OKINAWAN STUDIES
NO. 3

THE OKINAWAS OF THE LOO CHOO ISLANDS
A JAPANESE MINORITY GROUP

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
RESEARCH AND ANALYSIS BRANCH
HONOLULU, HAWAII
June 1, 1944
Sketch Map of Nansei Islands
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THE OKINAWAS OF THE LOO CHOO ISLANDS
A JAPANESE MINORITY GROUP

PART I

THE OKINAWAS IN JAPAN

I INTRODUCTION

Minority Groups: On the China coast and on the neighboring islands there are three centers of minority populations which have histories parallel in several respects: long associations, affiliations and allegiances with China and each with a record ending, in very recent times, with Japanese aggression followed by Japanese sovereignty. These three centers are Korea, Taiwan or Formosa, and the Okinawan islands. It is the last of these groups which is to be considered here, a population forming a racial, linguistic and ethnic minority in its present Japanese setting.

Location: The distance from Kyushu, the southern-most island of Japan proper or Naichi, to Formosa is about six hundred miles and between these two points there is an almost continuous series of groups of small volcanic and coral islands, over sixty in number, over fifty of which are occupied.

Names: "The nations of Loochoo call their country Ojiza", according to the "Manchu History". On modern maps the entire archipelago is commonly designated as Nansei Shoto (Southwest Islands). Uruma is another name for the group and the Japanese often call them Nanto Shoto (Southern Islands).

There are five principal clusters or guntos of islands: the Osumi, nearest to Japan; the Tokara; the Amami, including Oshima and Tokuno; the Okinawa; and the Sakishima, which includes the Yayeyama and the Miyako groups or rettos; together with two other very small groups, Sento Shoto far to the north of Sakishima, and the Daito Shoto far to the southeast of Okinawa. The most western island, Yonakuni in the Yayeyama Retto, is only sixty miles away from Formosa.

The name Ryukyu ("Floating Globes") is given to the three southern groups, the two to the north, Tokara and Osumi, being called Satsunan. The name Ryukyu seems originally to have been applied to Formosa but in the Ming Dynasty was transferred to these islands. In some of the early literature there is often confusion caused by this fact.

Loo Choo is the original Chinese name given these islands. The reading of the same characters in Japanese is Ryukyu.*

*Variants for the spelling of these two names are legion. Some of them follow:

Chow Loo    Lexio    Lioo Kioo    Luchu or Lu Chu
Doochoo    Lieoo Kieoo    Liqueoo    Luqueoo
Kyushiu    Lieou Kieou    Liqueieux    Lyu Kyu
Lekeyo    Lieoukiou    Liu Chi    Chiuki
Lequeo    Lieoukiieux    Liu chi    Poo Choo
Lequeyo    Lieu Kieu    Liu Kiu    Riuki
Lequio    Likeo    Loo Choo    Riuku
Lew Chew    Likiou    Loo Chow    Ryu Kyu
Lew Kew    Lioo Kioo    Loqueo    Soo Choo
Okinawa, "the land of the extended rope", is the name given to the group (Okinawa Gunto) in which the largest island is also called Okinawa (Okinawa Jima). The same name, as we shall see, was given in 1879 to all the island clusters south of Amami Gunto to form the Okinawa Prefecture. The name seems to have been derived from that of one of the islands called Akonawa on which an envoy of China was shipwrecked in the Tong period. Okinawa was included by the Japanese among the "twelve islands of the South Sea".

The present report deals almost exclusively with these southern islands which now form the Okinawa Prefecture. It has not been found possible to determine the exact position in the whole picture of the people in the northern Nansei Island groups. Should they be considered Okinawas or Naichijin? They belong to another prefecture, one whose capital is in Japan proper and they are historically and ethnically nearer to the Naichijin than to the Okinawas.

Climate: "The prevailing winds...are monsoonal in character. The winter monsoon blows with great steadiness and considerable strength". The southernmost of these islands lie in a low pressure area "where five paths of tropical cyclones cross". "These tempests", writes Leavenworth, "and the cruel fangs of the dangerous rocks are the terrors of mariners in these seas". These storms and this location have no doubt been factors in bringing to the island castaways from the south. The Batan Islands, belonging to the Philippines, are less than three hundred miles away.

Temperature: The average summer temperature is about 86° with an average minimum of about 77°. In January and February the thermometer ranges from 52° at Naze, Oshima, in the north to 70° at Shigaki in the southern group.

The islands have a heavy rainfall averaging from 80 to 120 inches. This results in a high humidity, especially in the summer.

Population: According to the census of 1940, the population numbered 818,624, divided between 385,061 males and 433,563 females. "More than half the population of the Nansei Islands lives on Okinawa Jima. There are found Naha, the capital, with 65,765 inhabitants and Shuri, less than five miles away, with 17,537. As noted in another place, these two settlements are the only ones in all the islands which rank as cities. (S)

The population is declining and the low proportion of males is undoubtedly due to the large number who have been sent or have voluntarily migrated to industrial Japan, to South America, to the Philippine Islands and to the Japanese mandated islands. We shall see presently that the rulers of Okinawa, and that means the Naichijin, or people from Japan proper, had a distinct policy of sending the inhabitants to foreign lands.

Japanese: The number of Japanese is relatively small. On account of the general poverty of the country, there is little incentive to immigration. In general the Naichijin, living mainly at Naha, are officials, teachers and traders.

Foreigners: "The number of the foreigners in the Nansei Islands is quite small. In 1930 there were only 204 Formosans, 48 Chinese, 20 Koreans, 10 Russians, 2 Americans, and one other foreigner in Okinawa Gunto and Sakishima". (S)

Emigration: In the "History of the Progress of Okinawas Overseas", (1941) by Asato, we read, "Due to the narrow and very limited area and the poorness of the soil, overseas development has been an essential feature of Okinawa, a very important factor in the economy of the district. Hence, overseas development has been the basic policy of the rulers of Okinawa. From the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Okinawas went to all parts of the Pacific, -- to Siam, Annam, Sumatra, Java, Malacca, Patanay, Luzon; to Korea in the north; to the mainland of Japan in the east; and to China in the west. Before the advent of Europeans, the Okinawas held the trade mono-
poly of Southeast Asia, sailing the seas in sailing vessels".

From 1609 when the Satsuma clan held sway in the islands until the establishment of the prefectural government in 1879, there was little emigration. Since then, according to Asato, "They have emigrated to every part of the world and have become a spearhead of the development of the new order in the South Pacific".

The following table shows the estimate of the Okinawa population in the various parts of the world by Asato (1941), those who have migrated to the different regions during the last twenty-five years and some combined figures of the Japanese as a whole and opinions on the percentages of Okinawas in the Naichijin populations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Okinawa Emigration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa &amp; Japanese</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp; Asato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Last 25 yrs (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of Okinawas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mandated Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57,000 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70.1 (1938)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brazil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210,000 (1944)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157,905 (1940)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6,800</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25,888</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Philippines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5,900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70. (in Abaca,Davao)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Argentina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malaya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.S.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the present purposes, the proportion of Loo Choos to the Japanese population in Okinawa, in Japan and in other regions is most important. Unfortunately, however, there are few places where this group as a whole has been broken down into Okinawas and Naichijin. As shown above there are figures for the Mandated Islands. In June 1938, of the 57,000 Japanese there, 40,000 or 70.17% are reported to be Okinawas. In 1942 the number of Japanese was given as 71,847 with nothing said of the Okinawan element represented in this figure.

The figure from Brazil of 9,000 immigrants does not agree with another late authority who gives the immigration into Brazil during eleven years, from 1922 to 1933, as 8,154 from Okinawa-ken with 8,984 from Hiroshima-ken which also contains numbers of Okinawas.

The figure of 12,000 Okinawas in Peru may also be questioned. The same authority gives 25,888 as the number of Japanese in the country, "sixty percent or more are Okinawas", which would make more than 15,000 of these islanders.

As there is a large percentage of Okinawas in the Japanese population in the Mandated Islands, in Brazil and in Peru there is every reason to believe that of the 28,911 Japanese in the Philippine Islands more than half are of Okinawan origin. Of this number 17,782 or 61.8% are in Davao Province and form the largest colony of these people in the islands. It has been reported that seventy percent of the Japanese in the Abaca area of Davao are Okinawas.

It is, of course, impossible to estimate with any accuracy the number of Okinawas among the half million and more Japanese now in the United Nations. In a Tokyo radio broadcast early in January, 1944, Tadakatsu Suzuki, head of the Wartime Internees Affairs Management, is quoted as stating to a committee of the Imperial Diet that there were 550,000 Japanese nationals remaining in the United Nations, including 280,000 in the United States and
Hawaii, 210,000 in Brazil and 23,000 in Canada. If the 1940 Japanese population of the Hawaiian Islands is deducted from the total above for the United States and Hawaii, it would leave about 122,000 Japanese in the United States proper.

**Discovery and Early Voyages:** The Portuguese seem to have been the first Europeans to hear of the islands, according to Antonio Galvao in his "History of the Discoveries of the World", which gives the record down to 1555. They were also reported but not visited by Francisco Gali, a Spanish captain, who was in their vicinity in 1584 and was informed of their existence by a Chinese pilot.

An English sea-captain, Broughton, visited the islands in 1797, followed by Captain Torie or Torry in 1803, Captain Murray Maxwell and Captain Basil Hall in the "Alceste" and the "Lyra" in 1816, and Beechey in 1827-8. The last two left fairly full descriptions of the islands and the people, together with those of Dr. MacIoad of the "Alceste". The French were there in 1846. Commodore Perry's account of his various visits from 1852 to 1854 is still one of the best available.

**Source Material:** For the history of the Okinawan Islands, Leavenworth's "The Loochoo Islands" (1905) is indispensable. Not only does it contain his own account of the country and of its history but he gives in translation abstracts of three very valuable historical documents, together with extracts from official Chinese correspondence. The first is a manuscript history of the islands compiled by successive authors and is preserved in the prefectural office at Naha, the capital. It runs from the legendary beginning of Okinawa down to 1835. This seems to have served as the main source of the history which was used by many of the native writers. In this report, it will be referred to as the "Manuscript History".

The second series of transcripts in Leavenworth is from "The Imperial History of the Ming Dynasty (Ch'in Ting Ming Shi) in China". It goes into great detail regarding the inter-relations of China and Okinawa from the time of Hung Wu, the first of the Ming rulers, in 1368 in the reign of the Okinawan King, Satsudo, down to the fall of the Dynasty in 1644. In the text, this will be called "The Ming History".

The third series of extracts is taken from the "Present Dynasty's General Survey of Important Historical Facts (Huang Chao Wen Hsin Tung Kao)". This is a rapid review of the history of the various kings from the beginning to the end of the Ming Dynasty and then a more detailed account of the relations between China and Okinawa in the reigns of the first four Manchu rulers down to 1786. In the text, these abstracts will be called the "Manchu History". With this and the "Ming History" we have a fairly complete story of Okinawa from the Chinese side.

Finally, in connection with original documents, there is a collection of official letters mainly to and from Li Hung Chang, which relate, for the most part, to the call for assistance made to General Grant in 1866 regarding the Chinese claim of sovereignty over the islands.

It is unfortunate that there has been no similar source material available covering the Japanese relations with the islands. Several works by Okinawans have been used and recourse has been made to various Japanese encyclopaedias which give the history of the islands from the Japanese point of view.

Mention should be made of various current government publications, not for general circulation. The most important of these is a geographic monograph on the Nansei Shoto Islands prepared by the Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, for the Office of Naval Intelligence. Some of the general data in the Introduction of that work have been used here. Quotations or statements from this source are generally indicated by an S in brackets (S). This publication contains a large mass of information of the greatest importance which is not touched upon at all in this report.
Finally there are other O.S.S. publications which have proved useful. The one on the "Japanese in Latin America" is designated in this text by an O in brackets (O). In addition to this source material there is a bibliography of several hundred works on the islands or on subjects related to them. At the end of this report there is a list only of those works to which reference has been made in the text.

II THE JAPANESE "RACE"

The racial composition of the Japanese is obscure but all authorities agree that they are a much mixed people, the main element of their composition being Mongolian.

The Japanese language, radically different from that of the Chinese, clearly has an origin in Central Asia, as it is classed with the Uralo-Altaic group to which the language of the Tartars belongs.

It is still a matter of discussion when the various strains making up the admixture now called Japanese came in.

Aboriginal Population: Ainu The earliest people to enter the Japanese islands seem to have been at the Neolithic level of culture. They probably came from the north and were a short, long-headed, hairy type of man represented today by the Ainu. This was an early white type, which continued southward along the Asiatic coast, reaching Indo-China where it divided. One part probably went westward and is represented by the Dravidians of India and the other continued southeastward as far as Australia where this early race is found today as part of the composition of the "Australian black". This element has undoubtedly entered into the composition of some of the Japanese but it is found, as we shall see, coming out most prominently in a certain type of Okinawa.

The Basic Type: Mongolian There is a general agreement that the Japanese are fundamentally of Mongoloid blood, probably coming from the mainland by way of Korea. This is the "Yamato Race", which is the classical term for Japanese. They are seen in Japan today as the "fine" or daimyo (chieftain) type.

Kumaso Type: The third type probably came in from the south by way of Formosa. They undoubtedly arrived very early, rapidly spreading through the two southernmost islands. Before crossing to Japan, they had picked up elements of Malay or Indonesian. They introduced rice and other features of the south, especially the type of house seen in Japan today.

Several have remarked on the change in the physical type and a corresponding variation in the life and customs of the people as they travel from north to south on the main Japanese islands. This is especially noticeable after one crosses the straits into Kyushu.

Sushen: There is another element more difficult to determine and around which there is considerable controversy called the Sushen, probably a Tunga stock, back to which the Manchus trace their origin. They were invaders of Japan in the sixth century and probably contributed little in the way of blood.

III OKINAWAN ORIGINS

Varied Approaches: In almost every book on the history of the Okinawas attempts have been made to settle the question of the beginnings
of these people. The subject has been approached from the physical and anthropolmnetrical, the linguistic and etymological side, from that of customs, arts and crafts and architecture, from the study of religion, of economics, and of psychology, together with the contribution to this problem made by the ancient drama, ballads, mythology and folklore, legend and archaeology.

Japanese and Okinawan Cultural Origins: All books which discuss the cultural background of the Japanese and the Okinawas fall into two classes. The first emphasizes the similarities between the two peoples and brings out few of the differences. Here belong, almost without exception, the works of all authors who are native Loo Chooans or Okinawas. They feel it a duty to raise their own people, culturally speaking, to what they usually and often quite unconsciously consider the higher level of the Japanese proper. The second class of writers, more often of non-Japanese origin, make sharp distinctions between the cultures of the two peoples. The historical background of the southern group, their long contact with Chinese, as will be pointed out later, naturally mark them off rather sharply from the Japanese to the north.

Mixed Racial Origins:* There is a general agreement that the people inhabiting the Okinawan Islands are mixed racially and have the same fundamental ingredients as those found in Japan proper.

In the two northernmost groups, the Tokara and Osunj, the people are very similar racially to the Japanese living in Kyushu. Writing of the Oshima or Amami islands to the north of the Okinawan group proper, Doederlein speaks of "two physical types, the Japanese with a sharper chin, a better nose, larger eyes and less well-developed prognathism and the second type differentiated by hairiness, not less well developed than that of the fairest European".

In the Okinawas occupying the two groups of islands to the south, there are minor variations in their racial composition.

Perry's Opinion: It is interesting to observe how near Perry, in his visits in 1882-1884, seems to have come to the truth when he writes about Okinawan origins. "The Commodore, from such observations as he could make, thought that the Lew Chewans were a mixture, made up possibly of Japanese (who preponderated), Chinese, Formosans, and, perhaps, Malays; and that the island, commencing its population at a very early period, from some accident, such as shipwreck, had, from time to time, added to its inhabitants from the adjacent regions, until the whole was fused into the present stock. In personal appearance the Lew Chewans did not seem to him to be unequivocally either Chinese or Japanese in aspect".

Racial Composition: If we add to this galaxy of people, Japanese, Chinese, Formosans and Malays, named by Perry, the "gentle and hairy Ainu" we may be approaching the actual picture of the racial composition of the Okinawas. Schwartz, who was a missionary among them for many years and who already knew Japan from north to south, considers them more mixed racially than the Japanese. One "can find types among the people", he writes, "resembling the Chinese and the Japanese, and some unlike either".

Dr. Frederick Hulse, who has kindly furnished the author with his opinion on the racial composition of the people, writes, "Some of the older written sources say that Okinawans are not quite so 'Oriental' in appearance as are other Japanese".

Physical Characteristics: In general terms, the inhabitants are shorter in stature than the people of the north and the body is more stocky.

* Much of this Chapter was published in "Okinawan Studies", No. 1, Honolulu, March 27, 1944, and republished in R & A, No. 1567.
There is a more prominent nose, a higher forehead and less well-developed cheek bones than those of the Naichijin. The skin-color is darker. The hairiness of some of the people is discussed below.

Physical Types: Definite physical types come out in examining a large group of the people, each representing very clearly one or more of the racial strains which make up their composition: Mongolid as seen among the Chinese; Malay or Indonesian as seen in the Philippines, Formosa and Malaya; Korean; and Ainu.

The Ainu Strain: The hairiness is undoubtedly due to the Ainu component which resolves most prominence in the literature. The Ainu are the modern representative of an early white race seems to have been widely present in the aboriginal peoples of all the Japanese islands and we have seen it is also found on the mainland and in other parts of the Oceanic area. Chamberlain asks whether the original Japanese entering the islands from southwest Korea and spreading over all Kyushu drove the aboriginal Ainus northward or acted as a wedge pushing part of them northward, as we know they did, and a small part to the south. Today the only place in Japan proper where the Ainu are to be found in any numbers is on the northernmost of the four main islands, Hokkaido, but evidence of their former occupation of the country is found throughout all of the main group. Ainu names still linger.

Dr. John Batchelor, the great authority on the Ainu and the chief authority on their language, insists that "Fuji" is not the Japanese for "nonpareil" but is derived from the Ainu word for "fire-goddess".

Torii and Chamberlain suggest the Ainu occupied all the Okinawan group of islands as they claim there are Ainu place names there. Neil Monroe claims to have found Ainu burials, including skeletons, in these islands. Ancient Ainu artifacts, I am told by Dr. Denzel Carr, have been found on all of the main Japanese islands as far south as Yaku Shima, north of Okinawa but south of Kyushu.

Torii reports that excavations in Nakagusuku on the island of Okinawa show earthen and stone ware decorated with the same designs as those on "stone age" implements of Japan which he considers of Ainu origin.

The Ainu were thus undoubtedly in Okinawa in ancient times and they represent a strain in the composition of the modern inhabitants, one also found but far less commonly among the Japanese. Curly hair is a characteristic shared both by the Ainu and the Okinawas but a wave in the hair is by no means unknown among some of the Japanese, although not to such a great extent as among those of these southern islands. Excess hairiness on the body is an Ainu trait. This characteristic, but to a lesser extent, is not unknown among some of the inhabitants of the southern islands of Japan proper.

Whenever one sees any large congregation of Okinawas, the hair is the most outstanding characteristic of the group. That on the head is luxuriant and, as noted above, usually has a distinct wave or even a curl. There is also considerable hair on the arms, legs and chests of the men.

Dr. Hulse writes, "I am extremely skeptical about the Ainu ancestry theory. Wavy hair seems to be more common in Okinawa than in Japan proper, but the people are hairy only in contrast to other Japanese". Hooton believes that the Ainu should be reckoned with in the discussion of Okinawa origins.

Malay or Indonesian Strain: As suggested first by Commodore Perry, this Malay blood comes out strongly in some of the Okinawas. Hulse seems to accent the Malayan or Indonesian component. He thinks the type is like that still found in Formosa, in the Philippine mountains and in the interior of Borneo. He feels that the Okinawas differ from other Japanese only in having a higher proportion of Indonesian ancestry.

In connection with the Malayan component in the population, it should be remembered that Okinawa's nearest neighbor to the south is Formosa where Grajdanseu says before the sixteenth century the population were "almost ex-
elusively tribes of Malayan or Polynesian origin, related to the principal tribes of Mindanao and Borneo.

Leavenworth illustrates the danger, that is often overlooked, of using factors which are primarily derived from cultural influences to prove questions of race. The Okinawas, according to one author, cannot be Malays as the former are "too docile and too amiable" while the latter are "cruel and bloodthirsty". Temperament is not a safe criterion of race. Leavenworth ends his discussion of Okinawan origins by saying, "However, this is a question which can be left to the Anthropologists". And we have just seen that the members of this discipline are far from agreeing upon the racial origins of these people.

The plates of photographs at the end of this report, chosen from a large number as "typically Okinawan", show the physical characteristics.

IV LANGUAGE

Japanese, the Original Language: Whatever may have been the language of the aborigines of the islands, so far as the records go, the inhabitants spoke a language affiliated with the Japanese of the north.

In the "Manuscript History", we read of a Chinese at the end of the sixth and beginning of the seventh centuries, who, in a search for foreign lands, came to Okinawa but he could not understand the language. It seems to have been an unrecorded tongue until the time of King Shunten (c 1187-1238) who, we learn in the "Manchu History", "adopted the Japanese method" and "invented new characters forty-seven in number".

Use of Chinese: Considering the fact that all the higher features of culture were derived from Chinese, it is not surprising to learn that, for centuries, Chinese seems to have been the medium of the learned classes. The "Manchu History" states, "At the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, the Emperor gave them thirty-six surnames and also allowed them to send some students to the National University of China. After that the Chinese language was introduced. They study Chinese by means of notes at the side of every sentence by using marks so as to show the change between two words. They study Chinese in the opposite way (i.e., from the lower part to the upper), or by using one or two Chinese characters in the Loochooan alphabet, invented by Sentien (Shunten). They use Chinese entirely when they communicate with Chinese".

Japanese Dialects: All the dialects of the archipelago belong to the Japanese group of languages. Starting at the north in Osumi and part of Tokara there is the Satsunan dialect "closely resembling the Kagoshima dialect which is spoken in southern Kyushu, and speakers of these two dialects have no trouble in conversing. An educated, intelligent Japanese from the main islands of Japan would be able to understand the spoken language and to make himself understood, although with difficulty, in the rural regions of the Osumi and Tokara Islands. Similarly, a speaker of the Satsunan dialect would have difficulty in communicating with Japanese around Tokyo, but could manage to get along". (0)

In part of the Tokara, in Amami, Okinawa and the Sakishima groups, the language is commonly called Okinawa or Ryukyu. Basil Hall Chamberlain, for many years a Professor in the Imperial University at Tokyo and the grandson of Basil Hall, one of the first Europeans to describe the islands (1826), is the main authority on the native language. He calls standard Japanese (Hyo'ungo) and Okinawa "twinsisters". On the linguistic side, unlike some of the other aspects of this people, all writers seem to agree. We have just seen that a speaker of the Satsunan dialect of the north would have difficulty in making himself understood in Tokyo; the Okinawan dialect is still further removed from that spoken in the capital. The two are not mutually intelligible. They are related in much the same way as Italian and Spanish or French, each going back to a common source. The Okinawan is said to be nearer the original Japanese and to have preserved the language of
ancient Japan in the use of archaic words and phrases, and in the study of classical Japanese (Koten), "one can't go far without a knowledge of the Ryukyu language".

There are at least five sub-dialects of the Okinawan itself and all are mutually intelligible. The Shuri of the capital is the most representative one: others are centered in Amami Oshima, in Kunigami on Okinawa, in Miyako and in the Yaye group.

Starting as far back as the Satsuma regime in 1609, standard Japanese has been spoken by the higher classes of the population in the cities and towns and it is the language taught in the schools.

Need of Interpreters: A present-day authority writes, "The percentage of the population that has received instruction in foreign language is quite small. There can be only a handful of foreign residents still remaining in the Nansei area. Therefore an interpreter must be regarded as a necessity for all occasions, although a few individuals may be found who are more or less conversant with English". (S)

In Hawaii: The older inhabitants from these islands of Okinawa always spoke their native language and were, as we shall see, looked down upon by the earlier immigrants from Naichi who could not understand them. Ryukyu, as a language, still persists in Hawaii, even among some of those of the first and second generation of Hawaiian-born Okinawas.

V CHARACTER AND DISPOSITION

Almost without exception those who had early contact with the Okinawas speak of their docility, civility, courtesy and inoffensive character.

"Land of Propriety": During the reign of Sho Ei (1572-1589) over one of the gates of the old capital, Shuri, were placed the Chinese words which, translated, mean, "The Country Which Observes Propriety". This is supposed to have come from a name bestowed on this country by a Chinese emperor. The "perfect manners" of the envoys of these islands are a matter of comment. Hall (1816) called them, "modest, timid, respectful", in contrast to the "cold and repulsive manners of the Coreans". Brunton (1876), coming from Japan proper writes, "a people very different from those we have left". Leavenworth writes that the people were quiet and inoffensive and everywhere were courteous, polite and hospitable.

"The Ryukyuans people, especially those away from the cities, are polite and mild-mannered. Nansei fishermen have a reputation in some areas for toughness and a spirit of independence. Beggars are rare. Relatively few crimes are committed by Okinawans, the chief violations of law being petty thefts. However, toward Japanese officials who look down on Okinawans as inferiors the residents have an attitude of resentment". (S)

Absence of War: There has been a good deal written about their peaceful proclivities and the absence of war and war-like weapons. This will be discussed later.

Ideas of Cleanliness: The common people are called crude, dirty and of low mentality. "Boorish" is another term by which they are described. "The women don't know how to dress", their meals consist of coarsely chopped food. "There is nothing dainty or refined". These last descriptions are taken from Japanese sources, and are in contrast to what we learn about the people in Perry's account. We read, "The first (thing which attracted the Commodore's attention) was the exceeding cleanliness of the Lew Chewans, and
Feeling of Inferiority: A greater degree of primitiveness in their culture in contrast to that of the Japanese islands to the north, geographical isolation, linguistic difficulties, lack of political independence are all factors in themselves which create a feeling of inferiority without taking into consideration the feeling of superiority of the Naichijin toward these southern islanders. This subject will be discussed in detail later.

In Hawaii: While meekness is a characteristic of this transplanted people, this trait in Hawaii does not prevent an adventurous quality in their activities, their willingness to take risks in new undertakings, and their constant and successful attempts to raise themselves in the economic and social scale. A social worker describes them as "daring, brazen and bold".

Mentality: There seems no reason whatsoever to accept the statement of some writers that the Okinawas are of inferior mental ability. In an earlier day the uncouthness of some served as a false index to and undoubtedly gave rise to this type of statement. Their enterprise and the reports of their employers, all serve to show that their mental alertness is certainly not below the standard of any other people.

Reports from twenty-one sugar and pineapple plantations in Hawaii show in the ranking of the various nationalities made by the managers or heads of personnel the following scores on "mentality", a term which does not properly equate with nationality. Highest in the list were the Japanese, 1.19, with the Okinawas, 1.78, followed by the Filipinos 2.34, Portuguese 3.23, Hawaiians, 4.1, and Puerto Ricans, 4.1.

Dr. Porteous of the University of Hawaii has kindly furnished me with some average qualitative Q-scores in a maze test. This was originally intended to determine individuals with delinquent tendencies, since delinquents and criminals do very badly as regards Q-scores. His Japanese figures were broken down into Naichijin and Okinawas, the latter by means of their names.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Score</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>64 Okinawas</td>
<td>25.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>297 Other Japanese</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>374 Chinese</td>
<td>20.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169 Part Hawaiian</td>
<td>28.72</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The "critical ratio" of the difference between the Okinawas and the Naichijin was 1.48. He writes, "Twenty per cent of Okinawas, 14.82% of other Japanese, and over 80% of delinquents have Q-scores of 29 or above".

Morality: A sample of sixty-nine records of individuals in the file at the Honolulu police station were picked out by means of their typical Okinawan names. Of these, seventeen were women and fifty-two men. Eight of the women, 48%, and of the men 40% had been arrested for acts connected with the Internal Revenue Law and liquor. It is generally recognized that Loo Chooan wives often "take the rap" for their husbands in the court. Among the men on the list 13.5% had been arrested for burglary. Surprisingly few seem to have been connected with sex misdemeanors or crimes.

Ability as Laborers: Reports from the same twenty-one plantations in Hawaii show the ranking of the various nationalities on "ability as laborers". It should be noted that no account was taken of qualities demanded by the different types of work, such as mechanical dexterity and labor in the fields. The Japanese were ahead with 1.19 points, closely followed by the Okinawas, 2.6 and the Portuguese 2.8. Some distance below stood the Hawaiians, 3.6, the Filipinos, 5.85 and the Puerto Ricans, 5.0. These rankings really mean very little except that they show the Naichijin and the Okinawas come out, in
both cases near each other and at the top.

The Women: After writing disparagingly of the men, Schwartz continues, "But, however we describe the men, the women of Loo Choo can not be too highly praised. They are energetic, shrewd, and remarkably self-reliant. In the markets only women are to be seen, and everything connected with money, with the single exception of spending it, seems to be in their hands". The police court records of women in Honolulu have already been discussed.

VI HABITATIONS

The houses in towns are described as of one-story, of wood with a roof of red tile laid in white plaster. "A high stone wall shuts the whole house in", thus serving as a screen as well as a wind-break. The floors are covered with mats and the sliding partitions are of wood rather than of paper as seen in Japan.

The houses in the country are usually built of straw thatch held in place by a matting of bamboo grass and have thatched roofs.

VII DRESS AND DECORATION

Dress: At the present time there is little in their own dress to distinguish them from other Japanese. At the beginning of the century it was reported that the men and women dressed alike. In winter they wore indigo-blue cloth and in summer a fabric made from the fibre of the banana plant. In the clothing of the older generation, there still is "a quality reminiscent of that of ancient Japan". The girdles of the kimonos are tied in front, for example, as in the olden times in the north. The women's dress is described as having "an exotic appearance".

The usual Japanese sandal is fastened by a cord running between the first and second toes. Another type, and one found among the Okinawas, is a system of cords passing over all the toes and fastened around the ankle.

As in other parts of Japan, the women carry their bundles on their heads; sometimes these burdens are of great weight, ranging well over one hundred and fifty pounds.

Hair-dressing: During the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1527), "a system of gold and silver hair-pins and hats was fixed to make exact distinction between nobles and commoners". Schwartz writes as follows on this point: "The men hold their cues in place on the top of the head by two short hair-pins; made of gold or silver in the case of the nobility or gentry, and of pewter or wood among the common people".

In one reference we are told the dressing of the hair of the women is something like that of the island of Oshima near Tokyo. Schwartz writes, "The women twist their hair into a simple coil on the top of the head, and hold it in place...by a single pin, much larger and heavier than that worn by the men".

Tattooing: Every authority writing on the Okinawas in their homeland speaks of the custom of the women of having the backs of their hands tattooed, a usage called hatusuki, which is now forbidden. The designs varied from island to island. Tattooing is by no means unknown in other parts of the
Japanese islands. It is found, for example, on the island of Oshima, off the southern coast of Honshu. The Ainu women, especially, had their hands tattooed and also had lines around their mouth. Another more or less permanent Okinawan mode of decorating the body was to blacken the teeth, which is a practice formerly found in Japan proper, and possibly Malayan in origin.

Several reasons have been advanced to account for the Okinawan tattooing, many of which are pure attempts at rationalization. The earliest explanation seems to go back to a tale dating from the middle of the fourteenth century. A virgin priestess, evidently from Okinawa, was cast on the shore of one of the northern islands. The prince of the country saw and loved her. The girl's maid, to protect her mistress, tattooed her hands. As the prince was about to exchange wine cups with his loved one, he saw the tattoo. Astonished, he dropped the cup. This was considered a bad omen, and he lost all desire to marry the priestess. After this, all members of her sex and race tattooed their hands. Another story dates back to the Satsuma regime. It is said an officer of this ruling family tried to compel the daughter of an Okinawan noble to live with him. Next day, she appeared with her arms and hands tattooed. The official, thinking she had some skin disease, left her unmolested. A more general explanation is that it was done by order of the Okinawan Government to discourage the practice of Japanese officials carrying off native women. Other reasons advanced were that it was done as an indication of the marriage state so that widows could not remarry.

A more mundane explanation is that the marks represent the amount of hemp cloth woven by each woman. One authority considers the designs of religious significance. It seems to be simply a manifestation seen among many peoples of a desire for some permanent form of decoration.

In the "Manchu History" there is an account of tattooing which seems to refer to the custom as having been practiced by both sexes and to the fact that the designs covered much of the body. We read, "They tattoo their fingers and backs with pens and ink when they have passed fifteen years of age. As their ages increase each year the tattooed marks on their bodies are increased. So the old men look something like black people". A similar custom was reported of the Polynesians of the Marquesas Islands, who at one period of their art, filled the background of their tattooed designs with fresh marks from year to year until they were black all over.

VIII ECONOMICS

Uyehara writes, "The islands differ from the mainland (of Japan) with regard to what the inhabitants eat, how they speak and how they live".

Food: The land is primarily an agricultural region. The sweet potato figures first in their economy. It was introduced from China about the end of the sixteenth century. Here, therefore, it is called "the Chinese potato"; in Satsuma prefecture it is called "Ryukyuma" (Loo Choo--Okinawa--potato); and in Japan proper it is "Satsumaimo" (the Satsuma potato). The Chinese claim it was brought from Luzon in the Philippines. Rice, beans, and barley are also cultivated. About 700 years ago sugar was introduced from Foochow and prior to the Meiji rule, the Satsuma limited its production and did not allow its export. The raising of pigs is a popular industry and this has been carried over to their new home in Hawaii where a very high per cent of those engaged in this occupation are Okinawas.

In classifying the inhabitants, Perry has four groups; the lowest includes the fishermen, "by the toll of which last all the rest live".

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Industries: At the beginning of the century the principal industries were the mining of coal and the weaving of cloth. This latter was done on the simplest kind of loom; the frame had three sides and the weaver fastened the web to her own waist, so that she formed the fourth side.

The cloth was of three varieties: tsumugi, black silk with little flecks of white, found in Oshima; Satsuma-gasuri or Ryukyu gasuri; cotton cloth of Okinawa island; and jofu; hemp cloth of Miyako. Both the silk and the yarn were, to a great extent, imported from Japan. The cotton cloth is of two kinds; the kurogasuri, cloth dyed with indigo with light spots; and the shirogasuri, white with dark marks. The number and minuteness of these specks determine the value of the cloth. The spots are made by tying the bunches of white thread before they are dyed; the "ties" are removed and the parts covered by them remain uncolored. It is a common form of negative dying. About sixty to sixty-six patterns were used, with many older ones which were "out of style". The hemp cloth "is a more expensive product", writes Leavenworth. Most of the dye used comes from Miyako and the people there are very skillful weavers. A panama type of hat is also woven in the islands.

Another successful industry is lacquer ware. The red variety, the vermilion coming from China, is a speciality of the islands. Schwartz speaks of the industry being in the manner of the Japanese and says that "the decorations in relief on some of the best pieces are veritable works of art".

In accounts going back to the end of the seventeenth century we read, "The inhabitants of the Riuku Islands buy most of the pearls which are found about Satsuma, they trading to that Province" and "shells (Takaragi) called in the Indies cowries (cowries)...The best are brought from the Riuku Islands and are the chief ingredient of their white cheek varnish". Another account speaks of this varnish "which the boys and girls paint themselves withal".

Land: The land, according to the "Manchu History", is divided into that belonging to the king and that held by the officers. There also seems to have been land privately owned. The peasants cultivate all the land and each type has to yield some of its produce to the king as a tax.

Trade: This will be discussed later as one of the divisions of "Foreign Affairs".

IX SOCIOLOGY

It is a great regret that no anthropological or sociological field studies have been made on the family and other social factors in the life of the people. There are only a few facts available on the social customs of these people and most of these seem to show that, in general, the Japanese pattern is followed. Schwartz continues as our authority in these matters.

Marriage: This usually takes place from fourteen to seventeen and there are the customary go-betweens, as in Japan, who make all the arrangements. There is the usual secreting of the bride resulting in a struggle by the groom and his friends and "then the groom's party withdraws to a brothel". This procedure continues for several nights. "The object seems to be, on the one hand, to assert the husband's independence of his wife; and, on the bride's part, to show her freedom from jealousy, that cardinal sin of Oriental wives".

Class Distinctions: In Japan proper the caste system which was legally abolished in 1868 consisted of the samurai (shi or shi-zoku) or the warrior and noble class, the farmer (no), the craftsman (ko), and the trader or one engaged in commerce (cho). Below all these were the eta, those engaged in the slaughter of animals and the making and handling of leather.
The attitude toward this ostracized class was in great part due to the Buddhist doctrine against taking life. These people were the "untouchables" of Japan and even now, when all class distinctions have been abolished by law, the antipathy still persists. These Eta were also called shinheimin, "the new common people". They will be discussed later in connection with the Okinawas.

Class Distinctions in Okinawa: There were primarily but two classes among the Okinawas, the shi or samurai and the heimin or common people. As seen in the history of the country and in the discussion of the government and officialdom, it will be clear that, in former times, there was a well-established hierarchy of royalty, nobles and common people.

The early white visitors to the islands are constantly mentioning the nobles and the common people. Beechey in 1827 goes so far as to make a physical distinction. He writes, "The better classes seemed by their features to be allied to the Chinese, and the lower orders to the Japanese; but, in each, the manners of both countries may be traced". In Perry's account we read, "There is a gradation in the rank of officers analogous to that existing in China, and here, as there, manifested by some peculiarity of dress".

The system of hair-pins as indicators of rank has already been described and different types of hats and buttons serve the same purpose.

"The lowest order", writes Perry, "consists of the public slaves (oo-bang), who have no civil rights nor personal freedom...Their condition is one of utter degradation. The intermediate class next above these is composed of the peasants or field laborers (ha-koo-shoo, more properly hyakusho, farmer)...The highest grade in the lower class is made up of the messengers, spies, menial officers, etc., in the service of the government, and includes also the small traders and mechanics. This caste is known by the name of wa-da-e-o-gang". At the top are the rich, the professional and ruling classes. The account continues, "The higher classes are well instructed in the learning of China, whether the literati and professional men, and especially the physicians, are sent to finish their education".

Other Distinctions: One ought always to distinguish between the uneducated and the professional class, teachers, priests, doctors, and others of this type, most of whom have had a part of their education in Japan proper.

In another place, Perry classifies the inhabitants of the islands into four grades: "First, the officers of state; secondly, the priesthood and literary men; thirdly, the under officers and spies; and lastly, the laboring class, including particularly the fishermen, by the toil of which last all the rest live, for it was never seen that any of the classes above named, except the last, ever appeared to have anything to do, save the spies, and they might be met at every step".

At the present time, as regards the two classes now found in Okinawa, one informant seemed to think that the upper class outnumbered the lower, whereas in Japan the lower class was far larger than the shi group.

Social distinctions are also made on the basis of Japanese and native, rich and poor, educated and uneducated, on residence, and to some extent on occupation. The Japanese officials stand highest and with the teachers "form a clique, mixing but little with the native families". In a special class come the Japanese traders. "The city people are distinct socially, as well as ethnically, since it is in the cities and towns that more people of Chinese extraction can be found". (O) There is a distinction also made between those who have been sent to Japan for their education and others. Finally at the bottom come the country people, the farmers, and here, as we have seen, belong the fishermen.

Class Distinctions in Hawaii: It should be remembered that the greater bulk of the Okinawas, as well as the Naichiin, were brought to Hawaii as laborers on the sugar plantations and yet there are still traces of the
upper shi class in Hawaii. The members of this group, mostly from the old capital city of Shuri, are few in number and are distinctly aware of their superior social standing. They seldom show any feeling of inferiority as is the case with the lower class. This latter group is often entirely unaware of any formal designation of the upper stratum. Two members of the lower section of the population from Shuri, speaking of certain persons of the shi caste from the same city, said, "We do not know them".

There seems also to be a distinction here regarding education. A few were sent by their parents to Japan or to Loo Choo to complete their schooling and an increasingly large number now attend the University of Hawaii. With the coming of prosperity, a moneyed class seems to be forming in this population.

X GOVERNMENT

It is impossible to define with accuracy the confines of the ancient kingdom of Loo Choo or Ryukyu. The center of this was on the island of Okinawa but it is difficult to know how many of the islands to the north and south were actually a part of the realm.

Ancient Kingdoms: In the reign of Tamagusuku (1314-1337) the island of Okinawa was divided into three separate countries, Chusan or Chung Shan, Sannan or Shan Nan and Sanboku or Shan Pei, each under its own king. About one hundred years later, in the reign of Sho Hashi (1422-1440), the three were united under the king of Chusan. He and his successors ruled Okinawa-jima and the surrounding islands from this time until 1879 when the prefecture was established.

The Capital: Originally the capital was at Shuri in ancient Chusan, on Okinawa-jima. Later the capital was moved a few miles to the coast at Naha where it still remains.

Nomenclature: There is considerable confusion regarding the native terms used to designate the provinces and their subdivisions together with the titles of their officers. The Chinese terms Fu and gun are both found in the early literature together with chieftse and magiri. The first two seem to refer to the provinces and the last two to districts. The hsien, also meaning "district", is always used in connection with the village.

The "King's Dominion": According to the "Manchu History", Seuli (Shuri) and its neighboring lands, called Chumepa (Kumahaku) and Naboo (Naha) were controlled directly by the king and were not a part of any district or chieftse. Here were found thirty-three villages and hsien.

Provinces: The three geographical divisions of Okinawa followed, in general, the outlines of the three ancient kingdoms. The one in the center of Okinawa, the old Chusan, was Nakagami (Tsonda or Tsonghand) and had fourteen magiri (chieftse) or districts with one hundred sixty-nine villages and hsien; the second, to the north, the old Sanboku, was Kunigami (Koudu or Shan Pei) and had nine magiri with sixty-eight villages and hsien; the third in the south, the old Sannan, was Shimajiri (Taukau (Tokutsu?) or Shan Nan) and had twelve magiri with one hundred thirteen villages and hsien.

Island Possessions: After listing the provinces and giving the names of the chieftses in each, the "Manchu History" states, "There are a number of islands lying along the coast of the big island, like the form of a chain connected link by link. The King of Loochoo controls thirty-six islands". The names of these are given: there are four in the east, three in the west, five in the northwest, eight in the northeast, seven in the south and nine in the southwest. One of the eight named in the northeast is Oshima (Taitau) which has seven magiri with more than two hundred villages. "There are twelve
high officials or chiefs and one hundred sixty lower officials or chiefs in this island, which is called "Loochoo the Minor." It is impossible today to identify all of the islands on the Manchu list.

The King: At the head of the government, we have already learned, was a king. Okinawan history begins with a ruler named Tenson and his descendants were supposed to have ruled for twenty-five generations. The first historic dynasty began about 1187. There were five of these with thirty-six different rulers, ending in 1879 with Sho Tai when Okinawa became a prefecture of Japan.

Dynastic Changes: A royal succession was usually ended by some misfortune of nature or on account of the bad behavior of the monarch. The first dynasty closed with a famine, the second because of the misrule of the queen-mother when her son was a minor, the third and fourth on account of royal misconduct. In each case the ruler of a new regime was the head or judge (ansu) of one of the important districts, but the mode of his selection is not given in any of the early accounts.

Succession: In the ordinary change of rulers within the same regime, the system of primogeniture usually held. Out of thirty rulers, fourteen seen to have been succeeded by their eldest sons. In the Manchu record is the statement, "This was written down as a fixed rule. Zon-Tseng (Sho Tei) said that his father Zon-Tsu (Sho Shitsu) had died...and he himself should be the successor. He also showed that the public opinion and evidence of the people wanted him to become king". And again, a decree from the Emperor of China reads, in part, "You ought to be the successor, for you are the first son of the former king. But you obey the rule and must ask me first".

Two facts come out clearly in the above quotations: public opinion had something to say in the selection of the king and the Emperor of China, together with the Board of Ceremonies, had a technical part in the choice. In one instance the Crown Prince, after announcing the death of his father, asked permission to succeed him on the throne. "The Emperor asked the Board of Ceremonies and granted this to them". In another place is found, "Now you, Zon-Tseng (Sho Tei) ought to be chosen King, since you are the elder son of your father. But you do not dare to become a King as you had not received my decree. I praise your allegiance and faithfulness very much". In one account we learn that "the people elected him (the king)". In another the Crown Prince "begged to be elected king".

Other than Primogeniture: The eldest son, by no means, always succeeded his father on the throne. "Shin's eldest son was put aside in favor of the fifth son, Sei". There are four cases where the second son was preferred and one of these was Hashi who was also followed by his second son who was crowned at the age of fifty. The eldest son, in this case, may well have died. The sons of Hashi, a king of great importance, seem to have been favored, as his sixth son, Kinuku, succeeded Shidatsu, and the next to rule was Hashi's seventh son, Taikyu. In addition, there were two cases of a third son, one of a fourth, and one of a fifth son of the former king being preferred. Sometimes when the heir was a minor, a younger brother won the succession. Shin's eldest son, Shin, was twelve and the next king was Shin's younger brother, Seni, who was followed by Shin. Later on, his eldest son's grandson, Nei, became king. Boku was succeeded by his grandson, On, the son of the heir-apparent, Tetsu, who had died before he reached the throne. Ko, a younger brother of On and fourth son of Tetsu, was king after Sei who, reigning only one year, died at the age of four.

Investiture: In the discussion of the relationships between China and Okinawa the necessary "presentation" or official investiture from the Chinese Emperor to each new ruler will be discussed at length together with the elaborate embassies which were sent to carry this "presentation". In return the Okinawas send an envoy to China "to thank the Emperor for the accession to the throne".
Officials: There is some confusion regarding the titles of the officers in the various divisions of the government.

"Any subject in any island, who can speak Tsong-shang (evidently the language of Tsong-da or Chusan) can get a yellow hat from the king and be elected as chief", we read in the "Manchu History". It continues, "The king appoints an officer for every dominion from the man who speak Tsong-shang. These officers are also called the Wong-mo-kown (Ko-bo-kan) i.e., (yellow hatted officers); they have the power to collect taxes and hear cases. They are also called Fonyen-kown (Bugyo-kan) or governors. These officers are changed every year". From this it would seem these governors were the heads of the three provinces, but this does not seem to be the case as, later in the account, we learn that every small island had a Wong-mo-kown.

The head of a district (magiri or chiete) seems to have been called anzo who was directly under the king, and the head of each village or mura was a yucho "who was under the anzo of the district".

Hierarchy of Officials: The same Manchu account continues to describe the nine different ranks of officials serving under the king, and evidently residing at the capital. Each grade was designated, as in China, by the character of the button in the cap and each was associated with a bird or animal.

Prefectures: Since 1871 the three northern island groups of the archipelago, the Amami, Tokara and Osumi Guntos were considered with Satsuma, the southern part of Kyushu of Japan proper, as a political and administrative unit, and they form the Kagoshima Prefecture or Ken. Since 1879, all the islands south of Amami Gunto, namely: Okinawa and Sakishima Guntos and Daito Shoto have formed the Okinawa Prefecture, one of the forty-seven for all of Japan.

Governor: The head of each of the Japanese prefectures is called kenchiji or governor. He is always a Japanese and is appointed by the central government of Tokyo. The governor of Okinawa lives at the capital, Naha, on the island of Okinawa; the head of Kagoshima Prefecture lives at Kagoshima City which is on the southernmost island of Japan proper. Leavenworth, writing in 1806, significantly states, "The governor ... is a Japanese, of course ... But many natives, also, occupy positions in government service ... Thus ... the Counsellor of Okinawa Ken, who ranks third in the prefectural government, is a native Loochooan ... In the island of Miyako there are ten Japanese and forty native officers, showing the good proportion of the native share in the service".

The prefectural governor is responsible directly to the Minister of Home Affairs in Tokyo. He has great power; he can veto actions of the assemblies and councils and he has direct control of the police. The courts are administered by the central government in Tokyo.

Finally, there is a small, relatively insignificant but recent fact which shows that Okinawa still is not considered an equal with other parts of Japan. She shares this situation with Karafuto, the southern Japanese end of Sakalini Island, the northernmost of Naichi's possessions. From a Radio Tokyo Home Broadcast of September 13, 1943 we learn, "The commercial finance associations throughout the nation, excepting Okinawa and Karafuto, have completed preparation for their establishment".

Prefectural Assembly: It was not until 1920 that Okinawa had a body similar to that in all the other Japanese prefectures. Representatives in this assembly are elected by all males over twenty-five and its powers seem to be limited to advising the governor. The prefectural government appoints the local school teachers and the Shinto priests. There is also a Prefectural Department of Agriculture.

The Diet and Representation: As with the prefectural assembly so with representation in the Diet in Tokyo, Okinawa was not admitted to membership.
until 1920. Formerly five men, now three, are elected to the Diet and three from the northern islands which belong to Kagoshima Prefecture.

Counties: Before the abolishment of the county or gun a few years ago, the Okinawa Prefecture was divided for administrative purposes into five divisions or counties. At the head of each was a gun-cho. The first three, starting at the north, Kunigami, Nakagami, and Shimajiri were on Okinawa Island; the last two, Miyako and Yayeyama form the Sakishima Gunto to the south.

Local Government: At the present time "the local government is carried on through eighty-four units, designated as shi, machi, or mura by the Department of Home Affairs...Usually shi is translated as "city", machi as 'town' and mura as 'village" or, more properly "township". "Neighborhood" is another definition of a mura, the head of which is called a soncho or yucho. The smallest unit is the azu or buraku, "hamlet".

There are only two communities which rank as shi or "cities" in the entire archipelago, Naha with 65,765 inhabitants and Shuri with 17,537. Both are on the island of Okinawa and are less than five miles apart. Eight others rank as machi or "towns". (S)

Each shi, machi or mura has its own local assembly or council elected by male citizens over twenty-five. It selects the head of each unit and, in the case of the shi or city, its council. The function of the headman is to serve as an intermediary between the village and all outsiders, to keep the peace and to act as a go-between as with marriage and the sale or purchase of property. (R&A #259)

The local government seems to be very feeble so far as its powers go. The actions of the assembly or council can be vetoed by the governor, as already mentioned, and they can be dissolved by the Minister of Home Affairs.

Political Parties: "Until the summer of 1940, the Nansei Islands, as an integral part of Japan, had the same political parties as the main Japanese islands. In the elections of June 1940 the two major political parties, the Minsei-to and the Seiyu-kai, participated. However, with the voluntary dissolution of the parties later that summer and with their replacement by the government-supported Taisei Yokusan Kai (Imperial Rule Assistance Association), party politics in the Nansei Islands have been greatly curtailed". This new organ is "totalitarian-minded to support the Japanese government completely, advocating, in particular, the 'New Order' in foreign affairs and the 'New Structure' in internal policies". (S)

The Districts of 1943: Since June 1943 there has been a change in the prefectoral arrangements. The entire country has been divided into nine districts. The last one of these, Kyushu, includes the eight southern prefectures, one of which is undoubtedly Okinawa. The eight governors are members of the Local Administration Deliberative Council that is presided over by the Governor of Fukuoka Prefecture who is empowered to act to "consolidate, coordinate and control administration" in this district and to "carry out the will of the Premier" there.

Local Wars Only: In the history of the islands there are no records of foreign wars being waged but local disturbances were not uncommon. Near the beginning of the fourteenth century when the country was divided into three kingdoms, Chusan and Sannan waged war on Sanboku and, a hundred years later, in the reign of his father, Hashi played the role of hero by quelling a rebellion and later, as King, reunited the country. Sho Toku, who ruled in
the latter half of the fifteenth century, commanded a fleet of war vessels and sailed to other islands to collect tribute. Sho Sei, who was king in the third quarter of the next century, also had a fleet and an army with which he subdued an uprising in the Oshima group of islands. In the succeeding reign of Sho Gen, a successful war was waged against Japanese pirates.

There seems to have been no united action by the islands against foreign oppression. The Satsumas assumed control twice and, so far as the records go, there was no physical opposition to the final assumption of authority by this clan in 1609.

Soldiery: The lack of any elaborate system of enlistment comes out very clearly when we read in the "Manchu History" that the Loo Choo made soldiers out of "selected peasants who fight for the king if a war occurs; and they go back to their farms when the public need has ended". They use armour, "very strong and very sharp swords", guns "mostly of copper" and bows "seven feet in length".

"Absence of War": The record does not agree with statements of early white visitors to the islands who speak of the peacefulness of the natives and of the complete absence of either offensive or defensive weapons. One Japanese writer states that military arms were abolished by Sho Shin who ruled from 1477 to 1527 but this is evidently untrue as Sho Sei who succeeded this king had an army and fifty warships. Some authors explain this absence of arms as being due to the Satsumas who in 1609 took over the islands and deprived the inhabitants of all means of warfare.

Interview with Napoleon: There is an interesting interview with Napoleon in 1817 at St. Helena in connection with the supposed enforced peacefulness of the Okinawas. Captain Basil Hall, as a member of Lord Amherst's Embassy to China on his return voyage from Okinawa, visited Napoleon. He writes: "Nothing struck him so much as their having no arms. 'Point d'armes!' he exclaimed, 'c'est a dire point de canons--ils ont des fusils?' Not even muskets, I replied. 'Eh bien donc--des lances, ou, au moins, des arc et des fleches?' I told him they had neither one or the other. 'Ni poignards?' cried he, with increasing vehemence. No, none. 'Maist' said Buonaparte, clenching his fist, and raising his voice to a loud pitch. 'Maist Sans armes, comment se bat-on?' I could only reply, that as far as we had been able to discover, they had never had any war, but remained in a state of internal and external peace. 'No war!' cried he, with a scornful and incredulous expression, as if the existence of any people under the sun without war was a monstrous anomaly". Hall adds that the ex-Emperor was surprised over the fact that they had no money and would receive no pay for their hospitality and ends by saying, "He asked many questions".

Karate: One result of this deprivation of warlike implements by the Satsumas, it is claimed, is the development among these people of hand-fighting or karate ("bare-handedness"), a custom brought from China and adopted, later, by Japan itself. Jiu-jitsu, it is said, is a part of karate.

Present War: Even before the present war Japan conscripted men in the islands for the army.

XII RELIGION

Many non-Oriental travellers have remarked on the absence of religion among these people but an emphasis has always been placed on the presence of large and elaborate tombs. As a matter of fact the religious situation is not fundamentally different from that of other parts of the Orient as it can be traced back to several different sources with a strong feeling for ancestors as one of the primary factors.
Shintoism: The original religion was Shintoism as symbolized by an extreme form of ancestor worship. Much nature worship which characterizes early Shintoism still remains as well as other archaic forms and beliefs of this faith.

Priestesses: Early Shintoism was characterized by a system of female priests called noros. Here in the islands these priestesses were guardians of the sacred hearth and had much political influence. In the country districts today, they carry out their religious work. "They are important figures in the various festivals throughout the year, at which, for example, the gods of sea and mountain, the rice and sweet potato harvest, and the goddess of fire are the main objects for offering and worship. As elsewhere in Japan, hill tops and forest dells remain the sites of cult practice and animistic worship". (S)

Other Religions: Prior to the introduction of Buddhism in the eleventh century, Confucianism had entered the islands from China. Each house had its shrine and each family a protective god. Chamberlain claims Confucianism is more potent here than in Japan both morally and politically.

Temples: "In Okinawa Prefecture there were only twenty-nine Buddhist temples in 1932, and in 1933 but eight Shinto shrines". (S) Some of these religious structures are recorded in the ancient records. In Shuri, Leavenworth (1903) mentions a Buddhist temple (Yenkakuji) with tablets of the former kings and queens. We learn that this was built in the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1527). There was another Buddhist temple (Gokokuji) at the capital Naha, and a third on the road to Shuri (Sogenji). In one of the old accounts we learn that this was erected in the reign of Sho En (1470-1477) and "was dedicated to all the kings since King Shunten". A Confucian temple (Koshibyo or Seibyo) at Kamesura near Naha was erected in the reign of Sho Tei (1669-1710). Leavenworth speaks of a Shinto temple (Nami-no-uye) near Naha and a shrine in a cave (Futemma) some miles from Naha.

Mortuary Customs: Taking the islands as a whole, there is comparatively little external evidence of religion other than in the elaborate tombs scattered over the country. The great respect for the dead comes out again and again and much of the religious life centers around burial. "Men who have lived all their lives in wretched hovels", writes Schwartz, "and have never possessed as much as ten dollars at a time, may own tombs worth five hundred or even a thousand dollars. To a Loo Chooan his family tomb represents his entire fortune. His only patrimony consists in the right to a grave!"

These tombs are usually great stone vaults, built above ground on the hilltops, an idea borrowed from South China. The sepulchers of the shi class are covered with a rounded roof while those of the common people have flat roofs. Some have large courts in front where ancestral feasts take place. Beechey, writing in 1827, says, "Horse-shoe sepulchers rise in galleries, and on a sunny day dazzle the eye with the brightness of their chunammed surfaces".

The body is placed in a sitting position in a small box and deposited in the tomb. Three years after this preliminary burial, the bones are taken out, purified in alcohol (awamori), collected and placed permanently in jars in these stone mausolea.

In the "Manchu History" we learn, "The Kings of Loochoo were buried together with the (Chinese) Emperor's decree when they died". Writing of the time of the ruler, Sho Shitsu (1648-1669), we read, "At the present time, Zon-Kin (Sho Nei) is not buried. Therefore we return the decree given by the Mings". This undoubtedly refers to the secondary burial when the bones were collected and placed in a tomb, as Sho Nei died in 1620.

In the case of kings, the grave is not opened for a period longer than three years because it is considered "a fearfully evil omen and a sure proof of the man's wickedness" if, when the tomb is opened, the body is not
entirely decomposed.

Perhaps one of the reasons for the difference between the religious ideas of these islands and those of Japan proper can be traced back to the Satsuma influence which, in its later history, forced a break in the connections between the islands and the mainland, refused to allow the priests from the latter to enter, and prevented the Okinawas from taking any active role in the Meiji Restoration, all devices to allow the Satsuma clan to be left free to deal alone with this island group.

Christianity: The Roman Catholics entered Okinawa in the seventeenth century, over one hundred years after they had arrived in Japan. Of all the Japanese peoples, the Okinawas were the first to receive Protestant missionaries, the first of whom was Dr. Bettelheim, who figures in Perry's account of his visit.

Due to the efforts of a young Irish lieutenant of the British Navy, Herbert J. Clifford, who had visited the islands with Captain Basil Hall in 1816, an association was formed in London, the Lew Chew Naval Mission, "for the purpose of sending Christian missionaries to Okinawa". The first to be sent, in 1845, was the Hungarian, Dr. J. B. Bettelheim, who had become a British subject by naturalization. "He was a physician, a good linguist, with great energy of mind and activity of body". Two Catholic missionaries were in the islands at the same time but they despaired of any success in their efforts and left the field to Bettelheim. Following a friendly reception from the natives, he soon met great opposition from the authorities and Perry found him and the people "living in a state of undisguised hostility".

A most interesting petition was presented by the Japanese officials and the Okinawas to Perry. Two sections read:

"We have learned that your excellency has authority over all the East India, China and Japan seas, and not a ship of any Western country can go from one of these seas to the other but you know to regulate its movements."

"We therefore, lay before you our sad condition in all its particulars, humbly beseeching that, when your five ships return, you will take both Bettelheim and Moreton away with you. This will solace and raise us up in a way not easy to be expressed".

Bettelheim had been joined by an English missionary, Moreton, who was to be his successor. It was not surprising to find that Bettelheim was willing to leave this field of activity on Perry's departure and Moreton soon followed.

The natives themselves seem to have felt no hostility toward these missionaries and their Chinese advisers, we are told, constantly urged them to make use of their knowledge of western civilization and medicine. But it must be remembered that Christianity was a proscribed religion in Japan, where it was death to preach it or to hear confession.

With the removal of the ban against Christianity, the French Fathers founded a mission in Oshima which has been very successful ever since.

"In 1892, the Baptist, Episcopal and Methodist Churches", according to Schwartz, "each opened missions in Naha, all of them depending on Japanese evangelists to carry on their work."

In 1937 there were 1207 Christians in Okinawa Prefecture which is a higher percent of the total population than in other rural sections in Japan. (5)

A former owner and editor of a Japanese language newspaper on the Island of Kauai, Hawaii, was pastor of the Okinawan Christian Church in Naha from 1914 to 1921.
In Hawaii: Among those interviewed in Hawaii today, were found Buddhists, and one Buddhist priest, Catholics and one Catholic priest, Methodists, and members of the Salvation Army. The Reverend Hiro Higuchi, now a chaplain in the United States Army, is the pastor of a Congregational Church at Waipahu, Oahu, with one hundred and sixty four members. About seventy-five percent of his congregation are of Okinawan origin, practically all second generation Hawaiian-born. The other quarter of his congregation is composed of Hawaiians, Chinese, and Koreans. It will be noted later that Christianity seems to have taken a greater hold on these people than upon the Japanese proper.

XIII HISTORY

Mythical Period: As with so many other people, the Okinawas trace their origin back to the gods. According to a Chinese writer (Chow-Hwang) who was an envoy from China in 1757, "The islanders declare that the original progenitors were two, a man and a woman, a god and goddess, who arrived in the archipelago from the Castle of Heaven where they had had five children, three boys and two girls. The oldest son, Tenson (Offspring of Heaven) was the first King; the second son, acting as his Minister, was the first nobleman; and the third, constituting the people, the first farmer. The two daughters became the first Shinto priestesses. The elder was the first Kimigimi or Kikue Ogimi and, for the protection of the country, she took the place of the God of Heaven". The younger was the first Shiku Shiku or Rokomori and "personified the God of the Sea".

One account says for 17,802 years, another for twenty-five generations, Tenson's male descendants are supposed to have occupied the throne at Shuri, the old Okinawan capital.

Robert S. Spencer in his manuscript account of the Okinawas writes, "The Kojiki, oldest of Japan's written records (712 A.D.) and the Bible of modern nationalistic Shinto, tells in Volume I how 'His Augustness Heaven's-Prince-Rice-Ear-Ruddy-Plenty' at the command of the Goddess of the Sun, left the reedy high plane of heaven and descended Mt. Takachiho, and began the earthly kingdom, of which his grandson, Jimmu Tenno, was the first Emperor". This earliest legendary King of Japan was also called Yamato Iwarehiko, the "Emperor of Divine Valor". The ruler of all Japanese clans, according to the myth, began his reign about 660 B.C. and governed for seventy-five years.

There is an old theory of Teikan Fujii which dates back to the Tokugawa period and which has been revived in modern times, especially in articles by Kunitake Kume in "Tokyo Nichinichi", that declares this first Japanese ruler was an Okinawa, which is of considerable interest.

Sixth and Seventh Centuries: The three historical sources which have been described disagree regarding the time of the first contacts between Okinawa and the outside world; all concur, however, in stating that China was the country concerned.

First Contacts with the Chinese: In the later discussion of the relations between China and Japan it will be shown that one of the earliest companies to reach Japan from China arrived in the third century before Christ. Here we are dealing with the contacts between China and Okinawa. The "Manchu History" places the first of these in the sixth century; the "Manuscript History", in the seventh century. In the Ming record, we learn that Okinawa had the first relations with China in the Yuan Dynasty (1260-1368).

Taking the first of these authorities, we are told that Okinawa was "never mentioned in history before the Chinese Dynasties of Wei (386-549) and Tsin (550-577). Teekown, in the latter period "was the first man who
went to Loochoo" from China.

At the beginning of the Sui Dynasty (581-618) the Chinese had successfully withstood the first struggle with the Tartars. In 607, according to the "Manuscript History", the Emperor, Yang Ti, sent Ukii Shukan to search for foreign lands. He and a man called Kaban "arrived in this country (Okinawa) but, not being able to understand the language, they went back taking a captive with them". The next year the Chinese Emperor again sent Shukan to the islands to advise them to yield. This the natives refused to do and the expedition ended in failure.

It was this envoy, Shukan, who, it is said, named the islands Loochoo (or Ryukyu in Japanese) as the islands resembled "floating globes", or, in another translation, "precious stone balls".

In the next attempt by the Chinese to conquer the country, an army was sent, in which there was a man "who spoke the language pretty well". Chinryo, the leader of the Chinese, advised the people through this interpreter to yield peacefully but again "the natives did not listen to him". In the battle which followed, the Okinawas were defeated, the palace at Shuri burned and about a thousand prisoners, men and women, were carried back to China. The Chinese records have an account of this same invasion led by a General Zen Ling.

After this war, peace between the two countries seems to have been made as we read that trade began in the two succeeding Dynasties, the Tang (618-907) and the Sung (960-1127).

In the meantime the end of the twenty-fifth generation of the "Age of Tenson" (circa 1175) was coming to an end. A favorite of the King, Riyu, gradually assumed more and more power which culminated in his assassinating the King and ascending the throne. The youthful head or Anzu of the district (magiri) of Urazoye, Souton, rose in his wrath and Riyu committed suicide.

Before considering the future of this Souton, it is well to go back to the legendary history of his ancestors.

The Taira and Minamoto Clans: In Kyoto there were two rival families both of which traced their descent back to the early Emperors. The rise of these two warrior clans, it is claimed, and their prolonged struggle for supremacy had a great deal to do with the development of the Japanese system of chivalry known as Bushido ("the way of the knight"). When the Emperor, Go Shirakawa, the younger son of the former ruler, Toba, ascended the Japanese throne in 1156, objection was raised by his elder brother, Sutoku, who had formerly held the throne but had abdicated to become a monk. The Taira clan became the partisans of Shirakawa and Tameyoshi and the other Minamotos, less heartily, were behind Sutoku. Shirakawa defeated the Minamotos in the famous naval battle of Dan-no-ura in 1185. He conquered the province of Kiushiu and ascended the throne; Tameyoshi was taken prisoner and Sutoku was driven into exile and death.

Tametomo: The semi-legendary figure of Tametomo, surnamed Chinzei Hachiro, now enters the picture. He played a part of considerable importance in Japanese history. He was the eighth son of General Tameyoshi, brother of Yoshitomo and uncle of the first Shogun, Yoritomo. When young, he was sent to Kiushiu by his father who wished him away from the struggles between the two clans.

On hearing of his father's capture, Tametomo tried to go to his rescue and he was also seised. Legend says that he was seven feet high, with a left arm four inches larger than his right. He was most famous as an archer, wielding a bow eight and a half feet in length. As a degradation and to put an end to his prowess, his captors cut the sinew of his bow-arm. Instead of depriving him of the use of the arm, this mutilation allowed him to pull this arm farther back than before and thus increased his range.
Although confined in a cage, he managed to escape to Idzu and, later, he fled to Okinawa where, after being made a prince, he was raised to the throne. From his marriage with a native of the islands there was a son, Shunten or Shuten, who founded the first historical dynasty about 1187.

The "Manuscript History" gives a different version of the Tametomo story, which has a Jonah aspect. He arrived in the islands and married a sister of an official (Anzu) of Tairi. A son was born, called Souton. Intending to return home, Tametomo set sail with his family. The Dragon God sent a dangerous typhoon, all due, according to the sailors, to the fact that a woman was on board. To save their lives, Tametomo was thus forced to get rid of his wife and he landed her and her son at a place called Makiminato and sailed away. The woman and her son went to Urazoye where they "spent some time in a humble cottage". Later the son ascended the throne as King Shunten.

Shunten (Sentien) Dynasty: Souton, at the age of fifteen, held the office of Anzu of the province of Urazoye by request of the people. He, it was who had killed Riyu, the usurper of the throne of the last of the Kings of the Tenson Dynasty. For this deed Souton was elevated at the age of twenty-two to the throne himself and became King Shunten, the founder of a new Dynasty and ruled about fifty years (c 1187-1238).

Shunten: We learn from the "Manchu History" that, at the beginning, Shunten adopted the Japanese alphabet and invented new characters. There is a personal touch in the "Manuscript History" which states, "The King had a wen on the right side of his head and in order to prevent it from being seen he dressed his hair. All the natives then followed the style set by the King, and fixed their hair in accordance with it. This was the beginning of the mode of wearing the hair in vogue among the Loochoos".

Shumma Junki and Gihon: He was succeeded by his son, Shumma Junki (1238-1249), who, in turn was followed by his son, Gihon, who was also called Yoshimoto (1249-1260). This Dynasty ended in disaster when famine and pestilence entered the country. These conditions, lasting seven years, it was claimed, were due to the lack of virtue of the ruler. As was the custom whenever there was great trouble, he was deposed and a regent, Eiso, appointed. Two accounts, including the following, state he resigned his throne. The "Manchu History" relates, "On account of my badness", said the King, 'the people have received such a terrible punishment from God. I will retire and a good man will be King'. After seven years, the famine and pestilence came to an end and Eiso became king, thus starting a new dynasty.

Eiso Dynasty: The first king of the second Dynasty, Eiso (1260-1300), was the eldest son of Keiso, an Anzu of Iso and a descendant of the legendary figure, Tenson, who, the first of the twenty-five generations of kings at the beginning of Okinawan history, was called "Founder of the State". Eiso is said to have made a tour of all his islands and to have set out boundaries in the rice fields and encouraged farming. It is recorded that graves were first built on the island.

In 1254 the islands of Kume, Kerama and Iheya* "came with their first tribute" and, two years later, the inhabitants of Oshima** and those of the

*These three islands all belong geographically to the Okinawa Gunto or Archipelago. Kerama is the name now given to the Retto or sub-group of islands to the southwest of Okinawa Jima or island proper. Kume is on the westernmost island (shima or jima) of the Kerama Retto. Theya Island is northwest of Okinawa proper and is also the name given all the islands forming a sub-group or retto to the north of Okinawa.

**Oshima does not belong geographically to the Okinawa Gunto but to the archipelago to the north, Amami Gunto and is the largest island of this group.
neighboring islands also arrived with their gifts. A Buddhist temple was erected about this time and a priest ordained. Leavenworth points out that it was much later, in 1603, that the Buddhist prayer, "Nembutsu", was first introduced from Japan.

It was in this reign that there was an early attempt of Kublai Khan to bring the country under Chinese rule, followed by a successful assault on the islands. These Chinese contacts will be discussed later.

This second Okinawan Dynasty lasted for ninety years with five different rulers, beginning with Eiso who was succeeded by his son, Taisei (1300-1309), who, in turn, was followed by his second son, Eiji (1309-1314), and he by his fourth son, Tamagusuku or Gijokujo (1314-1337).

Division into Three Kingdoms: The "Manchu History" reads, "As he (Tamagusuku) had no control over his desires, he became very unpopular. All the judges (governors?) never paid audience to him". Owing to his addiction "to drinking and lasciviousness and his neglect of the affairs of state, the leaders of the various districts" neglecting to attend the ceremonies of visiting and (of) public meeting, started to fight against each other and consequently great confusion prevailed throughout the country. The Anzu of Tairi subdued the districts in his territory and called himself King of Sanboku; the Anzu of Tairi conquered his surrounding lands and called himself King of Sannan and Tamagusuku found himself left with Chusan only. These three kingdoms agree with those in the "Ming History" where we read that in the reign of T'ai Tzu or Hung Wu (1366-1398), the first of the Ming Emperors, there were three kings in Loochoo, the country being divided into Shan Peh (Sanboku) "Northern Mountain", Shan Nan (Sannan), "Southern Mountain", and Chung Shan (Shusan), "Middle Mountain".

From this time on until the archipelago is united again about 1425 under King Hashi, the Okinawan "Manuscript" deals only with the kings of Chusan. The "Ming History" tells us something of the other two kingdoms during this period. At one time Chusan and Sannan seem to have been friendly.

In 1373 tribute was paid for the first time to China by Satsudo of Chusan. The ruler of Sannan soon followed. In exchange they received from the Emperor T'ai Tzu, about 1387, the seals of office. Both kingdoms united against the southern realm, Sanboku. Soon the Emperor ordered the fighting stopped and commanded the southern kingdom to send tribute, after which he sent the insignia of sovereignty. Next we learn, "The three kings sent tribute to China continually" and each sent students to the mainland.

We know little about the succession of rulers in the northern and southern kingdoms. In Sannan, a king named Ch'eng Ts'a-tu, leaving no son, was succeeded by a cousin, Ying Tzu. Later he was murdered by his brother Ta-peon-ch'i, who was killed in retaliation, and Ying Tzu's son, Ti-lu-mei, was "elected" king.

Chusan was the strongest and Sanboku the weakest of the three kingdoms. The latter was annexed by the other two and finally, in the rule of Sho Hashi, after over one hundred years of strife, we shall find Chusan absorbed Sannan and Okinawa became one country again. In the "Manchu History" we read, "He first combined with all the States and assaulted Shang Nan (Sannan) and then Shang Peh (Sanboku). The King of Shang Peh committed suicide and his country was also annexed".

Sei (1337-1350), the son of the former ruler, who, as we have seen, had lost much of his kingdom, succeeded his father as King of Chusan. In one account we learn that his mother interfered in national affairs and became regent. In another, it is stated, curiously enough, that "his father attended to the business of the States" and the record continues, "Flatterers were promoted to better positions and wise men were displaced day to day. The Administration was thrown into more and more disorder". As, in other cases, when the ruler was not successful in governing, we find an end put to the dynasty and, following the usual pattern, an Anzu of one of the larger districts.
made ruler. In this case the throne was given to "Satsudo of Urazoye" (Urasoe) and thus "this was the end of Tenson's blood" or the Biso Dynasty.

Satsudo Dynasty: This third Dynasty had only two reigns, totalling fifty-two years. The first of these rulers was the former governor, Satsudo (1360-1396). He was the son of a farmer but he "did not care for farming, but liked to go out hunting and fishing. He did not listen to his father's advice but acted arbitrarily". The "Manuscript History" has a romantic tale about his falling in love with the beautiful daughter of the Anzu of Shoren, whose hand was sought by "many nobles and prominent men". The girl refused all. Finally, Satsudo, looking like a beggar, appeared, demanded the girl and she, "peeping through the window, said to her father, "He is indeed my husband". Divination diagrams were used and "first win" was the hand of the poor boy. By giving the people iron brought by a Japanese ship and paid for by gold and silver which he had dug up from the ground, he rapidly gained the heart of the populace. He became Anzu of Urasoye and was finally chosen to start a new dynasty of kings in place of the five-year old son of Seii.

The Ming Dynasty had begun, as we have seen, in 1368. Three years later, the Emperor T'ai Tsu or Rung Wu sent an envoy, Yang Tsai, to Okinawa "to tell them about the succession of the Chinese ruler and to demand that the king allow his country to become a part of China. Satsudo sent his brother, Taiki, with a letter, "accepted the advice of the Chinese Emperor... and called himself a Chinese subject. Taiki, in turn, gave him a present. This was in 1375 and was the first tribute sent to China".

In return for the acceptance of his demands and for the receipt of tribute, the Emperor sent back "the Chinese calendar and many kinds of fine coloured cloth, woven with a mixture of both silk and cotton thread". Ten years later Taiki went back with more tribute and, in return, a Chinese envoy was sent to Okinawa with 70,000 pieces of cloth, china-ware, and thousands of iron articles in exchange for horses. Tribute continued to be paid not only by Satsudo, the Chusan monarch, but by the two kings of the other realms of the archipelago, Sanboku and Saman. Satsudo sent his son and those of other officials to the Chinese National University at Peking. The Ming history goes into great detail regarding the interchange of visits between China and the three realms of the Okinawan archipelago.

In 1389, according to the "Okinawan Manuscript", the southern islands of the archipelago, Miyako and Yayayama, first brought their tribute to Okinawa proper. "It seems there had been no communication between these islands and this country".

According to the "Manuscript History", it must have been in this reign (1391) when the thirty-six families came to the country as teachers from China and their descendants are, it is claimed, still to be recognized in Kumemura, a part of Naha.

Bunei (1396-1406), the son of Satsudo, succeeded his father on the throne. The first Ming Emperor, T'ai Tsu, sent an envoy to "appoint Bunei the King of Chusan. The ceremony of coronation started from this time". The actual "presentation" occurred in 1400 in the reign of the second of the Ming Emperors, Chienwen, and was the first "investiture" of an Okinawan ruler by China. The form of procedure on the "election" of a king and the part played by China will be discussed later.

In the consideration of relations between China and Japan, we shall see that the Shogun, Yoshimitsu, in 1401, acknowledged the sovereignty of China.

As King Bunei spent his days and nights in uproarious living, the nobles refused to attend court. "The people were displeased and sighed on account of it".

Sho Hashi Dynasty: As in other cases when the ruler failed to act with decorum, he was killed and a new Dynasty, the fourth, began. The king's
murderer was Hashi, the son of Shisho, the Anzu of Sashiki. Rebellion was present in the land, "tumult broke out all over the country" and Shisho called on his brave son to put it down. In this he was successful, defeating the Anzus of two other districts. Taking the place of his father as Anzu of Sashiki, he was able to establish his father, Shisho (1406-1422), on the throne.

On his death, Hashi (1422-1440) succeeded to the rule. Already famous through his military successes, he became still more of a hero. In 1429 he raised an army and conquered Taromai, the King of Sannan. Previous to this, the King of Sanboku had committed suicide and his country had been absorbed by the other two realms. Thus, with the overthrow of Sannan, Hashi reunited the country which had been divided since the time of Tamagusuku, a hundred years before.

In 1430 the Ming ruler, Huan Tsung or Ming Huang, conferred on King Hashi the family name of Sho which persisted as a title of the rulers of the islands as long as there were kings or until the time of the prefecture in 1879.

It was also in this reign that direct communication with Japan was revived. In 1432 the Chinese Emperor sent the King of Okinawa instructions to have Japan send envoys to China with tribute. The Shogun, Yoshinori, being informed of this request, complied.

In 1437, according to Leavenworth, there is a meager reference to an "interpreter" being sent from Okinawa to Hawaii. This is rather difficult to explain.

Sho Chu (1440-1446), the second son of Hashi, ascended the throne at the age of fifty. He was the first to inherit the Chinese family name, Sho, conferred, as has been stated, on his father by the Emperor.

In the year following his accession, Okinawa seems to have lost some of her independence and, for the first time, Japan appears as having an uncertain amount of authority over the islands. This power seems to have been authorized by the same Shogun whom we saw, a few years before, willing to send tribute to China, and it was, according to the record, conferred on Shimazu Tadakuni, Lord of Satsuma, "in recognition of services rendered". This Satsuma clan lived on the island of Kyushu and they were the nearest neighbors to the Okinawas to the north in Japan proper. Over one hundred and fifty years later, we shall find they played a very great part in the history of Loo Choo.

Sho Shidatsu (1445-1450) succeeded his father on the throne. Having no heir, he was followed by his uncle, Kinfuku (1450-1454), the sixth son of Hashi. Upon the death of this ruler, his two brothers and his son quarrelled over the succession. One brother and the son having died, the other brother, Taikyu (1454-1461), "received the decree...All the people elected him to take charge of the national affairs". He was the seventh son of Hashi and the third brother to rule. The silver seal of authority had been destroyed and Taikyu asked for another, which was granted.

Sho Toku (1461-1470), the seventh son of the previous ruler, was the last King of the Fourth Dynasty. In his reign an office of foreign affairs was inaugurated which seems to show that there was an increase in trade with other countries. There is a record of a Siamese ship which came to the islands at about this time. We read that the king commanded a fleet of over fifty war vessels with which he waged successful wars. In the "Manchu History" we learn the cause of the trouble from the Chinese side. Sho Toku "was very bad: he assailed Kocho Island, as it did not send tribute to him and did not pay him any audience. He took a number of soldiers there and punished it himself. He was very proud when he came back".

It is evident that his horizon extended beyond his immediate possessions as he sent "a messenger" to the King of Korea who sent him in return a
Finally, he "was brave but cruel, and lost the faith of the people". He died saving a very young son and, on account of his unpopularity, this young prince together with the regent were put to death. The "Ming History" less dramatically states, "The people forced the Crown Prince to abdicate for he was too young to be King". As in the past, a difficult position in the succession resolved itself into the beginning of a new dynasty.

Sho En Dynasty: The fifth and last series of reigns, lasting for over four hundred years, was composed of nineteen rulers, ending when the islands became a prefecture of Japan. The first king of the Dynasty was Sho En (1470-1477) about whom two of our sources have long accounts with considerable discussion over his origin. His later success seems to have made it necessary, from the eugenic point of view, to trace his ancestry back to some one of importance. Some claimed he was descended from Shunten of the first dynasty. This Kanemaru, as he was called, followed his father's profession of farming and he seemed always to have made a success of this even in seasons of drought. With three of the four kings preceding his own rule, he held positions of trust. Sho Shidatsu made him court musician and Sho Taikyu appointed him to several offices. He had the temerity to "admonish seriously" Sho Toku on account of his "violent conduct" but it was all in vain and he retired to his home in Oshima.

At the death of Toku we have seen where the retainers refused to bring his young son to the throne. Instead they brought Kanemaru from his exile and placed him on the throne as Sho En. One record states, "On account of politeness, he refused for a time to become king but in vain".

Soon after his accession, "he erected a temple called Sogen Temple, which was dedicated to all the kings since King Shunten".

The Shogun of the time (1471), acting on the request of the Shimazu family of Satsuma, closed the islands completely to all foreign trade except that permitted by this clan. Japan also punished an attempt by Miyake Kunihide to invade the islands.

As already pointed out, primogeniture was not always the rule; an element of selection among the sons of the ruler seems to have been present. Sho En was succeeded by a younger brother, Seni (1477), who was only twelve years old, and who ruled only six months.

Sho Shin (1477-1527), Seni's elder brother, succeeded him and ruled for fifty years. He was "intelligent and devoted himself to promoting his father's enterprises, the "Manuscript History" states. According to Shimabukuro (1932), he was a wise ruler who abolished military weapons and prohibited the custom of the king's followers committing suicide "to follow one's Lord into the next world". He centralized his power and the reign was known as "the Golden Era of Ryukyu".

It was in this rule that "the duties of officers were established distinctly, and a system of gold and silver hair-pins and hats was fixed to make exact distinctions between nobles and commons". The Yenkakuji Temple at Shuri was erected about this time. In 1500 a rebellion on Yayeyama was put down and, a few years later, one hundred men "sailed to Malacca and made purchases for tributary purposes". In the "Ming History" we hear again of this same expedition which was "detained by unfavorable winds from reaching China".

The ambassador who set out to announce to China the death of Sho Shin was drowned on the voyage. This ruler was succeeded by his fifth son, Sho Sei (1527-1556), who, as "the Crown Prince", according to the "Ming History" "came to China in person and presented public affairs to the Throne (meaning by that, if you will not allow me to be King, you may manage the affairs as you like)". He was finally presented the title. We learn that he introduced many reforms "which are kept even now".

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In 1537 rebellion broke out in Oshima and the King, taking command of his army and of fifty warships, restored peace. This reign was included in the period when the Japanese were most busy, often with the aid of the Mongols, in raiding the China coasts. This was no new thing, as Japanese pirates are frequently mentioned in the period from 1370 to 1450. There were also Chinese buccaneers. One of their junks in 1542, after being captured by the Chinese coastguards, was eventually wrecked on the shores of Japan. Aboard was a Portuguese named Mendes Pinto who served as one of the interpreters for Father Xavier, "the Apostle to the Indies", who, in 1546, reached Japan on his mission, thus beginning the intercourse between this country and the European world.

On the death of Sho Sei there was some discussion in regard to the succession. The choice finally fell to Sho Gen (1566-1572), the second son of the former ruler. As Crown Prince he had defeated some Japanese who had previously been repulsed in a piratical attempt on the mainland.

The "Ming History" here has a long account of the difficulties of the road and sea in the reciprocal interchange of envoys.

It was in the reign of Gen's second son, Sho Bi (1572-1589), that the inscription Shurei no Kuni ("Land of Propriety") was placed over the gate of the capital city, Shuri. On this ruler's death the Chinese Board of Ceremonies insisted that, on account of the Japanese attacks on neighboring countries, the "Loochoo must have a king to rule immediately".

Sho Mei (1589-1620), the seventh ruler of the Dynasty, was the great grandson of Sho Shin. In 1591, the Chinese Court learned through the King of Okinawa that Toyotomi Hideyoshi, described as "the most interesting and all Japanese heroes", intended to extend Japanese sovereignty through the whole of the Orient. This famous ruler had succeeded to the Shogunate in 1588 and had gradually subdued all the feudatories of Japan. He predicted that he would enter Peking and divide the Empire. Korea, fearing this Japanese aggression, appealed for help from China. The interesting point for us here is that the Okinawan ruler, suffering from Japanese aggression, was only too glad to warn China of her danger. This unsuccessful attempt to conquer Korea which ended with Hideyoshi's death in 1598 is often described as the one great mistake in his career. During the seven years of this war, Hideyoshi had made heavy requisitions on the Okinawans. It was evidently this campaign to which reference is made in the "Ming History" where the Governor of Fukien speaks of the news of war with the Japanese as being "very serious".

Satsuma Hegemony: Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the relations between Okinawa and China were far closer than between Okinawa and Japan. In spite of the "gift" of the islands, a century and a half before, to the Satsuma clan and their attempts to keep the trade of the archipelago in their own hands, it was not until early in the reign of Sho Nei that an overt attempt was made by Japan to complete her control of the Loo Choo. Iyehisa Shimazu, Daimyo of Satsuma, applied to the first of the Tokugawa Shoguns, Ieyasu (1603-1605), for permission to send an expedition to reconquer, in the name of his ancestor, the islands to the south. This being granted, in 1609 the two generals, Kabayama and Hirata, set out with three thousand men in a fleet of war junks. Success was theirs and the Okinawan king was taken prisoner and carried back to Satsuma. After detaining some of the royal family as hostages and exacting tribute, the king who had proved himself "of noble character" was allowed to return to Okinawa. Iyehisa established a local government at Naha, an important port and the present seat of authority in the islands, took a census, surveyed the land and collected taxes.

In the account of the Satsuma conquest in the "Ming History" we read, "At this time Japan was very strong. She intended to annex Loochoo"; and later, "The Japanese sent 3,000 strong soldiers to Loochoo. These soldiers entered the city and captured the King and took away the articles which the Loochoos placed in their ancestors' temple. The Japanese plundered Loochoo
very much...The Commander-in-Chief in Chekiang informed the Throne and insisted that China must be careful in order to prevent the coming of the Japanese along the coast.

The "Manchu History" records the same events as follows: "At this time Japanese troops invaded Tsong Shang and captured Zon Min (Sho Nei), who would not surrender to Japan. The Japanese commander wondered at this and said 'because he had received his title from China therefore he was in such a condition'. Finally he was set free by the Japanese".

It should be remembered that it was not until some time after this event that Japan could be called a united country. Iyeyasu, after successfully laying siege to Osaka, became, in 1615, the supreme ruler of Japan.

In spite of the recognition of Japan as conqueror and as master, the Okinawas still considered they had a "tributary relationship" with China and kept this up through paying tribute, through receiving from China the investiture of her rulers and pledging the use of the Chinese calendar. In the "Ming History" we read, "But Loochoo, although she had dangers outside the country, never omitted to send any tribute which she ought to send to China annually". Later, after the King was released and returned to his own country, we read, "He sent tribute to China again but the country was very poor and desolate after the Japanese conquest".

In the discussion of tribute paid by Okinawa to China we shall see that not only did it extend through the Ming Dynasty but that the "Manchu History" which takes us down to 1786 is full of references to tribute paid to the mainland Empire.

Meanwhile the fifth Dynasty continued. Sho Nei, the ruler who was taken to Satsuma as a prisoner of war and later released, was succeeded by Sho Ho (1620-1641), nephew of the former ruler, Sho Ei, and grandson of Sho Gen. It was in his reign (1639) that Iyemitsu issued his famous edict closing the ports of Japan to trade. Ho, in turn, was succeeded by his third son, Sho Ken (1641-1648), who became king at the age of seventeen.

The Manchu Dynasty Begins (1644): Sho Ken, we read in the history of this regime, sent an ambassador to China "to ask for the presentation of the title from the Ming Dynasty but he was detained in Fukien by trouble which happened on the road". This delay evidently came at the time of the end of the Ming period and the various difficulties at the beginning of the Manchu rule.

In the discussion of the relations between China and Okinawa we shall see how, at the end of the Ming Dynasty, the old symbol of authority, a silver gilt shield, had to be returned before the new dynasty could present another one and thus "give the decree" to Sho Ken, the Okinawan ruler.

Sho Shitsu (1648-1669) on succeeding his elder brother, Sho Ken, on the throne, "ordered a Chinese interpreter to send a dispatch to China so as to show obedience, but the tribute must wait until next year". In 1650 on order from the king, the Anzu of Uchi wrote a history called "Sekan" which was the first to cover the "Islands. This may have been the beginning of the "Manuscript History". Covering this reign and the succeeding one, this source has long accounts concerning tribute and "the difficulties on the road".

Again, as we shall see later, another request was made for the return of the Ming seal of authority. Six years after his succession to the throne, Sho Shitsu appointed his uncle "to send the tribute and the seal to China, and also to ask for the presentation" of the title. The Manchu Emperor then sent the decree and the new seal of his authority.

Sho Tei (1669-1710), the eldest son of Sho Shitsu, succeeded him. The "Manuscript" informs us that at this time "the system of summer and winter clothing for both officials and the ordinary people was established" and a temple of Confucius was built at Kumemura. At the end of the reign we read
During that time Loochoo had many troubles: the palaces were burned, great winds blew all the time and many men and animals died because of a pestilence. Zon Tseng (Sho Tei) also died this year.

Sho Eki (1710-1713), his grandson, came to the throne as the former King's son, Sho Jun, had died. He, too, died after ruling only three years and before he could receive the decree from the Chinese Emperor.

Sho Kei (1713-1752) followed his father as ruler. Okinawan histories call this "the Golden Era": education was encouraged, laws were passed promoting forestry and agriculture. The "Manuscript History" describes the King as "very smart and industrious in looking after the affairs of state; able and efficient men occupied office, and art and literature made great improvements". There is an account of an interesting edict sent by the great Chinese Emperor, K'anghsi. After delivering the decree and the seal of authority to the King and presents both to him and to the Queen as usual, the envoy "also gave the King another decree saying, 'To be careful of one's conduct and to love your distant countries are the common business of a golden age; to take care of your duty and send tribute to the great country are the important duties of a dependency. If you are never indolent in your obedience I must reward you. Zon King (Sho Kei), who lives far away from me, sends tribute to China annually. It is faithful of you and I like it much. For this I praise you and give you satins, etc. You must keep to your duty and never forget my kindness'. The Emperor also sent an ambassador "to the King of the Lieue Kieu Islands", Dr. Supao Kousang, who left a two-volume narrative which is given in "Lettres Edifiantes" and a chart drawn to accord with Chinese Memoirs by Gaubil, a missionary at Peking.

Sho Boku (1752-1785), Kei's eldest son, succeeded to the throne. One history states he appointed a farm commissioner and a chief of police. The remarkably full account of Okinawan history given in the Manchu record in Leavenworth comes to an end in 1786 before the close of this reign.

Sho On (1795-1802), the next king, was the son of Tetsu, Boku's heir who died before he reached the throne. A National Institute was established in this reign and attention was given to general education. Furthermore, the King encouraged students by personal presentations.

Visits of Europeans: It was during the rule of this king that the first of many visits was made to Okinawa by English and other sea-captains, Captain Broughton in 1795-1797, followed by Captain Torry in 1803. These visits were all antedated by that of the Hungarian adventurer, Count de Benyowsky, in 1771, who, with ninety-six others, touched at Loochoo on his escape from Kamchatka.

Sho Sei (1803), On's son, was made king at the age of three but he died the same year and On's younger brother, Sho Ken (1804-1829), came to the throne, ruling for almost twenty-five years. The visits of Hall and Beechey came in this reign. Hall's book, published in 1817, has the first satisfactory account of the islands and seems to have caused considerable interest from other nations. It aroused a natural fear in Okinawa of British aggression.

Sho Iku (1829-1847), the son of Ken, succeeded him on the throne. "Great improvement was witnessed in learning after the establishment of the Kokugaku and Mihiira Schools (in the reign of On). The King caused one school to be built in each village". During this rule, especially toward the end, there was a succession of foreign ships visiting the islands. The "Manuscript History", ending at this time, mentions this fact. "Since his reign, European and American ships have made frequent visits".

In March, 1846, a French warship, the "Alcmene", suddenly appeared and informed the king that the only means of saving his people from being attacked by the British was to place them under French protection. England, it was reported, indignant at Japan for refusing to open her ports, was planning to attack her and intended to use Okinawa as her base. The French
Captain, having two missionaries aboard, asked that they be allowed to land and that he be permitted to trade. The Okinawas, disguising their Japanese affiliations, told the French they were subject to China, that they had nothing to trade and that "We are all followers of Confucius and with no other religion." The Captain said that the Commodore of the fleet would soon arrive to carry on further negotiations. This visit was reported to the Satsumas who sent the news to the Shogunate at Edo.

In 1845 and again the next year an English warship visited the islands but with no hostile demonstrations and three French men-of-war came only a month after the departure of the second English ship. It was about this time that Roar Admiral Biddle was refused permission to trade in behalf of the United States. Holland also was another of the group of nations which were after the trade of Japan and, in 1847, the Dutch King advised the Japanese to abolish the policy of exclusion.

With this succession of visits of foreign ships, the pressure increased on Japan to change her policy. The Satsuma clan, again, saw an opportunity for riches and they appealed to the Shogunate to open the Okinawan Islands to foreign trade, advancing the following reasons, according to Takekoshi: "If the Governor of the Loochoo Islands flatly refused the request of the Western Countries to trade with them, their warships would open fire on the country and very soon occupy the islands, which could not defend themselves. Although the Loochoo Islands were in reality a subject state of Japan, they professed loyalty toward China, and if the Western Countries entered into an agreement with China with regard to Loochoo trade, Japan might have no ground to reject it. Besides, by opening the islands to foreign trade, Japan would divert the attention of foreign countries from herself to Loochoo." On May 27, 1846, the Prime Minister issued an order "tacitly, if not overtly", admitting the opening of the islands to foreign trade, but told Satsuma to keep it secret from the other clans. His idea, however, was to permit the French alone to trade and to keep out, with the help of the French, all other foreigners.

Sho Tai (1847-1879), the last and nineteenth king of the Sho En or fifth Dynasty, and the second son of his predecessor, ascended the throne at the age of six.

Japan's Internal Situation: Since 1471, as we have just seen, the Shimazu family of the Satsuma clan had been able to control all trade with the Okinawas, circumventing the closure of all ports instituted by the central government of Japan. The domestic affairs of the mother country were far from good. The policy of the Prime Minister, Abe Masahiro, toward trade, allowing the French to enter the Okinawan Islands and not dealing openly with the rest of Japan, led to many troubles. We have seen the pressure by England as well as by France and the United States, all of which caused an increase in the anti-foreign feeling in Japan. In 1850, the Dutch, who had been allowed by Japan to trade with her, reported that both England and the United States would soon send warships to urge the opening of the country and they advised Japan to prevent further trouble by allowing free ingress to her ports. While the Tokugawa Shogunate hesitated to follow this advice, Perry arrived in 1852.

In the previous year, Sakumaki tells of the visit of the Sarah Boyd, when three sailors who landed in their longboat were arrested and questioned. Later they were put aboard an official Satsuma junk, taken to Kagoshima where every courtesy was shown them and the Lord of Satsuma questioned one of them "about the government, customs, geography, and armament of the United States." He also ordered his carpenters to study and copy the boats of the Americans.

Perry's Visits: Following the opening up of California, there had been an increase in shipping between the United States and the treaty ports of China together with a constantly growing fleet of American whalers plying in far-Eastern waters. Japan, closed to the United States, was in the way, which meant a succession of "incidents" mainly based on the treatment of sailors wrecked on the shores of the Japanese Islands. "In the interests of
civilization as well as of American commerce", Commodore Perry set sail for the East. He was accompanied by the celebrated poet and traveler, Bayard Taylor, "whose sketch of the islands", as noted by Schwartz, "is still interesting and accurate".

Perry's first contact with Japan was in November, 1852, in Okinawa; he did not reach Japan proper until the following July when he spent only ten days there. He succeeded in impressing the Shogunate with his "firmness, dignity and fearlessness" in the demands he made that Japan open her doors to trade.

Recognizing at once the significance of these southern islands, he considered them, with the Bonins, most suitable for coaling stations. Later on he actually took possession of the group of the Bonins known as the Bailey Islands in the name of the United States. They were relinquished after 1873 together with claims in this region by Great Britain. The Commodore expressed the idea of the importance of extending the "territorial jurisdiction" of the United States beyond the present continental limits. "I assume", he wrote as quoted in Dennett, "the responsibility of urging the expediency of establishing a foothold in this quarter of the globe, as a measure of positive necessity to the sustainment of our maritime rights in the East". A start in this direction, he thought, would be the Bonin Islands, Great Lew Chew or Okinawa and Formosa.

Returning from his first visit to the Bay of Yedo, he touched at the islands again on his way to Hongkong and Macao. In 1854 he hastened back to "Lew Chew" and Japan to forestall any attempts by France and Russia to seek trade agreements. In March 31 he signed "Japan's first modern treaty", called the Treaty of Kanagawa which was actually signed at Yokohama. This agreement obviated the former plan held by Perry of taking the islands of "Great Lew Chew" under the "surveillance of the American flag" that it might serve as a "port of resort for our merchant and whaling ships".

On his first visit to Okinaw in 1852 Perry had been made aware of the differences in the attitudes of the islanders toward China and Japan respectively. At this time some island officials addressed a letter to the Commodore which read, "Since the days of the Ming Dynasty it has been our great pride to be ranked as one of the outer dependencies of China, and she has for ages given our king his investiture, and we have returned whatever we could prepare for tribute; nothing of importance to our nation has transpired but it has been made known to the Emperor (of China). Whenever the time came for us to send up the tribute, we there (in China) purchased silk and pongee to make suitable official robes and caps for ourselves, and selected medicines and other things for the use of the state; and if they were not enough for our own use, then through the island of Tuchara (Tokara) we have intercourse with a friendly and near nation (Japan), and exchange for our productions, as black deyes, saki, grass-cloth, and other articles, things which we sent to China as tribute".

During the last of Perry's several visits to these islands a treaty was made and signed on July 11, 1854. The rough draft to the preamble recognized "Lew Chew as an independent nation. To this recognition, Okinawa objected saying that such an assumption on their part would get them into trouble with China, to which country they owed allegiance". Another significant point is that the articles of agreement were written in the English and the Chinese language which, according to Oriental ideas, is a symbol of China's sovereignty. Later, the Japanese Commissioners informed the Admiral "that Lew Chew was a distant dependency, over which the Crown of Japan had limited control". The immediate result of Perry's presence in Okinawa was that the natives sent a stone to go into the monument of "the great American mandarin" then being erected in Washington.

In this same year, with the signing of the treaty with the United States, Okinawa also signed one with France and four years later (1858) with Holland.
Okinawa, a Japanese fief (1872) The end of the Tokugawa Shogunate came in 1867 and the new Meiji regime began the next year. On the restoration of the power of the Mikado the various lords were forced to hand their powers over to the central authority and in 1871 the feudal system came to an end. The Satsumas thus lost their control of the Southern Islands and, in the next year, they were placed under the jurisdiction of the Foreign Office in Tokyo, becoming a han (fief). Two companies of soldiers were sent to Naha and the Okinawan king was ordered "like any other ex-daimyo" to reside in Tokyo and to congratulate the Mikado upon his accession. Although still allowed to retain his title of king, he was made a Marquis of Japan, assigned a residence in the capital and given a yearly grant of 30,000 yen.

This incorporation of Okinawa into the Japanese Empire was the subject of an inquiry by the United States Minister-Resident in Tokyo, Charles E. deLong. The Minister of Foreign Affairs assured him that the terms of Perry's treaty with Loo Choo would be observed.

In May 1873 Count Taneomi Soyeshima arrived as Ambassador in Peking. One of his instructions was to make "known to the government of China the assertion of the Empire of Japan over the Loochew Islands". China made a protest at that move and, as one authority expresses it, she considered it as "nothing less than a high-handed piece of robbery". A second charge of Soyeshima on his mission to Peking was to protest the atrocities of the Formosan natives on the islanders from Japan's newly incorporated fief.

Massacre by Formosans: In 1871 a large fishing and trading vessel from the Miyako Group of the Okinawas was wrecked on the south coast of Formosa and fifty-four of the crew were murdered. Some authorities say they were eaten by the Batans, the savage natives of the island.

As the Satsumas had lost all their power, the Loo Chooans made a protest at the barbarous treatment directly to Tokyo with a request for protection in the future.

At first China claimed that "all aboriginal tribes, which, like these unsubdued people, are included within the territory of China are under her jurisdiction". Consequently the Japanese made a demand to China for redress for the death of its subjects, the Okinawas.

In April, 1873, there was a conference between Count Soyeshima and Li Hung Chang, then Viceroy at Foochow which had Formosa under its jurisdiction. Chang assumed the responsibility for the depredation but he represented only the provincial government. In June 21, another meeting was held between the ministers of the Tsungli Yamen and the Japanese Minister to China. No denial was made by China that the Loo Choo Islands did not belong to Japan and China altered her statement of ownership of all of Formosa by arguing that the eastern and southern parts of the island were not under her jurisdiction and she now contended that she was in no way responsible for the acts of the natives residing there.

Finally in April 1874, Japan decided to take direct action and "an expedition against the Formosans savages would both vindicate the national dignity of Japan and support its claim to the Loo Choo Islands". Treat, who is followed here, writes, "The correspondence dealing with the Formosan expedition was the most extensive of all the incidents of 1874 in both Japan and China". The American Embassy and our consuls in both countries were deeply involved in the proceedings. Three American military and naval officers actually accompanied the Japanese forces who were under the command of General Yorimichi Saigo. Meeting first in the Chinese port of Amoy, they landed in Liangkiao Bay, Formosa. Ordered off by China, Tokyo refused to move the troops unless an indemnity and a guarantee of a different type of rule were made. The Emperor, Tungchih, received Okuba, Japan's Minister Plenipotentiary who insisted on treating the controversy on the basis of international law. He refused to recognize the Chinese idea of its universal sovereignty in this complaint in behalf of the islanders. Relations were growing worse and worse and war seemed inevitable when the good offices of
Sir Thomas Wade, the British Minister to China, averted it.

Tientsin Agreement: On October 31, 1874 an agreement was signed at Tientsin. In the preamble there is a statement, which, in one of the translations, reads, "The raw barbarian of Formosa once unlawfully inflicted injury on the people belonging to Japan, and the Japanese Government with the intention of making the said barbarians answer for their acts sent troops to chastise them". There is also a statement that Japan had thus acted justly, that she wished "to protect her own subjects and that China did not designate it as a wrong action". The Japanese agree to the withdrawal of their troops and China promises to pay 100,000 taels "for the relief of the families of the subjects of Japan who were murdered". In addition to the double admission in the document that the Okinawas were under Japanese sovereignty, there were no references in the treaty to the fact that the islands were or ever had been a dependency of China. Compared with the actual cost of the Japanese expedition, the compensation in money was very little but she had obtained her main purpose which was to receive the agreement by China that the Okinawas were subjects of Japan and she sought to "obliterate every trace of dual dependence". A few years later Japan seems to have used the payment to her of the indemnity by China as evidence that the latter regarded the atrocities of the Formosans on the Okinawas as done to subjects of Japan. In a letter written by Chinese Minister Ho Ju Chang about 1890 we read, "The payment of money by China to the men killed in Formosa was simply on account of philanthropy, or charity, and was not a recognition of Loochoo as a dependency of Japan".

In this year of the Agreement, the Okinawan ruler was given the title of King of the feudal state of Loo Choo and the islands were placed under the jurisdiction of the Department of the Interior. A Japanese garrison wearing the Mikado's crest was quartered in the country and the Japanese calendar came into use.

In May, 1875, the islanders were forbidden to send any more tribute to China and the investiture by this country was stopped.

Leavenworth writes as follows regarding this beginning of a new era in the history of Okinawa. "We find China inert and acquiescent, still holding her original theory of suzerainty, while Japan, energetic and awake, changed this uncertain condition of the group into a definite direct relation as a dependency of her own Empire only".

Okinawa Objects: This pact should have properly settled the affairs of the islands so far as Japan and China were concerned but China was not placated and the Okinawas themselves "objected to being thus heartlessly disowned by father China".

In 1875 tribute from Okinawa arrived as usual in Peking in spite of the protests of the Japanese Minister. Treat points out, "Although according to the accepted principles of international law the very fact that China paid a sum of money to Japan for the relatives of the murdered Loochoos would have constituted a recognition of Japanese sovereignty over their islanders, neither the Chinese nor the Loochoos so interpreted it".

Both the king and the people resisted in every way in their power the idea of a single sovereignty. In 1876 the Imperial Court of Justice was established at Okinawa but the local government refused to cooperate. The King sent a son to Tokyo in an attempt to prove to the government the necessity of a dual dependency "for the good of the people". Petitions followed petitions to the number of Fourteen and all in vain.

The Okinawan king sent an officer and his suite to Tokyo. They made repeated requests for aid to the Chinese Legation which had been established there in 1877. An envoy was also sent to Foochow with another petition which was forwarded to the Tsungli Yamen.

To these requests for help, China made no move and she did nothing to reestablish her claims to part-ownership in the islands. She was too busy in
the more important question of regaining Ili (Kouldja) from Russia.

The United States and the Sovereignty of Okinawa: In the discussion relating to the punitive expedition of the Japanese to Formosa, mention was made of the part played by the American Minister and Consuls both of China and of Japan in the exchange of ideas relating to this quarrel. The controversy following the Tientsin Agreement as to the sovereignty of the Okinawan Islands still engaged the attention of the American envoys. Judge John A. Bingham, the American Minister at Tokyo, had been assured in 1876 that the incorporation of Loo Choo as a fief in 1872 and a military station established there in 1875 did not in any way "restrict or change the existing compact between the United States and Loo Choo of 1854".

In 1878 the Chinese Minister, Ho Ju Chang appealed to Bingham for the good offices of the United States. The latter felt that Japan had no right to assert her authority "after having allowed the Kingdom five centuries of freedom". This view was not that of the State Department and W. H. Evarts, the Secretary of State, wrote Bingham, "It is desired that you should abstain, until otherwise instructed, from making any official representations on the part of this Government, in behalf of the Lew Chew Islands, to the Government of Japan. You are, however, at liberty to exert your personal friendly offices toward an amicable settlement of the pending dispute, should your mediation be requested".

Under the Tientsin Treaties of 1858 between China and the United States and various European powers, the two Chinese ministers in 1878 asked Bingham "to memorialize the supreme government of his honorable country with reference to the present state of Loo Choo...so that the nationality and government thereof might remain as heretofore".

From October 25, 1878, to May 21, 1879, Bingham was absent from Japan when the Chargé, O. W. Stevens, presented the Okinawan affair in a light more favorable to Japan. Before the return of the Minister to his post the move to reduce the islands from a fief to a prefecture was made as will be pointed out presently. Bingham sent to Washington the official statement of Japan and its claim to the islands and added, in his opinion, that Japan did not have a strong case.

In July the Chinese Minister in Japan formally asked for the good offices of the United States to which the Secretary of State made a masterly reply to Bingham which is given in full by Treat (Vol. II, pp. 99-100). He states that in a dispute of this sort, "It would...be impossible for this government to tender its good offices at the instance of only one of the parties in question...Such a course could only be adopted on the certain assurance that it would be agreeable to both parties...You will impress the views of this instruction upon the minds of the Japanese cabinet as to leave no doubt of the perfect readiness of the President to accept the gratifying position of mediator, should his action in that capacity be unmistakably agreeable to, or be formally solicited by both Japan and China".

Okinawa, a Prefecture (1879): In March 1879, Japan had sent more soldiers from the Kumamoto Division to the islands with the demand that the king hand over his lands and his people. In spite of the opposition which China now made together with the native protests, the king yielded to the Japanese and Japan thus confirmed her hold and "acquired her first colony", the two southern groups of islands or guntos of the Nansei shoto becoming the Japanese prefecture of Okinawa with a Japanese governor and having "the same system of officials and bureaus in use as in the other parts of the Empire, except, as Schwartz writes, "that the organization of the cities and towns is not in force and there is as yet no prefectural assembly and the islands had no representative in the Diet".

On account of this Agreement, King Sho Tai naturally was forced to abdicate. One account states that he was driven from the city and the Crown Prince was arrested and taken to Japan. The former King was made a peer of Japan and given the empty title of "Nobleman". On Okinawan officials honorary
titles were bestowed. A residence in Tokyo was presented to the King as all peers had, by law, to live in Tokyo. He was granted out of the Imperial Treasury 30,000 yen a year and Japan took upon herself the national debt of Okinawa of 200,000 yen and, on the wish of the exiled King, this was to be paid in his name.

In a communication of Li Hung Chang, dated 1882, we learn that the Japanese Minister "did not agree to deliver the native King and his heirs to us. He said that the relatives of the Loochooan King had changed their surname 'Shang' (Sho) into 'Hsiang' (Ko) now. You can find Hsiangs anywhere. I think, perhaps, his remarks refer to Hsiang Teh-hung who is so faithful to his King and patriotic to his mother country that the blood comes out of his eyes when he cries. Truly Hsiang Teh-hung is a near relative of the King of Loochoo... He is also a bright, just and faithful man. There is no one suitable to be elected King except him". Unfortunately for Okinawa, no more kings were elected and the one just deposed lived quietly in Tokyo until his death in 1901.

This action by Japan in making Okinawa a definite part of her empire naturally resulted in a very dangerous situation which brought China to the verge of declaring war on Japan. In 1880 the Chinese Minister, Ho Ju Chang, said, "If we let Japan take the Loochoo it would be very shameful". He had plans to send warships against her and to tell the Okinaws they must help. Li Hung Chang advised against war and said it would be better to discuss the affair according to International Law. In a letter to the latter, He writes that the Loochooans beg the Chinese pitifully to help them "but they do not dare to speak about their having been prevented from sending tribute to China". From this letter we learn that the Okinawan King asked permission of Japan to be under the control of both China and Japan. "At first the Japanese agreed to this, but afterwards they took Loochoo". The author goes on to say if Japan takes these islands, she "will take Corea before long". Li Hung Chang writes, "The Japanese were so rude that they have changed the calendar and have blockaded the important ports so as to prevent communication between Loochoo and China. We ought to fight Japan and protect Loochoo. What you say is right, but I have troubles that prevent me from fighting".

An Okinawan official, Hsiang Teh Hung, went to Tientsin for help, carrying a copy of Chen Hsing's "History of Loochoo", a work in three volumes which was especially written to give the Okinawan side in behalf of its allegiance to China. Ho states that "China must help us for we have not made any mistake in sending tribute and during these years we will never be subjects controlled by Japan, and also we will never be Japanese spirits even when we die". In another letter he writes, "You must help us or place a garrison of soldiers in our country so as to hinder the Japanese, as the Ming Dynasty did".

The argument from the Japanese side ran something like this: "Tribute" China had been paid but "so long as her own advantage could be promoted, she regarded as a token of vassalage the presents periodically carried to her Court from neighboring States, but so soon as these arose any question of discharging a suzerain's duties, she classed these offerings as an insignificant interchange of neighborly courtesy... For two centuries the Satumans had held the islands under her thumb with no move by China to break the grip".

The whole situation was not made any easier by the actions of the British Minister to Japan. In spite of the good offices toward conciliation by the English Viceroy of Hongkong we read in a letter to Li Hung Chang from an American military official in Japan, "Mr. Parkes (the British Minister) is so bad that he wants war between China and Japan and he himself will get all the profits".

In answer to the arguments of Shih To, the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs, the Okinawan envoy wrote as follows:

"(1) The Japanese say that Loochoo communicated with Japan in the time of the Sui Dynasty, but this is not true for at that time we had
communications with China. We did not send any tribute to Japan until the time of the Ming Dynasty. What they say is not true.

"(2) The Japanese say that our country is only as large as Satsumahien in Japan, that our country belongs to their southern islands; but this is not true.

"(3) Abstracts from the mythical stories of the Loochooans ancestors, so as to prove that the Loochooans are not the descendants of Japanese ancestors.

"(4) The Japanese formerly recognized Loochoo as a kingdom but now they call our country simply a fief. The Japanese cheat us very much.

"(5) Abstracts from another ancient history to prove that the Loochooans worshipped Shengtiao for a long time which was not introduced from Japan.

"(6) All the ceremonies were introduced from China, not from Japan.

"(7) Because we use forty-eight letters of the alphabet it cannot be said that our country is the property of Japan, and moreover, the letters of the alphabet were invented by our King, Shen Tien Wang.

"(8) The Japanese said that we can speak Japanese and therefore we are Japanese, but then we can say that the Japanese who can speak Loochooan are Loochooans.

"(9) Japan says that she helped us when we suffered from famine, therefore Loochoo ought to be a part of Japan. If this is so then, since Shansi has been helped at one time by Austria, when there was famine there, can we say that Shansi is a part of Austria?

"(10) That we use the Chinese calendar, etc., is a fact which is already known to every country".

Grant's Visit: Such was this unresolved situation, made keener by the feeling that Japan was also considering taking Formosa, when the former President of the United States, General U. S. Grant, reached the Orient on his famous world tour in 1879-1880.

In his visit to Peking the Prince Regent appealed to Grant to intervene in China's behalf in the question of "the sovereignty of Loochoo and the attempts of the Japanese to extinguish a kingdom which has always been friendly and whose government has always paid us tribute, not only the present sovereign, but his ancestors for centuries". "We desire Japan", said the Prince, "to restore the king she has captured and taken away, to withdraw her troops from Loo Choo and abandon her claims to exclusive sovereignty over the islands. It is a question of the integrity of the Empire. And the justice of our position will be felt by anyone who studies the case and compares the violence and aggression of the Japanese with the patience and moderation of the Chinese". The Viceroy also told Grant that "in the time of the Ming Emperors this recognition was unchallenged", and he spoke of the treaty between Loo Choo and the United States, as made by Perry, in which "the American Government dealt with the Loochoo king as representing an independent power".

Leavenworth, as already mentioned, publishes a most interesting series of documents relating to the controversy between China and Japan over the Okinawas starting before Grant's visit and ending a few years after his departure. These documents center around the letters and dispatches of Li Hung Chang, China's Prime Minister, during this period.

From these we learn that the ex-President would like to mediate but "he demanded that if he did so for China that China should change the laws in regard to laborers going to San Francisco and that the Chinese should not go there for three years". There is a later letter from Li Hung Chang where
China promises to prevent "prostitutes, escaped prisoners, men who have diseases and labourers from going to San Francisco".

Grant felt that "the Loochooan question...need not cause war but could be peacefully arranged". Li Hung Chang expresses with remarkable candor his ideas about the controversy when he writes to the General, "If Japan can follow your good advice entirely then it will be very profitable to both countries. But I don't think Japan can yield, since she has already annexed Loochoo".

Later, when Grant reached Japan, he had an audience with the Emperor. He spoke of his promise to China to discuss this question. "The matter was one", he said, "about which he would rather not have troubled himself, as it belonged to diplomacy and governments, and he was not a diplomatist and not in government. At the same time he could not ignore a request made in the interest of peace...What China and Japan should do is to come together without foreign intervention, talk over Loochoo and other subjects, and come to a complete and friendly understanding". At Nikko, Ito, Minister of the Interior and Saigo, Minister of War, met Grant and presented their side of the controversy. The General is reported to have said, "If war should ensue between China and Japan, European powers would end it in their own way and to their own advantage, and to the disadvantage of the two nations. 'Your weakness and your quarrels are their opportunity', said Grant. 'Such a question as Loochoo offers a tempting opportunity for the interference of unfriendly diplomacy'."

On August 18, 1879, Grant sent identical letters of suggestions to His Highness, Prince Kung, and the Viceroy, Li Hung Chang. He recommended that the two countries decide the affair themselves with no outside interference and to that end, each side appoint commissioners to settle the controversy. Some accounts state, probably erroneously, that Grant went so far as "to recommend that Japan and China form an alliance against the Western powers".

During the next year various negotiations passed between Tokyo and the Tsungli Yamen bringing in Bingham and Grant. The vacillation of China and her inability either to make up her mind or to retain one definite line of action comes out again and again.

The Unsigned Treaty: After much delay High Commissioners were appointed by both countries to deal with the controversy. After working on it for three months, China, on October 21, 1880, agreed to sign a treaty. Then, on December 20, an Imperial Decree came from China which referred the agreement to the Northern and Southern Superintendents of Foreign Trade. The reason for this change of mind is obscure but Japan seems to have tried to include in the plan, at the last moment, some additional privileges for herself regarding trade on the mainland. It has been suggested that, as the danger of war with Russia was on its way to a settlement, China felt more free in her actions with Japan.

Plan to Divide the Islands: There is uncertainty as to the origin of the project given in the treaty to divide the Loo Chooan archipelago. Both Grant and Bingham are said by many to have had a hand in it. The proposal seems to have been as follows: "The middle part (of the whole Nansei archipelago) should be ruled by the King of Loochoo and both China and Japan should appoint a consul there. The southern division ought to be controlled by China, for it is near Formosa. The northern division, which is near Japan, is going to be ruled by Japan. The Ch'ung-sheng hsien (prefecture) which the Japanese have recently established must be removed to the north". One of the Japanese Ministers expressed his approval of part of the proposal. "At first he spoke of the history of Loochoo which made it necessary for Japan to allow the native king to have the middle part".

Later there was a modification of the plan. The northern part of the archipelago "had already belonged to Japan". Japan said she "was willing to yield the southern part of Loochoo to China and she herself would take the
middle part". This was clarified to mean that the two southern groups of islands, Miyako and Yayeyama or Sakishima, could be granted "to be controlled by China, if China grants us trade in the interior (of China) in just the same way as European trade".

There is a record of a conversation between Holcombe, the American Chargé, and Li Hung Chang in March 1881 in which we learn "China will not under any circumstances consent to the destruction of the autonomy of the Leu cheu and the division of the islands between herself and Japan. China desires that the Kingdom of Leu cheu should be restored to its original condition of a tributary state to herself and Japan. Failing this, she is prepared to enter into treaty stipulations with Japan under which both Powers shall unite to guarantee the absolute independence of the Kingdom of Leu cheu".

Li Hung Chang points out further in regard to the plan to divide the islands that the two southern groups "are so poor that they cannot form a country. If our troops place a garrison there, it will be a source of trouble afterwards. How foolish it is for China to exchange a desolate island of Loochoo for the best profits of inland trade in her own country. So I hope you may settle the question slowly". The Prime Minister suggests restoring the southern islands to the deposed Okinawan king and removing him and his relatives there "where China can still present the title to them". "Loochoo hereafter becomes a country of dual independence. But Japan does not agree to give the islands to Shang T'ai (Sho Tai) again".

In the summer of 1882 there was a rumor that war was inevitable but the counsel for peace of John Russell Young, the American Minister at Peking and a great friend of Li Hung Chang proved successful. In October Young reported that the Chinese would be glad to have the United States use their good offices to bring about a settlement. After a good deal of correspondence and personal interchange China still refused to make any concession.

The last entry in the record of the Li Hung Chang correspondence was in 1883-1884 when the Viceroy proposed that the southern islands and Shouli (Shuri), the capital of Okinawa on Okinawa Island proper in the middle group, be given to the native king. He adds, "Shouli is a great place and is also near Japan, so I think they will never allow the native king to take it". The argument continued between the Prime Minister and a Japanese official, the former insisting Shouli be returned and the latter saying, "Tell China that Japan will never give back Shouli to Loochoo". Finally the Prime Minister received a secret telegram from Japan saying she "can let Loochoo be a country again and Shang (Tai) can also be allowed to send tribute to China". "The only trouble", says Li Hung Chang, "is that formerly they called Shang the King of Loochoo, but now they call him simply a magistrate...Japan wants Loochoo to belong to a particular country, which I think must mean Japan. I think at present Japan promises that Loochoo shall send tribute to China, but by-and-by this will also be hindered by her. Japan has arranged affairs in Loochoo for a long time".

The trouble between the two countries dragged on. China became far more concerned over the establishment of a French protectorate in Annam. "At this time", writes Treat, "Japan might well have brought pressure to bear in China, but she refrained and the good understanding between Viceroy Li and Admiral Enomoto seemed to remove any immediate danger. For his services in bringing about this understanding Mr. Young was thanked by the Japanese Governor.

Sino-Japanese War: Just as Okinawa continued to regard herself under the joint suzerainty of China, so Korea, declared an independent state in the Japanese-Korean treaty of 1876, persisted in regarding herself as under China. All this was naturally an irritant to Japan. This feeling, together with the ill-feeling by China on account of Japan's action toward Okinawa, served to bring nearer the Sino-Japanese war in 1894. It was this which finally settled the Okinawan question when China realized at last that the Japanese were the dominant rulers of the islands. The royal exile, the former King, Sho Tai, cut off his cue, thus ending all opposition to the reforms instituted by Japan.
Okinawa, an Integral Part of Japan: There seems always to have been a political lag in the southern islands and it was not until 1920 that Okinawa became in every respect like the other prefectures of Japan. In this year the town and village governments were put on the same basis as those to the north. She now had a prefectural assembly and was allowed representation in the Diet, thus becoming for the first time an integral part of Japan. With this, her entity as a nation comes to an end.

The last indignity perpetrated upon her came when the sugar "barons" invaded the island and acquired what little good land there was. Emigration became the only solution for many of the inhabitants.

A later word on the Okinawan Islands is in Chiang Kai-Shek's "China's Destiny" which appeared in China on March 10, 1943, where he speaks of China's "loss of the Liuchiu Islands" and the aggrandizements of Japan and other countries.

In June, 1943, as already noted, there was a wartime change in the domestic structure of Japan. Nine districts were established and Okinawa was combined with seven other prefectures to form the District of Kyushu.

XIV FOREIGN RELATIONS: OKINAWA AND CHINA

As the associations between Okinawa and the mainland on the one hand and those with Japan on the other, together with the relative closeness of these affiliations with China and Japan, are of primary interest in the present discussion, each will be treated at some length. In several places it will be necessary for purposes of clearness, to repeat portions of the history of the islands already given. The Foreign Relations with China and with Japan are divided chronologically, as Japan did not become a part of Okinawan history until centuries after China had played her important role in the development not only of Okinawa but of Japan as well.

Geographical Proximity: From the map it can easily be seen that the Okinawan archipelago, in general, and the Sakishima or southern group, in particular, are much nearer Formosa and the Asiatic mainland than they are to the Japanese islands proper. From Fukien on the mainland, Formosa and the Okinawan "rope of globes" form the stepping-stones of the southern avenue leading from Asia to Japan.

Blood Relations: From the geographical position of the islands it is naturally to be expected that there should be found a strong element of Chinese blood in the natives. Indeed, we find Okinawans who cannot be physically distinguished from the Chinese, just as we find other individuals in the group who look like Japanese, Koreans, Malays, or, in hairiness, like the Ainu and other white races.

Early Chinese Contacts: China made the first attempts to come into contact with the islands. Kublai Khan, nephew of the great Genghis Khan, and fifth Emperor (1236-1295) of the Yuan or Mongol Dynasty, while still engaged in the conquest of China, turned his attention to lands outside of China. He conquered the Koreans and, with their help after one vain attempt, he defeated the Loo Chooans. This conquest is thus recorded in the Ming record: Kublai "appointed an official to command the Loochocs to become a dependency of China; but he did not succeed in his aim". Very shortly after this a successful assault was made on the islands. The "Manuscript History" states that in 1296, which would be early in the reign of Khan's successor, Temur (1295-1308), one Choko "arrived in the islands accompanied by soldiers, and tried to humiliate us. We fought against them, but were defeated". Choko finally went back to China with one hundred and thirty of the Okinawan natives.
The Ming Dynasty: For the greater part of the period of the Mings (1368-1644), the dominant influence in Okinawa came from the mainland to the west. Three years after the beginning of this regime, Okinawa virtually accepted "the annexation" of the country as a part of Chinese territory and tribute was sent for the first time.

Yunglo, the third of the Ming Emperors, began the first of his attempts to extend his power. In 1405 he sent a fleet of junks to exact tribute from Okinawa; others went westward as far as Burma and southward to Borneo, Sumatra and Java. He also turned his attention northward to Japan proper.

China had been molested constantly by Japanese pirates and Yunglo had protested. Finally the Japanese took action, a number of raiders were arrested by them and sent to China for punishment. This state of affairs seems to show China's predominant influence at this time in international relations.

Thirty-five years before the close of the Ming period came the Japanese conquest of the islands by the Satsuma clan (1609). Theoretically this should have ended all the claims of China to any role in the islands. But at the end of the dynasty, after speaking of the lack of any failure to send tribute to China, even to T'ang Wang who was one of the claimants to the Ming throne, we read, "From this we can see that Loochoo is the most obedient among the dependencies".

Persistence of Chinese Influence: Over one hundred and seventy-five years after the Japanese victory and only ten years before the end of the first or Ta Ch'ing period of the Manchu (1786), we find in the Okinawan "Manuscript", "The King (of the Okinawas) builds all his palaces and his doors toward the west for China is to the west of Loochoo and in this way he shows his obedience and fidelity".

The equivocal allegiance of the islands continued for over a hundred years more. In spite of the Tientsin Agreement in 1874, and the prefectural status forced upon the archipelago in 1879, it took the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 to silence the protests of China in her claims for sovereignty over the islands. And certainly up to the very end Okinawa played a part in expressing herself as favoring China and objecting to the Tientsin Agreement. The hundreds of years of close association with the mainland Empire could not easily be broken.

Relationship with Fukien: As the Okinawa-Chinese tribute and trade exchanges flowed, to a great extent, through Fukien Province on the mainland, and as the Okinawan envoys seem to have resided for considerable periods there, it may be safe to assume that personal and commercial relationships between the two countries never have been completely severed. Ships for the use of the Okinawas were built in this province, a factory was established there by island merchants, and this avenue to Chinese trade was open to Okinawa even during the period of Japanese isolation in the Tokugawa regime. As we shall see, Fukien sailors and their families were given to Loo Choo by a Ming Emperor. There are also several references to thirty-six Okinawan families by the name of Bin who migrated to the islands and whose descendants are still to be found in Kumemura, near Naha.

Japanese Spy System: An interesting side-light on some of the difficulties Japan was having in governing the country as late as the last years of the Satsuma regime is furnished by the account of Commodore Perry (1852-1854) and others of the spy system which Japan seemed forced to set up to look after her interests and to keep the islanders in order. Perry's report reads: "The system of espionage pervades the whole government from the administration of the highest to the lowest official", and again, "We already perceived indications of a fixed system in the espionage to which we were subjected...Nothing could exceed the vigilance with which they watched us... We could not tire them down, nor run away from them...And though this was the result of a jealous and exclusive system, yet they managed to give it the appearance of being done through respect for us". In another place he states...
that the spies belong to the third of the four "grades" of people and are "not at every step".

TRIBUTE AS SHOWING ALLEGIANCE: Nowhere can the close association with China be more clearly shown than in relation to the contributions made to her by the islands. In 1373 the first tribute was paid to China in the reign of the Okinawan king, Satsudo, and in the fifth year of Hung Wu, the first of the Ming Emperors. It has been suggested that this act was to honor the prince who had lately driven out the Mongols.

In the "Ming History" tribute paid to China is mentioned forty-one times and in the "Manchu History", which covers a shorter period, it is referred to in fifty-one places. We also learn that, on the downfall of the Ming Dynasty, Okinawa made contributions to T'ong Wang at Foochow, Fukien, one of the many aspirants to the Imperial throne.

In many cases "tribute", as we shall see, really meant trade and the exchange of presents. "In those days", writes Takokoshi, "two kinds of Japanese (Loochoc) ships plied between Japan and China for trade, one called Tribute Taking ships, the other Tribute Receiving; but, in fact, both were trade-ships operated by the Government, visiting China twice or three times a year, saying they were taking tribute from Japan to China".

For a part of the time when Okinawa was paying tribute to China, other buffer states were doing the same thing; Korea once in four years until 1894; Nepal every five years from 1790 to 1882; Burma once in ten years until 1896; Laos once in ten years; and Siam once in three years until 1882.

Varieties of Tribute: At the very beginning of the Ming Dynasty we learn that, "They presented China with many kinds of products which were produced in their country as a tribute". China sent fine colored cloth, 70,000 pieces of china-ware, and thousands of iron articles in exchange for horses from the Okinawas. An ambassador of the latter people said they "did not like coloured cloth; but did like china-ware and iron kettles. Horses continued to be sent by the islanders together with sulphur and winkle shells". Later we read that "in addition to the usual tribute, he (the tribute ambassador) also presented red copper and black varnished tea-cups decorated with enamel". "Tobacco leaves cut into fine pieces" should be added to the list, together with gold and silver cups, utensils and figures, gold-leaf fans, spices, armour, saddles, and swords. One entry mentions two thousand sheets of fine paper and fifty bundles of fine cloth.

During Ming times one of the Okinawan kings presented several eunuchs to the Emperor who, in receiving the gift, replied, "Eunuchs are also the sons of men; it is pitiable to punish them, if they have no great faults. You, Board of Ceremonies, return them to their country". The Board said, "The Loochocan Kings will think that the Emperor does not receive their kindness and will not be happy, if we return them. The best way is...to order them not to present them hereafter". The Emperor replied, "No, deeds are better than words; if we do not return them, they will send me more, as they want to flatter me. Heaven and Earth have the mind to bear everything, how can an Emperor deprive the generation of men". And the eunuchs were returned.

Products foreign to the islands seem to have been rejected by China. In the times of the Manchus, the Emperor said, "Zon-tsu (Sho Shitsu) is so faithful that he sends the tribute again, but I want to return it all to him. Moreover, gema, black wood, ivory, spices, (all together ten kinds) are not the native products of Loochoc. These should be exempted".

Tribute, a Burden to China: There was, from time to time, a great difference in the frequency when the contribution was dispatched. In the time of the three kingdoms, Sannan was the weakest. "Therefore her tribute was not continually sent to China". Sannan occupied a middle ground, while "Chung Shan (Chusun) was so strong and rich that she sent tribute twice or three times a year. China was very much troubled on account of this, but never refused it".

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The obligations on the part of China in accepting the so-called tribute were great. There is an illuminating statement in the Ming account: "The Chung Shan (Chusan) King sent tribute more carefully than before, as he respected the generosity of China", presumably in her desire to give presents in return.

This disinclination to accept the tribute so frequently was a natural one when it is realized that each ambassador had a large retinue of followers whose expenses of travel, often running over a long period, were always paid by the Chinese Emperor and elaborate gifts in return for the tribute were expected.

About 1474 the burden of receiving the tribute yearly or more often became so great that "the Board of Ceremonies asked the Emperor to make laws to restrain them". From now on tribute could be sent only every two years, "the attendants of the ambassador cannot be more than a hundred in number,... the Loochooans are not allowed to take anything secretly either from Loochoo to China or from China to Loochoo,... and no one be allowed to make any disturbance or trouble in any place as he passed through". A protest against the new laws was made by Okinawa: "The Ambassador begged the Emperor to act according to the law fixed by the Imperial Ancestor, so that the Loochoos may send tribute to China every year; but this was not granted". In five other places in the "Ming History" we read that the Okinawa "begged" to have the Emperor accept the tribute every year but all in vain.

Not long after Japan and the Satsuma had ravaged the country in 1609 and the Okinawan king had been set free we read, "He sent tribute to China again but the country was very poor and desolate after the Japanese conquest. The Board of Ceremonies now fixed the law that Loochoo might send tribute to China every ten years". But in spite of the leeway allowed, the islands sent tribute in the next two years.

In 1624, the Minister of the Board of Ceremonies suggested that Okinawa could not return to the custom of sending tribute every two years as "their country had not fully recovered its strength. The best way was to order them to send it to China every five years".

From the beginning to the end of the first of the Manchu Dynasties, tribute seems, in general, to have been paid every two years. China's burden was still great for we learn that ten years after the beginning of this reign, relief was given her by ruling that the number of ambassadorial attendants must not be more than one hundred and fifty men, the Emperor allowing only fifteen to accompany the two envoys to Peking, "the rest must stay at the frontier".

Tribute and Trade: There was a close connection, as already noted, between the sending of tribute to China and the opportunity this gave for trade. The "Ming History" speaks of the death of Sho Seni (1477) and "Shang Chen (Sho Shin), the Crown Prince, announced the death of his father; begged to be elected King of Chung Shan and also begged that he might send tribute every year. The minister of the Board of Ceremonies said that 'what they wanted to beg over and over again was simply to want to trade with China'". At another time, in reply to the tribute ambassador, the emperor said, "Foreigners come here simply to get some profit. How can we take all the things as gifts from them? We return them all the things and record it as a law that we cannot take them all".

Later, we read that "the ambassador of Loochoo, besides bringing tribute, also exchanged his own goods for Chinese goods in Fukien" and they were "always being cheated by bad merchants and local officials in China" and, after a protest had been made, "the Emperor ordered this to be forbidden".

In addition to traders in the guise of "Tribute Ambassadors" we find references which seem to show that Okinawan envoys were allowed to bring with them three sailing ships, evidently filled with trade goods which were exempted from customs duties. We learn this from the fact that Sho Tei (1669-
1710) made a protest that his ambassador was only allowed to bring two vessels with him. There are several references to the years 1761 and 1762 when over two hundred Lochooan merchants at different times, after "being driven to China by hurricanes were sent back to their homes with monetary assistance".

Bad Behavior of Ambassadors: More devious ways seem to have been employed by the envoys to make money. In many cases they were "very cunning". In 1531, "the interpreter of the ambassador smuggled 10 catties of spices and 300 catties of pepper as he entered the capital city of China. Unfortunately, it was found by the keeper of the gate". According to the law these products could have been confiscated but the Emperor ordered them to be returned "to show the generosity of a great country". An envoy of Saman illegally brought some silver to buy china-ware, but it was detected by the Chinese officer. He was forgiven by the Emperor, who said, "Those who come from the further country know nothing about our laws, but want to get some profits only. He therefore forgave him".

About 1462, one of the tribute ambassadors was discovered to have bribed a Chinese official. The latter was punished but the Emperor let the envoy go free.

Not only were the so-called "Tribute Ambassadors" often far from upright in their business dealings, but they were by no means free from causing trouble in the land. We are told in the "Ming History", "In recent years (about 1477) their ambassadors had not been good men but were from Fukien who ran away to Lochoo. These prisoners knew nothing except to kill people and burn houses, etc. They were very cunning. They simply wanted to get Chinese money to support a foreign country. This must not be granted".

In the reign of Shisho (1406-1422), the Chusan embassy, arriving at Fukien from Peking, "robbed a Chinese sailing ship, killed some Chinese soldiers, wounded the officer and took many clothes and articles from them". The Emperor, hearing of this, punished the chief and sent the others ("more than sixty") to the King "so as to let him punish them himself". The King the next year sent an envoy to the Emperor to beg his pardon. In 1473 "the Lochooan tribute ambassador killed a peasant woman and her husband in Huaiian and burned their houses, and stole their money as they passed through Fukien. The Chinese Governor tried to arrest him, but in vain".

Trade as Showing Allegiance: Later in the discussion of trade, we shall see how the Satsuma clan, for purposes of gain, were willing to acquiesce in stressing the affiliation between China and Okinawa and do everything possible to disguise the fact of any power which they held over the islands.

Dangers of Sea Travel: The vicissitudes of the voyage between the islands and Fukien, the nearest point on the mainland, were great. As already shown, this was a region of cyclones and frequent mention is made in the early accounts of the destruction of vessels carrying the tribute and the envoys. The Viceroy of Fukien in one place reported that the Lochooan tribute ambassador had been troubled by a hurricane at sea when they returned. The Emperor decreed that China should "give assistance in money to the Lochoo ambassador. Since they had had such a dangerous shipwreck, Chinese officers should use some of the public funds to help them".

Tribute Cancelled in Disasters: When there were shipwrecks and the tribute was lost, "the Emperor told them that they need not send them (the tribute) again" or "not to send articles again in their place".

Aid from the Supernatural: After an escape from a stormy sea, the Chinese Emperor would be asked "to grant the Queen of Heaven or the Goddess of the Sea two feasts in the year, for she had helped them in a mystical fashion as they crossed the sea".

There is one instance, recorded in the "Manchu History", where some Okinawan officers sent to welcome a Chinese ambassador "saw a number of birds flying alongside the ship and two fishes which swam on either side of the
ship...The waves and the winds stopped in certain places while the ship was passing. This was because your Majesty's goodness and merit affected God himself. And furthermore your Majesty's writing was on board the ship, so that God showed us a good omen. Please order your officer to put this down in the Imperial History".

Native Sailors: The Okinawas seem not to have been especially good sailors, for the "Ming History" relates the use of men from Fukien for the voyage across to the mainland. We read, "As accommodation for their keeping with himself. And furthermore your Majesty is writing by a token of Chinese domination, so as to make it more easy for them to come to China as they are such skillful sailors". This statement is not borne out by a communication from a Chinese Minister to Li Hung Chang in 1660, which reads, "The Loochooans are very fond (or familiar with) water and therefore can go and serve in the navy very well. If so, then, when they are under the control of Japan, they will be a danger to China. Then the Japanese will command them to go and fight on the sea. Therefore we must not let Japan take Loochoo".

Ship-building: This industry seems to have been carried on more by the coastal Chinese than by the Okinawas. In one place the Emperor "presented a ship which could sail on the sea to each of the two kings", and in another section we hear of the expenses paid to the attendants of one of the Emperor's embassies "to go to Fukien to build ships".

In some cases vessels seem to have been made especially for the envoys. In 1600 when there was a discussion as to whether the title to the Okinawan King should be sent "in the usual way", the Minister of the Board of Ceremonies said it would take too long a time to cut large wood to build a large ship, that it was too much trouble for the ambassador to undertake such hardships in the sea...The best way therefore was to appoint a military man to go there.

Danger from Pirates: Japanese pirates were often very active and this naturally added to the peril of the voyage to the mainland. During the Japanese campaign to conquer Korea there was especial danger. About 1601 we read, "The Emperor ordered them (the ambassadors) not to cross the sea unless the alarming news of the war had ceased".

There was also danger in land travel. In Manchu times, "The Emperor (K'anghsi) praised Zong Song (Sho Tei) very much, for he continued to send tribute to China during the disturbance of Khon-Tsin-Tsong (Ken-Ching-Chung or Cheng Ch'eng Kung)...In addition to that, the Emperor also remitted the tribute of horses every year". This was in the period following the close of the Ming Dynasty when many of the adherents of the old regime followed Cheng Ch'eng Kung to Formosa. He died in 1662 but his son continued the war with the Manchus until the latter won and Formosa was annexed to China in 1683.

CHINESE "AUTHORITY": The actual role played by China in the succession of the Loo Choo Kings illustrates, from another angle, the affiliations between the two countries.

Board of Ceremonies: Much of the necessary diplomatic exchanges between the two countries seems to have been carried out by a "Board of Ceremonies (Li Pu) or Board of Rites". Sometimes the "Minister" of the Board is mentioned. This Council seems to have had charge of the approval of rulers for Okinawa, of appointing envoys, of deciding important questions regarding the reception of the tribute, and, in general, of being the body to keep the Emperor informed as to what was going on in the islands and furnished him with the means of playing a part in the government.

Symbols of Authority: It was a common custom in China for the Emperor to present as a token of Chinese domination, so far as the government was concerned, a silver-gilt seal or shield. One of the earliest of these, of gold, dating back to 57 A.D. and presented to a Japanese envoy by the Emperor Kuang Wu Ti of the Eastern Han Dynasty was discovered in Chikuzen, on the
that these islands, at this time, owed allegiance only to China. Many years later, at the time of General Grant's visit to the Orient in 1890, in the renewed controversy over this question of sovereignty, Grant in a conversation lasting three hours with the Japanese Minister of the Interior and the Minister of War made the point that the seal of the King of Loochoo was presented by China and "This is the proof that Loochoo is a dependency of China".

Returned at Chinese Dynastic Change: At the end of each Chinese dynasty it seems to have been the custom for the seal as the symbol of authority to be returned to China. It is written in the "Manchu History", "The Board of Ceremony of Tai Cheng (Ta Ch'ing) refused to present the title to Loochoo and to its King (Sho Ken, 1641-1648) for she had not yet returned the old seal given by the Ming Dynasty..." You Loochooans", said the Emperor, "because of your obedience to every Dynasty of China ought to have the title and the seal. Now I tell you that you must send back the old seal, given by the Mings, and I will also give you a seal as the Mings did". Later, in 1652, the Manchu Emperor again asks for the return of the seal. "Why do you not return it to me...I think he (my envoy) may perhaps be detained by the waves and the wind or has he some other reason?" Two years later, Sho Shitsu sent his uncle with the tribute and the seal to China and also asked for the "presentation", or validation of his position as King. In the same year the Emperor appointed Chang Shou-li, the Vice-Minister of the Board of War and another to be his ambassadors to Okinawa. These men were to present the decree and the seal of the new dynasty. Their retinue consisted of an astronomical student, two doctors, two military officers and two hundred soldiers and he also sent men to Fukien to build ships.

The bombastic decree of the first of the Manchu Emperors reads as follows: "Emperors and Kings take care of their conduct and the arrangement of national affairs. Then they can be pleasing to God above and to the officials and subjects beneath. And consequently all foreign countries are very glad to be the dependencies of this great country. I inherited the great deeds of my ancestors and now have the Celestial Empire. My good name and instructions spread through places which are both far and near. I never give away any country, which is far away from us, so that I send an ambassador there to let the island kingdom get some good-news from me. Now you Loochooans, situated far away in the South, have a good Crown Prince (Shitsu) who knows the direction of time and power and obeys my instructions. This Prince ordered...his uncle to bring tribute to our country; asked for the calendar; presented a dispatch in which he showed his obedience; and the seal and decree, etc., given by the Ming Dynasty. I am very glad on that account...I give you the decree, seal, and satins marked with colours, etc., and choose you to be King of Tsong Shang (Chusan)".

Honor to the New Chinese Emperor: On the death of an Emperor in the Ming and early Manchu periods, "He, the new Emperor, sent an Ambassador to Loochoo to tell them of the accession of the new Emperor". The first of the Manchu Emperors "ordered an interpreter to go to Loochoo to tell them...saying, 'I consider the whole world as one family after I have obtained the Celestial Empire!'". In return for the announcement of the new ruler, Okinawa always sent ambassadors with tribute and incense to burn to the late Emperor together with congratulations to the new. Finally, in this interchange of courtesies, the thanks of the new ruler for the appointment of ambassadors was always conveyed to the island king.

China and the New Okinawan King: In the discussion of Government we have seen the part played by the Board of Ceremonies and the Emperor in the
selection of a new ruler. This was technical and a matter of form but the royal successor was only a Crown Prince until the Chinese envoy arrived with the investiture.

Chinese Investiture: On the death of a ruler the ordinary procedure seems to have been to dispatch ambassadors to the Emperor. These were sometimes the brother, the nephew or other relative of the late monarch. They announced the end of the rule together with a request for the investiture or the presentation of the decree or the title to the successor who was normally, as noted above, the eldest son, provided he was backed by "public opinion". Sometimes the request was for "a crown and girdle".

On the death of Satado in 1396 the first Ming Emperor, T'ai Tsu, started an embassy to present the investiture to the successor, the Crown Prince Bunei. The actual "presentation" did not take place until 1400, which was the beginning of China's participation in the coronation of an Okinawan king.

In the "Manchu History", the Emperor speaks: "Zon Mo (Boku) should be king according to order. He asked me about the succession. I think the succession is a very important matter in Loochoo and the presentation of the title is our great policy. Therefore I especially appointed (two ambassadors) to choose Zon Mo to be the King".

These Chinese embassies, as we have seen, usually consisted of one or two important officials accompanied by a large retinue including doctors, military officers and soldiers, sometimes numbering as many as two hundred. This delegation would arrive prepared to present a feast to the late king and furnished with an abundance of presents including dresses, colored cloth, velvets, "satin marked with the dragon, dragon and snake embroideries, gems, a crown of leather and other gifts for the new king and queen".

Not only was the Emperor expected to give presents to the royal pair but he also clothed the ambassadors sent by Okinawa to his court. In the rule of Sho Haishi (1422-1440), the envoy of the islands complained to the Emperor that "the crown and dress of the officials of Loochoo were given by the first Emperor of the Ming Dynasty. Now all of them are worn out, so the Emperor had better give each one of them a new one".

In the time of the Manchus, in addition to actual presents, the Emperor made a gift of "Four Words" which varied from time to time. Some read: "The Goodness of a Country in the Sea", "Good Owner of Eastern Loo Choo", "Loo Choo Lives in Long Life". Then the King would send his thanks for the gifts and for the "Words".

In presenting the title the ambassadors voiced the words of the Emperor. In one case they read, "Although you live far away in the sea, yet you send tribute to China every year...Moreover I give you and the queen some bundles of satin. You must accept my kindness, inherit the goodness of your ancestor, treat your subjects kindly, and take care of politics. Thus you can secure a long life for your country and can constantly be one of our dependencies. Respect this. Never disobey my order!" Another runs, "Having been chosen by God in heaven I control every place. My goodness and instructions have spread through regions far and near. And you, Loochoo, have been fitted also by my kindness. Our country has always chosen your ancestors to be kings of every generation, and also given you many things. You, Loochoo, are...far away in the sea, but you count yourself as a dependency of China and send tribute to China in every generation. Your obedience is known to all".

Delay in Investiture: Up to the time of the formal approval of the Chinese Emperor, the person selected to be the new ruler, as already noted, bore the title of Crown Prince. Sho Tei was succeeded in 1710 by Sho Eki. The latter always remained a Crown Prince as his "presentation as King" did not arrive until after his death in 1713. It was not until 1719, in the reign of Sho Kei (1713-1752), that the deaths of Tei and Eki were announced in
China. It was in the same or in the next year when the Emperor "presented a feast" to Tei and Eki and "chose" Tei King at least six years after he had been made Crown Prince on the death of his predecessor. The most extreme case seems to have been Shitsu's successor in 1669, Tei, who remained the Crown Prince for fifteen years, when his long-delayed "presentation" took place in 1684.

Causes of Delay: This long postponement of "choosing the king and presenting him with the title" was due to several reasons, among which were the distance by land and the dangers of the stormy passage from Fukien, the point on the mainland from which the envoys seem to have set sail to the Okinawan Islands. Shipwrecks, as we have seen, were not uncommon. In some cases, the envoys had to wait for the building of the ships to make the voyage. Ambassadors died on the way; others "stayed in Fukien for many years" evidently living off the gifts which had been destined for the Okinawan king and queen.

Finally, toward the end of the Ming period, to the dangers of the deep were added the dangers of Japan as an enemy so that a proposal was made to have the Okinawan envoy who came to the mainland to announce the death of the king receive the title or "presentation" of his successor in China and take it back with him on his return. "But this was not granted by the Emperor". An earlier plan was proposed by the Okinawan ambassador. "They thought the best way to manage was for the Chinese ambassador to take back to the Imperial capital what they had brought (to Fukien) as tribute, and that they should take the decree, etc., to their country...Thus the Chinese ambassador could avoid the trouble of sailing the sea...The Censor told this to the Throne. The Board of Ceremonies said, 'The presentation of title to Loochoo is according to our ancestors' law. Now the Loochooan ambassador acts as if he simply wanted to throw your kindness into the grass, if he desires this method'.

STUDENTS SENT TO CHINA: With the early introduction of Chinese culture into Japan it was a corollary that Japanese students would be sent to the mainland to study the roots of that civilization.

Early Universities and Students: We learn that in the T'ang Dynasty, T'ai Tsung (627-649) "established many universities and colleges". At about this time there is a record of over two hundred Japanese students being sent to China for their education and both Korea and Okinawa also sent students. One account states that the men of the earlier period "were not treated as well as those of the time of the Emperor Yung-lo (1403-1424) who seems to have written, "On account of respect for our country, the barbarous young men come from different countries. They could not study hard if they did not have enough food and clothes. To give them support was the opinion of my ancestor, T'ai Tsu (1368-1398)". Carrying out this opinion, we learn that, throughout the period of this dynasty, foreign students were provided by the Emperor with summer and winter clothing, robes, turbans, boots and stockings and even curtains, quilts and sheets.

In Ming and Manchu Times: There are many references to these students being sent from Okinawa to the universities at Peking and at Nanking. These young men seem, in general, to have been limited to the King's nephews, the sons of the Prime Minister and those of other officials. Once two women students were sent, "for they liked the customs of China".

In the same account, we read, "At this time, when the laws of the State were very strict, many of the young men from two of the kingdoms of Okinawa who had discussed the Imperial decrees had been killed. The Chinese Government, however, treated their countries very well". In two cases we learn of students returning from China to visit their parents.

This custom of receiving students was continued in the Manchu Dynasty. On the return of the Chinese ambassador who had brought the Imperial decree to Sho Tei in 1684, he "told the Emperor that the King came to him and asked him to report to the Emperor that he would like to send four official students
to Peking to study Chinese.

Examinations: The Board insisted that these students should be examined. The system of examination, especially for candidates for civil and military service, was taken over from the Mings by the Manchus and here it seemed to have been applied to those who were proposed to be sent to China as students. The ambassador pointed out that, in several preceding reigns, "the Loo Chooan official students had studied in the Kuo-tze College (Kuotzu-chen or Imperial University at Pekin). Now His Majesty should grant it to the King because he was so anxious to introduce Chinese learning. The Emperor granted it".

Student Perquisites: The generosity of China toward these foreign students is worthy of remark. Five years after the previous entry of students, "the King again sent an ambassador to China to render thanks for the permission which had been given to students to study in the Kotze (Kuo-tze) College". They were to be treated as interpreters with "a daily salary" and "furnished with robes, coats, shirts, trousers, boots, hats, quilts, etc. Their servants were also given rewards every month. Besides the salaries, the Emperor also gave to the students 1.5 taels of silver for their expenses for getting paper and pens. He also engaged a teacher and appointed a Pooze to be superintendent of their studies". In 1694 Sho Tei recalled the "Interpreters" and "the Emperor invited those students to have a feast and gave them much embroidery and sent them by quick passage across Chinese Territory". In 1723, in the reign of Sho Kei, four official students on their way to the mainland were all drowned in a ship-wreck. The sailors alone were saved. The Manchu Emperor, Ch’enlung, about 1767, "begged that Loochoo might send some students to study in the Kotze College".

In Later Times: As late as Perry’s time the literary and professional classes, "and especially the physicians", often finished their education in China. At the present time these candidates for the professions are accustomed to go to Japan for their graduate work.

Cultural Inheritance from China: The intimate relations regarding tribute and authority between China and Okinawa have just been examined and we have seen in general that their cultural inheritance can be traced back to the mainland. One writer stresses the part played by Okinawa itself in introducing Chinese culture into Japan proper. "These islands", he writes, "together with the Korean peninsula, were the bridges over which Chinese civilization reached Japan. The Loo Chooans were in fact carriers of and teachers of Chinese culture to the more primitive Japanese". (0)

Let us examine what special features of their life are Chinese in origin. Chamberlain speaks of a veneer of Chinese influence. It is perhaps nearer the truth to say that, apart from language, the solid underlying stratum of culture comes from the mainland and that it is covered by a thin veneer of Japanese origin. Down to the time of the Satsuma regime in 1609, the Chinese language was used as a literary medium by the upper classes.

This long-continued and close association with China shows a considerable amount of conditioning of the population toward China as a "father" and the very general feeling that China never really was a foreign country, a sentiment which persists today among a few. One sometimes feels that the Koreans are no nearer the Chinese than are the Okinawas.

Bettelheim, a naturalized English missionary who, as we have seen, was in the country when Perry arrived, is quoted by the latter as saying that the natives "ape China in everything". We also read, "As to what is taught, all the books, as well as learning in Lew Chew, comes from China, whither, yearly, some of the native youths of the higher class are sent for education. The Chinese character is in general use in Lew Chew; but the inhabitants have also (says Dr. Bettelheim) a running hand of their own, which, he thinks, is the real ancient Chinese hieroglyphic 'awfully crippled'. In some manuscripts which he saw in this writing, every Lew Chew character had opposite to it the modern legible Chinese sign... Most of the books seen in Lew Chew were in the

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ordinary Chinese character. The Japanese character, however, is understood; for writings were seen, made by the Lew Chewans, in the Katakana".

The English Bishop of Victoria, George Smith, already quoted, wrote, in 1850, that "the islands were peopled by a colony from Japan, to which people their physiognomy, language, and customs have a close affinity; and that to China they owe the far more important debt of their partial civilisation and literature".

In an account of Perry's first visit to the islands he speaks of a "qualified subordination to China, as they undoubtedly send tribute to that country. Language, customs, laws, dress, virtues, vices, and ceremonial intercourse all are corroborative of such an opinion".

The Calendar: Up to 1872 all Japan used the lunar calendar of China. After this date Naichi officially adopted the Gregorian time-count. The fact that Okinawa kept on with the old calendar is another strong indication of the part that China has played in her history. This time-count, even to this day, is permeated with astrological meanings which change from year to year and are made up by the Board of the College of Astronomy. It is thus necessary at the beginning of the year to obtain the new calendar. The astrological aspect of the calendar was so important that, in some cases, an interpreter of the calendar seemed necessary. In the reign of Sho Shitsu we read, he "asked for the calendar, the seal and the decree". The Emperor gave his ambassador clothes and embroideries and "from the astronomical department, he also chose an astronomical student to go with him".

The difficulties in the way of the Okinawas obtaining the new calendar as it appeared are seen in the "Ming History" where we read, "The Lochooan ambassador...also said that the small country Lochoo kept the Chinese calendar very respectfully, but the sea route was so far that the Chinese ambassador was compelled to sail for at least one month, or half a month before he reached the Lochooos. On this account the Lochooans were afraid that they might be slow in getting the calendar. 'Crowns and dresses may be made by your own hands', said the Emperor, 'but as to the calendar, I will order the provincial treasurer of Fukien to give it to you every year!'".

One of the last entries in the "Manchur History" (1786) reads, "They use the Chinese calendar in every generation. The Chinese calendar must be taken back by the ambassador when he comes to Peking. Before the calendar came to Lochoo the interpreter himself stole from the Chinese calendar and wrote a book, 'Sien Su Tung Su' (the Standard for Choosing Good Dates). They use the Chinese calendar widely after it has been carried back by the ambassador or presented by the Chinese Government".

As late as 1880, in arguments used by an Okinawan official in answer to those offered by the Japanese Minister of Foreign Affairs in his attempts to point out the Japanese ownership of the islands, we read, "That we use the Chinese calendar...is a fact which is already known to every country". Even today in Japan proper the Chinese calendar translated into Japanese is found.

Writing: The calligraphy both in Japan as well as in Okinawa in many cases follows that of ancient China. Street inscriptions in Naha are often in Chinese with quotations from Confucius and other classical Chinese authors. Some of these, according to one authority, "go so far as to represent the country as part of China".

Beechey, writing in 1827, speaks of "letters, accounts and the King's proclamations" being in Japanese characters whereas "books on morality, history, medicine, astronomy, etc., were in Chinese".

Names, as we have seen, are often pronounced in the Chinese way.

Religion: Shintoism, in its purest form, existed here and, as pointed out elsewhere, female priestesses, a characteristic of this religion, were common. Tombs and burial customs followed the Chinese pattern and the dates
are in the Chinese calendar.

Clothing: Official costumes often follow the Chinese style and much of the pictorial art is from the continent. It is claimed by one writer that here there is exaltation of the civil element in life as with the Chinese in contrast to the fostering of the military spirit as is found in Japan.

The "Double Inheritance": This comes out in a quotation from Dr. Schwartz who, for many years, was a missionary among the Okinawas. He writes (1908), "The visitor from Japan realizes before he comes ashore that he has come to a country wholly different from that he left behind. The boats have nothing in common with the Japanese sampan...The junkers anchored in the river have great red eyes painted on their bows like the Chinese junks, but they also have a large red ball painted in a white ground at their stern. The device looks like the Japanese flag, and the two symbols suggest that Loo Choo in its manners and customs resembles both China and Japan. Such is indeed the fact, although the resemblance to China is more marked than to Japan".

Okinawa, a Museum of the Past: There are really three strata of culture in the islands, according to Dr. Denzel Carr. The first might be called "proto-Japanese" or "prehistoric"; the middle, "Chinese"; and the recent, "Neo-Japanese." The lower classes show little evidence of the last two influences to come into the country. This may explain why the Japanese think they are Chinese and the Chinese, on the other hand, think the unlettered are Japanese.

Those features of Chinese culture, both of ideas and of customs, which were carried into Japan proper were assimilated, adapted and they even lost, in most cases, much of any indication of their origin. These same ideas and customs remaining among the Okinawas were, to a great extent, unchanged, retaining many evidences of their Chinese origins.

Exceptions: In language and in literature alone there seems to be present little of the Chinese influence. Thus, at every turn, the truth of the saying running through Okinawan history is verified, "China is our father, Japan our mother". And this Chinese background undoubtedly has played a considerable part in accenting the Japanese feeling of the "foreignness" of the Okinawas.

XV FOREIGN RELATIONS: CHINA AND JAPAN

Before discussing the relationships between Japan and Okinawa it is well to stress the well-known fact that Japan, in addition to receiving its population from the mainland, also had the benefit of centuries of intimate contact with China and from her received many of her customs, her ideas, and her religions.

Early Contacts with China: According to the legend, Hsu Fu (Jo Fuku) and his company arrived from China and settled at Kumano in 218 B.C. Shao Chang Lee states that archaeological discoveries in Korea show that strong Chinese cultural influence had reached Japan as early as the first century of our era. Embassies between China and Japan started as early as the middle of this century. The Japanese Regent, Empress Jingo-Kogo, sent several envoys to the mainland in the third century. In 404-405 Chinese literature and the art of writing were brought to Japan by two Korean scholars.

In 421 China gave the Japanese ruler the title of "Great General" and later he was promoted to the rank of king.

Contributions through Korea: In the sixth century the Korean King of Paikche Introduced Buddhism, the Chinese classics, medicine, divination,
calendar-making, and music into Japan.

VII Century and Empress Suiko: In 602 Chinese books on astronomy and geography were brought to Japan. Embassies were sent to China by Empress Suiko in 607 and "from this time on", Lee tells us, quoting Brinkley, "a bridge was firmly established over which the literature, arts, ethics, and philosophies of China were copiously imported into Japan". To these should be added Chinese politics, court ceremonies, and social usages.

XIII Century and Kublai Khan: Williams in writing of the relations between Japan and China speaks of the centuries in which "Japan looked up to China as to a teacher and had repeatedly sent missions with presents which the Chinese regarded as tribute". This was not, however, the attitude toward the "barbarian Mongol", Kublai Khan, who attempted to bring Japan into his kingdom even before he had completely conquered China. In 1268, he sent envoys to Japan demanding recognition of his position as overlord, but they returned with no reply. In 1273 and again in 1281 he tried but his expeditions met rebuffs and disaster.

XV Century and Yoshimitsu: Even as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Japan was still acknowledging the claims of China as the sovereign power. In 1401, the Ashikaga Shogun, Yoshimitsu, in return for presents sent the "Son of Heaven", received the title of "King of Japan". In the reply to the communication of the Emperor, Yoshimitsu frankly regards himself as a vassal of China, "thus earning and deserving", according to Gowen, "in the eyes of the Japanese 'the curse of posterity'". His son and successor, Yoshimochi, also lowered himself in the eyes of his contemporaries by appealing to China for loans.

Students of the Arts: In another place there is mention of the long list of students who were sent to Chinese Universities. In 1460 Japanese monks were sent to the mainland to study the books and the arts of the Sung and Yuan periods and, a little later, there began a new wave of Chinese influence, especially on Japanese art. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the first translucent porcelain was produced in Japan after Shonzui, the potter, had learned the ceramic art in China. This list far from exhausts the debt Japan owes to China for the beginnings of most of the features famous in her cultural life.

XVI FOREIGN RELATIONS: OKINAWA AND JAPAN

The intimate and early social relationships between China and Okinawa completely overshadow the later and, to a great extent, military contacts between Japan and Okinawa. It is sometimes difficult to separate those cultural features in the islands derived directly from China and those which, originating on the mainland, came to them through a Japanese processing.

Mythical Beginnings: At the start of Okinawan history the country is linked with Japan. In the struggle for supremacy between the Minamoto and the Taira clans, Tametomo, belonging to the former, emerges as one of the great Japanese heroes. In his self-exile to Okinawa, he married a native of these southern islands and their son, Shunten, started the first historical dynasty.

There is a legend that, at the defeat of the Taira clan, some of them escaped south to Kyushu in southern Japan and others continued on to Yonakuni, the Okinawan island, only sixty miles away from Formosa.

Japanese Writing: "In the beginning of the history of the country", according to the Ming record, "they had no alphabet. By adopting the Japanese method, Sentien (Shunten) invented new characters, forty-seven in number,
called the Yulu h u (Yaruhu). This method is the same as what is called the 'thirty-six Sacred Characters'...This was the first time that the Looc h ooans had an alphabet". According to the Japanese account it was Shunten's father, Tametomo, who introduced this alphabet. The "thirty-six Characters" were for phonetic use.

China Orders Through Okinawa Tribute from Japan: We have just seen how the Shogun Yoshimitsu had yielded to China. About thirty years later (1432), the Emperor again approached Japan, this time through the King of Okinawa as an intermediary. He ordered his vassal to have Japan send him tribute. Yoshinori, the Shogun of the time, complied with this demand. It was this same Shogun who, in the reign of Sho Chu (1440-1445) "presented" Okinawa to Shimazu Tadakuni, Lord of Satsuma, in the northern island of Kyushu, "in recognition of services rendered". Over one hundred and fifty years later the Satsumas entered the history of Loo Choo to remain and to play an important role. In 1471, the islands were closed to all trade except that in the hands of this former Japanese clan.

Japanese Pirates Captured: The reign of Sho Sei (1527-1556) was a period when both Japanese and Chinese pirates were common, the former raiding the mainland often with the help of the Mongols. Near the end of this rule, there is an episode given in the "Ming History" which again shows the general weakness of the Japanese at this time: "The Japanese, who were returning from Chekiang where they had been defeated by the Chinese, reached the Loocchoos; but they were again severely defeated by Shang Yuan (Sho Gen), the Crown Prince. Shang Yuan got back six Chinese who had been captured by the Japanese. He sent them back to China. The Emperor was very glad on account of their fidelity and gave them many things".

China Warned of Hideyoshi: The next important episode in the relations between China, Okinawa and Japan occurred in 1591 when Okinawa cautioned China on the danger of Hideyoshi's aggressive attitude toward Korea and other regions on the mainland.

Japanese Religions Enter: In 1603, a Buddhist priest of the Jodo sect came from Japan "and promulgated Nembutsu (Buddhist prayer). This was the first Nembutsu ever introduced into these islands".

Satsuma Hegemony: In 1609 the Satsuma ascendancy in the islands began and continued for years with considerable success so far as trade was concerned, but the clan sacrificed for its own interests any attempt to impose on the islands a single and undivided allegiance to Japan, as will be seen in the discussion of trade.

Chinese and Japanese Ideas of Suzerainty: Leavenworth explains with acumen the difference between the ideas of suzerainty held by China and by Japan. During the early period of the history of Okinawa, China had no rivals and she didn't trouble herself to control peoples so long as she received their tribute and trade. "Her idea (was) to be the teacher of her civilization...and not to be their ruler or their protector". Another early writer, Wells Williams, expresses the attitude of Okinawa toward China in much the same way: "It is the respectful homage of an inferior to a superior, and not that of a fief to suzerain; it is the sincere regard of a disciple to the teacher from whom he has learned everything that has given him character, position, safety, and stability at home and abroad".

Japan, on the other hand, with her late appearance as a nation and an Empire had the conception of suzerainty that is known to the modern world, and, after the Satsuma conquest in 1605, she exercised it, as we have seen, so far as she was able but far from excluding China from her role of co-sovereign.

Divided Allegiance: While we have noted China sending an envoy to every installation of an Okinawan king, so we also learn that, at the same time, Okinawa sent ambassadors to Yedo in 1850 and to Peking in 1865 to render homage.
Kaempfer, writing at the end of the seventeenth century, says, "Tho' they look upon the Prince of Satsuma as their Conqueror and Sovereign to whose Bugios, or lieutenants, they pay some small part of the produce of their fields, by way of a tribute, yet they will not acknowledge the supremacy of the Japanese Emperor. They send over each year a present to the Tartar Monarch of China in token of submission".

Perry's Visit: In the narrative of the Commodore's first visit (1852) we read, "It is a question yet discussed to what power Lew Chew belongs. By some it is said to be a dependency of the Prince of Satsuma, of Japan; others suppose it to belong to China. The probabilities, however, are all on the side of the dependence, more or less absolute, of Lew Chew on Japan". Later, Perry learned "that Lew Chew was a distant dependency, over which the Crown (of Japan) had limited control".

Dr. Bettelheim, the missionary in Perry's time, shows his disposition to favor Japan. He believed that the islands were, in his time, an integral part of Japan. He bases this on the fact, according to Perry's account, that there is a Japanese garrison at Naha, the main port, that "trade is entirely with Japan", that the Japanese and Okinawas intermarry whereas the Chinese are hunted and spied upon, and that "the language, dress, customs, virtues and vices of Lew Chew correspond to those of Japan!"

Tientsin Agreement (1874): In 1871, as we have seen, a boatload of Okinawan sailors was wrecked on the coast of Formosa. Fifty-seven members of the crew were murdered, or, as some say, eaten, by the natives of the island. After Japan had appealed in vain to China for indemnities, she set out to punish the culprits. An agreement was finally made at Tientsin, China agreeing to pay 100,000 taels "for the relief of the families of the subjects of Japan". Thus Japan in the wording of the treaty hoped "to obliterate every trace of dual dependence".

The Prefecture (1879): Okinawa objected to being "heartlessly dis-owned, by China" but China was too busy with regaining Kouldja from Russia to come to her rescue. Japan sent her soldiers to Okinawa, captured the king and made the two southern groups of the islands one of her prefectures. Thus ended the last of the Loochoo dynasties. Both China and the islanders in vain raised objections to this move by Japan.

Five years later, as already mentioned, when General Grant was making his famous world tour, China appealed to him to exert his influence with Japan in connection with her claims to a joint ownership of Okinawa. There is an interesting exchange of letters and reports about this appeal, but nothing came of all this and the disagreement dragged on for years.

Sino-Japanese War (1894): Finally, the war with China presumably settled the question of suzerainty held by the island Empire to the north. Leavenworth who was a professor of history in the Imperial Nanyang College in Shanghai writes, "The natives of the islands were in favor of China up to the period of the Chino-Japanese War, but since that time they have been very loyal to Japan. Their devotion to the Empire is now undoubted". In another place he states that "since that period (of the Sino-Japanese War) they have been very much in favor of their present rulers, the Japanese". This author makes no effort to explain the sudden change of the feelings of the natives from favoring China to favoring Japan, all within the course of a few years. There must have been among some of the inhabitants a residue of favor towards China after their long and close association with her.

The last bit of direct evidence on the question of sovereignty is found in a Japanese Encyclopaedia ("Dai Hyakka Jiten") of the year 1932 where we read: "While under the control of Satsuma, Okinawa paid tribute to China. This was countenanced as expedient for trade by Satsuma. However, control by both countries was weak. This is shown by the fact that (many of the old) history books such as the 'Dai Nippon Shi' (History of Japan, 1867) and the 'San Koku Tsuran' (General Survey of Three Nations, 1785) treat of Okinawa as a foreign country".
The intercourse between Okinawa and its mainland and island neighbors has been discussed. Here the associations resulting from foreign trade will be treated and, in particular, the use of the Loo Choo islands in the commerce maintained between Japan and China.

Association of Tribute and Trade: The close connection of tribute and trade has been pointed out. The "Tribute Taking" ships were expected to return with a rich cargo as "Tribute Receiving" vessels. In spite of stormy seas and hurricanes, this constant interchange of goods with China seems to have been in operation since very early times. After the coming of the Manchus, trade increased between the mainland and the islands. Okinawan merchants actually established a "factory for their goods in the port of Fukien" on the China coast.

Japanese (Satsuma) Trade with China through Okinawa: Japan proper also wished the advantages of commerce with the mainland. This showed itself particularly after the Satsuma conquest of the country in 1609, but the rules and methods of trade with China were complicated and devious. There were two impediments to free movement of vessels between Japan and the mainland; the first was set up by China and the second by Japan.

Closed Ports: From the time of Toyotomi Hideyoshi's ill-starred expedition into Korea with his defeat in 1598 and the days of the Japanese pirates, China had closed her ports to Japanese ships. Later, in 1639, the third Tokugawa Shogun, Ieyasu, promulgated his famous edict of isolation for Japan which reads, "For the future, let none, so long as the Sun illumines the world, presume to sail to Japan, not even in the quality of ambassador, and this declaration is never to be revoked on pain of death". For two centuries this decree remained in force but means were taken to circumvent the edict.

Satsuma Trade through Okinawa: Loo Choo served as a catalytic agent for trade between Japan and China. Naichi did not extend her exclusion policy to the southern islands so that the Satsumas were left free to trade with them. China also allowed and even encouraged dealings with Okinawa so that the commercial avenue was open between Japan and the mainland.

Use of Subterfuge: To encourage further the intercourse between Okinawa and China, while fearing that the latter might hesitate to trade with a satellite of Japan, pains were taken to disguise the domination of the Satsuma clan in Okinawa. Several moves were made by Japan to encourage the idea that there was no alliance between Loo Choo and China. Tribute continued, as we have seen, to be paid by the southern islands to China. It is claimed that, when the Chinese sent their ambassadors to Okinawa, the local governor was cautioned by the Satsuma overlords to receive them with honors and to keep silent regarding their allegiance with their Japanese neighbors. There is at least one instance, as late as 1836, when the Lord of Satsuma actually loaned the court of Okinawa the money necessary for the expenses of entertaining the Chinese envoy.

Other precautions against Chinese recognition of Japanese domination were that no notices in Japanese were to be posted at Naha, Japanese books and goods were to be hidden during the visit of the Chinese and the inhabitants were asked to pretend they did not understand Japanese. Officials from the north even retired, it is said, to some distant place so that they might not be noticed by the guests from the mainland.

Okinawas, "Foreigners"; Another device of the Satsumas was to emphasize the alleged foreign aspects of the Okinawas, the difference between the Japanese and the southern islanders not only racially, but historically, politically, and religiously. They also inaugurated the custom of adding a character to the name ideograph so that they no longer carried pure Japanese designations.
Smuggling and Disguise: Among many measures taken to nullify the trade prohibitions, there were two which seem to have been common. Takekoshi has a heading in his book, "The Lord of Satsuma, a Smuggler". Not only did Chinese goods enter the country as contraband but, in 1802, there is an instance of a Kyoto merchant buying from the Satsuma European goods as well. Japanese disguised as Okinawas also traded with China. The king of the islands allowed this in compliance with the request from Japan. There was an instance in 1691 when the Daimyo of Satsuma sent one of his retainers with the Okinawan envoy to China and "this man, dressed as an Okinawa, went to Fukien in south China to trade".

In 1688, at the request of Satsuma, the Loo Choo government appointed an agent in Kyoto for the sale of imported Chinese goods. Furthermore the Okinawan vessels took products of Satsuma for sale in China.

Direct Trade: In later years a foreign bureau was established by the Satsuma clan which actually did trade directly with the Chinese and the Dutch, and "the lord himself studied Chinese to acquire necessary information on China and things Chinese".

The Question of Capital: "The capital invested", writes Takekoshi, "in this trade with China was supplied partly by the clan of Satsuma, and it may be said that Satsuma was trading with China through the Loochoo ... In fine, the capital invested in the Loochoo's trade with China was principally supplied by the governor and the people of Satsuma, such supplies of capital amounting to 90,000 ryo a year".

XIX Century Trade with China: Captain Broughton, in Okinawa at the end of the eighteenth century, reported trade between the inhabitants and China and Formosa. He writes, "They were also well acquainted with China and showed us several things from that country", and he observes that the junks were the same as those of the Chinese. A few years later (1803) Captain Torry reported that the trade of the Okinawas was with China. In Lord Macartney's "Embassy to China" we learn that the English met some ambassadors on their way to China "to which they are tributary".

Direct Trade Between Okinawa and Satsuma: In addition to direct trade between Okinawa and China and between Japan and China through Loo Choo there was also a considerable amount of commerce between Okinawa and the Satsuma clan. Kaempfer (1690-1692) describes it as follows, "Tho' they might be look'd upon, in some measure, as subjects of the Japanese Emperor, yet they are, as to their trade, treated like other foreigners. They are order'd to go to the harbour of Satsuma and not to presume to frequent any other of the Japanese Dominion. The import and sale of their goods hath been likewise limited to a yearly sum of 125,000 thails, beyond which nothing should be sold. Nevertheless they dispose of much greater cargoes, thro' the compli­ance of the Japanese Directors of their trade, who are themselves no losers by it. The goods imported by them are all sorts of silk and other stuff, with several other Chinese commodities, which they bring over from China on board of their own junks".

This richest of all Japanese clans received not only most of the goods and profits of their trade direct with China but also those which the Okinawas derived from their continental trade. The great wealth of the Satsumas, accumulated for almost three hundred years, even challenged the authority of the Tokugawa regime, and they continued to hold an important place during and after the Meiji restoration in 1868.

Trade with the South: Captain Broughton, just quoted, reported that Okinawa was the center of trade between Japan and the islands to the south, presumably the Philippines.

European Trade: About the middle of the nineteenth century, as already noted, there was a succession of visits of English, French, and Dutch vessels to Okinawa, culminating with Perry's appearance. This new and foreign element in the history of Okinawa and of Japan raised important questions of policy which marked the opening of a new era for Japan and the islands to the south.
PART II

THE OKINAWAS IN HAWAII

I INTRODUCTION

Early Immigrations into Hawaii: The first Japanese arrived in the port of Honolulu on June 19, 1868, in the British boat, "Scioto". In this group were about one hundred and fifty people including nine women and one child. In 1885 the first Japanese laborers were brought in two shipments totalling almost two thousand immigrants of whom more than ten percent were women.

It was not until fourteen years later (1899) that the first people from Okinawa prefecture or Okinawa-ken came. This emigration, as already shown, was probably fundamentally due to the great density of the population and poverty of the soil in their former home. A few years ago it was claimed that in Okinawa, with a population of about 575,000, there was an average of 3,993 people to the square mile. It is said that a school teacher, Kyuzo Toyama, after reading a book on emigration problems and realizing the unfavorable natural resources of his country and their inability to support so large a population, advocated an overseas settlement of his fellows. He organized night schools to study the possible places to which emigration was possible. One account states that Toyama prepared twenty-seven young men and sent them to Honolulu in 1899, followed, four years later, by forty-five more. Mr. Chomei Tajima, late of the Immigration Station in Honolulu, reports that in 1899 two groups totalling about fifty-nine males arrived here. At this time there were about 58,000 Japanese already in the Hawaiian Islands. In the years from 1900 to 1903 practically no immigrants came to Hawaii from Okinawa Prefecture; and from 1904 to 1907 about 5,000 entered; and from 1907 to 1924, about 4,000. These are estimates by Mr. Tajima. In 1924, at the time when immigration stopped, there were about 130,000 Japanese in the islands, and most of these people came from the western end of Honshu and Kyushu. In 1940, the Japanese population was 157,906.

Population: The last definite figures available of the population from Okinawa-ken were prepared by the Japanese Consulate in 1932 and are as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Honolulu</td>
<td>1,414</td>
<td>1,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oahu (rural)</td>
<td>2,235</td>
<td>1,849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hilo</td>
<td>442</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hawaii</td>
<td>2,631</td>
<td>1,718</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maui</td>
<td>1,630</td>
<td>1,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kauai</td>
<td>902</td>
<td>734</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Totals</strong></td>
<td><strong>9,254</strong></td>
<td><strong>7,282</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>16,536</strong></td>
<td><strong>14,426</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Today the estimate of the number of these people here in Hawaii runs from 20,000 to 25,000. The first figure has been broken down into 5,000 aliens, 10,000 children in the first generation born in the Islands, and 5,000 in the second generation of island-born. Asato (1941) gives 19,800 as the number of Loo Chooans in the Islands.

Occupations: These people, together with the Japanese, were brought into the country as laborers on the sugar plantations and a great many are still found employed by the various sugar companies. Some have also found work in the pineapple fields. One plantation manager writes that, in his thirty years of experience in raising sugar, the Okinawan farmer type is the best of any group he has ever seen.
There has been a decided urban drift among these people. As late as 1921 there were only about 125 of them in Honolulu; all the others were on the plantations. This number was raised to 989 in 1923, whereas today there are easily 3,000 in the city.

Later, the tendency of these people to flock together will be discussed. This idea comes out in their gravitation to certain types of work. There are certain industries in Hawaii which have practically become monopolized by the Okinawas. Former cooks and waiters have raised themselves by their own efforts and ambition from the servant class to owners of small eating places, many of whom seem to have been natives of the town of Uruku. It is estimated that eighty to ninety percent of these cafes are owned and run by Okinawas. One will borrow money of his friends, or several will form a hui, or group, who will invest in the venture. They have, in general, been most successful in this line of endeavor.

The aggressive spirit of the people which resulted in their financial improvement began about 1932 and was accompanied, in many instances, by a self-centered attitude toward all who were not of their ken. Japanese criticism increased in proportion to improvement in connection with this occupation. A baby is estimated that eighty to ninety percent of these cafes are owned and run by Okinawas. One will borrow money of his friends, or several will form a hui, or group, who will invest in the venture. They have, in general, been most successful in this line of endeavor.

In the internment camp at Foston on the Colorado River it was very difficult to find anyone who was willing to run the piggery or to butcher. There were no volunteers as every Japanese was afraid, if he offered himself for this kind of job, he would be taken for an Okinawa or Eta.

Other occupations in which the Hawaiian Okinawas engage, but in far smaller percentages, are independent farming, fishing, or as yardmen and domestic servants. There are a half dozen Okinawan women who are barbers.

Okinawas and the Present War: The change in attitudes of this class in the population since December 7, 1941, will be discussed in some detail later. The crisis has crystallized the feeling of separateness between them and the Naichijin. It is now a distinction in the minds of many that they can trace their origin back to Okinawa-ken.

A.J.A. (Americans of Japanese Ancestry) Volunteers: In March, 1943, there were inducted into the American Army about 2,927 men of Japanese ancestry from the Hawaiian Islands. The names of these men on the list were scrutinized carefully and 336 or 11.13% were considered Okinawan in origin. In 1940 the Japanese population, according to the census figures, was 157,905. Estimating the number of Okinawas in this group as 20,000, this would make them 12.66% of the Japanese population. In other words, the proportion of Okinawan volunteers (11.13%) was less than their representation (12.66%) in the entire Japanese population. If Asato's figures were used, the percent would be 12.5. This percent does not take into account those Okinawas whose names are Japanese and those who are Okinawan only on the mother's side. In other words, the percentage, if these facts could be ascertained, would probably show that the Okinawan boys volunteered in slightly greater numbers than those of straight Japanese origin.

Volunteers into Military Intelligence Service Language School: In Camp Savage, Minnesota, there has been opened to Hawaiian and other Japanese a school for interpreters and for other duties connected with the prosecution of the war. In the two units entered from Hawaii there have been about 600 Japanese. Of this number 94, or 15.6%, appear to be Okinawas as determined.
by their names. This is 3% more than the estimated number of Okinawas as compared to Japanese (12.66%) in the islands. These figures seem to indicate that, intellectually, the Loo Chooans hold their own with the other group.

Internnees: Still using the estimated figure of 20,000 or 12.66% of the total population of Japanese of the Hawaiian Islands as of Okinawan parentage, we find from this group approximately 10.008%, including both aliens and those American-born, have been sent to internment camps. The difference may be of no significance as an indication that the Okinawas are considered as less dangerous to the country as a group than the Japanese proper. Here the age level is quite different from that of the volunteers. It might possibly be argued that the older and alien Okinawas are more anti-Japanese and hence less likely to indicate any sentiments in their favor than the younger group of Okinawas who are nearer the average Japanese in their thinking.

II OKINAWAN NAMES *

As Labels of Origin: In looking over a list of Japanese surnames in relation to the prefecture of the owner or of that of his or her ancestors, one can see a number of names which can often be associated with a definite geographical area, larger in general than that of the prefecture. Wata-nabe, for example, is frequently found in central and northeastern Japan; Mizumaga, in Kyushu.

The Okinawan Phonetic System: In contrast to the five vowel sounds used in Japanese transcriptions, there are only three in Okinawan, A, I, and U. The E and O of Japanese are absorbed or hidden in Loochooan respectively, in I and U. Thus *separate in Japanese becomes *shirarite in the southern islands. *Keredomo becomes *kiridumu. The following table shows the systems more clearly.

OKINAWAN SYLLABARY

Columns I, II, and IV are used both in Japanese and in Okinawan.

*The greater part of this chapter has been published in "Okinawan Studies", No. 2, Honolulu, March 27, 1944 and republished in R and A, No. 1567.
Phonetic Transcriptions: There is always a difficulty in trying to record the sounds of one language by means of the alphabet of another. This is especially true in Japanese. Before considering Okinawan names in particular it is well to discuss some of the most common variations in the phonetic transcription when Japanese characters are written in English letters.

T and D are often interchanged as Atae or Adae; G and K as Aragaki or Arakaki; B and H as Gibo or Giho; S and G as Kohosami or Kohogami; Z and S as Zashiki or Sashiki; J and Z as Kakaji or Kakazu; Sh and J as Tomishima or Tomijima.

In other transcriptions certain letters may be dropped as Chinna. to China, Uyehara to Uehara, Tengwan to Tengan, Jitchaku to Jichaku, Toyomishiro to Tomishiro, Nuha to Nuha.

Sometimes an additional letter is found as Chujo or Chujyo, Kinjo or Kinjyo, the more properly to record the actual phonetics of the character.

Okinawan Names: The association of certain combinations of sounds or syllables with definite areas is particularly common in the Okinawan Islands. Many of the typical names in this region are used only as nouns in other parts of Japan. It is readily possible in many cases, as indicated above, to pick out Okinawans by their names. (See Appendix III).

There is another type of name which falls into an intermediate class, often Okinawan but sometimes also carried by those from Kyushu or southwestern Japan. (See Appendix III, names underlined). In such indefinite cases, the given name often determines the native home of the owner. If actual names of
individuals known to the writer are taken as examples, Yamauchi (山内) is in this doubtful class as to its Okinawan origin, but Shoyei (昌榮), the given name of the individual in question, is definitely Okinawan. So with Ishihara (石原), which is doubtful; but Ryozen (良善), the given name is clearly Okinawan.

Uyehara (上原) is a name common among these people from the southern islands, but, in this case, the particular individual has been given the name Yukuo (住生), clearly Japanese, thus placing him in the latter class. In one family whose name is Uyehara or Uehara, the fear of being looked upon as Okinawan is so great that the first character of the name, meaning "up", is read kami (Kamihara, 上原) rather than uye, as the former reading is never found among Okinawas. As uo (uye) (上) corresponds to kami (神) in standard Japanese, the Lo Choos have a tendency to think all their ues are kamis which is not true. An Uemura who lived in Okinawa was called Kamimura (神村) for it was thought this was the proper form in good Japanese.

If, in any list of Japanese names, it is thus possible to ascertain with a fair degree of accuracy a large proportion of those belonging to Okinawa, it can be seen that this method is a very useful one in breaking down the Japanese names into those used by people from Japan proper and those whose origin is traceable to the southern islands. Thus, this is the system used in arriving at the number of Okinawas from Hawaii who have enlisted in the United States Army and those in Concentration Camps.

Shiro and other Common Names: A list of 261 family names of 2,395 individuals was taken from the 1941 edition of the Nippu Jiji Directory of Honolulu. This was made up of the names of all the persons who were down as having come from Okinawa-ken or whose ancestors were born there. The characters belonging to these family names are given in Appendix III. This list was made the basis for a study of the types of names most commonly found.

The name appearing most frequently is Higa (比嘉) with 172 examples. There then follow in frequency three with the final syllable shiro (城), "castle": Kane-shiro (金城), "gold or rich castle" (160); O-shiro (大城), "large castle" (120); and Miya-shiro (宮城), "shrine
castle" (95). These with other combinations with -shiro -- Tama- (玉), "jewel" or "valuable"; Yama- (山), "mountain"; Mae- (黛), "truth", "Prosperous"; Shin- (新), "new"; Ue- (上), "upper part"; Yona- (隅那); and Ma- (名), "name" or "noted" -- number 460 and form almost one fifth of all those on the Nippu Jiji list (19.2%). In addition to these ten combinations with -shiro, in the enlarged list given in Appendix III, gathered mostly from the Okinawan Islands, are ten other -shiro combinations: Aga- (阿嘉), "beautiful", Ara- (新), "new"; Hana- (花), "flower"; Ike- (池), "pond"; Ike-miya- (池宮), "pond-shrine"; Ko- (古), "old"; Naka- (中), "center"; Ta-ka-miya- (高宮), "high shrine"; Tono- (登野), "sloping field"; Toyomi- (見), "handsome"; Ushi-miya- (牛宮), "cow-shrine"; and Yona- (隅那), "noted". It is interesting to observe that eighteen percent of those volunteering for the U. S. Army also had -shiro as part of their names.

Following Miya-shiro in frequency come Shima-bukuro (島袋), "island pouch" (95); Uye-hara (上原), "high field" (89); Ara-gaki (新垣), "new fence" (74); A-sato (安里), "peaceful hamlet" (50); Taka-ra (藤良), "high good" (49); Teru-ya (照屋), "shining house" (48); and Naka-so-ne (中宗根) (42). This last, as with some of the others, is difficult to translate without studying the actual characters. The first syllable means "middle"; the last, "root". The middle syllable may be written with a character meaning "layer or stratum" (層) or "head, origin, seat" (宗).

After this discussion of the number of individuals bearing the same name, it may be worthwhile to comment on certain characters which appear most frequently in different combinations in the names in the long list in Appendix III. The following table shows at the top the first character or syllable of the family name and at the side the second syllable of the name. In the roster as a whole 28.3% are found in different permutations with only eight different last syllables and 20.3% with eleven different first syllables. Other common first syllables are: Shi-, Ike-, Matsu-, Nishi-, Oya-, Hira-.
In looking over the list and omitting those using -shiro, it is seen that the lost syllable of the name most commonly signifies something geographical. This is, of course, a common feature in many Japanese names. In the Okinawan list we find -shiro (J, "mountain"); -kawa (V, "river"); -zato or -mura (Y, "place of"); -ota (I, "valley"); -gawa (V, "peak"); -gawa (V, "peak"); -zato (I, "valley"). In many cases the first syllable of the surname indicates the character of the field, the mountain or the village. As Waka-hara (W, "in the middle of the field"), Yama (Y, "mountain"); or Oku-mura (O, "in the interior village"). The first two mean the center of something geographical. Thus, of course, a common feature in many Japanese surnames. It is seen that the last syllable of the name most commonly signifies something geographical. This is, of course, a common feature in many Japanese surnames. The following table shows the total number of various combinations of characters in the Okinawan names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Surname</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Naka</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aka</td>
<td>24</td>
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<tr>
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The total number of combinations is 70.
Then the characters composing the name contained the diagnostic trait of those of Okinawan origin.

**Pronunciation:** Another means of distinguishing between the Loo Chooans and the Naichijin was in the different pronunciations of the very same characters. The Okinawan way of reading the ideographs goes back in many cases to the "Omoroo" language, the old "song words" of this people which were in use from the twelfth to the seventeenth centuries. This, in time, became changed in Okinawa. When these people came in contact with the Japanese either in Japan proper, in Hawaii or in other places, the characters composing their names were pronounced by the Japanese in still another way and these became fixed to a great extent. In a few cases there was another pronunciation by the Japanese from certain areas. Thus sometimes there were four different ways of reading the same ideograph.

Miya-gusuku (宮城) in Okinawa, started as Na-gusuku in Omoro. It becomes Miya-shiro in the Japanese reading and is pronounced Miya-gi by a certain clan in the northeastern part of Honshu. Mæ-gusuku (真城) in Omoro becomes Mae-gusuku and Mae-shiro; Naka-gusuku (中城) Nakaha-shiro or, in some places, Chujo or Chujyo. It should be noted that shiro is always gusuku in Locchooan. Tü-dara (藤原) in Omoro is Toyo-daira to the Okinawans and Toyo-hira to the Japanese.

Another group of characters was pronounced in one way in Omoro and a second way by both Okinawans and Japanese: He-ţ-za (平安座) in Omoro to Hei-an-za, Fuka-ma (外間) to Hoka-ma, Nakan-mi (仲筋) to Naka-mine, Shima-buku (賀布) to Shima-bukuro, Tū-na-chi (渡名喜) to To-na-ki, Nae-dara (平) to Miya-hira, Han-ţa (波平) to Nami-hira, Hi-tch-a or Hi-sch-a (平敷) to Hira-shika-ya.

Other Okinawan readings with corresponding ones in Japanese are Shio-daira (潮平) and Shio-hira; Naka-jo (仲門) and Naka-kado; Ara-gaki (新風) and Shin-gaki; Shin-jo (新門) and Mi-jo; Jit-cha-ku (勢通落) or Shi-cha-ku and Seri-kyan; Chy-an (喜屋武) and Ki-ya-bu; K-ka-scha (小川) and Ko-bashi-gawa; No-bun-ya (本川) and No-borikawa; Yon-tan-ţa (論谷山) and Yomi-tani-yama.

Inability of some of the Okinawans to pronounce some of the characters
properly has led to the following pronunciations: Katsuren (勝連) for Kachiren, Zuikesian (崎慶) for Zukeran.

There is current another explanation for the difference in the Okinawan and the Japanese way of reading the same ideographs which cannot be accepted. This has the Satsumas, when masters of the southern islands, insisting that the Okinawan names be given a distinctive pronunciation.

Additional Identifying Characters: The number of different Okinawan names is not large and, even in a small village, the likelihood of duplication is great. Thus, in addition to the regular name (yobina) an additional character is often added, as Shimabukuru Agari(東) or Shimabukuru Iri(西) meaning Shimabukuru of the "east" or "west" side of the town. There are also designations "of the green house", "of the tile house". Certain characteristics of an individual may be expressed for purposes of identification as "the lazy Shimabukuru", or a character is added denoting the trade of the individual.

Later we shall see people with this ancestry going to the Court to change the spelling of their names in order to conform to the Japanese usage.

It is interesting to note that Gillis and Pai in their "Japanese Surnames" do not include in their lists any of those which are typically Okinawan.

Given Names: The first names of the 2,395 persons whose last names have already been discussed have been examined. The most common of these are given in Appendix III and are arranged in two groups, those typically Okinawan and those common both to the Loo Chooans and to the Naichjin. As with the Japanese, if the name is written in the Japanese phonetic symbols, it is always that of a woman but, in some cases, this sex writes the name in Chinese characters. Males in all cases write their names in Chinese characters. In general the characters themselves among the Okinawas are more commonly read in the "On" or Chinese reading, whereas the Japanese usually read in the "Kun" or Japanese pronunciation. It should be pointed out that it is often difficult to determine the meaning attached to various names since several characters with various meanings may have the same sound.

There was a very great variety in the given names and a very large
number were definitely Japanese. The others, as just noted, seem to fall into two groups -- those typically Okinawan and not found among the Japanese, and those commonly found among both the Japanese and the Loo Chooans.

A few common ones in the first class, in order of frequency, are Kama (蒲), "reed" (45), together with its combinations, Kamato or Kamado (蒲), "reed door" (47) and Kamasuke (薄助), "help" or "aid" (23); Kame (亀), "tortoise" (35) and Kamesuke (亀助) (20); Sei (正), "truth" or "active or prosperous" in combinations -- as Sei ei (登榮) (20); Sei ki (盛喜) (キ, meaning "joy") (15); Sei kichi (正吉) (Kichi, meaning "good luck") (16); and Sei ko (盛幸) (コ, "happiness") (21); Matsu (松), "pine tree" (38) and Matsu suke (松助) (10); Ushi (牛), "cow" (44); and Kana (加那) (40) -- Ka (加) means "to add" and na (那) may mean "place, where or which".

It will be seen that two of the names above are those of animals: Kame, "tortoise", and Ushi, "cow". Kuma (熊), "bear", is also found. The second common meaning is that of a growing thing: Kama, "reed", Matsu, "pine tree", as above, with Shoel or Shosei (松惠) (from sho, also a "pine tree"). Another category in Okinawan names is that of household utensils, as shown by Habe (鍋), "pot" or "pan" and Taru (樽), "barrel".

The ideographs for all of these are more commonly read with the Chinese pronunciation. As with the family name, it is not uncommon for an Okinawa to change the reading of the character for his name from the Okinawan to the Japanese in order to disguise the fact of the Loo Chooan heritage.

**Given Names in the Shi Class:** In the upper class (Shi) among the Okinawas the first syllable of the given name is handed down in the male line: as, Ryo-sei (良 Kai), the name of a father; Ryo-shin (良信), the son's name; and Ryo-ichi (良一), that of the grandson.

In some cases the child was given three names: a Japanese, a Chinese, and an Okinawan. One reason for this custom was given that the father fondly hoped that China would some day win back her former suzerainty of Okinawa.

**Change of Name:** In the lists in the Hawaiian Territorial Archives of those who have legally changed their names, the number of Japanese is, in general, as great as all other nationalities combined. Since December 7, 1941,
there has been a great increase in the number of Naichijin who have changed their names by petition. In most cases, an English first name, Minerva, Leatrice, Janet, Harry, Robert, for example, is added to the Japanese name. It would be found that each of these individuals had been using this name and had considered it expedient to make the transaction legal. Both Japanese and Okinawas were represented in this group. Another cause for the change of name among the Japanese was the claim that the given name was "unlucky". Katsuko was changed to Yasue, Kazue to Masaye.

As a means of partial disguise of Okinawan origins, there are changes from Isamu Gusukuma to Isamu Shiroma, and from Nabe Gushikuma to Nabe Shiroma. Gusukuma and Gushikuma are the Okinawan pronunciations of the characters which are pronounced Shiroma in Japanese. In the same group would come Minoru Tamaei changed to Midori (a more Japanese name) Tamaye and Toshiko Kanaguazu to Toshiko Kaneshiro. Usha Higa becomes Usha Ige. Both last names are Okinawan but the latter, Ige, is very much less recognizable as such than Higa which is unmistakable.

Another type of change is made where the first name is typically Okinawan. Kuma, "bear", becomes Shizue; Ushi, "cow", is altered to Kenyei. In the latter case, the reason given was that Ushi was "an unpopular name".

III SEGREGATION

In "The Japanese in South America", Norman and Gerbi make some interesting observations regarding the different reasons for segregation by varied racial groups. They write, "Japanese immigrants in Brazil are more highly organized than any other national or racial group. Donner ("Asia's Teeming Millions") explains this by the fact that the Japanese remain together in emigration by their feeling of superiority and tradition, in contrast with the Chinese who remain close to each other by their love of family and through business interests, and the Indians on the plantations by an inherited subservience".

Primary Cause of Okinawan Segregation: Unlike the "feeling of superiority" ascribed to the Japanese to account for their segregation, we find the causes for this among the Okinawas are very different. They congregate as a minority group wherever they find themselves, and this is the most obvious characteristic of their social life. The convergent attitude, of course, a protective mechanism to meet the discrimination which they find expressed against them in so many ways by the Japanese proper. This segregation contributes to the social solidarity and to the harmony of the group, but, at the same time, it has been a factor in retarding the acquisition of the standard Japanese language to say nothing of English. It has caused the retention of some of the old Okinawan customs and this has accentuated and perpetuated the differences between them and the other Japanese.

Ratio of Okinawas to Naichijin: When isolated Loo Chooan families find themselves in Japanese groups, the difficulties of the position of the former increase. In a recent report, a student writes, "When the people in the community found out that we were the only Okinawas amongst them, their sarcastic discrimination was thrust at our family with endless fervor...It seems that wherever the majority of a kind resides, the majority is safe from abuse". The boy continues, "The ratio of the mass was always to my disadvantage and I was in the environment in which the people took pride in ridiculing individuals whom they considered inferior". There is safety in numbers and this desire for group solidarity expresses itself in various ways.

Ken Groups: Among all the Japanese there is a tendency by persons of the same prefecture to express a certain amount of cohesiveness by social organizations of various kinds. In Hawaii and in other foreign lands this feel-
ing is also seen, manifesting itself often by living near one another. Those from Okinawa-ken are especially prone to this desire for unity. They mingle with another one socially and in a business way. They often refer to the Japanese proper as Takenjin, "other prefecture people".

Village Groups: There is also a tendency for the Japanese as a whole to form sub-groups based on the ancestral village in the home-land. Not only do we find those from the same mura closely associated but often they engage in the same occupation.

City and Country: In the city any one element is usually diluted in the large mass of the population. An Okinawan student writes, "It is further significant to note that prefectural discrimination is less common in the city than in the country. In the city, the people have the tendency to mind their own affairs... whereas in the country, face-to-face contacts (between Loo Chooans and Naichijins) are almost unavoidable. The most intense cases of prefectural discrimination are found in small communities where each person knows the other by his first name and where there is ample time for gossip".

Early Situation in Hawaii: At the time of the arrival of the first emigrants from Okinawa, their inability to understand the language spoken by those already here in Hawaii who had come from the main Japanese islands was enough in itself to cause the new comers to keep together and to prevent any general mingling with the Japanese. This difference in language has undoubtedly been a persistent factor and certainly a primary reason for Okinawas keeping to themselves in spite of the fact that most of them now speak standard Japanese.

Situation on the Plantations: There is an involuntary type of segregation sometimes found on the sugar and pineapple plantations. As the result of experience in having laborers of many different nationalities, it was found, in some cases, more conducive to peace to separate those who could not get on well in proximity. Thus, the attitude of the Japanese toward their southern neighbors often made it expedient to divide them into two groups. To a great extent this has been done away with, but, on some plantations, segregation is still found. Sometimes the Okinawas request that they have their own camp. The main one at Hoes, Hawaii, was Japanese while Camp 9 was Okinawa. The Shimokawa camp at Kohala was Japanese and the Shimabukuro settlement in the same plantation was Okinawan.

Among the large number of Japanese in Peru, the Okinawas in the haciendas often insist that they be given living quarters separate from those of the Naichijin (R&A #791).

The Professions: The parochial attitude comes out again and again when the Okinawa needs aid from any one of the professions. A Loo Chooan lawyer, doctor, or a dentist, for example, promises himself clients drawn to a great extent from his own group. On one of the plantations one of the hospitals was run by an Okinawan doctor and he went so far as to refuse admittance to those of any other ancestry. A Loo Chooan insurance agent counts on the fact that those of his group are expected to insure with him and he makes a point of his origin as a selling device.

The Religions: Even the Buddhist priest of Okinawan extraction expects his followers to be largely from his own group and the Catholic priest with the same background finds the Okinawas of his faith coming to him for help. In a Protestant congregation in Waipahu, Oahu, already mentioned, the dominant group is Okinawan. Thus the fraternizing spirit of these people comes out especially in religion. In a discussion at a clergymen's conference on aid to be given various young men to help them along the road to the ministry, someone remarked, "Don't give an Okinawan any encouragement; none but Okinawas would ever go to his church". As a matter of fact there are several ministers under the American Board who have a Loo Chooan origin. One, in 1930, a first generation Hawaiian-born, was given a pastorate on the island of Hawaii. It was not long before the Japanese members of the congregation faded away and a change had to be made. Ten years later a second
generation Hawaiian-born Okinawa was sent to the same church. He had far greater ability than the former and, furthermore, he was of another generation. Some adverse feeling among the Japanese still remained but his success was shown by the fact that he soon was asked to take over the work of a most successful Japanese minister on another part of the island.

It should be noted that the proportion of Okinawas who have embraced Christianity is reported as larger than among the Japanese. This seems but another means of getting away from the oriental background of those of their own nationality.

Occupations: In the discussion of Okinawas in Hawaii mention has been made of certain types of business as being almost monopolies among these people. This is especially true of the management and ownership of restaurants and the raising of pigs.

Okinawan Clubs, Shops, etc.: These people have their own clubs and, to some extent, their own shops, run by members of their own group with whom they trade. In Wailuku, Maui, there is a large Okinawan community with its own butcher-shop, fish-market, vegetable stands, grocery stores, doctors, and a Community Hall. Both the first and second generation Hawaiian-born have their respective clubs. Waipahu, Oahu, also has a large Okinawan contingent. A group of about two hundred at Pala, a student writes, "finds in status from the other Japanese and until recently did not use the Japanese language. There is an inward prejudice towards them shared by those from other prefectures. They do not enjoy full sympathy of the Japanese proper and there is little or no intermarriage".

The desire to "follow the leader" was taken advantage of by one of the Japanese leaders in a social club by electing an Okinawa as a vice-president, knowing full well that others from the southern islands would wish to join.

Formal Associations in Okinawa: "Aside from the Okinawa Kaigai Kyokai (Okinawa Overseas Association), the only known associations in Okinawa Jima in 1934 were local occupational associations. Numbering 26 in all, their chief significance was their control of their trades and professions under close governmental supervision and management. Most of them had their headquarters at Naha. The most important were the Okinawa Ken Nokai (Okinawa Prefecture Agricultural Association), the local branch of the government-sponsored and controlled Agricultural League, and two industrial associations having close ties with the Department of Commerce and Industry". (S)

Formal Associations in Hawaii: In 1916 the leading Okinawas in Hawaii, feeling the need of a definite type of organ, founded the "Hawaii Okinawa Doshi-kai" (Okinawa Comrade Association). Other groups were formed until in 1921 we find the "Hawaii Okinawa Kenjin Kai" (Okinawa Association of Hawaii) started to bring about the union of the smaller groups. In 1923, on the suggestion of the Japanese governor of the Okinawa prefecture, the "Hawaii Okinawa Kaigai Kyo Kai" (Overseas Association of Okinawas in Hawaii) came into existence.

The next year, Chafu Ota, a publisher in Okinawa, was invited to Hawaii to organize the people from this island group and on March 27, 1925 a constitution was drawn up. The avowed purposes of the association were many: for the moral and economic improvement of the people, the reform of bad customs, the encouragement of education and training for leadership, mutual aid and the fostering of communications with the mother country. The dues were ten cents a month.

Conflicts: Soon there was trouble within the group; two factions emerged, one the Minsei led by Toyama; the other, the proletarians led by Higa. Disagreements continued especially after a leader of the latter group had come from Tokyo to help its cause, and today the association is but an empty name.
A few years ago there were two political groups among the Okinawas, one with the center on the island of Maui was communistic and published a paper, Shin Jidai (New Era); the other, representing the more conservative point of view, had its headquarters on the island of Kauai and published the paper, Yoyen Jiho (Ocean Garden News).

University Groups: At one time at the University of Hawaii the Okinawan students had an organization to meet their special social and economic problems but it soon disappeared. As already mentioned, the Japanese student body now includes with few exceptions both groups. In past times there was a tendency of the Naichijin who felt insecure in their social relations with their college mates of other nationalities to flock to courses in Sociology, searching for a rationale for the position in which they found themselves. Today the Okinawas are the ones who form a large group in the courses devoted to the Social Sciences. Their keen feeling of inferiority seeks for some explanation. In some cases they continue as graduate students the study of the problems of social dichotomy.

There seems little doubt but what the general cliquishness, some types of which have been pointed out, has been a strong factor in keeping alive the schism between the Okinawas and the other Japanese.
PART III

I CLEAVAGES

Ignorance about Okinawas: With the exception of the Japanese people themselves there are comparatively few who have ever heard of Okinawa except, possibly, from a geography book, where they learn that it is one of the forty-seven prefectures of Japan. Even in Hawaii to a very large proportion of the white population the word is unknown unless some difficulty has arisen over the problem of the employment in the same household of a Japanese and an Okinawan servant.

Silence on Okinawan Problem: Among those who do know about these people there is what might be called an unpremeditated unanimity of silence or, at least, reticence on various questions related to them. The situation is either unrecognized or passed over with no discussion. In an excellent book, "The Japanese in Hawaii", by Ernest K. Wakukawa, an Okinawa himself, there is no mention of his own people.

This minority group has much the same status, so far as the authorities go, as certain groups in many of our colleges today. They are there, they are recognized but problems relating to their presence are seldom discussed. Social workers, teachers, employers, plantation managers are among those who are aware of some of the difficulties arising between the Okinawa and the Japanese.

Unfortunately there has been little or no examination of the subject and, so far as is known, little or no attempt at any adjustment other than, in a few cases, a policy of segregation.

Outside of a very few statements in scientific publications there has been no discussion in print of the cleavage or, if you will, the "social distance" between the Japanese and the Okinawas and the implication of this split.

The late Romanzo Adams, Dr. Porteus, Dr. Lind and others at the University of Hawaii have all written on the Japanese, but the Okinawas are practically never mentioned, much less discussed as a minority group in the population. Adams in his "Inter-racial Marriage in Hawaii: A Study of the Mutually Conditioned Processes of Acculturation and Amalgamation" dismisses the Loo Chooans in thirteen lines. Lind in his admirable book, "The Japanese in Hawaii under War Conditions", makes a single reference to "the marginal Okinawa families". The author was kindly allowed the privilege of looking over a large number of reports or theses written by the students of Sociology in the University. About fifty were picked out, all of them upon racial relations or studies of special communities such as plantations. In only three were the Okinawas mentioned by name. In two of these the cleavage between them and the Japanese was discussed in the briefest terms.

In a long series of autobiographies written by Japanese students in the University, some of the authors of which were Okinawas, the word is missing and there is no indication of the presence of a break between the two types of Japanese. And yet we know, in almost every case, this silence is due not to an unawareness of the situation but either to the dangers of arousing ill feeling or to disinclination to admit any divergence between the two groups. So far as is known the only mention of the Okinawan problem is in lectures in Sociology at the University and it is here, in a few cases, that third-generation Hawaiian-born Japanese hear of these people for the first time by name.

Okinawas Easily Identifiable: A minority group may be distinguished from the majority of the population by one or more criteria, physical appearance or "race", language, religion or customs in general. In this case we can speak of the Okinawas as being not only a physical minority but a lin-
guistic and an ethnic one. Differences in dress, food and habits of eating, while present among the first Loo Chooans to migrate, have now largely disappeared.

"Motor habits" were also among the distinguishable traits. One early writer claimed he could distinguish an Okinawa from a Japanese by the way he walked. This seems to be borne out by a present-day informant who states that, even now, some of the southern islanders walk with the toes pointed outward while a Naichijin's toes point inward when he walks. This, of course, goes back to the different type of sandal worn by the two groups.

But, as we have already seen, almost without exception an Okinawa can be easily identified by one or more of the following traits or characteristics: physical appearance, character of the name, or the Okinawan accent which is practically always present among the older population even if standard Japanese is spoken perfectly so far as vocabulary and grammar are concerned.

Another factor which plays a part in determining origins is the Japanese custom of family registration. The Oriental feeling as expressed in Ancestor Worship and the fealty towards the family are visualized in the custom of recording the genealogies of each family. Thus, in a small community, everyone is bound to know the ancestry of every other individual and this means, in the present case, the prefecture of origin.

Thus, it can be seen that the handicaps of physical appearance, name, accent and ancestral trees combine, in most cases, to prevent an Okinawa from "passing" as a Naichijin.

Mutual Antipathy: The intolerance of the Japanese and the Okinawas toward each other is reciprocal. This cleavage, this desire for separateness, should be considered from both sides, also from the point of view of time as bringing about changes and from the attitudes of each group in their homeland, in Hawaii, and in other adopted countries. Causes at work in Hawaii, for example, to increase or decrease incompatibility may be absent in other places. Finally the class or status of those in each group in which this feeling of antagonism runs highest must be considered.

The Time Element: In conversations with white people concerning the question of any rift between the two groups of people, there seems to be a general feeling abroad that conditions are better than they used to be, both in the mother country and in Hawaii, that any friction between the Okinawas and the Japanese has disappeared. This is true only in a very general way. Much of the evidence presented later to show the aversion on both sides concerns the situation that is present today. The University has undoubtedly made some impression on the desirable unity of its Japanese and Okinawan students, but the divorce of the two groups with the usual reasons for its presence is there in much the same way as among the working class.

On the plantations there seems to be a rather consistent report that the situation is improving. The attitude toward inter-marriage, which will be discussed later, still persists and on those plantations where there is a considerable number of Okinawas a conflict is always found. Sometimes, however, this is well hidden under the surface.

Japanese Antipathy for Okinawas: An idea, formerly common in Japan, that the Okinawas and the Japanese are two entirely different races and nationalities has largely been erased, but the intolerance still persists in Naichi. In some cases the Koreans are considered no more "foreign" than those from the southern islands. It is said the Okinawa comes from "the province which the Emperor never visited". A Hawaiian-Loo Chooan writes, "In the eyes of the average 'haole' (white person) the Okinawas are Japanese and, in the eyes of the Japanese, they are not Japanese. They are merely an 'out-group' that is to be taken at face value only and everything that is done by the Okinawas is barbarous and uncouth and is to be viewed with an air of suspicion, for 'out-groups' can never be trusted, whereas the Japanese are the 'in-group' and superior".
One authority on the Naichijin writes, "The Japanese regard the Okinawas as dirty, impolite and uncultured and make no attempt to disguise this feeling". (O) Here, as in other places, the large number of Okinawan laborers who have migrated to the industrial centers in Japan bears the brunt of the feeling expressed above. The one idea seems to be, "Keep the Loo Choons in their place".

The higher classes in Japan, in general, see only the cultured Okinawas. Those who have come north to receive their education and who have learned to speak Japanese with little of their former accent often "pass" as Naichijin with little or no comment. And a few Okinawas have managed to be appointed to positions of trust in Japan. It is reported that, a few years ago, an Okinawa occupied a position in the Imperial Household Ministry. This recognition of natives from the southern islands is, however, unusual.

The Etas, not a Parallel: The question might well be asked how does the anti-pathy of the Japanese toward the Okinawas compare with a similar feeling toward the Etas? The Eta or Suihei, as we have already seen, form an outcast group in Japan itself and are usually associated with occupations such as those of butcher and tanner. After the introduction of Buddhism the killing of animals and the handling of their bodies and their skins were regarded as unclean and hence those people engaged in operations of this sort were pariahs. Shintoism also has beliefs regarding cleanliness which may have had a part to play in encouraging prejudice against the Etas. In spite of the fact that, in 1868, they were legally freed from many restrictions, they are still victims of intolerance and social discrimination.

There are many parallels in the attitude directed by the Naichijin toward both the Etas and the Okinawas. There is a ban on marriage with them and epithets are hurled against them such as chorinbo in Kyushu and yotsu in Osaka. The latter, meaning "four", refers to the four legs of an animal. (R&A 202) Other epithets are "not a man", "four fingers", and "one less".

A social worker reports that in the minds of many Naichijin as well as members of other nationalities the Okinawas and the Etas are classed together.

Formerly segregated in certain places in Japan the Etas are now found scattered over 6,000 villages. They are lower in the social scale than the Okinawas, forming a caste while the Okinawas are an ethnic group. Unlike the Etas, the Okinawas, for the most part, live on their own islands with their own history, their former kings, their own background and, as we have seen, they have a physical identity. The expressions of prejudice toward the two groups may be along similar lines, but the histories of this dislike, this discrimination, are quite distinct.

Japanese Feeling about Okinawas in Hawaii: In these islands it is the prejudice of the Japanese toward the Okinawas about which we hear most. As Embree points out, this ill-feeling has been falsely rationalized along racial lines. This intolerance was a direct carry-over from that in the mother-country and has resulted here, as we have seen, in a great development of protective cohesiveness on the part of these people.

The Japanese attitude that the Okinawas are not of their race still persists here. It is illustrated by an incident which happened at a plantation school. The teacher asked all the Japanese pupils to hold up their hands. The Okinawas as well as the Japanese responded and the latter protested that the others were not Japanese.

A new personnel director of a large establishment, not knowing that there were such beings as Okinawas, inadvertently hired one. Immediately among the Naichijin trouble arose. The man in question was unusually competent for the work he was called upon to do and it took a long struggle on the part of the management to win over the Japanese to leave this man free from molestation.
Many of the plantations report there is no evidence of any rift between the two groups, that feelings of "superiority" of one or both groups and of "inferiority" of the Okinawas are lacking. This is usually the account, it is fairly certain, of the surface situation. As in many parts of Latin America, the same sort of report would say that the Catholic religion was the only one now found in the country. One learns that this is far from the truth if a delving beneath the surface is carried out when important remnants of the old pre-Catholic religion are found. From several Hawaiian plantations where the manager himself or a personnel director has looked carefully into the domestic life and the group activities of the families under his care, there always come reports of a very definite feeling of antagonism and incompatibility between the two factions of Japanese.

A head of personnel on one of the plantations writes, "The Japanese have consistently refused to recognize the Okinawas as equals and a Japanese will invariably correct anyone who mistakenly calls an Okinawa a Japanese.

Some of the most illiterate of the Japanese feel and express actual enmity toward the corresponding class among the Okinawas. "They take it out on us" is not an uncommon expression heard among the latter.

At the University of Hawaii the situation is not so simple. As, in general, in the community at large the second generation of Hawaiian-born Japanese are more tolerant than the first generation born here. Many feel that discrimination against the Okinawas is discreditable and in the college group the Naichijin are nominally willing to accept them as associates in all the minor activities. An Okinawan student is sometimes elected to office. Intimacies and marriage are still, however, not countenanced.

The unfortunate situation in which a half-Okinawa and a half-Naichijin girl finds herself is seen in the following: "Whenever I was with a group of Japanese, I felt as though I was not one of them for was I not part Okinawan? On the other hand when I was with a group of Okinawas, I again did not feel at home, for, although no one said anything about me being Japanese, I felt as though they sensed it and that made me feel ill-at-ease". She then goes on to discuss her marriage. "Who will take me as their daughter-in-law?" She finds difficulties in the way of being accepted either by an Okinawa or by a Naichi family and concludes, "Perhaps it is better for me to marry a racial hybrid like myself and then the adjustments may not be so difficult".

Japanese Feeling about Okinawas in South America: There is some excellent evidence of the antipathy felt by the Japanese in South America toward their fellow immigrants in this country. An investigator there writes of the Okinawan part of the population, "They are openly accused of being dirty and unmannered and are social outcasts. No Japanese will marry an Okinawan and when Okinawas and Japanese find employment on the same hacienda in Peru, the latter demand separate quarters...Psychologically the Okinawans are confused".

(0)

Okinawan Antipathy for the Japanese: The Naichijin are almost without exception articulate in regard to their feelings toward the Okinawas. On the other hand, comparatively little is heard about the dislike and, in many cases, even hatred felt by the Okinawas for their northern neighbors. This seldom finds any overt expression.

Even a rapid glance at the history of the islands will show many reasons why their inhabitants feel as they do toward Japan. Their cultural legacy from the mainland has remained more unchanged and far nearer the original Chinese than the similar heritage which went on to the Japanese islands proper and there became modified by time into something quite different. We have seen the single allegiance to China give way, as the result of conquest, to a dubious and equivocal relationship to Japan and one which was never unanimously accepted by the southern islanders.

"The antipathy of the Okinawas to the Japanese", writes one authority, "goes back to the overrunning and absorption of their kingdom of Loo Choo --
those islands which, with the Korean Peninsula, formed the bridges over which the Chinese civilization reached Japan". Another writes, "Their ancient kingdom (Loo Choo), with its strong Chinese ties and traditions, was conquered and destroyed by Japan".

In the years before the war, we are told, the southern islands were visited by Japanese Army officers in search of candidates for the Japanese military services and eligibles would allow a venomous snake, for which the islands are famous, to bite their fingers or they would cut off their trigger finger rather than serve in the army of their overlords.

An informant reports of the old days, "Should an Okinawa borrow ten dollars from a Japanese, the children of the receiver of the loan would be forced to work the balance of their lives in order to repay the debt as the labor was just about sufficient to pay the interest. Only death would separate the borrower and his family from the initial obligation".

Okinawan Antipathy for the Japanese in Okinawa: In addition to the general dislike of anything Japanese by some of the islanders there is a resentment, a feeling stronger than dislike, often encountered in Okinawa itself.

Adams writes, "While the Japanese government has adopted a policy of cultural assimilation the Okinawans are still a separate people".

The whole political situation does not seem to have helped to bring harmony into the situation. The natives are, to a great extent, completely under the vassalage of Japan. The governor is always an outsider, a Naichi-jin, and his power of veto over the Prefectural Assembly is absolute. The Courts are run by the central government. Most of the important administrative positions are filled by Japanese. In the old days in Loo Choo there were always two parties one pro-Chinese and one pro-Japanese. Remnants of these persist.

The strength of the resentment at the present time may possibly be gauged by the exclusion of practically all Okinawas in the distribution of Japanese in the most important military and governmental positions. About five hundred names of officials appearing since December 20, 1941, in intercepts from Tokyo radio stations and affiliated ones in Japanese occupied areas have been carefully scrutinized. Of these there seem to be only three which may be of Okinawan origin: Toyama, a Representative in the Diet, and two Ishikawas, one Japanese Consul General in Canton, and the other a former president of the Tokyo Fine Arts School. It is possible that Toyama may have been the representative of Okinawa in the Diet, but the fact that he is referred to as a former Speaker of this body is against this. The only unmistakable Okinawan name in the half thousand seems to be Nashiro, Japanese Consul General in Manila. One may venture to suggest that a Loo Choo islander was selected for this position on account of the large number of his prefectural mates known to be in the Philippines.

To add to the feeling of bitterness and resentment the "higher officials and the school teachers" are said to "form a clique, mixing but little with the native families". (O)

The islands have always been exploited economically since the Satsuma times. Even today most of the traders are Japanese with no interest in the country other than to make money and they have helped to keep alive the animosity of the natives toward this continued intrusion, forming a legitimate cause for complaint.

We shall see how this attitude of Japanese "superiority" governmental, socially and economically combined with other factors generates the feeling of inferiority among the natives.

It is claimed that, at one time, the Japanese authorities would not allow the natives of the islands to visit Korea as they did not wish the
Koreans to know that there was any question of disunity between the Japanese and the Okinawas.

An informant who grew up as a boy in Okinawa says that he always felt inferior to the Japanese, even to the clerk or the maid of Naichi origin and he addressed them with the term of respect, "Okusan", "Lady". "Some Okinawa women", he added, "dressed like the Japanese women and they were called derisively, 'Okusan sugai', 'having the appearance of a lady'".

Okinawan Antipathy for the Japanese in the Philippines: In an interview on the Japanese and Okinawas in Davao we learn, "The Okinawas are considered by the Japanese as inferior and by their own attitude accept this position. They are classified and considered Japanese subjects, but from my experience, I do not believe they like the Japanese. The Okinawas are not very loyal to them nor would they be under favorable conditions. I do not believe that the Japanese could trust the Okinawas too much if the latter thought they could gain an advantage by playing up the Americans. My understanding is that up to the capture of Davao by the Japanese on December 20 there were no outbreaks among the Okinawas and they accepted internment (by the Americans) passively. I believe all they want to do is to be left alone, to remain peaceful, and to farm".

Okinawan Antipathy for the Japanese in Hawaii: There is a wide variety in the attitudes of the Okinawas in Hawaii toward the Japanese. Envy is present in some cases; a general dislike which often reaches the stage of hatred is to be found, and, more often it is seen among those of the older generation who were born in Okinawa-ken. But even youngsters, goaded to desperation by the gibes of their schoolmates, are not free from extreme feelings toward the Japanese.

One informant, a Christian missionary, writes, "The Okinawas possess a peculiar sense of suspicion against the Japanese. They mistrust them with deep-seated hatred, thinking that they are always insulting and sneering at them. They never can get along with the native Japanese. Okinawas are stirred up easily by agitators. Factional strife among Okinawas are unending. Whenever there is a chance, Okinawas do not hesitate to oppose the Japanese. They feel that they must get even or be above the ordinary Japanese. They have a strong natural feeling of antagonism and hatred of anything Japanese. Consequently to those who do not know the relations between the two groups, the quiet gatherings and activities of the Okinawas were easily misunderstood. This last refers to certain Communist groups which were found on the island of Maui around 1933 and which hoped to make trouble on the sugar plantations. They just talked and talked. The discussion groups gradually disappeared from the picture because things engineered by the Okinawas would not be backed up by the native Japanese and vice versa".

One of many examples of the feeling of the Hawaiian Okinawas to the mother country comes out in the following episode. Shortly before the war the usual collection was being made from both the Japanese and the Loo Chooans to be sent to Japan. One of the Okinawas refused to subscribe and he was warned that if he failed to make a donation it might be unpleasant for him when he "returned" to Japan. He replied, "I need not worry about this as I do not plan to return to Japan as long as the Militarists are in power". This unwillingness to give was an exception as both groups did contribute to the mother country.

Okinawan Antipathy for Japanese in South America: One authority on the Latin American situation writes, "The Okinawas who have been effectively subdued and degraded, regard the Japanese as arrogant and hostile. When they reach a foreign land they declare themselves Japanese, however, for at least two reasons: (1) they carry Japanese passports and are legally Japanese (no one ever heard of Loo Choo anyhow); (2) to be Japanese is a definite step up, in so far as their experience is concerned. At the same time no Okinawa wishes to return to Japan...he has no place to go".

The same author continues, "Recent personal contacts with a good many
Okinawas indicate beyond a doubt that every one harbors a deep though latent hatred for the Japanese. (0)

"Okinawas not Acceptable Socially": The main result of these reciprocal attitudes is that a distinct "social distance" exists between the two groups. They move in two clean-cut and separate grooves. Okinawan funerals, for example, are almost strictly Okinawan affairs. We have seen in the discussion of "Segregation" that the Loo Chooans usually set themselves apart from the Japanese as they have learned that they are not wanted. An extreme example showing ostracism is seen in the attitude in Hawaii toward the pig-raisers. It has been noted that a large proportion of these are of Okinawan origin. They collect the garbage for their swine; hence, they are socially outcast.

There are, of course, many exceptions to this rule. In University circles the cleavage appears only at certain times and in certain places and, on the plantations, "They mix well together" is the most common report. Often after more searching investigation, as we have seen, this amalgamation is not as perfect as is supposed.

Okinawan "Inferiority Complex": One plantation manager writes, "The Okinawas have never felt inferior to the Japanese, rather the Japanese felt the Okinawas were inferior to them". This, it seems to me, is a perfectly explainable rationalization and is not uncommon. The most vital result of the Japanese attitude is a deeply-grounded feeling of subjection and of subordination on the part of the Loo Chooans.

This unfortunate situation constantly appears in the writings of Okinawan authors of the history of their country as well as in the talks and in the actions of other educated individuals from these islands. There is a constant effort made toward denying or belittling any differences in culture between themselves and their northern neighbors. There is no question but what this is the result of the grave social handicap under which these people find themselves.

Whenever the name Okinawa is first mentioned to anyone born there or whose parents came from there, a tenseness enters the conversation and an attitude of defense is immediately noticeable.

"It was just my unfortunate lot", writes an Okinawan student, "to have been born as a Japanese in a different prefecture". He speaks of the feeling of subordination coming to him, suddenly, as a small boy after he moved into a community with many Japanese. He continues, "I am not associating my severe case of inferiority complex and self-consciousness which I had acquired in the past with a defeatist attitude...Furthermore, I am not blaming or contradicting the Japanese who discriminated against me so heavily for their actions. It may be their attitudes toward the Okinawas were transmitted to them through heresy (sic) and tradition. Perhaps it was their forefathers who first began to discriminate against the Okinawas and who passed their attitudes to the next generation -- and so on up to the present day".

Self-consciousness and Resignation: Accompanying the feeling of inferiority is self-consciousness which is usually present when a Loo Chooan is in the presence of a Naichijin. This leads often to an inclination to refrain from any expression of opinion together with a feeling of surrender, a patient submission to being looked down upon. When a Japanese goes out of his way to be polite to an Okinawa the latter is often both surprised and pleased. One of this group who was invited for the first time to a party entirely made up of Naichijin expressed amazement and elation at this unique action.

In the concentration camps on the mainland the Japanese were sometimes able to suggest what associates were to be assigned the more menial tasks and, in many cases, those who did "kitchen-police" duty often turned out to be Okinawas and, in most cases, they accepted the situation as a matter of course.
"Inferiority" a Spur to Attainment: There seems to be no question but what the attitude of superiority on the part of the Japanese and the consequent feeling of inferiority of the Loo Chooans have often given birth, not to resignation, as noted above, but to very strong stimuli which have led directly to economic and social achievement. One authority writes, "once out from Japanese domination and with even a slight feeling of security, the Okinawa can be counted upon to assert himself". (0)

Since the arrival of these people in Hawaii where there are the far greater opportunities of a new land, there has been a mass emergence of these people. To their industry have been added other qualities: initiative, energy and the willingness to assume risks for future rewards. All this has placed many of them in business positions of some importance and their financial conditions are often such as to excite envy from the Japanese, thus rounding out the circle of Japanese dislike. There is a definite report from one of the other islands of the jealousy of the Naichijin toward the educated and successful business men of the town. In many cases on the plantations, where there are tenant farmers, all the able members of the family would work and, at the end of the month, the Okinawan households usually would have the largest pay-checks. One manager writes, "In our Victory Corps of school children, over fourteen years of age, ninety percent of those best on turnout as well as earnings are Okinawa children. Japanese girls have been very poor in turnout and earnings, preferring to have white collar work".

"Superiority Complex": There is sometimes present a feeling quite at the opposite extreme from that of inferiority. It has been reported that many Okinawas point with pride to the fact that, up to 1879, they had their own king, the last of a line of successive rulers stretching back almost seven hundred years. Okinawa is thus the only prefecture of Japan which has had a loyalty to a king other than to the "descendant of the Sun Goddess".

Grandfathers and great grandfathers now living in Hawaii still remember the olden times in Loo Choo, a period before the Japanese prefecture took the place of semi-independence, when "the double allegiance" was still much in evidence. Some hoped and believed that China would assert herself and regain the islands. The retention of the Chinese queue was symbolic of this sanguine expectation. There is a rather strong emotional residue of these feelings in Okinawa today and this, following the emigration to Hawaii, still persists here among the Hawaiian-born and especially those with both parents who came from Loo Choo. These parents and grandparents are often proud of their origin and are usually insistent upon their children marrying within the group.

In the past, sometimes boys of this type of family were sent back to Okinawa to be educated. One informant reports that youths with this background often insist on speaking Okinawan with each other even after they return to Hawaii. In one government office since the war two boys with a Loo Chooan background were reprimanded for speaking Japanese to each other. They replied, "That isn't Japanese, it's Okinawan".

As already noted, there is a rather sharp distinction between the educated and the uneducated among the people themselves. The social status of the individual also has a role to play. The members of the Shi class among these islanders are especially proud of their origin and are, in general, endogamic. One mother of this stratum was insistent that her son marry an Okinawa as, she said, "the Japanese are dirty inside".

Causes of Prejudice in Japan: For many centuries, as we have seen, the inhabitants of the southern Islands were Chinese in almost everything except language and they retained, as has been said, customs which had long been supplanted in Japan proper by others less crude. A poor country and a poor people; a different country and a different people in spite of a heritage common with the northern islands; and, added to these, a subject people since 1879, all contributed toward an intolerance and a bigotry on the part of the Naichijin.
It is always difficult to know to what degree and what prejudices have been carried by Japanese immigrants to their new homes in various parts of the world and how new situations in a new country may have contributed to the prevailing situation. In the islands of Okinawa there were few Japanese in a large population of natives; in Hawaii, the situation is reversed, there are few Okinawas in a large mass of Japanese.

First Intolerance in Hawaii: It is not difficult to visualize the first few Okinawas coming into the midst of many Japanese already settled in their new home. These new-comers were "foreigners" in appearance, in language, and in customs, and yet they were called Japanese. These generally uncouth people were not accepted as Japanese by those who were already here from Naichi and this non-recognition has, to a great extent, existed ever since, even among the second and third generation of Hawaiian-born Japanese. To them the early Okinawas were objects of curiosity as well as of derision and aversion. "What do you eat?" they were asked. "Where do you come from?" and they were not addressed by their names but by, "You, Okinawan".

Character of the Early Japanese in Hawaii: It should be noted that the great part of the original emigrants from Japan came from a strongly nationalistic Buddhist group; they were all from a comparatively few districts in Japan so that they generally knew one another. There was consequently, great social cohesion among them and they looked with aversion on anything that was not Naichi and that did not conform to their own ideas of what physically, linguistically and culturally was a Japanese. These first emigrants were brought to Hawaii as laborers and the arrogance of this class, as has been pointed out, still persists.

Intolerance and Antagonisms: We have already seen how easily an Okinawa can be identified as such and, when there is doubt, how quickly the question can be definitely answered by examining the family tree. Thus social intercourse between the two groups is seriously curtailed. There is one example found in a theme of a Japanese boy. He had been "going with an Okinawan girl" who "passed" as a Naichijin. After a rumor got around of her Okinawan origin, the Japanese boy-friend "dropped her like a hot potato". Boys are sometimes disowned by their Japanese parents for associating with Okinawan girls. Marriage between the two groups will be discussed presently.

The Japanese feeling against any friendly relations with persons whose ancestors came from the southern islands resulted, as we have seen, in the fraternal-like segregation of the Loo Chooan which was an effective means of defense against ridicule and other expressions of Japanese intolerance. A Japanese Protestant minister, we have already seen, testified that his people "show hatred, malice and spite" toward the Okinawas.

The Labor Situation: It is seldom that a Japanese servant will work contentedly in the same household with one of Okinawan ancestry. Even where the two groups are found working together the peace in most cases is a surface one and underneath there are ample evidences of unfriendliness and even strife. These troubles are magnified if the two types are engaged in the same occupation. There is, in almost every case, a shirking of the Japanese to do his share of work of any communal nature and a general disinclination to cooperate. It is always the Japanese who "takes it out" on the Okinawa or, as in most cases, refuses to work at all with a Loo Chooan. The latter is long-suffering and usually endures insults patiently.

A group of Japanese, it was observed, gladly helped each other in transferring goods from their trucks to a boat. When a lone Okinawa with his load came to the wharf, no one raised his hand to help him.

On many of the plantations some of the land is let out to tenant-farmers who employ their own field hands. The Japanese will hire Okinawas but they will never work under them.

As Seen by Social Workers: Social workers find the feeling of antagonism against the Loo Chooans strong. A child of this group is seldom
acceptable either for work or for adoption in a family of Naichijin. In clinics the Okinawas sit together at one side and the Japanese nurse or clerk will refrain from calling them until all those of her own group have seen the doctor or the nurse.

In one of the women’s organizations in Hawaii there is a department which directs the various clubs, each made up of members of one of the different racial groups. A number of Okinawa girls wished to form a society. According to the rules, each club is directed by a member of the Committee who is of the same racial strain as the members of the group. As a consequence of a Japanese being “mistakenly forced upon them as a leader”, silently and with no word of protest the Okinawa girls refused to attend the meetings and the Club quickly faded away. Later, the same girls “with tears in their eyes” petitioned for a white leader and, relieved from its former handicap, the organization prospered.

Japanese Language Schools: In various Japanese organizations such as the former language schools, it was most unusual to find an Okinawa among the officers or directors even when this element represented a large percentage of the membership. In one instance on a plantation, where the majority of the workers were Okinawas, one was allowed to teach in the Japanese schools but, as soon as he was elected principal, ill feeling and protests on the part of the Japanese were at once expressed.

Ban on Inter-marriage: When a companionship between members of the two groups ripens into a desire to marry, there is trouble. As we have seen, the lineage of each family, whether Okinawan or Japanese proper, is a matter of public record and a contemplated union is a time when this register is scrutinized with the greatest care. The Okinawa, as we have seen, can seldom "pass" as a Japanese.

The general repugnance, even abhorrence on the part of the Naichijin toward marriage of one of their number with an Okinawa comes out again and again. This tabu is one which was brought over from Okinawa itself where inter-marriages with the Japanese are rare. There is an instance cited where a high officer in the Japanese Navy married an Okinawan wife and this was enough "to prevent him from being made an admiral". Even among the second and third generations of Hawaiian-born Japanese the feeling runs very high and ostracism on the part of the Japanese parents of the boy or the girl, as the case may be, often results from a marriage with an Okinawa.

Instances illustrating the attitude against Japanese and Okinawan inter-marriages are common. The following comment on a sister’s union with an Okinawan was heard, "Since she married an Okinawan we have nothing to do with her". A mother remarks on similar behavior on the part of her daughter, "Our ties are broken and I don’t even speak to her now. She should have known better and not degrade herself and her family". An Hawaiian-born Japanese mother reports she wouldn’t object to her daughter’s marriage with an Okinawa, "but the girl’s father, raised in Japan, wouldn’t allow it".

On this subject of inter-marriage, a student writes, "I am a racial hybrid, part Okinawa and part Japanese. My father, being an Okinawan, I have an Okinawan name...All through my life I have been living in two worlds -- the Okinawa world (the lower one) and the Japanese world (the upper one). I am neither a Japanese nor an Okinawa. During the early years of my life I did not in a sense have any grandparents for both my paternal and maternal grandparents refused to have anything to do with my parents".

Embree in his study of the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii, speaks of the Eta and those from Okinawa-ken as belonging to the kumi or group of neighborhood houses, several of which go to make up a buraku or hamlet but there is discrimination which excludes the Eta and Okinawas when it comes to private banquets and marriage. It should be added that there is not the rigid tabu against an alliance between an Okinawa and a Naichijin as between either an Okinawa or a Japanese on the one hand and a member of the Eta class on the other.
The following table gives the numbers of all marriages of Japanese and of Okinawas reported from all of the Hawaiian Islands for a month in 1942. The marriages between the two groups are very rare, forming less than one percent of the total number. Many more Japanese men marry Okinawas than Okinawa men unite with Japanese women.

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<th>Japanese and Okinawan Marriages</th>
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Marriages outside both groups: During the first years of Japanese immigration the men were unaccompanied by women and, for about ten years, there were very few marriages between the Japanese laborers and women of other nationalities. After the Japanese women began to arrive in any numbers these out-marriages stopped almost completely on account of the idea of racial or ethnic solidarity which was a common characteristic of these people. This feeling did not extend to the Chinese, the Hawaiians or those of several other nationalities who freely intermarried. When the Hawaiian-born Japanese became old enough to wed, the endogamic attitude of their Nai-chi-born parents was disregarded to some extent and we find these young people marrying outside their group. Among the second generation of Hawaiian-born the taboo breaks down still further, but never to the extent seen among the other nationalities here.

In the Bureau of Vital Statistics there are figures showing the percentage of marriages of the Japanese as a whole, including Naichijin and Okinawas, with other nationalities. The record runs as follows:

Japanese women with non-Japanese 12% - 13%
" men " " " 4% - 6%

This shows that the Japanese women marry without to a much greater extent than the men. In the table given above 10.5% of the Japanese and Okinawa women combined marry outsiders, whereas 2% of the Japanese and Okinawa men marry outside the two groups. The figures from the table continue the record, showing 21% of Okinawa women and 10% of Japanese marry outside either group.

Frustration: This large number of Okinawa girls marrying those of other nationalities may be due to frustration.

Several have remarked that Okinawa girls form a large percentage of those of Japanese extraction who are found going about with the enlisted personnel of the Army and Navy. The same explanation of frustration may hold here as these girls feel themselves "outside the pale" so far as Japanese boys are concerned. On the other hand, with so many restaurants run by Okinaws and with waitresses from the same group, there may be a greater opportunity for these girls than for others to become acquainted with service men. It should also be added that several report Okinawan girls are often noted for their attractiveness.

Expressions of Ridicule: There are various ways in which the Japanese show contempt for the Okinawas. These forms of derision are not only expressed by the youthful members of the upper group but by their elders and also by those of other nationalities who have seen how the Loo Chooans are treated.

A student who was brought up on a plantation expresses the idea, "As
soon as we were known to be Okinawas, the crowd was against us. The first sign of ridicule and discrimination shown us by the mass (the Japanese) was to remind us that we were inferior and that we owed them respect. This was done by calling us names, always reminding us, endlessly, regardless of time, place, or circumstance, that we were Okinawas".

As the stage comedian speaks Yiddish, so the Japanese will try to imitate the Okinawan accent. Opprobrious epithets cast by Japanese boys are not infrequent. Sometimes these are accompanied by stones. Perhaps the most common characterization is "Pig-eater" or Pig Raiser". This is enlarged into "Okinawa kon kon buta kau kau", a combination of Japanese and Hawaiian words which indicate the Okinawa is an eater of pigs. This is, of course, against the Buddhist religion. The Chinese but not the Japanese commonly eat pork. Another disparaging expression associated with the same idea is "Slop can" or the receptacle used to collect the garbage to feed the pigs. A second generation Hawaiian-born youth, now in the United States Army, told the author he had engaged in a fist-fight with a Japanese companion who insulted him by saying, "You're a pig-eater".

Other epithets are "Big Rope" (a mis-translation of the name Okinawa), and "Hairy". "Oh, he's an Okinawan" is one of these terms of derision. The latter expression often settles a person's status in the community for good. Rubbing the back of one hand with the fingers of the other in imitation of the lines of tattoo on some of the older women is another way of showing disparagement.

Okinawa boys in order to prevent two old women from receiving insulting glances from the Japanese present in a bus advised the women to stop speaking Okinawan. The most derogatory expression possible is, "I'd rather marry a 'four finger' (Eta) than an Okinawa".

Discussion of Origins, Tabu: In any conversation on the Japanese prefecture or ken of a person's parents or grandparents, one with ancestors from Okinawa almost always remains silent. Furthermore, it is considered an insult to ask, "Are you an Okinawa?" An ancestral beginning from these southern islands is never mentioned under normal circumstances. During a pastorate of ten years, a Japanese minister with a congregation seventy-five percent of which is Okinawa reports that in all this time he has never heard the name mentioned in his church. Ninety percent of the white people of Hawaii living in the closest contact with the Japanese people are either entirely unaware of the hostility existing between Loo Choo and Japan proper or consider it a thing of the past.

Prejudice Shared by Other Nationalities: Most unfortunately, following the Japanese lead on the plantations especially, the Portuguese, Koreans and Filipinos often share the feeling of the Japanese toward the Okinawas. As the Filipinos are generally considered lowest in the social scale in Hawaii, they find satisfaction in considering themselves better than the Loo Chooans. In a mixed group of boys it is generally one with an Okinawan origin who is "picked upon" first.

A personnel manager writes, "This distinction between the Japanese and Okinawas has been recognized by all races making up the plantation population. The Japanese have so strong racial feeling (against the Okinawas) that this attitude has become impressed on other racial groups including the haoles (whites). Since we have been taking stock of this situation we can now see the extent to which we have been influenced by the Japanese in our feelings toward the Okinawas".

Failure of Religion to Abolish Intolerance: Religion, whether Buddhism, Catholicism or Protestantism, has singularly failed to abolish the feeling of separateness of Okinawas and Japanese. With some exception, within each faith racial or national lines usually exist and with the Japanese there is a further sub-division, the Naichijin and the Okinawas.
After describing in glowing terms the material evidences of Japan's success as a colonizer, Schwartz, writing in 1908, states: "With all the improvements Japan has introduced, Loo Choo is not yet Japan, and the differences in the customs and habits of the two peoples is quite as marked as the geological and geographical differences of the two countries." To a very great extent this may be said to be true now as well as thirty-five years ago. The Okinawas are not Japanese either in their own islands or in their new homelands, and the idea of separateness on the part of these southern islanders is increasing.

Strategic Distribution of the Okinawas: The position of the Loo Choo Islands, forming the eastern margin of the East China Sea and stretching in a continuous chain from Kyushu southward, is of strategic importance with Korea and Japan proper on the north, China on the west, Formosa on the southwest, the Philippines on the south, and, far to the east, the Marianas, the westernmost of the Japanese Mandated Islands. The population of this archipelago is almost exclusively Okinawan with the Japanese making up the governing class and many of the teachers and traders.

The second area within the present battle zone where there is a concentration of Loo Chooans is in the Japanese Mandates themselves where we learn that in June, 1938, of the 57,000 Japanese there, 40,000 of this number or 70.1% were Okinawas, an immigration, seemingly involuntary in some cases, of these people from their own islands.

In a recent publication (January 6, 1944) on the Marshall Islands we read, "The majority of Japanese who have migrated to the Maralls since 1919 when Japan took over the Mandates, have come from the Okinawa Prefecture or the Ryukyu Islands in the Nansei Shoto. Friction has been reported between the Okinawa elements and newly arrived civilians from Japan proper. It has been suggested that Okinawa Japanese might be cultivated in an effort to win them over; this suggestion should be approached with caution as the Okinawas have long been subject and amenable to Japanese rule." The historical portion of this report shows that the Okinawas have only been an actual part of Japan since 1879 and that amenability to Japanese suzerainty may be questioned.

Davao on the southern island of Mindanao in the Philippines is the third area within the territory now held by Japan where are Okinawas in considerable numbers. If the information is reliable, there is every reason to believe that of the approximately 29,000 Japanese in all the islands, of which 17,782 are in Davao, more than half of these are of Loo Chooan origin. One informant states that "seventy per cent of the Japanese tenants or farmers in the Abaca area in Davao belong to this group. Many Okinawas are also reported as forming part of the population in Formosa and in the Bonin Islands.

Cleavages: Thus in three and possibly four areas which will, sooner or later, have to be taken by the United Nations there is a group between which and the Japanese proper or Naichijin there is a long-standing enmity of greater or less intensity. This cleavage is a natural one and is founded on racial differences, together with those of language and of culture.

History: As has been shown, history also played a large part in creating the antipathies existing between the two populations. Japan completed her conquest of the archipelago when she made the two southernmost groups of these islands one of her prefectures in 1879. Even then Okinawa continued to regard herself under the suzerainty of China and it was not until the Sino-Japanese war in 1894 that the question of Japanese ownership

*The greater part of this chapter has been published in "Okinawan Studies", No. 1, Honolulu, March 16, 1944, and republished in R & A, No. 1567.
was definitely settled.

Their dynastic history, starting in 1187, had a continuous succession of thirty-six rulers. Thus, for 700 years, Okinawa had a loyalty to a long line of her own kings and knew little of the "descendant of the Sun Goddess," until 1879. From early Ming times these people paid allegiance to China and in 1373 the first tribute was sent to her. The Emperor of China made the investiture of each of the Okinawan rulers; students were continuously sent to mainland universities, and Chinese culture ruled in the Loo Choo to a far greater extent than in Japan proper. At the end of the first period of the Manchus (1786) we find a statement in an Okinawan manuscript, "The King builds all his palaces and his doors toward the west for China is to the west of Loochoo and in this way he shows his obedience and fidelity." Thus we see the long and close association between Okinawa and China in sharp contrast to the relatively short period of sovereignty forced upon the islanders by Japan.

Political and Economic Exploitation: The governmental machinery in the Okinawan Islands has been shown to be almost exclusively in the hands of the Japanese overlords. It was not until 1920 that Okinawa was placed on an equality with the other Japanese prefectures with a prefectural assembly of its own. The Japanese governor has the power of overruling acts of this body. Most of the important administrative positions are filled by Japanese. One of the most cultivated of the alien Okinawans in Honolulu, when asked regarding the attitude of his type of people in his homeland toward the Japanese rule replied, "We feel it inside."

The economic exploitation of the country by the Japanese is practically complete. The virtual state of vassalage of the inhabitants is shown by their willingness to migrate to other lands.

Mutual Antipathies: This discussion of Okinawan attitudes has been based primarily upon a study of a considerable number of this group who are among the 20,000 now found in the Hawaiian Islands. Many of those interviewed were born in the Loo Choo and some had been there as late as 1940. The sample ran all the way from Buddhist, Catholic and Protestant clergy, through the professions to laborers on the sugar plantations. There is every reason to suppose that this study of the attitudes expressed in Hawaii by the Okinawas toward the Japanese and by the Japanese toward the Okinawas is an indication of what would be found in other regions where the two groups are found. This supposition has been borne out by all the data available in Okinawa itself and also that in South America where a large number of these people have migrated.

The intolerance of the Japanese and Okinawas toward each other is reciprocal. This cleavage, this desire for separateness, should be considered from all sides. The rift has closed to some extent in the cities, but on the plantations and in the country schools the antipathy persists and extends even into the University of Hawaii where the Japanese form fifty-four per cent of the student body.

The early Okinawas came to the Hawaiian Islands after the Japanese people were fairly well settled there. They spoke a dialect of Japanese which was not understood by the Naihijin, they were poor and lowly in habits and, in appearance, usually quite different in several respects from the earlier arrivals. To this day, one authority writes, "The Japanese regard the Okinawas as dirty, impolite and uncultured and make no attempt to disguise this feeling." The Japanese insist that the Okinawas are not Japanese.

Segregation: The attitude of Japanese "superiority", - governmental, social and economic, combined with other factors generates the feeling of inferiority among the Okinawas. This finds expression in self-consciousness and a desire to escape attention. Almost without exception these people congregate as a minority group wherever they find themselves. This is the most obvious characteristic of their social life. The convergent attitude is, of course, a protective mechanism to meet the discrimination which they find.
expressed against them in so many ways by the Japanese proper. This segre-
gation contributes to the social solidarity and to the harmony of the group,
but at the same time, it has been a factor in retarding the acquisition of
the standard Japanese language, to say nothing of English, and it has caused
the retention of some of the old Okinawan customs which in turn have accented
and perpetuated the differences between them and the other Japanese.

Japanese clubs and other social organizations exclude those from the
southern islands; the Okinawas are forced to have their own clubs. This
segregation is seen in occupations, in the professions, in the religious
groups. Okinawas buy from and employ Okinawas. A Loo Chooan priest expects
to administer to other Loo Chooans. This schism is an everyday affair and
is seldom forgotten by either group.

Expressions of Antipathy: The "social distance" between the two
groups comes out most strongly in the severe ban on intermarriage. A Naichijin
boy or girl marrying an Okinawa is often cast off completely by his
or her family.

There are various ways in which the Japanese show outright contempt
for the Loo Chooans. They are social outcasts in much the same way as the
Etors who, unlike the Okinawas, do not have any physical, ethnic, linguistic
or historical unity. Ridicule and name-calling are always present. The
most common epithet is "Pig-eater". "Hairy" is another, derived from the
characteristic appearance of many of these people. Insult is expressed by
rubbing the back of one hand with the fingers of the other in imitation of
the lines of tattoo formerly decorating the hands of the women.

Okinawas Easily Identifiable: It is a fortunate circumstance that
there are a number of criteria one or more of which are useful in distin-
hishing this minority population. The Okinawas have a different racial composi-
tion than that of the Japanese. They are generally shorter and darker and,
in many cases, have much more body hair. By practice it is not difficult to
pick out many of the Okinawas in a group of Japanese. The language is another
distinguishing characteristic, and evidences of the Okinawan dialect remain
after a native speaks perfectly good Japanese. "Motor habits", such as the
way of walking, may sometimes be used as another means of separating the two
groups. The best criterion, however, other than the physical, is the charac-
ter of the name. Both Japanese family and the given names are usually typical
either of Okinawa or of Japan. In a list of over 3000 names of persons who
definitely trace their ancestry back to Okinawa Prefecture, certain types of
names or combinations of characters are common. Many lists of Japanese such
as those who volunteered for the American Army or were placed in Concentration
Camps have been broken down into Okinawa and Japanese by a study of the names
alone. This means of distinguishing Okinawas from Naichijin may be of impor-
tance in any statistical studies where "the Japanese" have always hitherto
been considered a unit.

III THE OKINAWAS AND THE PRESENT WAR

Attitudes since Pearl Harbor: As the result of Pearl Harbor, there
often appears among the Hawaiian Okinawas a feeling of elation at their status
today and stress is placed on the theory that they are not Japanese and, hence,
should have no blame placed upon them for what the Japanese are doing.

It has been reported that since "December 7" the young men with an
Okinawan background, in seeking positions, often proudly announce their ori-
gin and hope thereby to obtain better jobs than if they were to be consider-
ed straight Japanese. The feeling, "We are better than the Japanese," is
allowed full sway. There is, in this situation, another possible answer,
that the Okinawa is expressing the fact of his differing from the Naichijin
simply to take advantage of the present situation.
On some of the plantations it is said that several Okinawas state that the Japanese well deserve the beating they will get in this war. Talk of this character, it is added, always ceases when a Japanese comes in sight. Lunas, or heads of gangs of laborers, who have Okinawan origins are observed by one informant to be much more articulate and outspoken regarding the war than the Naichijin. One plantation hand went so far as to state he hoped that Okinawa would be returned to the Okinawas "so we can set up our own government".

One observer reports that the Japanese are more subdued in commenting on the present situation and, in some cases, Okinawas have replaced those former Japanese leaders who were aggressively Naichijin.

In a very few cases another reaction to the war with Japan is seen. The Loo Chooan becomes more nationalistic and actually more Naichi-inclined, which is in strong contrast to the increase in the pro-American aspect of the typical Hawaiian-born Japanese.

As the Catholic convert is more Catholic than one born into this religion, as the Colonial is more British than the one born in Great Britain, so many of the Hawaiian-born Japanese are more patriotically American than those born of American parents with a completely American background.

There is no question but what the war has removed a good deal of the inhibitions of the local Okinawas to express their feelings very freely. A Chinese merchant is one of many who have remarked on this. He reports one saying, "Bye and bye, war pau (finished), America take my country, more better American rule, more fair."

Volunteers and Internees: As already shown, from estimates of the proportion of Okinawas to the total Japanese population in the Hawaiian Islands, it appears as if boys with this background have volunteered in the American Army in about the same proportion as the total Japanese. In the numbers of those considered dangerous to the country and hence interned, the percentage of Okinawas seems lower than their proportionate representation in the Japanese community. It should be observed that the age groups of the volunteers and the internees differ greatly; the latter class are, almost without exception, aliens well along in years.

Utilization of Cleavage: Could the rift between the Okinawas and the Japanese be made use of in the present conflict? Before this is considered there should be eliminated from the discussion most of the natives who have been sent to Japan for their education and who are well indoctrinated with the ideas of "the glorious banner of the Rising Sun of Japan" which, according to Leavenworth, "had brought enlightenment, freedom and progress to the islands".

Another group which may be considered by itself consists of the members of the shi class, who are, in numbers, comparatively unimportant. It is mainly among them that there has always been found a feeling of exaltation based on the idea that they are not Japanese either in culture or in historical background. Association with China rather than with Japan is the important factor in their thinking.

As the other end of the social scale, in Loo Choo itself, is the farmer type. In an examination of a score of these people, almost exclusively from the center and the southern third of the island of Okinawa, it was found that their schooling never went beyond primary grades, averaging less than six years. They were completely ignorant of the history of their islands and had little knowledge even of Japan. In their villages there were few or no Japanese and they had seldom come into any contact with them. From this farmer type little can be expected along the lines suggested here.

There remains the population of the large towns and the two cities in Loo Choo where education is more advanced and the social status is usually above that of the farmer. Here and in the large mass of Okinawas in other
parts of the world the Naichijin are always a part of the picture. Segregation is present and the contrast between the two groups comes out in various ways as already shown. As the result of the breach expressions of enmity and hatred toward the Japanese are not uncommon and are the natural results of the suppression and hostile arrogance often levelled against them by those of the northern islands.

The taunt, "They are not Japanese," is present often enough to convince the Loo Chooans that "We are not Japanese" and thus not responsible for them and what they did at Pearl Harbor.

All the evidence seems to show that there is present among many of these people, wherever they are found, a residue of disloyalty and dislike if not enmity toward their Naichi masters and "superiors".

One particularly articulate expression was made by a former pastor of the Christian Church in Naha, Okinawa, from 1914 to 1921, now living in Hawaii. In a "torrent of broken English and Japanese," according to the report, "he stated that he wanted to assist in every way possible the Allied conquest of the Loo Choo Islands, adding that for years the Japanese had oppressed the people of the land of his birth and that he looked forward to the time when Okinawa would be freed from Japanese rule."

In a very recent interview with a Loo Chooan from Naha, with an education above the average, who had worked both at Kagoshima on the island of Kyushu and on Hainan and thus had mixed with Japanese, there was a statement that the Okinawas were treated poorly by them and that the wage scale and conditions in the southern islands were sub-standard so far as Japan proper is concerned. These are the factors, he added, which have caused the great amount of emigration. He noted that he had friends both in Hawaii and in Peru.

A softening process, propaganda directed toward increasing the idea of their having been down-trodden, and playing on the theme of the identity of their group in contrast to the Japanese as a whole, might well bear fruit. The feeling that now is the time for the "underdog" to assert itself might be fertilized by encouragement and suggestion until it yielded perhaps no actual break but an acquiescence with the design of an enemy attempting to enter their colony or their country.

Operative Usefulness of the Okinawas: There is also the question of the recruitment of Okinawas as agents of various types. They are, in general, as shown in Hawaii, alert mentally and physically, and are considered excellent laborers. For many positions and types of work they are preferred to Japanese. They are energetic and ambitious in their endeavors to get ahead financially and socially, and seem willing to devote themselves to new undertakings. They occupy, in general, a position of respect in any white community where they find themselves. Their loyalty to their adopted country is probably, in general, higher than that of the average Japanese.

In a military administration and in post-war stabilization the upper class Okinawas who seldom share the feeling of inferiority of the common farmer or laborer type could undoubtedly play an important part. It is among this higher group that pride in an Okinawan origin is often openly expressed.

Thus Psychological Warfare in its various aspects might well be brought to bear upon the cleavage outlined here between the two Japanese groups, each with its own physical type, its own history, its own dynasties, mores and attitudes. The Okinawa himself might well prove useful in this movement as our agent in the prosecution of the war.

Okinawas in Areas Occupied by American Forces: Many of these people from the southern islands are, as already pointed out, in regions which eventually will be taken by our troops and, in some cases, they form a considerable proportion of the population. From most of the information available it may be assumed that they are either permanent settlers or members of Japanese
work battalions rather than active combatants in the Japanese Army. To the Civil Affairs Command of the Navy in their work of rehabilitation a knowledge of the two groups of Japanese might prove of benefit in the administration of that part of the population covered by this report. Different attitudes and reactions could well be expected and a knowledge of the Okinawan history might be used among the more intelligent members of the population to gain their confidence and respect. Cooperation greater than that of the Naichijin might well be looked for. Their abilities along certain lines might also be utilized so that these people could play an important role and one quite different from that of the Japanese proper in any plans for reconstruction.

Okinawas in Latin America: In another publication of OSS (Research and Analysis Branch #791), the possibility of an "Okinawan Movement" in Latin America is discussed. In Peru, for example, the Loo Chooans form sixty percent or more of a large Japanese population and "with proper encouragement," we read, "the Okinawas could be persuaded to free themselves from Japanese control in Latin America." Appendix I contains a long quotation from this report.

If in South America the clef between Loo Chooans and Naichijin can be utilized, why not in their own archipelago, in the Mandates and in the Philippines where in each area the Okinawas form the larger part of a Japanese population?
APPENDIX I

A SOUTH AMERICAN "OKINAWAN MOVEMENT"

This Appendix is a quotation from a recognized authority on the Japanese, who wrote it for OSS (R and A, No. 791) after visiting Latin America.

The Possibility of an "Okinawan Movement": "The land of Loo Choo is probably too small and its people too few to make a 'Free Loo Choo' movement feasible. Nevertheless, with proper encouragement," we read, "the Okinawans could be persuaded to free themselves from Japanese control in Latin America. Moreover, conditions are more favorable now than before Pearl Harbor, since the forces holding the Japanese together have been greatly weakened in most countries. The closing of legations and consulates and the removal of important leaders have dealt a severe blow to Japanese organizations in Latin America. It is probable, too, that trade and other advantages which were the rewards of the loyal are no longer such important factors in keeping the colonies under control. Other elements of coercion are also lacking, including the time-worn device of the Japanese Legation by which it denounced recalcitrant elements to the local government and the Japanese colony as communists, and offered its good service in returning the undesirables to Japan."

In Peru, "the greatest weakness in the Japanese colony is the fact that sixty percent or more are Okinawans who have little reason to love Japan. Their ancient kingdom (Loo Choo), with its strong Chinese ties and traditions, was conquered and destroyed by Japan. Their ancestral land was taken from them by the great sugar interests of Japan, and they were forced either to migrate to the growing industrial cities of Japan or to find a new home overseas. Although they have Japanese citizenship and the Loo Choo islands now have full prefectural status, they are not accepted by the Japanese as equals. They are openly accused of being dirty and unmannered and are social outcasts. A great deal could be done with them to break up the Japanese colony. Several steps are indicated:

1. A publicity campaign could remind the Okinawans of the past glories of their race, of Loo Choo's traditional role as the bearer of Chinese civilization to heathen Japan, and of the abuses its peoples have suffered at the hands of the Japanese. Similarly, the Peruvian people could be educated to this difference between Japanese and Okinawans.

2. If all Japanese citizens would be registered, indicating their place or origin, Okinawans would be known to the Peruvian Government. There is no information as to the local place of origin in Peru immigration records.

3. As the Okinawans become conscious of their individuality, slight legal advantages might be accorded to them and the people of Peru encouraged to recognize their special status.

4. Finally, an Okinawan movement could be organized and assisted. "The 'Okinawan Movement' could be readily extended to other areas where there are Okinawan peoples living abroad, especially in Hawaii and Brazil, and might ultimately reach the many thousands who now live in Japan proper. In this project, the many Chinese in Peru and other parts of Latin America could and would lend an effective hand."

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THE FUTURE OF THE OKINAWAN ISLANDS

It is not within the scope of this report to discuss the future prospects of this archipelago but the question has already been raised and is worthy of some discussion.

These islands figure in the list of lands now held by Japan as the result of conquest together with regions now occupied by her during the present war.

Self-determination: As already stated, there seems on the part of the native population to have been no articulate suggestion either of independence for their islands or for a change in sovereignty. There is probably no question but what certain Okinawas, possibly of the shi class, have aspirations for self-government or, at least, for the opportunity to determine their own future.

In an article, "The Pacific after the War" (1942) by S. R. Chow, we read "She (Japan) should be permitted to retain only those lands which she had before 1894." To this statement there is the following note, "An exception to the above procedure should be made of the Luchu Islands. Although Japan held them before 1894, they earlier had been tributary to China for 500 years. That and the fact of the strategic importance of the islands, makes the problem of their disposal a matter of special consideration. At the least the natives of the islands should be given an opportunity to exercise the right of self-determination."

Chinese Claims: In the historical section of this report much has been said of the demands by China for this archipelago, a subject which was revived from time to time down to the end of the Sino-Japanese War in 1894. The present situation seems to have given this contention a new lease of life. Hau Yung-ying (1943) writes, "The territorial claims of China enunciated by Dr. T. V. Soong, Foreign Minister of China ("Voice of China," November 6, 1942) were anticipated by Dr. Sun Fo (Chungyang Gih Pao, July 7, 1942) when China has achieved her victory, not only territory held on September 18, 1931, will be recovered but the status before 1894 will be restored. This means, according to Dr. Sun, that Formosa, the Liuchiu (Okinawan) Islands, Port Arthur, Darien, the Southern Manchurian Railway zone, Manchuria and all regions occupied by the enemy during the present war must be returned to China."

Another indication of China's aspirations towards regaining lost territory appeared at the Mont Tremblant Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations. In the Report of this meeting under "Chinese Attitudes on Post-War Reconstruction" there is a discussion of bases for airfields to guarantee international security. It continues, "Chinese speakers stressed the unsuitability of Hongkong...and suggested the examination of alternate sites such as might be found in Formosa and the Pescadores Islands. Provided that they were previously restored unconditionally to Chinese sovereignty these areas might possibly be made available for a universal system of bases if such a scheme be adopted by international agreement." I am told by Lawrence K. Rosinger, Research Associate of the Foreign Policy Association, that the Pescadores in the above statement were mentioned by mistake for the Okinawan Islands.

Dr. Rosinger in his "What Future for Japan" (1943) writes, "Various proposals have been made concerning the disposition of the Liu Chiu...Some writers suggest that they be given to China, others that they become an international base under a general security system."

If the United States, for any reason, determined to enter into the question of the future disposition or administration of the Loo Choos, it
would be following the precedent taken by the State Department starting with the Perry treaty of 1854 and the diplomatic exchanges which reached a climax in General Grant's visit in 1879. A little later the good offices of the United States seem, as we have seen, to have played a considerable part in keeping the peace between Japan and China for over a decade, a period which finally was ended by the Sino-Japanese War of 1894.
APPENDIX III

LIST OF OKINAWAN NAMES AND THEIR CHARACTERS*

A: FAMILY NAMES

The basis of this list is from the Nippu Jiji Nenkan, Honolulu, 1941, and contains the names and Japanese characters of all persons in this Directory who trace their ancestry back to the Okinawan Islands. Before each name is the number of adults listed who have this appellative. On this list from the Nippu Jiji are also indicated those with the same last names who were inducted into the U.S. Army in Honolulu in March, 1943. The numbers following the names refer to those A.J.A. volunteers.

Most of the names which have no number either before or after them are from a list of Okinawan names collected by Inagaki Kunizaburo, a Japanese traveling in the Loo Choo Islands, and published in his Ryukyu Shou. The author listed those names "difficult and unusual" which are often found in the southern islands.

Names are underlined which occur both among Okinawas and Naichijin, more especially those from Kyushu and from the guntos south of it. There are names in the list which are not underlined that are not exclusively Okinawan by sound, but the characters given with them show, in most cases, they are definitely from these southern islands.

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*This Appendix was originally published in "Okinawan Studies", No. 2, pp. 7-17, Honolulu, March 27, 1944 and republished in R and A, No. 1567.
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| Wauke                         |    | Yonagusuku, see Yonashi |
| Yabu                          | 1  | Yonaha     |
| Yafuso                        |    | Yonahara   |
| Yagena                        | 15 | Yonamine   |
| Yagi 2                        | 7  | Yonashiro 3 |
| Yahiku                        | 2  | Yontanja, see Yontanza |
| Yaka                          |    | Yontanza   |
| Yakabu                        | 2  | Yoseda     |
| Yakahi                        | 1  | Yosekawa   |
| Yama                          |    | Yosemori   |
| Yamachi, see Yamauchi         | 1  | Yosesato   |
| Yamada                        | 1  | Yoshida    |
| Yamaguchi                     | 6  | Yoshihira  |
| Yamagusuku, see Yamashiro    |    | Yoshimoto  |
| Yamahara                      |    | Yoshimura  |
| Yamakawa                      |    | Yoshisato  |
| Yamamoto                      | 4  | Yoza       |
| Yamanoaka                     |    |            |
| Yamamakana                    |    |            |
| Yamamotousa                   |    |            |
| Yamanoa                       |    |            |
### B: OKINAWAN GIVEN NAMES

This list of given names and their characters is taken from those of Okinawan origin listed in the Nippu Jiji Nenkan. It is made up of the most common names only and is divided into (1) those most typically Okinawan and (2) those common both to Loo Chooans and to Naichijin. The number of occurrences precedes each name.

#### (1) Typically Okinawan Names

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Character(s)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Character(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Eishin</td>
<td>奥志</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Seiei</td>
<td>佳治</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Eikichi</td>
<td>優二</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Seiki</td>
<td>佳祈</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Eiko</td>
<td>亦子</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>Seikichi</td>
<td>佳紀</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>Kana</td>
<td>佳娜</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>Seiko</td>
<td>佳男</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>Kamato or Kamado</td>
<td>沖直</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Seitoku</td>
<td>清津</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Kamasuke</td>
<td>佳作</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Seiyu</td>
<td>宇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Kane</td>
<td>佳男</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>Seizen</td>
<td>真人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Kamesuke</td>
<td>佳親作</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>Shoei</td>
<td>宇</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>Kana</td>
<td>佳娜</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Shosei</td>
<td>真人</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Koei</td>
<td>佳子</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Taru</td>
<td>佳良</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Kosuke</td>
<td>佳作</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>Tsuru</td>
<td>佳</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Matsu</td>
<td>松</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>Ushi</td>
<td>鳳</td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Matsu</td>
<td>松</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>Yamato</td>
<td>沖</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ryosei</td>
<td>朝二</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Zentaro</td>
<td>太郎</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (2) Names Common both to Okinawans and to Naichijin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Character(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Hiroshi</td>
<td>宏</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Hideo</td>
<td>宏</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 Hiroshi
28 Jiro
20 Hideo
8 Kenichi
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