INTRODUCTION TO SOME ASPECTS OF ACCULTURATION ON OKINAWA

by

FELIX MOOS

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

1957

Approved by William W. Elslander
Department Anthropology
Date May 15, 1957
A NOTE OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT

There are many to whom I am deeply indebted for their assistance and advice in the preparation of this thesis. Above all, I am indebted to my committee which consisted of Dr. James B. Watson, Dr. William W. Elmendorf, Dr. John M. Maki, and Dr. Udo Posch. I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to Mr. Leon Hurvitz for the translation of the Chinese and Japanese texts used in this thesis and his kind assistance given to me at all times. I further wish to thank Dr. Forrest R. Pitts and Dr. Allan H. Smith for their advice and some of their Okinawa material.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I. THE LAND</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II. OKINAWA: SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN PRE-MODERN TIMES</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Culture Contacts</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Early Chinese References to Contacts</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evidences of early Japanese Contact</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forced Contact With Japan: The Satsuma Invasion</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa a Link Between China, Japan, Korea and the East Indies</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Okinawa's First Contact With the West and Other Early Cross-Cultural Exchanges and Developments</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III. THE JAPANESE ANNEXATION</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Western Contacts and Resulting Pressures</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population and Social Change Under Japanese Provincial Government</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Japanese Assimilation Policies</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV. OKINAWA IN MODERN TIMES: WORLD WAR II TO 1956</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Impact of Military Activities on Okinawa</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change in Rural Okinawa</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Land Tenure</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER

Change in the Educational System
Changing Social Structure and Community Organization

V. CONCLUSION

BIBLIOGRAPHY
INTRODUCTION

That any cultural system is in a continuous state of change is a valid assumption. This change can be induced by internal forces, but more often culture change is a result of contact of one autonomous cultural system with another. The Report of the Social Science Research Council Summer Seminar on Acculturation in 1953 made the following statement relative to this phenomenon: "Contact often stimulates change more adventitiously, more generally, and more rapidly than do internal forces."¹

This thesis is primarily concerned with culture change in the Ryukyu Islands and particularly on Okinawa. It proposes to describe commercial and military contact between Okinawa and China, Japan, and the West, and to show the processes of acculturation developing out of these relations of the island with the outside world.

This process of acculturation appeared in a particularly outstanding form in Okinawa where major military operations took place in 1945, and were succeeded by military administration; therefore external originating action played a major role. Compulsion, resulting from political coercion or invasion, may produce resistance and

tension under certain conditions, because it may result in either suppression or imposition of a practice regarded as unessential by the receiving culture. But if the measures threaten or undermine the basic cultural elements, violent reactions may be generated. The literature of applied anthropology stresses the principle that if an outside authority counts on changing an old element in a culture some reasonable equivalent substitute should be introduced if at all possible. A related principle, too, is that new elements, in being imposed, should be "indigenized" as far as possible, in relation to the existing cultural context. The total range of relationships between the two or more interacting groups is of course relevant in such an instance and may range from friendliness and general cultural congruence to hostility or antagonism and cultural incompatibility.

In the case of Okinawa, ready, and to a large extent voluntary, acceptance of new cultural elements from China and Japan (and European influences coming principally through Japan), dating from the seventh to the twentieth centuries, seems to have prevailed. The problem of culture change and acceptance of new cultural elements in postwar Okinawa is a more intricate and difficult one.

This thesis then deals with the very problems of acculturation since we are concerned with what changes did,
and do take place, and why. For the purpose of this thesis I define the term "acculturation" as follows: Acculturation is culture change that arises from the conjunction of two or more autonomous cultural systems. However, it should be noted that the writer is concerned not so much with the whole range of possibilities of acculturational situations, as with acculturation as it affects primarily the receiving culture.

In dealing with the problem of acculturation on Okinawa that resulted from the contact of the island with China, Japan, and the West, historical events and processes must of course be dealt with, since they represent the contact situation. This in itself presents a problem. By 1950, a considerable body of literature had been published dealing with Ryukyuan subject matter of interest to the anthropologist; however despite its quantity, it failed to provide a satisfactory anthropological description of the islands, for most of it presented data either peripheral to the field or, if more directly anthropological in nature, rather insufficient by strict professional standards. To this segment of literature, Occidentals had contributed little. Their publications consisted primarily of travelers' accounts of the 19th century, chance visits to the islands which offered mostly unsystematic, but often insightful, amateur observations. Although some of the
remaining reports were of professional competence, very few were based upon actual field work on the islands—the result, to a large extent, of the rigid foreigner-exclusion policy of the Japanese government during much of the first half of the present century. Perhaps the most important specific contributions of Occidentals were a number of studies in comparative Ryukyuan linguistic and physical anthropology, and some ethnological studies made about Okinawa during the course of WW II.

Japanese anthropologists, culture historians and sociologists contributed the bulk of the literature. While these records provided basic data, they were, as a whole, deficient individually and collectively from various points of view. These studies generally comprised a series of random investigations by individuals with differing interests and orientations which covered inadequately both the subject fields of anthropology and Ryukyu-area geography. More specifically, most studies dealing with culture phenomena were rather narrow in character. They investigated such aspects of Ryukyuan culture as architecture, pottery, the royal court, or such unique island traits as hand-tattooing, knotted string mathematical records, or the noro priestess system. These studies and the whole of the islands culture was rarely seen as an operating cultural system. In terms of area specialization, the usual concentration was upon
Okinawa, the largest and most populous island of the Ryukyuan chain. In terms of linguistic studies, dialect vocabularies were collected; however little attention was devoted to the systematic and grammatical analysis of the Ryukyuan dialects. The archaeological picture was and has remained an almost complete blank. In the field of physical anthropology the Japanese never did make a general survey of the island chain.

Finally, it should be pointed out that in the opinion of the writer the islands of the Ryukyuan island chain form (in a way) a unique testing ground for the study of the dynamic aspects of an oriental culture in transition. Through field work in selected areas of the native culture a picture of the culture as it existed before the sweeping Japanese influences of this century, a cultural picture still remembered by the older inhabitants, may be obtained. Furthermore, changes that took place under Japanese domination, and which can be fully documented, or the effects of WW II, which are still quite clear, and the changes now being brought about as the result of American occupation, may become focused by such acculturation studies. It should be noted in this regard that the current influence of the West is still limited geographically, centering primarily on Okinawa, in its area of impact, therefore many islands remain little affected and, consequently, may serve as satisfactory controls for such culture change-studies.
CHAPTER I.

THE LAND

The Ryukyus\(^1\) comprise a long chain of partially submerged mountain peaks jutting above the ocean surface, stretching across some 775 miles of open sea from Japan on the northeast to Formosa on the southwest. We can visualize this chain as an island bridge between the major island areas of Japan and continental Asia, on the north and the great island cluster of Formosa, the Philippines and Indonesia, on the south.

Of the some hundred and forty islands comprising the chain only thirty are of significant size, and eight islands account for 83 per cent of the total land area of 1,850 square miles. In spite of their linear distribution, the Ryukyus cluster into the three main groups or gunto\(^2\) of Amami, Okinawa, and Miyako (to include Yaeyama), proceeding from north to south. One may divide this island chain in still another way. Instead of viewing it as a series of unit clusters, it may be regarded as being composed of three concentric arcs running northeast to southwest. Into the eastermost of these arcs fall Kikai off the east coast of Amami Oshima, the southern part of

\(^1\)Ryukyu is a corrupted form of the Chinese Loochoo or Liu-chiu.

\(^2\)A useful Japanese term meaning island-cluster or grouped islands.
Okinawa and also Miyako, to mention only its most notable members. The islands in this series are topographically more or less level, characteristically of limestone composition and have a rather poor forest cover, relatively infertile soil and inadequate water resources. To the central arc, comprised of islands of chiefly igneous origin, belong Amami Oshima, the small islands between Amami Oshima and Okinawa, northern Okinawa, and Ishigaki and Iriomote in Yaeyama-gunto. All of these latter islands are relatively mountainous and are rather heavily forested, or at least were so before recent deforestation denuded many of their slopes, particularly in the case of Amami Oshima. Finally to the west lies the third arc with but a few components, notably the island of Kume and Aguni off the west coast of Okinawa. Though these islands are also a mountainous group, they are volcanic in origin. In short then, these three concentric arcs possess rather different environmental potentialities for a human population.

The Japan Current gives the islands a subtropical climate with an equable temperature. In the summer the current intensifies the heat and humidity of the monsoon winds from the south, and in the winter it warms monsoon winds from the north. Only the almost constant winds temper a generally rather hot climate. The temperature
rises from March to the hot season, lasting from June to September, when the average temperature is around eighty degrees. The temperature then declines rapidly and from December to February averages twenty degrees cooler.

The heat is accompanied by an average humidity of seventy-six. The annual rainfall for the entire chain is about ninety inches, though it varies considerably from place to place. The greatest rainfall is in the summer but no month is without some rain. Rain occurs about two days out of three, and there is almost always a cloud cover resulting from the high humidity. The winter monsoon brings strong, cool winds. The summer monsoon winds are of lesser force, but the Ryukyus are within the typhoon belt of the East China Sea and three to six typhoons cross directly over the area annually between July and October causing great destruction of property.

The flora and fauna are interesting from several points of view. The flora of the islands is a blend of subtropical plants with plants of more northern and temperate provenience. Palms, bamboos and the like from the south and pines and other evergreens from the north blend in the Ryukyus, especially on the high islands of the central arc, to provide a rather extensive flora. The native animal life is also interesting. There are very few mammals found on the islands which, coupled with the
fact that no evidence exists to indicate a more varied mammalian fauna at an earlier time, suggests that the area could never have supported a true hunting population.

The Black Current and other oceanographic features of the islands' environment combine to support a very abundant sea life. Large fish, abound in the open sea and small fish, octopus, squid, eels, and shellfish teem in the shallow off-shore zone. Most of these sea animals are edible, and they afford the native population a substantial food resource potential which the land cannot equal. In sum, however, the Ryukyus cannot boast of a particularly generous environment. The islands can support a population of no very great size and can provide a meager livelihood on a low living standard only through a very complete utilization of their resources and through diligence and labor on the part of the people themselves. A larger population must necessarily depend in part upon outside aid in some form.

In the course of this thesis we shall deal primarily with the island of Okinawa, since it is the largest and the most populated island of the chain. Furthermore this island in particular was the site of intensive culture contact lasting for many centuries.
Okinawa,\(^1\) the largest island in the Ryukyu is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Kerama chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles.

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri).

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. A mountain ridge, almost entirely

\(^1\)The oldest known documented mention of the name Okinawa is in the To Daioshо Tosei-den (Taishо Shinchu Dai-sokyo Vol. 51 p. 993b) where the following is stated:

On the 20th day of the 11th month of 753 the third ship of the official mission of Fujiwara no Kiyokawa reached the island of A-zi-na-pa (A-ko-na-pa? or O-ko-na-pa?), on the next day the first and the second ships reached the island. This island was located southwest of Tane island. On the 6th day of the 12th month, a southwind arouse the second ship which set sail from Tane island and on the seventh day it reached Yaku island.

The Kokushi Jiten, sv Okinawa states that this record was made twenty-six years after the event, and is consequently quite reliable. In the opinion of the editors of the dictionary the name Okinawa could be read Ochinawa, but they think that the later reading is the more likely one. There can be no certainty as to the meaning of the name but the editors of the dictionary suspect that it means "island in the offing."
forested, runs down the center. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island.

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonaburu line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side of Yonaburu at Nakagusuku-wan connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. In this area low eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys.

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonaburu line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. The settlement pattern is similar to that of the central
part. Villages are scattered throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area.\(^1\)

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have, as suggested earlier, come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyushu. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa then, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influences in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan.

Geographical and cultural relationships change with the time, shifts in the power of nations or nation states, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth-century observer, and even to the twentieth as well. Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and neglected spots in the world although

\(^1\)Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, 1944 OPNAV 3-13, 3-38

also

it had been known to the West for centuries. However as we shall see this isolation was more a product of history than of geography. This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high level of development continued unabated to the beginning of WW II and especially the war in the Pacific. The reasons then were primarily political and not geographical. The Ryukyus were part of that walling-off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of some importance in world trade. If it had it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.
CHAPTER II

OKINAWA: SOCIETY AND CULTURE

IN PRE-MODERN TIMES

In dealing with early contact situations on Okinawa, we must necessarily turn to several sources of information. Mainly, reconstruction of the culture based on: 1) Population patterns or physical-anthropological considerations, 2) Archeological evidences, and 3) Last but not least, historical records dealing with the island in earliest times.

Several assumptions have been advanced as to the earliest settlers of Okinawa. We shall attempt, in the next few pages, to deal with some of the most important ones.

One such assumption is that prior to the Proto-Japanese (prehistoric period) Ainu-like people inhabited at least part of the Ryukyus. However since archeological sites have to a large extent not been excavated, the evidence is not yet entirely conclusive. Also, since the cultural status of the Ainu first reaching Japan is still largely unknown, it is impossible to identify the earliest sites with them. However alleged Ainu artifacts have been

---


found in the Ryukyuan chain, being reported to extend south to Yaku Jima. Burials, including skeletons which were believed to be Ainu, were also found in the Ryukyus. Dixon\(^1\) and Chamberlain\(^2\) believe that the first Japanese to reach Kyushu drove most of the Ainu inhabitants north, but also pushed a small number, at the same time, south along the Ryukyus. Thus the Ainu occupation of the Ryukyus may have been later than in the main Japanese islands. However, we believe that there exists the strong possibility that the Ainu-like element in the Ryukyuan population may have been brought into the islands "in solution" in a proto-Japanese population. We further maintain, that the Ryukyus were probably not a migration route to Japan in early times. Some of these early settlers of the islands may have settled in the Ryukyu in the way described in the *Chuzan Seikan*,\(^3\) the oldest document of the island. Thus prior to the first Chinese contact, the Ryukyus housed or, better, may have housed, both strong Ainu-like people and

---


\(^3\) *Chuzan Seikan* or *Chu-zan Sei kan* is the earliest native history of Luchu, compiled by Royal order in 1650 A. D. (to the best of the author's knowledge, still preserved at Naha) as cited in Chamberlain, Basil Hall, *Contributions to a Bibliography of Luchu*. TASJ, VOL. XXIV, 1896.
the more numerous early Japanese. These early Japanese invaders, who came in increasing numbers brought with them a maritime culture of South Asiatic character. Their movement was perhaps stimulated by the coastward expansion of the Chinese in the first and second millenniums B.C.\(^1\)

In physical type these early Japanese were related to the Southern Mongoloids. In Japan proper, this is the so-called Satsuma type, predominant in southern Kyushu and Shikoku. It is characterized physically, as short, brachycephalic and short-faced.

It seems likely that further movements from Korea into Japan affected the Ryukyus only to the extent of pushing more of the early Japanese south. Apparently the Iron Age Yamato people exerted no influence there. In fact, the conservative and often separatist tendencies of South Kyushu, an excellent example of which is the Satsuma rebellion of 1877, may have shielded the Ryukyus from later cultural and racial influences from the north.

Whereas the physical differences between Ryukyuans and Japanese are generally slight, an experiences observer can distinguish one from the other in most cases. The same racial elements are in both, but in different proportions, to which the physical differences are apparently

\(^1\)Kerr, George H., Ryukyu Kingdom and Province before 1945, Washington 1945.
due. As previously stated these elements are primarily Ainu and Southern Mongoloid. Hulse states that the greater proportion of this later element in Ryukyus is the prime distinguishing feature between them and the Japanese.¹

Von Eickstedt calls this type Paleomongolide and on his "Rassenkarte" shows it as the predominant strain in both populations.²

Within the Ryukyus there are apparently considerable racial variations, although the problem has not been systematically studied. There appear to be striking individual variations within each island group.

The earliest inhabitants of the Ryukyus were probably scattered bands of hunters and fishermen, totaling only a very few thousand. Later the introduction of agriculture, perhaps by the early Japanese, made possible (set the stage for) a more dense population.³

1Personal communication with the writer.

2Eickstedt, Ferdinand E. von, Rassenkunde und Rassengeschichte der Menschheit, Stuttgart, 1933.

Also

Eickstedt, Ferdinand E. von, Rassendynamik von Osten, Berlin, 1944.


exploitation of arable land is as basic as the heavy Chinese and Japanese influences in the establishment of the complex feudalistic pattern of Ryukyu culture. Almost three-quarters of the Ryukyu households even today engage in intensive subsistence farming, with many of them growing sugarcane as a cash crop. The prime food crop was the sweet potato, although just before World War I rice was becoming more of a dietary mainstay. As with all Ryukyu farming, cultivation, before WW II, was almost entirely done by hoe, although single horse or ox plows were occasionally used. Animal husbandry and fishing were overshadowed by agriculture. Most Ryukyu fishermen operated until a few years ago from small offshore craft. Lack of a well-equipped fishing fleet restricted the over-all catch, although Ryukyuans were famous all over the Pacific as fishermen.

**Early Culture Contacts**

As stated previously, the only physical evidence of ancient settlement in the Ryukyus is fragmentary material found principally in scattered shell mounds. These shell mounds have yielded chipped arrowheads, harpoon points of wild boar bone, chipped and polished implements of stone (axes, hoes and hammers), and shell artifacts which presumably served as personal adornment. With this meager evidence it is not yet possible to relate these earliest settlers to
equally primitive inhabitants in Formosa to the south, Japan to the north, or to the neolithic settlers on the Korean Peninsula.¹ So far, only remains of dogs have been found in the refuse heaps of ancient Ryukyu settlements, but no human skeletal remains have been identified with certainty. It follows that until extensive archeological excavations have been carried out, it will be impossible to know whether or not there is any demonstrable continuous link between ancient man in the Ryukyus and the ancestors of the present inhabitants of the islands.

A careful mapping of artifacts, religious practices, myths, customs, traditions, and of local language traits may someday yield a more definite picture of ancient life, and of successive over-layers of influence coming into the islands. Until that is done, it may be fruitful to advance the hypothesis that the physical distribution of the islands themselves made it possible for an extensive and continuous migration of peoples from the north (Japan, Korea and the Asiatic continent), and that the relative ease of movement of family and community units (due to their simplicity of


structure) facilitated the spread of a fairly complex culture from that direction. In contrast, movement northward from more southerly regions into Okinawa and beyond, was subject to greater hazards of storm and difficulties of transport. It is probably not unreasonable to suppose that immigrants from the south came less often in organized units or groups, and with less burden of material cultural equipment.

At this point it may be fruitful to examine some of the evidences of early contact.

Ancient knife-shaped coins found in a shell-heap at Gusuku-daki, near Naha provide some evidence that there was some contact with the Continent as early as the third century B.C. or shortly thereafter. Coins such as these are known to have been manufactured in the North China Kingdom of Yen, which fell in 265 B.C. These may have been brought directly into the islands, although it seems more probable that they were traded along from settlement to settlement across Southern Manchuria, into the Korean peninsula, and southward to Okinawa, in which direction several missions were sent. A Chinese emperor of that time, Chin Shi Huang Ti set in motion a tremendous dynamic process in China. Centralization of resources and authority made possible the development of the powerful Han Empire which succeeded him (210 B.C. - 220 A.D.). Han Chinese armies
advanced to the borders of India to the West, established outposts in Indo-China, and created important and powerful settlements at Lakliang, in what is now northern Korea. From these frontier posts, Han embassies and trade missions travelled westward towards the Mediterranean, and pushed east and south through Korea to trade with the representatives of the Wa\textsuperscript{1} people, then located in the islands east and southeast of Korea. There is no evidence that any Han missions ever reached the Ryukyus islands, but we do have records of a Japanese mission reaching the Han capital at Lo-yang, where notes concerning an embassy of 57 A.D.\textsuperscript{2} refer to a general practice of tattooing among the people of

\textsuperscript{1}Wa\textsuperscript{a}, term applied to the Japanese by the Chinese until T'ang\textsuperscript{b} times, first appearing in Chinese works in the Han shu. Its derivation is variously given, e.g., as: wa, meaning "dwarf," a term contemptuously applied to the Japanese by the Chinese; or wa, from the Japanese expression wa-ga-kuni, meaning "our country"; or i, the reading given in the Shuo wen chieh tzu, derived from Ito, a place-name in northern Kyushu; or i from innu, a shortened form of Ainu. The Wa country Nu was the ancient Na-no-agata, mentioned in the early Japanese chronicles, in Naka-no-kori near Hakata, in Kyushu. But these characters are sometimes rendered as parts of one term, as e.g.: inu, for Ainu; one, for Okina, another name for the Ryukyu islands.

\textsuperscript{2}Hou Han Shu, 115:16b-19a, as translated by Tsunoda in "Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories," 1951, p. 2.
the "hundred kingdoms" in the "eastern islands." Today tattooing survives in this general area only among the Ainu on Hokkaido, among the older generation of Ryukyuan women, and among certain of the mountain communities (notably the Tayal people) of northern Formosa.

These expansions of the Han Empire strongly influenced and agitated all the "barbarian" peoples living beyond Empire frontiers. Military expeditions, diplomatic missions and trading activities created spheres of influence and pressures upon weaker border peoples. In other words here we have a demonstration of one of the processes of culture contact, namely that a vigorous people reorganizes its political and economic institutions and achieves fresh centralization of its resources, foreign relations - especially border relations - are readjusted with new vigor. In the course of this process small border states cannot escape the influence of sweeping change in more powerful and vigorous states nearby. If these smaller states accept the demands of the neighboring Power, the process of assimilation overtakes the process of synchronization - the result, border states survive as satellites. There is however another possibility, the smaller state may seek a protective alliance with another strong state, if a friendly

\[1\text{Saint-Denys, d'Hervey, ed. "Etnographie des Peuples Etrangers à la China." Geneve, 1872. p. 419.}\]
one lies nearby, and thereby again create a new and voluntary contact situation. The history of the Ryukyus (and of Korea) provides an excellent demonstration of these processes.

**Early Chinese References to Contacts**

The oldest surviving mention of the name Liu-ch'tu occurs in the Sui-shu, the official history of the Sui dynasty. To show these earliest contacts it is not out of place to excerpt some of the accounts mentioned in the Sui-shu, since the description may give some leads as to the aboriginal culture content of Okinawa.

It is an island(s) five days sea-journey east of Chien-an-ch'in. It is a mountainous country. The ruling family is named Huan-si. The King's name is Kat-la-tu. The origin of the ruling family is not known, but it has been in power for several generations. The people call the King Ka-lau-yang, and they call the queen Ta-bat-da (Ta-bat-do? or Ta-bat-dia). The people call the King's residence Pa-la-dan. There are four or five commanders who rule over "caves", each "cave" having a petty prince. There are a few villages and each village has a commander with the title Tiau-liau, all of whom are chosen for their skill in fighting, and each of whom rules his village independently.

The people have no writing. They determine the passage of the year by the withering of the foliage and the passage of time by the waxing and waning of the moon. The men have deep (set) eyes and long noses, and

---

1 The Sui-shu was compiled by Wei Cheng a T'ang official who died in 634. The notices on Okinawa appear in chapt. 81 pages 10a to 12b.

they somewhat resemble the Hu (identity of the Hu is not a certainty) they have slight intelligence. They tattoo themselves with ink in the image of serpents and insects. When toasting the King, individuals, rather like the Turks, drink together. When someone dies, they wind a winding sheet around the corpse, enshroud him into reefs and bury him without a coffin. They erect no tumulus over the grave. When a child mourns for his father, he will not eat meat for several months. In the south the customs connected with death are somewhat different. When a person dies there, the whole village eats his corpse. The climate is similar to that of Canton. The aborigines worship the spirits of the mountains and the sea. The skull of a dead enemy is sometimes suspended from a treetop and shot at with arrows.

In 607, the Emperor sent a military officer named Shu-k'uan and a naval officer named Ho-man to seek foreign peoples. They arrived in the Liu-ch'iu's but they could not communicate with the people. They took one prisoner and went back to China. The next year 608 the Emperor sent the same Shu-k'kuan to subjigate the Liu-ch'iu people, but he was unsuccessful in this attempt. He took back a head-dress to the Court. At this time a Japanese ambassador was at the Court. (This ambassador has been tentatively identified as Ono no Imoko), he looked at the head-dress and exclaimed: "this is the kind of head-dress used by the people of I-a-ku (Yaku island?)."

The Emperor sent a military officer Ch'en ling and a civil official Chang chen-chou on another mission of subjugation. They left I-an and proceeded to Kao-hua island, then they turned to the east to island, then they sailed another day and reached the Liu-ch'iu. Among the army of Ch'en ling was a man from K'un-lun (this is normally presumed to be in Central Asia) who understood the Liu-ch'iu language somewhat. The Liu-ch'iu warriors resisted the invasion, but the Chinese reached their capital and burned the King's palace, and brought back several thousand men and women back to China. Thereafter relations between China and the Liu-ch'iu cease.

---

1 See also Pei-shih Vol. 94 pp. 24a to 26a, the account is very similar and is based almost word for word on the Sui-shui
During these earliest contacts with the Chinese, the Ryukyuans most likely were forced to reorient their world view, since they must have realized that other similar invasions could follow and that their defenses could not stand up against a well organized and well armed invading enemy.

**Evidences of early Japanese Contact**

It is very probable that until the second century A.D. the inhabitants of Western Japan and of the Ryukyus had much in common in their political and social institutions. Political affairs and religion were closely related. For example from legendary times until the present day the *Noro* priestess has exercised a powerful influence in the Ryukyu community.¹ The eldest daughter of the Ryukyu king always assumed the role of the Chief High Priestess. Today the *Noro* in the country villages at times continue to function as the guardians of sacred and semi-sacred objects (including the *magatama*)² required in local religious ceremonies, to act as mediums between the spirits and the

¹This fact is born out by observations on Okinawa communicated to the present writer by Dr. F.R. Pitts, co-author of SIRI report No. 8.

²*Magatama* or "curved jewels" are also found in neolithic sites in Japan, some of bone some of horn, and some of stone. To these curved jewels magic properties were ascribed.
common man, and to serve as important counsellors in local affairs.

Although the position of the **Noro** changed through the years, they remained pre-eminent in the local community for a good thousand years. It was their duty in most ancient times to preserve the fire on the hearth. One can easily see the problems involved in transporting the fires from island to island, and what hardship a community suffered if its precious fires were extinguished by accident. Fire was a communal treasure. In ancient times a daughter in each household was assigned the task of conserving and feeding the flames upon the hearth. Because of the importance of her duties, a taboo system grew up about the office of the fire-custodian. The girl assigned to this task soon after was expected to remain a virgin and was thought to be in close communication with the ancestors from whose care the fire descended. When new households were established, fire was transferred from the family home to the new dwelling. In this way the continuity of the fire came to represent a blood relationship and continuity as well. As the community became larger, the custodian of the oldest fire or the original fire assumed pre-eminence. This was the root-deity (**ne-gami**) in the village. The young

---

girls selected for the fire-protection duties in new households came to be known as okode and were then selected independently within each family. The custodian of the fire "upon the oldest hearth" assumed then as official distinction. Her office became hereditary, passing usually to a female child of the Noro's brother, and provided for by a plot of land set aside for this purpose. Within her house, or near it, three simple hearthstones served as the center of worship. Vestments of white cloth (symbolizing ritual cleanliness) and her string of beads (including the magatama) have been symbols of the Noro's office since prehistoric times. Her duties required care of the hearth fire, worship of the ancestors through ritual devotion, divination to settle upon auspicious or inauspicious days for marriage, burial, travel, or the simple tasks of the agricultural community.¹

In this religious practice we have a form of shamanism common to Ural-Altaic people settled from northern Europe to Siberia, and down the Korean peninsula. Thus in the realm of religious life there is some evidence of cultural relationships linking the early settlers of the Ryukyus with early Japanese, and perhaps with the Continent through

southwestern Japan and Korea.

There is also considerable evidence that the language of the Ryukyu people in historic times most closely resembles that of the Yamato people before they became literate, that is, before they received an overwhelming quantity of Chinese influences and loan words into their older language forms. Hall suggested that Japanese was the language of the latest and most successful of the invaders of Japan proper, thrusting back and absorbing the language of the aborigines.¹

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

We are concerned with these events only insofar as they may throw some light on the early history of Japanese-Ryukyu relations. Sir George Sansom has noted the probability that there were large numbers of people in southern Kyushu who had come up into Japan from southeast Asia or the southern islands along the Ryukyu chain, and that some of the fighting forces used in the victorious migration eastward toward Yamato may have been recruited from this southern element in the Kyushu population.\(^1\) There has also been some speculation that during the local warfare which marked the departure of the Yamato expeditions from Kyushu, a significant number of defeated people may have fled southward into the Ryukyu Islands in defeat.

Ryukyu legends and traditions do not begin to merge with established history in nearby Japan, China and Korea until the 12th century of the Christian era, at a time when Asia was in a ferment and when Japan was torn by the rivalries of the Taira and Minamoto Families and the Mongols in Inner Asia overthrew the Chinese Sung Dynasty, brought the old Korean Koryo Dynasty under Mongol domination, and threatened seriously to invade and overwhelm both Japan and the Ryukyu Islands. Within this setting of general political and military upheaval throughout northern Asia,

the inhabitants of the Ryukyu find their first great hero, an adventurer who is said to have reached Okinawa from Japan in 1166. (Hogen Houolagar: states 1165).

Detailed accounts of Minamoto Tametomo's arrival in Okinawa were not recorded until four centuries later by a Japanese Buddhist priest names Taichu, from Kyoto. Shortly thereafter (in 1650) the story was incorporated in Haneji Choshu's History of Chuzan. This became the source for subsequent accounts. The only account of these events available to the writer was the Chung-shan Ch'uan-hsin-lu (Chuzan denshinroku) Japanese reprint of 1766, by Hall Pao-kuang. Published in China in 1721.

Minamoto no Tametomo, an exile from Japan, landed at Unten Harbor in Northern Okinawa in 1165 or 1166 A.D. Soon thereafter he married a daughter of the lord of Asato and became father of a son subsequently known as Shunten. In time Tametomo's son displayed the precocious characteristics of his father's family (the Minamoto), established himself in the trust of the local people, and was chosen to be Lord of Urasoe at the age of 15.

He was only 22 years old when he was acknowledged as supreme Lord among the anji (nobles or local lords), and was destined to rule for 51 years thereafter. Under his guidance many advances were made in the political, economic and cultural life of the people.

1The circumstances under which this story of Tametomo was introduced to the History of Chuzan more than 400 years after the alleged events took place, leaves it open to suspicion that the much more likely story of Tametomo's sojourn in Kyushu and his long period of exile in Izu were drawn upon thus late to provide an heroic origin for Shunten, first King of the Ryukyus.
Upon Shunten's death (aged 72, in 1237 A.D.) his eldest son Shumba Junki became King. During his 11 years of reign further advances were made. A castle was developed at Shuri back of Urasoe, on the heights overlooking the sea. The introduction of writing (the Japanese 47-character kana syllabary) is alleged to have taken place at this time. Changes were made in annual observances of the New Year, and new styles in clothing and hairdress were adopted.

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

As King, Gihon accepted responsibility for conditions within the country. A young lord of high rank named Eiso (Yo-no-nushii), was appointed Regent (Sessho) to take over Gihon's duties. Six years later Gihon abdicated, Eiso became King, and his predecessor "withdrew into the forest alone." The time and place of his death are not known.

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

Economic order was restored. The land was divided anew. A regular taxation system was introduced, whereby levies upon rice-fields and upon households were made to take place of the earlier practice of levies made as occasion demanded. Controls were extended to other islands; officials were sent up to govern Amami Oshima, halfway between Okinawa and Kyushu, in 1263, and in the next year the offlying islands of Kume, Kerama and Iheya began to send in tribute to Okinawa. To handle this expanded administrative work, a government office was established at Tomari, at the head of an inlet below Shuri castle.

In 1265, a Buddhist priest named Zenkan arrived as a castaway upon Okinawa. There he settled, introducing Buddhist doctrines and ceremonial for the first time. At the King's direction he built a temple called Gokuraku-ji or Temple of Paradise.
Late in his life (in 1292) Eiso received a message from the Court of Kublai Khan, demanding that Ryukyu submit to the Mongol authority and contribute to the proposed invasion of Japan (via Korea) which was then under preparation. The king rejected the Mongol demands. Four years later they were repeated, and were again rejected. This time the envoys from China made a show of force. They were driven away, but are said to have taken 130 Okinawan captives with them.

Eiso died in 1299 A.D. He was followed in succession by his son King Taisei (1300-1308), and his grandson King Eiji (1309-1313) whose reigns appear to have been uneventful. When Eiso's great grandson Tamagusuku came to the throne at the age of 19, in 1314, there began again a time of trouble and a new era for Okinawa.1

This is more or less the bare outline of traditional history. Without committing ourselves to these traditional and therefore relative dates, we can with considerable profit envisage this era in Ryukyu History in the light of external affairs with China and Japan, for which verifiable data are available. We can also draw certain tentative conclusions about administrative and cultural affairs within the islands themselves.

With the Tametomo story, Okinawa begins to have a history of its own; we emerge from the legendary period to somewhat firmer ground. The story, however, forms an important link between the Ryukyus and Japan, both in traditional accounts and in modern political disputes which contend that Tametomo was of Imperial Japanese descent through the Minamoto Family, and hence established a Japanese

---

1 See also: Toyo Rekishi Daijiten sv. Ryukyu
claim upon the islands.

In making use of these historical evidences we attempt to show how Okinawa came under the increasing cultural dominance of Japan, and how the processes of change operated in the traditional Okinawan sociocultural system.

**Forced Contact With Japan: The Satsuma Invasion**

In 1609 a force of 3000 Satsuma warriors set sail from Yamakawa, in Kagoshima Bay, under the command of Kabayama Hisataka. The Japanese forces set out in a fleet of more than one hundred warships, moved down through the Amami Islands, past Tokunoshima and Kikaijima, and put in at Uten Harbor on the Motobu Peninsula. There they had to overcome sharp resistance by Okinawan forces mobilized to defend the island. The inexperienced and ill-equipped Okinawans fell away before the seasoned Satsuma warriors, who hastened on to Shuri and Naha. Shuri Palace was looted, and the King and more than one hundred of his courtiers and councillors, were seized and sent up to Kagoshima to answer for their resistance.¹

On behalf of Satsuma fourteen High Commissioners

(bugyo) with 168 aides came down to Okinawa to make the first complete survey of the administration and economic potential of the Ryukyus. Their activities extended as far south as Miyako and Yaeyama. From then on Okinawa was forced to pay a tribute whereby Satsuma was able to substantially increase its own total revenues, but Ryukyu suffered a disastrous blow.

An economic and administrative pattern was now set which was to endure with little change until the end of the 19th century. An agent of Satsuma was established at Shuri to supervise and report on the conduct of the Government, while a Ryukyu Office (Ryukyu Kan) was set up at Kagoshima to serve as point of liaison in Ryukyu affairs. Satsuma thenceforth required the Ryukyu Court to apply to its agents for approval of heirs designated for the throne at Shuri, for the appointment and dismissal of principal officials, and, of course, for the direct conduct of foreign relations.1 This relationship of dependence upon Satsuma's will represent a strong contrast with the old tributary relationship with China, in which ex post facto confirmation of new kings sufficed to satisfy the formalities demanded by the Chinese Court. Here we have an example of how a quasi-voluntary association (that of the Okinawans)

---

1Kuroita, Katsumi, Kokushi no Kenkyu, rev. ed. 1937, Vol. III.
with the Chinese changed into a quasi non-voluntary submission to Satsuma. In this process a curious thing however happened: relations with Japan, which became necessarily closer were perhaps more eagerly sought for on the Okinawan side than by the Japanese.

The Japanese invasion forced the people of the Ryukyus into the difficult position in which they could no longer control their own in political, economic and social organization. Although nominal appearance of sovereign independence was maintained in formal matters of national interest, the governing gentry was required to weigh official words and actions carefully, or they would come into conflict with one of the two powerful nations to which the Ryukyus were subordinate. Leaders at the Court who were administrators were called upon to adjust decisions to external pressures, regardless of their own sense of loyalty to the King and to the local countryside. Standards of education and social life and common customs were also under strain. A Chinese classical education remained the highest ideal and accomplishment for those who had leisure to study, and since the way remained open for students to to Peking as a climax to their training, and provided a sure road to the highest offices in local government, the "Chinese standard" was strong and constant. Dress, food, and ceremonial, no less than ethical precepts and forms of
administration, were constantly under direct Chinese influence. At the same time the "Japanese standard" was also ever present. A Japanese version of classical education and the opportunity to study at Kagoshima or at Kyoto competed with the "Chinese standard." Basic elements of race, religious practice and language formed natural ties with Japan. The mode of living for the general populace (outside the Court) was much closer to the Japanese mode of life than it was to the Chinese. Such a natural inclination toward identification with Japan was reinforced by expediency in the face of military and economic pressure from Satsuma. For the next two and a half centuries, the people of the Ryukyus were required to accommodate themselves to two conflicting standards of behavior, dictated by Satsuma and by China. While complying with Satsuma's orders, they had to pretend to be independent of Japan and all things Japanese when they were in communication with the Chinese.

New cultural contributions were made to the islands through broadened and accelerated intercourse with Japan. For example a new type of Japanese drama is said to have been introduced at this time. The intellectual life of the gentry found its principal expression in poetry, drama, and music. The sons of the gentry learned now to read and write in the Japanese phonetic syllabary (kana) before they
took up the study of formal Chinese with Kume-mura tutors. There also was a gradual increase in the number of individuals going to Japan to study or to make a pilgrimage among famous shrines and temples.

In his efforts to reform and reorganize with a view to bringing his people more strongly under Japanese influence, the then Prime Minister did not shrink from touching on the most sensitive and conservative areas of community interest. He set about to reduce the importance and authority of the Noro. It is not known how much of his effort was of his own inspiration and how much it was promoted by Satsuma. Spencer suggests that the Satsuma government may have prompted the Prime Minister to attack the noro system in an effort to break up an ultra-conservative, anti-foreign (i.e. anti-Japanese) hierarchy, "which reached from the King's Court to the lowest household in the islands." 2

1 In 1391 the Ming Government sent over a large number of Chinese families to settle at the trading base on Okinawa. Of the Chinese customs introduced at this time, many became so assimilated and blended with local tradition and custom as to be virtually undistinguishable today, but the origins of some remain even traditionally associated with the founding of the village which came to be known as Kume-mura.

The established and indigenous religious organization was being shaken by innovations. The Government extended patronage to Confucian studies and ceremonial with new interest. A Japanese from Satsuma was brought into the Palace to instruct the young King in Confucian doctrines. One of the Court members caused a new Confucian temple to be built at Kume Village, and when it was completed the King himself proceeded to worship there, accompanied by a concourse of nobles.

All this meant that by the end of the first century of Japanese control traditional religious practices and beliefs native to the Ryukyu Islands were being hard pressed, giving cause for uneasiness and dissatisfaction among the noro, whose prerogatives were being reduced.

If we summarize the first century of Ryukyu life under Japanese control we sense that broad administrative and social changes in Japan were reflected in Okinawa. Thanks to the reorganization imposed by the Japanese, the government at Shuri worked more efficiently. Tokugawa policies, (introduced through Satsuma) for instance, were followed to a significant degree in that the Shuri gentry (like the Court nobility in Japan) were encouraged to cultivate the arts and letters, and to be concerned with etiquette, costume, rank government itself was directed by Satsuma's agents.
As long as men of Ryukyu were free to travel in Japan, and Japanese merchants and mariners visited Naha, there was an inflow of the latest forms of Japanese cultural content which then mingled freely with Okinawan traits. For nearly a century the gentry of Okinawa enjoyed a mild and pleasant existence, rarely disturbed by affairs of large importance, however we may guess that the energetic Satsuma samurai, stationed at local Japanese offices at Naha, sometimes grew impatient with the easy-going island people. There was great courtesy in human relations in the Ryukyus, but little of the exacting and tense formality which made life in Japan a burden of minute rules and regulations. The days of a gentleman of Shuri were taken up with long conversations among friends, frequent picnics in the countryside, the composition of poems in Chinese and Japanese styles, and music, singing and dancing on every possible occasion. Food and drink were important, and (represented Chinese and Japanese tastes.) Indigenous religious rites received little encouragement from the scholars in Government, but patronage was extended to ceremonies introduced from China and Japan. Through Satsuma, and through the envoys sent to Yedo, the influence of the Dutch scholars indirectly filtered down to Ryukyu. Education itself began to take on a more formal aspect, reflecting accurately in Ryukyu the development of private
and public schools in Japan at that time.¹

The social hierarchy of that time may be summarized briefly as royalty, the privileged classes (shizoku) and common man (heimin). The king stood supreme. Next came members of the Royal Household, the brothers and sons of the king. The royal consorts and mothers of princes had to be chosen from among members of a few distinguished noble houses which were themselves interrelated with the Royal House through many generations of marriage. Below the nobles stood a gentry class divided into three principal grades, each with a junior and a senior rating. These were the Pechin, Satonushi and Chikudun descendants of the King's soldiers and retainers, the soldiers and vassals of the anji, scholars, priests and commoners who had earned gentry status in recognition of outstanding services. Within the three ranks of the gentry a man might rise and fall according to his abilities. The masses (heimin or nya) were the common farmer, fisherman and laborer, but in the Ryukyus even the farmer was given courtesy titles at times in ordinary usage. Itinerant players (yanzai), beggars (munukuya) and prostitutes were at the bottom of this social order.

Since the nobility and the gentry numbered nearly one-third of the total population, a very high proportion, it might be supposed that there was one drone for every active worker in the islands, and that an oppressive burden weighed upon a sullen and discontented people. However, such was not the case. The peasants produced foodstuffs and textiles -- the taxes -- and did the heavy manual work required in town and country service but in fact, the gentry were the artisans and craftsmen who produced a large proportion of the artifacts required for daily living among all classes.¹

Okinawa a Link Between China, Japan, Korea and the East Indies²

Around 1389 we find for the first time records of official communication between the Court of Chuzan (King Satto) and the Korean Court. Okinawan envoys carried with them to Korea presents of rare woods, pepper and other items which were not indigenous products of the Ryukyus. These appear to have come from the East Indies or Indo-China, and were evidence that Ryukyuan seamen even then


²Leavenworth, Charles F., The Loochoo Islands, Shanghai 1905.
sailed to distant places in search of profitable trade. Miyako and Yaeyama became way-stations; and King Satto's prestige was great enough to cause the local Lords in these outlying southern islands to send envoys to Okinawa and tribute to Chuzan. Other off-lying islands such as Kume-jima resumed former subordinate relationships.

Here again we can see how this system of trading bases and tribute paying served as the basis of a general cultural synchronization process in the whole Ryukyu area.

There now began a quarter-century of accelerated change on Okinawa, and in Okinawa's relations with the outside world. In the absence of specific data we must infer that the Chinese Court was impressed by the wide-ranging activities of Ryukyuan seamen and traders. The Annamese, the Koreans, the Japanese and the Okinawans were the only border people on the Chinese sea frontiers conversant with the Chinese language at the time. Circumstances surrounding the development of a Chinese trading base on Okinawa suggest that it was not accident but carefully calculated policy. In the Okinawans the Chinese apparently found excellent middlemen. On the Okinawan side, Chinese favor and assistance was praised, and recorded as a demonstration of "Imperial Benevolence." Scrutiny of Chinese administrative records may show a
basis in more realistic consideration. However no matter what, these feelings on the part of the Okinawans, point to a ready and voluntary acceptance of Chinese influences and thereby of some Chinese cultural elements, which then were integrated, and at times transformed, into Okinawan cultural traits, which in turn were passed on to the other islands of the Ryukyuan chain.

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

In 1391 the Ming government went even as far as to send over a large number of Chinese families to settle at the trading base on Okinawa. From the Okinawan point of view they were looked on with admiration; they were the "modern" people of their day in Okinawa, and as such they represented the great civilized "outside" world of which many Ryukyu leaders were eager to learn. They taught the Okinawans the Chinese written language, and assumed many official and quasi-official clerical duties in connection

---

1Sanson, George B., The Western World and Japan, 1949, pp. 134-151.
with exchange of communication and trade with China. As stated, of the Chinese customs introduced at this time, many became so assimilated and blended with local tradition and custom as to be virtually indistinguishable today, but the origins of some remain even now traditionally associated with the founding of the village where the Chinese first settled, which became known as Kume-mura.¹

Ties with China were strengthened rapidly. In 1392 both Chuzan and Nanzan sent scholarship students to China, as Japan had done some seven hundred years earlier. In later years these were often sons of the Kume-mura immigrants as well as young princes and sons of highest officials, selected for their individual capacity as well as for their rank. It was the beginning of a practice that was to last into the 19th century. They were the elite of Okinawa, through whom the ruling gentry were always kept aware of China's size and strength, and were ultimately to provide opposition to Japan's assimilation policies after 1872.

After the death of King Satto in 1395, the development of political, commercial and intellectual relations with China did not diminish. Envoys and students went abroad in the same year, and in the next a special headquarters for the Chinese diplomatic and commercial missions was founded

¹Leavenworth, Charles F., History of Loochoo, 1907, p. 42.
at the port.

Increased prosperity and activity in Chuzan intensified rivalries of the northern and southern Okinawan princes. However despite the tensions built up by rivalry among the three Okinawan principalities and by the succession quarrels within them, this was a period of active cultural development for the Ryukyus. Okinawa was in a position to draw upon her neighbors in periods of great cultural development. For instance King Bunei and his successors sent missions to Korea to study as well as to trade, and it is to Korea that Okinawa owed much of its developments in Buddhism. Buddhist tests, ceremonies and ritual furniture were introduced and possibly some influence was felt in architecture. As a gesture of friendliness, the King of Chuzan ordered that all shipwrecked or stranded Koreans should be taken back to Korea, including those who escaped from servitude under the Japanese pirates then roving in adjacent seas.

All three Okinawan principalities sent missions to Korea in 1397 but only Chuzan appears to have had formal

1 Upon the death of King Eiji (1314), his son nineteen-year old Tamagusuku became King of Chuzan with the capital at Shuri. The Lord of Ozato broke away and called himself King of Nanzan with the capital southeast of the present-day fishing port of Itoman. In the north the Lord of Nakijin withdrew his allegiance from Tamagusuku and established himself in the high foothills of the Motobu Peninsula.

relations with the Court of the Ashikaga Shoguns at Kyoto. It is evident that certain (Japanese) Shinto practices were introduced to the Southern islands about 1403 where they became quite popular.

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

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

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

By order of Sho Hashi, these words were inscribed on a bronze bell hung in the main audience chamber of Shuri Castle. They reflected the vision of this remarkable King who was determined to overcome the natural poverty of local resources of international commerce. Under his guidance Chuzan became a lively trading center. The seas around Okinawa were no longer barriers but highways. Ships from
Naha began to appear in most of the important ports of the Far East. Chinese, Japanese, Siamese, and Indonesians travelled aboard Chuzan's vessels. It is evident that the Okinawan King's agents scrupulously observed the formalities of polite intercourse in the ports to which they went with the result that they would continue to perform the duties of middlemen in commerce between states which were not in direct communication. This was especially true when Japanese pirate raids upon the Chinese coast caused relations between Japan and China to be broken off.

Between 1432 and 1570 at least forty-four official embassies were dispatched by Shuri to the south — to Annam, Siam, Malacca and the kingdoms in Java. Okinawan traders reached Luzon, Sumatra, Borneo. Customarily each trading expedition was under command of an envoy commissioned by the King.¹

We can again clearly see, that through this system of trade "outside" influences were brought into the Ryukyuan chain voluntarily and with a minimum of stress involved, as far as the receiving culture (Okinawa) was concerned.

While the gentry at Shuri and Naha were settling a dispute over a choice of students for study abroad, great events were about to overtake them. European powers were expanding into the Pacific Ocean north of the Equator, and were beginning to challenge both Japan and China to open their doors to Western trade and diplomacy. Of all these things the people of the Ryukyus were unaware, although they were soon to be profoundly affected by them. The Ryukyu Kingdom was so small that it was almost lost on any map of this huge area of East-West conflict. A society so preoccupied with rivalries that it could riot over the nomination of two students to be sent abroad was scarcely capable of defending itself against the navies of 19th-century Europe. The governments of the Western world looked to Ryukyu as a possible door through which they could penetrate Japan. The Japanese, in turn, watched the development of European interest in Ryukyu with great alarm, and a majority of Japanese leaders were determined to resist Western pressure at any cost. The Ryukyus were on the frontier, caught between the pressures of the West and the resistance of Japan. During the nineteenth century the Ryukyu Kingdom was extinguished.
Okinawa’s First Contact With the West and Other Early Cross-Cultural Exchanges and Developments

The Portuguese captain Alfonso du Albuquerque arrived in the straits of Malacca in early summer, 1511. Later in the same year two Okinawan ships arrived also in the straits and anchored nearby. It was probably then that the people of Chuzan first met with Europeans.¹

After Albuquerque’s encounter with the Chuzan mission, interest in the Ryukyus quickly developed in Europe. With this beginning early in the 16th century, the Portuguese entered farther into the Far Eastern waters. They were soon followed by the Spaniards, the British and the Dutch. The Renaissance in Europe was giving them all new methods and instruments with which to calculate distance, the new science of navigation based on accurate mathematics and astronomy, new ship designs, and, above all, firearms. The Chuzan seamen conspicuously lacked all of these things, and gradually fell back before such competition. By the end of the 16th century they were reduced at last to the limited role of middlemen trading only between Japan, and


The most flourishing period of Okinawa came to an end. The islands were soon to succumb to a Japanese invasion from the north, and they were to lose autonomy in the management and profit from their trade.

About 1427 lacquerware is said to have been introduced from China. It may be that it was among the elaborate gifts sent over to King Sho Hashi of Chuzan by the Ming Emperor of that time. Within a few years the Okinawans were producing their own lacquer, using distinctive colors and developing special techniques for mother-of-pearl inlays. Earthenware from Luzon and from other areas of Southeast Asia was imported in quantity, some to be used in the Ryukyus and some to be shipped on to the Kyoto market where it was in great vogue among the aesthetes at the Shogun's court.

Methods of tying-and-dyeing, and of stencil-dyeing were likewise introduced from Java and Sumatra, developed in the Ryukyus, and used in local textiles.

Costume at the Court and among the gentry of Shuri and Naha underwent a change. Certain pictures (of a later date) show that the King and princes of the Royal House wore costumes of Ming Chinese origin for high ceremonial occasions out of Chinese textiles but conforming to native Okinawan style.
Music and dancing drew on southern inspiration. The three-stringed musical instrument known as samisen, certain dance forms, and a style of individual fighting (toshu) are said to have been introduced by members of Sho Hashi's missions. The sotetsu palm which was destined later to play an important part in Ryukyuan economy, was brought up to Okinawa from the south, together with chickens, monkeys, peacocks, and parrots.

The people of the Ryukyus have no tradition of philosophical speculation, and they have produced no notable religious or philosophical figures. The worship of creative natural forces is to some extent even today evident in phallic emblems (ishiganju) standing by the roadside, or the three hearth stones of the public shrine (uganjju) found in every settlement. The sacred groves (utaki) to which the noro priestesses repair to ask for blessings, or the intercession of the gods of nature, are found near every village. These were dedicated to the service of Hachiman and of the Kumano Gongen, both Japanese deities representative of Buddhist doctrines most closely associated with Shinto worship of the objects and forces of nature. As the Romans adopted Greek gods the Okinawans adopted some Japanese deities.

The Chuzan Kingdom reached its maximum extent (including all southern islands down to Taegamu) and its
height of cultural development, commercial prosperity and 
internal administrative order in the late 15th and early 
16th centuries. During this period it is noteworthy that 
Buddhism was patronized by the King, taxes were lightened 
and internal strife abated, royal control was asserted and 
confirmed in Yaeyama and Miyako, Private ownership was 
abolished and the bearing of arms was forbidden. Law and 
order were established throughout the country, works of 
art were introduced at the Palace, music was patronized, 
relations with China were strengthened, Chinese utensils 
and books were introduced, and a Chinese-style palace 
was built at Shuri.

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

The lords (anji) themselves were ordered to leave 
their country places and to move to Shuri for permanent 
residence. In time the Shuri government was able to send
its own representatives into the country districts to carry out administrative orders. These were known as jitodai, responsible to the King's officials at Shuri and not to the anji who had so long exercised hereditary rule on a personal basis.

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

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

It was necessary for members of the Royal Family to take the lead in such innovation and changes. They formed
a new dynasty, and needed to command the respect and authority of the people by enhancing their prestige in every way possible. For instance, Confucian rituals and the rites of Chinese ancestor-worship were studied and practiced especially faithfully at the Chinese immigrant settlement of Kume-mura. For Okinawa, trade with China became more and more vital to her well-being; hence we find Shuri making repeated petitions to Peking to increase the frequency of tribute missions. These were usually rejected, though the schedule was slightly modified from time to time. Four formal Ryukyuan missions were sent for 4 different occasions. Missions left Shuri(a) to announce the deaths of kings, (b) to petition for the investiture of new kings, (c) to offer thanks for the investiture when it was granted, and (d) to offer congratulations or condolences upon appropriate occasions at the Ming Court. But after 1509 another was added; ships known as gyoretsu-sen were dispatched to meet and escort

---

1 In the ninth year (1530), a certain Liu-chiu envoy, Ts'ai came (to China) by way of Japan. King Minamoto Yoshiharu entrusted to him a memorial to the Court which read (as follows): "Because our country is in turmoil and recurring warfare obstructs communications, the tally of the Cheng-te era failed to reach the capital. That was the reason why Sokyo had to go with the tally of the Hung-chih era. For this we beg your forgiveness. It is hoped that a new tally will be granted, as well as a gold seal, so that the tribute can be resumed regularly." When the officer examined the paper, (he found that) it was without signature. Then he proposed that since the Japanese were to deceitful and treacherous, it might be well for the Court to tell the King of Liu-chiu to convey instructions to Japan to carry out the previous order Tsunoda, R., Japan in the Chinese Dynastic Histories, South Pasadena, 1951, pp. 123-124.
China's envoys when they crossed the China Sea to Naha. In short then, the bulk and prestige of China was enormous, but in their wide and constant voyaging the Okinawans were very well aware of the existence of other countries and other cultures. However, the influence of neither China nor Japan reached very far down into the life of the common peasant living in villages far from the capital.

Foreign contributions to Okinawan culture were first implanted at Naha and Shuri, for as each lord maintained a considerable household staff recruited from his own district, young men from the countryside entered service for a period at Naha or Shuri. Upon returning to marry and settle in the home village, the youths took with them many things, such as the latest and most popular songs and dances, which cost nothing to learn or teach.

Buddhist missionary priests from Japan were active throughout the 16th century in Okinawa, promoting the building of temples and the study of the Japanese language and literature. Occasionally they served as agents on business of government, as their fellow-priests were then doing in Japan. Soon afterwards students began to be sent from Okinawa to study at the Five Great Temples of Kyoto. This suggests that the study of Japanese language was now well advanced and was accelerating, and there was a fairly substantial interest in Japanese religion, literature, and
other cultural traditions. It suggests too, that in these years we may find the first evidence of the division of educated leaders into two parties, one of which was educated in China and inclined to be pro-Chinese in outlook, and the other educated in Japan, or in Japanese subjects, and inclined to advocate alignment with Japan. It is in this era that a truly local literary tradition begins to appear. The Japanese kana syllabary had long been in use. Now for the first time (around the 1530's) the traditional chants, poems and prayers of the High Priestesses of the Royal Court are brought together to form the most prized literary treasure of the Ryukyu Islands, the Omoro Zoshi.
CHAPTER III

THE JAPANESE ANNEXATION

Western Contacts and Resulting Pressures

There were sudden pressures now after two hundred years of relative isolation from the Western World (1604-1804). European and American ships put in Ryukyuan harbors more than thirty times in fifty years (1804-1858). Some came singly, some came in squadrons. Some were merchantmen and some were heavily armed men-of-war. Some were driven in by storm and wrecked or damaged on the reefs and rocks of Okinawa. Others came for the specific purpose of opening the Ryukyu Islands to trade. But no matter how these ships came, they brought with them new cultural elements which soon thereafter began to appear in Rykyuan culture. Some were preserved in their original form, but most of them were integrated into existing cultural patterns.¹ Soon after the first Western ship had reached

¹Official reports, diaries and published travel accounts covering these voyages provide invaluable commentary on conditions in the 19th century Ryukyus. It is not possible to identify all the Western contacts in the Ryukyu Islands in this period, nor is it certain that all these contacts were recorded. Each arrival of a ship, whether for the first time or on a repeated visit, caused excitement among the common people, and foreboding among the government officials. The first Western ship was probably the H.M.S. Providence, which had arrived in 1797.
the Ryukyus, others followed in ever decreasing intervals. Both Britain and France sent men-of-war, and soon after this inevitably the missionaries made their appearance in the Ryukyus. The arrival in the islands of the Catholic missionaries Forcade, Adnet, and Letourdu with their Chinese assistant Augustin Ho, and of the Protestant missionaries Bettelheim and Moreton, can be understood only in the light of a worldwide manifestation of the missionary movement which took place in the 19th century. The advent of men-of-war, traders and missionaries in the Ryukyus at this time was also part of the world-wide process of change. The first wave to reach Okinawa was manifest in the activities of explorers like Broughton, Maxwell, Hall, Beechey and Belcher. They had not completed their oceanographic surveys before the merchants on the China Coast began to explore the possibilities of trade in Ryukyu and Japan. Close after them came the naval-diplomats and the missionaries. One of them was Perry.

It is a paradox that by demanding a Compact in which the officials at Shuri were required to declare the Ryukyu Kingdom to be a sovereign and independent State, Perry set into motion a series of events which brought about the swift disappearance of all vestiges of independence, and the extinction of the Royal House which had been its
symbol. Once the delicate balance of relationships with both China and Japan had been destroyed, the small Kingdom could not long survive as a political or economic entity.

These political events took place after the Ryukyu Islands were made an integral part of the Japanese state in 1871, when the administration of the islands (now a Han) had been transferred to the Home Office in 1874, the tribute to China had been stopped in 1875, and the judicial system, and police force had been reorganized along Japanese lines in 1876.

On March 27, 1879, Prince Nakijin was handed a formal communication from the Tokyo Government, announcing decisions to abolish the monarchy, and create a Provincial Government for the Ryukyu Islands. In summary, the communication said: (1) The Okinawa Ken is established. (2) This action is taken as punishment for failure to obey Tokyo's orders of May 29th, 1875 and May 17th, 1876 (curtailing the powers of the Okinawan King, Sho Tai, even more than before). (3) Prince Ie and Prince Nakajin will be granted the status of peers in Japan, as an act of Imperial grace. (4) The deposed King, Sho Tai, is immediately required to visit Tokyo.

---

1 Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, 1944, OPNAV 3-13, p. 41.
The first signs of a cultural transition from old to new soon began to be seen in the Ryukyus. A move toward standardization took place with the introduction of the solar calendar to replace the old lunar calendar of immemorial traditional use in China. This was of major importance, for the Chinese had always taken the use of the official lunar calendar to be a basic requirement and symbol of assimilation to Chinese culture. Above everything else, the Emperor's historic role had been that of "Mediator between Heaven and Earth," and "Regulator of the Seasons" by which an agricultural society lives. The introduction of the solar calendar to Ryukyu in January, 1873, therefore shocked Peking. It marked a significant advance in Japan's assimilation program. On the other hand, the people of Kume-mura presented a most serious problem for the Japanese. They were of Chinese descent and were strongly pro-Chinese by tradition. Their settlement became a center of anti-Japanese protest and counteraction.


After 1875 social life in the Ryukyus began to undergo a profound transformation. The old perpendicular arrangement of Royalty, nobility, gentry and common men was
broken up. Hundreds of Japanese came down from the main islands to fill administrative and managerial positions created under the new Government. These strangers formed a new elite, taking precedence over the old aristocracy and finally replacing them. The old pattern of town-bred aristocracy versus country-bred peasant was now changed; hereafter it became a pattern of Okinawans-by-birth versus Japanese from other provinces.

As the years passed, Naha grew steadily, and Shuri declined in population and in importance. The Japanese coming down from the mainland tended to settle in Naha, which rapidly became the principal city of the islands. The old kingdom has been described as a minature empire, all the outer islands served Okinawa and all of Okinawa served Shuri, the single source and center of authority. The people of Shuri looked down upon people from other parts of Okinawa, and the people of Okinawa looked down upon persons from the outer islands virtually as "colonial" subjects, rustic and unsophisticated in manner. It will be remembered that natives of the outer islands were not allowed to go up to the capital to live, and that natives of Okinawa who served terms of official duty on the outer islands were not permitted to bring families back to Okinawa from Yaeyama or Miyako. Now all this changed. In terms of "colonial treatment" the leaders of Naha and
Shuri found themselves one with the natives of the outer islands in the eyes of the administrators and merchants newly arrived from Japan proper. They were all "rustic and unsophisticated" by the standards of Tokyo and Kyoto.

The break-up of the old Court life lowered the importance of Shuri and sent many people back to the countryside. Reduction or loss of hereditary pensions forced many privileged families to look about for employment. Competition for favorable positions was extremely great in Naha; hence there was a general movement of former aristocrats to the country villages of Okinawa and to the outer islands. Men who had a small amount of capital to invest did so at promising village centers, and thus the foundations were laid for the growth of towns of considerable local importance many miles from Shuri and Naha. Many of the old gentry went out to the dependent islands as clerks, teachers or merchants, but for years the old attitudes persisted, and few outer-island people moved into Okinawa.

The shift in social classes and privileges was not accomplished without difficulty. Although for purposes of international negotiation and bargaining Tokyo had been willing to claim the Ryukyus as an essential part of Japan, people from other prefectures were not prepared to treat the Okinawans on a basis of full equality within the new Japanese empire. The government at Tokyo approached
the Ryukyu question as a colonial problem. The idea of a "public" to which the governing elite is responsible had not yet been established in Japan. It was especially hard for the ex-samurai of Satsuma to think of the people of Okinawa-ken as equals; for two hundred and fifty years Shuri had accepted dictation from Kagoshima. It seemed only natural that the people of Okinawa Prefecture should continue to accept dictation from Tokyo with unquestioned obedience. From Tokyo all Okinawan people looked pretty much alike, whether they came from Shuri or from Yaeyama or Yonaguni, most distant of the dependent Southern islands. In 1879, it was announced abruptly that with the exception of the three favored branches of the old Royal Family, all the anji and gentry would become commoners thereafter, dependent upon their own resources. On Okinawa only two families, numbering in all some thirty five members, maintained the social position and local social perogatives of princes of the old regime. Distinction among the classes of the old nobility and gentry had been removed in fact and were growing blurred even in the recollection of those who had enjoyed them in former days.

The extension of Japanese organization, controls and influence to the islands set a pattern which was followed in later years in Formosa and Korea. The higher Japanese officials seemed to have been well qualified to carry out
the program of integration of the Ryukyus into the Japanese Empire. It is probably fair to say, that the arrogance which they sometimes demonstrated in relations with subordinates and the common people was not directed especially toward the people of Ryukyu, but was rather a habit of mind inherited from feudal days of the recent past. The unsuccessful rebellion in Satsuma in 1877 had left many discontented men adrift in Japan. They could not readily adapt themselves to life in other provinces, and migrated to Ryukyu where they found ready employment in the police force, and in the lower government offices. In Japan proper the wearing of the sword had been forbidden for some time; in Okinawa the policeman and government official could wear the sword again as a badge of rank and authority. This custom of course influenced the behaviour of the native Okinawans when dealing with Japanese officials.

The effective structure of Government for the han had been simplicity itself. The King was nominal Chief of State. The Prime Minister (Sessei) was as always a Royal Prince or relative of the King. For example, four Departments sufficed to manage the administration. The Council of State was the effective governing body, directing affairs through the Home and Finance Department (Mono Bugyo-sho), the Foreign Office (Moshi Kwei Hi-sho) and the Judicial Department (Hira-ho). The latter was
guided by a Civil Code, a Penal Code and a Code governing the "Distribution of Awards." The Japanese Government at Tokyo was now faced with the task of reconciling this traditional structure with the complicated structure of modern administration which was being developed in Japan proper. This course necessitated an ever increasing synchronization of Okinawan activities and attitudes with existing Japanese ones, and therefore accelerated changes in all spheres of Okinawan life took place at this time.

Before the prefectoral Government was established, rice was the basic commodity, used even in calculating the revenues and expenditures of the Government, with textiles as an important auxiliary. After 1879 when foodstuffs could be imported, other payments were possible.

The villages which had farmed common land under a variety of communal land-holding arrangements continued to operate on this basis, although a large proportion of the population -- the town-dwellers -- were now facing a profound change in their daily livelihood. In this changing economic situation, the standards in the towns rose slowly, and it became more and more difficult for the farm-dwellers to produce enough foodstuffs and clothing both for themselves and the rest of the population. They had to provide not only for old standards of simple self-sufficiency, but enough also to
pay for the additional things which city-dwellers now came to regard as necessities. The movement of people from Naha and Shuri to the villages, taking with them urban standards and views, added to the changes taking place in rural customs but especially added to the demands on the country economy.

The former retainers and samurai faced the problem of making a living by finding employment which would supplement the stipends or lump sum payments they had received as commutation of their old incomes at the Court. They became tradesmen or craftsmen on the smallest scale, borrowing very small sums as temporary capital. Every member of such a family was now forced to work. Family heirlooms were sold or bartered, and in this conservative society the women of the household were expected to relieve the men of as much of the burden of demeaning work as they could. Hence the lower classes of women who had always played an outstanding role in small trading and shopkeeping enterprises in every town and village were now joined by an ever increasing number of women from impoverished shizoku families. These higher-classed women brought with them certain customs which in turn now spread and were modified by the lower classes.

1 The term shizoku is used to designate the samurai; after the Meiji restoration the term designates more precisely ex-samurai.
Japanese Assimilation Policies

The Government in Tokyo soon recognized that if Okinawa-ken were to be securely attached to the Empire, education was one of the primary keys to assimilation. Prejudices of the older generation in the Ryukyus had to be overcome, and the loyalties of the younger generation had to be shifted from Shuri to Tokyo. Traditional ties with China had to be broken wherever possible. The Japanese knew that in order to accomplish the goal of gradual assimilation, the easygoing, rather casual life of the traditional Okinawan community had to give way to a more disciplined, vigorous organization. Above all the Okinawan individual had to be taught to believe without question that duty to the State came before personal, family, or community interest.

As far as education was concerned, the Japanese were keenly aware of the importance of a school organization which would reach into every community and touch every household throughout the islands. It was characteristic of village life in China and Japan that families should make a maximum effort and sacrifice in order to finance education for a promising youth, and that villages should take great pride in the student who successfully passed the formal examinations. Conversely, the Confucian ideal
(that had been introduced by the Chinese, especially in Kume-mura), of the child's obligation to its parents meant that a youth who accepted these sacrifices on his behalf, was himself deeply conscious of an obligation to the family and the community. In the Ryukyus an opportunity to study, or at least to learn the elements of reading and writing, were part of the birthright of every youth of the upper classes only. Literacy was synonomous with privilege and authority in the eyes of the illiterate peasant. Teacher and student commanded the highest respect in the community. Through them the new Government (or as a matter of fact the traditional government too), could hope to establish an influential point of contact with every household represented by children in school.

The Education Ministry at Tokyo was therefore determined to create a school system in Okinawa-ken which would gradually bring into existence a younger generation responsive to the new Government.

Before the Japanese administration, the children in the mura gakkō (village school) heard professional story-tellers relate traditional tales of filial piety and propriety. Children of the gentry attending the hira-gakkō (district school) studied Chinese calligraphy and the elementary texts of the Chinese Classics. Youths who went on to the Kokugakkō (Shuri Academy) at the age of
seventeen or eighteen, studies the Classics in greater detail and heard formal lecture commentaries on them. Students who entered the Meirindo (Confucian Academy) in Kume-mura studied Chinese literature as well, and learned to speak in the Peking dialect which was accepted as the official language of administration throughout China. Study of Japanese language, calligraphy and literature had to be undertaken privately, thanks to the old restrictions laid down and maintained by Satsuma in years gone by.

The Japanese Government proceeded immediately to open schools for training clerks in calligraphy and arithmetic, and appropriated funds to support both the Kokusakko and the Meirindo, and salaries for the teachers in the lower schools. The Japanese also opened a Normal School to increase as rapidly as possible the numbers of teachers competent to spread a knowledge of standard Japanese. This Normal School was prepared to graduate soon thereafter several young men from its "short courses." These were all ex-samurai of Shuri, and this may be taken as to have set the pattern of development in the educational system throughout the years to follow. Opportunities in a career in government were not promising; business life was unfamiliar and not popular among the dispossessed gentry, they turned instead to education as a field in which they could distinguish themselves. As far as the
Tokyo Government was concerned, this was all to the good, and deserved encouragement.

As in other prefectures of Japan, ten years earlier, the common people were reluctant at first to send their children to the newly opened schools. Elsewhere there were fears of the costs which might accrue through participation in the new Japanese school program. In Okinawa, this fear of the costs which might occur for education (a luxury for the common Okinawan) was reinforced by deep, conservative suspicion of change itself, and of the intentions of the newly arrived Japanese officials. Prefectural authorities adopted a policy which on the one hand encouraged cooperation by providing school supplies and exempting parents from varying degrees of labor service, while on the other hand they introduced an element of compulsion by establishing a "school attendance quota" for each village. This brought into play the pressure of the public opinion and the feeling of mutual responsibility for the village and the representative local institution vis-a-vis the Government at Naha.

The Japanese were correct in assuming that if a corps of teachers sympathetic to Japan's objectives could be placed in the field, assuming the role of leaders in every village and on every island, no matter how small the community, a great advance would be made in overcoming
local prejudices and resistance to Japanese rule. It may be noteworthy to record one interesting change connected with education. The old top-knot and hairpin (kanazashi) had in traditional days indicated social rank. Now the students of Okinawa began to go about with the cropped heads (which were fast becoming the standard mark of the student) and began to wear uniforms, while all teachers and prefectural officers were urged to exchange the traditional Ryukyu costume for the standard uniform of a government employee. The Japanese even went so far as to establish a "private" Girls' High school in the Japanese style and a school for girls who wished to learn dress-making in the Japanese style.

These were all important measures leading gradually to the creation of a body of students and teachers whose daily routine, dress, reading material, organizations, and standards of achievement would make them part of a nation-wide, uniform educational system devoted to the Service of the State, namely, Japan. The presentation of portraits of the Emperor and the Empress to every school in the islands was begun in 1889. They were not treated as mere photographs, but as semi-sacred objects, surrounded with elaborate ritual, as in Japan they were in fact symbols of a State religion. They were to become the local symbol of nation-wide unity. From that time forward
every student in every classroom of Japan, from Hokkaido to Yaeyama was expected to adhere to the common ideals of service by the individual to the State, as symbolized by the Emperor's picture.

Soon after the Sino-Japanese war ended, Tokyo prepared to extend universal military conscription to Okinawa-ken. It was firmly believed in earlier times that an Okinawan military force would simply attract enemies and invite invasion. It is not surprising therefore that the professional military men at Tokyo, heirs to the fighting tradition of two-sworded samurai, were both mistrustful and contemptuous of the Okinawan as a soldier. The Japanese army then used the schools to prepare the people for conscription and general education toward acceptance of military duties.

"Spiritual mobilization" for war depended not a little on the assimilation of popular religious beliefs and practices to the cult of State Shinto, whereby the Emperor was declared to be of divine descent, and the local divinities of Okinawa-ken were declared to be members of a host of guardian gods defending the Empire. Above all it was desired to promote the worship of Amaterasu Omikami, as a unifying element in the national spiritual life. The Japanese also felt it necessary to introduce and develop, if possible, an unquestioning belief in the
Emperor as the source of all authority and all honor. In this practice we have a good example of how the "donor" culture attempted to give new and replace existing values to the "receiving" culture, leaving some elements of the existing cultural content intact.

In 1908, a general administrative system parallel to the town and village organization of other prefectures came into effect in the Ryukyus. The old names were abandoned; the smallest units in the governmental structure, the *mura* (hamlet or village) now became *aza* (section). The old Ryukyu *majiri* (district) became known as *mura* instead.¹ Shimajiri, Nakagami and Kunigami which had been based on the ancient divisions of the three principalities (Sanzan) of the 14th century, now became *gun*² (Sub-Prefecture or district) together with Miyako and Yaeyama.

From 1890 on, the Japanese Government made use of a form of social organization and control which was non-existent in traditional Okinawa. This new form of social organization involved the establishment of a large number of associations designed to indoctrinate and control the population throughout the Empire. Virtually everyone in

¹Pacific Science Board, SIRI Report No. 8., 1955, p. 79.
²Ibid.
a community was expected to become a member of one or more of these Associations. The scope of these organizations is revealed by the title of some typical ones: Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, Ladies Patriotic Association, Army Reservists Association, Farmers' Association, and the like. In theory membership was on a volunteer basis, but in fact every member of the community was under direct pressure to join at least one of the many overlapping groups. If he did not, his loyalty to the government might become suspected. By joining several associations the individual concerned not only won approval of the police and the local Government officers but gained a considerable return in benefits of mutual aid and cooperative investment of time and effort.

Ostensibly the organizations were spontaneous community groups, in fact many, if not most, of them were proposed and promoted by government officials "acting in their private capacities." In this process we can clearly see how the Japanese Government introduced new social groupings with the view of accelerating the assimilation process that had been started by the actual Prefectural Government.

In order to reach even the smallest unit -- the family -- in all parts of Okinawa the Japanese government proceeded rapidly to develop communications facilities;
this of course was also done since such a development was essential to the expanding productive capacity and to the economic well-being of the island community. For example, the submarine cable laid during the Sino-Japanese war gave Naha a direct link with Kagoshima.

In time Okinawa also acquired all the physical equipment necessary to support a modern agricultural economy, roads, railroads, airfields, postal, telegraph, and radio services, and modern aids to navigation.

However despite all this, Okinawa remained an impoverished island-province. It was cut off physically from the other prefectures; though thousands of persons might travel back and forth each year; there could not be the easy interplay of economic life which other provinces enjoyed across their common borders.

Other than economic assimilation processes were of course at work also; as stated before, one of the most important was education. By 1937, there were more than 100,000 students enrolled in the primary schools of Okinawa Prefecture, and these represented a new generation whose assimilation to Japan seemed assured.¹ They were only dimly aware of the traditions of "Old Ryukyu," and of the experience of their grandparents during the years of

¹Ibid., pp. 171-176.
transition from kingdom to province. They were learning to speak and to read a standard language approximating the language of Tokyo.

Traditions of Chinese study faded rapidly. Soon after the Japanese educational system was firmly established, scholars of the old tradition of Chinese classical studies were few in numbers and had ceased to exercise a vital leadership. They were no longer part of the living educational tradition of the Ryukyu Islands. The younger generation was being taught to think, speak and act as Japanese, according to disciplines and standards set up at Tokyo. For example, twice a year the people of Kume-mura visited the Confucian temple with which the academy of Chinese studies the Meirindo, was associated. There they performed a Chinese ceremony (k'ou t'ou) before the altar of Confucius, but this was a traditional academic gesture now without political significance or social force, and this tradition was soon given up entirely. Assimilation was not exclusively dependent upon education of the Okinawan people concerning the main islands of Japan. There was an increasing sense of provincial solidarity as well, though the traditional preeminence of Shuri and Naha remained a notable feature of social and political life among the islands. The extension of newspaper, motion picture and radio services to the outlying
communities tended to draw them closer together, to provide them with common information and give them a common outlook on daily events on Okinawa and the rest of the Japanese Empire. There was a reciprocal though less intensive process through which the people of other provinces came gradually to know more about Okinawa.

By the second decade of the twentieth century the major obstacles of assimilation had been overcome. There was still strong sentimental attachment to local scenes and everyday habits of living by the Okinawans, but in matters of politics and economics, the younger generation now thought in terms of nationwide Japanese interest. The stories of the old kingdom were tales of grandparents. In other words, the fabric of Okinawa society and culture had changed under the influences of first the Chinese, then the Japanese and finally the West. Okinawa then had incorporated and transformed outside influences into the traditional socio-cultural system. The Japanese influences came to dominate every aspect of Okinawan life, and the two outstanding effects of the initial Japanese assimilation program (1875-1905) were: 1) The imposition of a universal language (Japanese) and 2) Agricultural improvements, such as new types of rice, etc.

Now that Okinawa had become in fact Okinawa ken, and had changed from a traditional feudal society to a unit of Japanese society and empire, greater changes were to come.

On April 1, 1945, the invasion of Okinawa by U.S. Armed Forces began.
CHAPTER IV

OKINAWA IN MODERN TIMES:
WORLD WAR II TO 1956

Up to this point, we have dealt largely with culture-historical and historical material of the Ryukyus and more especially with that of Okinawa. The historical material has been used to document contact situations in different periods and thereby bring about a clearer understanding of the processes of culture change. The resulting problems are largely ones of historical change. However, the material presented here should not be thought of as underemphasizing the continuities in the culture or as underplaying the vast changes which have come about. In the acculturational situation with which this thesis deals, the basic historical facts are known. Through the extensive use of historical material the conditions antecedent to several situations have, we believe, been brought out.

In dealing with culture change in the Ryukyus and especially in Okinawa, and in changes that took place in the twentieth century and particularly since 1945, the historical approach followed largely up to now must necessarily be modified, since the contact situations become more complex and varied in kind, e.g., Japanese prefectural administration, U.S. military actions, U.S. military and civil administration. In order to demonstrate and analyze some of the processes involved in change it
may be fruitful to examine some particular aspects of Okinawan life, instead of attempting to give a picture of the whole culture. However, in doing so, one must be aware that all aspects of culture are influenced by contact, some parts of the culture changing faster and in a more obvious way than do others.

In the process of change an old trait is certainly not simply replaced by a new one. Changes modifying one aspect of the culture may, and often do, ultimately influence the whole socio-cultural system and the interconnecting parts of it.

How then did the invasion of Okinawa by U. S. armed forces change the culture and social organization of the island? In the course of this thesis we can of course not attempt to answer this question in all of its ramifications, however we hope to indicate at least some partial answers to this very complex problem.

**Impact of Military Activities on Okinawa**

As an introductory summary to this section we may state the following. The people of Okinawa, though racially akin to the Japanese, as explained earlier in the context of of this thesis, have, unlike the Japanese been rather peaceful agrarians looking in the earlier period of their history to China rather than to Japan for cultural
leadership.¹

Their island had been unmarred by war for over six centuries, except for the brief and not very destructive Satsuma invasion of 1609, when the original Japanese protectorate was established. Conditions remained tranquil and relatively undisturbed until well after the Japanese annexation of 1871. The people of Okinawa submitted with apparent docility to Japanese conscription methods, sent their sons to war without great enthusiasm, and changed their ways and outlook but slightly right up to the time of the American military invasion.

Without a doubt, the U.S. military operations in the Okinawa Gunto caused far greater disruption, destruction, and casualties than any previous violent historical episode in the archipelago, and could not be regarded by the people as anything but a calamity.

At eight-thirty on the morning of April 1, 1945, the U.S. Tenth Army landed on Okinawa. In preparation for this landing the island had been subjected to very severe bombing, strafing, and naval bombardment, beginning as early

¹A Japanese superior private, who landed in Okinawa in late 1944, after a visit to Shuri noted in his diary, that "the houses and customs here resemble those of China and remind one of a Chinese town."

as October 10, 1944. By the time the island was officially "secured" on June 21, 1945, the operations of the United States and Japanese forces had destroyed practically everything that was above ground. It is a fair assumption that nearly 90 per cent of the private dwellings on the island were destroyed, and many of the remainder had been made at least temporarily uninhabitable. In addition, practically all commercial buildings, warehouses, public buildings, schools and hospitals were destroyed. The public utilities and water supply systems in the cities were completely disrupted. The railroad and the rolling stock were completely wrecked; for a distance on the western shore not only were the tracks torn up, but all traces of the roadbed were obliterated. The native Okinawans had retreated to caves with all of the possessions that they could move.\(^1\) As these caves were cleared out, most of the material within them was lost or destroyed. Unfortunately, native caches of clothing and household supplies were considered legitimate loot by the troops, or were thoughtlessly destroyed. In this way, it seems, all of the clothing on the island, except for the little that the Okinawans actually had on their backs, was

\(^1\) Historical Branch, G-3 Division, Headquarters U.S. Marine Corps, Okinawa: Victory in the Pacific, Washington 1955.
destroyed. Along with clothing went bedding, household furniture and cooking utensils, family records, deeds, insurance policies, postal savings and bonds, bank books, medicines and medical equipment, and foodstuffs.

A great portion of the crops were ruined or left unharvested. Most of the livestock seemed to have been killed either by accident, or for food by the Okinawans and isolated Japanese military units. The retaining walls of the terraced fields were broken down by concentrations of shell fire, bombing, heavy equipment, and bulldozers digging in on building military positions and camps. Finally much land was taken out of cultivation. Military construction such as the buildings of roads and airfields did tremendous damage to some of the best farm areas. One case in point is the village of Sobe located near the west coast of Okinawa in Nakagami-gun. After a month or so of U.S. military occupation, there remained not a trace of the village or the fertile slopes that had formerly surrounded it. In their place was a tremendous gravel pit surrounded by a network of roads, and toward the beach were large areas that had been bulldozed flat and rolled to make various sorts of dump areas.¹ This is just one example of what occurred in many places. The

¹Ibid.
general problem of land use by the military authorities continue, to this date, to contribute a grave aspect of Okinawan-American relations.¹ In other words, the tremendous amount of equipment and personnel that was, and to a certain degree still is, poured into Okinawa took up, and still does, much of the best land and has ruined it for years to come.

To return to the military operation of 1945, the moonsoon rains and typhoons that followed the invasion, completed the transformation of the physical aspect of Okinawa. The rains came when many of the terraces and irrigation ditches were broken and much of the island was denuded of vegetation. As a result erosion and floods took a heavy toll of farm lands.

Aside from the tremendous material damage, there was also a great toll of human life. Many civilians were killed by bombings, caught in cross fire or artillery concentrations, accidentally killed at night by sentries,

¹Prof. Tatsuji Takeuchi, visiting professor at the University of Hawaii, stated in the Honolulu Star-Bulletin of July 25, 1956: "Unless the United States finds a satisfactory solution for the land problem, and does so in the near future, she may have a Pacific Cyprus on her hands.....Okinawans are not enjoying the "economic benefits" which, the U.S. says, have been showered on them, instead, the continued American occupation of 12 per cent of Okinawa's total land area will increase the possibility of Okinawa being made a military target."
or died from exposure and poor living conditions in the caves. The whole population was completely uprooted, confused, and disorganized. Children were separated from their parents and members of families were lost. All of the able-bodied men and boys were utilized by the Japanese troops or were in the boecitai (home guard). Many of these individuals were killed either by the U.S. troops or by the Japanese when they tried to surrender to the U.S. forces. About three thousand of those that were captured were sent to Hawaii. The whole society as it had existed was a wreck.

Generally it may be stated, that in contrast to Japan, Okinawa has no military tradition. It has been relatively peaceful for centuries whereas Japan has known and glorified warfare and warriors for nearly a thousand years. In Okinawa remains of the former cultural orientation towards China still operate. The nationalistic orientation of Shintoism and Emperor worship had been introduced into Okinawa within the memory of some of the present generation, and never took more than superficial hold. Indigenous and ancient superstitious animism and spirit worship remain strong. As a result of the Japanese annexation of the Ryukyu islands in the late nineteenth century the Okinawan became passively entangled in World War II, and later as a direct consequence became
subject to U.S. military and civil administration. Whatever cultural and social changes take place in Okinawa at this time, the background of these changes must certainly be considered very carefully. Culture change is probably heavily influenced by external circumstances such as war, and the problem is perhaps one of degree and intensity. Let us illustrate this point to some extent by the effect of military operations on population distribution. The surviving civilian populace had been completely dislocated, as stated previously. The air attack on October 10, 1944 destroyed 80 per cent of Naha, and killed an unknown number of civilians. Many survivors who considered themselves in likely target areas left their homes and sought refuge in the countryside, often many miles away from their regular place of domicile. Following the great raid of October 10th, civilians set about digging themselves air-raid shelters and caves. This was in addition to the extensive fortifications undertaken by the Japanese forces. Many thousands of holes were thus hewn out, and in some instances tombs and natural caves were prepared and improved

---


also

for utilization as shelters. Towns and villages not subjected to gunfire or air attack were usually evacuated. As a result, virtually every inhabited locality overrun by U.S. forces was found deserted, whether or not the houses were extensively damaged. For practical purposes we may say that virtually every inhabitant of Okinawa was impelled by military actions to leave his home and live elsewhere for a period varying from a few days to several months.

As soon as an area was secured Military Government set up civilian concentration areas (mostly in the north of the island) such as at Sobe and at Koza, and later on at Ishikawa, Jizuza, Taira, and elsewhere, in which the great majority of civilians were placed. These sizable villages showed considerable damage, but possessed many habitable dwellings. The people in any given concentration did not represent the inhabitants of that locality; so complete had been the dislocation and so variable the wandering of individuals during military operations that each camp displayed an indiscriminate mixture of inhabitants from many parts of the island.

There was a considerable shift of population even subsequent to an initial adjustment under military government. Several sizable concentrations of civilians were moved completely, weeks or months after having been established. The military authorities asserted that these movements
were necessary in order to make more land available for base developments, or in order to remove people from areas of danger from enemy air attack. For instance, among these post-occupational population shifts initiated by the U.S. military authorities was the case of the inhabitants of northern and western Motobu peninsula, where war damage to houses was comparatively slight, and where no heavy fighting took place. Most of the inhabitants left their villages to hide in the hills when troops initially went over the area in early and mid-April 1945. Within a few days the Okinawans' fear was overcome, and they returned to their own homes, even though in many instances troops were encamped near by. The people resumed their village life and planting as best they possibly could under the circumstances, and for two months and a half lived "peaceably" much as before the invasion, or so it appeared at least at the surface. These were about the only communities on the island to be so fortunate. After the cessation of organized resistance, it became necessary to use this area for troop rehabilitation purposes, and the civilian population was accordingly evacuated. Very little preparation was made to receive those people in the area to which they were moved and about 20,000 of them were driven in trucks to an east coast area and deposited in open fields. It was several days before all of them were given
even minimal shelter. Thus it is clear that virtually the entire population of Okinawa was displaced and disorganized by the invasion. An outgrowth of this was the separation of numerous families during the initial disorganization and hasty flight of the people. In a few instances families were unintentionally separated by U.S. military forces who in the early confused days on occasion brought Okinawan women into supposed safety from the hills, only to learn that the children had been left behind because no one in the patrol could understand the women's protestations when they were led away without an opportunity to go into the caves to get their infants.

As stated previously, buildings on Okinawa did not fare well during the campaign. The air strike of October 10th, 1944, leveled 80 per cent of Naha and did extensive damage elsewhere. Subsequent air strikes, naval gunfire, and artillery missions brought great destruction. The 20 per cent of Naha which survived October 10th, was completely destroyed soon afterwards. So was Shuri then a town of some 18,000 inhabitants.

Particular attention was paid to schools and other

---

1Ibid.

2U.S. Army, Historical Division, The War in the Pacific, Okinawa, the last Battle, Washington 1948.
large buildings in U.S. air strikes and naval gunfire missions. Numerous buildings both damaged and undamaged were later torn down by natives under U.S. military supervision for purposes of salvaging building materials. The lumber and tile so salvaged were transported to concentration areas for construction of shelters for the overcrowded Okinawans. There was also considerable destruction of buildings by burning in areas well behind the front lines. Many of these fires were accidental or resulted from carelessness. Some buildings apparently were burned deliberately by individuals who sought to remove an alleged health hazard or to clear an area for other purposes. This practice was of course forbidden by military authorities because of the necessity for salvaging all possible building materials. A number of houses were burned by Japanese guerrillas operating late in the campaign in the north of Okinawa.

In short, after the campaign a redistribution of the whole population was necessary. The war not only brought near total destruction to all buildings on the islands but also wrought great damage to property and household effects. Here again, the degree of destruction was overwhelming, but it was not total. When people left their homes and fled to caves, they usually took with them what they could carry in the way of food or clothing. As people
found themselves confronted with the apparent necessity for living for prolonged periods in the hills, they tended to make excursions back to the villages to replenish their supplies or to add to their stores of clothes. Many took lacquerware, china, or other valuables with them into the caves, deeming their treasures safer there. The Okinawans do not appear to have been entirely scrupulous in removing items from villages for use in the hills, and it is evident that there was a considerable amount of looting of houses by natives themselves.\(^1\) Of the material taken into the caves, the greater part was lost or damaged beyond usefulness. Much of it was abandoned as the people fled from cave to cave or finally came over into the American lines. Not only was the destruction of housing and private property tremendous, but the war affected also every other aspect of Okinawan life, public and private.

The great raid of October 10, 1944, destroyed the Okinawan Prefectural Office in Naha, as well as the Police Station, City Hall, Tax Office, Post Office, and other important buildings. Records in those buildings were almost totally destroyed. Furthermore there was evidence that the Japanese attempted to destroy systematically all official records in other towns as the

\(^{1}\text{Ibid.}\)
U.S. forces came close. No town or village yielded a complete and intact file of official records. It was evident that the Japanese largely succeeded in denying the U.S. forces access to official records, though in some small part they may have been aided in this respect by the U.S. troops. The war of course also affected the land. Prior to the invasion, Okinawa had a primarily agrarian economy, but agriculture, even supplemented by fishing, did not provide the food required by the population, and rice, wheat, beans, and other staples were imported.

Fishing came to a standstill because of destruction of boats and prohibitions by the military authorities. Wheat, beans, sweet potatoes and other crops were ripening in the fields when the invasion began. Civilians in the custody of military authorities were taken out in parties to harvest these crops for consumption. However, there was little new planting or cultivation of fields except in limited areas near civilian concentration centers. But for practical purposes, agriculture came to a standstill on the island.

This then was the general situation on Okinawa in 1945. In the last few pages we have attempted to show

---

1 Ibid.
some of the effects of the invasion and the disruptive influences of military actions, that were at work. We further maintain that processes of culture change were accelerated by this disorganization of the society in that new traits and ideas were incorporated into the society with immediate survival as the goal.

It is of course difficult to ascertain the precise traits that changed, and to determine processes of change in general is not in the scope of this thesis. However it should be pointed out that perhaps the basic structure of the society did not change much or changed at a very slow rate, but that the persons in that structure adjusted themselves to the new situation presented to them rather rapidly. Since these new situations were largely, if not completely, created by the military actions on the island they brought two very different cultures into contact: namely, a technically well-developed one (American) and a technically undeveloped one (Okinawan). The problem arising from this contact is the question of structural change of the receiving culture, or incorporation of new features into the already existing structure.

In the following pages we shall attempt to show some changes that took place on Okinawa as a result of (contact in the twentieth century). To describe all the changes in all aspects of Okinawan life would require much more than
is envisaged for this thesis, we shall therefore concentrate on certain aspects and segments of Okinawan society and culture.

Since Okinawa consists primarily of rural areas it was thought best to examine changes in rural Okinawa rather than changes in the one urban area of the island (Naha). Further we feel that a description of change in land tenure, social structure and community organization, and change in the educational system will best serve to illustrate the whole pattern of change, since the changes in these spheres are among the most obvious ones.

**Change in Rural Okinawa**

The small total area of Okinawa and its great population density and the large number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. It is a fact that the mere presence of foreign troops and their military and civil administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture and social change. This close proximity,

---

1The following discussion is based on personal observations of the writer, and discussions and communications with Dr. Forrest R. Pitts former research associate of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. Data for this discussion was provided to the writer to some extent by Dr. Pitts, who is also co-author of SIRI report No. 8, in which additional data is contained.
however, might easily be exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. On Okinawa the social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan are often too great to permit easy large-scale interactions, and consequently, actual change which might have resulted from this interaction is not as great as for instance in an area where there is a greater degree of social and cultural "compatibility." It should be stated, however, that in contrast to the Japanese administration the American military and civil administration has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. It is very likely, if not a fact, that the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor in this process however is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality into overall Japanese culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself eventually as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and the Okinawan is so great as to make any great assimilation extremely difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. As a consequence, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is generally admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial
ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese style or education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.¹

With only a very few exceptions, Okinawans on the whole admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are cultural, features not so easily observed, have apparently not made any real impression. (Precisely,) Perhaps because American wealth and technology are so vastly superior to their own in most instances, the Okinawans conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things, and are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

It is still an open question if the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military and civil administration have affected the social system of Okinawa to such an extent as to bring on any basic changes in that system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. For example, the men of the farm village may acknowledge

¹It should be noted that the culture-historical approach in section I, attempts to provide an adequate background of these cultural and racial ties.
that women may hold public office according to the law but at the same time they state that it will never be permitted to happen. We can probably safely assume that in most cases the potentiality for change has been introduced, rather than actual change itself.

The major forces of change on Okinawa have been primarily technological and economic. It is a fairly safe assumption that where changes have occurred in the social organization, they have come about largely as a result of the above-mentioned factors. Material culture, in general, is much easier accepted than new ideologies; however in the final analysis this new material culture may also alter the existing non-material culture to such an extent as to bring on changes in the social organization.

Military and civil administration installations have attracted people from all areas of Okinawa, and at the present time some twenty-five to thirty per cent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Consequently, some of these people constituting the labor force are drawn from the landless segment of the population which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas of the island land has

---

1United States Civil Administration, Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands Vol. III No. II., December 1955.
been left idle by those who have thought salaried jobs more profitable than farming. Through the ever-increasing circulation of money new patterns of living have and still are evolving. A complex system of all-weather roads has been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where all persons on the island have a mobility undreamed of in prewar times.

Most rural Okinawans are decidedly opposed to any overt action designed to weaken the unity of their village; yet when they put aside farming and commute daily to a salaried job outside their village, they avail themselves of the newspapers, movie and radio programs emanating from the city, and they no longer participate in traditional labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, then they are directly contributing towards the change they really do not want.

As stated earlier, every society is constantly in a state of change and readjustment. This holds true for Okinawa, and the major forces responsible for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative long before WW II. The impact of the war has resulted in a rapid acceleration of these forces of change which have been slowly building up throughout the history of the island. These processes of change become better observable
precisely through acceleration they often become more obvious.

One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with rather far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which provided the Okinawans with unthought of mobility. There has been a tremendous increase in the number of motor vehicles. Most villages on the island now have relatively easy access to bus lines which connect virtually all points of the island. Where the people of the villages formerly went but rarely to town, they now make such trips frequently, and many Okinawans now commute daily to jobs with the U.S. Forces. With the advent of bus service the whole market system, that was formerly a primarily local or regional one has changed; products from all parts of the island can now be bought anywhere. The new roads and bus connections have also done much in breaking down the former isolation of the village. The physical barriers separating village from village, and village from town have greatly diminished.

Just as great as the changes in transportation are the ones that have reorganized and enlarged the communication system of Okinawa. Today, on the island, newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies contribute heavily to the acceleration of the processes of change. Prior to the war there were twenty-five motion picture theaters on
Okinawa; today there are over sixty-five.\textsuperscript{1} Over one-third of the films shown in these theaters are today of Western origin. Although these theaters are mostly located in the city and towns, the young people of the neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them.

Newspapers also are becoming more and more common in the rural areas. Today there are three Japanese language dailies in Naha alone.

Radio is fast becoming an important link with the outside world. October 1, 1955, marked one year of successful free enterprise broadcasting by KSAR, under lease to the Ryukyus Broadcasting Corporation. On that date also an English-language outlet for the Okinawan population at large was added to the broadcasting facilities of the Foundation of the University of the Ryukyus.

The advancements of broadcasting were startling in several ways. First, commercial broadcasting reached the break-even point in 1955. Second, the group system (addition of a booster amplifier and more speakers to one line of an existing system) mushroomed in the middle and

later part of the same year.

When the last effective count was made in 1953, there were 14,000 privately-owned radios. With increased income and greater availability of receivers in stores, it is certain that this figure has considerably increased. It is estimated that an audience of some 255,300 persons is thus reached by radio. In general it may be stated that radio has been eagerly received in all communities, and it has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into meaningful contact with the outside world, e.g. Japan, the United States.

Even though there is no consensus of opinion among fieldworkers who have written about the subject, we believe that changes in Okinawan agriculture have not been too great. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research carried out by the Japanese who introduced improved and much more productive varieties of rice, a few other minor crops, and modern fertilizers. The Japanese also altered the land tenure system; nevertheless the basic agricultural methods have largely remained the same. The major crops have not changed their ratios have fluctuated; and most important, farm

---

1 USCARI, Civil Affairs Activities Vol. III, No. II.
2 Ibid.
holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. At present there are only attempts toward consolidation of holdings, and pressure on the land remains severe. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply. Since the termination of the communal land, there apparently occurred a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa.\(^1\) The war has changed this pattern, but seemingly not completely. Though less land was used population rapidly increased. Improvements in crop yields through research development were not, even to the present time, sufficient to offset this. It is apparent that centuries of communal land ownership left the farmer without the deep feeling of attachment to his soil that exists among the Chinese or Russian peasantry. As pointed out earlier, land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship.

The average Japanese farm of about two and a half acres strongly contrasted with the Okinawan average of about one acre.\(^2\)

---

\(^1\) A little more land has come to be used since the war.

Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from even the best soils. With the traditionally low status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming too much and is rather eager to accept whatever other possibilities of gaining a livelihood are available elsewhere.

Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for over fifty years. The main focus of bitterness on the part of the Okinawans resulting therefrom is more over the loss of livelihood than it is over the land per se. They feel that not only have they lost their lands but that they are also not receiving an adequate compensation for this land-loss. It appears that despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the Okinawan village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in the last few years new tastes have been developed and have altered the diet. These new tastes have also created a dependence on foods not produced within the village. This factor in turn strengthens the inter-island market system and thereby new factors of change are introduced. For instance, the reconstruction of villages after the war often did not follow the prewar pattern. New settlements
were frequently built near roads to take advantage of the new improved transportation system. Elongated roadside settlements seem to be the new emerging pattern. This is especially true in the areas of military camps where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenier shops, etc. line the roadside in these settlements. With the buildup of the road system and the military installations it can be expected that such settlements will become even more numerous.

With the change in settlement pattern came also some change in architecture and house type. The first houses to be built after the war were mainly simple shelter-like structures with thatched roofs through which the smoke passed from open fire pits. Such houses, many of which are still in use, could easily be erected in three days by several men and women.

They offered adequate protection in the fairly mild climate of the island. Even typhoons rarely seem to have harmed them. These houses looked very similar to their Japanese counterparts. Slightly raised above the ground they had one or two rooms in front, sometimes separated by a sliding door. A small room and a kitchen were usually located in the back.

The typical Okinawan house which is now replacing
these smaller huts again is much larger, often with a roof of red clay or, later, gray cement tiles. Instead of the crate-wood appearance of walls which mark the temporary structures, much carpenter's craftsmanship has gone into their making. The number of these more elaborate structures in one village indicates in general fairly reliably the prevailing economic conditions. The rebuilding boom gave villagers of northern Okinawa a fair income from lumbering until many of the forests were nearly totally exhausted. With forest resources receding into the central high mountain of the relative narrow island people have to go far for lumber, mostly pine, which is not too suitable for building anyway.

It then becomes clear that only re-establishment of the prewar agriculture, and an improved one at that, can help especially the northern part of the island in its struggle for existence. Meanwhile many people seem to live a hand-to-mouth existence, trying to earn the little cash they need immediately as they put 'more and more time into their fields. Even firewood, which is now a major source of income, threatens to give out.

The traditional pattern of cooperation in rural Okinawa still is operative to some extent. Most problems which confront the people in the villages (especially in Nakagami) are met through joint consideration. Upon
occasion the villagers gather with the kuchō (headman), the council men and the hancho (wardmen) as well as other leaders to discuss how the situation can be improved. As pointed out, such cooperative effort is nothing new in this area. For example, long before the war the Japanese helped to establish a village in Oku, one of the most northern villages on Okinawa.¹ Many other villages in Kunigami Gun subsequently patterned their organization after it. The cooperative endeavor has resulted in such establishments as a village-owned store, sugar mill, tea plantation and a truck which carries products to the town, then returns with goods for the store. At the end of the year all villagers receive a dividend from the store, and it is hoped that eventually dividends can pay most of the local taxes. Even though this is a kind of long-range planning, it is a fact that keeps people interested in continuing their cooperative efforts. With the expansion of markets there has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts, and ever-increasing reliance is placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of clothes, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, mats, sandals, etc. has recently dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged by the Okinawans that the war

¹Personal notes of the writer.
only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese-produced objects are cheaper and better than the ones locally manufactured. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Okinawan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery, and replacement has never been made. For example, where formerly in a village nearly all of the houses were engaged in production of mats, today only a small fragment of the population is still turning them out. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets (where some of these mats were formerly sold) is now more difficult than before the war; furthermore this work is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today no longer care for this type of work.

Another notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hairpins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the
commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in the farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn; however, as noted, most of the present-day clothing is of a nondescript character. The war destroyed old stocks, and villagers have been for the most part unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen today have one western-style suit, which is usually worn only on special occasions. As in Japan, a man will often wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after the evening meal and bath. Today, even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire.

A major influence on Okinawan dress has been the clothing of the U.S. military forces. Such clothing has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. Army fatigues and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular all over the island but particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is today dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green.

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women
over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the educated people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth.

Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status. All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school years they generally allow the hair to grow and become quite long; this style is retained until middle age. Old and middle-aged men usually wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, like the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter, the young women allow their hair to grow longer. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun following the Japanese style. Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate that most men were bearded, but today nearly all are clean-shaven except for a very few old men.

Most Okinawans will also admit that diet on the island has changed after the war. They state that they are eating better food in a greater variety than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases.
After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later for many months after the invasion formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of Okinawans assert that this experience created a taste for other foods. Through the expansion of markets in recent times, the farmers have additional money they can spend for other than traditional foodstuffs.

We may say that for the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still constitute the bulk of the diet, although it seems that they enjoy now a greater variety of these. Rice, supplanting sweet potatoes, is apparently eaten more commonly than before the war, but there certainly is a greater reliance on canned foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which the villagers are no longer inclined to prepare themselves.

As pointed out earlier, money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the traditional communal land-holding system were paid in grain and cloth. Tax payments in cash were first introduced by the land reforms initiated by the Japanese. Increasing emphasis on sugar production because of governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period
of Japanese administration was also marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas of the island. We can state that there is a far greater amount of money in the average Okinawan village today than in the prewar period. The great increase in money in recent years certainly seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-eight per cent of the total labor force is employed by the military and civil administration.\(^1\)

Most of this labor force is employed in occupations such as construction, and administrative work. This sharp rise in employment brought with it an equally steep rise in salaried employees and thereby greatly increased the amount of money in circulation. Another factor which contributed heavily to money circulation in most parts of Okinawa is the large expenditures made by members of the military forces (open and black market). The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and many individuals of the farm villages are employed as laborers by the military and civil administration. In short, the traditional economy has been altered into a money economy with all its consequences, such as the reshuffling of

\(^1\)USCARI, Civil Affairs Activities, Vol. III. No. II.
social classes (increase and differentiation in wealth). The rural population is spending more money than ever before, and as a consequence, self-sufficiency of the community has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home or obtainable in the local market are now purchased in the greatly expanded market system. Where formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

Up to now we have considered some special aspects of rural Okinawan life and have attempted to show certain changes that took place as a result of the war. True, some of these processes that account for these changes have been operative for many years or long before the invasion started; however the important point is that only the acceleration of the processes often has brought them out clearly. The reason for analyzing, to some extent, the changes in rural Okinawa consist of the fact that these changes in the rural areas of the island appear to be more drastic and therefore are better describable.

As we see these processes that result in change, they represent the presentation of different possibilities to live and make a living to the people of Okinawa. The Okinawans thereafter deal with these different situations by making new choices and readjusting their lives, and
their institutions in accordance with these new circumstances. This readjustment is often done by maintaining some of the traditional forms of the society and by adding and subtracting such traits and aspects of this form as the society and the individuals making up this society see fit.

Such a readjustment and reformulation based on new choices can be seen rather clearly in the changing community and social organization on Okinawa. Where we have observed special aspects of change in the preceding pages we now shall attempt to present an analysis of form, rather than an analysis of parts.

Land Tenure

During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure -- at first, as described earlier, a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. It seems that at present a third system is emerging -- private ownership by individuals. In analyzing change on Okinawa we consider that changes in land tenure may have been accompanied by changes in the family, economy and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive encroachment on usable land by military installations has
severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change. It was noted earlier that the subject of land use by U.S. military forces presents even at present a serious problem in Okinawan U.S. relations.

Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon; under the old kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small segment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler, but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit somewhat similar to the modern son (village), was the land-holding unit. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings.¹

Following the annexation of Okinawa by Japan, the new government embarked on a program designed to integrate Okinawa into the Japanese national state. The task facing the early Japanese administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. This was soon realized by the Japanese and they allowed virtually all of the old customs and traditions to be retained during the first twenty

years of their administration, and efforts were directed towards educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land holding and disbursing unit. By 1903 a land reform was carried through, private ownership being generally confirmed at that time in favor of the cultivator.  

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance. Their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for

---


2 Community land distribution continued on the island of Kudaka.
the house. With the rise of population that took place particularly towards the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin-group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural communities.

We have previously discussed the effect of the war on Okinawa in general, and as stated, the entire island was turned into a combat area, which resulted in a twenty per cent reduction in the civilian population and in the destruction nearly every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of Okinawa, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and its psychological effects left the population often apathetic and indifferent for some time.

On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation 36, which authorized the issuance
of new certificates of land title. However land transac-
tions in the postwar period seem to have left the farmer
disinclined to take land registration seriously until
conditions proved more stable. The Central Land Office
in Naha appears to have been for some time after the
Special Proclamation almost wholly out of touch with
local changes and the registration was bogged down for
many months.

The changes caused by the war in the distribution
of land holdings among the various households in rural
Okinawa were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses,
if such a term may be used where the "richest" have but
about eleven acres, are such today because of the war,
and conversely some families have become impoverished or
had their resources severely strained because of it. The
composition of many households has changed as a result of
the large number of wartime deaths. Today on Okinawa
a large number of households consist of the usual nuclear
family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related
"broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or

---


2 Personal communication of the writer with members
of the U.S. Army, who had been stationed on Okinawa.

3 Glacken, Clarence J., The Great Loochoo, Berkeley
1955.
widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases, it seems, the holdings of all family members are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. Old people may live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives.

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have apparently in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming and irrigation of fields is impossible, in most cases, of these widowed women rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate to the important reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man.

The groups most dissatisfied with their lot were in the late 1940's especially and to some extent still today, the repatriates from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon their return to Okinawa to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war, or were given land by prosperous relatives. For instance, in one village before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had
established branch families. By 1953 this group had been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.¹

W. P. Lebra, research associate for the Pacific Science Board, stated in 1955 in his report to the National Research Council that "one does not hear or see evidence of any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer."² In fact Lebra seems to think, that most Okinawan farmers seem to regard their occupation as a lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land on Okinawa is of value because it provides a livelihood. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education, secure a job in the city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most farms, especially in postwar Okinawa are so small that they often provide little more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no particular sense in attending agricultural school when they have little more than an acre to work.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and

¹Ibid.
²In a note written to Dr. F. R. Pitts. See also SIRI Report No. 8.
farming as an occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today. The city (Naha is probably the only "true" city on Okinawa today) is an exciting place to live in, and employment there is economically more profitable than farming. Nevertheless, this attitude seems to be also in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own.

Anyone who has travelled both in Japan and Okinawa is probably impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of the land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems rather rare among the Okinawan farmers.

To illustrate in some detail the effect of the war on a village we shall cite the village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son. Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. It also suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation.¹

¹SIIRI Report No. 8, p. 137.
When the villagers returned from civilian internment camps to the sites of their homes in the closing days of 1945, they found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to the accounts of the villagers, there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military authorities as to where they might live, and the villagers felt that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted the villagers plans to settle, and many villagers apparently grew tired of rebuilding their homes in ever-changing places. In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. The military authorities at that time claimed, after having consulted the villagers, that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village was divided into three sections. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity. One mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. By 1954, most of their land was gone, and the three segments of the village are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield was abandoned) for
employment. To a non-Okinawan visitor, his first impressions of the village are of extreme poverty and bitterness.

Approximately 39% of the total land area of Kitazato comprises an abandoned airfield, and an additional 34% was ruined by activities related to its construction, (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion etc.).

There remain but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this, only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village. Some families lost all their land, very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers lost nearly all of their holdings. To compensate, for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle. Some of the villagers rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

One of the marked features of the village, as described by W. P. Lebra to the Pacific Science Board, seems to be the general absence of young men and women in the fifteen-to twenty-five year age group. Apparently as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment preferably

---

1Ibid., p. 138.
with some branch of the U.S. Civil Administration or the
U.S. Armed Forces. However a slight decline in military
employment such as took place in early 1954, resulted in
the return of several members of the village.

The village solidarity seems to be high in Kitazato.
This is undoubtedly largely due to the common problem
the villagers all face; nevertheless several other factors
appear to be involved. The gentry origin of the village
kept it apart from its immediate neighbors for many years,
and apparently no real contacts were established in
neighboring villages until after the Japanese annexation of
Okinawa. Even by 1954, the people of Kitazato, spoke
a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest
neighbors;\textsuperscript{1} thus, the upper-class origin and the physical
and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps
contributed much to its integration and solidarity.
Whereas in the rest of Okinawa kin groupings are strong
and influential, there is a relative weakness of kin
groupings in Kitazato, this factor seems to further
village-wide cooperation which in other villages is often
only possible through formal organizations.

It is fairly clear that young people see no future
in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as

\textsuperscript{1}\textit{Ibid.} p. 141.
soon as they are able, whereas older adults cannot conceive
the idea of leaving the village, yet they are depressed
by their circumstances.

The people of Kitazato, then, are uneasy and rather
pessimistic about their future and the local officials,
political and agricultural, seem to feel that the villagers
cannot long continue in their state of poverty. Without
improvement of the circumstances described above, ultimate
starvation would seem the only possibility. Ten acres
(total village arable land area) will not provide subsistence
for over four hundred individuals that make up the
community, no matter how intensive the agricultural
techniques. The villagers are in general too poor to cut
loose from the poor plots they farm; it takes cash to move
and set up elsewhere, and this, most of the villagers do
not have. This seems to be especially true of middle-aged
people, especially men, who are supporting aged parents
and/or young children. To cut loose from the village and
leave the land represents a risk too great for one to take
who has the burden of family to support, little education,
and no training for any pursuit other than farming. At
least in the village, the individual feels, there are
friends, relatives and others like him sharing common
problems. Seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in
other communities would bring in little return; since such
work is usually taken by young, unmarried men who have not yet established themselves.

It seems, that the older villagers would prefer most of all to be paid adequate rentals, in terms of current rates, for their land which has been used for the airfield. They would then try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start anew on the old village site. The younger generation for the most part does not share these nostalgic feelings for the recreation of the old village. They feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere.

**Change in the Educational System**

Education is one effective approach to bring on and solidify cultural and social change. The Japanese administration of the island recognized this and was successful in using education both as a motivator of change, and as a means to "unify the island, and attach it more securely to the empire."

The 78-year occupation of the Ryukyu Islands by the Japanese resulted in the development of an educational system patterned after that of Japan and administered as the schools in a prefecture of the mother country. The pattern, however, extended only to the lower echelons of
education. Since the highest level of education available in the islands was the Shuri Normal School, it was necessary for all individuals seeking professional training other than in education to attend universities in Japan.

Top administrative personnel of Ryukyuan schools were largely Japanese, and curricula, certification, and standards for schools and personnel were all under the jurisdiction of the Japanese Ministry of Education, as in Japan itself.

Postwar changes in education have in general paralleled the developments in Japan in-so-far as structural organization and curricula are concerned; but, aside from the reconstruction of buildings and the founding of a university, there has been little similarity in the development of education in the two countries.

In the Ryukyus, while the structure of Japanese educational reform (directed by SCAP) was accepted as a guide, there has never been up to the present a comparable staff of educators to work with the Ryukyuans, to give them an understanding of the philosophy behind the proposed changes, and to help them draft the necessary laws, regulations, and standards to implement the changes.

Now, what were some of the factors leading up first, to the Japanese educational system, and second to the system introduced by CAMG.
The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: 1) the traditional education borrowed from China, 2) the Japanese system of education, and 3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.

The Chinese influence ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Under it education was confined to the upper classes and, therefore, Chinese influence really never came to full bloom in rural Okinawa. The Japanese system on the other hand reached nearly, if not all, of Okinawa, and in fact meant that from this time on most western ideas were introduced into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Japanese system had as its ultimate goal to induce in Okinawa conformity to the ideals of Japan. The important point, however, in the Japanese system in contrast to the Chinese one was that education under the Japanese became a mass program.

Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted to Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which became one of the bases of their superior status.
Education today is still regarded as a means of rising in status, and more often than not, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. The rewards that education brings, however, have changed. In the days of the kingdom, they usually came automatically; under the Japanese administration this was less true, and today still less. Education is in general still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its value may be questioned. Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who still today may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene of the island.

Despite the great importance attached to the family particularly in East Asian societies the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese educational system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. For instance, in pre-war days it was not uncommon that the police reported the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents. The authority that the teacher enjoyed under the Japanese system most likely came from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local
spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as Japanese national ideology.

The teacher then was another instrument that brought on accelerated change. Since the war, however, the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the war, but it was undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. In 1954, for example, Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥ 3,400 per month, principals, ¥ 6110. A police chief, by contrast, received ¥ 6470. An elementary teacher, who must have twelve years of schooling and six months of professional training, at the time received 75 per cent of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have nine years of schooling and three months of training. In pre-war times the teacher received 155 per cent of the salary of the policeman.  

It is therefore not surprising that the Okinawan teacher instead of becoming an effective instrument of change as he had been under the Japanese administration,

---

has not become a symbol of "democratization of Okinawa" as the civil administration intended him to do.

For example, the Americans benevolent and paternalistic set up Okinawa's first university. The U.S. Government lavished funds on it and encouraged big contributions from private U.S. groups. Michigan State University supplied teachers and equipment. The university thereupon was soon flourishing with 1760 students and 125 faculty members. However, it had its troubles, too. Students, probably encouraged by Japanese-educated Okinawan faculty members, began to agitate for the return of the island to Japan. Several of the students supported the Communist-front Okinawa People's Party, and sent a party spokesman to Tokyo to complain of U.S. seizure of Okinawan farmlands. Anti-American articles were published in the university's literary magazine. Finally, in August, 1956, the students of the university staged anti-American demonstrations, shouting among other things: "Yankees go home."

A change had taken place, but apparently the change had not taken the direction intended by the American initiator. Surprisingly enough if we consider that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than under the American Civil Affairs/Military Government Administration. Japanese thinking seems to have been fostered effectively, in that most of what was
taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. The educational system of today is no longer authoritarian. However, many teachers are the same ones who enforced the old system a few years ago. True, some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

W. P. Suttles, a former research associate of the Pacific Science Board, suggests that if one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", one must give a negative answer. Though the war has brought a complete upheaval of Okinawan life, the Okinawan, it seems, is still disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him -- in economics, politics, and particularly health and sanitation. Yet, apparently this ignorance is not confined to the less educated. For example, when questioned, a college student gave some of the folk beliefs about disease to an American observer.\(^1\) Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempting to rationalize may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude: his high school teacher, for example, had explained that crows do not really know when someone is

\(^1\)Ibid., p. 146.
going to die because they possess supernatural power, they know it because they can smell death.

The difficulty seems to lie partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, to re-examine traditional beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, for example, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge," incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach, and to affect a complete "Gleichschaltung" of ideology, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; and it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society. In other words if a change is effected in the social organization, this change will ultimately result in a change in attitudes, and in turn will affect the educational system which will bring on new changes. This leads us to think that one of the important problems in these processes of change is that of values, namely the ones existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English, for example, is merely an element of a value system that often is not in accord
with the urgent needs of Okinawan society.

**Changing Social Structure and Community Organization**

In sum we may state that the war brought about a general levelling in community life on Okinawa. By that we mean that before the war, the upper stratum of the society of the island consisted of Japanese officials plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy, since the traditional Okinawan social structure (pre-Japanese annexation) had been broken down. Today in the Okinawan community, there exist inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. These differences, however, should not be traced to a class structure per se, but rather to age, possession of land or money, or personal character.

During the times of the Okinawan kingdom, there existed on the island a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the traditional Okinawan hereditary nobility after the island became a province. However, despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble (or at times Shuri-born individuals) were made up to WW II. In the family registers, descendants of the Okinawan nobility (shizoku)
were so designated. But it seems that by general agreement these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing in the community as a whole. For all practical purposes everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendent of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register (koseki) about noble birth. Here we may note that the postwar period has seen several instances of conflict between the occidental concept of proper recording and documentation of individual vital statistics on the one hand, and the oriental concept of the all inclusive "koseki" in which the entire history of a family is separately kept and recorded. Some understanding of this system is necessary to understand some of the changes taking place in the form of the society and to appreciate fully the problems involved in the sizable number of marriages between Ryukyuans and Americans or other non-Ryukyuans,\(^1\) documentation of the children of such a union, legitimation, and adoption, etc., problems which must be solved if an orderly civil body is to be encouraged and preserved. Whereas the individual is important record-wise for problems of vital statistics

\(^1\)Exact statistics are not available.
in the U.S. and less so in Europe and the family unit practically non-existent, the opposite prevails in the Ryukyus where, because of the traditional practice of ancestor worship, the individual is lost in the family of the common ancestor. No individual birth or marriage certificate is issued by the local government, but only a certified extract from the individual's family record, showing the date of birth, the details of any prior marriages or divorces, the prior birth of any children to the individual, whether in or out of wedlock, whether the individual has been adopted, the head of the individual's family, the vital statistics of his parents, the position of the individual in the family, and the place of domicile of the family.

Most of the conflict, and here the process of change is visible, has arisen in connection with the recording of mixed marriages, legitimation, and adoption because the Okinawan rule as to conflict of laws is the exact opposite of U.S. legal thought. For example, while the American rule is that the requisites for the existence of a marriage are determined by the law of the place of celebration, the Okinawan law is that the same factors are determined by the law of the parties domicile. (The change taking place consists of the fact that where): In the past the Okinawan wife of an American serviceman was held to have separated
herself from her family and therefore no entry of the children of the couple was made in the special Naha register, as the head of the family had no koseki. In the last few months of 1956, however, the Ryukyuan authorities agreed to permit the making of a birth record in such cases, but instead of entering it in the special Naha register, they enter it in the mother's family register, even though, theoretically, the wife has entered the husband's family upon marriage and left her own. Here we have a good example of a beginning "Gleichschaltung" of social thinking.

To return to the more general subject of social organization, we may continue our discussion by pointing out, that the solidarity and integration of the Okinawan community was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations; village marriage practices tended to be endogamous; and nearly all the members, at least in rural Okinawa, were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most Okinawan communities there are a number of individuals who are employed outside the village or community in non-agricultural pursuits.

Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do
farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen as the case may be. These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status.

There also has been a considerable decline in the reciprocal labor exchanges, that were previously described. The individual who is a day laborer outside the community is automatically prevented from taking part in the traditional reciprocal labor exchange. Likewise, the individual farmer who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a new rice paddy, instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative labor exchange as he formerly would have done, is also contributing to the decline of this practice.

Formerly persons who left the village emigrated to other parts of the Japanese empire, or to Hawaii or South America, whereas today instead of leaving the community they usually obtain employment in the towns or military establishments. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin and thereby introduce new ideas and ways of life. The basic unit which makes up the household and therefore the village community, the family, has also been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and
the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provide the first motivation for change in the social organization. Under the Japanese system of inheritance, the bulk of the estate was given to the eldest son, while younger sons were often left landless; consequently many of these young men left the community since they were forced to look for a livelihood elsewhere. In other words, behavior of an Okinawan parent becomes different from his father's before him.

One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration (here to be taken as the initiator of change) is the "democratization" of Okinawan society. If democratization means the development of political and social equality and of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will be undoubtedly be changes in Okinawan family life and Okinawan social structure as a whole.

In summary we may state then, that the processes of change have been operating in Okinawan society and culture for centuries, that change was intensified by contact and accelerated greatly by the military actions of 1945. In the following final pages we shall attempt to summarize and at least partly evaluate some of them.
CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In analyzing aspects of culture change on Okinawa, we were guided by the following principal considerations. 1) In describing culture change one must necessarily consider historical material dealing with the area under investigation. 2) Culture change should be analyzed as an ever present process rather than as one operating only at a specified moment in time and space. 3) Rather than formulating broad generalizations one should attempt to arrive at testable hypotheses, which can be illustrated by concrete examples.

The understanding of processes of change necessarily requires a sense of the conditions which have produced the dynamic force giving rise to culture change, and this in turn requires an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture and the society. In some instances one perhaps might somewhat neglect history and rely primarily on the present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of the Ryukyus. We have felt impelled to point out and document historical events and conditions which have brought the culture and society of Okinawa to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least
to make clear that these historical problems exist and that the contemporary culture and society of the island must be seen as a product of its historical antecedents.

    We conceive of the Okinawans not simply as accepting new cultural and social elements from China, Japan and finally the West, when they were introduced to them, but as reacting in positive fashion to each new element as it was presented to them. We also conceived the Okinawans as being autogenetic in their culture, initiating new ideas and new ways of behaving, if only on a relatively small scale.

    This dynamic picture then necessarily demands recognition of the possibility that the operation of a cultural and a social system, however simple, involves continual tendencies of change. Basic relations in a socio-cultural system that is exposed to persistent outside influences, as Okinawa was and is, are often unadjusted to each other and to the outside influences, therefore requiring continual readjustment in order that the system as a whole may work at all and continue to exist.

    Firth observed rightly that in such descriptive analysis of change the anthropologist approaches the work of the historian, since he becomes a recorder and interpreter of social changes. In this sense we can assume that the

---

anthropologist's data are given a time coordinate, and can be compared in sequence, and not only in typology, with those of other social scientists. However we must state that in our view the work of the anthropologist in this respect differs significantly from that of most historians, since the anthropologist should be more conscious of the theoretical issues of social process, and the anthropologist is probably more concerned that the minutiae of events recorded should be seen to be relevant to some problem in social and cultural relationship.

We have tried to show in the course of this thesis that as the outside influences and pressures, especially in postwar Okinawa, became operative at a highly accelerated rate, virtually every individual on the island was forced to make new adjustments in his daily life and his social relationships. But he also had to maintain some orientation to the values which had hitherto held a powerful place in the individual’s motivational scheme. The Okinawan also had to take into consideration the ways in which other members of the society reacted to the new factors in the social and cultural situation. This reorientation resulted in some organizational change on the island. There was, for example, a re-planning of time of the order in which the different household members divided their daily activities, since in postwar Okinawa a considerable
number of family members were now employed as wage laborers on U.S. military installations besides cultivating their fields. Preferences for kinds of work were different from before because more possibilities came into existence. Choices in Okinawa then came to fall differently between this new range of alternatives. Daily activities took new directions, and formed new combinations.

We further attempted to show that World War II shattered the isolation and the homogeneity of the Okinawan village that had persisted more or less intact through the Chinese and Japanese phases of strong influences. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the Okinawan village and town into a closer relationship with the urban areas, meaning here mainly the area of Naha. The result has been a beginning urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager and townsman on Okinawa has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear, and therefore a social and cultural "Gleichschaltung" of the whole island in relation to the outside world-namely the U.S. and especially Japan -- is present in increasing evidence. Marked improvements in transportation have given the
Okinawan a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving him new outlets and better distribution for his products. The nature of the village and town is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and as stated, greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a great number of villagers and townspeople commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations.

Okinawa has been in a process of change for many centuries, but especially for the last fifty years. (Japanese assimilation period). World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces of change. However despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has on the whole managed to preserve its identity, at least to the present time. A number of factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas and the rate of interaction is not as high as it may appear at first glance. Secondly, Okinawan culture is on the whole fairly homogeneous; hence relatively unaffected areas tend to sustain other areas which are highly disturbed. Thirdly, there remains to the present time a rather strong awareness
of cultural and perhaps less so social identity, much of which is fostered by language, song, theater, dance and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging to a larger national entity, Japan: consequently there is less feeling of standing alone and isolated. Fifthly, despite considerable changes, much the same sort of educational and political systems on the local level operate today as before the war; this has provided a considerable degree of continuity. Lastly but perhaps most important of all, the present military and civil administration has not been culturally repressive.

All these facts seem to point to the general principle that changes in cultural traits can often be integrated into the existing social system without disrupting the system. However, as these changes are introduced, the individuals or 'social persons' making up the social organization, face new situations, and by making new choices in accordance to this new situation they may ultimately change their organization to accommodate these new choices.

The most important single factor that brought on accelerated change and thereby new choices was without a doubt World War II. For example, the destruction in the southern part of the island, and the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great
traditional divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young, and gave therefore rise to a somewhat changed world view. But certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impression on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, that is preserved to some extent even today though altered somewhat after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of direct influence. But there are differences too. For example, adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the alters of household Buddhism, is weak. And as previously pointed out, the Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinate to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are strong indications of a growing dependence of the
older on the advice and knowledge of the young. We mention this fact to point out that this change in the family status scale may ultimately result in a change in family organization and leadership, since the war and its aftermath produced new conditions, and therefore a new range of choices, favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was a relatively easy chore for them to become acquainted first with the Japanese and later with the Americans, and adapt themselves more readily to their ways. They could learn and comprehend more easily some of the Japanese and Western concepts implicit in governmental change. Furthermore the post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those Okinawans who returned, especially from non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

We believe that Okinawa is a prime example of what may be considered the theme of inertia and change. By inertia we mean the relatively slowly changing character of Okinawan society before 1872 discussed in Sect. II of this thesis which furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture and society of the island in the perspective of history. But Okinawa is also a prime example of accelerated change brought about by the event of one of the biggest and bloodiest military actions the world has ever
This small island known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural and social environment as a consequence of long human settlement. But, no matter how we approach the problem we must see the changing pattern of Okinawan society and life as a continuum. This study then is by nature diachronic rather than synchronic; however we may state that cultural patterns and causal interrelations which may develop repeatedly as a result of culture contact in different parts of the world and thereby constitute cross-cultural regularities are in general probably subject to both synchronic and diachronic formulations.

In the course of this thesis then we have tried to illustrate culture change both in time and content. We have further tried to illustrate that for a new pattern of behavior to be adopted it is necessary that the values governing the old pattern must have some degree of plasticity. In other words, ends must be capable of being met by means alternative to those hitherto in use. To understand social processes and organization in change we must not only have an extensive historical background but we need also to consider the social interrelationships, and
standards, the way in which these can alter by presentation of new elements in the social environment, and the symbols in which these values are expressed and modified according to the circumstances.

We hope that this aspect of culture and social change has been illustrated by our example, since Okinawan society is still an operating concern that has successfully adjusted itself to new social and cultural circumstances, even though it has been exposed several times in the course of its history to great and powerful disruptive influences.

In reaching these conclusions concerning Okinawa we have been considerably influenced by social anthropologists such as Radcliffe-Brown, Firth and Leach since in our opinion they contributed immensely to the general theory of social change that they came to call culture contact. By this we do not mean to neglect the contributions of Durkheim, Max and Alfred Weber, Evans-Pritchard or Redfield and others. But Firth in our opinion summarized the state of social change studies clearly in saying:¹

"We are hardly yet on the threshold of any general theory of a dynamic kind which will enable us to handle comprehensively the range of material within our normal anthropological sphere. We cannot ignore that the 'social change' of the anthropologists is only a facet of the great process of human history. It is a dimension of our subject matter rather than a division of it. We need not

¹Firth, Raymond, Social Organization and Social Change, JRAI, Vol. 84, Parts I and II, p. 16.
share the view of Evans-Pritchard that social
anthropology should be described as historiography,
not science, because it cannot produce laws of
social behavior -- this is largely a verbal issue
where it is not a matter personal conviction.
But social anthropology is close to history in
another way. The time-place coordinates of the
ethnographical material mean that for his
empirical generalizations the anthropologist is
using essentially the same kind of data as the
historian does. ... The social anthropologist needs
general concepts, but needs them first as
hypotheses. He is far as yet from a set of major
concrete generalizations which can fill in the
general framework of his study of social change
in any comprehensive solid way."

In the light of this statement we may conclude by
saying that if we have succeeded in a way, however limited
it may be, in pointing out some of the processes of culture
change operating on Okinawa and thereby testing some
hypotheses of general principles involved in a contact
(acculturational) situation, we have succeeded in the task
set ourselves at the outset of this thesis.
## Abbreviations Used for Periodicals

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AA</td>
<td>American Anthropologist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWJA</td>
<td>Southwestern Journal of Anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AJPA</td>
<td>American Journal of Physical Anthropology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TASJ</td>
<td>Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRHS</td>
<td>Transactions of the Royal Historical Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JRAI</td>
<td>Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FEQ</td>
<td>The Far Eastern Quarterly (now The Journal of Asian Studies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BMFJ</td>
<td>Bulletin de la Maison Franco-Japonaise, Série française</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Other Abbreviations Used

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Title</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>SIRI</td>
<td>Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>USCARI</td>
<td>United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA/MG</td>
<td>Civil Administration and/or Military Government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSRC</td>
<td>National Research Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Brunten, Henry R., Notes taken during a visit to Okinawa Shima. TASJ, Bol. IV, 1888, pp. 66-77.


Cressey, Georg E., Asia’s Land and Peoples. 1944, pp. 84 and 191.


Leavenworth, History of Loochoo. Shanghai, 1907.


Linton, Ralph (ed.) Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes. New York, 1940.


Munro, Neil G., Prehistoric Japan. Yokohama, 1911.

Munro, Primitive Culture in Japan, TASJ, Vol. 34, 1906, pp. 1-212.


__________, The Western World and Japan, New York, 1949.


Toyo Rekishi Daijiten, Tokyo, 1948.


United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands, Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. 1953 to date.


Wei Cheng, Sui-shu. Chapt. 81 pp. 10a-12b.
