

The Ryukyuanist

A Newsletter on Ryukyu/Okinawa Studies

Nos. 79/80

Spring-Summer 2008

This issue celebrates the publication of Part I of Professor Tony Jenkins's work resulting from his painstaking research over many years into the life and achievements, especially in Okinawa, of Bernard Jean Bettelheim, a nineteenth-century Christian missionary who spent eight years in Okinawa (1846-54). Also celebrated is the formalization of the International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies that had long remained an informal small community of aficionados. In addition, we heartily welcome news on the opening of a new Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.

Review article:

The Journal and Official Correspondence of Bernard Jean Bettelheim, 1845-54, Part I (1845-51), edited by A.P. Jenkins, *Okinawa-ken shi, Shiryō-hen 21, kinsei 2* (Okinawa Prefectural Board of Education, 2005) xxx + 640 pp. Price ¥4000 + postage to Europe & US: surface mail ¥1080, SAL ¥1880, airmail ¥2760. Available from Okinawa Prefectural Archives, 148-3 Arakawa, Haebaru, Okinawa 901-1105, Japan. Tel: #(0)98 888 3875, fax: 3879)

In appearance this is a handsome book, indeed a classy publication, of the kind that the Japanese do so well: slip case, board binding in a seriously academic green cloth, gold tooling, a ribbon page marker and printed on smooth, cream, quality paper. The outlay that Okinawa Prefecture invested must have been considerable. Beyond that, the editor, A.P. Jenkins, a professor of History at Okinawa Prefectural University of Arts, took on a big job, as is evident on almost every page. In printed form, we have 624 pages of transcribed documentation, on a majority of which there are footnotes and on all of which is the evidence of his editorial method. First impressions count. It is a book with a look and feel of scholarly permanence.

For those who are new to the field of Ryukyuan studies, some background information is necessary. Bernard Jean Bettelheim was a Jew born in 1811 in Bratislava, then commonly called Pressburg. The young Bernard, being a bright, indeed, precocious lad, was intended for the rabbinate, but his parents were disappointed to observe his interests in languages and medicine. Nevertheless, Talmudic studies were not lost on him as his journal shows. Despite their chagrin, he proceeded with medical studies at Vienna, Pest and ultimately Padua where he was awarded his qualifications in 1836. Bettelheim often, though, succumbed to *Wanderlust*. After earning his degree he traveled around Italy, then as far south as Malta, through the northern parts of former Yugoslavia and on to Bulgaria, determined to be involved in finding a solution to the problem of cholera. Next, he became a surgeon in the Egyptian navy and then a regimental surgeon in the Turkish army, all accomplished by 1840, the year that found him in Smyrna (of New Testament fame) where he encountered a group of British and American Anglican (Episcopal) missionaries. Never one to avoid debate, Bettelheim took them on, but was amazed to discover that the precise point-by-point fulfillment of Old Testament prophecy in the New Testament was so compelling that he had them baptize him. Again, never reluctant to aim high, he went to the capital of the world's most powerful country of that time. Once in London, he set up, with his customary vigor, as a physician and as a proselytizer of Jews. In both he had some success, and by 1845 occupied the house once inhabited by Dr. Parkinson of Parkinson's disease fame.

Bettelheim saw himself as a man of vision – perhaps the phrase “manifest destiny” would fit – whose objectives did not deserve to be thwarted by other men. He sought ordination, but met resistance, perhaps prejudice. As a recent Jewish convert, a period of probation would be necessary, and a couple of years studying theology at one or other of the ancient English universities – after all, what use were Italian medical qualifications from Padua as a foundation for a career in propagating the Gospel? Affronted, he turned away from the Church of England and became the pastor of a small independent congregation in the East End of London.

Being in the swim of the domestic missionary flow of those years, he became acquainted with

such men as the famous David Livingstone, and it is not surprising that he came to the notice of those who were headhunting missionaries for foreign fields. After all, he was an established physician and missionary, and a linguistic heavyweight (Yiddish, German, Hebrew, Latin, Greek, Italian, English, some French, some Spanish, a bit of Arabic, a touch of Turkish, and maybe some street Slovakian and Hungarian... to which he later added Chinese and *Uchināguchi*). Above all, he was a man of boundless energy, determination and commitment to the Gospel!

Established Ryukyuanists will know about Basil Hall's wide-eyed adventures in 1816. Among the younger naval officers sailing with him was Herbert Clifford. Clifford had been impressed by the generous hospitality of the Ryukyuan, and when in later years he had found Christ within the embrace of the Anglican Church, he conceived the idea of rewarding those good and gentle islanders by introducing Protestant Christianity and modern medicine to them. Clifford tried to sell his idea to the Church Missionary Society, but its directors rejected his advances. Lieutenant Clifford and his close associate Commander Henry Downes and various others (later including the admiral brother of the novelist Jane Austen, as I have recently learned) decided to set up their own body in 1843 as the Loochoo Naval Mission (LNM), and to recruit a pair of missionaries: a cleric and a pious medic to undertake their plans. However, no clergyman was ready to accept the challenge, but better luck, or so they thought, presented itself in the person of Dr. Bernard Bettelheim. In 1845 Bettelheim was about to set out once more for the Mediterranean on behalf of the Church Mission to the Jews, and was already equipped with books and so on. On being approached by the LNM, he did a *volte face* and signed on for its venture. He sought to re-attach himself to the Church of England, and was re-interviewed by the Bishop of London regarding a renewed request for ordination. That request was conditionally, but impractically, accepted: serve a year in Ryukyu, prove himself and then by the issue of appropriate documents, a bishop in Ceylon or India would deputize for London. Bettelheim eagerly readied himself, though there were shoals including some dissention over salary.

Harboring his own semi-concealed agenda (he could hardly keep a secret and was indeed repeatedly lambasted for his indiscretion and contradictory statements), Bettelheim was deeply drawn to East Asia. His first point of interest was that in a world that was still being discovered, speculation was rampant about the location of the lost Jewish tribes of the Old Testament. Jews of the diaspora had gone as far as China, so why not Japan and Ryukyu? Bettelheim wanted to find one or more of those tribes and was sure he had an excellent chance in East Asia. Secondly, he was a pre-millennialist, which is to say, he, with many others, in the feverish religious maelstrom of the mid-19th century, believed that when the last kingdom bowed its knee to Christ, He would come again. What challenges – to become a) the discoverer of one or more lost tribe, and b) the Apostle of Japan! In addition, not a secret, but an idea optimistically entertained by the LNM men, was the set of Biblical references to islands, most notably a passage in Isaiah mentioning “Javan and the isles afar off.” How could earlier exegetes have believed that those places should be understood as Greece and its islands when it was only too plain that it had to be Japan and the Ryukyus that were to be brought to honor God?

What more attractive invitation for a man of Bettelheim's intellect and enthusiasm could the LNM offer? He set out in September 1845, taking a small daughter and a pregnant wife, an elementary school teacher named Miss Sarah James, and *inter alia* a painting of the crucifixion, rather amazing for a fundamentalist Protestant and a source of future trouble. They arrived in Hong Kong in January with a new son. Bettelheim had letters of introduction to its leading missionary clergymen including the Biblical translator and mission director Charles Gutzlaff with whom he soon quarreled. Indeed, true to form, he had already proved confrontational on board ship, to the extent of being involved in an incident in which a knife had allegedly featured. Thereby a taint spread among the marine community of the island. That taint colored the disposition of the resident British admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane who became one of Bettelheim's influential enemies, as can be read in the October 1846 journal entries.

After a sally into the rival camp in Macao, the Catholic College, where he made the surprising and disappointing discovery that Catholic missionaries were already set up near Naha, he sailed to Canton to meet the celebrated US medical missionary Dr Peter Parker. Despite various false starts in finding a ship for the onward journey (one of which was wrecked), the Bettelheims eventually arrived in Naha in May, to the consternation of the Ryukyuan authorities. Bettelheim practiced a

stratagem to get ashore, i.e., to keep the negotiating “mandarins” below decks consuming alcohol while he transshipped his goods to boats and thus got them ashore before the authorities knew what had been afoot. *Fait accompli!* Such is the background to Bettelheim’s eight momentous Naha years (1846-54) where he soon took over the entirety of Gokokuji (temple) at Naminoue with the eventual evacuation of the Buddhist priests and of their colleagues at the nearby Naminoue-gū. Miss James, after her months of acquaintance with the Dr.’s ways, had declined to debark.

Briefly to flesh out the post-Ryukyu story, Bettelheim did not return to Britain as he had planned. Commodore Perry had given his family in February 1854, and then him passage to China for their forward journeys in July. He stopped off in New York as a sightseer but spent the rest of his eventful career in the US where his descendants still live. He died in 1870 in Missouri, having been a Union regimental surgeon in the Civil War and having been ordained pastor in the Presbyterian Church.

I had not intended to read the whole of this book but to use the index to “dip” here and there, to get the flavor. However, I did make a start in reading from the beginning and found myself going from page to page, turning, turning fascinated by the way that Bettelheim tells a story, telling perhaps more than he intended. He exposes his own character, often in clearly damaging ways, but at the same time reveals more, very valuably portraying much about Ryukyu as it was 160 years ago. He was a man who was interested in everything that came before him – though much seems not to have come before him. While he tells us about local religions, the tantalizingly Jewish characteristics of the Ryukyuan, their medical practices and diseases, the suffocating 24-hour surveillance system imposed upon him, some of the crafts, aspects of agriculture, and about the social structure (not to mention his own activities in language study, translations of parts of the Bible into *Uchināguchi*, and then his missionary methods), he was unknowingly excluded as an outsider from performances of classical Ryukyuan music and dance (by law), from any chances to see *eisā*, *kobudō* or [kara]te, and many other things on which we would welcome his remarks and judgment. The footnotes tell us that he was kept at home and entertained by middle-ranking officials on days when royalty was out performing rituals in Shuri (Naha, too, perhaps). The aim of Ryukyuan policy was to bamboozle him on all and any specifics, and in general to destabilize him and his wife psychologically by irregularly alternating tactics of leniency and stringency. The stress which he and his wife suffered was attributable to that treatment, designed, of course, to make them want to leave. In all of that, the Ryukyuan had some success in that Bettelheim remained ignorant or confused about certain things; for example, he did not realize that the senior mandarins with whom he and other foreigners dealt were a false front, what have been called “dummies.” What he has to say of the personal quality of those supposed statesmen should be seen in that light. Furthermore, by 1851 Ryukyuan ejection tactics resulted in his occasional determination to depart as his only solution; nevertheless, the government was not entirely successful as Bettelheim swung back with equal determination to stay in his missionary station.

Official opposition to the presence of the French missionaries and the Bettelheims begs the question as to what extent Ryukyuan had by the mid-19th-century become xenophobic. Circumstances controlled their reactions in that their country was, on the one hand, nominally an “outer screen” state within the Chinese imperial system, the British having, of course, defeated and humiliated China in the recent Opium War. On the other hand, overlaying that relationship was the tight control Satsuma had exercised over Ryukyu since 1609, a control that included pragmatic imposition of the anti-foreign, anti-Christian national seclusion policy. To avoid confrontation with China, such Japanese influence in Ryukyu was supposedly concealed. The Ryukyuan had thus to juggle the *de jure* appearance of a large degree of autonomy within the hands-off Chinese context against the *de facto* reality of close Japanese domination. So situated, Ryukyuan – wearing metaphorical Chinese hats – could lay on their traditionally gentle culture, but in donning their Japanese caps they had to suppress that culture. Therefore, when short-term visitors such as Hall arrived, the authorities behaved in a guarded but friendly way, but when a long-term stay was announced, the reaction was explicitly and demonstratively negative. Accordingly, when Bettelheim declared his intention to settle on May 1, 1846, he met shocked and determined resistance. When it came to considering the contradiction between Hall’s record and his own experience, Bettelheim’s dogged mental powers led him to piece together the evidence in order to resolve the question as to why he encountered such negative reactions to his presence. Over time, he began to perceive that

anti-Christian Japan called the shots in Shuri. He then expressed that view to his hosts so persistently that secrecy on the matter slipped and some Ryukyuan explicitly confirmed his analysis. Bettelheim himself, too, added to the pressure on the kingdom in another way in having appealed to the British government. That appeal resulted in Lord Palmerston's ordering a naval vessel to visit Ryukyu with a message that Shuri should "countenance" the missionary family. So much for officialdom, but as for ordinary Ryukyuan, the journal repeatedly describes them as welcoming until they were ordered to reverse their behavior or until they were punished for repeated or indeed sometimes any medical or religious dealings with the missionary. Thus, our question may be resolved: if upper levels of society had become xenophobic by the mid-19th century, it was probably because of Japanese policy and insistence, and if the lower levels became hostile, it was because Shuri had ordered to behave in that way.

Bettelheim was fully competent and remarkably gifted in various fields, but at the same time he had, as already suggested, clear flaws. When testing circumstances and his querulous tendencies got the better of him, he used his journal cathartically. The consequence is that there are passages quite revealing psychologically, albeit occasionally tiresome by dint of repetitiveness. A noticeable feature of his behavior is the emergence in these pages of a series of hate figures. Bettelheim's behavioral paradigm when reacting to such senior Western individuals is an initially open display of servility and acquiescence in their straightforwardness or criticism. That progresses to where such comments or criticisms begin to fester. He then advances to the discovery of an accumulation of supposed slights and implications especially relating to how the persecutor or "enemy" is damaging his status and missionary work. Finally, the target is repeatedly vilified in colorful terms, even if he has direct access to the journal, the function of which was a means of reporting to the LNM committee. Poor Basil Hall, too, of course, came in for repeated criticism, though the two never seem to have met. Thus, Bettelheim emerges as a kind of innocent, albeit an easily embittered one, who because of his temperament frequently and inevitably proved his own worst enemy. Such elements in the journal must be placed in their far broader contexts.

Both the corpus of Bettelheim hagiography (compiled by such men as Schwarz and Bull, representatives of the next generation of protestant missionaries to Okinawa) and its antithesis, G.H. Kerr's *Okinawa: The History of an Island People* (from which most of us imbibed distaste for the missionary), should be treated with some caution. But we should be equally careful about published primary sources apart from the journal. In arguing the novel value of this volume, it now appears that what the LNM printed in its annual reports by way of journal summaries and extracts was the result of careful selection designed to promote the work of the mission, i.e., to attract essential new members and hence more funding. Those sources present a cardboard Bettelheim, but in this volume we find both a more rounded and more jagged figure, more dimensions, interests, maneuvers, more weaknesses, and strong evidence of serious tensions between the LNM committee and himself, only dismissively hinted at in the LNM reports.

Even Bettelheim's modern proponents, most notably Professor Teruya, admit he is a controversial figure. It cannot be denied, despite that, that he played a role in advancing medical knowledge and made contributions to the modernization of Japan, but neither can it be denied that he is "grist to the mill" of those inclined to post-colonialist thinking, i.e., those who are critical of Western impositions on other parts of the world. For those who see Perry as a cultural and military aggressor, Bettelheim in his own way was aiding and abetting in the same processes.

As a scholarly edition of a Western text, I suspect that this book introduces to Japan high levels of editorial methodology and standards for Western texts generated in Japanese contexts. There is an introduction to place Bettelheim and the sources in their contexts, two different tables of abbreviations, and I would guess something near a four-figure number of footnotes elucidating textual problems and allusions. It is impressive to see references to French missionary sources and even more to Japanese records: I noted the *Dai Nihon Ishin Shiryō* and the *Ryukyu Ōkoku Hyōjōshomonjo*. Furthermore, there is a fine, thematically arranged index of persons, places and subjects, and it has a multitude of subheadings under both Bettelheim and Ryukyu. Don't look for wine under "W" but under "alcohol" where you will also trace references to the Bettelheims' partiality to liquor in an age when temperance (or "prohibition" in an American context) was becoming widespread in Christian circles in Britain. Far from being a hard drinker, we do learn,

though, that Bettelheim was a heavy smoker as were Ryukyuan men and, it seems, a woman.

Bettelheim was not a native speaker of English, and that presents some problems for an editor. His spelling is quirky and, being a linguist, he relied on his sense of rules governing linguistic morphology rather than on a dictionary. Thus, there is a discussion with Bishop Smith of Victoria (Hong Kong), a visitor in October 1851, over “dignitous,” as opposed to “dignified.” Bettelheim also draws, maybe unconsciously, upon his knowledge of the French in creating the word “congedictory.” His knowledge of Latin may have led him to form “dissuasements,” and “cruciating” (lacking an ex-prefix), while simple confusion may have fixed “to suspicion” firmly in his active vocabulary. All such points require editors to make decisions: to raise a footnote, to amend, or to add a [*sic*], and then apply their rules systematically throughout their texts. The introduction also explains that Jenkins has attempted to introduce rigor to Bettelheim’s wayward punctuation, i.e., by modernizing it. I did, though, notice a surviving “comma splice.”

Jenkins was employed in his evenings in Britain as a university teacher of paleography, (the science of reading of early scripts), and I think he was in his element in dealing with Bettelheim’s handwriting (see the frontispiece of the volume for a sample), which, even so, must at times have been a challenge. We have to respect Jenkins’ achievement all the more as most of the initial transcribing was based on microfilm printouts from manuscripts held at Birmingham University Library in the UK, and the rest from frail MSS at the library of the University of the Ryukyus. What he has transcribed and edited comprises the surviving parts of Bettelheim’s journal up to December 1851, though a regrettably long portion running from July 1847 to September 1850 is missing. Apart from that, the reader may be wondering what the “Official Correspondence” in the title is: the answer seems to be the English translations of his frequent Chinese-language exchanges with the Ryukyuan authorities inserted at appropriate points.

Any scholar with a serious interest in 19th-century Ryukyu should take a close look at this volume. All academic libraries concerned with Japanese studies, the history of East Asian international relations, and church missions would be missing something important if they failed to acquire a copy. Thereby, more students of mid-19th-century Ryukyu will be able to form their own views of Bettelheim’s role in and extensive Westerner’s description and analysis of mid-19th century-Ryukyu.

Readers should note that the volume under review constitutes part I of a two-volume project, and forms a kind of perspective-generating prolog to the immensely important events in Ryukyu that occurred in 1853-54 when Perry made Naha his base for the opening of Japan or, as George Feifer has it, *Breaking Open Japan*. As the Perry sources show, Bettelheim was closely involved in the expedition during its long stay in Naha port and Tomari. In light of the interest of these surviving parts of this original journal, part II, from which I hear there is nothing missing, promises to be of major significance. Let us hope that the sequel is not delayed by the Japanese government’s severe cuts in its funding of local government. It is surely something to look forward to.

John Reid

The reviewer:

Between the 1970s and the 1990s, John Reid, a holder of a University of California PhD in Anglo-Irish literature, spent three periods of several years each teaching at the University of the Ryukyus and one at a Catholic University in Nagasaki. During those years he took a very close interest in Okinawan and Japanese local history, culture, and contemporary society. He is working on a manuscript, a compilation from his extensive notebooks that recounts his experiences of Okinawa and Japan.

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International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies Formalized and Launched

At the business meeting of the 5th International Conference on Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies held at the University of Venice, Italy in September 2006, the co-chairs of the meeting, Professors Josef Kreiner and Kazuhiko Sumiya presented a proposal for the formation of an International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies. The proposal was enthusiastically approved by the participants. In June 2008, Professors Kreiner and Sumiya announced the formalization and launching of the International Association of Ryukyuan/ Okinawan Studies (IAROS) with its website at <http://www.iaros.org>.

The announcement includes a letter to the membership from Professors Kreiner and Sumiya, names of the planning committee members, and bylaws of the new association. These documents are reproduced below.

To the IAROS Members:

We hope that this message finds you in good health and high spirits as the summer begins.

As for the International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies, while attending the International Conference on Okinawan Studies in Venice, September 2006, we proposed the basic idea, which those in attendance approved. Afterward, Rosa Caroli sent a message suggesting an informal organization, and in a conversation with Katsukata (Inafuku) Keiko in Tokyo she expressed the same view. We were especially delighted to hear that Professor Hokama Shuzen agreed to become an advisor to our organization and now present this letter.

Because nobody else has made any proposals, we ask those of you who agree with our proposal to contact Professors Caroli or Katsukata with your views. Then we will proceed with implementation.

Moreover, those selected at the Venice conference as the representatives of each region will tentatively serve as organizers for the next conference.

Please use the IAROS web site as a venue for exchanging ideas.

Wishing all of you health and prosperity,

J. Kreiner (e-mail: Josef.kreiner.68@i.hosei.ac.jp)
Sumiya Kazuhiko

Planning Committee (as of June 30, 2008)

Regions: the regional representatives

Okinawa: Hateruma Nagayoshi, Higa Masao

Japanese Mainland: Katsukata (Inafuku) Keiko, Kiyonari Tadao

America: Gregory Smits

Australia: Hugh Clark

Europe: Rosa Caroli

Advisors: Koji Taira, Hokama Shuzen

Organizers: Sumiya Kazuhiko, Josef Kreiner

Bylaws of the International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies

I. *Name.* Kokusai Ryūkyū/Okinawa Gakkai; International Association of Ryūkyūan and Okinawan Studies (IAROS)

II. *Purpose.* To promote international research on Okinawa

A. *Organization.* This academic association will be organized as follows:

1. The general membership is all members of the society.
2. The Administration consists of a president, office manager, a treasurer (also a member of the Administration), and seven others.
3. The term of service in the Administration is four years, which may be renewed once.
4. Those who have served this association may, after deliberation by the Administration, be recommended as honorary members.
5. The Administration may deliberate the protocol of advisors.

B. *General Membership.*

1. The general membership shall meet once every four years
2. The general membership is charged with deciding the following:
 - a. Revisions to the articles of incorporation
 - b. Appointment or dismissal of members of the Administration
 - c. Annual dues
 - d. Designating those recommended by the Administration as honorary members or advisors
 - e. Other matters
3. The protocol for the general membership shall be to decide matters on the basis of a majority of anonymous ballots. However, revision or elimination of articles of incorporation requires the vote of at least a two-thirds majority.

C. *Annual dues.* General membership is ¥5,000. Student dues are ¥2,500, and supporting dues are ¥10,000.

D. *Fiscal year.* The fiscal year begins on April 1 of each year and ends on March 31 the following year.

E. The *administrative office* is the agency for approving the venue for meetings.

Note: A Prehistory of the IAROS

Five international meetings designated symposia or conferences precede the newly established International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies. Professors Hokama Shuzen and Josef Kreiner were closely involved in these meetings as organizers, conveners, overseers, keynoters, or in other important roles. The first meeting, called the International Symposium on Okinawan Studies, was held at two venues in Okinawa and Tokyo in 1982. The two-venue pattern continued to hold throughout the IAROS prehistory. The second meeting also convened in Okinawa and Tokyo. The third, fourth, and fifth meetings moved the second venue to outside of Japan: Sydney, Australia (1997); Bonn, Germany (2002); and Venice, Italy (2006), respectively. Among the scholars regularly participating in these conferences, a sense of *esprit de corps* and collective identity as an international association of shared academic interest emerged. At some point they began to call themselves an (informal) International Association of Ryukyuan/Okinawan Studies. Professor Kreiner then created a website at the University of Bonn using its acronym “iaros” for its internet identity. Information on the IAROS affairs is posted and updated on the web. (kt)

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Josef Kreiner, “The Third International Symposium on Okinawan Studies, Sydney,” *The Ryukyuanist*, No. 39 (Winter 1997-98)

A New Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i

In July, the University of Hawai'i at Manoa celebrated the opening of its new Center for Okinawan Studies in the School of Pacific and Asian Studies. The Center will serve as a hub of knowledge on Okinawa and Ryukyu. It is the first academic center of its kind in the United States. The founding director is Professor Leon Serafim, a linguist with well received research achievements in the study of the origins and development of Ryukyuan languages.

An influential factor behind the establishment of the Center for Okinawan Studies at the University of Hawai'i was the substantial local Okinawan diaspora community in Hawai'i. Since 1900, large numbers of Ryukyuan/Okinawans have emigrated to and settled in many parts of the world. The Center purports to study not only Hawai'i's but also the world's people of Ryukyuan/Okinawan descent and to build strong connections with interested scholars, artists, and authors all over the world. Institutionally supported Okinawan studies pursuing encompassing knowledge on both homeland Ryukyu/Okinawa and worldwide Okinawan diaspora would generate new perspectives, theories and findings for Ryukyuan/Okinawans with significant implications for the understanding of other peoples under similar conditions who have long suffered painful side effects of the modern world's otherwise splendid historical achievements.

Comparative studies of Hawai'i and Ryukyu/Okinawa, which share a remarkable set of historical, geographical and other parallels, would also be rewarding. Pre-modern island peoples of Hawai'i and Ryukyu, in the environments of relative isolation and security, developed their own unique cultures, societies and states. As modern technology conquered distance and gave rise to international competition among larger expansionary states, defenceless Hawai'i and Ryukyu/Okinawa came under the sway of one or other of these powers. Today, in Hawai'i and Ryukyu/Okinawa, people are engaged in an intensive search for their authentic identities that have been well nigh wiped out by foreign sovereigns. Hawai'ians and Okinawans aspire to a harmonious reconciliation of self-identity and modern polity that would restore their autonomy and subjectivity. Societal evolutions of relatively well defined small and vulnerable peoples under the impact of the world's hegemonic forces of change might generate a new type of knowledge about humanity when compared with the established orthodoxy of history based largely on the achievements of the leading powers. (kt)

The Ryukyuanist is edited by Koji Taira at the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, University of Illinois, 504 E. Armory Avenue, Champaign, IL 61820; e-mail, k-taira@illinois.edu. Free e-mail subscription. Hard copy: U.S.\$10.00 per year. Back issues are available at Okinawa Peace Network, Los Angeles, CA: www.uchinanchu.org/uchinanchu/ryukyuanist.htm.