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羽柴秀吉家臣堀秀政の軍役構成

則竹雄一

はじめに

金沢市立図書館近世史料館の旧藩史料「加越能文庫」のなかに『堀家定書』という史料がある。これには一〇通の秀吉家臣堀秀政関係の文書が写されている〔表1〕。近年（二〇二二年三月）では八木書店から『尊経閣古文書纂 諸家文書一』が刊行され、これに堀家文書が掲載された。この一〇通の文書は、『堀家定書』と同一の文書であり、尊経閣文庫に原文書が所蔵されていることが確認された。これらの文書群は、当該期にはあまり残存しない軍役関係史料として注目され、部分的には使用されているが、軍役関係史料がこれだけまとまっているものは当該期では珍しいといえるのである。²⁾ 文書の発給者は、一通を除き秀吉家臣堀秀政で、受給者は秀政の弟多賀源介秀種である。秀種は、晩年には前田家に仕えることから、加賀藩士多賀家に伝来した文書であったことは明らかであろう。ここでは、『堀家定書』から秀吉期における軍役構成の一端を明らかにしたい。秀政や秀種の動向を確認するために、受給・発給文書の一覧を〔表2〕〔表3〕として作成した。以下、文書の出典は〔表番号・史料番号〕で示すことにす

る。また、名古屋博物館編『豊臣秀吉文書集』（吉川弘文館）は〔秀吉史料番号〕で略称する。

1、堀秀政と多賀秀種の事績と史料年代

まず、文書発給者の堀秀政と文書受給者である多賀秀種の事績を確認した上で、年未詳史料の年代を確定することから始めよう。

堀秀政については、『堀家の歴史』³⁾・『織田信長家臣人名辞典』⁴⁾・『寛政重修諸家譜』⁵⁾などによれば次のような事績が確認される。天文二十二年（一五五三）、斎藤道三の家臣堀太郎左衛門尉秀重の嫡子として美濃国茜部村（岐阜市）で生まれる。幼名菊千代。仮名久太郎。永禄八年（一五六五）の十三歳より織田信長に仕え、成人してから側近として活躍し、天正七年以降は副状発給や各種奉行や使者の役割も勤めた。永禄八年に近江国坂田郡で五千石を領し、天正九年（一五九一）九月に二万五千石で近江長浜城主となったとされる。しかし、長浜城拝領は本能寺の変の勃発により実現しなかったようである。天正十年の本能寺の変では、使者として派遣されていた備中高松城から羽柴秀吉とともに引き返し、山崎の戦いで秀吉方第二陣として

活躍した。同年六月の清洲会議により、丹羽長秀に代わって近江国佐和山城と所領九万石を拝領し、織田三法師の蔵入地の代官と守役となった。その後、秀政は秀吉の家臣となったとみられ、同年十月二十日書状では羽柴の名字を使用している〔2134〕。これは一族以外で初めて「羽柴」名字を与えられた事例である。翌年四月の秀吉による越前北ノ庄の柴田勝家への攻撃に参加して、戦後には従五位下・左衛門督に叙任したとされる。天正十二年四月の小牧長久手の戦いでは、羽柴秀次軍が崩れる中で徳川家康軍の攻勢をくい止めた。天正十三年に秀吉が関白となると、従四位下・侍従兼左衛門督に叙任し、同年の紀州征伐や四国征伐に参加して、閏八月には丹羽長秀遺領の越前国に移封となり北庄城主（福井市）として十八万八百石を領した〔2168〕。与力の溝口秀勝や村上義明の知行を合わせると二十九万八五〇石に達した。同十四年正月十四日には長谷川秀一と共に昇殿を許された。同十五年の九州征伐に参加、同十八年の小田原征伐では、左備の大將を命ぜられて箱根口を攻め上り、山中城攻撃に参加して、海蔵寺に本陣を布いた。しかし疫病を患い、五月二十七日に陣中で急死した。三八歳。多賀秀種については、奥村論文で整理されている。⁽⁶⁾ 永禄十一年（一五六七）に美濃国茜部村で秀重次男（秀政の弟）として生まれる。その後、多賀信濃守貞能の養子となる（『寛政家譜』では秀種の養父は多賀豊後守某とあるのは誤り）。幼名源千代でのちに源介（助）政（勝と名乗る。「多賀系図」では天正八年に貞能の婿となり、天正十年には近江国高島郡の所領を相続することが約束されていたが、同年六月の本能寺の変で信濃守貞能は明智光秀に味方したことで、所領は没収され東福寺に引きこもったため、この時点での多賀氏継承がなかつ

たとする。天正十年八月二十一日付け多賀新左衛門尉（常則）宛て多賀信濃守貞能の隠居分を安堵した連署状では〔311〕、秀種は兄「久太郎秀政」と共に「多賀源千代政勝」と署名している。連署状からすでに源千代は、多賀氏を名乗っていることがわかる。また、貞能隠居分の安堵が新左衛門尉常則に行われていることから、一旦、一族の常則が家督を継承したものともみるべきであろうか。⁽⁷⁾ 同年六月の清洲会議の結果、兄秀政が近江国佐和山城主となると二千石を宛がわれ、源介と改めるとされる。しかし、前述の連署状では、まだ「多賀源千代政勝」であったのであり、源介の名乗りはもう少し後である。天正十三年八月の兄秀政の越前転封にともない四千五百石を拝領して、天正十四年には加増をうけて八千石余を領した。一方、多賀常則は、天正十五年四月二十日に九州征伐の陣中で病死したとみられる（『多聞院日記』天正十五年五月七日条）。これにより源介は兼ねての約束通りに越前に貞能の娘を引き取って正式に多賀氏を継承した。天正十八年の小田原合戦では、兄秀政に従って出陣したが、秀政が四月二十日に陣中で病没したために、羽柴秀長の陣に加わり、戦後には秀吉に仕え大和国二万石を安堵され、秀長の与力として大和国神樂岡城主（宇陀市）を務めた。同十九年正月二十二日に秀長は病没し、秀長の後を継いだ秀保に仕えたが、文禄四年（一五九五）に秀保も死去した。慶長五年（一六〇〇）の関ヶ原の合戦で石田三成方となり、近江国大津城を攻撃を行う。そのため、戦後に除封され越後堀秀治（兄秀政の嫡男）のもとに蟄居して鷗庵と称した。その後赦免され大坂の陣に参加して加賀前田利常に六千石組外頭として抱えられた。子孫は加賀藩士となる。元和二年十一月三日死去。五三歳。法名宗心。

『堀家定書』の中で年代が明確なのは、史料②と①である。史料②は一〇通の中で年紀が明記される唯一の文書で天正二十年とある。史料①は年紀はないものの、「九州御動座」とあることから、秀吉の九州征伐の天正十五年であることは確かである。問題は他の八通の無年紀文書である。ここでは、前述の秀政・秀種の事績を踏まえて文書の作成年代の推定を行おう。

前述したように文書の差し出しおよび作成者は、署名および内容から堀秀政であることは明確である。秀政は、はじめ「久太郎秀政」と署名するが、『堀家定書』の文書では官途名を冠して「左衛門督秀政」と署名している。「左衛門督」と署名する文書は、天正十一年二月十三日〔2-37〕が初見である。⁽⁸⁾一方、「久太郎」の終見は、天正十二年正月十三日〔2-47〕まで、この間は「左衛門督」と「久太郎」が混在している。通説としては天正十一年賤ヶ岳合戦後に羽柴姓、左衛門尉として天正十三年七月の秀吉の関白任官の際に左衛門督となつたとされるが、両方とも正しくないことがわかる。すでに、天正十年には羽柴姓で〔2-34〕、天正十一年には左衛門督に任官して、同十八年に病死するまで変化しなかつたのである。つまり、『堀家定書』の秀政関係文書は「左衛門督」と記載されることから、その年代は、天正十年から天正十八年までの間となる。

一方、多賀秀種は、関係文書(表3)からみると多賀信濃守の養子となり、多賀源介と名乗るが、のちに堀名字に復して堀源介となり、さらに出雲守の受領名を名乗っていることがわかる。「多賀源介」の見える初見文書は、天正十二年六月二十六日の秀政書状〔3-13〕で、その終見文書は、天正十三年と推定される十二月二十四日付け秀政書

状〔3-17〕である。翌十四年正月十一日文書〔3-18〕からは「堀源介」とあり、堀名字に復したことがわかる。「堀源介」と記載されるのは、天正十五年二月八日付け秀政判物〔3-29〕までとなる。なぜ「多賀源介」から「堀源介」となるのかその理由は不明である。天正十六年四月十三日の口宣案で従五位下出雲守に任じられている〔3-30・31〕。ここでは「中原秀家」となっている。堀氏は藤原利仁の子孫とされることから藤原姓であるので、「中原」姓は堀氏ではなく多賀氏であり、秀種は、堀氏から、「中原」姓多賀出雲守秀家となつたことがわかる。天正十六年五月二十一日〔3-32〕以降の文書では、「多賀出雲守」となっている。

このような点から推測すると、「多賀源介」の見える『堀家定書』の⑦⑧⑩号文書は、天正十年から同十三までの年紀で、「堀源介」とある①③④⑤⑥⑨は、天正十四年・十五年の文書で遅くとも同十六年の「出雲守」受領までの年紀であると、ある程度の年紀を絞ることができよう。次に「多賀源介」段階と「堀源介」段階の時期に分けて、『堀家定書』所収文書から堀秀政の軍役構成を見てみたい。

2、多賀源介段階の堀秀政の軍役構成

【史料⑦】堀秀政軍役定書(番号は表1に対応)

人持衆

- 一、主人書立之衆小馬しるしいつれも金ニおもひく之事、
- 一、其家中馬乗并鉄炮之者ともニさし物大小なくほんのことく四はん惣を白くちいさきもんを一手くニくろく一やうニうら付事、付そえさしハおもひく之事、

一、主人持道具鍵にても長刀にても二色之外をいづれもなかえ本のこ
とくたるへき事、

一、たて物大小なく本んのことく金たるへき事、付をき物思ひくの
事、

一、ほかのほり鉄炮之書立別紙ニ在之事、

已上

右之通堅一組衆中へ可被申触候、来正月ニ相揃見可申候、若相違
之儀候者、其物ニよつて過錢一廉など可召置候、以上、

十月十八日

左衛門督（花押）

多賀源介殿

田那部与左衛門尉殿

【史料⑧】堀秀政軍役定書

覚

一、小馬しるし

多賀源介

田那部与左衛門尉

久徳新介

早川六左衛門尉

堀五郎右衛門尉

堀金左衛門尉

已上六本

一、長のほり

多賀源介

六本

田那部与左衛門尉 二本
久徳新介 六本

早川六左衛門尉 二本

堀五郎右衛門尉 三本

堀金左衛門尉 一本

已上廿本

一、鉄炮

多賀源介 十五丁

田那部与左衛門尉 五丁

久徳新介 十五丁

早川六左衛門尉 五丁

堀五郎右衛門尉 八丁

堀金左衛門尉 五丁

已上五十三丁

十月十八日

左衛門督（花押）

【史料⑦】は、堀秀政が家臣多賀源介秀種に対して軍装を規定した
条目で、多賀組衆中への伝達と徹底を図ったものである。「人持衆」
は秀政から知行を宛がわれ、それに応じた様々な武具を備えた従者を
従えて軍役負担を行う一般的な家臣を示すものと考えられる。のちの
【史料①】では、秀政の軍役構成が「人持衆」「鉄砲衆」「不断衆」と
三種類の家臣で示されているが、このうち「人持衆」に関する規定と
言うことであろう。この軍役条目は五か条で構成される。一か条目は、
軍役負担の知行主本人「小馬しるし」の規定である。「のほり」

負担は別にあるので、「小馬しるし」は、「人持衆」自身の印である。

二か条目は、「馬乗」「鉄砲」の指物の規定である。それぞれの兵士が指す指物について、大きさ（四はん〓幟半〓幅と長さを二対三の割合にしたのぼり）、色（白色）、デザイン（黒色小紋を裏づけ）など秀政から「ほん」〓見本を示して統一を図っていることがわかる。三か条目は、知行主である主人自身の持道具の規定である。自分の持つ武器としては鎧や長刀でもよいとしている。四か条目は甲の装飾の立物の規定である。五か条目は幟と鉄砲規定であるが別紙とある。そして、これらの規定遵守について来年の正月に見聞することを示し、相違した場合は過錢を懸けることを命じている。

【史料⑧】は【史料⑦】と同一の月日であることから、【史料⑦】の五か条目にいうところの「別紙」に当たるとみられる。多賀源介組を構成する「人持衆」の「小馬しるし」を装備する主人とそれぞれの「長のぼり」と「鉄砲」の負担数が書き上げられている。各「人持衆」の知行高が不明なので、軍役との関係は不明であるが、長幟の負担数と鉄砲の負担数がほぼ比例することから、知行高と軍役負担との相関関係が想定される。多賀源介は、秀政から天正十二年六月二十六日付けで近江国小野庄・田根庄内で三千石を知行宛行されている。この石高に対する軍役賦課である可能性がある（3-3）。この知行地三千石のうち二千二百五十石は、多賀源介の家臣十三人にに配分されている（3-4）。しかし、ここに見られる給人名は、陣立書の人名とは全く一致しない。これは多賀源介組のそれぞれの武士は「人持衆」であるが、（3-4）知行目録の武士は多賀源介の家臣であり、秀政からは陪臣なのである。

【史料⑩】堀秀政陣立書

右 弓鉄炮

柴田源左衛門
堀三郎左衛門
葛巻十右衛門

慶増勘右衛門

齋藤玄蕃助殿

堀理兵衛

神子田八右衛門

落合勝九郎

水野傳右衛門

稲葉十左衛門

落合将監

山岡与三右衛門

堀采女佐

谷屋宗左衛門

瀧与右衛門

堀孫一郎

堀勝三郎

高山源八

西谷不断衆

先

石川勘左衛門

左衛門督

近藤四郎右衛門

赤尾与八郎

東谷不断衆

河瀬吉岐守

大窪藤左衛門

多賀源介

河瀬嘉七郎

本須弥三郎

田那部与左衛門

土肥与兵衛

其外弓衆

久徳兵衛

種田与次

ほろ衆

早川六左衛門

種田助丞

堀五郎右衛門

藤野彦左衛門

堀金左衛門

左

弓鉄炮

不破十蔵

堀監物丞

【史料⑩】は、「先」「左」「右」との記載があるように、これは先陣の左右を表していて、さらに先備・中備、後備の三段に家臣名が記されている堀秀政の陣立書である。陣立書については、周知の三鬼清一郎氏の研究がある。¹⁰⁾「陣立書とは特定の合戦を想定し、そのために自己の軍勢を最も効果的に配置したもので制定者の花押または印章が据えられている」文書とする。そして陣立書は、二種類に整理されている。A合戦時における軍勢配置を示したものの、B遠征時の行軍の順番を示したものである。『堀家定書』のなかでは【史料⑩】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】の三通がこのAに該当しよう。これらには「右」「左」「先」といった軍勢配置を示す記載があるからである。ただし、作成者である堀秀政の書判はなく三鬼氏の「制定者」花押または印章が据えられているとする定義には抵触する。文書様式として書判が必要なかは検討する余地があると思われる。現地での実際の配置を示した覚書であれば作成者の書判は必ずしもなくても機能した文書と見られるのである。

この陣立書によれば、上段中央には空白があることから、先陣は慶増勘右衛門以下堀孫三郎までの「右備」と近藤四郎右衛門から種田助丞までの「左備」に分けられる。中備は左右に分かれるかは不明である。後備は、「左衛門督」＝秀政の両側で左右に分けられ、左右にはさらに人名の間に空白部分のあることから、右備は、柴田源左衛門から葛巻十右衛門までと、斎藤玄蕃助から堀孫一郎までに、左備は、多賀源介から堀金右衛門までと不破十蔵・堀監物丞とに分けることができる。

ここで人名を記される家臣は、「人持衆」と呼ばれる人々であり、家臣自身と軍装した従者とで構成される。一方、中段にみえる「弓鉄

砲」は、弓又は鉄砲を装備した一人軍役の下級家臣と集団とみられる。後掲の【史料⑦】【史料⑧】から「人持衆」、は、組單位に構成されることがわかる。【史料⑩】では、組編成は明確ではないが、【史料⑦】での多賀源介組の構成員とみられる「人持衆」は、【史料⑩】の後備の多賀源介から堀金左衛門までとほぼ人名が一致することから、陣立書では組構成員はまとまって記される可能性が高いことがわかり、それぞれ先頭の人名を組頭とするまとまりごとに記されていることが推定される。のちの【史料⑨】の陣立書が、組ごとに編成されていることも証左となる。【史料⑩】で組頭と推定される近藤四郎右衛門、柴田源左衛門、堀監物丞は、【史料⑨】でも組頭を務めているのである。「左衛門督」の両側の「東谷不断衆」「西谷不断衆」は、秀政の近習衆にあたる兵とみられる。¹¹⁾当時、秀政の本拠は近江国佐和山城（彦根市）であった。佐和山は西側に松原内湖が広がり、東側に東山道が通る標高三三三mの山で、東麓（大手）西麓（搦手）に侍屋敷と城下が展開していたことがわかっている。「東谷」「西谷」とは佐和山の両山麓のことであり、「不断衆」は両城下に居住する秀政近習の下級家臣であったとみられる。¹²⁾

前述したように【史料⑦・⑧・⑩】は無年紀ながら、天正十年から十三年の年紀と推定される。この間に堀秀政が出陣したのは、天正十二年三月からの小牧長久手の戦いと天正十三年三月の紀州征伐であり、いずれかの出陣にともなう史料であることは明らかであろう。天正十三年六月から八月の四国攻めも参加するが、天正十三年とみられる六月二十一日付け秀政書状では（2・60）、多賀秀種に佐和山城留守を命じているので、秀種は四国攻めには出陣していないことが

わかる。つまり陣立書に名が記されることはないので【史料⑩】は、少なくとも四国攻めではないことになろう。

そうすると【史料⑩】の陣立書は、秀政が出陣している天正十二年三月からの小牧長久手の戦いである可能性が高い。秀政は同年三月に蒲生氏郷らとともに近江から北伊勢に侵攻して、三月十四日には中川雄忠の守る織田信雄方の峯城（亀山市）を陥落させた。三月十四日付けの秀政の首取り注文が残されている（2-49）。三月十六日に松ヶ島城（松阪市）が開城にすると、秀吉方軍勢は伊勢在番軍を残して尾張に移動している。小牧長久手の戦いにおいては、秀吉により「陣立書」が作成されたことは周知のことである。三鬼清一郎氏によれば、作成時期に五種類に区別されている⁽¹³⁾。これには堀秀政も記載され動向が復元できる。三月に作成された【陣立書1】では小牧城に立て籠もる家康・信雄勢に対陣する秀吉軍の東陣二段目に「左衛門督」とある。四月九日の長久手の戦いに秀政は参加するが大敗する。敗戦後の態勢を立て直しの【陣立書3】では、三組編成の内二組西陣右二段目に「羽柴左衛門督 三千」とある。秀吉は五月一日には大坂に向かい帰陣するが、秀政は尾張留守居隊として残る。八月末の【陣立書4】では、丹羽長秀隊の三段目中央に「羽柴左衛門督殿 合五千」とある。十一月には秀吉は伊勢に出陣して、十五日に織田信雄と講和を結び、十六日は家康とも講和が結ばれ終戦となった。【史料⑩】が小牧長久手の戦いのいずれの段階における秀政陣立書であるとは確定できないが、三鬼氏が指摘する小牧長久手の戦いが秀吉陣立書の成立期であるとするだけでなく、陣中の一武将の陣立書をも成立させる契機となつて⁽¹⁴⁾いることがわかる。

3、堀源介段階の堀秀政の軍役構成

次には【史料⑦】【史料⑧】【史料⑩】以外の時期における秀政の軍役構成について見てみよう。この三通以外の文書は、前述したように多賀源介ではなく堀源介に改称していることから天正十四年ないしは十五年の文書である可能性が高い。秀政は天正十三年八月十三日に丹羽長秀に代わりその遺領越前国北庄に転封になり、多賀秀種も同行する。天正十三年閏八月二十二日付けで多賀源介は、秀政から越前国内で四千五百石を知行安堵され（3-14）、同十四年二月十六日には千五百石が増加され（3-20）、六千石の知行地となった。

【史料④】堀秀政幟標定書

覚

- 一、すちかいほう 堀源介
 - 一、久之字 久徳左近助
 - 一、す八ま 水野太郎右衛門尉
 - 一、ます二とかき 早川六左衛門尉
 - 一、かいのいき 谷屋宗左衛門尉
 - 一、吉之字 大津傳十郎
 - 一、まんじ 土肥与兵衛
 - 一、せいめいがはん 堀金左衛門
 - 一、くろもち 種田与次
- のほりのまねき一組卅本ながう半分さきじろきたるへき事
以上

十月廿一日

左衛門督（花押）

【史料③】堀秀政軍役定書（二段組みに翻刻）

一、堀源介一組	一、大津傳十郎
鉄炮 三十挺	鉄炮 五挺
長柄 六十本	長柄 十本
のほり 拾貳本	のほり 二本
馬数 十八騎	馬数 三騎
馬しるし 壹本金	已上
已上	一、土肥与兵衛
一、久徳左近助	鉄炮 五挺
鉄炮 十五挺	長柄 五本
長柄 三十本	のほり 壹本
のほり 六本	馬なし
馬数 十騎	已上
馬しるし 壹本金	一、堀金左衛門尉
已上	鉄炮 五挺
一、水野太郎右衛門尉	長柄 五本
鉄炮 五挺	のほり 壹本
長柄 十本	馬なし
のほり 二本	已上
馬数 三騎	一、種田与次
已上	鉄炮 十挺
一、早川六左衛門尉	長柄 十本
鉄炮 五挺	のほり 二本

長柄 十本	馬なし
のほり 二本	已上
馬数 三騎	鉄炮 七十五挺
已上	弓 五張
一、谷屋宗左衛門尉	長柄 百五十本
弓 五張	まねき半分さき白
長柄 十本	のほり 三十本
のほり 二本	馬数 四十騎
馬数 三騎	馬しるし 二本金
已上	

【史料④】は、堀秀政が堀源介組九人の幟の印について定めた文書である。同一組に編成されながら、幟印は人持衆各々で相違して統一されていないことがわかる。幟の先端につける「まねき」（招）は長く半分は白色にするように統一されている。また、幟の負担は一組当たり三〇本とされている。【史料③】の源介組の「のほり」負担合計は三〇本となっていることに一致する。問題は【史料⑦】【史料⑧】の「小馬しるし」と「馬しるし」と「のほり」の違いであろう。「小馬しるし」は「人持衆」全員の規定があるので給人自身の印であり、「馬しるし」は組内の堀源介と久徳左近助といった上級武士に限定される組の印であり、「のほり」は軍役として全給人に負担があるので、秀政軍の全体の印という役割があったと考えられる。「人持衆」↓組（組頭を中心とする数名の「人持衆」の集団）↓秀政軍全体（複数の組の連合体）という軍隊構成に対応した旗幟の役割を表しているのである。

【史料③】は同じく堀源介組九人の軍役負担についての定書であり、各「人持衆」の武装と負担数を知ることができる。年紀はないが、組構成名と人数が【史料④】と一致することから、文書の作成時期は同じと推定される。【史料⑧】と【史料③】を整理したのが「表4」である。人持衆の軍役構成の基本は、「鉄炮」・「長柄」・「のぼり(幟)」・「騎馬」であることがわかる。これらの軍役負担構成から、堀源介組の「人持衆」は三つの類型に分けることが可能であろう。

A 堀源介と久徳左近助の場合、軍役負担は「鉄炮」「長柄」「幟」「馬」の四種類を基準とするが、「馬印」が加わる。

B 早川六左衛門尉から大津傳十郎までの標準的な四種類の軍役負担。「鉄炮」「長柄」「幟」「馬」の負担数をそれぞれ五・

一〇・二・三とすると類型Aの堀源介と久徳左近助の負担数は、三倍・二倍と比例して増加している。

C 種田与次・土肥与兵衛・堀金左衛門の場合、「馬」負担がなくなり、三種類の負担となる。また、「鉄炮」と「長柄」負担数の比率が、A・Bの場合一・二なるのに対して、一・一となる。

小田原北条氏の場合、一般的には給人(秀政軍の「人持衆」のこと)の軍役負担は騎馬を原則とするが、「馬数」負担が「なし」と記載される「人持衆」が、堀金左衛門・土肥与兵衛・種田与次と三人見られる。騎馬を装備しない給人は歩侍と呼ばれるが、軍役負担を装備で表す場合に給人自身を負担数に含めない場合がみられることから、この三人も給人自身の馬数を含めていないとも考えられるが確定はできない。

【表4】多賀源介組軍役一覧

	⑧号文書軍役定書			④号文書幟定書			③号文書軍役定書					⑤号陣立書部分		
	小馬印	長幟	鉄炮	堀源介	久徳左近助	堀源介	鉄炮	弓	長柄	幟	馬	馬印	堀源介	久徳左近助
多賀源介	○	6	15	堀源介	久徳左近助	堀源介	30	60	12	18	1	121	堀源介	255
久徳新介	○	6	15	久徳左近助	久徳左近助	久徳左近助	15	30	6	10	1	62	久徳左近助	50
堀五郎右衛門尉	○	3	8											
田那部与左衛門尉	○	2	5											
早川六左衛門尉	○	2	5	早川六左衛門尉	早川六左衛門尉	早川六左衛門尉	5	10	2	3		20	早川六左衛門	50
				水野太郎左衛門尉	水野太郎左衛門尉	水野太郎左衛門尉	5	10	2	3		20	水野太郎右衛門	50
				谷屋宗左衛門尉	谷屋宗左衛門尉	谷屋宗左衛門尉	5	10	2	3		20	谷屋宗右衛門	50
				大津傳十郎	大津傳十郎	大津傳十郎	5	10	2	3		20	大津傳十郎	50
				種田与次	種田与次	種田与次	10	10	2	なし		22		
				土肥与兵衛	土肥与兵衛	土肥与兵衛	5	5	5	1	なし	11	土肥与兵衛	25
堀金左衛門尉	○	1	5	堀金左衛門	堀金左衛門	堀金左衛門	5	5	5	1	なし	11	堀金左衛門	25
計		20	53				75	150	30	40		2	307	555

但し、歩侍の場合は、他の装備負担数が少ない下級給人の場合に限定されるので、三人の場合は、鉄炮負担が五ないしは一〇挺と負担数が多いので、小田原北条氏とは違って、やはり本人の騎馬数を除いたと考えるべきであろうか。谷屋の「弓 五張」しか弓は登場しないことから飛び道具としては、鉄炮が主力であったことが確認される。但し、谷屋が鉄炮装備ができていない理由は不明である。

堀源介組構成員をみると、【史料⑧】では六人であったが、【史料④】では田那部与左衛門と堀五郎右衛門尉が抜けて、新たに水野太郎左衛門尉以下の五人が加わり九人構成に変化していることがわかる。構成員については組み替えが行われることがあるといえる。新しく加わった五人は、【史料⑩】陣立書では、多賀源介組ではなく他の組に名前が見えている。

【史料⑨】堀秀政陣立書

右

堀源介	一組 二百人	堀兵庫助	一組 二百人
神子田八右衛門尉	一組 二百人	堀采女助	一組 二百人
近藤四郎右衛門尉	一組 二百人	不断衆	一組 二百人
		佐治地藏坊	五十人
		左衛門督千人	
		小倉久左衛門	五十人
堀監物丞	一組 二百人	ほろ衆	一組 二百人

左

斎藤玄蕃助	一組 二百人	弓衆	一組 二百人
柴田源左衛門	一組 二百人	堀掃部助	一組 二百人

【史料⑥】堀秀政陣立書（二段組みに翻刻）

左

堀監物丞	百廿人	堀源介	二百人
不破佐渡守	四十人	已上式百人	
里村次兵衛	四十人	斎藤玄蕃助	百人
已上式百人		永原松雲門	四十人
		稻葉刑部丞	廿人
		早川六左衛門	廿人
		堀清四郎	廿人
		已上式百人	
		柴田源左衛門	百人
		柴田仙十郎	廿人
		柴田久介	廿人
		布施久兵衛	廿人
		吉田理介	四十人
		已上式百人	
合六百人			

右

堀源介	二百人	近藤四郎右衛門	八十人
已上式百人		赤田隼人佐	六十人
神子田八右衛門	四十人	清和院	四十人
堀右近丞	四十人	村田内膳助	廿人
松原五郎兵衛	六十人	已上式百人	
野間左吉	四十人	合六百人	
大津理介	廿人		
已上式百人			

【史料⑨】は、秀政陣立書のなかでもっとも整理されたものである。総勢二千五百人の軍役構成となっている。先陣の左右に三組ずつ、中陣の左右に三組ずつ、中央に堀左衛門督秀政があり、後陣に「佐治地蔵坊」と「小倉久左衛門」五十人が配置される。名前の記される「堀源介」「神子田八右衛門尉」「近藤四郎右衛門尉」「堀監物丞」「齋藤玄蕃助」「柴田源左衛門」「堀兵庫助」「堀采女助」「堀掃部助」には「一組」とあるように、それぞれ二百人の組頭であった。【史料⑩】の陣立書では、「人持衆」の名がすべて記載されているが、【史料⑨】では組の構成員名はなく、組頭の名しか記載されない点特徴であろう。また、【史料⑩】で「左衛門督」の両側に配置された「不断衆」は、「不断衆一組 二百人」と一組に統合されている。【史料⑩】で左右にあった「弓鉄炮」、中備の左にあった「ほろ衆」「其外弓衆」は、【史料⑨】では「ほろ衆」「弓衆」と一組にまとめられ、そして【史料⑨】では「鉄炮」記載がどこにも見られなくなっているなどの相違点が見られる。大きくは、組頭の元で「人持衆」の三〜五人によつて構成される組と長柄弓、ほろ（母衣）などの武装による組にわけることができる。「不断衆」の武装は、後掲の【史料①】によれば「長柄」であることがわかる。母衣衆については、本来は弓矢や石を防ぐための防具を背に付けた兵であり、織田信長の黒母衣衆・赤母衣衆といわれた使番として活躍した事例が有名ではあるが、秀政の「ほろ衆」二百人は使番の人数としては多いので別の役割を果たした可能性がある。いずれにしても秀政の側近の騎馬兵であろう。¹⁶⁾

【史料⑨】では、各組の「人持衆」の構成は不明であるが、これを記すのが【史料⑥】にあたる。両史料を対応させたのが「表5」である。

左右の配置、組頭の名前、二百人の組人数とも一致している。ただし、【史料⑥】では【史料⑨】の先陣部分の6組分しかなく、後陣部分は記載されていないがその理由はよくわからない。小牧長久手の戦いの際に作成された陣立書も全体図だけでなく、東備、西備だけといった部分図も作成されていることから、同様の意図を持ったと考えられよう。【史料⑥】は先陣に属する堀源介の手元に残る陣立書であることから、堀源介を中心とする該当部分のだけの書立となった可能性があろう。

【史料⑤】堀秀政軍役定書

覚		稲葉十右衛門	
近藤四郎右衛門	式百人	清和院	百人
赤田次郎右衛門	百五十人	永原松雲	五十人
河瀬壱岐守父子	七十五人	以上五百人	
落合将監父子	七十五人	堀監物丞	六百七十五人
以上五百人		不破十蔵	七十五人
柴田源左衛門	三百五十人	以上七百五十人	
葛巻十右衛門	五十人	堀源介	式百五十五人
吉田理介	五十人	今井蔵人	廿五人
慶増勘右衛門	五十人	水野太郎右衛門	五十人
以上五百人		早川六左衛門	五十人
神子田八右衛門	百五十人	谷屋宗右衛門	五十人
松原五郎兵衛	百五十人	大津傳十郎	五十人
堀膳三郎	百人	久徳右近助	百五十人

〔表5〕堀秀政陣立各組構成表

⑩号文書陣立書		⑨号文書陣立書		⑥号文書陣立書		⑤号文書陣立書		
後左	堀監物丞	左先	堀監物丞	200	堀監物丞	120	堀監物丞	675
後左	不破十蔵				不破佐渡守	40	不破十蔵	75
					里村次兵衛	40		
						200		750
後中	斎藤玄蕃助	左先	斎藤玄蕃助	200	斎藤玄蕃助	100	斎藤玄蕃助	200
後中	稲葉十左衛門				永原松雲門	40	永原松雲	50
					稲葉刑部丞	20	稲葉佐右衛門	150
					早川六右衛門	20	(早川六右衛門)	
					堀清四郎	20		
							清和院	100
						200		500
後右	柴田源左衛門	左先	柴田源左衛門	200	柴田源左衛門	100	柴田源左衛門	350
					柴田仙十郎	20		
					柴田久介	20		
					布施久兵衛	20		
					吉田孫介	40	吉田孫介	50
後中	葛巻十右衛門						葛巻十右衛門	50
先右	慶増勘右衛門						慶増勘右衛門	50
						200		500
後中	多賀源介	右先	堀源介	200	堀源介	200	堀源介	255
中	水野伝右衛門						今井蔵人	25
後中	早川六右衛門				(水野太郎右衛門)		水野太郎右衛門	50
右先	谷宗右衛門				(早川六左衛門)		早川六左衛門	50
					(谷屋宗左衛門尉)		谷屋宗右衛門	50
後中	久徳兵口				(大津傳十郎)		大津傳十郎	50
					(久徳左近助)		久徳左近助	150
							無足衆	95
後中	堀金右衛門				(堀金左衛門)		堀金左衛門	25
左先	土肥与兵衛				(土肥与兵衛)		土肥与兵衛	25
					※()は③号文書	200		775
後中	神子田八右衛門	右先	神子田八右衛門	200	神子田八右衛門	40	神子田八右衛門	150
					堀右近丞	40		
					松原五郎兵衛	60	松原五郎兵衛	150
					野間左吉	40		
					大津理介	20		
右先	堀膳三郎						堀膳三郎	100
右先	堀理兵衛						堀理兵衛	75
							村田内膳	25
						200		500
左先	近藤四郎右衛門	右先	近藤四郎右衛門	200	近藤四郎右衛門	80	近藤四郎右衛門	200
					赤田隼人佐	60	赤田次郎右衛門	150
					清和院	40	(清和院)	
					村田内膳助	20	(村田内膳)	
左先	河瀬壱岐守						河瀬壱岐守父子	75
左先	落合監物						落合監物父子	75
						200		500
後中	堀采女佐	右後	堀兵庫助	200				
		右後	堀采女助	200				
		右後	不改衆	200				
		左後	ほろ衆	200				
		左後	弓衆	200				
		左後	堀掃部助	200				
			左衛門督	1000				
			佐治地藏坊	50				
			小倉久左衛門	50				

3500

堀理兵衛	七十五人	無足衆	九十五人
村田内膳	廿五人	堀金左衛門	廿五人
以上五百人		土肥与兵衛	廿五人
斎藤玄蕃助	貳百人	以上七百七拾五人	

【史料⑤】の覚書も軍役定書となっている。「人持衆」の六組から編成され、各組の先頭人物は組頭とみられ、【史料⑨】や【史料⑥】の組頭と一致するものの、相違点は二つあり、一つは組軍役人数の相違である。【史料⑨】では各組軍役構成数は、二百人と統一されていたが、【史料⑤】では五百人または七百五十人と倍以上に増加している。もう一つは、組構成者の変動が見られることである。組構成者のわかる【史料⑥】と比較すると、

A、名前がなくなった場合、堀監物組の里村次兵衛など。
 B、新しく名前が見える場合、堀源介組の今井藏人など。
 C、組み替えに移動の場合、近藤四郎右衛門組の清和院は齋藤玄蕃助組に移動がある。

これらの陣立図・軍役定書は、いずれの戦いに際してのものであるうか。堀源介の史料は、前述したように天正十四・十五年のいずれかである。この間で堀秀政が参加したのは九州征伐しかなく、これは次の【史料①】からも確認される。しかし、後述するように秀政の軍役負担量と【史料⑨】【史料⑥】【史料⑤】のいずれの軍役人数とは一致せず、これらの史料がすべて九州征伐に関係するとは断定できなく、さらなる検討が必要である。

【史料①】堀秀政軍役定書
 (端裏書)「軍法」

覚

一、今度九州表 御動座付而以 御朱印被 仰出候、御法度之義下々 堅可被申付事、

一、軍役之義、知行千石ニ付候て、貳拾人宛之分可被相勤候、弓鉄炮 以下之儀如此書付たるへき事、

一、人持衆千石ニ付て、馬乗壹騎宛之事、

一、同千石ニ付てのほり壹本つゝの事、

一、同千石ニ付て鉄炮貳丁つゝの事、

一、同千石ニ付て長柄三本つゝの事、

一、鉄炮衆千石ニ付て、のほり一本つゝの事、

一、同鉄炮五丁つゝの事、

一、同長柄貳本つゝの事、

一、不断衆百石ニ付て、長柄壹本つゝの事、

一、陣取等之義、組頭次第諸事可被申談事、

以上

正月廿四日

左衛門督(花押)

【史料①】は「今度九州表 御動座」とあるように、天正十五年の九州征伐に際して出された史料である。九州征伐発動の秀吉からの「御朱印」を受けて、堀秀政が「御法度」＝秀吉からの軍法を「下々」＝家臣へ申しつけるとともに、軍役規定を申し伝えた史料である。軍役は、知行高千石について二〇人宛て基本として、具体的

な装備負担について三か条目以下に示している。この軍役規定が秀吉軍全体の規定だとすると、知行高に対応した具体的な軍役負担を示す現在確認される唯一の史料といえる。むしろ、九州征伐出陣をうけて、堀氏内部の具体的な軍役規定と見た方がよいかもれない。それは【史料①】では、軍役負担者を「人持衆」「鉄砲衆」「不断衆」にわけて具体的な軍役負担を規定しているが、このような軍役負担構成が他の豊臣大名で一般的に見られるわけではないからである。秀政の軍役構成は、「人持衆」が千石につき馬乗一騎、幟一本、鉄砲二丁、長柄三本であり、「鉄砲衆」が千石につき幟一本、鉄砲五丁、長柄二本であり、「不断衆」が百石につき長柄一本とされている。これらの負担量について【史料⑧】や【史料③】では、各家臣の石高が不明なので比較することは難しい。これらの軍役負担量は、【史料③】のえられる負担割合とは一致しないことから、もともと石高に対応した基本的な軍役負担を示すものではなく、九州征伐に限定された規定とも考えられる。

九州征伐の各大名ごとの出陣日程と軍勢数を書き上げた天正十五年正月一日付け九州御動座次第(2-101)では、「羽柴北庄侍従」堀秀政は「三千」とある。秀政の知行高は、天正十三年閏八月十三日の知行方目録(2-68)では、越前・加賀国内で一八万八五〇石である。【史料①】での軍役負担量千石宛

【表6】九州陣軍役構成表

	人持衆 (千石宛)	鉄砲衆 (千石宛)	不断衆 (百石宛)
武装			
騎馬	1		
幟	1	1	
鉄砲	2	5	
長柄	3	2	1
合計	7	8	1

二〇人で計算すると約三千六百人となり、「三千」とは少しの相違が見られる。一方、秀政の与力とみられる溝口秀勝と村上頼勝は、それぞれ知行高(2-68)四万四千・六万六千石に対する軍役量は七百人・一千人となっており、計算上の軍役量は八百八十・二千三百二十人となり、ここでも少し相違が見られる。しかし、一応石高に比例した数字になつてることから、軍役量が石高に比例していることがわかる。

【史料②】多賀秀種等連署組中掟

今度御出陣組中掟

一、のほりさし物次第付而何も道具馬以下可為同前事、

一、陣取事

一、舟之事、

一、喧嘩口論之事、

一、先後御注進之事、付馬乗可被遣事、

一、組中奉公人出入事、

一、万一公事出来之時者、幾重も可為有様、付聞届多分可付事、

右相定所如件、

天正式拾年

二月廿一日

出雲守 (花押)
勘介 (花押)
三河守 (花押)
右近丞 (花押)
源六 (花押)
九一郎 (花押)

『堀家定書』の最後の史料となる。唯一年紀が記される史料であるが、堀秀政は天正十八年にすでに死去しているので、秀政とは関係のない史料でもある。秀政の死後、秀種は堀家を離れ羽柴秀長に従っていたが、秀長は天正十九年正月二十二日に病死したために、その跡を継承した養嗣子の秀保にそのまま仕えた。天正二十年から朝鮮出兵の準備が行われ、秀保は肥前名護屋普請に参加して、一万五千にを率いて参陣している。従って【史料②】での「今度御出陣」とは、文禄の役に関係するものと考えられ、出陣に際しての多賀出雲守組の掟Ⅱ軍法を示したものである。秀保は配下の藤堂高虎などを渡海させたものの、自身は渡海していないので、秀種も九州までの出陣に留まるとみられる。

おわりに

最後に『堀家定書』でわかった堀秀政の軍役構成の特徴についてまとめよう。

①堀秀政の軍隊構成は、「人持衆」「鉄砲衆」「不断衆」と三種類の家臣によって構成されていた。「人持衆」は秀政から知行地を安堵された一般的な給人である。「鉄砲衆」は馬乗負担のない徒侍の給人である。「不断衆」は長柄を基本とする秀政近習の下級給人であった。

②軍役内容は、すでに整理したように、「人持衆」軍役の原則は「鉄砲」「長柄」「幟」「馬」の四種類を基準とする。具体的な数字はわからないが知行高がある程度増えると、これに「馬印」が加わり五種類となる。「鉄砲衆」は馬乗負担がなく、「鉄砲」「長柄」「幟」の三種類を基本とする。「不断衆」は「長柄」のみとなる。そして、これらは千石・

千石・百石の石高を基準としての負担量であった。

③実際の合戦に際して、軍勢配置のための大名(秀政)レベルでの陣立書が作成された。陣立書作成は小牧長久手の戦いが最初とされるが、大名レベルの陣立書も同時期と見られる。陣立書は、秀吉下の陣立書と秀政下の陣立書の重層構造をなしていたと言える。陣立書をみる限りにおいては、また、「人持衆」の従者としての「鉄砲」「長柄」といった兵が、給人から分離させられ武装ごとに集団化される編成は見られない。

付論 主な秀政家臣と家臣団編成

付論として堀秀政の陣立書で軍役を構成する家臣(人持衆)について、その出自を中心にする範囲で事績を確認しておこう(●は陣立書に組頭として見える者)。参考史料・文献は次の通りである。

『堀家の歴史』、『寛政譜』：『寛政重修諸家譜』、『堀系図』(中津堀操所蔵、編纂所贈写本)、『堀氏系図』：『飯田城主堀氏系図』(『伊那史料叢書』六、一九二二年)、『堀氏由来』(『伊那史料叢書』六、一九二二年)、『堀系譜』(堀信久氏所蔵)、『堀家の歴史』、『堀家由緒書』(延岡堀家文書)、『堀家の歴史』、『美濃系譜』：『美濃国諸家系譜』(編纂所贈写本)。

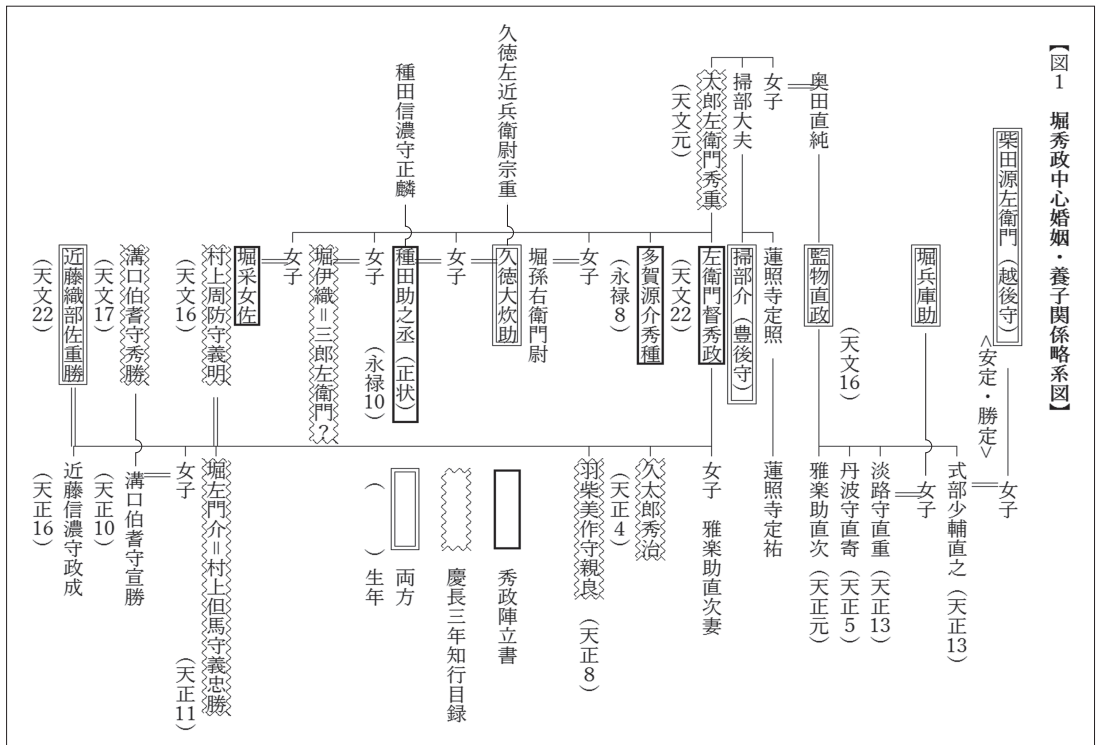
〈多賀(堀)源介秀種●〉奥村論文。【史料⑧】【史料⑩】に多賀源介、【史料④】【史料③】【史料⑤】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】に堀源介としていずれも組頭として名が見える。堀秀政の弟多賀秀種の事績については前述の通りである。

〈堀監物承直政〉『堀家の歴史』『寛政譜』。【史料⑩】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】【史料⑤】にいずれも組頭として名が見える。監物直政の母は、堀秀政の父秀重の姉、つまり伯母にあたるので秀政とは従兄になる。天文十六年に尾張国中島郡奥田荘で奥田七郎五郎直純の子として生まれる。幼少期を秀政と秀政の伯父で一向宗の僧となっていた掃部大夫のもとで過ごし、秀政が織田信長の小姓となると同様に信長に仕え、その後は秀政に仕え堀姓を与えられ側近として活躍する。天正十八年の秀政の死後は、秀治・忠俊に家老として堀宗家を支えたが、慶長十六年十二月に六二歳で死去した。

〈堀采女佐〉『堀氏系図』『寛政譜』。【史料⑩】【史料⑨】に名が見える。【史料⑨】では後備え右の組頭の一人である。『堀氏系図』に秀政妹に「秀政臣堀采女妻」、「寛政譜」にも「家臣堀采女某が妻」とある。

〈堀金左衛門〉『堀家由緒書』。【史料⑧】【史料⑩】【史料④】【史料③】【史料⑤】に源介組の構成員として名が見える。『堀家由緒書』によれば近江系堀氏の出身。(天正十三年)十二月二十四日付け秀政書状に「堀金左衛門・種田助丞殿縁辺之儀」とあり(3-17)。秀政家臣間での婚姻関係を示している。天正十八年の孫太郎(羽柴美作守親良)知行目録では、「五百石 堀金左衛門尉」とあり(秀吉三四九六)、秀政の死後は秀政次男親良に仕えた。

〈堀三郎左衛門家次〉『堀氏由来』『堀系譜』。【史料⑩】では後備えの柴田源左衛門と同じ組に名がある。『堀氏由来』の堀三郎左衛門尉の注記に「後伊織」とある。これが正しいとすると堀三郎左衛門と堀伊織は同一人物と『言うこと』になるが明確ではない。『堀系図』等によれば、秀政の妹は堀伊織室となっている。また、『堀系譜』では、



堀伊織信家は権之助重信の子で、秀政の従弟で秀政の妹を娶り、秀政の死後秀治・忠俊に仕えた。慶長三年の久太郎（秀治）知行目録では、「六千五百石 堀三郎左衛門」とある。忠俊の改易後は藤堂高虎に仕えて寛永十二年正月に死去している。年末詳三月十日の北方惣寺衆中宛の堀三郎左衛門家次と河瀬吉岐守貞綱の連署状がある（『寸金雜録』福井2・43）。また、天正十三年十二月二十四日付け「多賀源介殿・堀三郎左衛門殿」宛の秀政書状がある（3・83）。

〈堀兵庫助●〉『堀氏由来』『堀家譜』。【史料⑨】に後備え右の組頭のひとりに名が見える。『堀氏由来』の堀兵庫介の注記に「秀治近習也淡路守妻父」とある。この淡路守とは堀監物直政の三男直重のことである。『信濃須坂堀家譜』には、直重の子直舛に「母堀兵庫女」と記される。（天正十三年）九月六日付け浅野長吉書状の宛名に「堀監物殿・柴田源左衛門殿・堀兵庫助殿」とある（『専修寺文書』福井2・561）。同じく（天正十三年）九月七日付け堀秀政書状も同様の宛名となっている（2・75）。

〈堀掃部助●〉『堀氏由来』。【史料⑨】後備え左の組頭の一人として名が見える。『堀氏由来』の堀掃部介の注記に「蓮性寺弟後号豊後守」とある。蓮性寺（蓮照寺）定照は、秀政の伯父掃部大夫の子であるので、弟の掃部介＝豊後守は秀政の従弟にあたる¹⁷。

〈種田助之丞〉『信長家臣』『寛政譜』『美濃系譜』。【史料⑩】のみにみられその後の陣立書には名がみえない。一族と見られる種田与兵衛は種田助之丞妻となっている。『美濃系譜』によれば美濃三人衆氏家氏との与力である美濃国安八郡今宿城主（大垣市）種田正元の長男助之丞

（信濃守）正麟の子に助之丞正状がみられる。正麟は本能寺の変後に織田信孝に仕え、滅亡後は紀伊根来に赴き、天正十三年三月の和泉千石堀城で秀吉軍と戦い戦死したとされる。この時、秀吉方には堀秀政がいることから、父子で敵味方に分かれていたということになるだろうか。（天正十三年）十二月二十四日付け秀政書状に「堀金左衛門・種田助丞殿縁辺之儀」とある（3・17）。

〈大津傳十郎〉『信長家臣』。信長馬廻・側近で尾張国中島郡府中宮の住人の大津伝十郎長昌（長治）がいる。長昌は堀秀政と同世代で側近として活躍していることから、【史料③・④・⑤】の堀源介組に名がみえる大津伝十郎は、長昌の子と見られる。長昌室は丹羽長秀妹と伝えられることから伝十郎の母の可能性がある。長昌は摂津有岡城攻撃の際に高槻城番となり、天正七年三月十三日（十一月十日説もあり）に城中で病死した。

〈河瀬吉岐守貞綱〉『神社由来記』。【史料⑩】【史料⑤】に名が見える。【史料⑤】では近藤四郎右衛門組の構成員として「河瀬吉岐守父子」とあり、【史料⑩】での組織成は不明確ながら、近藤四郎右衛門に並んで河瀬吉岐守と河瀬嘉七郎があることから、近藤四郎右衛門との関係が近く、吉岐守と嘉七郎が親子関係と推定される。年末詳三月十日の北方惣寺衆中宛の堀三郎左衛門家次と河瀬吉岐守貞綱の連署状がある（『寸金雜録』福井2・43）。河瀬氏は近江国犬上郡河瀬荘を本拠とする武士で、滋賀県教育課編『神社由緒記』によると、延宝三年（一六七五）二月に河瀬隼人正が相殿神を勧請して再興したが、この隼人正の祖父が河瀬吉岐守とする。

〈近藤四郎右衛門重勝●〉『寛政譜』。【史料⑩】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】【史

料⑤】のいずれの陣立書において組頭として名がみえる。重勝は天文二十二年に近藤重郷の子として生まれる。源吾、四郎右衛門その後には織部佐を名乗る。はじめ信長家臣万見仙千代（重元）に仕えたが、天正六年の伊丹城攻めの際に重元が戦死したため、堀秀政に仕える。天正十三年、堀秀政が越前北ノ庄を与えられると、重勝も五千石を賜る。秀政の死後はその次男の羽柴美作守親良に仕え、天正十八年の知行目録には「六千石近藤織部」とある。慶長三年に親良が越後蔵王堂城主四万石となると、そのうち一万石を与えられた。慶長九年（一六〇四）一月二十四日、五二歳で死去。慶長五年には堀秀政の四男政成（天正十六年生、七郎太郎・信濃守）が養子に迎えられて跡を継いだ。（天正十二年）十一月十二日付け近藤四郎右衛門宛て秀政書状がある〔3-57〕。

〈斎藤玄蕃助利堯〉『信長家臣』『寛政譜』。【史料⑩】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】【史料⑤】のすべてに組頭として名がみえる。斎藤道三の子利堯とみられる。【史料⑩】では、「斎藤玄蕃助殿」と唯一「殿」の敬称が付けられていることから、堀家の主人である斎藤家出身である立場を示している。秀政の祖父掃部大夫、父秀重とともに斎藤道三に仕えたとされる。利堯は、永禄年間には織田信長に降り、織田信忠が家督を継ぐと信忠に仕え、本能寺の変では岐阜城留守居として中立を保った。清須会議後では織田信孝に従ったが、信孝と秀吉の対立のなかで稲葉一鉄の勧めで信孝から離れ、天正十一年五月に信孝が滅亡すると誰にも仕えなかつたとされる。しかし、【史料⑩】が利堯だとすると堀秀政に従ったことになる。（天正十二年）十一月十二日付け秀政書状に「斎藤玄蕃助殿」とあり〔2-55〕、（天正十四年）六月一日付け

秀政書状でも「斎玄」とある〔2-95〕。

〈柴田源左衛門尉安定〉『信長家臣』。（天正十三年）九月六日付け浅野長吉書状の宛名に「堀監物殿・柴田源左衛門殿・堀兵庫助殿」とある（「専修寺文書」福井2-561）。同じく（天正十三年）九月七日付け堀秀政書状も同様の宛名となっている〔2-76〕。また、専修寺文書には、（天正十七年）九月十五日付け慈智院宛の柴田源左衛門尉安定書状がある（「専修寺文書」福井2-566）。この安定は、柴田勝家の家臣柴田源左衛門尉勝定と同一人物とされる。勝家の滅亡後に秀政に仕える。のち佐渡守さらに越後守を名乗り、堀秀政の子秀治の代においては、越後国で一万三千石を領した。但し、前述の専修寺文書の安定花押と称名寺の勝定花押は、相違点もあり両者が同一人物かについては検討が必要とみられる。

〈神子田八右衛門尉（政友）〉『武家事紀』。【史料⑩】【史料⑨】【史料⑥】【史料⑤】のすべてに組頭として名がみえる。神子田氏としては信長・秀吉に仕えた半左衛門尉正治が有名であるが、八右衛門は正治の従弟にあたる。『武家事紀』によれば、正治の父神子田肥前守の弟の子が長門守といい、初名を采女といった。この長門守の弟を、八右衛門といい堀秀政に仕えたとある。また、長門守の子は、万見仙千代（重元）であり、彼は堀秀政とともに信長の小姓であったが、天正六年摂津有岡城攻めで討ち死にしている。八右衛門は、天正十八年小田原攻めでは二番備に溝口伯耆守・堀監物とともに名が見える（「秀吉三〇〇八・三〇〇九」）。秀政の死後には秀治に仕え、慶長三年知行目録では七千石を安堵され越後栃尾城主となっている（「秀吉五七八八」）。〈久徳新介・左近助〉『信長家臣』。多賀（堀）源介組に【史料⑩】で

は久徳兵衛、【史料⑧】では久徳新介、【史料④・③・⑤】では久徳左近助の名がみえる。三人が同一人物である可能性があるが確定できない。信長家臣に久徳左近兵衛宗重がいる。兵衛・左近助などの名乗りからみると久徳新介・左近助は、宗重の子とみられる。久徳氏は多賀氏の一族で近江国犬上郡久徳城主として、代々京極氏・浅井氏に仕えたが、宗重は元亀元年に信長に降つたとされる。久徳氏は本能寺の変で明智方となり一旦没落するが、宗重が天正十一年八月に赦され秀吉から旧領を宛がわれた〔秀吉七六五・七六六〕。同十二年七月、久徳新介と河尻秀長が用水について相論を起こした際、秀吉は河尻秀隆と久徳左近兵衛尉の時に解決した問題だと語っており〔秀吉一一五六〕、宗重から新介に代替わりしていることがわかる。（天正十二）十一月十二日付け秀政書状には、「久徳知行分御糺明」とあり知行地に関する問題が起こっている〔3155〕。天正十八年二月付けの秀政判物では、父堀秀重へ久徳某の軍役の置ききを命じている〔3114〕。これによれば久徳氏の軍役は、馬乗五騎・鉄炮一〇丁・長柄一〇本であった。〔落合将監〕『張州府志』、『尾張国諸家系図』。【史料⑩】【史料⑤】に名が見える。【史料⑤】では「落合監物父子」とあり、【史料⑩】では「落合将監」と「落合勝九郎」が並んで記されることから、この二人は父子とみられる。秀政死後は次男美作守親良に仕える。天正十八年孫太郎（親良）知行目録には、「二十石 落合将監」とある〔秀吉三四九六〕。尾張国春日井郡上末村（小牧市）の上末城を本拠とする在地武士に落合将監勝正がいて、その子将監安親と孫庄九郎は小牧長久手の戦いで、池田恒興・元助父子、森長可の軍勢が三河国岡崎を急襲しようとした際、その先達の役目を果たしたとされる。

以上のように陣立書に名が見える堀秀政の代表的な家臣について事績を確認したが、その出身は大きくは、堀名字を冠する家臣とその他の家臣に大別できよう。しかし、同じ堀名字であっても一族とは限らないようだ。堀秀政の曾祖父掃部大夫父は、斎藤道三に仕え美濃国厚見郡茜部上下両村を知行した在地武士であったものの、『堀家由緒書』には、「美濃国之内、堀名字多御座候へ共、同名筋に而て無御座候、近江国之内、堀名字古より御座候、近江之堀は同名筋にて御座候、堀金左衛門と申候て、近江侍にて御座候」と記すように、秀政の堀家と美濃の堀は同名筋ではなく、近江が同名筋であった。また、陣立書に見える堀金左衛門は、近江の堀一族であることがわかる。陣立書の堀名字の者と秀政との系譜関係は不明な点が多いが、すべてが同族とは限らないであろう。しかし、その人数からみても堀一族が、秀政家臣団の中核を形成していたことは確かであろう。

次に堀一族以外の家臣を見ると多彩な出身であることがわかる。

尾張出身の在地武士 落合将監・奥田（堀）監物

近江出身の在地武士 久徳新介・河瀬吉岐守・種田助之丞

柴田勝家旧臣 柴田源左衛門

丹羽長秀旧臣 大津伝十郎

織田家旧臣 神子田八右衛門・斎藤玄蕃助

万見仙千代旧臣 近藤四郎右衛門

すでに、秀政家臣団の構成を分析した奥村氏によれば、秀政家臣団の構成は①美濃衆とも呼ぶべき堀氏本拠の茜部周辺の地侍的土豪層、②近江衆とも呼ぶべき近江佐和山への配置により家臣化した土豪層、③秀政の信長家臣期に同僚であった信長配下の武士に分類されると

⁽¹⁸⁾いう。秀政家臣団の出身を見るならば、奥村氏の指摘が確認されるのである。秀政は美濃茜部を本拠とする在地土豪の出身であり、いわゆる譜代といふべき家臣を持つておらず、信長そして秀吉に仕えて大名化する過程において、知行高に見合った多くの家臣団を形成する必要があった。美濃の堀一族と在地武士を核としながら、近江での所領獲得と佐和山城主化にともない近江の在地武士層を家臣化し、本能寺の変や柴田勝家の滅亡、丹羽長秀の死去にともない浪人となった武士を抱え込む中で家臣団を拡大したのである。

このような独立性の強いと見られる家臣Ⅱ「人持衆」を軍団として編成したのが陣立書である。小田原北条氏の事例で、軍団編成が領主別編成と兵種別編成の二元的編成を採っていたことをすでに指摘した⁽¹⁹⁾。秀政の陣立書を見る限りでは、有力家臣を組頭とする組Ⅱ備ごとの軍団の構成であり、兵種別の編成がとられていたようにはみられない。組内部の編成を知ることにはできないが、このような編成をとっていることは、いわば独立性の強い「人持衆」による編成で、組み換え可能な軍隊構成の特徴が前提としてあるのではないだろうか。譜代家臣の稀薄性がこのような構成をもたらしたのである。兵種別編成がより進んだ軍隊構成であるかは慎重に評価する必要もある。

これを上から秀吉が後づけたのが、秀吉の家臣団編成の特徴と言われる与力編成方式であろう。国単位で知行目録を発給して、元々の大名家臣を秀吉が直接的に家臣化して、改めて国主大名に与力大名として付属させる方式を採用したのである⁽²⁰⁾。

天正十八年十一月四日付けで秀政次男の羽柴孫太郎秀家（のち美作守親良）は、堀宗家の嫡男秀治とは別に独立して知行目録を秀吉

から発給されている（秀吉三四九六）。いわゆる豊臣大名化である。これには「近藤織部」（四郎右衛門）、「落合将監」「早川六左衛門尉」「堀金左衛門尉」「田那部彦兵衛尉」（多賀源介組の田那部与左衛門尉の子か）などの名が見え、秀政の死後に、堀家の秀治と次男秀家（美作守親良）の分割が行われ、それに伴い家臣団の分割も行われ、秀政陣立書に名がある家臣の分割が進んだのである。また、秀政弟の多賀秀種も秀吉に直接仕えることになることは前述したが、多賀秀種組に配属されていた「人持衆」（早川六左衛門・堀金左衛門）が秀家家臣として移動していることがわかる。与力編成方式が明確になるのは、慶長三年の羽柴久太郎秀治の越後移封に際しての知行方目録である（秀吉五七八八）。越後国知行高の三万八千九百石が十六人に宛がわれている。この内、稲葉刑部（秀吉五七八七）・堀左門介（秀吉五七九一）・堀兵庫介（秀吉五七九二）宛の秀吉知行行状が個別に発給されている。このことは、奥村氏が既に指摘しているように秀吉との個別的な主従関係が成立させた上で、改めて与力として秀政に付けられていることを示している⁽²¹⁾。特に堀監物（直政）、柴田越後守（源左衛門）、神子田八右衛門、堀兵庫介、堀掃部助などは秀政陣立書での組頭であり、秀政の有力家臣の豊臣家臣化がおこなわれたことが顕著である。秀吉期における新大名の創出と与力編成方式による家臣団再編の状況を示しているのである。

【注】

- (1) 織豊期における軍役や軍隊構成を明らかにした研究はほとんどない。その理由のひとつは具体的な史料に乏しい点があげられる。唯一といってよい史料は、明智光秀の軍役定書であるが、偽文書説もあり、扱いは慎重にならざるを得ない。光秀軍役定書については、山本博文『続日曜日の歴史学』東京堂出版(二〇一三年)、堀新「明智光秀〈家中軍法〉をめぐって」(山本博文編『法令・人事から見た近世政策決定システムの研究』二〇一五年、のち柴裕之編『シリーズ・織豊大名の研究 第八巻 明智光秀』戒光祥出版、二〇一九年所収)を参照。戦国大名における軍役や軍隊構成については、拙稿「戦国大名北条氏の軍隊構成と兵農分離」(木村茂光編『日本中世の権力と地域社会』吉川弘文館、二〇〇六年)、「戦国大名北条氏の着到帳と軍隊構成」(獨協中学・高等学校『研究紀要』一三三、二〇〇九年)、「戦国大名武田氏の軍役定書・軍法と軍隊構成」(獨協中学・高等学校『研究紀要』二四、二〇一〇年)、「戦国大名上杉氏の軍役帳・軍役覚と軍隊構成」(獨協中学・高等学校『研究紀要』二五、二〇一二年)、「着到史料からみた戦国大名軍隊」(『歴史評論』七五五、二〇一三年)などを参照。
- (2) 奥村哲「豊臣政権における家臣団編成方式の考察―堀秀政家臣団の場合」(『北陸史学』二〇、一九七二年)では、「堀家定書」を秀政期の軍役定を知る良好な史料としながら、「各史料が年記をを殆ど記さないのので詳細は後日の考察に期したい」としている。
- (3) 堀直敬『堀家の歴史 飯田・村松・須坂・椎谷』(新人物往来社、一九七二年)。堀氏関係の参考文献としては、注(2)の奥村論文の他、山下春溪『北莊城主堀秀政』(貴信房書店、一九三一年)、永島福太郎「慶長三年豊臣秀吉の堀久太郎宛越後国知行方目録について」(関西学院大学文学会『人文論究』一七―四、一九六七年)、小村弼「堀秀治の検地とその歴史的意義」『新潟大学教育学部紀要』一五、一九七三年)、奥村哲「豊臣期武将の軌跡―多賀秀種の場合」(『北陸史学』二七、一九七八年)、金龍教英「史料紹介蓮照寺と堀秀政」(『富山史壇』一四〇号、二〇〇三年)、角明浩「越前北庄城主期の堀秀政・秀治―発給文書の検討を通して―」(『戦国史研究』七〇、二〇一五年)、田嶋悠佑「堀親良文書の基礎的研究」(佐藤博信編『中世東国の政治と経済 中世東国論六』(岩田書院、二〇一六年)など。
- (4) 谷口克広『織田信長家臣人名辞典』吉川弘文館(一九九五年)は信長期の秀政について詳しい。
- (5) 『新訂寛政重修諸家譜』(統群書類従完成会)。以下『寛政譜』と略称。
- (6) 前掲奥村論文、注(3)。
- (7) 多賀氏は近江国多賀神社神主の中原氏の出身とされ、室町期には出雲守家と豊後守家に分立し、豊後守家の養子となったのが多賀秀種ということになる。同時期に登場する多賀新左衛門常則との系譜関係は全く不明である。『寛政譜』では常則を豊後守高政の子孫とするのみで父などは記載されていない。
- (8) 『多聞院日記』天正十一年十二月晦日には 久太郎が羽柴姓を

もらい左衛門督に任官したことが記されているが、誤りと見られる。

(9) 前掲注(1)の拙稿で、知行貫高と軍役との相関関係について指摘した。石高との比例関係から見ると、堀金左衛門の負担が例外的に見えるのは、後述【史料③】するように騎馬武者でなかったことと関連がある。

(10) 三鬼清一郎「陣立書の成立をめぐって」『名古屋大学文学部研究論集』史学三八、一九九二年、のち同『織豊期の国家と秩序』青史出版、二〇二二年所収)、同「陣立書からみた秀吉家臣団の構成」(藤田達生編『小牧長久手の戦いの構成』岩田書院、二〇〇六年)。その他、尾下成敏「羽柴秀吉陣立書の周辺」(藤井讓治・杉山正明・金田章裕編『大地の肖像―絵図・地図が語る世界』京都大学出版会、二〇〇七年)、がある。

(11) 「不断衆」については、(天正十三年)三月十八日付け秀政書状(3159)にも見え、詳細は不明であるが当主秀政の近侍する徒士侍のこととみられる。「不断衆」の理解には、伊達氏の事例が参考になる。小林清治氏によれば、戦国大名伊達氏の下級家臣で在郷生活を送る主に弓武装を行う徒士組の「名懸衆」に対して、米沢城下に集住し常不断に主人を守護し、鉄炮武装を主とする徒士組の「不断衆」が存在したことを指摘している(「戦国大名下級家臣団の存在形態―伊達氏名懸衆の研究」『福島大学学芸学部論集』一七、一九六五年)。秀政の「不断衆」も同様の存在と推定される。

(12) 佐和山城については、城郭談話会『近江佐和山城・彦根城』(サ

ンライズ出版、二〇〇七年)を参照。井伊家文書には三枚の江戸期作成の佐和山城古絵図があるが、これらに東谷や西谷という地名は見られない。

(13) 三鬼氏は前掲論文「陣立書からみた秀吉家臣団の構成」注(10)で、小牧・長久手戦いで陣立書を作成時期から次の五つに整理している。

【陣立書1】前田利同氏所蔵文書(『長久手町史』資料編六一―二) 天正十二年三月ころの作成。犬山城に陣取った秀吉勢が家康・信雄軍勢の小牧山城に対峙した様子を描く。人数と秀吉の花押共になし。西備に「左衛門督」(秀政)記載。

【陣立書2】川路孝蔵氏所蔵文書(『長久手町史』資料編六一―九) 天正十二年四月の作成。四月九日の長久手敗戦後に態勢立て直しのためのもの。陣立書1との重複がなく秀吉子飼いの武將で構成される。人数と秀吉花押がある。

【陣立書3】、浅野家文書B(『長久手町史』資料編六一―四) 天正十二年四月の作成。秀吉自身も陣立に位置づけられ秀吉家臣団を網羅した布陣を示す。人数と秀吉花押がある。西備の右二に「羽柴左衛門督殿 三千」の記載。

【陣立書4】秋田家文書A・B(『長久手町史』資料編六一―五・六) 戦局が尾張北西部から美濃かけて展開した時期の八月以降の作成。人数と秀吉花押がある。B三段目に「羽柴左衛門督殿 合五千」とある。

【陣立書5】浅野家文書A(『長久手町史』資料編六一―三) 4より後に作成。人数はなく、秀吉花押あり。先手七段目

に「羽柴左衛門督」とあり。

- (14) 藤田達生「織豊期大名軍制と交戦権」、『織豊期研究』一〇、二〇〇八年)では、天正十九年の九戸合戦における蒲生氏郷の陣立書を紹介している。『黒田家譜』(歴史図書社、一九八〇年)には、文禄の役に際しての黒田長政の陣立書がある。黒田基樹氏は、「狩野文書」の武田信玄旗本衆の陣立書を紹介している(「戦争史料からみる戦国大名の軍隊」小林一岳・則竹雄一編『ものから見る日本史 戦争Ⅰ』青木書店、二〇〇四年)。
- (15) 前掲注(1)の拙稿を参照。小田原北条氏の場合、一般給人は騎馬武者であることが原則で、軍役の階層別負担の最下層であっても騎馬と鎧武装の従者一人の軍役人数二人で構成される「一騎合」と呼ばれる給人であったことを指摘した。また、馬上一人のみの侍や鉄炮・弓武装の徒侍は、「着到之外」として正規軍としては承認されなかったことも指摘した。
- (16) 『信長記』・『武家事紀』には信長の使番として黒母衣衆・赤母衣衆の記載があり、また『武家事紀』には秀吉の使番として黄母衣衆の記載がある。
- (17) 前掲金龍論文「史料紹介蓮照寺と堀秀政」注(2)。
- (18) 前掲奥村論文「豊臣政権における家臣団編成方式の考察」注(2)。
- (19) 前掲拙稿「着到史料からみた戦国大名軍隊」注(1)。
- (20) 与力編成体制については、前掲奥村論文「豊臣政権における家臣団編成方式の考察」注(2)や朝尾直弘「豊臣政権論」(『岩波講座日本歴史』9近世1、岩波書店、一九六三年、のち『朝尾直弘著作集』第三巻、岩波書店、二〇〇四年所収)を参照。
- (21) 前掲奥村論文「豊臣政権における家臣団編成方式の考察」注(2)。

〔表1〕 金沢市立図書館加越能文庫所蔵『堀家定書』所収文書一覧

文書名	年月日	宛名	差し出し	尊經閣文庫古文書簿との対応
① 堀秀政軍役定書	(天正15) 正月24日		左衛門督判	堀文書6号
② 多賀出雲守等連署組中掟書	天正拾陸年2月11日		出雲守判(ほか5名判)	堀文書5号
③ 堀秀政軍役定書	年月日未詳	(堀源介)		堀文書4号
④ 堀秀政機標定書	(年未詳) 10月21日	(堀源介)	左衛門督判	堀文書3号
⑤ 堀秀政陣立書	年月日未詳	(堀源介)		堀文書10号
⑥ 堀秀政陣立書	年月日未詳	(堀源介)		堀文書9号
⑦ 堀秀政軍役定書	(年未詳) 10月18日	多賀源介・田那部与左衛門	左衛門督判	堀文書1号
⑧ 堀秀政軍役定書	(年未詳) 10月18日		左衛門督判	堀文書2号
⑨ 堀秀政陣立書	年月日未詳			堀文書8号
⑩ 堀秀政陣立書	年月日未詳			堀文書7号

[表2] 堀秀政発給・受給文書目録

文書名	年月日	宛名	差出	所蔵	刊本
1 織田信長書状写	(永禄11年10月) 11日	久太郎	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	本園寺文書	信長125
2 堀秀政書状	(天正3功) 5月14日	武田佐吉など	堀久太郎秀政 (花押) 万見仙千代重元 (花押)	柏文書	信長下56
3 堀秀政等連署奉書	天正3 10月11日	木村藤兵衛	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	国友共有文書	信長565
4 羽柴秀吉書状	(天正4) 正月17日	堀久太郎	致前守秀吉 (花押)	思文閣古書資料目録238	秀吉121
5 堀秀政書状	(天正4) 6月18日	日根野孫二郎	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	日根文書	信長646
6 堀秀政書状	(天正4) 12月13日	日根野孫次郎	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	日根文書	信長下211
7 堀秀政副状	(天正5) 2月23日	長岡兵部大輔	堀久太郎秀政判	細川家文書	信長下262
8 織田信長印判状写	(天正5) 4月19日	堀久太郎ほか	信長印判	新編会津風土記	信長710
9 堀秀政副状	(天正5) 10月2日	長岡与一郎	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	細川家文書	信長下322
10 堀秀政副状	(天正5) 12月5日	小寺晋兵衛尉	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	黒田文書	信長下340 黒田152
11 堀秀政副状	(天正6) 3月22日	小寺官兵衛尉	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	黒田文書	信長下349 黒田153
12 堀秀政副状	(天正6) 11月11日	長孝恩寺	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	長家文書	信長792
13 日蓮宗証文写	天正7年5月27日	堀久太郎など	妙覚寺代日誦など	西福寺文書	信長補98
14 堀秀政書状案	(天正8) 3月15日	善福寺・池坊・掃部助	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	浅野文書	兵庫463
15 堀秀政書状	(天正8) 8月6日	柴田修理亮	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	千福文書	福井2-735 栃木398
16 堀秀政書状案	(天正8) 11月26日	湯山惣中	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	浅野文書	兵庫463
17 堀秀政書状案	(天正9) 巳卯月5日	(堀兵庫助)	久太郎	延岡堀家文書	堀家の歴史29
18 堀秀政書状	(天正9) 卯月25日	牛丸豊前守	堀久太郎秀政 (花押)	秋田藩探集文書	信長補237
19 九条兼孝書状案	(天正9) 9月13日	堀久太郎	兼孝在判	九条家文書	九条1625
20 堀秀政書状	(天正9) 9月18日	唐橋	秀政 (花押)	九条家文書	九条1626
21 羽柴秀吉書状写	(天正9) 10月26日	堀久太郎	羽藤	古文書	秀吉350
22 堀秀政副状	(天正9) 10月29日	皆川山城守	秀政 (花押)	皆川文書	信長下650
23 織田信長黒印状	年未詳4月21日	堀久太郎	信長 (黒印)	保阪澗治所蔵	信長1080
24 堀秀政書状	(天正10) 正月26日	伊勢太官司ほか	堀久太郎秀政判	外宮引付二	三重1-1021
25 堀秀政副状	年未詳10月26日	立政寺	秀政 (花押)	立政寺文書	信長下817 岐阜204
26 堀秀政等連署状写	(天正10) 卯月4日	上郡中右衛門尉	堀久太郎書判長谷川竹書判菅屋九郎右衛門尉書判	伊勢古文書集	信長下661
27 堀秀政書状	(天正10) 5月27日	稲葉彦六	堀久太郎	稲葉家譜	信長補250
28 堀秀政書状	(天正10) 5月27日	那波与三	秀政判	稲葉家譜	信長補250
29 織田信長奉行人連署判物	(天正10) 6月27日	堀久太郎	柴田修理亮勝家 (花押)	延岡堀家文書	秀吉448
30 堀秀政・柴田勝豊連署書状	(天正10) 7月8日	伊香郡名主百姓中	堀久太郎秀政 (花押) 柴田伊賀守勝豊 (花押)	上林三入文書	
31 織田信雄書状	(天正10) 8月15日	堀久太郎	三介信雄 (花押)	千福文書	聖知203 栃木400
32 堀秀政・多賀正勝連署状	天正10年8月21日	多賀新左衛門尉	堀久太郎秀政 (花押) 多賀源千代政勝 (花押)	多賀文書	大日11-3-319
33 柴田勝家覚書写	(天正10) 10月6日	堀久太郎	柴勝勝家 (花押影)	南行雜録	聖知204
34 堀秀政安堵状	天正10年10月20日	神照寺	羽柴久太郎秀政 (花押)	神照寺文書	大日11-2-795

35	堀秀政副状	(天正10) 正月26日	いせ大宮司ほか	堀久太郎秀政	外宮天正遷宮記	信長下668
36	堀秀政違誓禁制写	天正10月6日	(善行寺)	筑前守・五郎左衛門尉・久太郎	善行寺文書	岐阜85
37	堀秀政書状	天正11年2月13日	江新右衛門尉	左衛門督秀政(花押)	柳野文書	大日11-5-524
38	堀秀政書状	天正11年3月5日	称名寺	羽柴久太郎秀政(花押)	称名寺文書	東淺井81
39	堀秀政奉納總見寺鐘銘	天正11年3月吉日	羽柴久太郎秀政		大坂城天守閣	
40	堀秀政書状案	(天正11) 未卯月5日	(堀兵庫助)	久太郎	延岡堀家文書	堀家の歴史29
41	堀秀政書状	(天正11) 4月6日	千福遠江入道	羽柴久太郎秀政(花押)	千福文書	栃木399
42	羽柴秀吉判物	(天正11) 卯月18日	中河瀬兵衛尉・美濃守・高山右近・羽柴久太郎	羽筑秀吉(花押)	玉井氏所藏品売立目録	秀吉643
43	羽柴秀吉書状	(天正11) 4月21日	羽久太御陣所	筑前守秀吉(花押)	上林三人文書	秀吉647
44	安国寺恵瓊書状	(天正11) 7月10日	羽左・蟻小・黒官	恵瓊(花押)	黒田文書	黒田154
45	堀秀政書状	天正11年7月19日	足田喜八郎	左衛門督秀政(花押)	阿波国古文書	大日11-4-770
46	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 正月13日	木本淨信寺	堀久太郎秀政(花押)	淨信寺文書	大日11-5-661
47	堀秀政書状	天正12 正月20日	飯福寺	久太郎秀政(花押)	飯福寺文書	大日11-5-662
48	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 2月17日	大工左衛門尉	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-5-706
49	堀秀政討取首注文写	(天正12) 3月14日		羽柴左衛門督	古案秀吉	愛知800
50	堀秀政書状	天正12年6月26日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-7-588
51	堀秀政知行目録	天正12年6月26日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-7-588
52	堀秀政書状写	(天正12) 10月4日	二宮社人衆中	羽柴左衛門督秀政(花押影)	大懸神社文書	愛知655
53	百済寺棟札	天正12年10月7日	源介	羽柴左衛門督秀政	近江百済寺	大日11-9-381
54	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 11月14日	源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	奥村1
55	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 11月12日	近藤四郎右衛門	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	奥村1
56	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 11月16日	兼松又四郎	羽柴左衛門督秀政(花押)	兼松文書	愛知695
57	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 極月19日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	愛知709
58	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 12月24日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	奥村1
59	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 3月18日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	奥村1
60	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月21日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-214
61	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月29日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-215
62	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月29日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-216
63	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 7月13日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-17-254
64	豊臣秀吉朱印状	(天正13) 7月27日	羽柴左衛門督	朱印	堀文書	秀吉1517
65	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 8月5日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-18-22
66	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 8月5日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-19-168
67	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 閏8月6日	後藤才兵衛	羽柴左衛門督秀政(花押)	加能越古文書	大日11-19-169
68	羽柴秀吉知行方目録	天正13年閏8月13日	羽柴左衛門督	(花押)	加能越古文書	大日11-19-169
69	堀秀政判物	天正13年閏8月22日	多賀源介	左衛門督(花押)	阿波国古文書	福井2-728
70	堀秀政知行宛行状	天正13年閏8月22日	足田喜八郎	左衛門督(花押)	阿波国古文書	福井2-728
71	堀秀政判物	天正13 閏8月23日	永平寺	左衛門督(花押)	永平寺文書	福井4-50
72	堀秀政判物写	天正13 閏8月24日	専照寺	左衛門督秀政御判	専照寺文書	福井3-689
73	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 閏8月25日	古田五郎兵衛・多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀家文書	福井2-728
74	堀秀政定書	天正13 9月2日	北庄鑄物師窓中	左衛門督(花押)	松村文書	福井2-844

75	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 9月6日	多賀源介	左衛門督 (花押)	多賀家文書	福井2-729
76	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 9月7日	堀監物丞・柴田口口・堀兵庫助	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	三重尊修寺文書	福井2-562
77	勘修寺紹可書状	(天正13) 9月13日	羽柴左衛門督	紹可	三重尊修寺文書	福井2-567
78	堀秀政定書	天正13年9月晦日	石屋中	左衛門督 (花押)	木戸家文書	福井3-418
79	堀秀政寄進状	天正13 10月5日	長崎称念寺西教寺	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	称念寺文書	福井4-704
80	堀秀政寄進状	天正13 10月26日	志比庄永平寺	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	永平寺文書	福井4-50
81	堀秀政判物	天正13年霜月18日	橋屋三郎左衛門尉・同三郎五郎	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	橋家文書	福井3-444
82	堀秀政判物	天正13 霜月18日	橋屋三郎左衛門尉	左衛門督 (花押)	橋家文書	福井3-445
83	堀秀政判物	天正13 霜月18日	橋屋三郎左衛門尉・同三郎五郎	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀家文書	福井3-445
84	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 12月24日	多賀源介・堀三郎左衛門	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
85	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 正月11日	堀源介	左衛門督 (花押)	春日神社文書	福井4-954
86	堀秀政書状	天正14 2月14日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀家文書	福井2-729
87	堀秀政判物	天正14年2月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀家文書	福井2-729
88	堀秀政判物	天正14 2月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀家文書	福井2-729
89	堀秀政禁制	天正14年3月	北庄西光寺	左衛門督 (花押)	西光寺文書	福井3-426
90	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 3月晦日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-730
91	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 4月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-730
92	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月27日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
93	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月28日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
94	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月29日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
95	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 6月朔日	堀源介	左衛門督 (花押)	阿波国古文書	福井2-731
96	堀秀政判物	天正14 6月朔日	足田善八郎	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-732
97	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 6月朔日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-732
98	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 7月24日	上杉少将	秀政 (花押)	上杉家文書	新潟770
99	羽柴秀吉朱印状写	(天正14) 9月24日	羽柴北庄侍従	(朱印影)	大阪城天守閣	秀吉1962
100	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 霜月14日	御法印	羽柴左衛門督秀政 (花押)	本法寺文書	福井2-418
101	羽柴秀吉九州御動座次第	天正15年正月朔日	羽柴北庄侍従	(朱印)	大阪城天守閣	秀吉2072
102	堀秀政軍役定書	(天正15) 正月24日	(九州表)	左衛門督 (花押)	尊経閣堀文書	福井2-732
103	堀秀政判物	天正15年2月8日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政 (花押)	多賀文書	福井2-732
104	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(天正15) 卯月12日	羽柴北庄侍従(保か)	(朱印)	銅島文書	秀吉2152
105	羽柴秀吉朱印状写	(天正15) 5月24日	羽柴左衛門督(保か)		松雲公採集遺編類纂	秀吉2199
106	堀秀政判物	天正15 11月朔日	堀善八郎	秀政花押	阿波国古文書	福井2-631
107	堀秀政判物	天正16 正月15日	父	左衛門督侍従秀政 (花押)	保阪潤治氏所蔵	福井2-631
108	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(天正16) 10月朔日	羽柴北庄侍従	(朱印)	個人蔵	秀吉2621
109	羽柴秀吉朱印状写	(天正16) 12月23日	羽柴北庄侍従	(朱印影)	会津旧事雜考	秀吉2634
110	羽柴秀吉朱印状写	天正17年正月18日	羽柴北庄侍従(保か)	御朱印	御記録	秀吉2649
111	堀秀政知行宛行状	天正17年正月29日	堀善八郎	左衛門督秀政花押	阿波国古文書	堀家の歴史
112	豊臣秀吉確定書写	(天正18) 4月朔日		朱印	延岡堀家文書	堀家の歴史
113	堀秀政軍役定書	天正18 2月	太郎左衛門尉	左 (花押)	中津堀文書	大分303
114	堀秀政覽書案	年末詳正月24日		左衛門督	多賀文書	

115	堀秀政書状案	年未詳正月25日	伊勢太宮寺・同阿宮長官・同神主中	堀久太郎秀政判	松本文書	三重3-293
116	堀秀政申状	年未詳正月27日	大藏卿	北庄侍從秀政(花押)	關泉寺文書	
117	堀秀政書状	年未詳2月17日	大工左衛門	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
118	堀秀政書状	年未詳2月16日		堀久秀政(花押)	田中文書	
119	堀秀政書状	年未詳3月5日	祇名寺	羽柴久太郎秀政(花押)	古文書写	
120	堀秀政書状写	年未詳3月5日	堀五郎右衛門	堀久太郎秀政(花押)	藩中古文書	
121	堀秀政書状	年未詳3月18日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
122	堀秀政書状	年未詳3月18日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
123	堀秀政判物	年未詳3月18日	百濟寺惣中	久太郎秀政(花押)	百濟寺文書	愛智222
124	堀秀政書状写	年未詳卯月5日		久太郎	古証文	
125	蒲生氏郷書状	年未詳4月6日	羽久太様人々御中	(花押)	戦国武將文書	
126	堀秀政書状写	年未詳4月15日	池坊・掃部介	堀久太郎秀政(花押)	藩中古文書	
127	堀秀政書状	年未詳卯月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
128	堀秀政書状写	年未詳4月25日		御朱印	山口誠氏所藏文書	
129	羽柴秀吉朱印状	年未詳5月24日	羽柴左衛門督(ほか)	秀政(花押影)	寸金雜録二	
130	堀秀政書状	年未詳6月14日	真福寺	秀政(花押)	東福寺藏文書	
131	堀秀政書状	年未詳7月2日	三山	堀久秀政(花押)	本法寺文書	本法寺702
132	堀秀政書状	年未詳7月10日			金剛寺文書	金剛寺333
133	堀秀政等運置書状	年未詳8月11日	本國寺上人御同宿中	秀政(花押) 秋豪(花押)	本國寺文書	
134	堀秀政書状	年未詳8月12日	山田善左衛門尉	羽柴左衛門督秀政(花押)	猪熊文書	猪熊152
136	和久宗是等運置書状	年未詳8月16日	羽柴左衛門督	□□屋彦兵衛成□(花押)白江善五郎正盛(花押)星野新左衛門尉□□(花押)自庵 宗是(花押)	朱永雅雄氏蒐集文書	
137	堀秀政書状	年未詳9月晦日	堀源介・古田五郎兵衛	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-733
138	堀秀政軍役触察目	年未詳10月18日	多賀源介・田郡与左衛門尉	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	
139	堀秀政軍役定書	年未詳10月18日	(多賀源介)	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	
140	堀秀政書状写	年未詳10月18日	堀次右衛門尉・山中橋内・佐治地藏坊	左衛門督秀政(花押)	富岡文書	
141	堀秀政幟標等定書	年未詳10月21日	(堀源介)	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	
142	堀秀政等運置状	年未詳12月1日	南都西京惣中	福平左秀勝(花押)堀久太秀政(花押)万仙千世重元(花押)	薬師寺文書	信長1111
143	堀秀政書状	年未詳12月12日	谷屋宗左衛門尉	堀久太郎秀政(花押)	西門寺文書	岐阜564
144	堀秀政人持衆以下陣立次第	年月日未詳	(多賀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
145	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
146	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
147	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
148	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
149	堀秀政覽書案	年月日未詳			菅川文書	信長下651

〔表3〕 多賀秀種系給・受給文書一覽

	文書名	年月日	宛名	差し出し	所蔵	刊本
1	堀秀政・多賀政勝連署状	天正10年8月21日	多賀新左衛門尉	堀久太郎秀政(花押) 多賀源千代政勝(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-3-319
2	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 2月17日	大工左衛門尉	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-5-706
3	堀秀政書状	天正12年6月26日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-7-588
4	堀秀政知行目録	天正12年6月26日	多賀源介	左衛門督(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-7-588
5	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 11月12日	近藤四郎右衛門	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀家文書	興村1
6	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 11月14日	源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	愛知709
7	堀秀政書状	(天正12) 極月19日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
8	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 3月18日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
9	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月21日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-214
10	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月29日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-215
11	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 6月29日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-16-216
12	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 7月13日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-17-254
13	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 8月5日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	大日11-18-22
14	堀秀政判物	天正13年閏8月22日	多賀源介	左衛門督(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-728
15	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 閏8月25日	古田五郎兵衛・多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-728
16	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 9月6日	多賀源介	左衛門督(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
17	堀秀政書状	(天正13) 12月24日	多賀源介・堀三郎左衛門	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
18	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 正月11日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
19	堀秀政判物	天正14年2月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
20	堀秀政知行方目録	天正14 2月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
21	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 3月晦日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-729
22	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 4月16日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-730
23	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月27日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-730
24	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月28日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
25	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 5月29日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
26	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 6月朔日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-731
27	堀秀政書状	(天正14) 6月朔日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-732
28	堀秀政軍役定書	(天正15) 正月24日	堀源介(九州表)	左衛門督秀政(花押)	尊經閣堀文書	
29	堀秀政知行宛行状	天正15年7月8日	堀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-732
30	口宣案	天正16年4月13日	中原秀家	蔵人左中弁藤原頼宣	多賀文書	
31	口宣案	天正16年4月13日	中原秀家	蔵人左中弁藤原頼宣	多賀文書	
32	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(天正16) 5月21日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	秀吉2196
33	豊臣秀長書状	(天正18) 7月9日	多賀出雲守	秀長(花押)	多賀文書	
34	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(天正18) 7月10日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	秀吉3302
35	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(天正18) 10月8日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	秀吉3479
36	多賀秀種等出陣組中宛	天正20年2月21日	出雲守(花押) ほか5名		尊經閣堀文書	
37	豊臣秀吉朱印知行方目録	文祿4年9月21日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	秀吉5352

38	豊臣秀吉朱印状写	(慶長2) 正月17日	本田因幡守・多賀出雲守・宇多下野守・小川左馬助		多賀文書	
39	増田長盛書状	(慶長5) 9月13日	多賀出雲守	増右長盛(花押)	多賀文書	
40	増田長盛・毛利輝元連署書	(慶長5) 9月13日	多賀出雲守	増右長盛(花押) 莖中輝元(花押)	多賀文書	
41	増田長盛・毛利輝元連署書	(慶長5) 9月13日	多賀出雲守	増右長盛(花押) 莖中輝元(花押)	多賀文書	
42	増田長盛書状	(慶長5) 9月16日	多賀出雲守	増右長盛(花押)	多賀文書	
43	前田利光判物	慶長20年6月2日	多賀出雲守	利光(花押)	多賀文書	
44	多賀隨庵遺物覚	元和2年10月朔日	多賀大炊助・吉田将監	多賀隨庵	多賀文書	
45	多賀隨庵書道覚	元和2年10月朔日	多賀おおい・上田将監殿・多賀けん介	隨庵	多賀文書	
46	多賀隨庵勅定書写	元和2年10月朔日		多賀隨庵	多賀文書	
47	堀秀政賞書案	年未詳正月24日		左衛門督	多賀文書	
48	堀秀政書状	年未詳3月18日	多賀源介	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	
49	羽柴秀長書状	年未詳4月14日	若杉越後守・羽田長門守・多賀出雲守	秀長(花押)	武家手鑑	武家手鑑200
50	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(年未詳) 5月3日	多賀出雲守	御朱印(木下半介)	多賀家証文4	奥村2
51	徳川家康書状	(年未詳) 5月3日	多賀出雲守	家康(花押)	多賀家証文10	
52	織田信雄書状	(年未詳) 5月3日	多賀出雲守	信雄(花押)	多賀家証文11	
53	豊臣秀次書状	年未詳5月3日	多賀出雲守	秀次(花押)	多賀文書	
54	宇喜多秀家書状	年未詳5月11日	多賀出雲守	備前宰相秀家(花押)	多賀文書	
55	徳川家康書状	年未詳5月12日	多賀出雲守	家康(花押)	多賀文書	
56	多賀出雲守覚書	年未詳5月25日	柳原式部大輔殿/西尾小左衛門殿	多賀出雲守	多賀文書	
57	豊臣秀吉朱印状	年未詳6月18日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀家証文6	奥村2
58	羽柴秀次朱印状	(年未詳) 6月21日	多賀出雲守	御朱印	多賀家証文6	
59	某書状	年未詳7月2日	豊州		多賀文書	
60	宇喜多秀家書状	年未詳7月13日	(多雲)	□(花押)	武家手鑑	武家手鑑174
61	長束正家書状	年未詳7月13日	多雲州	長束正家(花押)	多賀文書	
62	羽柴秀保書状	年未詳8月22日	多賀出雲守	秀保判	前田家所蔵文書(別本)	
63	前田利光書状	年未詳8月24日	多賀隨庵	筑前守利光(花押)	多賀文書	
64	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(年未詳) 9月2日	多賀出雲守	御朱印(孝蔵主)	多賀家証文5	
65	多賀秀種書状	(年未詳) 9月6日	西豊州	多賀出雲守秀種花押	多賀家文書	奥村2
66	多賀出雲守覚書	年未詳9月6日	道阿弥	多賀出雲守	多賀文書	
67	羽柴秀次朱印状	(年未詳) 9月7日	多賀出雲守	御朱印	多賀家証文7	
68	羽柴秀吉朱印状	(年未詳) 9月8日	多賀源介	(朱印影)	多賀家証文1	奥村2
69	豊臣秀長書状	年未詳9月18日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	奥村2
70	豊臣秀長書状	年未詳9月20日	多賀出雲守	(花押)	多賀文書	奥村2
71	堀秀政書状	年未詳9月晦日	堀源介・古田五郎兵衛	左衛門督秀政(花押)	多賀文書	福井2-733
72	豊臣秀吉朱印状	年未詳10月4日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	
73	豊臣秀吉朱印状	年未詳10月8日	多賀出雲守	(朱印)	多賀文書	
74	堀秀政軍役触条目	年未詳10月18日	多賀源介・田野与左衛門尉	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	
75	堀秀政軍役触条目	年未詳10月18日	多賀源介(多賀源介)	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	
76	堀秀政軍役触条目	年未詳10月18日	多賀源介・田那部与左衛門	左衛門督	多賀文書	
77	堀秀政職標等定書	年未詳10月21日	多賀源介	左衛門督(花押)	堀家定書	

78	堀秀政覽書案	年未詳10月21日		左衛門督	多賀文書	
79	宇喜多秀家書狀	年未詳正月21日	多賀	秀家(花押)	多賀文書	
80	羽柴秀勝書狀	年未詳11月11日	多賀出雲守	小吉秀勝(花押)	武家手鑑	武家手鑑202
81	羽柴秀次書狀	(年未詳)11月12日	多賀出雲守	秀次(花押)	多賀家証文9	
82	榊原康政書狀	年未詳霜月29日	(多賀出雲)	康政(花押)	武家手鑑	武家手鑑26
83	羽柴秀吉朱印狀	(年未詳)12月7日	多賀出雲守	御朱印	多賀家証文3	
84	羽柴秀吉朱印狀	(年未詳)12月16日	多賀出雲守	御朱印(中山山城)	多賀家証文2	
85	羽柴秀次朱印狀	(年未詳)12月26日	多賀出雲守	御朱印(藤堂玄蕃允)	多賀家証文8	
86	宇喜多秀家書狀	年未詳6日	多賀	備前中納言秀家(花押)	多賀文書	
87	伊達政宗書狀	年未詳19日	多雲	羽越前	多賀文書	仙台1696
88	伊達政宗書狀	年未詳15日	多雲	羽越前政宗	多賀文書	仙台1694
89	某書狀	年未詳17日	多雲		多賀文書	
90	伊達政宗書狀	年未詳18日	多雲州	羽越前政宗	多賀文書	仙台1695
91	細川忠興書狀	年未詳29日	多雲	刑少(花押)	多賀文書	
92	伊達政宗書狀	年月日未詳	多雲	羽越前	高輪美術館所蔵文書	仙台1705
93	伊達政宗書狀	年月日未詳	多雲	羽越前	多賀文書	仙台1709
94	堀秀政人持衆以下陣立次第	年月日未詳	(多賀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
95	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
96	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
97	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
98	堀秀政人数書上及陣立次第	年月日未詳	(堀源介)	(左衛門督)	堀家定書	
99	多賀出雲守知行目録	年月日未詳			多賀文書	
100	宇喜多秀家書狀	年月日未詳	多雲	中納言	多賀文書	
101	宇喜多秀家書狀	年月日未詳	多雲州	秀家	多賀文書	仙台1706
102	伊達政宗書狀	年月日未詳		羽越前	多賀文書	
103	伊達政宗書狀	年月日未詳		羽越前	多賀文書	仙台1707
104	伊達政宗書狀	年月日未詳	多雲	羽越前	多賀文書	仙台1708
105	侍從書狀	年月日未詳	出雲	侍從	多賀文書	

※三鬼清一郎編『豊臣秀吉文書目録』には多賀出雲守宛の進物の返札としての秀吉御内書を三〇通余載せるが一部を除いて省略した。

【刊本略号】

愛知…『愛知県史』資料編12織豊2+史料番号
猪熊…『広島大学所蔵猪熊文書(一)』頁数
愛智…『近江愛智郡志』第五卷十頁数
兵庫…『兵庫県史』史料編中世1+頁数
岐阜…『岐阜県史』史料編古代中世一十頁数
福井…『福井県史』資料編十巻数十頁数
仙台…『仙台市史』資料編11伊達政宗文書2+史料番号
栃木…『栃木県史』史料編中世三十頁数
新潟…『新潟県史』資料編3中世一十史料番号
東洋…『東洋史』第四卷十頁数
信長…『織田信長文書の研究』下巻十史料番号
秀吉…『豊臣秀吉文書集』史料番号

三重1…『三重県史』資料編中世1(上)十頁番号
三重3…『三重県史』資料編中世3(中)十頁数
大分…『大分県史料』(8)宇佐・下毛郡文書十頁数
九条…『図書寮叢刊九条家文書』六十史料番号
武家手鑑…『尊経閣文庫蔵武家手鑑 解題・釈文』
大日…『大日本史料』十一編十巻数十頁数
金剛寺…『大日本古文書』家わけ第七金剛寺文書十史料番号
本法寺…『京都府古文書等緊急調査報告本法寺文書』史料番号
堀家の歴史…堀直敬『堀家の歴史一飯田・村松・須坂・椎谷』史料篇
奥村論文1…奥村哲『豊臣政権における家臣団編成方式の考察』北陸史学20
奥村論文2…奥村哲『豊臣期-武将の軌跡-多賀秀吉の場合』北陸史学27

When Black Lives Did Not Matter

Emmitt Bobo Till, a Boy Who Triggered the Civil Rights Movement

Harada Jun

0. Introduction

Among various themes featured in English textbooks, I feel most passionate about teaching the content of the Civil Rights movement in the American South in the mid-20th century. This theme never fails to grab students' attention no matter where I teach. The group of the restless ESL students I taught in the Bronx, New York were all engrossed in reading the story. They seemed aware of the tough life they would face as minorities in the US. I can see the same phenomenon with my teenage students in Japan. Our textbook (Negishi et al., 2021) features a black and white photo of an African American man drinking water at a segregated fountain and the story of a bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama. The students, living thousands of miles away, more than half a century later, seem sympathetic about the underprivileged and cannot help admiring brave people who fought for justice with nonviolence. The lesson climaxes with Martin Luther King's *I Have Dream Speech*. Yet, I do not think the content of regular textbooks demonstrates a real picture of Jim Crow, the notorious set of laws that discriminated against blacks in the South. I would personally believe any thematic lesson about the Civil Rights movement is incomplete without the story of Emmett Till, a fourteen-year-old boy who was brutally lynched and slaughtered in Mississippi in 1955.

There should be hardly anyone who cannot be disturbed by the gruesome picture of Emmett Till's mutilated dead body. It was brutally beaten, with many parts in the skull broken, one of his eyes missing and the other popped out of its socket, most of his teeth shattered and one ear missing. It is hard to believe there was life in this body just a week before (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003). What is more mind boggling is the fact that the two slayers were acquitted despite ample evidence indicating their guilt. They even boasted about their crime to the media after they were found not guilty.

The public anger against the injustice over the case mounted to the point where it set off the massive movement that changed history in the US. If it was the Supreme Court's decision over *Brown vs. the Board of Education* in 1954 that marked the beginning of the Civil Rights movement, the case of Emmett Till was what sparked the movement (Vardaman, 2020). Sadly however, this incident is not sufficiently known in Japan and largely forgotten even in the US. (Anderson, 2017).

This paper is intended to make this tragedy known by recounting the series of incidents in detail. Also, I will try to analyze many accounts about the case and find out what is fact and what is fiction. In fact, there are many versions of the story that took place about 70 years ago, which slightly differ from one another. This probably resulted from the fact many writers and witnesses incorporate some imagination to dramatize the case (ex. Muhammad, 2014). or to defend some people involved. In this sense, some of the fiction may be justified but it is also important to know precisely what really

happened from a historical viewpoint. I mainly relied on extensive research by Devery Anderson (2017) and most of the information in this paper comes from it unless otherwise indicated. Also indispensable are firsthand accounts by Emmett Till's family. His mother, Mamie Till-Mobley, who committed the rest of her life to a quest for justice and truth about the case, offers her memoir (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003). His cousin, Simeon Wright provides valuable information as a firsthand witness of the incident (Wright & Boyd, 2010). No less significant is investigations by Timothy Tyson (2017) who actually interviewed Carolyn Bryant, one of the key figures in the incident. Equally insightful is a narrative written by Bonnie Blue (2013) who wrote the story based on her interview with J.W. Milam, who was one of the acquitted murderers.

1. Emmitt Bobo Till Lynched to Death

Emmett Till, also known as Bobo among those close to him, was born and raised in Chicago by his single mother, Mamie Till. Mamie was born in 1921 in the deep South called the Mississippi Delta, but her family moved to Chicago when she was little. It was part of what was called the great black migration to the North in the early 20th century. In those days, many colored people wanted to escape from racial discrimination, poverty, and the lack of opportunity in the South. There was a large population of African Americans who went through the same route driven by the same motives, and they established a large community in the Chicago area dubbed *Little Mississippi* and this was where Mamie grew up.

Mamie was not yet 19 when she married her first husband Louis Till against the will of her mother, Alma. Bobo was born the next year in 1941. He hardly remembered his father, Louis, who was enlisted in the Second World War and died in Europe shortly before the war ended in 1945. Then, Mamie remarried twice but both marriages did not last long. In the fatherless family, however, the active son developed a tight bond with his young mother with strong support from his grandmother Alma (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003).

When Bobo was six, he was infected with polio and sent to the verge of death. Although he recovered after a few days, he was left with a speech disorder, stuttering. This worried his family, but it did not stop him from being active in his ethnic community in Southern Chicago. He was cheerful, curious, and playful, keeping his family and friends amused with his sense of humor and occasional pranks (Tyson, 2017).

In 1955, when Bobo turned 14, he had a chance to spend the late summer in a small town called Money in the Mississippi Delta with his great uncle, Mose Wright, a thin peasant and a part-time church preacher in his 60's. The more excited Bobo was, the more worried Mamie grew. The time could not have been worse with the political situation so volatile in Mississippi. It was a year after the historic decision of the Supreme Court came out that stated school segregation was unconstitutional. The conservative whites in the South who believed in racial purity (See Gould, 1996) were so upset that they formed an interstate group called the Citizens' Councils to overturn the decision. On the other hand, the major civil rights group, the NAACP (the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People) saw the historic ruling as a chance to put an end to Jim Crow laws that promoted racial discrimination. They accelerated their work to champion civil rights and help register black voters who had been denied any political power. Racial tension reached an all-time high in 1955. In May, Reverend George W. Lee, who had been assisting voting registration was assassinated and there was no arrest made. Then on August 13, another civil rights activist, Lamar Smith was shot and killed in broad daylight at a rally in front of many people. Three extremists were arrested but all witnesses in the investigation turned silent for fear of revenge from racists. The murderers were not even indicted. This incident took place just a week before Bobo's departure for Mississippi.

As Bobo was excited about spending time out of his crowded neighborhood in Chicago, Mamie repeatedly warned him that the South was different from Chicago and that he must know his limits. She reminded him that when coming across a white person on the street he must step aside to make way and never look the person in the eye, that he must never talk to somebody white unless he was addressed, and that he must always reply 'Yes, sir,' or 'Yes Ma'am'. She even said, "No matter how much it seems you have the right, just forget your rights in Mississippi (Anderson, 2017, p20)." It was not easy for Mamie to tell Bobo what the South was really like. After all, how could she "give a crash course in hatred to a boy who (had) only known love?" (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003, p. 101). As she saw his train leave on August 20, hardly could she imagine that it was the last time she could see him alive.

On the train heading south, Bobo's excitement was such that he even lost his shoes. Mose had a hard time keeping him quiet throughout the journey. Once they arrived in Money, Mississippi, Bobo naturally made friends with local teenagers. It took no time before he felt at home staying in a farmhouse with Mose and his wife Elizabeth. He experienced a series of surprises and excitement working in a cotton field and helping Elizabeth in the kitchen. According to his close cousin Simeon, who was 12 years old then, however, Bobo was not happy with the way his cousins had to endure white kids bossing them around (Wright & Boyd, 2010).

On August 24, Bobo and his peers were in a car driven by one of his cousins, Maurice Wright, a 16-year-old boy who did not have a license. They had been told by Mose and Elizabeth not to take Bobo downtown Money as his prank could cause trouble with the whites in the Delta, but they were so carried away that they drove off limits. As they neared a grocery store in town, they saw a bunch of black people playing checkers on the porch in front. Curious, they pulled over. While other boys were watching the game, Bobo and Simeon went inside the store to buy snacks. The store was run by a 24-year-old white man, Roy Bryant and his 21-year-old wife, Carolyn. When the two boys went inside, Carolyn, a former beauty pageant queen, was the only person attending the store. Simeon, following the unwritten rules in Mississippi, bought candy in silence, hurriedly left the store without making any eye contact. However, Bobo stayed inside alone with the beautiful white woman, as the rest of the group kept watching through the window anxiously. The conversation he had with Carolyn remains to be a mystery as the boys outside could not hear them talk, but the next moment, they saw Carolyn very upset for some reason. Alarmed, one of his cousins (probably Simeon) went inside and grabbed Bobo's hand to pull him out. As they stepped outside, Bobo turned to say "Goodbye"

and wolf-whistled at Carolyn, who was chasing him out of the door in anger. Carolyn went behind the store to grab a pistol from her car. Flabbergasted, the teenagers all jumped in their car and drove away in a hurry.

When they returned home, they were still afraid, knowing what Bobo had done could result in big trouble in Mississippi. They had heard of too many stories of black men lynched to death for their minor offence. In those days in the South, the white had their way, and the black were totally defenseless when it came to racial conflicts.

The boys agreed to keep it a secret from Mose as Bobo begged them. He was afraid of being sent back to Chicago. Nevertheless, the secret spread quickly in the small community with the neighbors gossiping about Bobo's daredevil act against the young white woman. It was well known that Roy Bryant was from a racist clan in the small hamlet. Soon Mose heard the rumor and felt some trouble brewing (Blue 2013). After some quiet time, however, he came to believe that the incident had not turned out to be such a big deal (Benson & Till-Mobley, 2003). Busy with harvest work in the cotton fields, the whole family became oblivious of the horror at the grocery store. By the time the weekend came, the trouble caused by Bobo totally slipped away from the teenagers' minds. After the hard fieldwork for the week, they drove to Greenwood, a major town in the Delta, to enjoy movies. Having avoided the worst consequence of Bobo being sent back home, the children naively thought fun days would continue until the end of the summer. Mose and Elizabeth did not foresee the serious consequences either and left the trouble as it was. Little did the family know that the real horror was coming just around the corner.

When Carolyn's husband, Roy Bryant, came home the next day and learned of this incident, he was outraged. His brother, John William (J. W.) Milam was even more furious. These two men were born to the same mother, Eula Lee Morgan, but to different fathers. The first father, Essley Milam died in a construction accident and the second father, Henry Bryant, left the family when Roy was little. Despite this complicated family history and the 14-year age difference, these two half-brothers were close-knit. Roy had strong faith in J.W., who was more like his father. J. W. served the US army during the Second World War and won some medals for his courageous fights in Europe. After the war, he ran some companies hiring black workers. The bossy overseer with a fierce temperament knew how to make his servants obedient. He was a type of guy who would never tolerate negroes who did not know their place. Admiring his strong big brother, Roy too, served a US airborne unit for a few years.

For such brothers, a boy of an inferior race insulting a white woman was despicable. It was really humiliating for Roy to have his wife offended by a black teenager. He could be a laughingstock in the village. He had to save his face and teach the boy a lesson in a hard way. J.W., a hardcore racist, found the incident totally unbearable. He thought it was defaming the Milam-Bryant clan. He was also sick of the recent movements of desegregation and negroes trying to infringe on white territories. He was especially exasperated with the Supreme Court's decision upholding school integration a year before. They were determined to find 'the boy from Chicago' and punish him. It took them three days until they found where he was.

After coming home past midnight from a fun excursion in Greenwood, Bobo and the whole family

were sound asleep. Then around 2 am on Sunday August 28th, Mose was woken by someone banging on the front door.

"Preacher, preacher, this is Mr. Bryant," a voice called. It was ghostly dark outside, and the closest neighbors were 200 yards away. When Mose timidly opened the door, he was blinded by the strong beam of a flashlight. There stood three men, Roy and J.W. holding a gun in his hand and a black man who had probably guided the two to Mose's house. They demanded that they see the boy from Chicago "who smart-talked" to the white lady at the grocery store. At this moment, Mose just thought that they had come to have a talk and did not expect them to kill Bobo. His wife Elizabeth, on other hand, was more aware of danger coming over to Bobo. She tried to wake Bobo and sneak him out through the backdoor to hide, but not in time. The two intruders had already pushed their way through the door into the room where Bobo was sleeping with his cousins. By directing the flashlight onto Bobo's face, they woke him up. In a menacing voice they told him to get dressed and come with them. As they were walking the half-sleeping boy out of the front door, Mose sensed that something awful was about to happen. He begged them to forgive him, saying "He got no sense. He didn't know what he was doing. Don't take him."

"How old are you, preacher?" asked J. W.

As Mose answered he was 64, J.W. said "Then you can't live to be 65." and brandished his gun. Elizabeth offered to pay them for the damage, to which J.W. said, "Go back to sleep, nigger," and went back to their car parked outside. Through the darkness, Mose heard their conversation. One of the two said, "Is this the boy?" Then what "sounded lighter than a man's voice" answered "Yes." The car drove away, leaving the helpless old couple behind at the door. Not knowing what to do, they stood there for a long time. For the blacks in the South in those days, calling the police for help was not an option. There was hardly any case where the police sided with black victims over racial conflicts. Then Elizabeth decided to call her neighbor for help. Yet, her desperate plea was turned down by the neighbor who was suddenly woken in the middle of night. Then Mose and Elizabeth drove 30 miles to the town of Sumner to consult with their relative, Cosby Smith.

The early next morning, in the town of Drew, which was about 30 miles away from Mose's home, an 18-year-old boy Willie Read, a son of a local sharecropper, was walking down a dirt road, when a pickup truck passed by. He saw some white men in the cab and three black men in the back. One of the blacks was hunkered down. As the pickup pulled up at a barn that belonged to J.W. and Roy's brother, Leslie Milam, they all went inside. Willie heard men yelling 'black bastard,' and then a sound of hard beating and crying 'Mama save me!' As the beating continued, the crying grew fainter and stopped. Horrified, Willie went into a neighbor Amanda Bradley's house and saw through the window. They saw a truck with its bed covered with a tarpaulin pull out of the barn.

The sleepless Mose and his relative, Cosby came back and they went around their community to enlist help in search for Bobo. Many supporters gathered at Mose's house. They were all sympathetic to the poor preacher but no help. It was only past noon that they decided to report to the sheriff's office in Greenwood. Despite Mose's low expectations, the sheriff of Leflore County, George Smith and his deputy John Cothran were surprisingly supportive. As soon as they heard the report, they

went to Roy Bryant's home, where they found him asleep in the afternoon. As they questioned, Roy admitted with no reserve that he had taken Bobo but he said that he turned him loose at the store. At this point, the sheriff arrested Roy with the charge of kidnapping. It should be noted that it was very unusual in the South in those days for a sheriff to arrest a white with a charge of an offense against a black victim. For their conscientious act, Sheriff Smith and Deputy Cothran came to be acclaimed as unusually fair figures in Mississippi (Tyson, 2017). On the other hand, Blue (2013) depicts how they faced resistance or even threats through their investigation, sometimes called 'nigger lovers' by racists in the Delta.

When J.W. heard of his brother's arrest, he was worried. He knew how square Sheriff Smith was. He was also afraid that Roy would confess more than necessary because he was not as tough. A few years before when a drunken hooligan beat up a black man in a racial bullying and blood gushed out, Roy was the one that freaked out while the others in the group were entertained (Tyson, 2017). J.W. decided to voluntarily go under Smith's custody so that he could lead Roy in the interrogation. J.W. also confessed that they had taken away Bobo from Mose's house but insisted they let him go after giving him some warning.

Before he turned himself in, J.W. had ordered the rest of the family to put Carolyn in isolation so that she would not tell the police anything disadvantageous to the two brothers. In fact, the whole clan of Milam and Bryant made an orchestrated effort to defend the two throughout the case (Tyson, 2017).

The moment Mamie and her mother Alma in Chicago heard that Bobo had been kidnapped by the white intruders, they knew what it meant in Mississippi (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003). They also knew they could not rely on the police when it came to a conflict with whites. They had nothing but public opinion to turn to, so they immediately called local newspapers and informed what they heard had happened. The media in Chicago was quick to react. They soon sent journalists to Mamie's apartment. Since the Supreme Court's decision a year before, there had been many cases where African Americans fell victim to violent white mobs and there had been mounting criticism in the Chicago area over the uncouthness of the white rednecks in the South. Bobo's disappearance was sure to be another attention grabber. The next day the case was widely reported not only in Chicago but also down in Mississippi. Mamie also contacted the local chapter of NAACP. Immediately they issued a denouncement over the racially motivated abduction. They urged the Governor of Mississippi, Hugh White for quick action over the case. Aware of the mounting level of public outcry, White promised a full cooperation. Now the kidnapping case involving one teenager became a political issue.

Despite the quick development, Mamie and Alma had to spend the next three days in much frustration. There was no way of knowing what was going on down in Mississippi. Since Mose did not have a telephone, reports coming from the South were few and far between. Was Bobo alive or dead? Though Mamie heard the suspects' account that they turned him loose, she could hardly believe it. Another source of frustration was the inaction by the FBI. Despite the gravity of the case, they refrained from getting involved. They maintained that it was an issue within the state of Mississippi as there was no interstate element in the case and that it was not a realm of federal intervention.

What Mamie had feared became real three days later, when Bobo's bloated body was recovered from the bottom of the Tallahatchie River. It was discovered by a local boy who came to the river to check on his catfish trap on the early morning of August 31. He was terrified to see something like a human leg protruding in the murky water. When it was pulled up by the local authority, it was tied to a heavy cotton gin fan with barbed wire. The body was badly beaten out of human shape. There was what appeared to be a bullet hole in the skull. The corpse was awfully decomposed in the muddy water and smelled terrible. Mose was called to the site to confirm the identity of the body. He could hardly find any trace of his nephew on the ghostly figure but thanks to the ring on a finger, Mose and Simeon confirmed it was Bobo's.

Now the kidnapping that happened three days before developed into a manslaughter case. Governor White ordered a full investigation both in Tallahatchie County, where the body was discovered and Leflore Country, where the abduction took place. It was the district attorney of Tallahatchie County, Gerald Chatham, that claimed jurisdiction over the case because the murder was assumed to have taken place where the body was discovered. Then it was Sheriff Clarence Strider of Tallahatchie, not George Smith of Leflore that led the investigation. This decision was good news for J. W. and Roy. They both had been associated with Sheriff Strider, who was believed to have racist views, and this was the reason they believed they could get away with anything in the Mississippi Delta. Strider ordered an immediate burial of the body. It appears to have been part of his attempt to conceal evidence against the two defendants.

Thanks to the media Mamie contacted on the day of the kidnapping, the news of the dead body found in the river was widely reported. Mamie was determined to grab more attention. She stopped the burial in Mississippi and demanded the body be sent back home. Then she arranged an open-casket funeral for Bobo up in Chicago. She wanted the world to know injustice and brutality tormenting the blacks in the South. Receiving the request from Mamie, Deputy Cothran made a full corporation. He hurried to the site of burial and stopped it. Then he had undertakers go through a difficult procedure to ship the bloated body back to Chicago. It took 20 times the regular amount of embalm fluid and a special casket to endure a train journey of 600 miles.

When the train arrived at Chicago Central Station, it was greeted by a handful of news reporters. Amid them was Mamie in a wheelchair, who had grown weak after the five sleepless nights. The moment the casket was carried out of the fleet car, she staggered toward it. The picture of the mother collapsing over the casket of her beloved son and hysterically crying made the front page of the newspapers the next morning. The Jet magazine featured a photo of Bobo's battered face in the casket and sold 400,000 copies. On September 3, when the casket with a glass top was displayed at Roberts Temple Church of God on the South Side of Chicago, tens of thousands of people lined up to see Bobo's mutilated body. At the horrible sight, many of them fainted one after another, and doctors and nurses were aligned outside the cathedral to attend to them (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003).

While the case drew attention nationwide, the white population in the Mississippi Delta did not appreciate the Northerners meddling with their local affairs. As brutal the case might be, they did not like the way the media reported their homeland as an uncivilized society that lacked decency. (Tyson,

2017). Some whites got united and raised funds for Roy and J.W. to hire lawyers.

2. Trials in Deep South

The murder of Emmett Till was indeed a rare case in which white suspects were indicted over an assault against a black victim. Naturally it drew public attention and the whole situation surrounding the trial was volatile. Mamie was inundated with death threats from racists but she was determined to bring justice to the Delta. Sheriff Strider was also blackmailed from unknown sources but he made his best effort to present his bravado. As the whole country was watching, the trial began on September 19 in Sumner, Tallahatchie County. The small courtroom was packed with news reporters and spectators under a big fan turning dully on the ceiling. The entire courthouse turned like a theater. Venders came in and started selling drinks. Some dared to have a beer in the courtroom but did not get any reprimand (Tyson 2017).

Segregation was ingrained in the South even under nationwide media coverage. White reporters and black reporters were seated in separate sections of the courtroom. There was no hotel accommodating black reporters in Sumner so they had to travel 35 miles to Mount Bayou to stay with T.R.M. Howard, a wealthy black surgent and the most notable civil rights leader at the time. A stark contrast emerged when a black congressman from Michigan, Charles Diggs came to the court to observe the trial. When he presented his card at the entrance, the bailiff was puzzled.

The bailiff then turned to a court attendant standing close by.

“--- there is a nigger outside who says that he is a congressman and he wants to get in.”

“A nigger congressman?” asked the surprised attendant.

“That’s what this nigger says,” replied the bewildered bailiff.

The attendant, more confused than before, wondered out loud, “Is that legal?”

(Anderson 2017. p.99)

Then the Deltans in the courtroom were terrified to see white reporters from the North willingly shake hands with the colored congressman.

Amid the high level of national attention, Roy and J.W. were able to rest assured that they were pretty safe. They would be judged by an all-white jury and they had Sheriff Strider on their side. In fact, the three were seen to have lunch together during the court recess. The defendants even tried to take back their initial confessions of kidnapping Bobo. After all, Mose could not have seen their faces clearly at the night of the abduction as there were no lamps in his house. Plus, there should be no witness who would testify against them in the courtroom. In fact, hardly had any white defendants been convicted with assaults against blacks in the history of Mississippi. The descendants of slaves had little political power. Many of them were not even registered to vote and they could not be on a jury either. Those helpless people usually turned silent when it came to interracial conflicts as was the case with the murder of Lamar Smith. Testifying against a white defendant could be life-threatening in the deep South ruled by whites.

What Roy and J.W. underestimated was the level of anger that had accumulated among blacks over the years. Encouraged by moral support from the North or even from the international community, people who had been silent were now determined to see justice in the Delta. It was the little old Mose that first stood up. Although he was begged by Elizabeth not to testify, he walked into the courtroom with dignity. Answering questions from District Attorney Chatham, Mose at the witness stand, clearly described how Mr. Bryant and another big white man with a gun forced their way to Bobo's bed. It was when Chatham asked him if he could identify the big guy with the gun that Mose displayed what would be remembered as a historical court action. He pointed his finger at J.W., who was sitting on the other side of the courtroom and said, "There he is." This moment caught everyone in surprise and the whole courtroom turned silent. This is said to be the first time in the South when a black man accused a white of guilt. A photographer in the room, Ernest Withers seized the opportunity and took a photo of the very moment little Mose with dignity stretching his finger at the witness stand. This photo taken against the court order is considered to be a masterpiece representing a historical moment in the Civil Rights movement. Behind Mose's brave action, there must have been his strong self-remorse for not having been able to defend his nephew.

In the meantime, the black leader T.R.M. Howard and his team, mostly consisting of journalists, were working behind the scene to bring justice in the Delta. Local people in Glendora secretly provided the team with a valuable tipoff. They said that they saw J.W.'s black farmhands washing blood off JW's truck on the day of Bobo's kidnapping but these negroes disappeared around the time the body was discovered. Thanks to the team's effort, the two black men were identified as Levi Collins and Henry Lee Loggins. They were rumored to be in jail for illegal hunting but it appeared to be part of Sheriff Strider's effort to stop them from testifying at the court. The desperate search for the two promising witnesses began and Sheriff Smith cooperated.

While the search for Levi and Henry were hampered by local wardens who refused to show their prison cells, Howard's team succeeded in finding two other witnesses. One was Willie Read, who saw the pick-up truck and heard the sound of beating and crying from the barn. Initially he was told by his family to keep his mouth shut about this case. Yet, when he was approached by Howard's team and shown a brutal picture of Bobo's body, he could not pretend not to know anything. He agreed to speak up for the sake of justice. The other witness was Amanda Bradley, who lived near the shed and saw the whole scene with Willie through her window. When the team first visited her, she shut herself up, refusing to talk. After a long persuasion through the door, however, she agreed to speak up. Howard offered the two the best protection. Willie and Amanda went into hiding until the day of testimony.

When they came to the courthouse on September 21, they saw a group of white supremacists hanging around outside (Tyson, 2017). Amid the invisible threat and imminent danger, Willie and Amanda courageously stepped into the courtroom. First Willie testified that the boy in the back of the pickup looked like Bobo and identified two of the men in the cab as J.W. Milam and Roy Bryant. Amanda followed Willie to verify his testimony. She said she also saw the pickup truck and heard the scream in agony from the shed.

The next day on September 22, the defense in turn admitted that Roy and J.W. took the boy from the house but argued that they let him go that night after merely scaring him. Carolyn testified that the boy even tried to rape her behind the store counter, saying he grabbed her hand and held her waist. The defense lawyer and sheriff Stroller argued that there was not any evidence of murder. They even claimed that the body pulled up from the Tallahatchie River was not Bobo's, saying it was plotted by ill-minded communist activists.

Howard's team and the three courageous witnesses who risked their lives could not bring justice in the Delta ruled by Jim Crow. As was widely predicted, the all-white jury, after 56 minutes of deliberating, found Roy and J.W. not guilty. The verdict appeared very illogical. It accepted the defense's claim that the body found in the Tallahatchie River was not Bobo's and there was no evidence of murder. At the same time, the jury maintained that what Bobo did at the grocery store constituted an attempted rape and the defendants had the right to protect their family. In other words, the jury justified the murder which they said did not happen in the first place (Tyson 2017). After all, it was not logic but white supremacy that ruled the Delta in those days.

Amid a big applause from the supporters, the two defendants showed big smiles of relief and were acquitted on the spot. While they expressed their joy to reporters, Willie and Amanda were already preparing to flee Mississippi. After their testimony, they hurried through the hateful whites outside the courthouse, escorted by NAACP members and driven out of town. After hearing the verdict, Mose and his family decided to abandon their home and friends and head to Chicago for exile. (Wright & Boyd, 2010).

Roy and J.W. remained charged with kidnapping. It was in Leflore County where Bobo was kidnapped that had the judiciary over the case. Mose Wright and Willie Reed mustered their courage to go back to Mississippi to testify at the court. Yet the grand jury again found the two brothers not guilty, getting them totally off the hook. The detailed discussion in the jury panel was not known as it was conducted in a closed room. Yet it was largely believed the verdict simply reflected the major public opinion among the whites in Mississippi. In fact, before the verdict came out, public opinion had turned against Bobo, when a fact about his father was revealed by a newspaper in Mississippi. According to the news report, Louis Till's death during the Second World War in 1945 was nothing honorable. He was in fact executed for raping two women and murdering another in Italy. This news led to a wide belief that Bobo inherited crooked sexual traits from his biological father and he actually tried to rape Carolyn and that Roy and J.W.'s kidnapping was justified because they had the right to protect Carolyn from the sexual offender. To rub salt in the wounds, it was after the trial ended that the two missing witnesses Levi and Henry reappeared in public. They explained they were just out of town during the trials not aware of what was going on and they did not know anything about the case.

The two men's acquittal sent the black community to horror. It further confirmed that blacks had nothing to rely on if getting into any trouble with whites. There had already been over 500 cases in Mississippi where blacks were lynched or tortured to death by white mobs but hardly anyone was charged for their crimes. The black population had had a faint hope that Bobo's case would

put an end to the days when black lives did not matter as the whole world was watching the trials. Nevertheless, the verdict made them feel more powerless than ever. In fact, just a few months after the trial, there was another racial murder, where a drunken white man named Elmer Kimbell shot a black gas station attendant Clinton Melton after an argument over a gas bill. Again, Kimbell was found not guilty. The jury totally believed Kimbell's account that he shot Melton in self-defense.

3. Confessions in a Magazine Interview.

The next year, the case had another twist as J. W. and Roy surprised the whole nation. A journalist named Bradford Huie, believing these two men actually murdered Bobo, attempted to uncover the true story. Huie had been known for his controversial journalist tactics called a *paycheck investigation*. He tried to interview the two acquitted defendants by himself. Surprisingly it was the attorneys who defended J. W. and Roy that introduced Huie to the two acquitted defendants. Huie was shrewd enough to make a deal where he had the right to publish what the two would say but promised he would not disclose the information sources and pretend he was writing the story as if it came from another secret witness. In other words, even if J.W. and Roy admitted to murdering Bobo, Huie left the two interviewees some room to deny having made the confession by themselves. After receiving over \$3,000, they shamelessly admitted to lynching Bobo to death. They knew they could not be indicted again as there was a law in the US called double jeopardy, which prevented the accused from being tried twice over the same charge. During the interview, the two described how Bobo confronted them in the barn. Initially they had just planned to whip him and scare some sense into him. Yet, in the confrontation in the barn, the black boy was provocative, saying "You bastards, I'm not afraid of you. I'm as good as you are. I've had white women. My grandmother was a white woman." They justified their crime, saying Bobo deserved death for his outrageous attitude against whites. J. W. was eloquent in expressing his racism.

Well, what else could we do? (Bobo) was hopeless. I'm no bully; I never hurt a nigger in my life. I like niggers—in their place—I know how to work 'em. But I just decided it was time a few people got put on notice. As long as I live and can do anything about it, niggers are gonna stay in their place. Niggers ain't gonna vote where I live. If they did, they'd control the government. They ain't gonna go to school with my kids. And when a nigger gets close to mentioning sex with a white woman, he's tired o' livin'. I'm likely to kill him. Me and my folks fought for this country, and we got some rights. I stood there in that shed and listened to that nigger throw that poison at me, and I just made up my mind. 'Chicago boy,' I said, 'I'm tired of 'em sending your kind down here to stir up trouble. Goddam you, I'm going to make an example of you—just so everybody can know how me and my folks stand.' (Huie, 1956 cited in Anderson 2017, p236)

This breakout story ignited public anger. The US Department of Justice received letters in droves asking for federal intervention. However, the FBI still declined to step in, saying that the case was

totally a state affair of Mississippi and the two trials were legitimate as there was no evidence that Levi Collins and Henry Lee Loggins were illegally detained during the trials.

4. After the Case

Those involved in the incident experienced a drastic change in life. Mose, who emigrated to Chicago, once came into the spotlight, and was invited to give speeches at civil rights rallies for the next couple of months. However, he spent the rest of life quietly. With no car and no plantation, he had a hard time adjusting to the new life in the North but he found pleasure in gardening and was able to live in peace while working as a night club custodian. He died at a nursing home in 1977.

Willie Reed, after exiling to the North, suffered a nervous disorder and decided to avoid publicity. He refused to be treated as a hero and declined a \$1000 scholarship offered by a philanthropist. He even changed his name to Willie Louis and lost touch even with Mamie and others related to the case. He remained single until his mid-30's. In the meantime, he got a job as a medical assistant at a hospital, where he met his future wife, Juliet. They got married in 1976 but he did not even tell Juliet anything about his horrendous experience in the South. It was sometime in the 80's that Juliet first heard the story. Willie never appeared in public until 2003 when he was located and interviewed by a documentary movie director. He died in 2013 at the age of 76.

Even more unknown is Amanda Bradley's life after she left the Delta. She is known to have spent some time with Mamie. Yet, it was not known what became of her after she left Chicago. She was not able to go home to meet her family in the South even when her mother passed away.

The two black farmhands believed to be at the murder site, had their shares of misfortune. Henry Lee Logins was put in prison for minor thefts. After he came out, he felt insecure living in the Delta. He moved to Dayton, Ohio but remained afraid of public anger about his role in the murder case. He had to lie low until the end of the last century. Then he was discovered by the media and interviewed in 2001, where he denied his involvement. This interview was featured in the documentary film '*Untold Story*.' He died in 2009. Levi Too Tight Collins was even more miserable. He broke up with his wife and lost all his family. He kept such a low profile that he was hardly able to see his beloved father. The trauma he went through in the Delta drove him into a nervous breakdown. He became alcoholic and schizophrenic, always scared of something until his death in 1992. Blue (2013) depicts how these two poor figures lived conscience-stricken and haunted by a ghostly image of Bobo.

J.W., the tough guy received a bulk of letters from across the country congratulating for standing up for "true Americanism" after the trial. However, he saw the tide change against him after the confession in *Look*. Many of his friends walked away, including those who financially supported him during the trials. Black workers refused to work for him, which forced him to pay more wages to hire white workers for his businesses. In the late 50's, he was reported to be standing in line for a soup kitchen run by the Welfare Department. He ended up bootlegging or writing bad checks to pay the bills and he was arrested a couple of times. His wife Juanita distanced herself from the Milam-Bryant clan. Their marriage turned sour as the couple started to have separate rooms. As he aged, J.W. was

losing the physical prowess he boasted about. After a long battle with cancer, he died in 1981 at the age of 61.

Roy was even more unfortunate after the publication of the article in *Look*. As his grocery store had heavily relied on the black population, it lost most of its loyal customers and Roy had to let go of the store. After changing jobs a couple of times, he started working as a welder. This job took a toll on his health and he lost his eyesight. This made him even more short-tempered. Carolyn filed a divorce out of domestic violence. When her wish was granted, she took all the children, which left Roy totally alone. Technically blind, he had to rely on social welfare. Living in isolation for the rest of life, he died in 1994.

While most people related to the case faded out from public view and slipped away into oblivion, Mamie stayed active for the next 50 years (Till-Mobley & Benson, 2003). She did everything to perpetuate Bobo's case. Together with her mother Alma, she established *the Emmett Till Foundation*, which offered financial support to minority students. Mamie even got enrolled in school to get a teaching certificate and started teaching in a school district in Chicago. While teaching, she formed what was called *the Emmitt Till's Play Group* among her students, which performed to spread the ideas of Martin Luther King. Her effort paid off when a sculpture of Bobo standing with Martin Luther King was erected in Denver Park in 1976. Then part of 71st street in Chicago was renamed Emmett Till Road on his fiftieth birthday in 1991. Yet, what she wished most until her death was to reopen the case.

5. Reinvestigation

As she was turning 80, Mamie still did not give up her attempt to reopen the trial against the two murderers even after their deaths at the end of the last century. Her enthusiasm touched young movie directors Stanley Nelson and Keith Beauchamp. Nelson's movie "The Murder of Emmett Till" (2003) won him the Emmy Award for the best nonfiction director. It helped raise public awareness about the murder case almost half a century before and lots of petitions flooded in the Department of Justice. Beauchamp's filmmaking involved his own investigations of the case. He interviewed a number of survivors involved in the case. He even interviewed Mamie and Loggins and uncovered many hidden facts in his documentary movie "The Untold Story of Emmett Louis Till" (2005). These movie directors, together with Alvin Sykes, a civil rights leader in the 21st century, finally convinced Joyce Chiles, the District Attorney of Mississippi, who finally agreed to reopen the trial. Yet Chiles and others faced a lot of local resistance that claimed a retrial would be a waste of tax money now that main figures in the case were already long dead. Some Southerners were not happy about reawakening the dark history to disgrace their state. Despite these obstacles, Chiles together with Nelson and Beauchamp and other passionate people succeeded in getting the FBI involved. After almost half a century, the case of Emmett Till's murder reached a turning point in 2004. It was a year after Mamie's death at age 81.

It was Dale Killinger, a senior FBI agent that led the new round of investigation. He fairly

examined the case. He conducted a luminal test on the floor of the shed in Drew in the hope there would be a trace of blood from 49 years before. Unfortunately, the floor had already been renovated by a new owner and the test found no evidence. Killinger and his team even exhumed and autopsied Bobo's body. It had remained fairly intact after those 49 years thanks to the well shield casket. This proved that the fatal blow was a gunshot. It also revealed that Bobo was not castigated, contrary to a widely held speculation. Most importantly, a DNA test the FBI conducted proved that the body truly belonged to Bobo, overturning the defense's claim in the first trial that the body was another black man's plotted by the ill-intended NAACP.

The gun allegedly used for the murder was found in the small town of Tippo, Mississippi. It turned out that J.W. had handed it over to a close friend of his, who was already dead at the time of the new investigation. It was his family that informed Killinger about the gun that had been in the closet for nearly 50 years. It was a gun issued by the military during the war. That the weapon came from the US army was another good reason to bring the case up to the federal level.

Many citizens broke their silence after all those years and many new facts surfaced. Quite a few residents in Glendora, Mississippi testified that they saw a dead body on J.W.'s truck and heard him boastfully say "This is what happens to a smart nigger." Those witnesses saw Collins and Logging washing the blood off the truck bed. Collins had died more than a decade before the reinvestigation, but Logging was still living in Ohio. When Killinger directly met him, Loggins still denied his involvement. The investigation identified others at the site of the murder. A black man named Oso Johnson, who was working at J.W.'s plantation, turned out to be one of the blacks on the truck. He was already dead but his surviving son informed Killinger the secret story he had heard from his late father. Another figure revealed to be present at the crime site is Melvin Campbell, J.W. and Roy's brother-in-law. Malvin had died in 1972. Another not-surprising fact was active involvement in the lynching by Leslie Milam, the owner of the shed where Bobo was torched. Unlike J.W. and Roy, however, Leslie was said to be tormented with a sense of guilt for years that followed. A day before his death in 1974, he called a local pastor and tearfully told him the true story. After keeping it confidential for 30 years, the pastor decided to cooperate with the FBI and provided Leslie's deathbed confession.

A story informed by a black man named William Hamilton revealed how desperate Roy and J.W. were to find the boy from Chicago after the incident at the grocery store. William, a teenage boy in the Delta back then, was walking down a street in Money, when a truck suddenly pulled over and two men got off to violently grab his neck. The next moment they started beating hell out of William until a woman who seemed like Carolyn Bryant said, "Stop. This is not him!" William had never shared his horror story with anyone for ensuing fear.

There were some information sources who had directly heard stories from J.W. and Roy themselves. One was Bonnie Blue, a black woman who successfully interviewed J.W. in the 1980s, who remorselessly recounted how he and Roy kidnapped and murdered Bobo. She received a rich account of what really happened and who was involved. In the interview, J.W. told Blue how he and Roy were enraged to find a white woman's picture from Bobo's wallet. They went berserk when Bobo said he was as good as them and failed to address them "Sirs." His recount continued until he depicted

how he used his gun and smattered Bobo's head. Blue compiled her research into a book titled "*Emmett Till's Secret Witness: FBI Confidential Source Speaks*." (2013). There was another anonymous source who interviewed Roy in 1985. This interviewer audiotaped Roy's recount where he bragged about how he and J.W. lynched and slaughtered Bobo. The interviewer shared the audiotape with the FBI on the condition of anonymity. His name never appeared in an official document but made a strong testimony. These two informants revealed how boastful and remorseless the two brothers were.

Killinger's investigation climaxed when he brought out Carolyn Bryant, who now had become a 70-year-old woman, Carolyn Dorham after her divorce and remarriage. She had avoided public attention and refused to talk about the case even with her family. The whole media breathtakingly paid attention to what she had to say after 50 years of silence. At her talk with Killinger, she still insisted Bobo forcibly grabbed her hand behind the counter. Even after she shook it off, Bobo boldly went on asking for a date. For fear, she was trying to grab a gun to scare him away, when another black boy came in to take Bobo out of the store. Then she heard Bobo whistle at her as he was leaving the store. She thought this was the end and did not tell Roy what had happened because she knew how freaked out he would be if he found out about it. Nevertheless, when Roy returned home the next day he was already boiling mad probably because someone had already informed him. Threatened by the furious husband, Carolyn had no choice but to tell him about the store incident. She did not wish for any harm to the black boy from Chicago, but she was unable to stop the berserk brothers. She denied any further involvement in kidnapping as she stayed home while Roy and J.W. drove to Mose's house.

Beauchamp and his team who kept supporting Mamie for the retrial were distraught when the prosecution decided to drop charges against Carolyn for the lack of sufficient evidence. They could not determine Carolyn was involved in the kidnapping of Bobo. At least they failed to confirm that the woman's voice Mose said he heard from the car was Carolyn's. No one was indicted after the reinvestigation although it uncovered a lot of facts that had been hidden for the last 50 years.

6. Mysteries and Unsettled Issues

There are still some unsettled issues in this incident. First of all, what did Bobo do to provoke the white woman at the grocery store? All witnesses including Bobo's cousins saw Bobo wolf-whistle at Carolyn outside the store. One common belief is that the boy from Chicago was so ignorant of the way people were supposed to behave in the South that he naively broke the racial taboo. However, this account seems a little odd. Chicago, where Bobo grew up, was not totally free from segregation. As Tyson (2017) points out, there were more complicated racial lines among many ethnic groups living there. The children in the Chicago area could not have been unaware of racial issues. Besides, before leaving for Dixieland, Bobo received more-than-enough admonition from Mamie, who kept reminding him of the different ways of life in Mississippi.

There is another account. During the drive to Roy's store, Bobo was boasting about his white girlfriend in Chicago and showing off a picture to his peers in the Delta. Then at the store, he was

dared by someone in the group to ask Carolyn for a date. Those present at the grocery store said that they heard someone in the group say to Bobo "There is a beautiful woman in the store," while each of those in the group denied having dared Bobo. Although the identity of the person is unknown, there should be one or more in the group who prompted Bobo to step inside. Easy to get carried away, Bobo wanted to prove his northernism and guts in the presence of his timid peers in the South. In fact, Carolyn testified at the court that Bobo tried to seduce her saying, "How about a date, babe?" Mamie, on the other hand, repeatedly testified that it was inconceivable that Bobo, who she believed to be very shy, would brag about having a girlfriend and womanize a white woman. She firmly denied her son had a white girlfriend back in Chicago although he might have had a picture of his favorite actress in his pocket (Till Mobley & Benson, 2003).

There was no witness besides Carolyn who knew exactly what happened inside the store. She testified at the witness stand that Bobo grabbed her hand. She shook it off but he came behind the counter and held her waist. The defense called this act an attempted rape, which made a great impact on the verdict. However, Simeon Wright, Bobo's close cousin, firmly denies that Bobo made any sexual or provocative remarks inside the store, let alone grabbed Carolyn's hand. He claims he was watching Bobo in the store and saw him do or say nothing obscene. Besides, Carolyn was behind a sturdy counter and Bobo would have had to jump over it to make any physical contact. In addition, when Roy and J.W. broke into Moses's house, they just demanded they see "the nigger who did the talking" and they did not mention any physical contact. Recent investigations over official documents revealed that Carolyn initially told the District Attorney that Bobo grabbed her hand and asked for a date but she did not say he came behind the counter to make further physical contact. It is likely that she was instructed to embellish her testimony to defend her family. 53 years later in 2008, 75-year-old Carolyn was interviewed by historian Timothy Tyson. She said her testimony at the trial was not true and said "nothing that boy did could ever justify what happened to him"(p7). Yet, she did not elaborate what exactly happened, saying most of her memories had slipped away (Tyson, 2017). Simeon suspects that the reason Carolyn got upset was just that Bobo handed money directly into Carolyn's hand, which was still considered to be a taboo in Mississippi. (Wright & Boyd, 2010). This may be true but it is still hard to believe that such a minor offense could enrage Carolyn to the point where she freaked out and grabbed the gun.

While it is a widely held view that Bobo wolf-whistled at Carolyn, Mamie did not believe so. She insisted that Bobo knew better than to make such a daredevil act against a white woman. However, there were several witnesses including Simeon at the site who saw and heard Bobo wolf-whistle. Mamie offered a different view. She said that Bobo, who had stuttering, occasionally made what sounded like a whistle to articulate words and that what Bobo did at the shop could have been an innocent request for "bubble gum" (Till-Mobley & Benson 2003). Simeon disclaimed this, saying Bobo whistled outside the store, not inside and that he probably did it to make his peers laugh. (Wright and Boyd 2010).

Another mystery is how Roy found out about the store incident. Carolyn insisted she did not tell Roy because she was afraid it would result in harming the boy from Chicago. This seems true as

she is described by Tyson (2017) and Anderson (2017) to be someone who would not appreciate violence. The question is who informed Roy. An answer was put forth by Crosby Smith, Mamie's uncle, who together with Mose, first reported to the sheriff's office about the kidnapping and carried Bobo's body back to Chicago. He said in an interview that it was Maurice Wright, Mose's 16-year-old son, who was driving the car to the grocery store. According to Crosby, Maurice was jealous of Bobo for his urban style. Nevertheless, the local blacks were afraid of the Milam and Bryant clan, who was already notorious for their racism and it was very highly unlikely for a black boy, no matter how jealous he might have been, to go back to the store to inform the scary racist about the incident that would surely result in a horrible consequence. Simeon firmly denies this accusation against his brother as absurd, saying that Maurice was the one that was concerned when Bobo was left alone with Carolyn in the store and that he and Maurice were busy picking cotton for the next two days (Wright & Boyd, 2010).

A more plausible account would be that it was one of the people playing checkers on the porch that informed Roy. They must have seen the moment Carolyn dashed out of the store in anger with the gun in her hand. For these regular customers at Bryant's, the sight of the freaked-out Carolyn must be alarming enough to bring the news to her husband. They did it merely out of goodwill or they might have sought some favor from Roy in return. According to Mose's court testimony, there were three people who came to his house on the morning of August 28. Two of them were clearly Roy and J.W. but the third person has not been identified even after the reinvestigation. It is likely that this third figure was the one who informed Roy and he was brought along to Mose's house to identify the boy who whistled at Carolyn.

A far more important missing piece of the puzzle is who was on the pickup truck Willie Reed saw in Drew. Evidence that surfaced through the reinvestigation suggests Henry Lee Loggins was one of them. Although Henry himself denied this, his father informed the investigators that he heard from his son about his involvement. Another figure should be Oso Johnson who told his son that he was one of them. There are some witnesses who account that the third figure is likely to be a man named Willie Hubbard, whose identity is little known.

What is more puzzling is Mose's inaction after he heard about Bobo's indecent encounter with Carolyn at the grocery store. He was accused of not taking proper action to protect Bobo. Simeon Wright, his son, believes his father did not know anything about it until Roy and J.W. broke in. He states Mose would have sent Bobo back to Chicago or taken him back to the store to make him apologize (Wright and Boyd, 2010). However, it was Mose himself that made a court testimony that he had known about the store incident. What seems stranger is the fact he was engaged in harvesting cotton in the fields after Bobo was kidnapped. While Anderson (2017) sees this as the reality with sharecroppers who had nothing but fieldwork, it seems very weird that he was working at a field while Mamie and Alma were fanatically trying to save Bobo up in Chicago. I suspect that Mose was not aware of the gravity of the situation. Despite the high notoriety of the Milam and Bryant Clan, Mose said he had not seen Roy or J.W. in person until the day of kidnapping. He had not been to Roy's store either although it was one of the few shops in town. Despite geographical proximity,

there was a huge gap between the two families. While Mose was so religious that he became a self-taught preacher at a shabby church, Roy and J.W. had a secular life busy trading a range of products. Besides, strict segregation in the Delta separated the two races clearly and they did not socialize with each other unless they had to. As a black man with a decent life in Money, Mose was able to keep himself distant from the racist type like Roy and J.W.

Simeon is not happy about the way how his father Mose was described in the media. Some dramas carry a scene where Mose was put in a bulletproof box after his court testimony and carried out from Sumner in a car driven by a NAACP member. Simeon firmly argues this is not true. Mose and his family stayed in Money for a few days after the testimony. It was after the horrendous verdict came out that they decided to give up on the South and move to Chicago by train. Simeon argues that his father was wrongly portrayed as a timid man. Furthermore, Simeon does not appreciate the way his father's famous line at the court "There he is" is often transcribed as "Dar he." He protests that it is defaming to treat his father as a bumpkin with little education by exaggerating his southern accent, which he really did not have (Wright & Boyd, 2010).

Another myth is about what Willie Reed saw outside the shed where Bobo was lynched on the morning of August 28. According to some accounts, J.W. once stepped out to drink water at the well and accidentally confronted Willie standing there. J.W. glared at Willie in a menacing manner and asked him "Did you hear anything?" To this, Willie answered "Nothing" in an intimidated voice. (New York Times July 24, 2013). This is a very dramatic version of the story and could have been a fatal blow to J.W., disclaiming the defense argument that Willie could not identify the man he saw from the distance. Oddly enough Willie did not mention any encounter with J.W. at the witness stand, but he recounted it in interviews only after he exiled to the North. Anderson (2017) dismisses this account as a made-up story of Willie's because he had a second chance to testify this encounter in the kidnapping trial in November but he did not mention it. Besides, Willie was known to suffer from a nervous breakdown after he moved to Chicago, so it is likely he imagined some horror after going through a series of nightmares and a sudden change of environment. It is possible however, that Willie really confronted J.W. outside the barn, but avoided singling him out for fear of retaliation. The level of the pressure and horror Willie experienced at the moment of his testimony was immeasurable.

7. Conclusion

Unsolved mysteries aside, the case is now considered to be "a big ban in the civil rights movement" (Blow, 2021). The open casket funeral sparked a national outcry for justice. Rosa Parks had this case in mind when she refused to give up her seat on the Montgomery bus. Her action led to the whole city's mass bus boycott involving thousands of people. This encouraged all African Americans across the nations to get united and stand up to resist injustice. After that, the movement spread like a wildfire with rallies occurring across the nation to protest Jim Crow. The rest is history. Martin Luther King Jr or Malcom X played major roles in the Civil Rights movement that followed.

The power of the waves was such that it grabbed international attention. The movement climaxed with Reverend King's "I Have a Dream Speech" on August 28 in 1963, which coincidentally occurred exactly eight years after Bobo was murdered. The first stage of the Civil Rights movement resulted in the Civil Rights Act in 1964 (NHK, 2008; Parks & Haskins, 1997; Vardaman, 2020).

Then the reinvestigation of Emmett Till in the early 21st century saw another legal progress. A new law called Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crime Act was signed by President George Bush Jr. in 2007. The act promises reinvestigations on murder cases before 1970 involving civil right activists. It guarantees an annual budget of \$13.5 million. Then in 2016, Emmett Till Unsolved Civil Rights Crimes Reauthorization Act was passed and signed by President Barack Obama. It extended the target period to 1979 and promised active involvement of the Department of Justice and the FBI.

As these new acts suggest, Bobo or Emmett Till's murder was a tip of the iceberg of a dark history. There should be hundreds of cases where innocent blacks were lynched and killed by racists but no convictions were made. The murder of Emmett Till was the first major wake-up call with a media sensation. Digging into this case would reveal how much horror blacks were faced with and how much injustice prevailed under Jim Crow. It also makes us realize how weak or strong people can be. If we put ourselves in the shoes of Mose Wright, Willie Read, Levi Collins or Henry Loggins, what could we do? This is the question we all need to ask ourselves. This is the question I would like to pose to my students in the lesson of the Civil Rights movement.

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Analysis of Media's Reports on Terrorist Attacks in Paris and Nice

AOKI Terutoshi

要約

2015年および2016年にパリとニースでテロが起こった。このことを各メディアは伝えたが、各紙の立場により内容が異なっていた。さらにニース市によるホームページで描かれている「ニース」とを比較することで事件に対する立場が明確となった。

Abstract

People suffered from terrorist attacks in Paris and Nice in 2015 and 2016. Several press informed us of the tragedies from their own point, which showed differences among them. As a tourist destination, Nice city describes what Nice is like. The differences among these made their stand points clear.

résumé

Des personnes ont subi des attentats terroristes à Paris et à Nice en 2015 et 2016. Plusieurs médias nous ont fait part des drames de leur propre point de vue, ce qui a montré des différences entre eux. En tant que destination touristique, la ville de Nice décrit ce qu'est Nice. Les différences entre ceux-ci ont rendu leurs points de vue clairs.

1. Introduction

Today, it is clear that we face so many issues, such as environmental ones, limit of development in economy and security. One of the best solution to these seemed to be tourism because some types of the industry are based on clean environment and safety. If the world were not safe, people would hesitate to go on trips. Considering these points, we would soon come to recognize the world is going to the opposite. France is one of the countries where people want to go. France has been attractive to many people, and France might be regarded as world's cultural center.

France is also a country where many immigrants live. The suburbs of Paris are sometimes reported because of racial problems, and these areas are recognized as the places of peoples' life other than "original" French, As AOKI (2020) discusses, Nice, southern west district in France is an immigrants' place. AOKI (2014) tells that the ratio of people living in Nice shows such typical condition. The variety of people there is unique because of its location, but it is also true that many

African origins, who “look” different from the “Europeans” live there.

Nice can be controversial because of the variation of people living there. In 2016, there was a terrorist attack in Nice. It was shocking because in the previous year there was an attack in Paris. In order to discuss the issues above, people’s image or thought will be discussed. Syabana (2018) discusses this point, which helps this paper with deep consideration.

2. Analysis on media articles

This paper is to discuss how the French regional presses respond to the question of terrorism, especially the cases in Paris and Nice in 2015 and 2016. The discussion includes two parts. The first is the frequencies of words used by 5 media, La Montagne, Presse Océan, Actu Toulouse, Le Point, and Ouest France. These presses are chosen for their quality of reportage and their popularity among the French. This analysis will show how different quantity of specific words used in each press.

Table 1

name of presses	words used in articles						
	Attentas(s)	victims	notre	femme	Daëch	sécurité	terroristes
(English)	attack(s)	victims	our	woman	name of Islamic group	security	terrorist
La monragne	21	11	10	0	1	7	1
Presse océan	20	19	15	6	4	7	7
Actu Toulouse	20	19	15	6	4	7	7
Le point	60	19	12	26	1	9	11
Ouest France	28	17	3	20	32	5	15

According to Entman (1997), the choice of words and the assortment of topic that a speech wants to convey (Persia, 2001; Entman, 1991). Entman thinks that a framing has four measurement steps; the problem, the cause, the moral judgment, and the treatment recommendation. et, the most important one is moral judgment because it uses the objective being rather subjective (Entman, 2007). There were no choice but to use the words “atttentats”, or “victims” because of the nature of the accident No one could ignore the fact of the tragedy as well as a number of victims. But this does not explain the reason for the words “notre”, “femme”, “security”. These words were used less than the formers. Each press has its own use of words in its story. We can see from Table 1 that the use of the word “attack(s)”, the word with the semantically negative meaning, is different from each press. Le Point uses the most negative lexicon (72 words calculated) than the other presses. Whilst La Montagne uses less of the word “attack(s)” in its reporting and it uses few negative value words to inform society of the incident. The word “victims” is one of the interesting words that the French regional presses use in their report on the attacks in Paris and Nice. They use it in the positive context to pay homage to the victims of the attacks instead of imposing the condemnation on the perpetrator of the crime to kill the citizen. In this case, the press gave support to the families whose members were killed in the tragedy. The role of the press might be giving the secure and united

feeling to the society. This is well represented in the articles of these presses by reporting the attack in Paris and Nice.

Table 2: the usage of the word “victims” in the reports about the terrorist attack in Paris and Nice¹

Presses	the usage of the word ‘victims’ in the reports
Actu Toulouse	Après Nice, les Toulousains invités à se rendre place du Capitole pour une minute de silence. Le maire Jean-Luc Moudenc appelle les Toulousains à se rendre place du Capitole lundi 18 juillet, pour observer une minute de silence en hommage aux victimes de l'attentat de Nice (17-7-2016).
	After Nice, the people of Toulouse invited to go to Place du Capitole to a minute of silence. Mayor Jean-Luc Moudenc calls the Toulousains to go to Place du Capitole Monday July 18, to observe a minute of silence in tribute to the victims of the Nice attack (17-7-2016).
La Montagne	Nous partageons entièrement l’émotion de la population, et en particulier de tous les proches des victimes de ces attentats (16-11-2015).
	We fully share the emotion of the people, and in particularly of all the relatives of the victims of these attacks (16-11-2015).
Ouest France	Les terroristes cherchent à nous diviser. Nous diviser serait leur donner raison. Nous devons dignité et respect à la mémoire des victimes. Mais cela veut aussi dire que l'on dise la vérité sur les événements (16-7-2016).
	Terrorists seek to divide us. To divide us would be to give them reason. We owe dignity and respect to the memory of the victims. But it also means telling the truth about the events (16-7-2016).
Le Point	Au lendemain de l’attaque sur la promenade des Anglais, des centaines de personnes se sont recueillies à proximité des lieux du drame pour rendre hommage aux victimes (16-7-2016).
	In the aftermath of the attack on the Promenade des Anglais, hundreds people gathered near the scene of the tragedy to pay tribute to the victims (16-7-2016).
Presse Océan	Le CFCM appelle les musulmans de France à prier vendredi « à la mémoire des victimes » (15-7-2016).
	The CFCM calls on Muslims in France to pray on Friday "at the memory of the victims "(15-7-2016).

In the table above, all presses use the word victims for the positive context; a minute of silence, paying tribute, etc. the discourse shown in the victims lexicon is therefore the problem of civil security. The security discourse often plays a big role in the terrorism discourse because it threatens not only the security of citizens and infrastructures, but also national security.

1 The second rows are translated into English by the writer. The original reportages were in French.

Security is not only about physical things, but also the psychological feeling. Physical security is about enhancing security in times of emergency and maximizing the use of police. The word is also used for prevention policy to minimize the threatening power in the future. In the context of Europe, Muslims are often the ones who live hard lives because of their negative image among Europeans, for example surveillance, intervention by the official, and monitoring (Mythen, Walklate, & Khan, 2009). The psychological safety of victims and families are also important. The press in the attack in Paris and Nice uses the victims' lexicon to perform this type of sentiment. In regards to terrorism, the fear of citizen is quite great because of their trauma from the same event of the past and it is the job of the press as well as of other media companies to make the victims feel secure. It is also clear how the French regional presses worked to calm the situation among society in Table 2 by reporting the positive activity as a rally to pay homage to the victims. The same example is shown in the terrorist attack in Indonesia when the explosion and shooting happened in Sarinah, Jakarta in 2016. People gathered in social networks to give support, expressing "the Kami Tidak Takut (We are not afraid)". This activity was widely known through the presses as having the same purpose as that of the French press which is to calm the situation.

3. Analysis of the framing discourse to discuss how the regional media in France respond to the attacks in Paris and Nice

People use speech in everyday life to build common sense (Fairclough, 1995). Politicians do it to convince the society about a problem and the media has the role in the diffusion of this discourse. In the case of the attack in Paris and Nice, the regional press show some interesting speeches. The topics of the reports during a week of publications consist of security issues, general information about the attacks, the thoughts of politicians and citizens, etc. The speech broadcast table is shown below:

Table 3 reports Reports on the attack in Paris and Nice²

Names of presses	Titles	Moral judgement in the texts
Actu Toulouse	Le rendu hommage, la fortement/renforcement de la sécurité, et les activités après les attentats.	La peur a également pu inciter les Toulousains à ne pas participer à un hommage organisé dans l'espace public.
	The given tribute, the strongly / tightened security, and the activities after the attacks.	Fear may also have prompted Toulouse residents not to participate in a tribute organized in the public space.

² The second rows are translated into English by the writer. The original reportages were in French.

La montagne	Information générale, la réaction des attentats par les témoignages et l'expert, et la responsabilité de citoyen pour renforcer la sécurité.	Cet attentat est l'illustration d'un monde terroriste qui change. Désormais, n'importe qui, récupéré par la radicalisation, peut passer à l'acte
	General information, the reaction of the attacks by testimonies and the expert, and the responsibility of citizens to strengthen security.	This attack is the illustration of a changing terrorist world. From now on, anyone, recovered by radicalization, can take action
Fresse Océan	L'information générale, la réaction et le témoignage des citoyens, des politiciens, et de la communauté musulmane, et le rendu hommage	L'Association islamique de l'Ouest de la France (AIOF) a appris « avec un sentiment empreint de désolation et de tristesse » que la ville de Nice venait d'être « touchée par un acte criminel lâche et abject ».
	General information, reaction and testimony from citizens, politicians, and the Muslim community, and paid tribute to it	The Islamic Association of the West of France (AIOF) learned "with a feeling of desolation and sadness" that the city of Nice had just been "affected by a cowardly and abject criminal act".
Ourdy France	Les malfaiteurs, la victime, et la sécurité	l'un des meurtriers déclarait avoir voulu venger les « musulmans tués par des soldats britanniques ». Lors de son procès, ce père de six enfants a déclaré qu'il était en « mission » en tant que « soldat d'Allah » et « en guerre contre la Grande-Bretagne », en invoquant la loi du talion
	The perpetrators, the victim, and security	one of the murderers said he wanted to avenge the "Muslims killed by British soldiers". During his trial, the father of six said he was on a "mission" as a "soldier of Allah" and "at war with Britain", citing the law of retaliation

Le point	La racine de l'attaque, l'effet de l'attentat, l'identité des victimes, et les réactions des politiciens	le président François Hollande avait parlé d'« une attaque dont le caractère terroriste ne peut être nié ». « C'est toute la France qui est sous la menace du terrorisme islamiste »
	The cause of the attack, the effect of the attack, the identity of the victims, and the reactions of the politicians	President François Hollande spoke of "an attack whose terrorist character cannot be denied ". "The whole of France is under the threat of Islamist terrorism"

The comparison above shows that each press has a different writing strategy for the report in the face of the terrorist attacks in Nice and Paris. Mainly, the reporting theme was the threat of terrorism and security. Among the articles analyzed, many spoke about France's response to this attack. Several articles dealt with terrorism in general, but they do not necessarily mention the Muslim community, while Ouest France and Le point did. They write a few articles that potentially show hatred for Muslims in France. The themes of their publications are different than the others. Table 3 shows that Le Point (2015) published the article on the cause of the attack because of the Algerian war. At the same time, Ouest France (2015) reported a lot about the links between criminals and Islamist terrorism.

Ouest-France distributed some interesting articles on its theme "the criminals". There was an article about a female suicide bomber. The article released on November 19, 2015 discussed the first ISIS woman sent to blow herself up in public. The text showed that this technique was very rare in the terrorist movement. Even though the text was about the beginning of female suicide bombers, women in terrorist society became well-known. The publisher also informed of the reader of the link between the perpetrator and the terrorist team. The report published on July 16, 2016 was about the history of the terrorist movement in France. These terrorists had a connection to Islamism which was made clear by the use of words in this text. For example in the sentence "one of the murderers declared having wanted to avenge" the Muslims killed by British soldiers ". During his trial, this father of six children declared that he was on a "mission" as "a soldier of Allah" and "at war with Great Britain", citing the law of retaliation (Ouest France, 16-7-2016) ". The press uses the words avenge "Muslims killed by British soldiers", meaning the Muslims were vindictive because they killed the victim because of what happened in the past. The use of the word "on mission as a soldier of Allah" confirms its justification for killing. This type of publication could spread Islamophobia in France because of the negative image of Islam in France.

The discursive strategy that other presses use is apparently different from that of Ouest-France or Le point. News Toulouse, La montagne, and Presse Océan reported the same thing, "terrorism". But, few of its publications dealt with terrorism led by the Islamist group. For example, in the report of the attack in Nice, Actu Toulouse wrote that "Fear may also prompted Toulouse residents

not to participate in a tribute organized in the public space. "This kind of gathering generates fear, crowds are avoided because they were attacked during the attacks" remarks Teddy (24 years old) (News Toulouse, 19-7-2016) ". In this sentence, this article told how terrorism instigated fear among though people who lived in different regions of the crime scene. The person came to conclude not to participate in the public tribute because of the fear of the sudden attack.

What concerned these presses was how the framing was constructed in the context of terrorism. There are two main themes in a question they ask in their posts: who is to blame? The terrorist or Islam? Some presses said the first, while others insist the latter. The worst thing about the last one is how this message spreads Islamophobia in France and builds the negative stereotype of Muslims. Because of the killing action by the terrorists and the history of France with immigrants and the world of Islam, this type of attack can crystallize the construction of Islam as barbaric religion. Even though the publication provides space for Muslims to speak in public, such as that of Actu Toulouse and Presse Ocean, the publication showing Islamophobia may discriminate against Muslims in France.

3. Analysis of the Webpage by Nice City

Figure 3.1 words frequency

noun	freq	adjective	freq	verb	freq
nice	90	niçois	21	avoir	64
ville	72	ancien	20	découvrir	34
église	49	grand	16	construire	30
patrimoine	35	nouveau	16	permettre	23
histoire	33	français	13	prendre	15
visite	30	nombreux	12	trouver	14
château	27	premier	12	partir	13
architecte	21	baroque	11	proposer	13
centre	20	beau	11	guider	12
exposition	20	petit	10	offrir	11
colline	19	long	9	situer	11
promenade des anglais	16	obligatoire	9	traverser	11
découverte	16	actuel	8	dire	10
monument	16	historique	8	classer	8
palais	16	vieux	8	descendre	8
accès	15	célèbre	7	représenter	8
art	15	moderne	7	accueillir	7
crypte	15	patrimonial	7	atteindre	7
mer	15	architectural	6		
baie des anges	13	exceptionnel	6		
jardin	13	nécessaire	6		
villa	13	archéologique	5		
architecture	12	grec	5		
cimiez	12	original	5		
saleya	12	riche	5		
service	12	urbain	5		
construction	11	important	4		
époque	11	médiéval	4		
france	11	monumental	4		
musée	11	rare	4		

When we consider magazines or newspapers as objective, webpages are subjective since senders send messages by themselves. It is, however, not easy to analyze the latter because they are far from stable; they revise or rewrite, even add or erase them year by year or season by season. One of the ways, thus, might be setting the date, and continuing analysis.

Based on this principle, webpages by Nice city in October, 2021 are analyzed. The methods were as follows;

1. all the sentences from <http://www.cotedazur-touriscope.com/v2/home/>³ except pictures themselves were taken.
2. the words from them became the target to analyze.
3. the way to analyze was basically based on statistics, measuring the

3 The webpage let us choose the language, English or French. It should be noted that the content seem different from each other.

proximity among words, making clusters and relationships among them.

The webpages were categorized as “Nice 2020.” Through these analysis, relationships of words and the word orders will be shown.

Figure 3.2 congruity of the word “nice”

word	PoS	total	l	sum	r	sum	l5	l4	l3	l2	l1	r1	r2	r3	r4	r5
cote	n	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0
archéologie	n	7	7	0	0	0	0	0	3	4	0	0	0	0	0	0
ville	n	11	11	0	0	1	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
découvrir	v	12	4	8	2	1	0	0	1	0	4	0	2	2	0	0
vieux	n	4	4	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
être	v	6	2	4	0	0	2	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	0
avoir	v	7	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	2	2	0
histoire	n	8	6	2	2	0	0	4	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
greeters	n	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
dévoiler	v	3	2	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
azur	n	8	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	5	0	0	0
tour	n	4	4	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
abandonner	v	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
archive	n	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
archives	n	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cimiez	n	4	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
conter	v	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
crypte	n	4	4	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
france	n	4	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
comte	n	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
église	n	3	3	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
façade	n	3	1	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0

Figure 3.3 congruity of the word “patrimoine”

word	PoS	total	l	sum	r	sum	l5	l4	l3	l2	l1	r1	r2	r3	r4	r5
centre	n	13	13	0	0	0	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
sénat	n	10	0	10	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0
proposer	v	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	1	0	0
service	n	4	3	1	0	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
historique	adj	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
architectural	adj	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
niçois	adj	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
conférence	n	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
contacter	v	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
inventaire	n	2	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
visite	n	2	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
modernité	n	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
activité	n	2	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
différent	adj	2	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0
cité	n	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
nice	n	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
pittoresque	n	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0
richesse	n	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
véritable	adj	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Figure 3.1 shows the frequency of words. Several terms are excluded such as articles, “be” verb, less frequent ones which appear less than three times and so on, which seem unimportant. It is natural for the word “Nice” to appear the most frequently, its adjective “niçois.” Since Nice is a touristic city, verbs such as “découvrir (discover)”, “trouver (find)”, “guider (guide)”, or “offrir (offer)” are used very frequently. The reason is almost the same as nouns for tourist spots like “église (church)”, “château (castle)”, “architecte (architecture)”, “colline”, “promenade des anglaise” or “bais des anges” or adjectives like “grand”, “beau (beautiful)”. Moreover, as Nice has a long history as a tourist destination, the words relating to this point are frequently used such as “patrimoine (inheritance)”, “histoire (history)”, “baroque”, “vieux (old)”, or “premier”.

Analyzing the webpages gives more data. First, there are several ways to analyze words. Figure 3.2 to 3.4 shows some data to measure the word congruity of some typical words like “nice”, “histoire” and “patrimoine”. In the figures, “l” means left “r” means right, and “rN”, for example, means the word appears N words right of the target. Figure 3.2 tells us that the word “nice” has close relationship with “archéologie (archeology)”, other than “cote”. The word “cote” is very close, because of

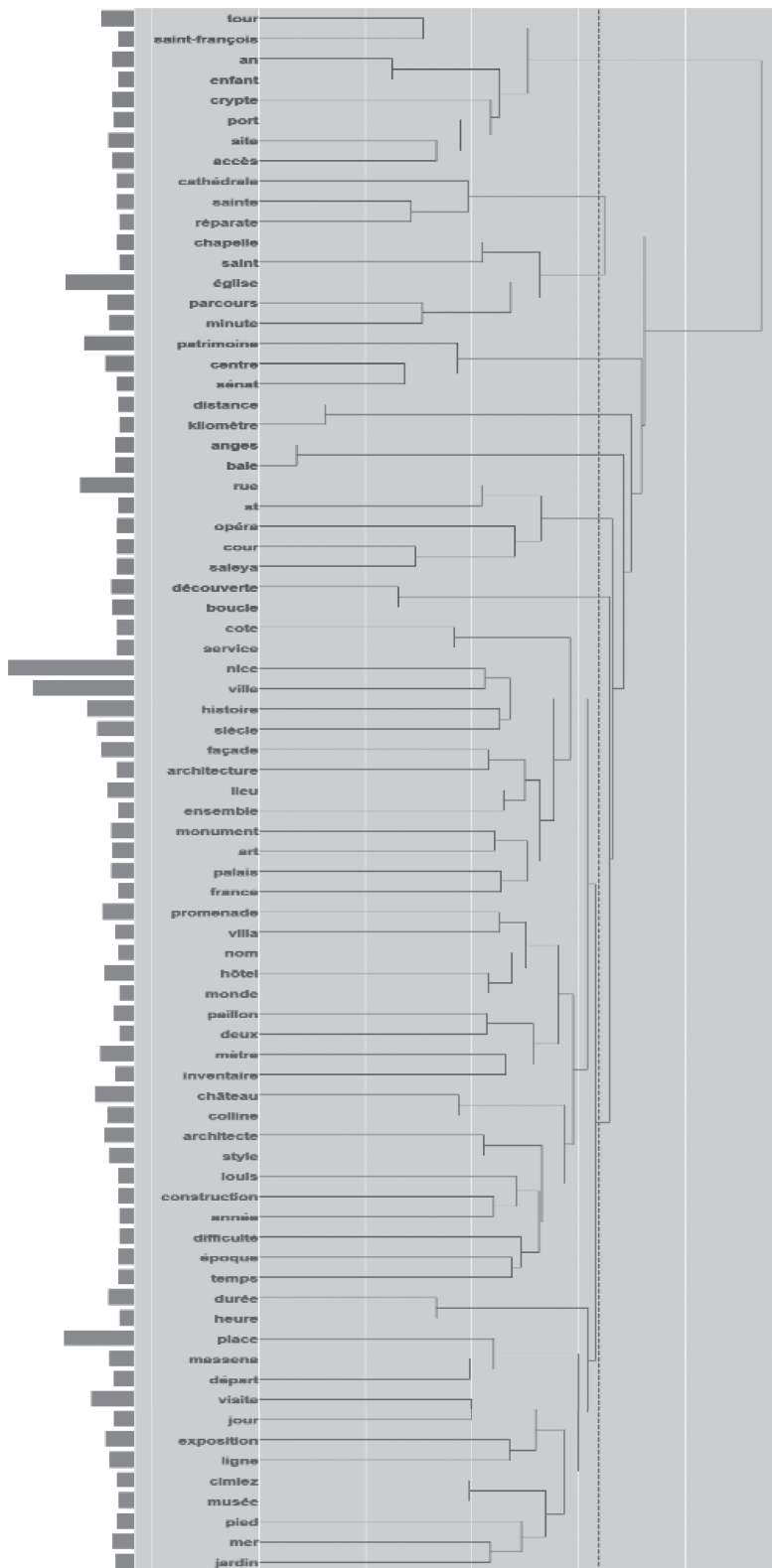
Figure 3.4 congruity of the word “histoire”

word	PoS	total	sum	r	sum	l5	l4	l3	l2	l1	r1	r2	r3	r4	r5
nice	n	8	2	6	0	0	2	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	2
local	adj	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
naturelle	n	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
ville	n	6	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0
art	n	4	4	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
conter	v	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
éclectique	adj	2	2	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
issue	n	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0
petit	adj	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
riche	adj	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
tumultueux	adj	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
siècle	n	3	3	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
découvrir	v	3	3	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
culture	n	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
curiosité	n	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
église	n	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
muséum	n	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
patrimonial	adj	2	2	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
art.	n	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
baroque	adj	2	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0
panorama	n	1	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
château	n	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
cité	n	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0
exceptionnel	adj	1	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

the collection of the words has something with the ones about “patrimoine” even though the terms does not necessarily mean history. The words “naturelle (natural)”, “art”, or “riche (rich)”, for example, do not sound close to history, but they could be valid when we refer to its history or foundation as a tourist destination. These analyses show the results about only three words. When we analyze all the sentences on the website with statistical calculations, we can make clusters about each word to complete dendrogram, showing the proximity of the words with each other, with which we can find more. Figure 3.5 is the dendrogram. All the words in all the sentences on the website are calculated, only to get too big data. Now, extracting only nouns made the dendrogram to find appropriate data to discuss what the website intended to inform us about the city. In order to concentrate on the theme of this paper, some examples are to be examined. According to the dendrogram, for example, the word “église (church)” was frequently used with “saint” and “chapelle” and combined with “cathédrale”, “saint” and “réparate”. This is probable because these sentences propose tourist destinations, especially located in the “Vieux Nice”, meaning old town. In fact, some of the sentences are as follows; “Les festivités débutent par une messe chantée dans l’église du Gesù, puis une procession se déroule jusqu’à la plage des Ponchettes (face au Vieux-Nice), où l’on brûle une barque en l’honneur du Saint-Patron.” “ Les festivités débutent par une messe chantée dans l’église du Gesù, puis une procession se déroule jusqu’à la plage des Ponchettes (face au Vieux-Nice), où l’on brûle une barque en l’honneur du Saint-Patron.” Moreover, the word “Nice” not only exist in a cluster but

the expression “Nice Cote d’Azur”, representing the region, is frequently used. The same logic can be adopted to the words “ville (city / town)”. The words which should be focused on might be “vieux (old)”, “histoire (history)” and “archéologie (archaeology)”. As the word “histoire” suggests, these three terms give us some image the city’s long history related with not only its buildings but the history itself because no cities can exist without any buildings. Figure 3.3 shows us close words to the term “patrimoine”. The words here suggest buildings or institutions, such as “centre” or “service”. This might imply tourist destinations. It can be inferred that they are expected to experience Nice’s history. The same idea compiled Figure 3.4. The word “histoire” itself is very close to inheritance, but the

Figure 3.5 dendrogram of nouns



its cluster makes up clusters with others. It goes without saying that “Nice” is combined with “ville”, since it expresses the place. “La ville de Nice (city of Nice)” has a long history from the ancient Greece, which is why “histoire” and “siècle (century)” has a close relationship. Some of other typical clusters are “façade (façade)” and “architecture”, “art” and “museum”, “promenade” and “villa” and “château (castle)” and “colline (hill)”. As the dendrogram shows, the first two are related with “histoire”, so these suggest Nice’s history. The other two inform us about tourist destinations, which also explains other clusters. This analysis makes it clear what the city of Nice intended to inform us, which makes this paper focus the most on the terms used on the webpages and their proximity with each other.

The dendrogram implies some of the words used around “nice” are “histoire”, “art”, and so on. It doesn’t include, for example, “attentat (terrorist attack)”, or “victim”, which would remind us of the tragedy. The fact is that there were several pages of such pages to commemorate the victims on the Promenade des Anglais, but they were composed of only pictures with very short comments or expressions. They were not described in sentences. This paper doesn’t include them because they were so independent that it was impossible to evaluate the relationships of the words or phrases with each other. This is why the dendrogram shows “nice” to be a tourist destination, since it suggests that nice has a long “history” for “centuries” with some “architecture”s and “Jardin (garden)”, around which you can stay at “hôtel”s.

4. Conclusion

The regional media in France made great efforts to make the articles informative and comprehensive. They have different methods and approaches to report a sensitive issue like the terrorist attack. This can be found in the speeches and the words they use in reporting. Among the lexicons used, they show discourses more positive than negative for national security are valuable. The victim lexicon, for example, was used to show the sadness and upset at the terrorist attack. Although the use of the word attack(s) is more frequent than the other words, the context is the most general. It was used in urgent reporting and general information about the tragedy. This word is also used to answer some questions about the event as the victims and witnesses.

The role of French press in the emergency could also be seen in the framing of its reporting. Some media showed the feeling of sadness, sympathy, or need for unity. The others was to share the importance of security and nationalism. But few of the texts analyzed showed the text expressing hatred and fear to Muslims. They talked a lot about the link between the criminals and the Islamic State, the result of immigration, and the war with Algeria. The reports talked about general Muslims, though the Muslims had chances to express their thought or they gave support to the victims of the attacks, but the result was that this type of text contributed to the dissemination of the Islamophobia in France. The phenomenon of Islamophobia puts French Muslims in a less advantageous position. In this case, the press had a big role in constructing this discourse because its position in social life as the body disseminates information to the public. On the other hand, Nice City’s webpages, a subjective media, intends to have us remind that Nice has been a tourist destination, with long history

and its comfortableness. As a tourism city, Nice has no choice but to attract people, despite any terrible events. The contrast of information, subjective or objective, should be discussed more, but in the least, the intentions among people and tourist cities are the same. Even though both tell us the truth, their messages and contents are different with each other.

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What is Nice? – A Historical Case study on a Frontier of Nations and States –

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要約

「ニース」は現在、南仏の都市として位置づけられているが、国境線が今日のように確定したのは1860年に条約によってであった。ギリシア時代からある歴史的な都市が「フランス」であった時期は相対的に短く、むしろ地理的な理由により地中海文化が濃く、歴史的な理由からイタリア的である。「フランス」への併合の過程を議論することによって、今日の「ニース」の位置づけを明確にするとともに、「国民国家」の境界線が人為的に策定されることの意味・帰結へ示唆が得られると考える。

Abstract

The city, recognized as a territory in the south-eastern France today, "Nice", was annexed by a treaty in 1860. Nice has a long history since the Greek era, while it has a relatively short period as a region in France. Nice is located around the Mediterranean Sea, which makes it a city with Mediterranean culture, and historically it had been an Italian territory, which gives it an Italian ambience. The discussion on the process of its annexation to France would give us some insight about Nice today, as well as the meaning and the result of artificial definition of borders between nation states.

résumé

La ville, reconnue comme un territoire dans le sud-est de la France aujourd'hui, "Nice", a été annexée par un traité en 1860. Nice a une longue histoire depuis l'époque grecque, alors qu'elle a une période relativement courte en tant que région en France. Nice est située autour de la mer Méditerranée, ce qui en fait une ville de culture méditerranéenne, et historiquement c'était un territoire italien, ce qui lui donne une ambiance italienne. La discussion sur le processus de son annexion à la France nous donnerait un aperçu de Nice aujourd'hui, ainsi que du sens et du résultat de la définition artificielle des frontières entre États-nations.

0. Introduction

Nice is recognized today as a city in the South-East of "France." Needless to say, however, Giuseppe Garibaldi, one of the greatest founders of Italy, was born in Nice. That is to say, one of the original places, Savoy, was located around the border between France and Italy today.

A journalist in the 19th century, Charles-Ferdinand Lapierre, wrote;

When I arrived in Nice, people seemed so indifferent about their situation that I asked a merchant whether he was to be French. Later, bit by bit, they became worried about their destiny, which led to some debate between two parties founded by two paper companies, *Gazette de Nice* and *Avenir de Nice*. *Gazette de Nice* declared on the “urbi et orbi” that people there were Italian and kept on being Italian, and their loyalty to Vittorio Emanuele II. Simultaneously, on the other hand, *Avenir de Nice* reported that people were French and hoped to be annexed to France¹.

As this shows, the annexation of Nice in 1860 arose numerous debates between opponents and supporters, which resulted in very contrasting visions of attachment, deep desires of the people involved and purely arbitrary assimilation by Bonapartists. Study on the annexation would tell us its “creating” events in the history of Nice identity. The annexation can be examined by several fields. As Guichonnet suggests, it can be understood that the attachment was realized not by people in Nice or Savoy but by Victor Emmanuel II². However, Corbin studies it through the politicization of the countryside in the 19th century, which means we shouldn’t ignore local actors³. People did not necessarily remain passive in the face of the change in sovereignty, and based on the fact that they had some strategies which seemed possible, they revealed their practices and representations of politics. Thus, the study of the annexation in 1860 would be examined through several approaches, including the process of liberalization in the Second Empire or particular electoral acts, and phenomena of politicization and democratization which characterizes France in the latter half of 19th century⁴.

The annexation was also a process of constructing national identities in Europe in the 19th century. As Thiesse discusses, it was this period that intellectual and political elites defined and disseminated what is necessary to build a state. However, the problem of Nice’s attribution concerns a particular history and heritage, and a very ambiguous nationality between France and Italy⁵. Sahlins suggests that not a state but people made their nationality, which included inevitable “Italianness”, to be fully French⁶.

This paper is to discuss how Nice was attributed to France and how elites and people responded to the events, but from the limits and consequences of the sovereignty changes and identity construction. As Courriere suggest, this paper examines three periods; the time of hesitation (from January to March in 1860), the march towards to plebiscite (from March to April in 1860), and the plebiscite (from April to September in 1860), which Courriere discusses, which this paper mainly refers to.

1 LAPIERRE, C-F. (1861), p.p. 10-11.

2 GUICHONNET P., (2003) p.p. XXIX-XXXI.

3 CORBIN A., (2000).

4 ROSANVALLON P., (2000) p. 201 ; BLUCHE F., (2000).

5 THIESSE Anne-Marie, (1997).

6 SAHLINS P., (1996).

1. A Divided City at the Crossroads (January to March 14th, 1860)

Questions about the future of Nice arose during the first month in 1860. Until the official confirmed its annexation to France on March 24th, contradictory rumors led to the actions and speeches by various parties and local political actors, which resulted in an atmosphere of uncertainty. That is, politically, there were controversies between two antagonistic parties; the annexationists from the French party and anti-annexationists from the Italian one.

1.1 Supporters of France

Promoters of annexation structured themselves in Nice in December, 1847, by a group of young liberals, owners of a daily newspaper written in French, *L'Écho des AlpesMaritimes*, which was the original of *L'Avenir de Nice*⁷. Majority of the party members worked in the commerce or banks. Some were born in France while some were only educated there. The daily were initially liberal and favorable to the Second Republic, and then more favorable to the regime of Napoleon III even though they described themselves as liberal, which gathered moderate, liberal and sometimes former Republican Bonapartists to the French party⁸. They showed preference against the attachment of France to the authoritarian political tendencies of the Second Empire.

Promoters of annexation justified their position by insisting on the importance of Nice's commercial relations with France⁹. From their viewpoint, annexation might keep "natural" economic relationships between these two territories, while belonging to Piedmont-Sardinia would keep them from the development of the city and country. They also intensified the artificial border. The Var river was easy to cross while it was difficult to go over the Alps, which meant that it might be evidence of a "real" "natural" border between France and Italy. They continued to explain ethnological and historical perspective. They believed that the "race" and the language of people in Nice are Provençal, therefore French. The annexationists finally accuse the government of Turin of having neglected Nice, especially their communication routes. Moreover, the superiority of French legislation, administration, and educational systems were emphasized to be efficient.

As is discussed above, the members of the French party essentially insisted the material advantages of economic development which people might get if Nice were to be annexed to France, which in turn might realize the French administration and the free trade. They also put much emphasis on the "Provençal nature" and its inhabitants. They argued that the annexation would be a natural, beneficial, and inevitable event.

7 COMPAN A., (1949), p.p. 43-47.

8 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 1er janvier 1860.

9 JUGE V., (1860), 63 p.

1.2 Italian supporters

Two daily newspapers organized those who were opposed to the annexation. One was a group formed by *Il Nizzardo*, written in Italian. The ideas were close to those of Garibaldi and Mazzini¹⁰. The other was grouped by *Gazette de Nice*, which was run by a wealthy proprietor, Gonzague Arson, and which was written in French and whose ideas were left-center¹¹.

Politically, the anti-annexationist parties had a variety of Garibaldian, who were the extreme left, the liberals, and conservative right. The supporters of Garibaldi were convinced of the Italianness of Nice, and insisted that Nice should participate in the unifying movement of Italy. The right-wing people, like the clergy and the aristocracy, had relationships with Savoy dynasty, which made them opposed to the idea of cutting ties with it. The liberals rejected the Second Empire, which they recognized as synonymous with authoritarianism. The anti-annexationist parties had diverse political sensitivities, which resulted in a lack of coherence.

Some were particularly opposed to annexation. Civil servants and lawyers who were trained at the University of Turin thought of it as a risk of them losing their positions¹². Workers who leaned towards Garibaldi's ideas were great supporters to unite Italy, much like the whole left-wing people¹³. Bishops in Nice were attached to Rome and belonged to Italian clergy.

For opponents of annexation, the Italianness of Nice was apparent, and its history was enough proof for it to be "a great member of Italy"¹⁴. They also pointed out that the dialect of Nice was highly Italianized therefore it could not be considered Provençal any longer. They also insisted that Italian had been the official language of Nice since the 16th century and many authors from the country had written their works in Italian. They recalled Catherine Ségurane and Garibaldi as the central image of Nice to show its Italianness. Catherine Ségurane was also symbolized as Nice's attachment to the House of Savoy. These two "heroes of the world," who played essential roles in uniting Italy represented their irresistible attachment to Italy. The interaction of local identity with national identity was referred to frequently in the history of Nice and Italy.

1.3 Fragmented people

In the prospect of annexation, people in Nice were divided. There are some sources about this point. According to one of them, in March 1860, the prefect of Var asserted that the majority of rural people hoped that Nice should be annexed while some were under the anti-annexationist landlords. In the city, shop owners, non-politicized workers and major merchants were in favor of changing the sovereignty while the bourgeoisie, lawyers and people influenced by Mazzinian were opposed to it¹⁵. One of them reports that the elites were indifferent, or hostile to the annexation while the majority

10 HILDESHEIMER E.T, (1960), p. 102 ; MAZON A., (1960), p.p. 181-221.

11 *Gazette de Nice*, 22 décembre 1859.

12 HILDESHEIMER E., op. cit. , p. 96 ; *L'Avenir de Nice*, 18 mars 1860.

13 MAZON A., op. cit., p. 211.

14 EMANUEL E., MONTFERRIER H. G., (1860), 45 p.

15 Arch. nat., F/1cI/129, rapport du préfet du Var au ministre de l'Intérieur, 24 mars 1860.

of people hoped that Nice would be one of Italian territories¹⁶. As several sources which tell us their opposite positions indicate, in the least here, it can be concluded that people were hesitant, or hostile with each other about the question of annexation.

The election of Piedmont province on the 15th and 22nd of March in 1860 provoked a confrontation between supporters of Italian and French¹⁷. The former tried to use it to demonstrate the people's opposition to annexation. *L'Avenir de Nice* refused to discuss the votes from the political position, but they published a list on which appeared the names of several French supporters¹⁸. The fact should not be ignored that the vote rate itself was indeed particularly low, 46.4%, but they were generally favorable to the anti-annexationists¹⁹.

2. Toward the plebiscite (March to April, 1860)

The situation radically changed in March, 1860. On the 14th, *L'Avenir de Nice* announced that the annexation of Nice and Savoy to France was "definitively consented" by the Piedmont government²⁰. A secret treaty was concluded in Turin, and the French consul in Nice probably informed the editor of the daily. On March 26, *L'Avenir de Nice* announced that the official signing of the annexation treaty in Turin two days before and that they would be holding the plebiscite²¹. A special envoy from the emperor, Pierre-Marie Pietri, who was a Corsican senator and was responsible for preparing the annexation, arrived in Nice on the day²². As the annexation seemed more certain, the parties and politicians came to need greater consideration of their position and the future change of sovereignty.

2.1 Division, pressure and rallies

The announcement of the annexation led to a division of municipalities. On the 15th of March, the commune council which constituted the executive of the city government decided to send a deputation to King Victor-Emmanuel II to ask not to cede the country, or "neutralize" and remain under the sovereignty of the House of Savoy when it was refused²³. The next day, eight of the forty members of the city council protested the decision²⁴. Three-quarters of the council, including the syndic François Malausséna, were opposed to changing the sovereignty. Cavour and Victor-Emmanuel II saw the delegates to explain to them that the request cannot be acceded²⁵.

16 Bibliothèque de Cessole, Fonds Lubonis, lettre de Louis Lubonis au sénateur Pierre-Marie Pietri, 10 avril, 1860.

17 Gazette de Nice, 10 janvier 1860.

18 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 13 janvier 1860.

19 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 19 janvier 1860 ; Gazette de Nice, 20 janvier 1860.

20 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 14 mars 1860.

21 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 26 mars 1860.

22 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 27 mars 1860.

23 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 17 mars 1860.

24 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 19 mars 1860.

25 GUICHONNET, P., (2003), p. 326.

The arrival of Pirtri on March 26 changed the situation profoundly. The emperor's envoy listened to their grievances and wishes for the post-annexation, which brought the reluctant persons' reassurance²⁶. He also saw numerous delegations from various corporations and organizations in the country. *L'Avenir de Nice* systematically published the minutes of these meetings to show people that authorities reassured by the senator's commitments approved the annexation. The envoy, sent by Napoleon III, had a legitimacy of speck the members of the French parties didn't have. As he was an Italophile and supporter of the unity of Italy, spoke Italian, and had good talent as a diplomat, he could rally the undecided to the cause of annexation better than the French consul. Above all, through his promises, he managed to reassure the notables who were influential over the rest of the population, particularly in rural areas; 65% of people lived in the hinterland²⁷.

Pietri's mission was facilitated by the declaration of Victor-Emmanuel II on April 1, 1860. It is said that people in Savoy and the country of Nice would be released from their fidelity and officially announced that a plebiscite would be held²⁸. Legitimists could no longer take advantage of their loyalty to the king to refuse annexation, even if the kind did not explicitly call for a vote in favor of the change of sovereignty. The King appointed a civil servant to be a provisional governor with the announcement of the effective change of sovereignty. The person was a lawyer, Louis Lubonis, born in Nice. The Piedmont administration and the local administration began to act in favor of the annexation.

The new governor's speech, however, let the ambiguity of the situation be revealed. In his addressing of the population on the 5th of April, he asked the opponents of annexation to cease their activity in the name of the interests of their homeland and to submit to the will of their king²⁹. This speech, however, provoked the disapproval of the Piedmont government and the anger of the Italian party. Its content was apparently favorable to the change of sovereignty, which meant the provisional governor contradicted the official position of Turin³⁰. This shows that the ambiguity about the plebiscite; officially, people had the right to vote, but unofficially, the Piedmont government hoped the result might be a positive one for it. On the 8th of April, a syndic of Nice, François Malaussena, also hoped the acceptance of annexation in terms of devotion to the king and the attachment of Italian unity³¹.

These statements were followed by official support of the annexation from most authorities and notables. On April 9, the bishop of Nice, Jean-Pierre Sola, published a circular to address to the priests to ask them to recommend the faithful vote in favor of annexation³². The next day, the parish

26 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 27 mars 1860.

27 GUICHONNET, P., (2003), p. 324.

28 *Le Messager de Nice*, 3 avril 1860. *Le Messager* replaced *L'Avenir* from this day.

29 *Le Messager de Nice*, 6 avril 1860.

30 *Le Messager de Nice*, 14 avril 1860.

31 *Le Messager de Nice*, 8 avril 1860.

32 *Le Messager de Nice*, 12 avril 1860.

priests of the city saw Pierre-Marie Pietri to assure him out of devotion to the emperor³³. On April 14, the Jewish community in Nice, grouped in the Israelite University also supported the change of sovereignty³⁴. Various notables in the hinterland went to Pietri to show their position to support. Several municipalities and groups addressed to the emperor that they were satisfied with the unity with France. The majority of authorities showed their position to change the sovereignty.

Most of the notables showed their position of support, however, they needed to involve people who would vote within the system of universal suffrage for the first time, which set up Central Annexation Committee on April 12³⁵. They launched “special committees” in each parish to persuade people to the polls. These committees consisted of notables and parish priests played a decisive role in the organization of the vote, especially in the hinterland. The structure organized late might indicate that they essentially intended to have people vote by relying on traditional social authorities within the familiar framework of the parish. As a result, they didn’t need to convince the voters; they had only to demonstrate that the vote was both massive, enthusiastic and dignified in accordance with the political practices and ideology of the Second Empire.

There were other measures taken to encourage people to vote. A cantata, named “Hymne à la France” or “the Chant des Niçois” was reproduced by the press. Its words, set to music by a French composer, Léopold Amat, invoked the sense of the county’s belonging to France under the First Empire and emphasized the Provençal origins of the city of Nice³⁶. Several notables served as electoral agents during the presentation of plebiscite, while some collected a fee³⁷. On the 1st of April, the supporters of annexation held a party to welcome the first two French battalions arriving in Nice³⁸. These festivals with French cockades and flags and the construction of triumphal arches surmounted by eagles, a symbol of the Empire, realized unity and imperialization of the cities.

The function of the media or symbols, however, did not necessarily work well. The highly polemical tones of *L’Avenir de Nice* received a lot of criticism not only from the *Gazette de Nice*, but also from the governor, Louis Lubonis and the French consul³⁹. The abusive articles in the annexationist newspaper prevented the “conciliation” between the different parties which authorities were trying to promote. Notable conservatives were also reluctant to join the party many of whose prominent members were former supporters of the Second Republic. These events shows that tensions and divergences between the members of annexation party and the representations of the French government were brought about.

33 *Le Messager de Nice*, 11 avril 1860.

34 *Le Messager de Nice*, 14 avril 1860.

35 *Le Messager de Nice*, 12 avril 1860.

36 *Le Messager de Nice*, 13 avril 1860.

37 Arch. nat., F/1cIII/Alpes-Maritimes, nouveau département/2, lettre du maire de Sospel au préfet, 25 octobre 1860 ; rapport du préfet au ministre de l’Intérieur, 29 octobre 1860.

38 *Le Messager de Nice*, 3 avril 1860.

39 *Gazette de Nice*, 30 mars 1860 ; Bibliothèque de Cessole, Fonds Lubonis, lettre de Louis Lubonis au sénateur Pierre-Marie Pietri, 10 avril 1860.

2.2 Residence and opposition

After March 14 and the “unofficial” announcement of annexation, several anti-annexationist demonstrations were organized by committees. The National Committee of Nice declared, on March 17, that they would hold their meeting “permanently” and decided to meet every evening⁴⁰. They organized a demonstration while the delegates of the municipal government went to the king to deliver the address of people in the municipality as their responsibility. On March 28, a hundred people roamed the city to make a threat against the French supporters⁴¹.

The protests changed their way at the end of March, when the change of sovereignty turned to be certain. It was no longer a matter, for the opponents, of fighting against the annexation, but of proclaiming their attachment to Italy or their hostility towards the supporters to change the sovereignty against those who were assimilated to annexationists. On March 28, a crowd gathered in front of the office of *L'Avenir de Nice*, to cry out “Down with the future” and “Down with the renegades” and tried to tear down the press’ sign⁴². On March 29, several thousands of people roamed the city while they were complaining against the opponents of annexation⁴³. The demonstration was held on March 30 and 31, in the departure of the Piedmont troops⁴⁴.

The legislative election in the Piedmont on March 25, 1860 was the last moment of confrontations between the two parties. The only candidates for the two constituencies of Nice, Joseph Garibaldi and Charles Laurenti-Robaudi, were opponents of annexation. *L'Avenir de Nice* did not present any candidates and asked for abstention, but *Il Nizzardo* lead a very active campaign⁴⁵. Voters followed the instructions of *L'Avenir*, or they considered that the elections were useless. The number of voters was sufficient to validate the result, which needs following by the second vote. Joseph Garibaldi and Charles Laurenti-Robaudi were finally elected by 26.9%, only 11.7% of the electorates.

As the plebiscite approached, opponents of annexation hesitated to adopt the strategy. In the middle of March, the National Committee of Nice sent agents to the hinterland to prepare the vote⁴⁶. On the 5th of April, however, they suspended their activities, and doubted the presence of French troops and the proclamation of the governor, Lubonis⁴⁷. On April 9, they called on voters to abstain⁴⁸. *La Gazette de Nice* also recommended abstention for the same reason⁴⁹. *Il Nizzard* denounced the conditions under which the plebiscite had to be held and suspend its publication on April 3⁵⁰. These made anti-annexationists give up supporting the negative responses.

40 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 17 mars 1860.

41 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 20 mars 1860.

42 *Gazette de Nice*, 30 mars 1860.

43 *Gazette de Nice*, 31 mars 1860.

44 *Gazette de Nice*, 1er avril 1860.

45 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 21 mars 1860 ; *Il Nizzardo*, 21 marzo 1860.

46 *L'Avenir de Nice*, 14 mars 1860.

47 *Gazette de Nice*, 7 avril 1860.

48 *Gazette de Nice*, 10 avril 1860.

49 *Gazette de Nice*, 10 avril 1860.

50 *Il Nizzardo*, 3 aprile 1860.

3. The annexation plebiscite (April 15-16, 1860)

The plebiscite of April 15 and 16 is the keystone of the annexation. The vote had to be the legitimization of the change of sovereignty from the aspect of international public opinion and the parliament of Turin. It was therefore essential, for Napoleon III and Cavour, that the result be as unanimous as possible⁵¹. The list of the vote was compiled in Nice in order to realize this, but Italians and those who were not from the city or the country and people who were opposed to annexation were excluded⁵². Moreover, the date of the vote was announced only a week before the date, which left the opponents of the attachment little time to organize themselves. Additionally, during the election campaign, supporters of annexation particularly insisted on the importance of participation. They strived to rally the supporters of the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia by affirming that “to vote today for France is also to vote for Italy⁵³”, by allowing it to achieve its unity.

3.1 Voting process and results

Like all the votes of the Second Empire, the annexation plebiscite was well-managed⁵⁴. “Neighborhood captains” to whom the municipality inducted the parish priests, trustees and notables were responsible for registering voters on the electoral lists⁵⁵. On the first day of the vote, in Nice and in the hinterland, voters from rural parishes went to the polls together, in parades, with flags and drums, preceded by the priest and the trustees, in a festive atmosphere⁵⁶. The vote, which seemed festive and unanimous, was close to the demonstration, and its aims were above all to show the cohesion of the community and its unanimous support for annexation.

On the evening of the second day of voting, April 16, a demonstration of 8 to 10,000 people, according to *Le Messager*, preceded by music and the National Guard, marched through Nice while people were singing *L'Hymne à La France*⁵⁷. The crowd carried flags and torches, as well as a sign announcing the results of the vote in Nice. The demonstration stopped under the windows of the Hôtel de France, where Senator Pietri lived, and a deputation officially announces the results to him. The whole city came to symbolically proclaim its decision to the representative of France, who already seemed to have supplanted the provisional governor of the province. The results of the vote seemed globally satisfactory for the administration: the participation rate indeed reached 84.4% and, compared to the voters, the yes obtained 99.3% against 0.6% for the vote “no”. 0.1% of ballots were blank or invalid. However, these results require scrupulous attention; the vote itself was very overseen and the opposition called for abstention. It is indeed necessary to take the latter

51 HILDESHEIMER, E., (1960), p. 125 ; GUICHONNET P., (2003), p.p. 213-216.

52 Arrêté du gouverneur de l'arrondissement de Nice, 7 avril 1860, dans *Le Messager de Nice*, 8 avril 1860.

53 *Le Messager de Nice*, 15 avril 1860.

54 HUARD, R., (1991), p.p. 76-86.

55 *Le Messager de Nice*, 13 avril 1860.

56 MAZON, A., op. cit., p. 215 ; *Le Messager de Nice*, 16 avril 1860.

57 *Le Messager de Nice*, 19 avril 1860.

into account in comparison with the number of yes ballots to the number of registered voters⁵⁸. The results might have been thus slightly less satisfactory for the administration: 83.8% of voters voted yes, while 16.2% preferred to abstain, no, blank, or null. By comparison, in Savoy, 96.4% of registered voters voted in favor of annexation to France⁵⁹.

The most refractory municipalities were located in the east of the county, near the future Italian border, while the second zone of relative resistance was found along the coast. The third set included a handful of municipalities in the St. Sauveur region and many of isolated localities showed less enthusiasm than the others. Overall, therefore, it was the west of the county, close to the former border with France, as well as the hinterland that gave almost unconditional support to annexation, whether the inhabitants were actually supporters of annexation.

3.2 Reactions, challenges and acceptances

Supporters of Italy immediately challenged the validity of the ballot by questioning the conditions of the vote. As early as April 13, the *Gazette de Nice* denounced the action of election administration and country guards in the hinterland, because they presented annexation to voters as a fait accompli that simply needed to be ratified⁶⁰. The attitudes of the governor, the trustees and the bishop, who all called for yes votes, were also denounced. The neighborhood commissioners in the city also campaigned for the positive vote, sometimes by intimidating voters⁶¹.

The acts of opposition or protest were the last rebellions. Towards the end of April, petitions circulated to denounce the irregularities of the ballot⁶². In Turin, on April 23, Garibaldi and Laurenti-Robaudi gave their resignation of deputies by denouncing the conditions of the vote⁶³.

The debates in the Parliament of Turin were very lively. The Chamber of Deputies, nevertheless, voted on May 29 to ratify the annexation treaty⁶⁴. The Senate did the same on June 10. In their report devoted to the approval of the cession of Savoy and the county of Nice to France, senators Salmour, Cibrario, Galvagno and Ridolfi considered that, by its historical traditions, its language and its topographical position, it was probable that Nice was considered to be "more French than Italian" and the cession of the county to France was therefore deemed to comply with the "principle of nationalities"⁶⁵.

3.3 The symbolic annexation of the county of Nice

Several festivities, organized by the public authorities, presented the end of the annexation process. The festivals indeed allowed the power to stage representations intended to unify an entire

58 BLUCHE, F., (2000), pp. 9-10.

59 GUICHONNET P., op. cit., p. 231.

60 Gazette de Nice, 13 avril 1860.

61 Gazette de Nice, 15 avril 1860.

62 Gazette de Nice, 26 avril 1860 and 29 avril 1860.

63 Le Messager de Nice, 8 mai 1860.

64 Le Messager de Nice, 13 juin 1860.

65 Le Messager de Nice, 10 juin 1860.

society around certain values and symbols. They contributed to legitimizing its action and asserting its sovereignty, through their reveals of its ideological foundations⁶⁶.

The annexation first gave rise to several transition festivities, following by accompanying and gradual concretizing of the change of sovereignty. One of the significant facts is that they massively used the memories of the First Empire. On May 1, 1860, an address from the municipal council to Napoleon III assured him that, if he came, he would find the "glorious traces of the great founder of his dynasty", who had taken command of the Army of Italy in Nice in 1796⁶⁷. The city's belonging to the First Empire was thus embroidered in order to place the new regime in the continuity of local history. The festival also united the city with the rest of the French nation, which celebrates the same festival at the same time. The medalists of Saint Helena, whose importance for the maintenance of the "Napoleonic legend" was known, were particularly in demand⁶⁸.

The official celebrations of the annexation took place in Nice and in the county on June 17⁶⁹. Their polysemy was strongly reminiscent of that of August 15. They should represent not only the end of uncertainties, the beginning of prosperity, the proclamation of a "contract" with France, but also the return to the motherland and the end of rivalries within the city. It might have seemed that the action or presence of the emperor had overcome political division. It seemed that the desires to break with the past realized the celebration of the annexation, just like the celebration of August 15th. The celebration let people welcome a new era by bringing together the inhabitants around the memories of the First Empire and by hiding the other heritages. The notion of recognition was also represented, and the celebration of June 17th constituted a kind of response to the Parisian ceremony of the day before⁷⁰. Moreover, the celebrations of June 17th also seemed an extension of the annexation plebiscite. Like those on August 15th, it was not only a celebration itself but a reinteraction of the plebiscite with their character of unanimity. These festivities were therefore a celebration of sovereignty⁷¹. They brought Nice ties with Napoleon III and France, and the bonds of loyalty which people had just broken with Victor-Emmanuel II and the kingdom of Piedmont-Sardinia.

The journey of Napoleon III, from September 12th to 14th in 1860, completed this symbolic integration of the county of Nice to the French nation⁷². The trip was a sort of response to the celebrations of annexation. It allowed the emperor to validate the moral contract contracted by the city on June 17th, while the foundation of the Bonapartist regime was spread⁷³.

66 CORBIN, A., GEROME N., TARTAKOWSKY D., dir. (1994); IHL O. (1996); DALISSON R., (2004); DALISSON R.(2009) ; MARIOT N.(2008), pp. 113-139.

67 Le Messager de Nice, 1er mai 1860.

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69 COURRIERE H., (2008), pp. 77-93.

70 DALISSON R., (2004)op. cit., p. 226.

71 CORBIN A., (1994) p. 25.

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73 MENAGER B., (1988), pp. 145-150.

4. Conclusion

The annexation of the county of Nice to France was both indicative of the political practices in the 1860s and of the process of construction of national identities during this period. The change of sovereignty in 1860, which Napoleon III demanded and Cavour and Victor-Emmanuel II accepted, was indeed imposed on the people concerned. A sign of the development of ideas of sovereignty, nevertheless, had the two governments reluctant not to try to brutally and unilaterally impose their decision. They reassured people, negotiated with local elites and lobbied to finally make them realize that it was for their own benefit for them to accept and support attachment. From then on, the Nice elites managed to realize the idea of annexation, to justify it to the majority of the public, and then to lead it in favor of France. The national ambiguity of the county of Nice certainly played a decisive role, given the importance assumed by the "principle of nationalities". It was probably thanks to its partly French past that the partisans of annexation were able to convince of the merits or the necessity, of the change of sovereignty. Without its Provençal origins, without its first annexation in 1793 and without its membership of the First Empire, the annexation in 1860 would certainly have been much more difficult to implement. This introduction of the Frenchness in the county of Nice had, however, as a corollary a certain erasure of the Italianness in the city and its territory. The national ambiguity in Nice as well as in other border regions made its the definition of distinct national identities indiscernible. If the Franco-Italian character of Nice allowed, or at least facilitated, its annexation, the erasure of its Italianness thus posed problems for many years. In 1871, Nice Committees located in Nice and in Italy proclaimed the Italianness of the city, like several local politicians and the Italian-language Nice daily newspaper *Il Pensiero di Nizza*, published until 1896. With the approach of the Belle Époque, at the end of a long and complex process, the Italian character of the city and the county ended up being erased almost completely, in favor of a fully French and republican identity.

In conclusion, two points should be emphasized. The first is the rapidity with which events happened. Announced with certainty on March 24 led to the plebiscite, held on April 15 and 16 and the cession of the county to France on June 14. Therefore, only three weeks passed between the declaration of Victor-Emmanuel II and the plebiscite vote, which explains the suddenness of the rallies, the weakness of the opposition, and perhaps the fragility of the support for the change of sovereignty. The second point concerns the antagonism between the two representations created through annexation. For the old Italian party, the change of sovereignty was seen as an act contrary to the will of the people or, at most, as a necessary but painful sacrifice made on the altar of Italian unity. It remains, in any case, an event suffered or at least accepted with bad grace by part of the elites and the people. For the French party, on the other hand, the annexation was above all seen as a natural "return" to the mother country, to the "true" nationality of the city, a representation which rejected and condemned the ostracism of the entire past of the Piedmont city and its inhabitants. The change of sovereignty was, finally, strongly linked to the person of Napoleon III and to the Napoleonic legend. Its legitimacy therefore became particularly fragile when the Second Empire collapsed in

September 1870.

Nobody can change the locations, however we can set borders. Changing them have been brought several times everywhere in human history. Nice, located in the southern-east of France today, and northern-west of Italy until 18th century, retains its ambiguous sense of nationality even though it is a part of France today. We can find Italianness in Frenchness everywhere in Nice when we are there. The other question of its location, that is, Nice is confronted by the Mediterranean Sea, should be discussed on such ambiguity of the nation regardless of the border of states since people from other states live today, which brought Nice such a sense of internationalness.

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