning of the Ching Dynasty those 25 were mostly replaced by native products, such as shells. The important items of tributes throughout the whole period were horse and sulphur. The prescribed quantities were 50 to 60 head of horses, and 40,000 to 60,000 *kin* of sulphur. The Chinese needed them as military supplies for the defense of northern and southern frontiers. While the tributes were delivered to the National Treasury of China, as offerings of vassal states, other goods which went along with the tributes were treated on purely commercial terms. They were traded in the Huitung-kuan (Exchange) of Foochow, according to the prescribed price schedule. Under the regulations, Japan and other "tributary" nations were allowed to engage in the trade only for a period of three or five days, but Okinawa enjoyed the

special privilege of an unlimited period.

The main "non-tributary" articles were sapan-wood and pepper. Sapan-wood was used as red and yellow pigments. It was such a precious article that even the "Engishiki" (old book of laws) made mention of it, and that in the period of the Tang Dynasty millionaires were described as "in possession of a mountain of sapan-wood." Pepper was treasured as a medicine for allaying fever and curing disorders of digestive organs.

According to the schedule of the Huitung-kuan, the sapan-wood from Ryukyu was priced at 10 *kan* (10,000 *mon*) per *kin*, as compared with the regular price of 500 *mon* on the market. Thus the official price was fixed at twenty times the market price, in consideration of the fact that in the case of the sapan-wood from Ryukyu it had to be originally brought from distant southern islands. The price in Japan about the middle of the Muromachi Period was 100 *mon* per *kin* according to a travel report, "Boshi Nyumin-ki." Indeed, the Chinese official price was 100 times as high as the Japanese price.

What was the price of sapan-wood in the place of origin at that time is not known today. But in regard to pepper, the price in Sumatra is reported to have been 20 *mon* per *kin*, so that the official price in China of 30 *kan* (30,000 *mon*) per *kin* amounted to 1,500 times the original price. As the price of rice in the Muromachi Period was in the neighborhood of 100 *mon* per *shō*, 20 *mon* could buy 2 *go* of rice. In terms of rice, therefore, the Chinese trade brought in a return of 3 *hoku* (3,000 *go*) for the export of 2 *go*. Such a lucrative business it was for the "tributary" countries that once they commenced it they maintained it by all means. To add to all those advantages, the expenses for the Okinawans' stay in China were for the Chinese account and even the ship to carry the "tributes" was supplied by the Chinese Government, thus offering ridiculously easy gains for the "tributary" countries. However, the greater the profits of the "tributary" countries, the heavier was the economic strain suffered by China. Since the Chinese objective in the business was simply to uphold the pres-

tige of a great nation by showing magnanimity to her vassal states, it was her desire to reduce the frequency of the tribute-payments as far as the circumstances permitted if her objective could be attained at all. This explains why, after the invasion of Okinawa by Satsuma in the Keicho Era, China "allowed" Okinawa to reduce the tribute-payments from once every two years to once every ten years; because of the impoverished state of the latter, and why Okinawa petitioned on one pretext or another, and eventually succeeded, to increase the frequency to once every five years and then to twice every three years. The Okinawans, however, were not even satisfied with this success. They continued to approach the Chinese authorities by resorting to other means, and finally obtained the consent for sending another ship in the year following the departure of a tribute-ship for the stated purpose of meeting the latter, on the way. With this the trade opportunities in substance had been increased to once a year.

In the light of what has been described above, it may quite naturally be concluded that the tribute-payment was a deceptive disguise of what in reality was based on economic motives. Certainly the consciousness of deceptiveness may have been absent. But it is after all a fact that the tribute-payment was a trade in disguise and a very profitable one at that. In this respect, it appears, the Okinawans had a guilty conscience. The "Information for Travellers," as referred to before, did not fail to give prepared explanations in answer to the anticipated cross-questioning. As this passage may be of interest to the readers, the original of the anticipated question is quoted below.

(Question) Although Ryukyu is an insignificant nation and her tributes are few, the Chinese Government has been showering favors on her. Ryukyu, therefore, ought to show her loyalty by doing her best to carry out the obligation of tribute-payment. But Ryukyans stay in the south and never leave for the northern capital until they have finished with their trading. It is only after the trading has been completed that they leave for the north. Judging from their attitude, it

not appears that they attach more importance to trading than to the tribute-payment which they regard as a mere formality. Why do they act like that?

(Answer) Omitted

To this anticipated question, various answers were prepared, which, however, are all strained excuses. But the fact that such a question was anticipated incidentally, discloses what was the real intention of the Okinawan leaders.

5. "Kodo" or Blank Credentials.

The "kodo" was a blank letter of attorney or credentials, and in this instance a blank letter with the royal seal of the king of Ryukyu. It was the practice that a tribute-ship would take two copies of such "kodo." The practice came into being on account of the necessity to prepare a memorial on the spot, commensurate with each occasion, and to circumvent any inconvenience even in case of a change in Dynasty resulting from a revolution.

In 1641, Shih-chao, a descendant of the Ming, assumed the title of the king of Tang in Fukien, inaugurated the Era of Lungwu, and defied the rule of the Ching Dynasty. Ryukyu, having received an invitation, despatched in 1645 Wwekata Tomigusuku (Chinese name: Mao Tai-chu) and Wwekata Kokuba (Chinese name: Wang Ming-tso) as chief and vice-envoy to Fukien. But, while their ship was in Min-an-chen, waiting for a favorable turn of the wind, Emperor Lungwu (Shih-chao) was defeated in a battle. Thereupon, the envoys drew up a memorial, availing themselves of the "kodo," addressed to General Peilo of Manchu, and presented it to him to pledge allegiance. ("Family Notes of Wwekata Kokuba.")

In 1674, Ti Hsi-chung, a veteran retainer of the Ming Dynasty, again organized a resistance against the Ching Dynasty in Fukien, assuming the title of the king of Chin-nan. About that time a tribute-ship of Ryukyu drifted ashore on the coast of Formosa, and came back to Ryukyu in 1676 with an envoy of King Chin-nan. The Chinese envoy had an audience of King Shotai of Ryu-

kyu and requested Ryukyu's cooperation in the cause of restoring the Ming Dynasty with "tributes" of sulphur. Under the date of July 3 of the same year, Ryukyu referred the matter to Satsuma for instructions. Satsuma gave instructions in a letter of September 2, authorizing a shipment of 20,000 *hin* of sulphur. In the letter it was stated: "Foochow is the main port of traffic to the northern capital. In view of the fact that about half the entire territory of China is reported to be still under the rule of Tai Ming, the refusal to supply the demand for sulphur at the moment may give rise to some difficulties in the future. Since an envoy has been sent to make the request, it may be reasonable to give some amount of supply. Even if Tai Ching should ultimately conquer the whole realm, then some excuses may be found out to explain the conduct."

Before this, about the time Cheng Cheng-kung, or Kokuseiya as known in Japan, held Formosa planning the ambitious task of restoring the Ming Dynasty, a letter was sent from Okinawa to Satsuma under date of March 15, 1662, by Shojoken, the Prince of Haneji, who then was the Regent, complaining of the stringent conditions in Okinawa. As the letter clarifies the nature of the tribute-payments, it may be worth the trouble of being quoted at least in outline. The following passage has been taken from the "Home Ministry Document No. 13" with a certain measure of moderation in the wordings.

"Since generations ago Ryukyu has had trade relations with China, and the Chinese influence has infiltrated so far into the living of the community as to pattern the clothings and other articles in daily use. But quite recently the internal disturbance in China and the buccaneering activities by Kokuseiya have rendered it impracticable to carry on our trade, giving rise to stringent conditions in our national economy. Besides, as the investiture of the title of king is made by the Chinese authorities, further difficulties are being experienced. Several years ago a mission of about 40 persons was sent to the Manchurian Dynasty (Ching), but they have not as yet re-

turned. (Note from "Chang Shue-li": In 1654 a mission was sent to Foochow with an application for enfeoffment. The mission stayed there for over 10 years and during that time 40 out of 60 persons of the mission died.) It is a pity that they had to be left to their fate. Reportedly, Kokuseiya (Cheng Cheng-kung) is sending ships to Japan every year. It is presumed, in this connection, that you would not be averse to advising the Government of Kokuseiya that a safe passage be given to ships of Ryukyu bound to China. It was only with reluctance that Ryukyu has pledged allegiance to Manchurian Dynasty. Simply she could not help it. Her difficult position would no doubt be appreciated, as she would be paying tributes to Tai Ming as in the past, if Tai Ming should ever come to power again." (The rest is omitted.)

Such was the situation in general outline. Thus it is clearly established that tribute-payment to China had nothing to do with moral relations but was made purely from the economic point of view.

6. "Sea-borne Chinese Goods."

The ship of the Chinese envoy was built according to a set of prescribed standards. But even if the ship was up to the standards, any defect in the materials of the vital parts of the ship, such as rudder and mast, would be fatal to the ship's safety. Therefore, it was the practice that the envoy personally inspected the ship, and if any defects were found he would repair or strengthen her at his own expense. It is stated in a report of the Wang Mission that the ship carried on board a plough, hoe and other agricultural implements, to provide for any chance of being cast ashore on a solitary island, and also two coffins with silver plates bearing the engraving, "Coffin of the Imperial Envoy," affixed on them, to provide for the possibility of being ship-wrecked, in which case the envoy would lie down in one of the coffins and drift on the waves, in the hope that some person who might come across the coffin would bury the remains and be compensated for the cost of

burial with the silver plate. At all events, to go on a mission was a hazardous business in those days. But there was naturally expected a large amount of remuneration to recompense the envoys for their risky business. What was known as "Sea-borne Chinese Goods" was one of the sources of such remuneration. Everyone of the mission, including the chief and vice-envoy, took with him various Chinese goods as he pleased to be sold at the destination. Such goods were called "Sea-borne Chinese Goods," and the best treat that could be given to a Chinese mission was to purchase them at good prices. As there was no freedom to trade with the Chinese individually, the Government had to undertake the business with what was called "Reserve Silver." It was the practice to take over the goods as much as possible within the limits of the appropriated fund of the Government, leaving the remainder, if any, to be taken back to China. Such remainder was known as "Return Goods." The Chinese would agree to take back the goods as long as the quantity was insignificant. But when the unsold goods to be taken back amounted to any sizable quantity, they would not be so compliant. Besides, it would be painful to have the goods taken back all the way to China. In the circumstances, a compromise had to be negotiated. Such dealings were called "hangah," and the Government agency to handle the business was called "hangah-ho (valuation office)." The business of "valuation" was the most difficult one in connection with the reception of a Chinese mission. In short, at the bottom of investiture and tribute-payment there lay economic motives. Only, in the case of the so-called "coronation ship" the business was confined to the members of the mission and the ship's crew as something of a privilege. But, a tribute-ship was a trader to all intents and purposes. Therefore, the leaders of Okinawa were wont to complain that the economic difficulties confronting the nation could only be tided over by maintaining trade relations with China and Japan. Since Keicho, the business of foreign trade was taken over by Satsuma, with only a limited amount left for the Okinawans' own account. Then the officials

of Kagoshima (capital of Satsuma) used to entrust Okinawans in secret with what was known as "entrusted silver," in the amount of four to five *kan* each time, in order to purchase Chinese goods. Such officials were called "privileged group." In the final analysis, the tribute-payments by Okinawa, as those by the Shogunate Government of Muromachi, were merely a foreign trade in disguise, and the enfeoffment by the Chinese was none other than a licence for such a disguised trade.

7. Names of eras, calendar, and forms of writing.

It is true that the Chinese names of eras, calendar, and forms of writing were adopted in Okinawa. At the time of Meiji Restoration, a notification was issued by the authorities concerned to do away with the Chinese name of the era and to use the Japanese one and thus the question of the name of the era came to the mind of Okinawans for the first time. By that time, they had used the Chinese names unconsciously. There is no doubt that the Okinawans used the Chinese name of the era without knowing what they were doing as in the case of the sexagenary cycle. At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese emigrants of "36 different family surnames" came to Okinawa and since then they and their descendants undertook the task of drawing up official correspondences exchanged between Okinawa and China, compiled genealogical trees of Okinawan families and reproduced the Chinese calendar to distribute among the Okinawans. Accordingly, the Okinawans came to use both the Chinese calendar and name of the era without any modification.

In Japan proper we learned calendar from the Chinese in the 9th year of Emperor Suiko's reign. As to the name of the era, the Japanese had their own since the Taika era, but the calendar of this country was based on the Chinese system. It should, however, be noted that calendar is a system of reckoning time and has nothing to do with the question of the boundaries of a country. There was no alternative then for the Okinawans but to depend upon Lunyu (the Analects of Confucius) as the basis for

morals and ethic practice and upon the Tating Calendar as the basis for reckoning time and also for astronomical considerations. Under the Chinese custom, however, "feng-chang-shuo"—the observance of a new calendar proclaimed by a new emperor at the time of his enthronement—means the pledging of one's allegiance to the emperor as his subject and therefore, it is natural that the Chinese side attaches importance to the adoption of the Chinese calendar by the Okinawans. But, the question of calendar is inseparable from the investiture of Okinawan kings by the Chinese and it may be said that the name of an era was merely a part of the question of calendar and the adoption of the Chinese calendar had not much meaning as the investiture of Okinawan kings by China meant nothing more than a nominal practice embodying international amity. In this connection, there is an interesting document. This is a photographic copy of a writ of appointment given to "noro", a female Shinto ritualist. As you will find when you look at it, it is dated February 2, the 8th year of Lungwu. Lungwu is the name of the era of King Tang, a survivor of the royal family of the Ming Dynasty, and the 1st year of Lungwu corresponds to the 2nd year of Shunchih (1645) of Manchus who rose in Manchuria and established the Chin Dynasty. After one year's existence the Lungwu era was changed to Shaowu but it also came to an end with the fall of King Tang and there came the 1st year of Yungli of King Kui. This will show that the Okinawans used the name "Lungwu" for 8 years without knowing its extinction in China, and from this fact alone it will be seen that the name of an era itself does not imply much. In short, it has been used solely for reckoning years as it is apparent in the case of the Christian era which implies no obligation or the like for those who use it.

Now coming to the form of writing, it may be said that in the past the Chinese composition was not used in China alone but was extensively used in the Orient for official documents. It was used in Japan, Korea, Siam, Burma, and Annam. In the case of treaties too, the Chinese composition was used in Okinawa as the

official language for convenience sake. Up to the Meiji era, even in Japan proper the Chinese composition was used for official and private purposes among the intellectual classes, except particular students of Japanese literature. The Chinese composition came into use with the invention of Chinese characters and even in the Chin Dynasty of Manchus this style of writing was used as in the case of Japan. If Okinawa can be regarded as a dependency of China simply because the Chinese composition was used there, it may be argued that places where English is used, may be called dependencies of Great Britain. As regards memorials to the Chinese emperor and communications between the Chinese and Okinawan public offices, the Okinawans followed the forms prescribed in the Chinese regulations, because otherwise it was impossible to make the Chinese understand what the Okinawans intended to convey. During the Lee Dynasty of Korea, a note was sent to the Korean King under the name of the Okinawan King, but there arose a question in Korea whether a reply should be made or not because of irregularities committed in the Okinawan note in respect to the form.

It should be noted here that the Chinese composition used in Okinawa was first introduced by the Chinese emigrants of "36 different family surnames" who came to Okinawa at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, but that after the Keicho Incident, the Okinawans studied Chinese classics by books imported from Satsuma, with new annotations by Chutse, a great scholar of China in ancient times, and commented further by Mori Teisai's school. Except students of the Chinese official language, Okinawans read the Chinese books by the help of the marks made therein for rendering Chinese into Japanese. As in these books with comments by Japanese scholars, *katakana* (the square form of the Japanese syllabary) was used, the Chinese called *katakana*. Okinawan characters as evident in *nyugaku kenbun roku* (a record of information on personal experiences collected from the Okinawan students in China) whereas *hiragana* (the cursive form of the Japanese syllabary) is called the foreign or Japanese character. It should

be pointed out that even after the introduction of Chinese composition, writings in *kana* were in common use in Okinawa and this can be proved by the remaining inscriptions on stone monuments and writs of appointment at that time. In this connection, it may be worthy to make quotations from a guidebook for travellers to Okinawa known as *ryokonin-kokoroye* which makes an explanation, among other things, in respect to the Okinawan usage and practice. The explanation is made in the form of questions and answers as will be found hereunder:

Q. The documents and books of Ryukyu concerning various matters are prepared exactly after the Japanese form. With this fact in view, it is considered certain that Ryukyu manages things within its territory completely under the directions of Japan. Explain it, if you have anything to say about what has been stated above.

Ans. Since the Sui and Tang Dynasties, Ryukyu had done overseas trade with various countries such as Malacca, Japan, Siam, Kaoli (Korea), and Kiau-chi (present Tong King) in order to obtain revenue in meeting domestic expenditure. During that time, we learned the Japanese composition and ever since it has been in common use in our country. Later, at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the Chinese emigrants of "36 different family surnames" came to Ryukyu under the Chinese Imperial order and taught our people the Chinese composition. However, as it is difficult to master, the majority of them have been using the Japanese composition instead. At present, ships from Takarajima (Satsuma), one of the Japanese islands, come to our country every year for trade and therefore, the Japanese composition is used more than ever because nothing can be done unless it is used.

In connection with the form of writing, the Chinese-like names of Okinawans appearing in old official documents may be taken up, and it should be noted that the Okinawan had a Chinese-like name known as *kara-na* (Chinese name) in addition to his

proper Okinawan name. *Karana* was a name for official occasions and no person below the *Samurai* class was allowed to use it. As surnames such as Tsai, Cheng, Lin, Liang, and Chin have been born by descendants of the Chinese emigrants of "36 different family surnames," it can be concluded that they were names having come down from the forefathers of Fuchien provincials. Apart from the descendants of the emigrants, a Chinese name was given to each family after having been chosen out of a collection of hundreds of surnames in common use in China when a genealogical system was established in Okinawa whereby every family not lower than the *samurai* class being required to prepare its own genealogical tree. But, such an Okinawan family bearing a Chinese surname naturally had no blood relations with a Chinese family with the same name, and the Chinese surname used in Okinawa was nothing more than a pseudonym. The above-mentioned custom is not surprising in view of the fact that even in the Edo era there was a tendency among Japanese scholars to use Chinese-like names as OGYU, Sorai called himself Butsu So-rai (Wu Tse-lai) and HATORI, Nankaku, Fuku Nan-kaku (Fu Nan-kuo). With regard to the surname "Sho" born by the Okinawan king's family, it is said that in the Ming Dynasty the Chinese emperor gave the name to Hashi, who brought under his single rule the three administrative districts of Okinawa (Sanzan) about the beginning of the Yunglo era, but there is no reliable records to prove it.

8. Relations with Satsuma.

Although it is indicated in the historical materials kept by the Satsuma side that in 1441 Ashikaga Yoshinori (Shogun) gave away Ryukyu to Shimazu Tadakuni in recognition of his distinguished services in subjugating Daikokuji Sonyu, this means an unilateral arrangement on the part of Japan and the Okinawan side had no knowledge of it as in the case of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's (Shogun) presentation of Ryukyu to Kamei Korenori even if the record of Satsuma is correct. Japan's contention on the

basis of what has been stated above, that Ryukyu belonged to Satsuma ever since the feudal lord of that province had been presented with it, simply reveals her ignorance of historical facts and it would sound more reasonable to say that the southern islands including Okinawa constituted a part of Oyashima ("the Eight Great Islands") since ancient times. In her contention if Japan means to say that she began to exercise the rights of sovereignty actually over Okinawa after it came into the possession of Satsuma, it was the case after the Keicho Incident. Feudal Lord Shimazu's expedition to Okinawa in 1609 complicated further the Okinawan history of foreign relations and since that time on the domestic and foreign affairs of Okinawa were handled according to the directions of Satsuma. As to the causes of the expedition, it is considered convenient to make an explanation later and therefore, no detailed description will be made here. However, just one thing should be mentioned now. For lack of far-sighted views, Japan emphasizes the fact that Okinawa was conquered by her military force, but this is liable to create a misunderstanding. That the Japanese territory south of the Thirtieth Parallel has been separated from Japan may be attributable to the possible interpretation on the part of the Allied Powers that it was seized by Japan by force.

In the feudal times, the heads of clans appeared to be independent rulers and particularly in the turbulent period of the Muromachi era, the clans declared war and fought each other virtually as independent states and thus union and disunion took place among them incessantly. The conquest of the Sho family—the ruling family of Okinawa—was not an incident exceptional to what was occurring among the feudal clans in Japan at that time. Well then, there arises a question whether or not Okinawa could be regarded as one of the clans. In answer to this, it may be said that Okinawa could not necessarily be regarded so, due to the remoteness of the place and also to the different circumstances there. It was not, however, absolutely different from the clans in character—the difference was simply a question of degrees some-

thing like the relations between Tsushima Island and Korea which regarded the former as her own territory.

In the Record of Observation of Island Countries, written by Chen Tse-chi in 1744 (the 9th year of Chienlung), the following descriptions are made:

"Tsushima Island adjoins Chaohsien (Korea) and Chaohsien pays tributes to Tsushima Island while Tsushima Island pays in turn tributes to Japan. Satsuma adjoins Ryukyu and Ryukyu pays tributes to Japan. The kings of the two islands take orders from Japan."

As these descriptions were made about the situation in the Tokugawa era, Chaohsien was mentioned as a country tributary to Tsushima Island, but it is interesting to note that the special position of Tsushima Island was compared with that of Ryukyu.

III. Relations with places in the Southseas Region

—Naha-tsu as an international city—

The tributes paid to China by Ryukyu as described in Taming Huitien (the code of the Ming Dynasty) are 25 kinds of articles such as horses, swords, gold and silver wine pots, gold and silver painted boxes, agate, ivory, wreath shells, haipa, Japanese fans, gold painted fans, copper, tin, hemp-cloth, cowhide, laka-wood, putchuck, su gharu-wood, sandal-wood, huang-shou-hsiang, gharu-wood, sapan-wood, wu-mu (ebony), pepper, sulphur, and sword grinding-stones. Of these articles only a few were native products, namely, wreath shells, haipa, hemp-cloth, cowhide, sulphur, and sword grinding-stones, and all others were products of Japan and the Southseas region.

Okinawa's undertakings were focused upon the reception and distribution of such numerous commodities as mentioned above and diplomacy of Okinawa centered upon the smooth operation of such undertakings.

In old days, whereas trade with China was called *to-tabi* (a trip to China), and trade with Japan, *yamato-tabi* (a trip to Japan), trade with the Southseas region was called *karaha-tabi* (a trip to *karaha*). In this connection, it may be mentioned that there is the term "karaha-naban" in *omoro* (a collection of ancient hymns or liturgical chants, used in the religious services of the Okinawan Royal Household) and others. On the other hand, there is a kind of fowl called *hatori* and this originally meant the *Karaha* fowl. *Karaha* means Java and it originated from *kelapa*, the Javanese expression of the coco-nut palm, and therefore, the literal meaning of *karaha* is an island of coco. Naban and Nanban are the same thing and in *omoro*, old monumental inscriptions and writs of appointment there is such a term as *manaban* used for *nanban*. *Manaban* included in the six kinds of fragrant wood which were

popular about the Muromachi era, was same as *manaban*, mentioned above, and indicated the place of origin. And this is a district corresponding to Malabar in old days which was spread over the western coast of India where Goa is now situated. When a Portuguese ship came to Tanega-shima (Island) in 1543 and introduced the fire-arm to this country for the first time, the Chinese interpreter named Wufeng, who was aboard the ship, made it known to the Japanese in a conversation by writing that she was a *nanban* ship. I, however, wonder if the *nanban* ship in this case did not mean one from Labal (?), namely, Goa. Meanwhile, in Okinawa syphilis is called *nanban gasa* and the late Dr. Doi made public that this disease had been imported to Okinawa from India. *Nanban-gasa* was also called *nabaru*, and from this it can be seen that the Chinese character, "ban" can be pronounced, *baru*. In South China, *nan* is usually pronounced in such a way as *lan*. By the way, itch is generally known as *hizen-gasa* and it is considered to mean a cutaneous disease of Hizen Province. As this disease is called *koshi* in Okinawa, it may have been imported from Cochi to Nagasaki of Hizen Province. It, therefore, appears that foreign trade by the Shogunate Government through Nagasaki brought in *hizen-gasa* and trade by Satsuma through Ryukyu brought in *nanban-gasa*.

The countries which participated in the trade between the Southseas region and Okinawa known as *Karaha-tabi* (a trip to *Karaha*) were Siam, Patani, Malacca, Java, Sunda, Sumatra, Palembang, and Sampotsi, and the correspondences exchanges between Okinawa and these countries have been placed in the records of the successive dynasties of Okinawa. The numbers of visits paid to these countries by Okinawans between 1509 and 1564 are as follows:

Siam 19, Malacca 2, Annam 1, Sunda 1, Patani 7.

It can be seen from the above-mentioned figures that the communication between Okinawa and Siam was most frequent. Accordingly, Siam had an important effect upon the Okinawans. *Awa-mori*, wellknown Okinawan sweet-potato brandy, is said to have

been first imported from that country and a species of rice called *nagahama-koja* is considered to have come from Kaochao of Siam and this place of origin seems to have corrupted into Koja. During the above period, Naha-tsu presented an outlook of an international city, its harbour being crowded with ships from various foreign countries, their nationals having shops to trade there, and ware-houses being constructed to store commodities imported from foreign countries. Self-admiration of this prosperity is evident in the inscriptions on a bell founded about that time and hunged in the presence-chamber of the Royal Palace at Shuri, the Okinawan capital. The inscriptions read: "With ships used as a medium for international intercourse, the whole country has become full of products of alien lands and treasures."

The undertakings in the south projected by Miyake of Bitchu Province, Kamei of Musashi Province and Shimazu of Satsuma Province were motivated simply by their ambition to monopolize the trade through Okinawa. The first-mentioned two feudal lords failed in their attempt, but Shimazu succeeded, marking a turning-point in the Okinawa history.

With regard to the trade with the Southseas region, ship *wu*-No. 23 which was sent to Siam in 1564, was the last one to visit a southern country for that purpose, and it was the 43rd year of Chaching in China when this Okinawan ship went to the south. About this time, *weikou* (Japanese pirates) were rampant, and in Okinawa King Shoshin was in his last years. Ten years before that time, two forts were constructed at the entrance of Naha Port—one in the south and other in the north—in order to provide against an attack by the Japanese pirates and in the year following the construction of the forts, Cheng Tung, the central Okinawan figure of the Keicho Incident, went to Peking at the age of 27 to continue his studies.

As regards the tribute ships, China originally provided Okinawa with ships which could be retained in use for ten years, but this practice had been discontinued since about the Chaching era in China for lack of guard-boats against the Japanese pirates, and

locally built vessels were used for tribute payment, China being informed of the type of vessels marked as "small native boats". Consequently, it became impossible to load tributes on one vessel as she was small in size. Even in the trade with Japan and the Southseas region old Chinese ships were used before the Japanese pirates became rampant, and therefore, inconvenience was felt in foreign trade with the increase of peril of pirates and the trade came to a standstill eventually. Before that time, Okinawa's foreign trade centered on the reselling to Japan and China of commodities imported from the Southseas region, but the Okinawans became impossible to carry it on and they had to be satisfied with the restricted trade activity in such a form as to take native and Japanese products to China and to bring back Chinese goods. Even this type of trade was virtually taken over by Satsuma after its Keicho expedition and the Okinawans entirely lost interest in foreign trade. In addition to the foregoing, there was another cause of the decline of trade with the Southseas region. First of all, it should be remembered that instruction in navigation was provided by the Chinese emigrants of "36 different family surnames" as part of their duties and that charts for navigation were brought by them. The majority of them were mariners from the lower reaches of the Min River and were not very literate as will be seen from the fact that the names of islands serving as marks for navigation were indicated by pictures, instead of characters. There were, however, men of learning and experience among the emigrants and they were employed from the beginning for drawing up official correspondences and some of them served as advisers on important administrative affairs. Even among those emigrants charged with the duty of giving instruction in navigation, there were some who engaged in petty business together with their families while they were off the ship between one voyage and another. In this way, life on shore began to attract them and seamen who left the ship to work on shore increased. As the students studying in China were selected from among the descendants of the emigrants because of language con-

venience, the second and third generations of emigrants made the profession of scholars gradually. This state of affairs was one of the factors in the decline of the trade with the Southseas region as is evident in notes sent to various foreign countries with which Okinawa had trade relations, for an explanation of the interruption of communication with these countries. The explanation reads roughly as follows:

"As the Chinese emigrants of 36 different family surnames have declined with the lapse of many years since their arrival, the skippers and navigation officers who would provide instructions in navigation are unavailable and thus communication between us has been interrupted."

It is, however, impossible to overlook the facts that the descendants of the Chinese emigrants went into the politics of Okinawa and that the Japanese and Chinese thoughts pitted against each other. It can be said in one way that the clash of Buddhist priests with the background of temples of *gozan* and the politicians of student origin constituted the inner cause of the trouble of Keicho.

Views of Dr. Bettelheim on the question of ownership of Okinawa:

In the first volume of the Narrative of the Expedition of An American Squadron under the command of Commodore M. C. Perry there is introduced the view of Dr. Bettelheim, who lived some years in Okinawa, to the effect that Okinawa is an integral part of Japan though independent to a certain extent (pp. 222, Volume I). The reasons given by him may be summarized as follows:

1. There is a Japanese garrison quartered in Napha.

Note: Satsuma stationed at the Port of Naha a garrison of 200 men, sending them there secretly in 1844, and kept the rear-guard at Yamakawa Port within the feudal tenure of the Shimazu family. However, Zusho Shozemon, a right-hand man of Narioki, reported to the Shogunate Government, in order to ease the mind of the Government, that there were 600 to 700 men stationed in Okinawa.

2. The trade of Lew Chew is entirely with Japan. If the island were a Chinese dependency this would not be so. Japan sends annually thirty or forty junks to Lew Chew, of about four hundred and fifty tons each; only one Lew Chewan junk goes annually to China, and every alternate year one more, said to carry tribute, but not a single Chinese junk is ever allowed to enter Napha.

3. The Japanese are to be found in numbers in Lew Chew, and stroll about as uninterruptedly as the natives; they intermarry with the Lew Chewans, cultivate lands, build houses in Napha, and in short, seem to be perfectly at home. But a Chinaman is as much hunted and spied after, and pelted and insulted as any other foreigner.

4. The language, dress, customs, virtues, and vices of Lew Chew correspond to those of Japan.

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IV. Domestic Policy of Satsuma.

Question of rise in official rank:

As has been already stated, in extending its influence to Okinawa in 1609, Satsuma aimed at the monopoly of foreign trade through Okinawa; but it was absolutely clear that the special relations between Okinawa and China marked by the former's tribute payment and the latter's investiture of Okinawan kings would be discontinued by China once Okinawa's subordination to Satsuma came to light inasmuch as China disliked Okinawa's communication with Japan. The Chinese attitude toward this country is perceptible in an episode at the time of the Okinawan expedition. When King Shonei of Okinawa and others were taken to Satsuma as prisoners of war, they were ordered, in the first place, to dispatch trading ships to China and some officials who accompanied the Okinawan king went home hurriedly in order to make preparations. But, after a ship put to sea, she was seized by the authorities under the Governor of Fuchien Province and an explanation was demanded of the Okinawan Government as to a large quantity of Japanese goods which was loaded on the ship in non-tributary season and their attention was drawn by the Chinese Governor to the fact that Japan was behind the scheme.

Under the foregoing circumstances, it was impossible for Satsuma to monopolize the profit of foreign trade as they had expected though they had succeeded in occupying Naha-tsu and therefore, they were required to devise a prudential measure to rectify the situation. For this purpose it was considered necessary first of all to keep secret the relations between Satsuma and Okinawa and to preserve the position of Okinawa as the Ryukyu Kingdom tributary to China. Accordingly, when King Shonei and Okinawan officials were caused by Satsuma to make a written oath and to seal it with blood, the first item therein was as follows:

"To say nothing in China about the occupation of Ryukyu

by Kagoshima and not to comment on things in Ryukyu in a talk with the Chinese."

At the same time, Satsuma prevented the Okinawans, as a post-war measure, from assimilating with the Japanese by prohibiting the natives to copy Japanese family surnames and clothing and also by making them change totally the Japanese-like names of places and persons or change Chinese characters used for such names.

In this connection, it may be interesting to quote an official notice issued pertaining to the coronation ship (kuo-chuan) at anchor. The notice reads:

In case ships arrive from Satsuma while the coronation ship is at anchor, the Okinawan authorities are required to hide from the Chinese the name of the Japanese era, names of the Japanese aboard the ships, Japanese books and any other things which it is undesirable to allow to come under the notice of the Chinese.

You should refrain from singing Japanese songs or using the Japanese language. In case the Chinese speak to you in Japanese you should pretend not to understand.

You should try to avoid Japanese-like customs.

As an administrative organ for Okinawa there were two resident magistrates each of whom served there three successive years in turns. During the sojourn of the Chinese envoy for investiture of the Okinawan king and his suite, the Japanese magistrate and his subordinates hid in Gusukuma Village, the Urazoi District, and the Japanese ships at Naha-tsu were taken all the way to the Port of Unten to keep them from sight. But use of such finesse as mentioned above for covering up the facts was accompanied with tragi-comedies and it was a mere child-play not worthy of detailed descriptions. It should, however, be remembered that it was a serious matter then requiring those concerned to handle most prudently.

Now, the question arises whether or not the facts could be covered up as had been desired, but the answer is in the negative. China was well aware of the real situation in Okinawa but she

avoided to bring misfortune upon herself through too much scrutiny into Okinawa's fault out of the conviction that it was the attitude of a monarch of generous and magnanimous disposition not to take one to task too severely if he had a pretext on which he could explain away the situation even if it was a lie. So far an explanation has been made as to the circumstances under which feudal lord Shimazu found it convenient, from the viewpoint of his economic policy pertaining to foreign countries, to preserve the position of Okinawa as the Ryukyu Kingdom tributary to China. Now, let me explain that it was advantageous for Shimazu also from the standpoint of domestic policy towards the Shogunate Government and heads of other feudal clans to preserve Okinawa's close relation with China. We regard the policy adopted by Shimazu in respect to Okinawa as a policy related to the question of rise in official rank.

In Tenmei Genmitsu-roku (the Accurate Record of the Tenmei era) quoted in Supplementary Volume 43 of Koshi-yawa written by Matsura Seizan, it is stated that "Nowadays there are many persons who get rises in official rank through personnel relations and bribery." The first-mentioned book contains the information on matters about the 7th year of Tenmei during the reign of 11th Shogun Iyenari of the Tokugawa line and it points out, by making the above description, that promotions were made then through favouritism. Just at that time, Shimazu Narioki of Satsuma was making efforts to get a rise in official rank on the pretext of Okinawa, utilizing his family relations with Shogun Iyenari—Narioki's elder sister called Kodai-in was the wife of Shogun Iyenari.

The highest position to which feudal lord Shimazu, the head of the Satsuma clan, could climb up was *Saisho* with the court rank of junior 4th grade lower, but Iyehisa, the head of the same clan at the time of the Keicho expedition, was promoted to *Chunagon* with the court rank of Junior 3rd grade in consideration of his distinguished services in entering Ryukyu. Accordingly, his successors desired to get promoted to the same rank and efforts were made in varied ways for that purpose—Yoshitaka of the

Shotoku era and Narioki of the Tempo era made most strenuous efforts. In this connection historical materials concerning Narioki will be cited hereunder. Although it appears troublesome to make detailed descriptions about the said matter, it will be explained in reasonable detail as the explanation will serve to clarify the nature of the administrative policy of Satsuma and the reasons why Ryukyu retained, for a long time, its outward status as an independent state.

When Princes Iye and Ozato of Ryukyu visited Satsuma in the 10th year of Tempo (1839) as congratulatory envoys on a certain occasion, Zusho Shozemon, manager of the Shimazu family, invited Kunishi Wwekata, steward of Prince Ozato, to his house and revealed the intention of Lord Shimazu Narioki, stating: "The lord desires a rise in official rank, but we do not know how the Shogunate Government would think about a further promotion because he has been appointed *Saisho* already. As to this matter, if the Okinawan King makes a request in writing (in behalf of the lord), the lord will take the note to Edo (Tokyo) and will endeavour unofficially to attain the object. If things go in that way, it may become easier for the Government to consider the matter. You are, therefore, desired to report to the two princes what I have said and to see that they will convey it to the king and that the regent will also be informed of it. You may, furthermore, furnish *sanshikan* (ministers) with information on our conversation but not persons below them. This is indeed strictly confidential and so every precaution should be taken against its leakage to persons other than those I have mentioned."

From the foregoing, one can see that it was not convenient for the Shimazu family to take up the matter with the Government for themselves and this can be explained by an episode concerning the Shogun's family. Eleventh Shogun Iyenari had 41 children, but it was not an easy matter to find the consorts of his daughters among men of high descent and therefore, sons of families of comparatively low standing were promoted to high

ranks so as to give necessary qualifications to them for marrying the Shogun's daughters. Because of this, those in similar ranks made efforts to get promotions as those selected as sons-in-law of the Shogun and there was a fear of trouble arising. In view of this situation, the Satsuma clan intended to make dealings with the Government by utilizing the written request for the promotion of its head received from the Okinawan king who had been persuaded by Satsuma to submit it.

Arrangements had been made between Okinawa and the Satsuma clan in respect to the concrete measures for making the request. Under these arrangements, Okinawa was required to draw up a petition of the said purport and to send Kanegusuku Wwekata to Satsuma in order to submit the draft petition for an inspection by the Satsuma Clan by deferring his departure for China where he was scheduled to visit in the 11th year of Tempo (1840). And it was further arranged that after a fair copy of the petition approved by Satsuma being made, (Prince Urazoi) would present it to Satsuma officially at the time of his visit there in the 13th year of Tempo (1842).

After the intention of the Satsuma Clan was disclosed to Kunishi Wwekata, he returned to his quarters and consulted with the two princes. In October, the same year, he went back to Okinawa with the plan of Satsuma to submit it for the discussion by the Okinawan King and ministers. Subsequently, Nakachi, secretary of the Supreme Council, was ordered to make two clean copies of the petition—one was written lengthways the other, sideways—and Kunishi took them to Satsuma. The following is the text of the petition:

May (1841)

"Your Highness,
"I beg to write to Your Highness in order to present my view confidentially.
"On learning of the recent appointment of Your Highness as *Saisho*, not only I but all the people throughout my country were delighted at Your Highness' promotion. With regard to

the new Shogun's assumption of office (note: Iyeyoshi's assumption of office in 1837), I deem it a great honour that I can send my congratulatory envoy according to the precedent.

"I remember that in previous instances, Your Highness' predecessors got rises both in official rank and position when they went to Edo accompanied by Okinawan congratulatory envoys. I and my people expect that Your Highness will also get promoted on the forthcoming occasion.

"Although Ryukyu is a small country, she has intercourse even with Chin (China) and therefore, the official rank is particularly respected in this country. When we learned of Your Highness' recent promotion, the whole country was greatly impressed with it, and ever since it has become evident that the people readily obey what is ordered in connection with national administration, making us feel that it should be attributed to the virtue of Your Highness.

"In view of the foregoing, I and the people throughout my country earnestly desire that Your Highness will get promoted as in the previous instances when Your Highness take my congratulatory envoy to Edo on the forthcoming occasion.

"Being impossible to ignore the desire of my people, I have to convey it to Your Highness because they are obstinate in character—probably due to the fact that Ryukyu is a small country—and the disregard of precedents will certainly excite suspicions among them and will cause difficulties in the way of national administration.

"It might have been proper to make these representations to Your Highness' chief retainers, but I have taken the liberty of writing to Your Highness directly, in view of the importance of the matter, to inform you of the above-mentioned facts.

"I sincerely hope that Your Highness will forgive me for the informality in making direct appeal to you.

"I have the honour to be, with the highest consideration,
Your Highness' Servant,

(Name of the king),
His Highness
"Saisho-sama".

Needless to say, the preparation of this document was completed only after revisions were made by Satsuma, but as it was found later that the grade of official rank desired was not clear, it was decided to draw up an additional note to be submitted as an appendix to the above letter. The appendix reads:

"With regard to the happy event of Shogun, there has been established, I think, the precedent for promoting the Head of the Satsuma Clan both in official rank and position when he takes the Okinawan envoy to the Edo Government. Accordingly, it is earnestly desired that the present Head will be promoted to *Chunagon* with the 3rd grade of court rank as in previous instances. As will be found, a request for promotion is made in the separate note."

They kept the consultations on the said matter a secret from the Shogunate Government and other feudal clans and on August 17, 1841, Kunishi Wwekata presented the notes officially, by proceeding to the castle of the lord of Satsuma. Upon acceptance, he was told "The desire expressed by the King of Chuzan is very reasonable and the lord is specially satisfied with it." Kunishi Wwekata, whose given name was Chosho and Chinese name, Hsiang Liang-ti, was given handsome presents and on August 9, 1841, he received a secret order of appointing him, as a minister (*sanshikan*) and, assumed office on September 20, the same year. Although much trouble was taken, as mentioned above in pushing the matter, the result was not so satisfactory as had been expected as will be seen from the fact that Narioki was promoted only to *Sachujo* with the Senior 4th grade of court rank on December 1, the 13th year of Tempo (1842). And reporting the fruits of efforts, the envoy stated among other things: "Although a promotion to the 3rd grade of the court rank was desired, His Highness Taishinin was not so kind and sympathetic in the matter as he should be." (Note: He was the grandfather of Narioki and

his given name was Shigehide. As Shigehide's daughter named Princess Atsu was married to Shogun Iyenari, Shigehide was later promoted to the Junior 3rd grade of the court rank and called himself Taishinin-den Eio).

Similar efforts for getting promotion were made also in the era of Shotoku during the reign of Shimazu Yoshitaka, and the petition in Narioki's time followed the form in the era of Shotoku. The documents of the Satsuma side in these two instances were recorded in the *Kyuten-Ruijiu* Vol. 5 (A Collection of Old Systems Vol. 5) and those of the Okinawan side, in a book entitled *Gonaiyo-ikken* (The Confidential Matters of the Court), but these books were, it is considered, destroyed by fire during the last war. Similar documents were kept in the archives of the Ministry of Home Affairs, but it is not certain what was become of them. Except Iyehisa who was promoted to the 3rd grade of the court rank, the efforts for getting promotions did not produce very satisfactory results. Yoshitaka and Narioki were promoted to the senior 4th grade lower and senior 4th grade upper respectively while others could climb to junior 5th grade lower or junior 4th grade lower.

In the meantime, Shimazu Yoshitaka made a display of his prestige of governing a dependency by making Okinawa look like an alien land and this is observable from his remarks such as these: "My domain has no parallel particularly in respect to its establishment of a connection with an alien land," or "As to Ryukyu, its king is treated by Tatang (China) as one only second to the King of Chosen." Under these circumstances, the congratulatory envoy and members of his party were made dress specially in the Chinese way when they visited Edo. The Shogunate Government also regarded the Okinawan envoy as important as the Korean congratulatory envoy and ordered the populace to repair carefully the roads in the passage of the Okinawan envoy. At the same time, however, the Government did not forget to preserve its dignity, by pretending not to attach much importance to the occasion. This is indicated by the fact that in the order

given for the repair of roads they said: "In case new timber is used for repairing bridges, try to make it appear that old timber is also used together with new one." This was simply a false show of dignity. It should be said that government lacking in reality, as shown in the above case, was responsible for the complication of the Okinawan question in the later years. As regards such irrational government as embodied in the dual subordination policy adopted by the Okinawans, they alone are not blamable. There was indeed no other way for them under the then existing situation.

There are colour prints showing the visit of Okinawan envoy to Edo known as Ryukyu procession. The Clan of Satsuma had the copyright and caused the merchants under their patronage to make prints for the propaganda purpose. Of the prints of the procession, those made in the era of Tempo are most numerous, now and it is, therefore, considered that the efforts made by Narioki for his promotion have had bearings on this matter.

V. Negotiations with Western Countries.

Since the cession of Hongkong to Britain in accordance with the Nanking Treaty of 1842, the situation in the Far East became more and more critical day after day. In view of this situation, the Shogunate alleviated the Order of the Whole-Hearted Expulsion of Foreigners of 1825 (Muninen-Gekijorei), and with this its foreign policy gradually softened, while the public opinion became stiff, the principle of opening the country and that of expulsion of foreigners being pitted against each other. The first influence of this situation that reached Okinawa was the visit of a French ship to the island in 1844, and they asked, as usual, for three things, namely, intercourse, missionary work and trade. This being refused on one pretext or another, the French ship departed, leaving Forcade, a missionary, and Augustin Kao, a Chinese interpreter, on the island. In 1846 the famous Bettelheim came with his wife and children on board the English ship Marling and there were indications that they intended to live permanently on the island. He was an Englishman born in Hungary, a physician and missionary, and had been sent there by the Lew Chew Naval Mission. He stayed at Naha for nearly ten years, being engaged in the translation of the Bible into the Loo-Chuan language as well as in his missionary work until he left there aboard Commodore Perry's ship. This was all reported to the Shogunate through Satsuma and the authorities concerned began to get disconcerted.

The Lord of Satsuma at that time was Narioki, father of Saihin, whose great favourite was Saburo-Hisamitsu, a child by his concubine Yuranokata; and Saihin, heir apparent, was utterly neglected. The relations between father and son, therefore, were far from smooth, and although Saihin was now over forty years of age, he was not ordered to succeed to the estate of his father. This brought about a factional feud among the vassals of the Lord,

and the officials sent to Okinawa were divided into two factions, and those supporting Saihin reported that the situation there was critical, while those supporting Narioki always reported that peace prevailed in Loo-Chou, which was also communicated to the Shogunate. This had much to do with the promotion of Narioki's office and court rank, a success of his administration counting not a little in this connection.

Saihin Shimazu was a great man, prudent and long-sighted, and fearing that if such half-measures ended in a diplomatic failure, a grave consequence would ensue, he consulted Muneki Date, with whom he was on intimate terms, in secret, and through whom the matter was communicated to Abe-Isenokami-Masahiro, a Councillor of the Shogunate. As a result of deliberation Saiko received "a present of tea," by way of a hint calling for retirement from public life, and a permission of his retirement was granted on December 7, 1850.

Before this time, Councillor Abe of the Shogunate, had asked Saihin's views on diplomatic affairs through Tsutsui-Hizenno-Kami-Masanori, an official of the Shogunate. His views were as follows: Although the Shogunate adopted the policy of seclusion and closed the country to foreign intercourse, it would be beyond human power to check the current of the international situation, especially so when the reputation of the Shogunate could not be compared with that of the days of Kan-er. If any trouble with a foreign country should turn up, there would be no knowing what would happen. The problem of foreign intercourse and trade would be solved in due course of time, and it was, therefore, advisable to strengthen national defence and guard against emergency, and at the same time to open Fuken, Formosa, Sakishima, Unten or Naha for foreign trade to please foreign countries. And while Japan was restricting their desires in the south and gaining time, her internal situation would undergo a change and they could be induced into Nase, Yamakawa and Kagoshima. These views were expressed to the Councillor of the Shogunate, and Saihin added that as it was a widely-known fact that

Loo-Chou had intercourse with China for many years, it was not only impossible to forbid it in the name of the state, but a diplomatic trouble also might occur if any foreign country should come to the island with a permission of China, and that the place should be an exception to the order of seclusion, and that trade and intercourse be tolerated, but not missionary work. Councillor Abe of the Shogunate agreed to these views, and as the policy of the Shogunate did not allow him to grant an official permission, Satsuma was authorized to adopt such measures as the occasion demanded. These words of Saihin's were full of significance, and he aimed at bold diplomatic dealings on this significant understanding.

It must be noted here that Saihin wanted to permit trade and intercourse with foreign countries, but to prohibit missionary work, and the policy of seclusion also aimed at prohibition of Christianity, and in order to achieve this object, foreign trade and intercourse had to be given up, as well, but the real intention of the Shogunate was to keep on foreign trade, if possible. Saihin not only saw through this intention, but his views also conformed to the object which the Shimazus had had since the era of Keicho. Nagasaki Trade; Loo-Chou Trade.

In order to carry out the policy of foreign trade with as little reaction as possible, the Shogunate made an exception of the port of Nagasaki, where trade with China and Holland was carried on under official encouragement. The only rival of the trade at Nagasaki was Satsuma's trade with Loo-Chou, and on the Osaka market the reputation of the Chinese goods brought from Loo-Chou infringed not a little the monopoly right of the Shogunate. The blow to the market of goods imported through Nagasaki was particularly severe after the number of times of paying tribute increased in the era of Enpo. In 1800, Satsuma applied to the Shogunate in the name of King Chuzan for permission to sell to other countries the drugs and implements imported from China, but the Shogunate strictly prohibited import of drugs; implements were restricted to meeting the internal demand of Loo-Chou; the

Chinese goods brought from Loo-Chou were limited to raw silk, gauze and twill; the drugs and implements which had been sent were all returned, and in consideration of the circumstances, 10,000 ryo was paid by the Shogunate for damage. The fact that the Shogunate paid such a large sum of money to restrain the Loo-Chou trade shows how formidable a rival the trade of Loo-Chou was. The trade of the Shogunate included Holland besides China; but the Loo-Chouan trade was restricted to China alone, and it was Saihin's intention to expand it and include Britain, America, Holland and France in it. This may be clearly seen by the fact that when Saihin made a plan of expanding the Loo-Chouan Hall at Foo-Chou, he said, "Now China is at war with Britain and France, and as no merchant ship comes to Nagasaki, Chinese goods are scarce, and drugs are out of stock. If we take advantage of this opportunity and open trade with foreign countries, Nagasaki will lose more of its trade."

Now the foreign policy of Okinawa became a more difficult one, because it was to take a neutral attitude and adopt such measures as the occasion demanded, without violating the seclusion policy of the Shogunate and without offending foreigners.

In pursuance of this policy, Saihin planned to reclaim Unten, build a firm on it, and trade with Frenchmen in Japanese piece goods with a loan of 10,000 to 20,000 ryo in Koban from Satsuma. The Okinawans, however, feared that it would be impossible to trade in Japanese products on a grand scale, but they thought that if they must, they would trade only in Okinawan products on a small scale, and that if foreign traders came a long way and made little profit, they would naturally give up trade of their own accord.

In 1850, British, American, French and Dutch ships began to appear in Japanese waters more frequently and asked for wood, water, food-stuffs and other goods necessary for voyages. The Americans, in particular, requested to build a coal depot on the sea-shore and to exchange their money into Japanese currency. At this time a war was about to break out in the Black Sea and

the Mediterranean between Russia on one side and Britain and France on the other, and the United States of America alone was attempting to knock at the door of the closed Japan and was making preparations for the purpose at Okinawa. It is often remarked that Commodore Perry's real intention was to occupy Okinawa; but in the Treaty between Loo-Chou and the United States concluded on July 11, 1854, there can be seen no vestige of such an intention. It was a treaty of amity, pure and simple, which had a provision that a proper price should be paid for the goods supplied. As there was a smack of free trade in this respect, Satsuma wanted to supply goods through the government officials and to prohibit free trade; but there was no opportunity to revise this treaty. At any rate, so far as the provisions of the treaty are concerned, there is no intention of occupation discernible in them. And in concluding this treaty, the Americans went so far as to take almost oppressive measures, and it would have been quite easy for them to occupy these islands by force. However, this was not the case, because they did not like to excite the Japanese and make them shut the door of their country all the more closely. America intended to introduce Japan to the international society in an absolutely friendly way.

In 1853, Commodore Perry visited Uraga and met the Shogunate officials at Kurihama, where he obtained a promise that an answer to the American President's letter would be given in the following spring. He spent the intervening period at the port of Naha, and after obtaining a permission, he built a coal depot, where a stock of coal from Hongkong was stored. After making preparations, he went north again, and concluded a treaty of amity with the Shogunate on March 3, 1854, and another treaty of amity between Loo-Chou and the United States on July 11 of the same year. The latter consists of seven articles in all and provides for friendly relations between the two countries, free trade in necessary goods, protection of American graves, hiring of pilots for American ships coming in or going out of the harbour, etc.; and there is no provision for possession of land or Christian missionary work.

The conclusion of this treaty brightened up Saihin's cherished hopes, and he lost no time in giving directions to the Okinawan authorities that one steamship be ordered from America, goods to be supplied to foreigners be charged two or three times the prices instead of giving them for nothing, and Japanese products be used for trade. Taking advantage of the establishment of friendly relations, Saihin intended to extend the diplomatic relations to trade transactions. After the conclusion of the treaty, the arrival and departure of American ships became more frequent, and in 1855 French ships also came frequently, and pressed the Okinawan authorities for conclusion of a treaty like that with America, and made them sign a treaty under intimidation on Oct. 15, 1855. This treaty consists of eleven articles, and is nearly the same as that with America; the only difference is that lease of houses, land and ships is left to the convenience of Frenchmen of temporary or permanent residence. The conclusion of American and French treaties was followed by the disclosure of the whole of Shimazu Saihin's plan. In September, 1857, he sent a secret messenger to the Dutch House in Nagasaki and made proposals that trade with Loo-Chou be opened; that consultations be held at Oshima instead of Naha where Americans and Frenchmen were staying, and that trade be carried on at the port of Uten. Then Saihin made a plan of ordering two warships from France through a Frenchman staying in Loo-Chou and of sending students abroad for study, and ordered the Loo-Chou Government to treat Frenchmen well. At the same time he let his confidential retainer, Shozemon Ichiki, disguise in Loo-Chouan costume, approach the Frenchman under the assumed name of Ichira-Peichin, a Takarajima physician, and reveal the plan to him as Loo-Chou's intention. The Frenchman was surprised at the unexpected proposal and was pleased to have a good opportunity to spread French Catholicism after English missionary Bettelheim's failure. The Frenchman drew up a contract, which was communicated to the

French Government, and by March, 1859, ordered ships were scheduled to arrive.

However, on July 15, 1858, (5th year of Ansei), Saihin died suddenly, and his younger half-brother Saburo Hisamitsu, succeeded him, with the result that factions arose in the clan again, Saihin's plan was smashed, and the problem of ordered warship was unsettled. On the pretext that the responsible person, Ichira-Peichin, was thrown from his horse and suddenly died, the contract was cancelled by paying 10,000 dollars as damages for breach of promise. This year there was the notorious Ansei criminal case, in which numbers of anti-foreigners factionists were executed to the great astonishment of the public, and this resulted in the Sakurada Incident, accelerating the downfall of the Shogunate. In Okinawa also, there occurred, in the following year, a serious criminal case called Makishi-Onga Case, in which those who had been scheming by secret order of Saihin, were charged with betraying their country, and plotting to dethrone and enthrone the King, and all the suspects were convicted and punished. It was indeed a rare and great case, which indicated birth of a new age.

In July, a treaty was concluded between Loo-Chou and Holland, its provisions being nearly the same as those of the treaties with the United States and France. This was the last diplomatic affair that was handled by Okinawa in the name of the Kingdom of Loo-Chou, and how the new Government of Meiji would cope with the situation remained to be seen.

VI. Conquest of Formosa.

On Oct. 18, 1871, (4th year of Meiji), tributary ships of Miyako and Yaeyama, two of each, left the harbour of Naha for home and lay at anchor temporarily at Kerama Island on the way. They left there on Oct. 29 and the next day, Nov. 1, they were caught in a typhoon and drifted for several days. Some of the ships got adrift to the northern shore of Formosa and were escorted safely to their islands, while others were missing. One of the Miyakojima ships drifted to Payao Bay in the east of Formosa on Nov. 6, and the crew was glad and wanted to go ashore, but the waves were so high that three of its members were drowned. The next day, Nov. 7, a part of 66 survivors wandered about looking for human habitation, and getting lost, roamed into a savage area of Botanshá. They escaped from this place and reached the home of a Chinese, Liu-Tienpao, who traded with the savage area, but the savages came running after them, and caught 54 of them, and killed all of them.

One Yang-Youwang, chief of Pulipen Village, heard of the incident and sent two of his sons, who rescued nine persons hiding at the house of Liu, two wandering about the mountains, and one taken prisoner by the savage tribe of Kaoshifu—12 in all, and purchased the skulls of the 54 persons, which were buried with the corpses at Shuangchikau. The 12 persons stayed at the house of Yang for forty days, and then were taken to Shojo, and landed at Fuko. Travelling through Fangliao, Chéhkang and Fengshan, they arrived at Fucheng on Dec. 29, whence they were taken to the Loo-Chuan House at Fuchow, together with the Yaeyama islanders who had been escorted to Fucheng, and on June 2, 1872, they got on board a Chinese ship, and arrived safely at Naha on the 7th of the same month. Taking advantage of the opportunity, the Government intended to settle the problem of ownership of Loo-Chou once for all.

The Government filed a protest with the Chinese Government against this matter, but the Chinese Government evaded its responsibility saying that Formosa was inhabited by uncivilized people and was not under its jurisdiction. Hereupon, conquest of Formosa was decided on and preparations for an expedition were duly made, and in answer to the question put by the British, Italian, Russian, and Spanish Ministers to Japan the Government made public the reason of sending an expedition in the Order of the Administrative Council of April 17, which said, "To accuse them of murdering our subjects, punish them deservingly and secure safety of voyage for our subjects in future."

On May 17, Commander-in-Chief Saigo left Nagasaki on board the Takasago-maru and arrived in Formosa on May 22; on June 1, his troops advanced into the dens of aborigines and killed their chiefs. In August Home Minister Toshimitsu Okubo went to Peking as Minister Resident and met Prince Ho-chi Kung, Minister of War, at the Prime Minister's Office many times and discussed the matter, but even after a month they did not come to an agreement, and the negotiations were about to break off several times. At length, however, through the good offices of Mr. Wade, British Envoy to China, a treaty was signed between the two representatives on Oct. 31. Article 1 of the treaty says, "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." The settlement of this matter made China recognize that Loo-Chow rightfully belongs to Japan.

VII. Meiji Restoration (1868), and Okinawa

In 1864 Wwekate Tsuhanoko (Tokokuiko) was sent to China to ask for investiture of Shotai, and in 1866 Chao Sin and Yu Kuang-cha visited Okinawa as investiture envoy and deputy envoy respectively; it was 18 years after Shotai's accession to the throne. Since Satto, the first king, was invested with Kingship by the Ming Dynasty, 494 years had elapsed, and this was the last of the investitures which took place during that period.

In 1868 the Imperial rule was restored and the Shogunates' land of 8,000,000 koku was confiscated by the Government. In 1867 the four feudal Lords of Satsuma, Choshu, Tosa and Hizen returned their respective feuds under joint signature, which was followed by all other clans. In 1871 the clan (han) was replaced by the prefecture (ken), and the Imperial policy of restoration was established. In 1872 the appellation of the Kingdom of Loo-Chou was changed to Clan (han) of Loo-Chou and the King of Loo-Chou was renamed the Han-o of Loo-Chou (king of Clan). As it was difficult to do away with conventionalities all of a sudden, the policy of moderation was adopted, and the title of Han-o (King of Clan) was used instead of Hanshu (Lord of Clan). In 1873 numbers of Loo-Chuan people were murdered by Formosan aborigines. Taking advantage of this opportunity, the Government sent a punitive expedition to clarify its sovereignty over Loo-Chou, which was recognized by the Chinese Government, and the problem of ownership of the Loo-Chou Islands seemed to have been settled by China's tacit consent. Accordingly, the Government intended to decide the matter definitely, and gave preparatory orders during a period of four years from 1875 and in 1879 an order for returning Loo-Chou to Japan, was issued. At the same time, Okinawa Prefecture was established; and the restoration of Imperial rule materialized, and these south islands came to be under the rule of Japan after 1,000 years.

However, the conservatives in Okinawa who were against this sent emissaries to China and asked for help and liberation. China complied with their request, and in 1878, ordered Ho Ju-chiang, Chinese Minister to Japan, to lodge a protest with the Japanese Government against the disposition. Contentions of the representatives of both countries were mentioned before. The negotiations were conducted several times, but neither of the representatives would give in. Fortunately, Mr. Grant, former President of the U.S.A., who happened to be on a visit to Japan, acted as a mediator with the result that the Bunto (division of islands) problem was raised in 1880. On Jan. 8 of this year Fukusaki-Sukeshichi was sent from Kagoshima Prefecture to Loo-Chou as Zaihan Bugyo (Resident Magistrate), and arrived at his post on June 21. He was the last Resident Magistrate.

On Sept. 28 of this year the texts of treaties concluded with foreign countries in the name of the King of Loo-Chou were transferred to the Foreign Office, and the next day Resident Magistrate Fukusaki-Sukeshichi was appointed Kutshushishi (9th Rank Attendant) of the Foreign Office and his name was changed to Suetsura. It was 241 years since Kawakami-Matazaemon had been officially appointed Magistrate of Loo-Chou in 1631, during which period Magistrates were changed 120 times, and at last the administration of Loo-Chou by the Magistrate came to an end.

VIII. Problem of Partition of Islands & Policy of "Dual Subordination."

The problem of partition of the islands is a Chinese plan of dividing the islands and of placing them under separate rule. It was a compromise plan of dividing the Loo-Chou Islands into two or three groups and letting Japan and China occupy a part of the islands so as to "save their faces." Okinawa was a small country, but strove to maintain its dignity as a kingdom, and now it was time to give up such a temporizing policy. The "dual subordination" was another policy of this kind.

It says in the Kian Diary published about 350 years ago, "Look upon what old people call China as grandmother and regard Japan as grandfather." This was the first time that the above-mentioned idea appeared in writing, and about 100 years later, Loo-Chouan politicians said that Japan and China should be regarded as father and mother. It can be said, therefore, that during a period of 100 years, Okinawan relations with Japan and China approached those of father and mother from those of grandfather and grandmother, and if things went on in this way, it was natural that the two countries should, sooner or later, come to talk about the matter for the sake of honour. In fact, it was necessary for Loo-Chou to obey Japan and China as if they were her father and mother, for without the aid and good will of these two countries, it would have been impossible to maintain her state. Hence the policy of dual subordination. But this was a one-sided view, and unless Japan and China were related to each other as a married couple, so to speak, it was unreasonable to ask the two countries for such blood relationship. Loo-Chow was often regarded as a love-child of China, but in my opinion, it was rather an illegitimate child of Japan, who had been abandoned by Japanese parents and kidnapped by a Chinese, and who owed to Japan and China the debts of birth

and of bringing-up respectively. Perry alludes to this, saying, "Loo-Chew was peopled by a colony from Japan, to which people their physiognomy, language, and customs have a close affinity; and to China, they owe the far more important debt of their partial civilization and literature." These circumstances were ignored and the islands were to be placed under Japanese rule; this brought about a trouble; and in order to mediate it, the problem of partition of the islands came to the front in 1880. Former American President Grant, who had met Li Hang-Chiang while travelling in China, visited Japan with the latter's intention in mind, and proposed the problem of partition of the islands as his private plan. But the original plan seems to have been drawn up by Li Chutung. Li Hang-chiang was a great man rarely seen in modern age and no Japanese politician was equal to him in craftiness. The principle of dividing Loo-Chou into three groups was a plan of his own, by which Japan was baffled. As a result of the campaign of Keicho the five islands in the north inclusive of Oshima had been ceded to Satsuma, but Satsuma made a secret of this fact and deceived China. On the other hand, China knew this fact, but she did not prove into the matter. When the issue of ownership of the islands arose at the beginning of Meiji, Japan contended that she had possessed them by force since Keicho, but China did not acknowledge this fact on purpose. The theory of dividing the islands into three groups was a continuation of the above-mentioned problem, and it was to divide the Loo-Chow Islands into three groups, cede to Japan the northern five islands including Oshima, establish the Kingdom of Loo-Chow in the middle islands including Okinawa, cede to China the southern islands including Miyako and Yaeyama, and continue enfeoffment as before. If the northern islands belonged virtually to Satsuma since Keicho, Japan would gain nothing even if they were ceded to her, and it was a plan which baffled her. As it was evident that Japan would not agree to it, the point in question was revised, and there was drawn up the plan of dividing the islands into two groups, which was likely to be accepted by Japan. It seems that this plan had been made by

Grant's advice to Li Chu-tang. The plan was to establish the Kingdom of Loo-Chow in the Miyako and the Yaeyama Islands, and to enfeoff one of the sons of Shotai, because Shotai had been made a Japanese peer, and would not be allowed to return to the islands, and to recognize Okinawa Prefecture in the main island of Okinawa. This was a plan which would have been accepted by Japan if only China had agreed to it. Nay, there was even a plan that if China approved the recent disposition of Loo-Chow by Japan, the latter would be willing to cede the Miyako and the Yaeyama Islands to the former as a reward.

It would be a great pity for Okinawa if these islands are disposed of in utter disregard of their racial sentiments. It was unimaginable to make a country of the Miyako and the Yaeyama Islands. With respect to this matter the people of the islands got so excited that in order to check the plan, Rinseiko, a patriot, committed suicide, lodging a protest with the Prime Minister's Office in Peking. This made China hesitate and think that these islands were too barren to become self-supporting; to cultivate them would be too expensive; if left alone, they might be occupied by Japan or by Western countries and the key to the Pacific would be held by these countries.

Just then, China was discussing the problem of Ili with Russia, and fearing that Japan would make friends with Russia, could not decide what to do. However, according to a secret information from Ho Ju-chiang, Chinese Minister to Japan, Japan was strong outside, but weak inside, and a civil war was likely to break out; if a concession was made to her, she could not be relied upon, and if no concession was made, there would be no need of fearing her. This influenced the court council in China, and as the treaty with Japan was to be ratified after three months, it was decided that if a peace treaty with Russia was not concluded within this period, further negotiations would be conducted so as to make the terms favourable, and that if a peace treaty with Russia was concluded within the said period, the ratification of the treaty with Japan would be refused.

In January, 1881, however, the problem of Ili was settled, and when the time to ratify the treaty with Japan came in February, the ratification was reserved on the ground that it was necessary to consult with the Nan-Pei Ta Chen. In 1882, Japan and China were pitted against each other again due to the problem of Korea. China thought that Japan would adopt the same policy toward the peninsula as she had used toward Loo-Chow; and on the advice of Li Chu-tang, China strengthened her army and navy, partially endured, and wanted to settle the north and south problems once for all in future.

He said, "If warships are trustworthy, and commanders are right men, Japan will yield submission of her own accord and the problem of Loo-Chow also will be settled easily." But soon the two countries clashed with each other, and there was no chance for China to use her armament for settlement of the Loo-Chowan problem.

About 70 years have elapsed since then; the times have changed in an unexpected way; Japan's achievements after the Meiji Restoration have gone to nothing; the so-called problem of Loo-Chow has been raised again by America, and China claims to have a voice in it. What a strange fate!

IX. Looking Back upon the Foreign Relations of Okinawa.

The foreign relations of Okinawa may be roughly divided into two periods with the beginning of the 17th century or Satsumaizism as a demarkation, the first half being trade and the latter half politics. In the first half, trade was carried on on a grand scale with Japan proper, China, Korea and South Sea points; people of these countries also were crowded in the port of Naha, and were engaged in trade. These vast profits of trade were the envy of Lords in the west of Japan, and induced the Shimazu's conquest, and after this, Okinawa was not only deprived of its profits as a puppet of Satsuma, but also had to curry favour with Satsuma for its own existence, and how to accommodate itself to the will of Satsuma became its politics. This politics of adulation was the policy of "dual subordination."

The disposition of Loo-Chou as a result of the Meiji Restoration was to change this "dual subordination" policy to the "exclusive subordination" policy. But China did not agree to it, and when the relations of the two countries became critical, America acted as a mediator in the name of a former President as a private person, and proposed to divide the islands into two groups and give the northern half to Japan and the southern half to China. Both countries almost came to an agreement, but Okinawa itself did not consent to the proposal, and China reserved ratification, and the negotiations ended in a failure. Then there arose the problem of Korea, which was followed by the Sino-Japanese War, and as China entered upon a period of diplomatic difficulties, she had no time to attend to the problem of the southern islands, and gave them up without a protest.

In the meantime, in the interior of Okinawa the trend of the human mind settled down as a result of study of all sciences, the rule of the southern islands was restored after an interruption of

300 years since Keicho, recovered self-consciousness of loyal Japanese nationals, and came to claim to be a vanguard of Japan's advance to the south; and it was this self-consciousness that made the Okinawans sacrifice themselves in the national crisis, the large number of victims in the Pacific War being rarely seen in the World's history. In short, the first half was history of how to live, and the latter half that of how to be kept alive, and they had to give up all they had for it.

History of the human race discovers agonies of the weak people striving to live in the history of the foreign relations of Okinawa—a fact which should be profoundly reflected upon in the name of civilization.

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A. S. 0-0-7-1

極秘

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HISTORY OF OKINAWA

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文がい。

SKETCH HISTORY OF
OKINAWA

Okinawa in times past was no impoverished and dreary islet remote from even the backwash of civilization. The recent pulverization through war of its pleasant and prosperous towns, the desolation worked by bulldozers upon its scenic landscape, the drab lives of its people, who dress in cast-off GI issue, eat hash and spam, live crowded into frame and canvas huts—all this reveals an unaccustomed Okinawa which distresses the Okinawans more than it bores the Americans. Okinawa has known happier days, very much happier days and many centuries of them. This small island can boast the proud history of an Oriental state in microcosm. Its past is adorned with all the trappings associated with the historical pageant of China, India, or Japan—the rise and fall of dynasties, the vain rivalries of feudal lords, episodes of foreign conquest and of foreign invasion, astute statesmen and traitorous usurpers, saints and sages, philosophers and philanderers, voluptuous and virtuous women, mendicants, charlatans, ardent reformers and legendary heroes, all the elements, in fact, which comprise a varied and often exciting society. Okinawa since the October bombings of 1944 has been a casualty of modern war; Okinawa between 1871 and 1945 was a part of the Japanese empire which Japan tried with considerable success to convert into a miniature replica of herself. Okinawa before 1871 was an independent kingdom with an indigenous culture of which a much larger island might be proud. The history of the island prior to 1871 is little known even to the Japanese, practically unknown to the Americans, but it is amply worth investigation and report.

Okinawa history begins as it recently seemed to end—in chaos. In the beginning, according to the Omoro, Okinawa's poetical Book of Genesis, was Tedu-ko the Sun-God and Chaos, which only through the intervention of the Sun-God was resolved into land and sea. The first land to take form was the minute island of Kudaka-jima, several miles off the Southeastern coast of Okinawa. There two demi-gods, Shineriko and Amamiko, performed monumental labors of carrying stone and sand and earth, hewing rock, and planting trees and grasses. They arrested the floods which regularly inundated the island, and they wrested fire from the jealous fire-breathing Sea Dragon.

Through

Through the mediation of the Wind they produced off-spring, their first son becoming the first king of the land, their second the first chief priestess, their second the first village priestess. Thus mortal men and women appeared upon the earth and the classes of feudal Okinawan society were determined. These first human beings enjoyed the fruits of the land and the blessings of fire, and presently, as their families multiplied, they emigrated to the mainland of Okinawa. By their own efforts they gave final form to the island, which they settled and cultivated and developed.

Written records of the Ryukyus begin about 600 AD in Chinese and Japanese documents. In 605 and 606 the Chinese engaged in an atypical episode of foreign expansionism when they sent missions to Okinawa to demand tribute and submission, demands which the Okinawa flatly refused. The Japanese in 714 indulged in a correspondingly atypical indifference toward the Ryukyus, ignoring an open invitation from Northern Ryukyu islanders to investigate the group. There were irregular and infrequent contacts both with Japan and China during the next few centuries, but the period was one of independent development with Okinawa divided into many small feudal states whose petty lords built the selves fortified castles, supported small armies of retainers, and made the profession of arm more attractive than farming. During this period one feudal clan exercised sufficient power to be recognized in a vague sort of way as over-lords of the entire island, and while little is known of their history and achievements, the Tenson-shi line of twenty-five "kings" is recognized as the first Okinawa dynasty and is credited with legendary deeds of valor and virtue.

The first episode of more than local importance in Okinawan history and the first even semi-authenticated account of local personalities, ties in with one of the most famous stories in the history of Japan. Minamoto Tametomo the greatest warrior of Japan, an archer renowned for his almost super-human strength and prowess, war defeated in internecine clan warfare and was exiled from the empire. Tametomo voyaged first to the Izu Islands and then, driven by storm, reputedly landed on Okinawa. Here he married the sister of the Lord of Ozato and for a few years lived a life of bucolic simplicity and calm. Then, experiencing a renewal of ambition and a desire for vengeance, he determined to return to Japan and set out by ship with his wife and small son. But the ship was beset by storm and forced to return to Okinawa, and although Tametomo reembarked, bad weather prevented his ship

from

from leaving her. The necromancers were consulted and Tametomo was informed that the Sea-Gods looked with disfavor upon a woman passenger on shipboard. Tametomo sorrowfully decided to leave his wife and small son on Okinawa, and charging his wife to bring the boy up to become a great warrior and chieftain, he departed for his homeland, where he died soon after.

Minamoto Sonten, son of Minamoto Tametomo, was a worthy son of his illustrious father. At fifteen he became clan leader and Lord of Urasoe Castle. A few years later he raised an army to march against Riyu, a dissolute courtier who had usurped the throne from the last of the Tenson-shi kings. The young chieftain inflicted speedy defeat upon the forces of Riyu and was himself declared king, receiving voluntary pledges of allegiance from all the important lords of the island. He took the dynastic name of Shunten and from 1187 until his death in 1237 ruled wisely and well as the first king of a truly unified Okinawa. Out of respect for his father, he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Prince of Satsuma (in Kyushu, Japan), and thus gave basis to later Japanese claims to the island.

The unified kingdom of Okinawa survived Shunten and his son and his grandson. This grandson, Gihon, was an irresolute ruler, and power was wrested from him by one Eiso (1259), under whom Okinawa experienced great political and cultural development. King Eiso by peaceful means brought the Ryukyu Islands as far north as Amami Oshima to acknowledge his sovereignty. He devised an equitable system of taxation and administration; he caused magnificent tombs to be built in the South Chinese manner; and he sent to Japan and brought in Buddhist missionaries and Buddhist scriptures.

In good Oriental tradition, the Eiso dynasty quickly became weak and corrupt and under later Eiso kings the united kingdom disintegrated. About 1315 the Lord of Nansen, the feudal state south of Naha and Shuri peacefully withdrew from the kingdom; about 1350 the Lord of Hokusan in the North followed his example, and there ensued a period of feudal rivalry and intermittent warfare. The state of Chusan in the central area with capital at Shuri inherited the traditions of authority but was unable to enforce its claim to the entire island. The period was one of an Okinawan Three Kingdoms, a period when chivalry and adventure flourished but political and cultural development lagged.

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In 1372 the fifth Eiso king was deposed by his minister of state, Satto, who established a new and brief-lived dynasty that died out with his depraved son, Bunei. King Satto, however, was responsible for one enormous achievement. He opened up relations between Okinawa and China and thus set the course of much of Okinawa's subsequent history.

King Satto having usurped the throne and being eager to consolidate his position by foreign recognition, immediately dispatched his brother, Prince Taiki, to China to present voluntary tribute of sulphur (from the Northern Ryukyus) and horses (bred from ancient times on Okinawa) to the newly established Ming Emperor in Peking. Almost one hundred years earlier, in 1290, Kublai Khan had sent emissaries to Okinawa to inform the islanders of his claim to sovereignty over all of Asia, including, naturally, Okinawa. The Okinawans had been unimpressed with the great khan's aspirations; they had made no response to this communication and had declined a few years later to pay the tribute which the khans demanded. Soon after the Mings came into power in China in 1368, they sent envoys to Okinawa to inform the Okinawans of the new order in China and to invite the Okinawans to declare fealty. King Satto came to the conclusion that China was worth conciliating, hence his gifts to Peking and his accompanying protestations that he regarded himself as a subject of China. Prince Taiki's visit paid off handsomely. The Ming emperor was pleased and made far more than commensurate returns--gifts of silk, pottery, porcelain, and iron tools. Furthermore, the emperor declared that he would look with favor upon continued communications and tribute from Okinawa and that Okinawans were welcome to visit the celestial empire. King Satto was not slow to take advantage of the invitation. He sent to Peking some of the most promising young men from the courtly families of Shuri, and these young men were educated in a special hall set up for them in the Peking university. These and later students returned to Okinawa to introduce and popularize Chinese arts and sciences, manners and customs. In the course of a few years the Chinese emperor graciously permitted thirty-six Chinese families from Foochow to emigrate to Naha, there to teach shipbuilding and navigation, Chinese language and philosophy, and to act as commercial and cultural intermediaries between Peking and Shuri. The people of Chuzan, as a result of Chinese tutelage, soon became enterprising and prosperous sea traders, voyaging as far north as Korea and as far south as the Indies. They also became students of Chinese art and philosophy, admirers and imitators of all things Chinese.

The

The Lords of Manzan and Hokuzan, meanwhile, were not unimpressed with the advantages accruing to Chuzan as a result of contacts with China. Neither delayed long in establishing separate tribute relations. They still remained aloof from political union with Chuzan. But political union was presently forced upon them.

King Satto had been succeeded by his son, Bunei, a dissolute and licentious youth whose brief reign was a period of confusion and feudal strife. There rose up in Sashiki, however, a powerful young warrior, Mamun by name, who again created a united Okinawa kingdom. Mamun conquered Hokuzan and annexed it to Chuzan; he deposed King Bunei and had his own father, Shisho, declared king; he later conquered Nanzan, and on the death of his father, himself assumed the throne (1422). Upon him the Chinese emperor conferred the seal of authority and the dynastic name of "Sho", which name was born thereafter by all Okinawan kings.

It is evident that from the time of King Satto the kings of Okinawa received their investiture in office from the Chinese emperor. At first the emperor invested all the rival kings of Chuzan, Nanzan, and Hokuzan, but beginning with Mamun, known after his investiture as Sho-Hashi, only the King of the United Kingdom. The Chinese imperial emissaries traveled from Foochow to Naha by specially designated "Cormnation Ships" and participated in the year-long ceremonials and festivities which marked the ascension of a new king. Meanwhile, Okinawa continued to pay tribute to China and to appeal to China for settlement of the more perplexing problems of state. Shortly after the ascension of Sho-Hashi's son, Sho-Chu, however, there arose anomalous situation which continued for some centuries. In response to repeated demands from Japan, Okinawa in 1441 began paying tribute to Japan as well as to China and thus gave taken of vassalage to two rival empires.

Under the kings of the First Sho dynasty Okinawa enjoyed great prosperity and rapidly expanding trade. Reports of Okinawa's wealth and progress aroused the interest of the Japanese, who, as noted above, demanded tribute. Japan also sent traders to the Ryukyus and, as a result of communications relayed to her by the king of Okinawa, entered into trade and brief tribute relationship with China. On the request of King Sho-Taikyū, sixth king of the First Sho Dynasty, Buddhist priests came to Okinawa from Kyoto to instruct the local people in Buddhism and to found the important Buddhist temples of the island.

The

The period of the first Sho dynasty was not without civil disturbances. The reign of King Sho-Taikyū, for instance, was the period of the most famous episode of chivalry and romance in Okinawa history, the Amawari rebellion. It happened thus. Gosamaru, father-in-law of the king and Lord of Yomitanza Castle, discovered that Amawari, Lord of Katsuren, was plotting insurrection against the king. Gosamaru thereupon caused Nakagusuku Castle to be constructed on the heights guarding the approaches to Shuri and took up his residence there to protect the king. Amawari resorted to craft and deceit. He slipped past Nakagusuku by night and entered Shuri. There he ingratiated himself with the king, gained the king's confidence, married his daughter, and craftily poisoned his mind against Gosamaru. Finally, Amawari received the king's reluctant consent to attack and destroy Nakagusuku Castle, and with one of the King's armies marched northward by night. Gosamaru was entertaining guests at a banquet on the topmost terrace of the castle, looking out in the moonlit August night over the Eastern and the Western seacoasts far below. Suddenly runners brought news of Amawari's approach, and Gosamaru's retainers put themselves at his disposal for a counter-attack, for which there was still ample time. But Gosamaru declared that to resist Amawari would be to resist his king's appointed agent and would be disloyalty unbecoming a true liegè lord. Sorrowfully he made his decision, and then gathering his family together in the presence of his guests he killed first his eldest son, then his second son, then his wife, and last himself, allowing his youngest son, a mere child, to be carried away by his nurse. Thus the castle, even though it was in a practically impregnable position, fell without resistance to Amawari, who razed it, slaughtered or scattered Gosamaru's retainers, then proceeded to Katsuren to raise new forces to carry out the last phase of his plot. His wife, the daughter of King Sho-Taikyū and grand daughter of Gosamaru, discovered the plan and, dismayed at her husband's traitorous intentions, journeyed secretly from Katsuren to Shuri and gave the alarm. Thus forewarned, the king was able to beat off Amawari's forces when they attacked and to drive Amawari back to Katsuren where he was later destroyed.

King Sho-Taikyū was succeeded by King Sho-Toku, who was cruel and obdurate and so unpopular with his court that when he died, his nobles refused to elect his infant son king but rather selected as new king one Kanemaru (1470) a royal adviser who had gone into voluntary exile rather than countenance the ex-king's arbitrary actions.

Kanemaru

Kanemaru was invested with authority by the Chinese emperor and assumed the dynastic name of Sho-En. He was thus the first king of the second Sho dynasty, a line of nineteen wise and popular rulers who remained in power for over four hundred years, up until the time when Japan took over the island in 1871. Some authorities declare that Kanemaru traced his ancestry back to Gihō, grandson of Shunten, and thus he continued the first historic dynasty of Okinawan kings. King Sho-En worked to rectify the injustices done by King Sho-Toku. He encouraged his statesmen to reform the system of government. He guaranteed to the farmers the fruits of their labor. He fostered sea trade and built warehouses on a small island in Naha harbor to accommodate merchandise for import and export. He pacified the rival clans of the island and bound the clan leaders to himself by ties of friendship and loyalty.

In 1477 the third king of the second Sho dynasty, one Sho-Shin, came to the throne in Shuri and what local historians proudly term Okinawa's Golden Age was ushered in. King Sho-Shin continued to promote trade, which was the source of Okinawa's wealth and power, and he now proceeded to spend large parts of the profits of trade enhancing the state. Like Louis XIV of France, he sought to achieve at the same time the unification and beautification of his state and the enfeeblement of his feudal lords by gathering all the clan chieftians together in his capital, encouraging them to build fine villas, to patronize the arts, to indulge their desire for the luxuries of civilization, and as a not unforeseen consequence, to forego the sterner ways of war. King Sho-Shin, by this policy and by his own further efforts, turned Shuri into a splendid capital city, a city which the Japanese later acknowledged as the most beautiful castle city of the empire. King Sho-Shin laid out a clearly defined city plan, he built fine roads and arched bridges, made public parks on Castle Hill, installed a deep moat below the castle walls, built impressive castle pavilions and ramparts and gateways which in recent years were constituted National Treasures of Japan. King Sho-Shin also set up a rigid system of social classifications and stratifications and made his court at Shuri as formal and as dignified as the court of Japan or China. In order to guarantee the peace of the island he sequestered all arms. He patronized all the arts, literature in particular, and the crowning literary achievement of his reign was the systematization and recording of the Omorō, a huge body of Okinawan folk poetry in which was handed down the history and tradition of the island.

King

King Sho-Shin reigned from 1477 until 1526 and while his reign was the most glorious period of Okinawan history, throughout the remainder of the sixteenth century Okinawa's prosperity continued almost unabated and her cultural development was further enhanced. There were, however, ill-omens. At this period the ships of Spain and Portugal and the Netherlands and Britain began to appear in the far Pacific and the small craft of the Okinawans and the small volume of Okinawan trade began to appear insignificant. Furthermore, the appearance of the Europeans stirred Japan to an episode of foreign conquest which resulted in disaster for Okinawa.

Japan in a first effort to emulate the European powers determined to expand to the mainland of Asia and launched a huge invasion force against Korea. The Japanese armies under the renowned shogun, Toyotomi Hideyoshi, finally came to grief and the Japanese navy suffered ignominious defeat from a wily Korean admiral who invented and maneuvered the world's first "ironclad". Japan demanded that Okinawa come to her assistance by shipping supplies of food to the Japanese armies. The King of Okinawa refused. Japan had just enough military strength left after her catastrophic defeat in Korea to launch a punitive expedition against Okinawa (1609). The Japanese armies easily overran the land which was still unarmed as a result of King Sho-Shin's confiscation of weapons. King Sho-Nei was carried off as hostage to Japan; a Japanese carpet-bagging government quickly exploited and impoverished the island and monopolized the still profitable China trade. In this grim period, two factors combined to work Okinawa's remarkably rapid recovery--one was the foresight and sagacity of her own statesmen, the other was the peculiar deviousness of Japanese politics.

In order to effect the economic reconstruction of Okinawa, a project which was under way even before Japanese invasion made it imperative, one of King Sho-Nei's statesmen, Noguti Sokwan by name, had sent to China and from China imported the sweet potato (1605). Okinawa's leading agronomist, Gima Shinjo, encouraged the widespread culture of the sweet potato and from China introduced also the techniques of sugar manufacture (1623), thus placed Okinawa agricultural economy on its modern footing. Furthermore, from Satsuma in Japan, Gima imported the cotton plant and introduced Okinawa the manufacture of "Ryukyu gasuri", a strong and handsome cotton textile which furnished abundant material for clothing and for export.

In

In 1638, as a result of her fear of foreign aggression and her own abortive advent in conquest on the continent, Japan established her policy of isolationism. Japan prohibited foreign travel and foreign trade and sought by ignoring the West to prevent its impact upon her own already antiquated social and political system. But Japan, typically, left certain loopholes. One was Nagasaki which, as is well known to all students of the Orient, remained open as a port of trade and a point of contact between Japan and the world. The other, as has been known to few outside the Orient, was Okinawa. Japan had already caused Okinawa to concentrate upon trade with China, and despite her policy of isolationism she was not eager to cut herself off from the luxuries and the profits of that trade. So the Princes of Satsuma, who controlled Okinawa and Okinawa's China trade, reasoned that Okinawa was a part of their personal domain rather than of the empire proper and therefore was not subject to the order for closure of the ports. In order to avoid suspicion of openly defying an imperial decree, they themselves quietly withdrew from direct management of the trade and even from direct exploitation and government of the island, leaving Okinawan trade and Okinawan politics to the Okinawans so long as a good part of the articles of trade and the profits therefrom reached Satsuma.

The result was that for the next two hundred years and more Okinawa enjoyed virtual independence. She traded with both China and Japan, she sent tribute to both countries, she entertained official emissaries from both country and it suited the convenience of all concerned not to question too closely her exact affiliations and affections. The Chinese emperors continued to invest the Okinawan kings; the Princes of Satsuma continued to regard Okinawa as their domain; the Okinawans managed their own affairs pretty much to suit themselves. The situation at Shuri typifies the rather anomalous position of Okinawa in Oriental politics. On either side of the main audience hall of Shuri Castle stood a subordinate chamber, the one built and fitted in Chinese style for the entertainment of Chinese emissaries, the other built and fitted in Japanese style for the entertainment of Japanese emissaries. On occasions when either Chinese or Japanese were to be especially honored and feted, the other party left town and therefore was not officially aware of what went on. For the benefit of the more touchy Japanese, the Okinawans went so far as to clear the streets of Chinese, to withdraw Chinese coins from circulation in the shops, and to conceal the more conspicuous evidences of Chinese influence at times when Japanese emissaries were abroad.

The

The remainder of the seventeenth century saw rapid revival of Okinawan prosperity. Trade recovered and even increased. Okinawan agronomists continued the work of Gima in popularizing sweet potato, sugar cane, and cotton production. An Okinawan reformer, Haneji Choshu (1617-1675) regulated commodity price and promoted moral reform. Okinawa's most famous and revered statesman, Saion (1682-1761) achieved administrative reform, encouraged local industries, and instituted programs of reclamation and reforestation.

From the beginning of eighteenth century, however, Okinawan decline set in. The island continued to enjoy prosperity, but not as great as before and gradually diminishing. It continued to make strides in cultural development but produced no great works to compare with those of the past. There was no civil or foreign war, no great catastrophe, but on the other hand, neither was there great achievement, save that of Saion, noted above. The continued expansion of the Western powers in China reacted adversely upon Okinawa but led to no episodes of consequence.

The beginning of the nineteenth century brought Okinawa gradually to the attention of foreign powers, not for any particular importance they attached to Okinawa itself, but because of its position across the trade routes of the Orient and its vaguely understood connection with the mysterious empire of Japan. A few foreign navigators visited Okinawa and carried reports back to Europe. In the 1840's both France and Britain made efforts to establish trade relations with Okinawa and each nation, following the time honored precedent of China, smuggled in missionaries as advance agents. One French missionary named Father Forcade lived for several years in Naha, died and was buried there. One British sponsored missionary, Dr. J.B. Bettelheim, also took up his residence in Naha where he propagated the Christian faith and practiced Western medicine, both contrary to the wishes of the court at Shuri, which probably feared retaliation from Japan. Dr. Bettelheim was a gentleman of varied talents and varied experiences; he was Hungarian-born of Jewish extraction, Italian-educated, British-sponsored, American-retired, a Protestant medical missionary who entered this remote outpost of Japan before the opening of the empire and departed with Commodore Perry at the express request of the Okinawan government, which appreciated his services considerably less than it might have.

Commodore

Commodore Perry visited Okinawa before, between and after his visits to Japan. He arrived at Naha in November of 1852, wintered in Okinawa, and proceeded to Japan in July of 1853. He and his men were quartered in a Buddhist temple at Naha, close by the site of the International Cemetery in which are buried members of the crew who died during his stay here and other foreigners who have died on the island. He was lavishly entertained in the royal castle at Shuri. He and his party explored the island, and included in the reports of the Perry Expedition are careful and scholarly studies of Okinawa and the other Ryukyus. Perry actually acquired a coaling station at Naha, it being his intention to adopt the harbor as a port of call for a trans-Pacific steamship line which, he thought, would effectively achieve American control of Oriental trade and politics. Perry had grandiose ideas about the role which Americans would play not only in Okinawa but in the Bonins, where a small colony of Anglo-Americans had established an independent government, and in the other islands of the South and Southwest Pacific which were not claimed by any European power. He returned to America to advocate outright American annexation and control of many of these islands, but his plans came to nothing largely because he enjoyed such spectacular success in opening Japan. The opening of Japanese ports to American vessels made ports of call on small Pacific islands quite unnecessary for development of commerce. What might have been the history of the Orient, however, if Perry had had his way about Okinawa, the Bonins, and other small islands is an interesting matter for speculation.

A few years after Perry's visit, Japan herself began to plan expansion. The Ryukyu Islands were a natural first choice. In 1871 Japan announced that Okinawa was a Japanese possession. In 1872 the King of Okinawa was reduced to the rank of Lord of the Clan and his powers were gradually undermined. Responsibility for Okinawa, which in the Japanese scheme of administration had formerly rested vaguely with the Princes of Satsuma, was transferred to the Japanese Home Office. The Japanese secretary of Home Affairs soon visited Okinawa to announce the incorporation of the island into the Japanese Empire and the reforms which were expected. Conspicuous among those reforms were that Okinawa should cease paying tribute to China, should decline Chinese investiture of the king, should send the king to Japan, and should revise the whole system of official appointments. The Okinawans protested and

petitioned

petitioned but to no effect. Negotiations continued for some years, with the Japanese gradually imposing their full authority. The island was constituted a Prefecture of the Japanese Empire in 1879; the capital was moved to Naha; and King Sho-Tai, the nineteenth king of the Second Sho Dynasty, was removed to Tokyo, made a Marquis of the Japanese Empire, granted estates and pensions sufficient to make him forego any further claims on Okinawa. Protests by China nearly resulted in international incident, but the fact soon became clear that Okinawa was thereafter an integral part of the Japanese Empire. In this regard, it is not worthy that the restoration of imperial power in Japan, which led directly to Japan's program of foreign expansion and annexation of Okinawa, was achieved largely through the influence and wealth of the Prince of Satsuma, who had acquired no little of that influence and wealth as a result of the Okinawa trade.

Since 1879 the history of Okinawa has been one of increasing Japanization. The two greatest developments under the Japanese came after 1900. One was the land readjustment program which converted what had previously been commonly owned lands, regularly allocated and reallocated by village councils, into privately owned lands. To this land the small individual owners have managed amazingly well to retain title; whereas the majority of farmers in Japan are tenant operators, the great majority of Okinawan farmers owned their own land and thus managed to remain independent and self-respecting. The second great development under the Japanese was the educational program, the same program as that in effect in Japan proper, which went far toward converting the Okinawans into normal Japanese subjects with the same language, the same behavior patterns, and the same manner of living and thinking as the people of the main islands.

But there remained, naturally, a difference between Okinawa and Japan. The people of Okinawa had a separate history and a separate culture, and they did not rapidly forget it. They had a local pride as Okinawans which caused them unconsciously more than consciously to resist complete Japanization. And while there was no oppression or exploitation by the Japanese, neither was there full and equal assimilation into the Japanese political and social system, so that the Okinawans remained conscious that they were distinctively Okinawan at the same time that they were Japanese.

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The future of Okinawa is not even more problematical than the future of Japan. But several facts do stand clear. The people of Okinawa have in their past history given evidence that they are capable of independent development and achievement of some magnitude. And they have in their recent period of crisis exhibited a stamina and dignity which reflects the heritage of their past and promises well with regard to their potentialities in the future.