

JAPANESE BUDDHISM IN THE UNITED STATES, 1940-1946

A Study in Acculturation

Ph. D. Dissertation
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PREFACE

The present study attempts to offer an account of the changes which an exotic Oriental religion, the "Creed of Half Japan", has undergone as a result of its importation to the United States. The writer proposes to show in what way and by what means Japanese Buddhism has adapted itself to the American cultural scene and has become a functioning religious force for at least half of the members of the Japanese-American minority. The study of religion as a sociological phenomenon in contemporary society is one which has suffered too much neglect at the hands of the social scientist. It is hoped that the investigations on which this study has been based may be continued toward the realization of the role of religion in present-day Anglo-American culture.

The historical and factual matter which provides the basis for Chapters II, III, and IV has been derived from many pleasant hours of association with Japanese-Americans of the Buddhist faith, priests and laymen alike. As far as the writer is aware, a detailed analysis of religion in the Japanese communities in the United States does not exist. For this reason, the relevant data have been collected chiefly through interviews with persons concerned. To them the sincere thanks of the writer is due.

The investigations pursued here had their beginning when the writer was employed as research assistant to the Evacuation

and Resettlement Study of the University of California at Berkeley. A debt of gratitude is owing to Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas, director of the study, and to Dr. Robert H. Lowie, an associate director, for the opportunity to spend nearly a year (July, 1942-June, 1943) at the Gila River Relocation Center in Rivers, Pinal County, Arizona. To the many Japanese-Americans whose time and patience have been freely given the writer owes a lasting debt. This study could not have been accomplished without the help of Rev. Kamo Imamura of the Berkeley, California, Buddhist Church. But the assistance of the following is also deeply appreciated: Mr. S. Hikida and Mr. Y. Okuno, formerly of Rivers, Arizona; the Rev. D. Ochi of the Zen sect; Rev. Kimata of the central Hongwanji in San Francisco; Mr. G. Miura, now a resident of Chicago; Mr. George Yamashiro, now in Japan; Mr. James Sakoda, of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study; Mr. George Matsuura of Chicago; Mr. Yukio Kawamoto of the Berkeley Buddhist Church; Mr. Stanley Murabayashi and innumerable others who have been of assistance in providing useful data.

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INTRODUCTION

The primary aim of this study is to provide descriptive data regarding a culture contact situation in the hope that some small contribution toward the clarification of the general principles of the processes of acculturation may be forthcoming. The factual matter which has been chosen for discussion and example is derived from protracted contact on the part of the writer with Americans of Japanese ancestry, both citizens of the United States and aliens. Rather than to attempt to offer a description of the acculturation process in every aspect of Japanese-American life, it has been deemed more purposeful to view at some length the role of religion in the tightly knit Japanese minority group, and to lay particular emphasis on the forms of Buddhism which in America of late years have come to diverge so markedly from the religious patterns of the mother country.

The basic definition of the term "acculturation" which was propounded in 1936 by Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits has been subject to considerable criticism and emendation. This reads: "Acculturation comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original culture patterns of either or both groups."¹ Because

1. Redfield, R., R. Linton, and M. J. Herskovits, "A Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation," American Anthropologist 38, p. 149, 1936.

this formula was proved not applicable in every case, it was later suggested by Herskovits that the continuous nature of the culture contact be emphasized in suitably defining the phenomenon.² The culture borrowing which arises through the sporadic contacts promoting the various types of diffusion of culture elements is thus differentiated from a situation through which a hybridised culture develops because of prolonged association. The criticism voiced somewhat later by Linton to the effect that the phrase "continuous first-hand contact" lacks exactness appears to apply generally rather than specifically.³ In treating individual phenomena of this type, it remains to offer a specific definition of the type of culture contact, its duration, and its effects. The concept of acculturation implies some reference to the historicity of the situation in question. In the views expressed by Herskovits, an acculturation survey necessitates the consultation of historical records.⁴ According to this view, ideal studies of culture contact cannot be justly undertaken among non-literate peoples, the concept of the historical reconstruction being ruled out. There is no intention here to challenge this view, nor yet that expressed by Linton. Since the culture contact situation to be brought under discussion here is historically supported by ample documentation, the basic definition

2. Herskovits, M. J. "Some Comments on the Study of Culture Contact," American Anthropologist 43, p. 7, 1941.
3. Linton, R. Acculturation in Seven American Indian Tribes, New York, 1940, p. 463.
4. Herskovits, M. J. Acculturation, the Study of Culture Contact, New York, 1938, pp. 16-17.

given above for the acculturation process and concept is accepted. No attempt is made here to subject already established opinion to criticism. Rather does this study seek to elicit some general principles of the dynamics of culture as they are exemplified in the descriptive data. Culture contact implies culture borrowing, ensuing modification and assimilation of the borrowed culture elements, and the formation of new patterns of thought and behavior. These features, together with simple diffusion of ideas from one group to another, may all be regarded as integral aspects of the acculturation process.⁵ It is to a general consideration of the dynamic nature of culture in process as exemplified by acculturation that this study turns.

The exchange of ideas through culture contact implies that acculturation is a psychological process as well as a sociological one. It has been recognized that the meeting of peoples with different cultural backgrounds may produce variable effects, these being largely dependent on the nature of the contact. Conflict of one sort or another may arise when one group is dominant, having with some measure of success subordinated the other.⁶ On the other hand, examples may be adduced to show that culture contact situations may occur without conflict, or indeed, without any demand on the part of either culture that the other change its mode of life or under⁵⁶⁰

5. Redfield, Linton, and Herskovits, loc. cit.

6. Linton, op. cit. p. 494.

some readaptation of its accepted mores.⁷ When there is no incentive for one group to dominate, the ensuing situation may be productive of "benign ethnic relations", devoid of stress and tension.⁸ Conflict appears to arise when the dominant group attempts to effect culture change, to modify the cultures of the peoples whom they have brought into subjection. But it is also apparent that the submissive group may attempt culture modification within itself, provided an incentive is present to adopt some of the ways of a dominant majority. Hallowell regards the desire to learn as the psychological crux of the acculturation process.⁹ Acculturation, while it may involve the incentives to learning new ways, also concerns the resistances to learning,¹⁰ the antagonisms toward innovation. The desire of the dominated group, on the one hand, to retain as much of the familiar patterns of thought and behavior as possible, and, on the other, to emulate selectively the mores of the dominant group, is a recognized corollary of a majority-minority situation. The variability of the results of culture contact between different peoples precludes any prediction as to the nature of the ensuing culture modification.

7. Cf. E. J. Lindgren, "An Example of Culture Contact without Conflict; the Reindeer Tungus and the Russian Cossacks of Northwest Manchuria," American Anthropologist 40, 1938, pp. 305-621. et al.

8. Redfield, R. "Culture Contact without Conflict," American Anthropologist 41, 1939, pp. 514-517.

9. Hallowell, A. I. "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation," The Science of Man in the World Crisis, (R. Linton, ed.) New York, 1945, p. 152.

10. Devereux, G. and E. M. Loeb, "Antagonistic Acculturation," The American Sociological Review, 8, 1943, pp. 139-140.

Acculturation arising from protracted contact of two peoples with differing cultural backgrounds may depend on actual conquest, the occupation of conquered territory and the resulting superimposition of new elements of culture by the victors. This has been generally true in the spread, in fairly recent and modern times, of peoples of European and Euro-American culture over the globe. From situations resulting from such conquest comes the bulk of the corroborative evidence for the effects of culture contact. The ways in which the less sophisticated peoples have adjusted to the European conqueror and how they have reintegrated the items of culture he has imposed upon them provide examples of the processes of acculturation at work. Culture contact situations of the conquest type are familiar to the historian and ethnologist alike. Thurnwald's description of the conquest of Ruin by the Shortland Island people is a classic example of acculturation among primitives.¹¹ The nativistic movement, significant of resistance to conquest, is often a result of the subjugation of one people by another. The Persian resistance to Islam, the Mahdi rebellion, the rise of the Ghost Dance religions among the Indians of the Western United States are examples of the patterns of conflict which may arise through the unwillingness of various ethnic groups to be subjected to new cultural influences. An example of

a somewhat different type is afforded in the rise of Japan.
 11. Cf. R. Thurnwald, "Pigs and Currency in Ruin," Oceania,
 5, 1934, pp. 119-141.

as a nation of the European type, largely because of an opportunity and a sense to resist the imperialism and economic expansion of the nations of Europe. Japan, indeed, has been subject to a series of culture contact situations, borrowing Chinese culture at periodic intervals, and ultimately becoming westernized. Despite the fusion of native and extraneous elements of culture, the core of Japanese civilization has been preserved virtually intact, showing itself to be sufficiently flexible to adjust to new values and yet to lose none of its original vitality. Examples of acculturation of this type might be cited at length, the results of culture contact in each case being somewhat variable.

But there is another type of culture contact. This occurs when there is a migration of groups of peoples into a new cultural realm. In such cases, the immigrant group is not a conquering minority but rather a submissive one, having found an incentive to occupy some status in an alien culture. The examples provided by the immigration of foreign elements to the United States are perhaps those which have been brought under the most thorough sociological scrutiny. Depending on the reception of the immigrant group, its race, its remoteness from the prevailing Euro-American culture, the trend, rapid or retarded, from an initial situation of stress and tension to one of gradual

assimilation is apparent. Since the present study proposes to treat an acculturation problem as it occurs in the United States and to depict the integration of elements of an Old World culture into the Euro-American scene, it is necessary to give briefly some attention to the problem of minorities in this country. The immigrant, whatever his motives in relinquishing his former abode, whether they be economic, social, or religious, places himself in a position to adopt new modes of behavior, new standards and new values which are usually different from those of his native surroundings. Sociologically, the immigrant group is recognized to possess a minority status and to occupy a dominated position in his new surroundings.¹² Barred from immediately successful communication with his neighbors because of an inability to master at once the prevailing idiom, the immigrant remains an outsider. The process of assimilation is a slow one, even when the immigrant masters the new language. In present American society, the stigma of "foreigner" rarely detaches itself from the first generation immigrant. It is not until the rise of the second generation that assimilation takes place, being subject, even then, to variable factors.¹³ In the United States, there is a greater readiness to accept the second generation immigrant of northern

12. Tannous, A. I. "Acculturation of an Arab-Syrian Community in the Deep South," The American Sociological Review, 8, 1943, pp. 264-65.

13. Ogburn, W. F. and M. F. Ninkoff, Sociology, Boston, 1940, p. 383.

European ancestry than the descendants of southern Europeans. The Roman Catholicism of the south Italian, Sicilian, or Spaniard, the Greek Orthodoxy of the Serb, the Syrian, or the Greek, constitute only one of the factors which act as a deterrent to complete assimilation of these groups and their descendants.¹⁴

Religion and the concepts which are associated with it offer one of the more significant facets of the process of immigrant acculturation in America. There is apparent a tendency to retain as much as possible of the religious mores of the mother culture even when social and economic life in the new environment radically departs from the ways of the homeland.¹⁵ It has been demonstrated that much of the prevailing denominationalism and sectarianism in America is dependent upon the desire to retain the native religious heritage of some foreign land. Similarly, the many schisms with which Protestantism in America has been marked have arisen largely because of the conflict between conservative and progressive elements in the respective churches.¹⁶ The movements for and against the abandonment of the native language in church services among numerous immigrant groups provide a case in point.¹⁷

14. Brown, F. J. and J. S. Rousek, One America, New York, 1945, pp. 17 seq.

15. Sweet, W. W. The Story of Religion in America, New York, 1939, Ch. XXI.

16. Niebuhr, H. R. The Social Sources of Denominationalism, New York, 1929, p. 217.

17. ibid. p. 212.

Under the prevailing American religious system nearly every immigrant church has been subject to change in ritual and organization to a greater or lesser degree. The complete dissociation of the churches from the state has necessitated the development of the autonomous congregation. It has caused the rise of the presbytery as a controlling board in congregational affairs. The growth of the independent synod as a mechanism for effecting unity and cohesion of dogma and ritual in the independent congregations is a New World trait compatible with the political structure of the United States. An example may be noted in the trend toward synodical organization taken by the Swedish Lutherans in America. The Augustana Synod, among others, arose in the area of Swedish settlement in America largely in lieu of the formal state church of the homeland.¹⁸ An interesting case of acculturation and assimilation may be observed in the gradual relinquishment of Swedish hymns and liturgies and their replacement by English forms. Yet despite the changed character of Swedish Lutheranism in America, the use of English and the growth of the self-sufficient congregation, the fundamentalist and hyperevangelistic dogmas of the old world faith have not been permitted to decay. Swedish-Americans of the second and third generation, although their assimilation by Anglo-American culture has been complete,

18. Stephenson, G. M. The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration; a study of immigrant churches, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1932, chapters 16, 22, and 24.

remain for the most part in the Lutheran congregations.¹⁹ The prevailing Protestantism in the United States has made it relatively easy for the European immigrant to retain his faith and at the same time to abandon other aspects of his old world cultural heritage.

The problem of the racial minority, or of those recognized as such, is an acute one. Racial minorities may be accommodated but they are assimilated into the present American scene only with difficulty. When linguistic and cultural differences combine with racial ones, minority groups are produced which, to all practical purposes, are unassimilable.²⁰ Even the Negro, who lacks a cultural heritage of his own, is barred by racial considerations from participation in the present society of this country. Negroes have become a dominated minority, constituting, because of their large population, one of the major problems which confronts the general social life of the United States of today. The Chinese minority, because of its own desire for segregation, has become somewhat readily accommodated by virtue of its willingness to retire into the shelter of the familiar mores of the homeland. The Japanese minority faces a somewhat different problem. On the one hand, it has sought more rapid assimilation, but on the other, it has striven to retain a racial and social in-group. This

19. Ibid. Chapter 28.

20. Ugurn and Ninkoff, op. cit. p. 385.

paradoxical situation apparent in the ranks of the Japanese minority has given rise to problems of stress and tension, to conflicts which in recent years have been intensified as a result of the war between Japan and the United States. Identification with the in-group has produced and enforced a consciousness of social solidarity whatever the tensions apparent within the Japanese minority itself.²¹ Group self-consciousness appears to become more intensified when the minority is barred from complete participation in the new culture because of the racial barrier.

In general, the conflicts within minorities may be explained in terms of the acculturation process. Those who are eager to adopt the ways of the new culture pit themselves against those who cling fondly to the more familiar patterns of the mother country. As the second generation immigrant becomes adjusted to the culture of the alien land, he tends to become impatient with the desire of his parents to retain actions and habits which are unfamiliar to the culture which he now recognizes as his own. The ensuing conflict between the two generations is regularly one of ideologies, the rivalry between two different modes of life. The second generation occupies a somewhat marginal status since, while it seeks to adjust to the new culture, it is often touched by the alien patterns with which it will have been imbued

21. Miyamoto, S. P. "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle," University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Vol. 11, No. 2, Seattle, 1935, p. 57.

during its formative years. The second generation tends toward bilingualism and is capable of appreciating the culture of the immigrant generation even though every effort may be made to repudiate connection with it. The tendency appears to be to conform to the prevailing values and standards in the adopted culture rather than to an alien heritage. These conflicts, which seem to occur with some frequency in immigrant situations, are to be viewed in a different light from those which arise between the dominant and submissive groups.

In any consideration of a minority group and in any survey which attempts to view a culture contact situation, it is necessary to examine the role of certain individuals. In every minority, and indeed, in every culture which is subjected either to domination by another or in which marked culture change is operative, there are those individuals who, through social status, personal magnetism, or some other factor, are in a position to cause acceleration or retardation of the rate of acculturation. It has been conclusively demonstrated that individuals may exert sufficient influence to direct the trend towards or away from a new situation.²² A study of acculturation should, according to Herskovits, include some description of the role of influential individuals and an attempt to determine why their influence was

22. Mandelbaum, D. G. "Social Trends and Personal Pressures," in Language, Culture, and Personality, Essays in Memory of Edward Sapir, New Haven, 1940, pp. 177-208.

23

exerted as it was. The factor of leadership is of considerable importance in this respect. The role of leader, either in attempting to promote a progressive movement toward an acceptance of new items and also, new standards and values, or in heading a reactionary trend which hesitates to accept any changes in the already established native pattern, becomes significant in the understanding of the direction of the culture changes within the hybrid culture. The present study attempts to take into account the parts played by influential individuals in directing the course of events in the situation described. This point is without doubt of considerable importance. In any historical survey of the development of religious beliefs and organization of the formal side of the church, the role of the various dominant personalities, whether priests or laymen, whether conservative or progressive, is not to be ignored.

An understanding of the processes of acculturation implies some grasp of the history of the contact situation as well as some knowledge of the background in the pre-contact form of the groups involved. But the full import of the meaning of the processes may not be comprehended unless some attention is given to the function of the culture elements of the hybrid. Thus it is not sufficient to determine how new forms have come about; it is also necessary to mark the meaning, not only of the new patterns of thought and behavior arising from culture contact,

but also the changing concepts which surround the old elements in the new environment.²⁴ However difficult it is to obtain full data regarding the history and meaning of both the culture elements and their integration by the hybridized culture, a study of acculturation should properly employ historical and functional methodology.

In the light of the foregoing paragraphs regarding the concepts which relate to acculturation and culture contacts arising from the entrance into a new culture of immigrant groups, the Japanese minority in the United States may be briefly considered from the point of view of its general social structure. The Japanese in America, prior to March, 1942, were concentrated in the relatively small area of the Pacific Coast. In the cities and rural communities of California, Oregon, and Washington, the Japanese groups were too large a minority to become readily assimilated, especially in view of the fact that in their desire for economic assimilation they entered into competition with the dominant Caucasian majority. The Japanese minority, moreover, is divisible into a number of clearly definable social groups between which a certain amount of rivalry and conflict has existed. The present study would fall far short of its goal were not some attempt made to determine exactly what these groups are and how they function in Japanese-American society. The conflicting motives of the various component

W. Herskovits, ibid. p. 20.

groups have acted as a serious bar to assimilation into American society. The most outstanding division is that which may be made on the basis of the generation factor, the cleavage between the immigrant and the Americanized second generation being most marked. The interrelations between the two generations, as the present study proposes to describe them, reflect the modifications of the native culture in America.

Japanese immigration to the United States began with economic expansion of the Japanese nation following the Sino-Japanese war of 1895.²⁵ When the majority of the first generation immigrants came to the United States, it was generally with a desire to amass sufficient wealth to return to a comfortable retirement in Japan. The motives for emigration were economic; little thought was given to permanent settlement in the United States. The first groups of immigrants who entered the United States and Hawaii between 1891 and 1907 were single men of the poorer classes. Many were successful in amassing wealth and returned to Japan. Others, and in fact, the majority, failed in their aims and became more or less permanent settlers. The so-called "Gentlemen's Agreement" of 1907 in which the Japanese government consented to restrict emigration to the United States marked a turning point in the settlement of Japanese nationals on American territory. The immigrant generation became more stable

25. No complete historical account of Japanese immigration is contemplated here, the matter having been fully covered in a number of publications. The political relations which arose as a result of immigration are in themselves an interesting example of official views taken with regard to a culture contact situation. Reference is made to the following: S. F. Miyamoto, *op. cit.* pp. 63-69; Y. Ichihashi, *Japanese in the United States*, Stanford University, 1932, Chapters IV, V, and VI.

and imported the so-called "picture brides" through marriage brokers. The first decade of the present century saw the growth of Japanese family life in America. Permanent settlement of a Japanese minority in the United States was effected in the ten years following 1907. The economic boom of World War I caused a sharp rise in Japanese immigration, a fact which culminated in bitter anti-Oriental feeling and the passage of the Anti-Alien Land Laws and the Exclusion Acts of 1924.

The first generation Japanese immigrant has desired to meet the native American on equal economic grounds, but he has been less interested in striving to conform to the accepted American social or religious ways. As a result of this, the immigrant is held to be alien and his economic motives have been challenged again and again by the various native groups with whom he has entered into competition. A fairly large number of Japanese aliens have become Christians, some through earnest convictions but others because the Christian Churches were willing to make some provision for the reception of immigrants during the initial phases of immigration.²⁶ Even in such cases, the immigrant has been barred from assimilation and has been unsuccessful in evading his status as a member of a dominated group. The immigrant Japanese has not been convinced that his native standards should be abandoned in favor of a Euro-American set of values. The acceptance of Christianity does not imply the rejection of the native mores. Even

26. Miyamoto, op. cit. p. 100.

if psychologically capable of making a complete substitution of patterns of thought and behavior, the immigrant is barred by law from complete participation in American society. Citizenship is denied him and it is small wonder that the so-called Issei, the first generation immigrant, finds in his native culture, if not an actual superiority, at least a way of life to which he feels sentimentally attached because of his exclusion from American life. The Issei, drawn from rural communities in Japan, rarely with more than a rudimentary education, impoverished, finds difficulty in surmounting the language barrier, the first to hinder his acceptance as an equal in the social life of the United States. For all practical purposes, English, to the Issei, remains a foreign language.

But if the Issei, as a minority group and as an unassimilated segment of the American population, prove the fallacy of the "melting pot" theory, the problem of the Nisei proves to be considerably more acute. A United States citizen by virtue of birth, the Nisei knows Japanese culture only through the eyes of his Issei parents and relatives. The fact that the Nisei enjoys the rights of citizenship, even though he may lack social acceptance in Anglo-American society, has created a curious legal situation.²⁷ The Nisei, in theory at least, have been permitted the right to participate in the social and political life of the United States; the Issei are denied such admission.²⁸ While most Nisei spoke Japanese

27. Strong, E. K. The Japanese in California, Stanford University, 1933.

28. Ichihashi, op. cit. p. 319 ff.

while of pre-school age, some even having attended the Japanese language schools which were maintained in Buddhist and Shintō temples in the pre-war period, the majority have quickly adjusted to English. Japanese among the Nisei has become a secondary language reserved for communication with the members of the first generation. Although they preserve intact a social group of their own, the Nisei conform zealously to the accepted mores of their Caucasian American contemporaries. A result of the Nisei desire to be identified with American culture is an inevitable conflict with their Issei parents and associates. The marginal character of the Nisei, with the strong desire to be culturally American, provides a clearly defined example of a retarded assimilation process arising from a culture contact situation in which the dominated minority is racially distinct. The failure of the Nisei to achieve assimilation has enforced in-group solidarity.²⁹

The paradoxical situation of the Nisei, rejected by the culture in which they were born, misunderstood by the parents in whose culture they cannot share, has caused the development of a number of distinct personality types in the Nisei group.

29. No complete summary of the Nisei problem is contemplated in the present study. This problem in social psychology is one which has been quite adequately treated elsewhere. Reference is made to the following: Wm. C. Smith "Changing Personality Traits of Second Generation Orientals in America", American Journal of Sociology, 33:922-929, 1927-28; E. K. Strong, The Second-Generation Japanese Problem, Stanford University, 1934; F. L. Sweetser, Nisei Assimilation, War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Report, #6, Washington, 1943; A. H. Leighton, The Governing of Men, Princeton, 1945, pp. 66 seq. The doctoral dissertation of F. LaViolette, Types of Adjustment of American-Born Japanese, University of Chicago, is regrettably not yet completed and available.

There are those individuals who attempt to meet the requirements of whatever group situation they may encounter. Some are rebellious, others reserved and introspective. In general, however, the desire of the group as a whole to conform, to avoid the stigma of being regarded as Japanese rather than as American, has been characteristic of the group at large. While it would be fallacious to type Nisei personalities on the basis of a preconceived schema, in general, certain trends toward the development of distinct personality types may be observed. A preoccupation with Americanism is discernible in various of the Nisei communities but the direction of the trend is often determined by the types of leadership which have arisen. Thus the Japanese-American Citizens' League, a Nisei organization, has met with considerable response in recent years as a result of the emergence of more forceful personalities. It is to be noted that the so-called JACL has failed in its self-appointed task of organization of Nisei groups when adequate leadership was lacking or when Issei interests predominated.³⁰ The conformist desire of the Nisei group tends to limit leadership. The effect of Nisei hesitancy to overstep the barriers imposed upon them by the society which they have adopted is to limit the social sphere of the group. The Nisei leader can function only in a limited way; he may not depart from accepted group standards.

30. Miyamoto, S. P. op. cit. p. 115 et al. The JACL was founded originally by the Japanese Association, an Issei organization, but in recent years it has stressed the Nisei and United States citizenship.

One of the strongest Nisei drives is therefore the reluctance to be associated with Japanese culture. There is, however, a group of second-generation Japanese whose interests center in Japan rather than in America. This is the group of Nisei who were educated in Japan and who have spent their formative years in that country. The majority of the Kibei, as they are called, or more properly, Kibei Nisei, a term meaning "returned to America", is much less adaptable than either Issei or Nisei. They form a small cultural island within the ranks of the Japanese-American minority. Of a sample taken of 18,000 Nisei, 7.8% were found to have had three or more years of schooling in Japan.³¹ Actually, a Kibei status is occupied by those Nisei who have been in Japan and who are Japanese in their thinking and behavior, regardless of the length of time spent in the mother country. Before the recent war most Kibei preferred to be identified with Japanese culture. This preference, however, appears to be a mechanism of defense in that the returning Kibei finds himself at somewhat of a loss to make social contacts among the Americanized Nisei. The Kibei lacks fluency in English. He is at a loss to participate in such favorite pastimes as dances, dates, and other social events in which most Nisei share. As much from the inability to make a sudden transition from Japanese into American culture as from any strong sense of Japanese patriotism the Kibei group espoused strongly the cause of Japanese

31. Spicer, E. H. Japanese Americans Educated in Japan
War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Report #8,
Washington, 1944, pp. 2-3.

nationalism both before and during the recent war. Together with the younger and better educated Issei, the Kibei became outwardly, at least, pro-Japanese. At the present writing, many, because of their openly avowed anti-American sentiments, have been deported to Japan, having renounced their American citizenship. But if the Kibei find little in common with the average Nisei, they are equally impatient with most Issei for their tendency to take a sentimental view of life in Japan. The majority of Issei have not returned to Japan since their arrival in America. As a result, the Issei have somewhat idealized Japan. Indeed, most of the first generation Japanese-Americans think of the mother country as unchanged since their departure thirty or forty years ago. The Kibei, brought under the spell of nationalist propaganda while in Japan, can find little with which to sympathize in the views of the older Issei. The Kibei thus offer a somewhat different acculturation and assimilation problem. They form a group which resists the new culture even though obliged to live in it. It is of interest to note that not all Kibei were able to adjust successfully to life in Japan; many returned to the United States in the pre-war period to avoid conscription.

It has been noted that Japanese family life in the United States began after 1907. Until 1924 immigration of Japanese to America was permitted although the number of entries was limited. Since 1924 and until 1941, no Japanese were permitted to settle permanently in the United States, the only exceptions being members of the various Shintō, Buddhist, and Christian

clergies. Students, business men, and consular officials were given temporary permits. The result of the curtailment of immigration after 1924 has been the development of two distinct age classes. Most of the original Japanese immigrants were single men who did not marry until fairly late in life. While most Nisei were born between 1910 and 1935, the majority appeared in the decade of the 20's. The Issei group is declining in numbers and approaching old age. In 1940 the average age of the Issei was computed to be in the neighborhood of fifty, while the Nisei averaged in age around nineteen or twenty. At the present writing, the Nisei are approaching majority while the Issei group is on the wane. In 1930 somewhat more than half of the Japanese in America were foreign born but in 1940 this ratio dropped to about one-third. Thus of the 127,000 Japanese in the United States in that year, about 45,000 were Issei, the remainder being made up of American citizens of Japanese ancestry.³²

To be sure, there is some overlapping of the Issei and Nisei groups. In the main the age division holds as is demonstrated by the computation of the average age of each group. The effect of this split on the process of acculturation is not to be underestimated. As the Nisei now average twenty-four years of age they are tending to break the bonds which link them to the Issei generation. Nisei are marrying and raising their own families, a fact which gives rise to the third

32. McWilliams, C. What about our Japanese-Americans?
Pamphlet #91, Public Affairs Committee, American Council,
Institute of Pacific Relations, 1944. pp. 3-4.

generation Japanese immigrant, the still juvenile Sansei. The import of this has been a gradual relinquishment of ties with Japan and Japanese culture. Nisei leadership in the Japanese communities has come about as the Nisei have grown older but the process has been accelerated by the recent war and the enforced evacuation from the Pacific Coast, the area of densest Japanese settlement, of all persons of Japanese ancestry. One effect of the war was the dissolution of all organizations which tied the Japanese-American to the mother country. For the first time the Nisei have a voice in the management of the Japanese community. The import of the new Nisei role in the reorganization of the post-war Buddhist churches is a subject which will occupy considerable part of the present study.

An attempt is made in the foregoing paragraphs to offer a brief characterization of the three components of Japanese-American society: the Issei, Nisei, and Kibei groups. Actually, the sketchy depiction of each may be somewhat misleading. The three entities have arisen from the cleavages resulting from differences in age and in cultural interests. Nor are these the only divisions. Japanese-American society as it has developed in the United States is subject to other disrupting influences. Not only are the generations pitted one against the other but varying ambitions and aims mark the life of the minority communities wherever they are found. Thus rich and poor, educated and uneducated, urban and rural, Buddhist and Christian divisions destroy the social solidarity of the community of Japanese-Americans. Paradoxical as it may seem, however, there are a

series of basic factors which contribute strongly to the unity of the Japanese communities in America. The racial bond is indeed a strong one; race and language together have enforced a minority consciousness which continues to persist despite friction within the group. But the solidarity of the Japanese minority as a whole, aside from the ties of race, is enforced as well by the bond of kinship. Still another factor in this respect is the emphasis on collectivism and group responsibility. Despite the Nisei desire to be identified culturally with America, the process has not progressed so far as to militate against the concept of family and group unity. Americanized though the Nisei may become, they nevertheless find difficulty in becoming strongly individualistic. The fear of group censure is discarded only with difficulty. To this extent does Japanese tradition hold in that it embodies a code of behavior sufficiently pliable to overreach cultural boundaries. The collectivistic concepts which are so distinctly Japanese have been imported from the Old World by the immigrant and instilled in the second generation in their earliest years.³³ A basic cause of the petty strife which arises between the generations is the gradual entrance of individualistic motives among the members of the second generation. The collapse of Japanese ethics in America has been accelerated as a result of the recent war. A task of the present study is the determination of the extent of the rise of individualism and the disorganization of the Japanese community in respect to matters religious. In this respect

33. Miyamoto, op. cit. pp. 123-125.

some recourse may be had here to a functional method.

In the culture of the Japanese-Americans the key to the understanding to the processes of acculturation which are at work lies in the comprehension of the varying motives and values possessed by the two age-classes. While it is possible to review historically native Japanese culture and to follow through the various ample documents its importation to America by the immigrant generation, the nature of the adjustment to the dominant American culture by the immigrants and their children may not be adequately defined without a consideration of the Nisei struggle to evade the Japanese mores of the Issei, and to a lesser extent, of the Kibei. As a functioning social unit, as indeed it is, the Japanese minority faces a constant state of conflict within itself. No single aspect of Japanese-American life, whether social, economic, political, or religious, may be treated without some regard for these apparent tensions at work within the group.

The present study proposes to discuss in some detail the religious life of the Japanese immigrants and of their descendants, and has limited itself, largely because of available materials, to a consideration of Japanese Buddhism in the United States. Properly speaking, there are several religious forms which have been of importance to the Japanese not only in America but also in the homeland. In Japan itself there come to mind those series of customs and rituals which have come to be called Shintō, the Way of the Gods, and which reflect native forms of Japanese religion. In addition there is Buddhism, of

which numerous sects have developed in Japan, and of which some have found their way to the United States. Christianity, while of little significance in the mother country, has come to be of some importance to the Japanese minority in America. While it is of interest to devote some attention to the role of Christianity in Japanese-American life of the present day, this study proposes to refer to the various forms of this religion only for purposes of comparison. The problem to be treated here concerns the way in which Japanese Buddhism has been influenced in its development in a country emphasizing the Protestant forms of Christianity. Through its contact with Christian churches, Buddhism in America becomes very different in its organization, its patterns of ritual and ceremony, and indeed, in its outlook, thus departing radically from the established religious ways of the homeland. As the Nisei become more Americanized, the Buddhist church is obliged to keep step with them and to effect changes of ritual, organization, and practices which are more in accord with the general trend toward Americanization. What these new forms are and how they have come about will provide the bulk of the material for discussion here. It is to be observed, for example, how the Buddhist churches in America have had to adopt the prevailing democratic congregational type of organization, thus abandoning almost entirely the established mode of the Old World. In such respects the acculturation process becomes clearly defined.

The Japanese religions in America underwent some radical changes as a result of the four years' war between Japan

and the United States. As is well known, military demands required the departure from the Pacific Coast, the area of concentration of Japanese population, of all persons of Japanese ancestry. From March, 1942, and until the closing months of the war in 1945, the Japanese-Americans were subject to military orders and were excluded from the Pacific Coastal areas of the United States. The writer was privileged to spend a year in residence in one of the especially prepared relocation centers. These were administered by an emergency agency, the War Relocation Authority, and for a time the ten centers, scattered throughout various of the western states, housed the majority of the 112,353 Japanese-Americans of California, Oregon, and Washington. The present study will endeavor to present an account of the changing social picture in the life of the minority group both during the evacuation and in the period of resettlement following the revocation of the military edict. Since the material at hand lends itself to a historical presentation, it is contemplated to describe Japanese Buddhism as it appears in Japan and its importation to America. Without delving too deeply into the matter of the history of Buddhism in the United States, the writer proposes to offer a description of the religious life of the Japanese Buddhist before evacuation, covering in some detail the two years before December 7, 1941. In this respect Shintoism cannot be ignored since it played an important part in the life of many Issei and Kibei Buddhists. With the outbreak of the war, however,

government policy demanded the cessation of Shintō activities and the priests to a man were interned in the special Department of Justice detention camps. As a second consideration of Japanese religious life in America, with particular reference to Buddhism, there follows a description of the religious development in a relocation center, a chosen sample being taken from the Gila River Relocation Center in Rivers, Arizona, where the writer's own research was carried on. A final chapter in the present study will endeavor to cover the post-war adjustments in the Buddhist churches. From this it will be observed that a Buddhist renaissance is taking place as one by one the old world patterns fall by the way.

It is apparent that if Buddhism is to survive in the United States it cannot do so as a native Japanese religious faith. If the church is to hold the membership of the second generation Japanese and to be supported by them, it must assume a form which is compatible with the interests of this group. A subject of considerable interest arises in this respect: In how far may Buddhism modify its ritual and philosophical practices and still remain an effective and functioning religious body? In a study which examines processes of acculturation it is purposeful to compare the old with the new, the unchanged with the changed. We may not unjustly seek survivals of the ways of the older religious faith in their new setting.

But this alone does not exhaust the present task. The overt changes are fairly readily perceptible but those

of psychological import are fathomed with greater difficulty. The subject of Buddhism has been chosen here because as a religious manifestation it is surrounded with emotional values. The question arises as to what extent such values may be modified and still survive. What, for example, do the Nisei Buddhists derive from their adherence to the religion of their forbears? In a general way this question is not difficult to answer. Buddhism in America is a social medium as much as an emotional and religious one. In this respect Buddhism follows the pattern set by many of the American Christian churches in that it offers a social outlet for its members. More fundamentally, perhaps, we may ask: What are the sacred values of the Japanese Buddhists and in what ways and why are these retained in a minority group in America?

I. BUDDHISM IN JAPAN

When the Japanese immigrant came to America, he left behind him a rich cultural heritage. In the matter of religion his training had been along the lines of family collectivism. Whether he was formally a Buddhist, a Shintoist, or both, religious obligations and acts reflected not so much personal values as they did the duties incumbent upon a member of an established family system. This is a primary point to be made in any consideration of Japanese culture. In Japan the body of traditions and emotions which we may regard as religious hinges on the association rather than on the individual. It is with this understanding that the subject of Japanese Buddhism may be approached.

Any of the available histories of Japan, however short they may fall in other respects, generally accord considerable space to a discussion of how Buddhism entered the country from China through Korea in 538 or 552 AD,¹ and certainly treat of the historical personalities, such as Kōbō Daishi, Nichiren, Shinran, and others, through whom various of the Buddhist sectarian developments had their beginnings. But beyond the fact that it can be ascertained that Buddhism in Japan has been modified to adjust to the collectivistic interests of the family, it is difficult to find, in the available literature, a discussion of the role of Buddhism

1. Sanson, G. B. Japan, a Short Cultural History, New York, 1943, p. 65 and Note.

in Japanese life. In other words, few, if any, attempts have been made to determine who the Japanese Buddhists are, why Buddhism is a force in Japanese life, and why, in Japan the distinct Buddhist sects have arisen and persisted.

These questions are much too broad for any comprehensive treatment here. Because religion may possess so many varying shades of meaning to different individuals, it is easy to understand why most students of contemporary society treat religious manifestations only as institutional forms and prefer to avoid the issue of individual emotional drives. The meaning of things religious differs so markedly from individual to individual, as some of the recent studies concerning personal ideas about God have shown,² that it is hardly of purpose to do otherwise than to suggest great ranges of individual temperamental differences in respect to matters religious. Radin has shown how great a range of temperamental differences may exist in any primitive society, how by virtue of personal inclination the individual may remold the accepted dogmas of his group.³ While Japanese society, just as any other, offers a great range of religious forms, there are no data on which to base an analysis of individual religious attitudes. Profitable and interesting though it might be to dwell further on this point, it is preferable that the various institutions of Japanese Buddhism be placed in their

2. Bird, C. Social Psychology, New York, 1940, pp. 163-65.

3. Radin, P. Primitive Man as Philosopher, New York, 1927, pp. 374-75.

proper context in Japanese culture. Ignoring, then, the differences in individual attitudes, the problem for discussion here may resolve itself into a consideration of the meaning and function of Buddhism in Japanese life. This is in itself an immense task, one for which detailed treatment is impossible here. The few remarks which this chapter proposes to make regarding Japanese Buddhism and its function in Japan serve to set the stage for a discussion of the nature of that faith among the Japanese in America.

Japanese Buddhism is divided into a number of sects which, with no notable exceptions, belong to the Mahayāna variety of Buddhism. Scholars make a careful distinction between Buddhism of the Mahayāna and Hinayāna types or "vehicles". The Mahayāna, or "Greater Vehicle", also called Northern Buddhism, prevails in China, Korea, and Japan, while the "Lesser Vehicle", the Hinayāna, is characteristic of Burma, Siam, and French Indo-China and has appeared only sporadically and for short periods of time in China and Japan.⁴ Of the two, the lesser vehicle is probably the older and the more orthodox, adhering more closely to the precepts of the founder in maintaining the "Triune Treasure": the Law, the Sangha, or community of monks, and the concept of the arhat, viz. the denial of heavenly bodhisattvas. Here too, is the emphasis on karma, the chain of moral causality coupled with the concept of rebirth, a point which, while not specifically denied, has fallen into

4. Elliot, Sir C. Japanese Buddhism, London, 1935, pp. 52 seq.

some disuse among the devotees of the Mahayāna branch.⁵

Hinayāna Buddhism demands of the individual that he attain his goal through his own efforts, that is, by becoming a monk, at least for part of his life, and by adhering as closely as possible to the rules of behavior laid down by the founder, Sakyamuni Buddha. But Mahayāna Buddhism differs rather markedly from these basic concepts of its more orthodox counterpart. Although the goal of both is the same: Nirvana, blessed release, through the enlightenment of the individual his escape from existence into a reunion with the cosmos, the Mahayāna devotee emphasizes his inability to attain this goal through his own weak efforts. This basic idea of mankind's innate weakness has occasioned the growth of soteriological beliefs. In the Mahayāna branch of Buddhism there is the concept of the bodhisattva, one who, having achieved Buddhahood or enlightenment, is so moved by the plight of man that he resists Nirvana and remains to be of aid to other men in attaining it. Thus there is the belief in a savior through whose mercy release is given to men. Or if, as in some of the Mahayāna sects, the savior is not regarded as a personal entity, at least there is the recourse to something which possesses a magical efficacy. This alternative involves the repetition of words or formulas which may have the desired effect of bringing the individual who repeats them to the state of Nirvana.⁶

No full and intelligible study of Buddhism is possible without some mention of the Hindu backgrounds. Suffice it

5. Rhys-Davids, T. W. art. "Sects - Buddhist" Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, XI: 307-309, 1921.

6. Elliot, Sir C. Hinduism and Buddhism, an Historical Sketch, London, 1921, 3 vols. Vol. I et passim.

to say, however, that after founding of the faith by Sakyammuni Gautama, he who was called Buddha, in India circa 550 BC, a new world religion passed out into Farther India and later to China and Japan. The present study does not propose to concern itself with the modifications or the spread of Buddhism in other lands. Chinese Buddhism, with its new conception of karma, its essential rejection of the doctrine of reincarnation, a concept alien to Chinese culture, provides by the end of the latter Han dynasty, the basis of the faith in Korea and Japan. The many Mahayāna doctrines which arise as schools of Buddhist thought in China become the background for the sects of Buddhism in Japan. The weakness of Buddhism has been ascribed by the famous Japanese scholar Anesaki to its non-aggressiveness and its willingness to compromise.⁷ This is at once a weakness and a strength. If Buddhism has become extinct in India and virtually so in China, it has entrenched itself in Japan so as to become a prevailing creed and a marked social force.

Japanese Buddhism thus reflects both historically and dogmatically the Mahayāna vehicle of Buddhism. This being so, it is not amiss to inquire into the entrance of the religious system into the Japanese nation and its consequent adaptation to the Japanese social life. The records of the 6th Century AD, although open to some dispute, suggest that King SeimeI of the Korean state of Kudara sent to the ruler of Yamato a set of the Buddhist canons, an image of the Buddha, believed

7. Anesaki M. art. "Buddhism", The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, 3:35, 1930.

to be an image of the bodhisattva Amitābha rather than of the Gautama himself, and a letter praising the faith.⁸ During the middle 6th Century, when these events were alleged to have taken place, the clans of Japan, and apparently there were many such, had only recently been unified under the ruler of the Yamato people, the so-called empire consisting only of central and southern Honshu.⁹ The new faith was confined to the members of the imperial uji, or family, for about fifty years. It was only with the advent to power of Prince Shōtoku Taishi, regent for his aunt, the Empress Suiko, that Buddhism came into its own.¹⁰ Prince Shōtoku (574-622 AD) was the first Japanese ruler to devote every effort to the furthering of Buddhism in his domains. Through his edicts the faith was made official in the court, but it was not largely known in the realm until a century or two later. From this period Buddhism becomes an integral part of the social life of the upper classes at least and begins to penetrate the lower orders of society.

After the death of Shōtoku, Chinese culture swept into Japan through Korea. Despite their efforts to emulate the great Chinese court of the T'ang (618-907 AD), the Japanese so modified Chinese culture that they made of it something distinctly Japanese. The principles of diffusion and

8. Eliot, Sir C. Op. cit. p. 35;
Reischauer, A. R. Studies in Japanese Buddhism, New York, 1917, p. 84.

9. Sanson, op. cit. pp. 37-46

10. Suzuki, D. T. Japanese Buddhism, Japanese National Railroads, Tourist Library, Tokyo, 1930, p. 19, et al.

reintegration of culture elements which are propounded by anthropologists are readily exemplified by the adoption by Japan of things Chinese. It is to be expected, therefore, that Buddhism would also have undergone certain marked changes. Indeed, Mahāyāna Buddhism is a far cry from the original prototype; Japanese Buddhism seems to be the farthest removed.

When the capital of Yamato was moved to Nara in 710 AD, there grew up, in the ensuing years until 794, several sects of Buddhism, none of them native, but all drawn from various Hindu forms and introduced from the mainland by Chinese visitors. The Six Sects of Nara, as they are called to distinguish them from the later and more aberrant Kyōto and Kamakura sects, reached their respective peaks between 710 and 794, although some were introduced earlier.¹¹ These are older sects in the main, the Japanese names being attempts to reproduce the original Sanskrit phonemes. As yet, the true Mahayāna doctrines had not reached Japan and were only beginning to develop in China and Tibet. The Six Nara Sects are classed by authorities on the subject as provisional Mahayāna, a movement being represented which parallels the spread of the Hinayāna philosophies in Farther India but which goes beyond them in two respects: denial of the reality of self-consciousness; acceptance of a noumenal world which can be defined only in negative terms.¹² Thus the positive

11. Elliot, Sir C. op. cit. Ch. VIII
Reischauer, A. op. cit. p. 87.

12. ibid. pp. 194-95.

acceptance of the Buddhist divinities which become characteristic of true Mahayāna doctrines had not, in the Nara period, as yet become a reality. An exception to the schools of the provisional Mahayāna which arose in Japan of the Nara era was the Ritsu sect. This is pure Hināyana, derived from the Hindu Vinaya sect, offering a series of moral precepts rather than philosophical speculation. This was the only purely Hinayāna division in Japan but it was not long before Ritsu was embodied into the Mahayāna sects and lost its identity as a separate system.¹³ The Nara sects do not survive in Japan of the present day except in vastly changed forms. Only the syncretistic Hossō, introduced by bodhisattva Gyōgi, survives in name. In 1933, Hossō had 19 temples and about 49,000 devotees in all Japan.¹⁴ Its syncretism, moreover, is not unique. Movements to combine forms of Buddhism with native Shintō have been many, the most famous attempt being that of Kōbō Daishi, the scholar credited with the introduction into Japan of the Chinese Chen-yen, Japanese Shingon, a sect based on the repetition of mantras and the incantation of various sutras. This sect effects a clever compromise of native and imported beliefs.¹⁵

Beginning with the Heian epoch of Japanese history, the true Mahayāna sects emerge, the majority of which persist

13. ibid. p. 155.

14. Suzuki, op. cit. p. 49.

15. Reischauer, op. cit. p. 96.

Schwientek, J. "Shin-butsu-dō-tai, der Synkretismus von Shinto und Buddhismus in Japan", Anthropos; 22:436, Wien-Mödling, 1927.

to the present day. Most such sects were Chinese in origin and were carried to Japan by Japanese scholars who had visited the court of the T'ang and had been attracted by the various systems in vogue there. Two such scholars, Dengyō Daishi and Kōbō Daishi, popularized two sects with the result that they remain in Japan and have many adherents at the present time. The former introduced the Chinese T'ien T'ai, Japanese Tendai, in the 8th Century AD. Tendai holds that Sakyamuni Buddha, the founder of Buddhism, is in himself full enlightenment. To realize the person of the Buddha is to attain enlightenment because the world itself is made up of the Buddha essence, personified by the Lord Gautama.¹⁶ Tendai is thus close on the theism which is characteristically Mahayāna.

Like Tendai in one respect is Shingon, from the Chinese Chen-yen, meaning "True Word". The bonze, Kōbō Daishi, to call him by his posthumous title, introduced the sect from China where it had enjoyed only a small number of adherents. In Japan, however, Shingon is of considerable importance. The basic doctrine holds to the concept that the individual may realize the Buddha essence through the repetition of prayers or dharani, the Sanskrit formulae which have a magical and saving power.¹⁷ Kōbō Daishi's disciples have held that the Buddha may be adored through words and that since the Buddha essence is all-pervading, the various kami, or local Shintō

16. Steinilber-Oberlin, E. Buddhist Sects of Japan, London, 1958, p. 78.

17. ibid. p. 110 seq.

deities, may embody the Buddha. In consequence, efficacious prayers may be directed to them as well. Through this concept arises the so-called Ryōbu-Shintō, or half-Shintō, the syncretistic expression of the two diverse beliefs.¹⁸

Both Tendai and Shingon relate to the early Heian period of Japanese history. Like the Six Sects of Nara, these two have Hindu and Chinese prototypes from which they may be traced. Most scholars relate Tendai and Shingon to the Tantristic sects of India.¹⁹ Both emphasize ritual and the magic word. The Shingon, particularly, makes use of the "mandala", the chart of the universe, the maze, the mystic circle, and the like, contemplation of which leads to the perception of the universe and of the Buddha essence. Both Tendai and Shingon suggest a rather primitive kind of Buddhist thought; both seem to arise from Tantra and thus to have a point of origin in common with Tibetan Lamaism.²⁰

During the Fujiwara regency, the period between 794 and 1159, when a branch of the royal house managed to secure and maintain control of the throne, the sectarian situation in Japanese Buddhism remained essentially stable. With the Fujiwara decline, the Genpei wars (1159-1199) devastated the length and breadth of settled Japan. For nearly forty years skirmishes were fought between the partisans of the Minamoto and Taira clans with the result that famine and pestilence, social and political dissatisfaction, unrest of all kinds

18. Ashida, K. art. "Japan", Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, VIII:483, 1915.

19. Elliot, Sir C. op. cit. p. 347

20. ibid. p. 123.

were apparent.²¹ Up until this revolution, the Buddhist sects and the various forms of the practice of the faith itself had been limited to the nobility. Numerous monasteries had been founded in Japan, younger sons of noble families in many instances being dedicated to the church, a fact which suggests a parallel with mediæval Europe. With the Genpei struggle, more and more of the common folk of Japan felt drawn to Buddhism. The precariousness of life began to demand a new form of religion in which definite promises of hope and consolation were held out. Native Shintō, with its emphasis on the gods of the hearth and the farm, the seasonal agricultural round of events, was scarcely adequate to meet the troubled times. It is scarcely surprising, therefore, that new forms of Buddhism arose, sects in which the promise of Buddhism was emphasized, a joyous after-life made possible through sincere faith in the mercies of a saving bodhisattva. The forms which emphasized ritual and word patterns of recondite beauty by which the Buddha essence could be magically compelled could have little meaning to the practical farmer, the class which made up the bulk of the Japanese population then as now.

In 1174, the bonze Hōnen (1133-1212) introduced the Hindu doctrine of Sukavāṭi, the concept of the Pure Land.

21. The Minamoto-Taira wars, which had the direct result of forcing the emperor into seclusion and marked the beginning of the shōgunate, are fully treated by a number of authorities. Best perhaps is G. B. Sanson, op. cit. Ch. XIII.

In China this was known as Ch'ing T'u, in Japan as Jōdō. The sect entails the concept of the Western Paradise, presided over by the merciful bodhisattva Amitābha, into which the individual might be reborn if his faith were sufficiently strong.²² Amitābha, better known by his Japanese name of Amida, was a disciple of the Gautama. He became a bodhisattva but refrained from entering the state of Nirvana because of his love for men and his desire to bring all men into the state of blessedness. In the western paradise over which he rules, men may also attain a state like that of Amida himself and through his aid enter Nirvana.²³ Amida's paradise may be achieved in a very simple way: the believer is merely required to call on the name of the savior again and again. It is not necessary to retire from the world, to become an ascetic, to meditate at length, or to observe food taboos. With faith, repetition of the mantra, "Namu Amida Butsu" is sufficient to ensure salvation. The Jōdō sect emphasizes the weakness of man and his inability to come into a state of grace through his own efforts. In this creed there is a marked parallel to certain of the Christian doctrines. Beginning with Hōnen's introduction of Jōdō into Japan, the way is paved for the growth of some distinct Japanese forms of Buddhism based on the concept of the Pure Land.²⁴

Shinran (1173-1262) was a disciple of Hōnen. He took it upon himself to reinterpret the teachings of his master and in so doing founded the Shin sect, a distinctly Japanese

22. Ashida, K. op. cit. p. 494.

23. Steinilber-Uberlin, E. op. cit. p. 187.

24. Reischauer, A. op. cit. p. 107 seq.

25

form suited to Japanese culture. Shinran rejected the aimless repetition of the Amida formula, but he did hold to the concept of the western paradise and to the mercies of the bodhisattva. The state of bodhisattvahood may, according to the teachings of Shinran, be achieved by simple faith and prayer. No other demands are made on the believer. Hence the priest may discard his tonsure, may marry, may eat flesh, and all men may be saved by faith. Shinran regarded marriage as desirable. He departed from the orthodox Buddhist view that life is fundamentally evil but he did hold that by ridding himself of degrading desires man might achieve peace of mind and goodness. Shinran's doctrine marks a radical departure from the Buddhist forms of India and China. The Shin sect has a number of modern forms which differ somewhat on matters of ritual and dogma. Chief of these is the so-called Hongwanji, in turn subdivided into eastern and western branches, Higashi and Nishi Hongwanji respectively. This form has the greatest number of adherents in modern Japan.

26

With the advent of Jōdo in 1174 and of Shin in 1224, Buddhism became virtually universal in Japan, having made an appeal to all classes of people in terms of easily intelligible doctrines. These two sects alleviated the necessity of retiring from the world or of devoting time to ritual and ceremony. As a result, the Amidist sects have a wide popular appeal and have remained the prevailing forms of Buddhism among the Japanese lower classes.

27

25. Ashida, K. op. cit. p. 464.
 26. Suzuki, D. T. op. cit. p. 48.
 27. Reischauer, A. op. cit. p. 155.

If the sects which center their interests in the Pure Land may be regarded as somewhat left-wing, a right-wing form of Buddhism entered Japan at the same time and gained a marked following among the nobility and aristocracy. This was the orthodox Zen sect, now divided into three distinct sub-sects. Zen was introduced from China, where it was known as Ch'an, Sanskrit dhyana, in 1191. The three Zen sects, Rinzai, Sōtō, and Ōbaku, differ in the amount of emphasis they place on learning. For Zen is the austere sect of contemplation, balanced somewhat by the Neo-Confucianist doctrines of Chu Hsi and later of Wang Yang-ming.²⁸ Zen, both historically and doctrinally, places emphasis on meditation and in this respect closely approaches orthodox Hindu Buddhism. The sect is Mahayāna only by courtesy, because it developed in the north and has no following in Hinayana lands. The concepts stressed by the Zen sects are that the Buddha essence is within the ego, that realization of the Buddha arises from self. Self-denial and self-discipline are essential to the achievement of enlightenment and Buddhahood. It is small wonder that Zen found little following among the common people but was confined to the samurai, the warring caste of feudal Japan. Like orthodox Buddhism, Zen has no place for the god concept but some differences are apparent. Sakyammuni Buddha stressed "escape from the evils of life" but Zen does not admit that life is evil. Rather it is a nuisance and the finite self must be

28. Elliot, Sir O. op. cit. p. 160 seq.

29
 achieved. The paradox in Zen is its preoccupation with existence, the fact that it became identified with the soldier class.

One other of the greater Japanese Buddhist sects remains to be considered. This is the sect founded by Nichiren (1222-1282), one of the commanding figures of Japanese history. A kind of Jeremiah, Nichiren devoted himself to political considerations and thundered against the political and social disintegration which threatened the nation. At first a student of Tendai, Nichiren attempted to restore Buddhism to, in his own words, "its pristine purity". He thus broke off from Tendai and founded his own mantristic form of worship which he based on the Saddharma-Pundarika-Sutra, one of the texts which forms the basis of Tendai. The followers of Nichiren adhere to what they consider to be a pure form of Buddhism but what is actually a distinctly Japanese form of Tendai. The prayer, "Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō", (Hail, thou Scripture of the Lotus of the True Law) is ever repeated by the devotees of the sect. Nichiren is a bibliolatrous faith in that it lays stress on the scroll of the written word, particularly on the sutra of the "Lotus of the True Law". Through the written word one becomes conscious of the Buddha essence. In no respect does Nichiren offer a radical departure from Tendai and Shingon. The chief difference lies in the fact that Nichiren gathered a group of disciples together who follow his doctrines in his name. That an individual should

25. Reischauer, A. op. cit. p. 118.

lend his name to a Buddhist sect is quite unparalleled in the history of the faith. In one other respect does Nichirenism depart from orthodox Buddhist practise. The eclectic character of Oriental religious forms is well known. In China, for example, Buddhism has never stood alone. Every Chinese who professes Buddhism never omits the duties incumbent upon him as a member of an ancestral cult. Similarly, in Japan, Shintō, in its magical associations and its emphasis on the cult of the ancestors, exists side by side with Buddhism for the largest majority of the population. Nor is there any antagonism between the sects of Buddhism themselves. Thus the devotee of Amida and the more austere partisan of Zen feel no sense of rivalry either in condemning one another's doctrines or in seeking to win converts. The notable exception appears among the followers of Nichiren. The condemnation of all other sects by Nichiren is a marked departure from the spirit of the older orthodoxy.³⁰

We have now summarized the principal sects of Japanese Buddhism. While the brief outline given above omits many aspects of the faith which might profitably be reviewed, an attempt has been made to place each sect in its proper philosophical and historical setting. For the sake of convenience the periods of the entrance of the various Buddhist schools into Japan may be tabulated against the conventional divisions of Japanese history.

30. There are numerous accounts of the life of Nichiren. Cf. R. Fujishima, *Le Bouddhisme japonais*, Paris, 1889; R. C. Armstrong, *Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan*, New York, 1927.

Historical Period
Buddhist Sect

50 BC - 645 AD

 Period of the growth of the native families (uji) and the ascendancy of the uji of Yamato.

538 or 552 AD, Buddhism from Kudara in Korea.

593- 628 AD

Regency of Prince Shōtoku Taishi.

Beginnings of Provisional Mahayana sects in court circles.

645 AD

 Great Taika Reforms:-
 General acceptance of Chinese culture elements and emulation of the court of the T'ang.

Growing interest of the nobility in Chinese Buddhist thought.

645 - 1187 AD

 Kuge Period (Court Ascendancy)
 Nara (710-794 AD)

Six Sects of Nara: Sanron, Jōjitsu, Hossō, Rishu, Kegon, Ritsu, all provisional Mahayana. Introduced by Chinese and Japanese scholars.

 Heian (794-1187 AD)
 (Period of the Fujiwara regency.)

 Kyōto sects:
 802 AD Dengyō Daishi introduced Tendai.
 808 AD Kōbō Daishi introduced Shingon.

1187 - 1367 AD

Muromachi Period (Feudal era; domination of the throne by the regents (shōguns).

1187-1199 AD

Genpei era. (Period of the Minamoto-Taira wars.)

 1174 - Hōnen introduced Jōdo (Pure Land) doctrines.
 1191 - Eisai imports Zen from China. Common in Kamakura among the samurai by 1202.

1199-1333 AD

Kamakura era. (Rise of the shōgunate and the feudal nobility.)

 Kamakura sects:
 Zen (cf. above)
 1202 - Development of Jōdo Shinshū (Shin sect) by Shinran.
 ca. 1257 - growth of Nichiren, Nichiren, 1222-1282.

1333-1392 AD

Nanboku Chō, period of the rival courts.

1392-1603 AD

Muromachi era.

 ca. 1250-1368
 Buddhism becomes an integral part of Japanese culture and penetrates all levels of society.

1603-1867 AD

Tokugawa era.

Historical Period	Buddhist Sect
1868 - Present AD Restoration, Meiji, Taishō, Shōwa.	Suppression of Buddhism, growth of state Shintō.

It is to be noted that the sects of Japanese Buddhism have their antecedents in China and India. The present study does not intend to trace Buddhist history into its earliest beginnings, either of orthodoxy in India, or of the Mahayāna developments in China. Let it be sufficient to remark that in China Buddhism never became a faith of such proportions as in Japan. Chinese Buddhism is divided into schools of thought rather than into sects. The speculation which so delights the Buddhist philosopher became the province of the Chinese scholar and of those temperamentally adaptable to the monastic and ascetic life. There appears to have been a greater need for Buddhism in Japan than there was in China. The reality of enlightenment and the different ways of attaining it caused the development in Japan of the self-contained units which have come to be recognized as distinct sectarian divisions. Not only does Buddhism in Japan reach the masses of commoners to a greater degree than it does during its course of growth in China, but also the efficacy of Japanese Buddhism was enforced by a formal type of organization, an emphasis on the leadership of the priestly hierarchy, on landed property, in short, on a type of "church" organization analogous to that which arose in the West.

Not enough is known of the impact of Buddhism on early and mediaeval Japan to offer a fair judgement of its social implications. The historical and philosophical side of Japanese Buddhism is so well known that the brief characterizations of the respective sects which are given above seem scarcely worth-while. The sources which form the base from which modern scholarship derives its information regarding Japanese Buddhism are those works written by the mediaeval Buddhist scholars for the edification of the members of their own class. Only inferences can be made about the social role of Buddhism, its part in Japanese life, before, say, the advent of the Tokugawa shōguns. It seems evident that until the Genpei civil wars Buddhism was a novelty reserved for the upper classes. When the Lady Murasaki wrote the Genji Monogatari (1009-1020) Buddhism was the official religion of the court and indeed, had been such since the time of the Taikwa Reforms. It is true that Tendai and Shingon monasteries were gaining in power and acquiring lands in much the same way as were the Roman Catholic churches of Europe of the same period, but it seems doubtful that Buddhism had any popular following outside of the court. Not until the advent of the times of stress occasioned by civil war was it that the popular Buddhism of Jōdō and Shin gained converts among the lower classes of the Japanese population. Since the thirteenth century, however, both have been marked religious forces in Japan and remain so today.

When Buddhism entered Japan, it was taken up for two reasons, according to the consensus of a number of modern scholars. There were those personalities, like that of Shōtoku Taishi, who, in their devout admiration for things Chinese, sought to incorporate into Japanese culture the entirety of what they most admired. Thus Buddhism, art, writing, the political system, and the like were avidly seized upon by the Japanese in power in the 7th Century AD.³¹ There was, however, another group whose temperament led them in another way. Such men as Kōbō Daishi felt in Buddhism the fulfillment of a spiritual need which the native Shintō could not offer. Between the groups a struggle arose. The first saw in Buddhism a means of enhancing personal prestige, of increasing the knowledge and privileges which set their group apart as a ruling class. In opposition the monastic group arose with its insistence on austerity, its emphasis on what it conceived to be orthodoxy in Buddhism. Throughout the Naga period Buddhism in Japan was in its infancy, limited to a select few, to those who had sufficient leisure to engage in philosophical speculation and practise. This could only mean that the Buddhism of the period was confined to the upper classes, the rulers, and those who had come to form the lesser nobility. Indeed, the speculative aspects of the Six Sects of Nara and the mystic ritualism of Tendai and Shingon could scarcely hold a purposeful meaning for the agricultural backbone of the nation, already so well established in its Shintō fertility cult.

31. Hearn, L. Japan, an attempt at Interpretation, New York, 1920, pp. 26-30.

Sanson, G. B. op. cit. p. 46. et al.

It is safe to say that Shintō lies at the base of all
³² aspects of Japanese religious belief. Modern Shintō has
 been institutionalized but numerous forms of the native be-
 liefs can be recognized. The studies which have been made
 of a contemporary rural village in Japan make a careful dis-
 tinction between the forms of the religion sponsored by the
 government, participation in which was compulsory until only
 recently, and the so-called popular Shintō which involves
 the various sectarian divisions, the local gods and shrines,
 the concepts of spirit possession, faith healing, and the
³³ like. The Meiji Restoration of 1868 brought with it a new
 Shintō, a religion allied with nationalism. This, together
 with the sectarian schools of Shintō which have developed for
 the most part since the beginning of the twentieth century,
 is a somewhat radical departure from the native fertility
³⁴ cult which was the religion of ancient Japan. This was a
 religious substratum. Buddhism has been superimposed upon
 this native religious faith. Just as in China, where Buddhist
 elements have become intertwined with aboriginal beliefs, in
 Japan there is often a difficulty in making a proper dis-
 tinction between specific Shintō and Buddhist customs, rituals,
 and deities. But since, in addition, Buddhism in Japan has
 survived as an organized religious faith, it must have exercised

32. Aston, W. G. Shintō, the Way of the Gods, London, 1905.

33. Embree, J. F. Suye Mura, a Japanese Village, Chicago, 1939, Chapter VII.

34. Holton, D. C. The National Faith of Japan, London, 1938.
 Embree, J. F. The Japanese Nation, a Social Survey,
 New York, 1945, p. 190.

some special appeal or fulfilled some special function in Japanese life which the native Shintō beliefs did not satisfy. Salvation, in the Buddhist sense of enlightenment and Nirvana, implies the concept of an after-life. Japanese Shintō conveniently provides for the needs of the living; Buddhism for those of the dead.

Nara, Shingon, and Tendai mysticism was far too subtle to catch public fancy in the Heige period. These sects, moreover, were in the main the exclusive property of the court and of the monastery. To be a Buddhist in mediaeval Japan left one no time to be a farmer or craftsman. In consequence, it was not until the advent of men with a messianic doctrine that Buddhism descended to the level of the masses. In the teachings of Hōnen and Shinran, no demand is made except simple faith in the mercies of Amida Buddha. Nichiren, preaching in the village streets, declaring himself to be the living bodhisattva, advocating the simplicity of his faith, the repetition of the lotus mantra, brought disciples by the scores.³⁵ Nichirenism and Amidism are thus the sects which in feudal Japan had great popular appeal. It is recognized that one of the types of needs and fears upon which institutionalized religion is based is the "vicarious satisfaction of thwarted desires".³⁶ After the forty years of insecurity as a result of the Genpei wars, it is not unreasonable to assume that the promise of the Amidist paradise which was so easily attainable

35. Anesaki, M. Nichiren, the Buddhist Prophet, Cambridge, 1916, p. 110.

36. Katz, D. and R. L. Schank Social Psychology, New York, 1938, p. 196.

could exert a tremendous influence. As Buddhism became established in these forms among the lower classes, Tendai and Shingon began to assume a greater importance in the nation at large. Somewhat modified in the Tokugawa period, these sects began to have popular appeal and are now of some importance both in number of devotees and temples. ³⁷ But it was the three Zen sects which were most successful in adjusting to the already established Japanese cultural pattern. With the collapse of the court and the ascendancy of the military, Zen lent itself to the military ideal. Allied not only with Shintō, but also with such native patterns as the concept of chivalry (Bushidō), the tea ceremony, native religious dances, wrestling and sword making, Zen also exerted considerable popular influence. This was enforced by the rise of the Neo-Confucianist doctrines of Chu Hsi and Wang Yang-ming, ideologies which stressed loyalty to the family, to the social class, and to the nation. When these concepts became linked with Zen, they could, in turn, be coupled with the ancestor cult in Shintō and with the concepts of filial piety demanded by the Japanese social system. In modern times, the somewhat austere character of Zen, admirably suited to the Japanese ethos, lent itself to nationalistic aims. For this reason, Zen has been favored over other sects by Japanese military leaders.

It has been noted that only one of the Six Nara Sects has survived. While it has been customary to speak of twelve

37. Reischauer, A. Op. cit. pp. 141-2.

important Buddhist divisions in Japanese history, only six are of any significance at the present time. In modern Japan, the following appear to be the most recent statistics on the subject of Buddhist church affiliation: (1938)³⁸

	<u>Sect</u>	<u>Temples</u>	<u>Membership</u>
	Jōdō	7,124	3,646,000
	Shin	19,815	13,327,000
	Nichiren	4,993	7,376,000
	Tendai	4,438	2,141,000
	Shingon	11,947	9,117,000
Zen	(Sōtō	14,244	6,948,000
	(Rinzai	5,984	2,530,000
	(Obaku	500	120,000
	Others	<u>942</u>	<u>503,000</u>
	Totals -	69,992	45,708,000

There is possible some equation of sectarian affiliation with social class. The greatest number of adherents is seen to belong to the Shin sect. This, together with Jōdō, makes up slightly less than one-half of the Japanese Buddhist population. Though richer in numbers, they are poorer in number of temples, relatively speaking, and it is to be noted that the wealthier Zen sect has the relatively largest number of temple buildings. Shingon is another wealthy sect. In modern Japan the lower classes still adhere to the Amidist sects and to Nichiren while there is some correlation between higher social class and Zen, Tendai, or Shingon. This equation is only a general one, however, since most Japanese Buddhists tend to support the temple nearest them and to summon its priest for whatever services they require.

38. Suzuki, D. T. op. cit. p. 49.

THE JAPANESE MAHAYANA SECTS

Comparison of Doctrines:

Sect	Aim	Doctrine	Characteristics
Tendai	Enlightenment. Nirvana. Buddhahood	Realization of the teachings of Sakya-muni Buddha by any and all means, viz. prayer, meditation, sutras, Amida, etc.	Marked eclecticism, emphasis on harmony of all Buddha's teachings. Temples take in thousands of Buddha images. Modern priests are faith healers.
Shingon	Enlightenment. Nirvana. Buddhahood	Magic words (sutras) control the finite world. Realization of the Buddha Vairochana gives power over occult forces.	Emphasis on magic and mysticism, the mandala. Union with Shintō.
Jodo	Enlightenment in the Pure Land.	The Pure Land sect based on faith in Amida Buddha. End may be attained solely by repetition of the <u>nembutsu</u> .	Doctrine of the future personal life. Happiness to be found in the present existence through faith.
Shin	Enlightenment in the Pure Land	Extension of the ideas of Jōdō. Simple faith and prayer the basis for reaching Amida's Paradise.	Concept that man is innately weak, incapable of enlightenment without Amida. Avoidance of Buddhist taboos of flesh eating, celibacy of priests.
Zen	Enlightenment.	Enlightenment comes solely through the individual and is achieved by meditation and concentration alone. Through this comes realization of the Buddha essence.	Connection with nationalism and the warrior. Rise of the tea ceremony, connection with etiquette, etc.
Nichiren	Enlightenment. Nirvana. Buddhahood	Based on Tendai and Shingon. Emphasis on the repetition of the mantra <u>Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō</u> . Buddha essence realized through the written word.	Opposition to other sects, especially Amidist. Comes to emphasize Japan and Buddhism as a religion for Japanese alone.

The foregoing sketch of the sects of Buddhism in Japan lacks completeness in that it does not attempt to cover the subject of divisions within the sects themselves. Each sect, from the largest to the very smallest, is divided into any number of sub-sects, differences having arisen in respect to ritual, the dress of the priests, or in respect to any number of secular and doctrinal details. Mention is made above of the subdivisions of the Zen sect while the Shin is divided into ten branches, the largest being the Nishi and Higashi Hongwanji.³⁹ Many such subsects owe their existence to governmental decree, others to doctrinal dissension. Since the differences between them are minor, let it suffice to say that such divisions within a single sect are numerous.

A point of great importance may be made with respect to the major divisions themselves. On this basis some of the matters of the social and psychological meaning of Buddhism to the Japanese may be raised. It is understood that the Buddhist creeds of Japan in modern and near-modern times are as radical a departure from orthodox Mahayāna schools of thought as the Mahayāna division itself was a departure from primitive Buddhism. Some of the Mahayāna schools still observe the taboo on meat eating but in Japan of today the observation of such prohibitions has come to be largely a matter of individual choice. One of the stipulations which the Lord

39. Reischauer, A. op. cit. pp. 155-157.

Gautama made and a practise which he enjoined upon all those desirous of attaining enlightenment was the concept of the retirement from the world, the foundation of the Sangha, the community of monks. In the more orthodox sects of the Chinese Mahayāna, and indeed, even in aberrant Lamaism, emphasis is placed on monkhood and on the cloistered life. The Sangha doctrines form the basis for the religious practises of the Hinayāna, as we know from the many examples afforded by Burma and Siam. For a time in feudal and early Japan the monkish community was the rule. In the early days of the Zen sect, particularly, there were large ecclesiastical estates held by the military Zen orders, made up of men dedicated to celibacy and war, a Japanese counterpart, in fact, of the European religious military orders, such as the Teutonic Knights or the Knights of Malta. ⁴⁰ That a Buddhist should adopt the guise of a warrior is a marked departure from the precepts of the Buddha. Nichiren and Hōnen were also monks and monkish communities had arisen earlier as the result of the establishment of Shingon and Tendai. Buddhist monasteries in Japan were important until the Meiji Restoration. They had held lands and granted fiefs in much the same manner as the great daimyō or feudal lords. The power of various of the abbots in the monasteries, regardless of sect, was fully as great as that of any military leader. The Meiji edicts which deprived the feudal lords of their estates had an equal effect in dispossessing the church of its lands. The revival of Shintō as

40. Sanson, G. B. op. cit. p. 354.

a state religion made the cloister a thing of the past.⁴¹ The monastic centers today are essentially seminaries devoted to the training of priests. Shinran held the celibacy of the priesthood, the tonsure, the splendid robes, to be unnecessary. While tonsured celibacy is still regarded as desirable for the Tendai-Shingon priests, and the Zen bonze is obliged by custom although not by practice to remain unmarried, priests of nearly every sect now permit their hair to grow and take wives. Nor do they dress differently from other Japanese men, except perhaps to carry the rosary. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the Buddhist priest feels no aversion to alcohol. Indeed, to the Japanese mind, the renunciation⁴² of alcohol is synonymous with conversion to Christianity. The Buddhist priest in contemporary Japan enjoys no special privileges because of his calling. We know, in fact, that with all other Japanese males, he has been liable to military conscription.

If, therefore, the concept of retirement from the world as it was promulgated by orthodox Buddhism is a thing of the past in Japan, what does Buddhism offer in exchange? With the exception of Zen all sects are alike in that they urge either faith or the repetition of formulae which are efficacious in bringing the individual to the knowledge of the Buddha. For the devout, Zen is more demanding in its emphasis on the contemplative side of Buddhism. But majority of Japanese

41. Schwientek, J. op. cit. p. 436.

42. Embree, J. P. Siyō Mira... op. cit. p. 233.

Buddhists today apart from the clergy are less concerned with doctrine than might be expected of a situation where sects are so much in evidence. As has been stated, the local temple, regardless of denomination, is the center of Buddhist activity for the bulk of the practising faithful. When a death occurs, the Japanese turns to the Buddhist priest. Indeed, it is in this respect that Buddhism is important. In village life, the formulae which bring success, which ward off death and disease, which effect cures, are Shintō. But the elaborate funeral ceremonies, the incantations for the repose of the soul, the disposal of the dead, and the proper ancestral honors all lie in the province of Buddhism and the chief function of the priest is in respect to them.

A mistaken conception in the west is that Buddhism implies a congregation, a day of worship, a group assembly such as is characteristic of the Christian groups. The Buddhist temple is not a place of congregation. It is rather a shrine to which the individual believer may repair as he wishes to engage in whatever form of prayer and devotion he chooses or best fits his temperament. Buddhist services, if such they may be called, take the form, in both rural and urban Japan, of lectures. These may be held within a building which could be devoted equally well to any other purpose. If the church is too small, the village hall may serve, or a private home. Sermons are moral exhortations, amply fortified with anecdotes of various saints, their lives and their good deeds.

43. Gabriel, P. T. "Das buddhistische Begräbnis in Japan", *Anthropos*, 33:568-583, Wien-Mödling, 1938.

44. Mitford A. B. (Lord Redesdale) *Tales of Old Japan*, London, 1908, pp. 230-327

period, it was demanded of every family that it register with some temple in its district. Some families allied themselves with Buddhist temples, others with Shintō shrines.⁴⁵ It is from the custom of temple registration that the statistical summaries of religious affiliation, such as were listed above, may be compiled. The figures which are quoted here do not imply that all those registered as Buddhists engage in active participation in temple or sectarian affairs. The parochial Buddhists, as those registered in this way are called, form a group that is nominally associated with Buddhist practices. Devout Buddhists, or scholars of Buddhism, those who devote time to a consideration of the philosophical backgrounds of the respective sects, are much fewer in number. At the same time, whether the nominal Buddhist is active in temple affairs or not, he will at death undergo the funerary rites prescribed by the sect to which his forbears belonged.⁴⁶

There is little doubt that the forms of Buddhism which now exist in Japan have been markedly influenced by Shintō. Moreover, the reverse is true in that sectarian Shintō and Shintō eschatology owe much to Buddhist practices and organization. It will be remembered that Buddhism is essentially an atheistic form of religion, or so it has been described by scholars who treat of the more orthodox varieties of it. The Japanese forms, seemingly under Shintō influence, have developed a theistic system based on the various Buddhist saints and on some of the Shintō divinities. God entering

45. Embree, J. F. The Japanese Nation... op. cit. p. 200.

46. Gabriel, P. T. op. cit. p. 559.

Japan through Chinese Taoism and Confucianism have also become enmeshed in the Japanese religious system of Buddhism and Shintoism. As is mentioned above, these various figures are rarely distinguished from each other and it is difficult to determine to which faith they are basic. It is not at all unusual for the Shintō devotee, devoid of any connection with the formal Buddhist organization, to present himself at the neighboring Buddhist shrine to offer prayers, to burn incense and the like, to the image of the particular bodhisattva or Buddha which is housed there. The sects of Shintō which have arisen since the Meiji era follow the Buddhist pattern in their type of organization. Modern Japan has a number of Shintō forms which do function for funerals and do offer the promise of an after-life. Many of these, moreover, are derived from western faiths and are of fairly recent development. Of the 17,500,000 avowed Shintoists in modern Japan, that is to say, exclusive of the state cult, observance of which was incumbent upon every Japanese citizen until 1945, 4,500,000 belong to Tenrikyō,⁴⁷ the largest of the Shintō denominations. Thirteen important Shintō sects, however, have been listed.

While some attempt has been made here to show how the various sects of Buddhism differ in their interpretations as to how enlightenment might be attained, it is suggested that the metaphysical and philosophical basis of Buddhism in Japan is a minor item compared with the necessary outward observances. To the Buddhist masses, the overt forms of religious observance,

47. Mabree, J. F. The Japanese Nation..op. cit. p. 190.

such as liturgy, ritual, temple and sacerdotal paraphernalia, are of vastly greater importance. The outward symbolism which is so vital a part of the Buddhist organization is not to be lightly discarded in any discussion of the faith. However much the Buddhist intellectual may offer rational explanation for the outward trappings, to the unsophisticated faithful they are an essential feature, evoking sentiment and respect. In Japanese Buddhism, there are a number of features which may be regarded as indispensable. Disregarding for the moment the sectarian divisions, Buddhism in Japan possesses a number of universals, as, for example, sutra incantation, the use of incense, flowers, gongs, and the like. Most sects make use of the Buddha image, whether it be the representation of the Gautama himself, of Amida, or of Kwannon, the merciful female bodhisattva, or of a host of Buddhas and saints. While the image is allegedly suggestive not of the personality but rather of Buddhahood, the distinction is often lost. The Japanese Shin sect, however, prefers the kakemono, or scroll, to the image, the nembutsu, or mantra, "Namu Amida Butsu", being inscribed on it. Flowers suggest life's impermanence, and with the prescribed incense and candles, imply the necessity for reaching upward toward higher spiritual goals. According to legend, there are 84,000 sutras which may be recited by a priest. In Japan, however, various sects have developed their own or expressed a preference for certain series of sutras. Recitation of the sutra by the priest is alleged by the Japanese Buddhist to have a marked salutary effect, without

which, punctuated by the sounding of the gong, no Buddhist service would be complete. The 108 rosary beads, an indispensable part of the equipment of the priest, are designed to center the attention of the believer on higher things.⁴⁸

These outward manifestations of Buddhism are as fully significant to the devotee of Japanese Buddhism as the underlying spiritual motives. In fact, it may be said that they form so significant a part of Buddhist devotion that the actual doctrines are invalid without them. The temple or shrine, with its associated paraphernalia, is the center toward which the individual believer directs his attention.

In modern Japan Buddhism has come under marked influences from the west. While the fundamental orthodox type of Buddhist organization lays stress on the fact that the individual must discover for himself the means by which enlightenment may be achieved, and in so doing obviates the necessity for any type of church or congregational structure, the sectarian nature of Japanese Buddhism implies some type of more formal organization. The Meiji laws which stripped Buddhism of its connection with the state had the effect of necessitating some kind of centralization for each sect, the foundation of a synodical body through which sectarian business could be transacted. The process of reestablishing Buddhism as a force in Japanese life still continues, attempts being made to place greater emphasis on a congregational type of organization analogous to that of

48. Buddhist Brotherhood of America, Buddhist Symbolism, Los Angeles, 1943. The tracts issued by this society cover subjects associated with reformed Japanese Buddhism. The import of this group is discussed in Chapter IV.

Christianity in the United States. An interesting problem for further research is the acculturation of Japanese Buddhism in Japan, a process which arises from contact with the west. Such sects as Shin, Jōdō, and Zen have been most successful in maintaining a reformed type of church organization. In the historical epochs which precede the Tokugawa the growth of Buddhism along lines comparable to those followed by the feudal lords of the time has been noted. Buddhist reorganization following Meiji has hinged itself on the priestly hierarchy which existed in the feudal period. Thus the Shin sect has its headquarters at Kyōto, the head of the church being the hossu, or abbot, who is alleged to be a direct descendant of Shinran. The Hongwanji, (headquarters) located at Kyōto, actually has two heads, a fact which arises from the split of the Shin sect in 1602 by the shōgun Iyeyasu. The Nishi Hongwanji (Western Shin) and the Higashi Hongwanji (Eastern Shin) are now virtually separate sects but differ very little in organization or doctrine.⁴⁹ The division arose primarily because of the desire of the ruler to break the growing Shin power in the early days of the Tokugawa rule. Zen, Shingon, Tendai, Nichiren, and Jōdō have also maintained a central type of organization with schools, colleges and seminaries for the training of the priesthood, and the general type of organization described. Most sects have their central headquarters at or near Kyōto, although the Shingon group is centered at Mount Kōya in Kii prefecture.⁵⁰ A synodical

49. Utsuki, N. The Shin Sect, a School of Mahayāna Buddhism, Kyōto, 1937, pp. 35-40.

50. Babree, J. F. The Japanese Nation...pp. 202-203.

type of organization is obviously an essential feature made necessary by the withdrawal of government subsidy of temples after 1868. Temples in modern Japan are supported by contributions from individuals and from income from such property as the churches were able to retain after the dispossession of their feudal holdings. Most sects maintain a board of governors at their respective headquarters to manage business affairs and finances. These offices are normally filled by ecclesiastical personnel and have the effect of enforcing sectarian solidarity.

But while the trend in modern Japan is toward a type of congregational organization, it cannot be realized as long as the individual priest remains in sole charge of the temple assigned him. From it he derives his income. This he augments by performing special services such as the recitation of sutras for the departed members of families in his parish, or by conducting a parochial school near or at the temple. Marriage in Japan is a civil affair but of late years the Buddhist priest has begun to perform marriage ceremonies, a matter which suggests ideas borrowed from the west. The priest is not responsible to his congregation but rather to his bishop, a dignitary appointed by headquarters. Nearly all the Japanese Buddhist sects have come to adopt the episcopal system and Japan is divided into a number of dioceses by each denomination.

The sects differ in the ways in which priests assume office. The Shin and Jōdō sects, for example, not only condone

51. The writer is indebted to Japanese friends in the Buddhist priesthood for information regarding the types of organization prevalent in Japanese Buddhism in the homeland. Source materials on such subjects are quite scarce.

marriage of the clergy but demand it. The priesthood is passed on from father to son in these sects, it being required of the eldest son that he follow his father's profession as a priest whatever his own inclination. A single family thus tends to remain in charge of a temple and to administer it for many successive generations. It may be noted parenthetically that Buddhist priests in America are still responsible for the administration of the temple entrusted to their families. Most other sects, however, advocate celibacy for their clergy. Zen has a certain intellectual appeal and has not had great trouble in finding new recruits for its priesthood among certain classes of the population. Nichiren, too, in emphasizing nationalism, has in recent years merited some government support in enlisting secular personnel. The other sects, however, are losing ground and experiencing difficulty in maintaining the proper number of priests.

Some general points and trends have been noted here with respect to Japanese Buddhism. If the role of Buddhism in present-day Japanese life is to be properly understood, some consideration of the nature of Japanese culture is necessary. The ancestral cult in Japan is apparently very ancient and to be considered an integral part of Shintō practise. But it is Buddhism which has taken over the functions of honors to ancestors. The All-Souls Festival (July 7 - 15) and the Bon O-Dori dances in honor of the returning ancestral spirits are now recognized as Buddhist and supervised by Buddhist priests. 52

These festivals which pertain to the well-being of the nation as a whole, or of that of the village and hamlet, or that of the district in the city, are nearly always Shintō. Regardless of religion or sect, all Japanese participate in these to a greater or lesser extent. On the other hand, those festivals which concern the family, the ancestors, or death come into the Buddhist sphere. The observation of Buddhist rites seems largely a matter of personal choice and predilection. As is suggested above, the Buddhist ritual may apply to the non-Buddhist and cause no ideological conflict.

It is in matters such as those described above that Buddhism enters the social and moral life of the Japanese nation. It is superadded rather than fundamental. It borrows the ancestor cult of Shintoism and the concept of ritual purification, the latter trait being of particular importance in the Zen sect. A number of scholars have attempted to summarize Japanese characteristics and to evaluate the drives in Japanese culture.⁵³ They are agreed that the concept of sin is foreign to the Japanese mind. In the Buddhism of Japan little emphasis is placed on the more practical side of ethical orthodoxy. Buddha's Ten Commandments, embodied in the Tripitaka, suggest modes of behavior which may obviate desire. But Japanese Buddhism does not hold with the concept that life is evil⁵⁴ or that the nuisance of living is dependent upon desire.

The Japanese makes a sharp distinction between the real and

53. Cf. B. H. Chamberlain Things Japanese... London, 1905; C. G. Seligman "Japanese Characteristics", TASJ etc.

54. Armstrong, R. C. Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan, New York, 1927, p. 95.

the ideal. The reality of Buddhism touches his family life and social sphere but its ideologies and obscurities are never a cause for alarm. Japanese Buddhism, except possibly for the Zen sect, emphasizes the "faith" ideal. Faith in Amida, faith in the True Word, these are sufficient to counteract the less attractive aspects of philosophical Buddhism. Rebirth, karma, and hell do not preoccupy Buddhism in Japan. The Amidist reawakens to the glory of the Pure Land, the devotee of Nichiren, Tendai, or Shingon is saved by the words he utters. A Zen worshipper may incline to mysticism but his views are realistic, in accord with the practical nature of Japanese thinking. Zen, unlike its dhyāna counterpart in Hinduism, is not the denial of objective reality.

But neither the temperament of the individual nor historical accident explains the wherefore of the Buddhist sects in Japan. One is at a loss to dispose of this problem in a satisfactory manner. The sects of Buddhism are comparable to the protestant divisions of Christianity but they show considerably less rivalry. Neither do they, as Christian sects are wont, engage in active missionary propaganda. It may be, as has been suggested by some authorities, that the very fact of religious split and secession in Japan has kept the Buddhist faith alive. The advent of Christianity to Japan has been the cause of a brief Buddhist renaissance. But at the same time, the antagonism of the government to Buddhism has prevented the growth of new sects. Throughout the Tokugawa period and into modern times, Buddhism has become stagnant. Just as Chinese Buddhism

declined centuries ago, so Buddhism in Japan seems to have
 55
 reached its old age.

The decline of Buddhism in Japan is a subject which deserves more comprehensive treatment. The stagnation of the Tokugawa period as well as the advent of new ideologies as a result of contact with the west left Buddhism unprepared to meet new situations. While Christianity is not a force in modern Japan, the political philosophies imported from Europe and the United States have had the effect of reducing the significance of the Oriental religions. But if current reports may be credited, Buddhism is still the living religion of the Japanese masses. The butsudan, that Buddhist household shrine, the comforting sermon, enforce Buddhism even if they fail to revive it. The Buddhist level of village life remains the same but here there is a hopeless jumble of many and varied religious elements. Indeed, the Japanese in America have found in Buddhism a tie with the mother country which they have successfully revived and kept alive. It is to this point which we may now turn.. On the background of the past and on the tie with the homeland have been built in America a church which has considerable import in enforcing the social solidarity of the Japanese minority group.

55. Neischauer, A. op. cit. p. 314 seq. This authority believes that Buddhism is now inadequate for the needs of the Japanese of today and that it fails as a social mechanism.

II. JAPANESE BUDDHISM IN THE UNITED STATES

The previous chapter offers a rather rough sketch of some of the philosophical and social aspects of Buddhism in Japan. The suggestion is made that all Japanese, regardless of religious interest, are aware of Buddhism and, to a greater or lesser extent, participate in its festivals and rituals. In the centuries which have elapsed since its introduction, Japanese Buddhism has become an integral part of the culture pattern of the nation. When Buddhism is transplanted from Japan to America, it becomes a means of maintaining the group interests of the Japanese-American minority. It has not been the sole factor in effecting social solidarity but its significance in this respect can hardly be denied.

The bulk of the data which forms the descriptive matter of the pages which follow has been obtained by the writer from a number of kindly disposed individuals, priests and laymen associated with the various Buddhist churches of California. This area, prior to 1942, was the center of concentration for the Japanese population in the United States. California of the pre-war period embraced a large number of Japanese communities, ranging from the small rural settlements in the Sacramento-San Joaquin Valley to the larger urban centers of San Francisco and Los Angeles. The Japanese population of Oregon and Washington was not so large as that of California but in these states as well there were sizeable communities.

In 1940, 73.8% of the Japanese of the United States were in California, 11.5% in Washington, and 3.2% in Oregon. The remainder were scattered throughout other states and constituted very small minorities.¹ This unequal distribution of population and the concentration of the Japanese in California correctly implies that activities of organized Buddhism were pretty much limited to this state and, to a lesser degree, to Washington.

The history of Japanese Buddhism in the United States provides a subject of considerable interest but the present study does not propose to discuss it in any great detail. The Buddhist situation prior to the outbreak of the war is to be the subject for this chapter. It is suggested that an essentially static picture be presented rather than a historical one. Buddhism in America among the Japanese minority went through a number of stages in its development prior to Pearl Harbor. The first immigrants, as has been noted in the introduction to the present paper, were largely single men desirous of bettering their economic position and so returning to Japan. There was little need for religious preoccupation under these circumstances. Japanese Buddhism being markedly a part of the family institution, it could function only in a limited way among unattached single individuals. In Pacific Coast cities, moreover, Christian churches made a strong bid for adherents among these first immigrants. The churches offered lodgings in their missions, provided employment, and presented a means of learning

1. U. S. Government, War Department, Western Defense Command, Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, Washington, 1943, pp. 80-83.

English and becoming acquainted with American institutions, essentials in the matter of obtaining lucrative positions.² The Christian missions were successful in obtaining the good will of the immigrants on this basis. Many of those who later brought families to America remained in Christianity and brought their children into the various Christian denominations. It was Christianity, therefore, and not Buddhism, which made the most successful appeal to the immigrant. In 1899, the Shinshū priests, S. Sonoda and K. Nishijima, founded a Buddhist hostel in San Francisco and organized a Young Men's Buddhist Association.³ This was the first attempt to bring Buddhism to the United States and for many years remained the only one. The various Buddhist sects in Japan began to send missionaries to the United States from their headquarters in order to keep the religious faith alive among the Japanese in America. For a number of years the Buddhist bodies acted as marriage agencies, importing "picture brides" to the United States for the men already settled there. It was not until those Japanese who had supported the Buddhist movement in America developed families of their own that the Buddhist organization became important. The fact that most temples developed a Japanese language school provided an incentive for the immigrants to send their children there, allowing them an opportunity to learn to speak Japanese and to receive instruction in the ethical systems of the homeland which the American public school could not provide.

2. Miyamoto, S. F. Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle, University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, Vol. 11, No. 2, Seattle, 1939, p. 101.
3. U. S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Religious Bodies, Vol. II, p. 344, Washington, 1936.

A religious dichotomy has arisen in the Japanese communities as a result of the early influence of the Christian churches. Those Japanese-Americans who have turned to Christianity have been more readily assimilated, better adapted to life in America than the Buddhists. The obvious reason for this is that the Buddhist group of the pre-war period kept closely in contact with the homeland, its interests having centered there rather than in America. Moreover, the tie of Buddhism to the mother country was enforced by the existence of the headquarters of each sect in Japan and the fact that church policy in America was often directed and subsidized by the central Japanese body. In consequence, the Buddhists show the greater degree of conservatism and adhere more closely to Japanese customs than do the Christians in the Japanese-American communities. In the introduction to the present study some attention was given to the importance of the generation split in the development of the Japanese group in America. In the pre-war period, it will be noted that the Issei, the immigrant group, controlled the Buddhist church; the Nisei and Kibei were forced into the background. Since the war and the ensuing disruption of the Pacific Coast Japanese communities, the Nisei Buddhists have emerged as the controlling force in Buddhist activities and organization. As a reflection of the acculturation process, this point is an important one. It means that Buddhism in America has become subject to considerable modification; its interests become focussed toward America rather than toward Japan. Of significance in this respect is the diffusion of ideas from the Japanese Christian bodies to the Buddhist groups. Nisei rivalry on the question of

the respective merits of Buddhism versus Christianity is a topic which will require further attention.

In treating the pre-war Buddhist situation, as this chapter proposes to do, we may consider the status of the Buddhist groups as they were in California in the year or two prior to December 7, 1941. In respect to this period the extent to which the Buddhist bodies had become adjusted to the American scene may be noted. By the time of the outbreak of the war, the various Buddhist sects which are described above were operative in the Japanese-American communities of the Pacific Coast and in particular, of California. Under the impact of adaptation to the American way, Japanese Buddhism and its sects had, however reluctantly, dropped element after element which was regarded as basic to the religious system of the homeland. Beginning about the year 1917, the Buddhist bodies in the United States became relatively stable. By 1940, therefore, the process of acculturation in its application to the outward forms of Buddhism was already far along. New forms had been substituted which constituted a marked departure from the orthodox practises of the Buddhism of Japan. The resulting modified Japanese-American religious form is discussed with the understanding that the process of acculturation has been accelerated as a result of war and evacuation.

In 1940, there were 55,000 Japanese Buddhists in the United States.⁴ This number is estimated since not all so-called

4. Freed, A. and K. Luomala, Buddhism in the United States, War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, Community Analysis Report #9, Washington, May 15, 1944, p. 3.

Buddhists were members of an ecclesiastical body. The sectarian divisions of Shin, Jōdō, Zen, Nichiren, Tendai, and Shingon were represented in the United States as well as in Japan. Except for the first, however, all the others formed a definite minority. There is probably a twofold reason for the popularity of Shinshū in America. The Shin sect was the first to organize in the United States and to make a definite effort to keep its membership in the various Japanese communities. Moreover, the doctrines of the Shin denomination lend themselves more readily to readjustment in a new environment. The fact that this sect stresses that the individual believer need commit himself to no other obligation than faith and the recognition of the goodness of Amida Buddha has been the cause of Shinshū popularity both in Japan and in the United States. The Shin sect, also known by the term Hongwanji, having taken the leadership in the organization of Buddhism in America, is the leading Buddhist denomination. It must also be remembered that a large majority of the Japanese immigrants to the United States came from southern prefectures in Japan where there were Shinshū strongholds. It was the Nishi Hongwanji, or the western branch of the sect, which was most successful in gaining adherents in America and in establishing itself. According to the religious census of 1936, the Shin sect had a membership of 43,164. If the estimated 1940 figure of 55,000 Buddhists in the United States is accepted, roughly 80% of the Japanese-American parishoners were Shin members.

It is safe to say that the remaining 20% of the Buddhist membership in America is divided between the five other sects. Statistics in such cases, however, are untrustworthy. The tendency is strong in America as in Japan for the individual family to ally itself with the temple nearest its residence regardless of the doctrines preached there. The Shin sect had been successful in gaining new members from the ranks of those who, in Japan, had been associated with other denominations. Shin had been a leading religious force in the Japanese community as a result of its early start and the fact that it received subsidies from the central body in Kyōto. The centralization of Shinshū activities through a diocesan system discouraged competition from the other sects. Although scattered somewhat sporadically along the Pacific Coast, the sects other than Shin tended to congregate in the Los Angeles area. The larger Shinshū temples provided a social outlet for many Japanese-Americans which would have been prohibited by membership in one of the smaller sectarian bodies in America. These smaller sects have been more successful in retaining Japanese mores; Shin, as the largest sect, in order to remain as far as possible the dominant Japanese sect in America, has been forced to modify its outward organization and, to a lesser extent, its dogma. More than any other, this group has been subject to modification in its basic forms.

In Japan, the Buddhist or Shintō priest, by appointment or by inheritance the head of a given shrine, is the sole agent entrusted with secular management and maintenance. In the

United States, however, this type of sacerdotal leadership is hardly feasible. The practical point that, unless incorporated, the church body is subject to taxation is a matter of law in most states. As a result, Japanese Buddhists in America were obliged to form a church corporation responsibility for the management of which devolves upon the membership rather than on the secular head. Buddhist temples were incorporated under the laws of the states of California, Oregon, and Washington as congregational bodies. Under prevailing California law, religious groups which are so incorporated are free to receive gifts and funds, to own property and administer it. At the same time, however, such a group must have a name and a board of officers acceptable to the state.⁵ Had it not been for such legislation, it would have been difficult to determine just what form the Buddhist churches in America would adopt. Congregational organization would undoubtedly have been much slower in developing. The ultimate import of such legislation was the removal of control of secular affairs from the hands of the clergy. The alternative was the election by the congregation of a lay body which might carry on the business of church management. Under the prevailing legal code Buddhist bodies were obliged to assume a type of organization analogous to that of the Christian churches in the United States.

And, in fact, the Buddhist temple, the U-tera of Japan, becomes a recognized "church" in the manner of the Christian

5. Deering's Civil Code of the State of California, San Francisco, 1941, supp. 1944, sec. 594; 605g; McKinney, Wm. M. (ed.) California Jurisprudence, Vol. XXII, pp. 777 seq. San Francisco, 1925.

congregational groups which are so integral a part of American culture. The term temple has been abandoned and the Japanese-Americans are wont to refer to the building in which Buddhist activities center as the church. In 1927 the Hongwanji branches of the Shin sect organized the so-called Buddhist Mission of North America. Until the outbreak of the war this group remained the predominant synodical organization which, from its headquarters in San Francisco, effected control of the Nishi and Higashi Hongwanji of the Shin sect in the United States and Canada. This group was incorporated under California Civil Law in 1929.⁶ The Buddhist Mission of North America acted, from 1929 until 1940, as the main Japanese religious group in the United States, controlling 35 churches. Under the terms of the organization of the Mission, the areas of the Pacific Coast were subdivided into seven diocesan bodies from British Columbia to Southern California. While the principal diocesan divisions were organized in California, there were episcopal headquarters in Salt Lake City and Denver, no provision being made for organization in other areas.⁷ Each diocese was entrusted to the care of a senior minister, while the bishop in the central headquarters at San Francisco was responsible for all Shinshū affairs to the Kyōto body. It is of interest to note that the preferred title for the Buddhist cleric in America is minister rather than

6. Uguira, K. A Sociological Study of the Buddhist Churches in North America with a Case Study of the Gardena, California, Congregation. (Unpublished M. A. Dissertation, University of Southern California, Department of Sociology, Los Angeles, 1932.)

7. North American Buddhist Mission, Hokubei Kaikyō Engkakushi, San Francisco, 1936, p. 7 seq.

priest. The San Francisco bishop was obliged to make an annual tour of all the churches and was entrusted by Kyōto with the supervision of the headquarters at 1881 Pine Street in San Francisco. The central body at Kyōto did not recognize lay authority in the management of the church and entrusted its funds, its messages, and its orders to the bishop. Kyōto, in fact, contributed \$ 3000.00 to the annual salary of the bishop, this figure being matched in turn by the Mission itself to the amount of \$1500.00.

Two concepts appear in this connection which are quite foreign to the type of ecclesiastical organization apparent in Japan. The first lies in the financial considerations which are necessary to the maintenance of a church in America. In Japan, the priest is in sole charge of the monetary affairs of the temple entrusted to his care. His own income is derived from contributions to the alms-box and from payment for such services as the conducting of memorial rites or funeral observances for members of his parish. In America, however, the funds of the church are handled by an elected lay member. When the priest, or as he is called, the minister or pastor, is paid by a member for some special service, this money is supposed to revert to the church treasury. The minister is paid a specific stipend. Prior to the war, church income depended on a number of sources. In addition to voluntary contributions to the church alms-box, every family was obliged to pay a membership fee which ranged from three to five dollars per year. The concept of an actual paying membership in the church corporation is again an American

innovation. An additional source of church income, and probably the most significant one, was, before 1941, that derived from the Japanese language school which nearly every Buddhist church conducted. Thus in 1932, out of the 35 Shin churches, 31 had language schools with a total enrollment in that year of 2,732 pupils.⁸ This figure had increased by an estimated 500 for the Hongwanji schools alone. The other sects also conducted schools of this type. The fees for the instruction in Japanese language, ethics, and culture ranged from three to five dollars per year for each student, although rates were given when a single family sent several pupils. Church funds derived in these ways were budgeted and employed for salaries, building maintenance, and contributions to the central body, to San Francisco, if Hongwanji, to Japan, if other sects.

The second point of difference in organization from the accepted ways of the mother country lies in the appointment of lay officials. As has been noted, this feature arises through the corporation laws affecting the chartering of a church body. The local Buddhist churches, as well as, in the case of Shinshū, the Mission body, were obliged to elect from their respective parishioners church officers who could act as members of the corporation and fulfill some of the duties of its management. The various churches were thus obliged to choose boards of directors, to draw up constitutions acceptable to the state under which they were chartered, and, in short, to assume to the type of congregational organization which is in keeping

8. Ogura, E. op. cit. p. 21.

with standard practise in the United States. As the Buddhist churches became corporate organizations, officers were designated. Of the board of directors, the minister remained supervisory head (kaichō). Some elected presidents of the congregation (rijiichō) conceived to be subordinate to the minister. Most churches had this officer together with an executive secretary (kanji), a treasurer, (kaike), an assistant treasurer (fuku-kaike), and two auditors (kansa). In the pre-war period, these officers were in all churches without exception members of the immigrant generation. Japanese was the spoken language of the church, a fact which in itself barred most Nisei from participation in church management. Such offices, ranging in tenure from one to four years depending on the local church, provided a means for the Issei of obtaining a certain amount of social prestige.

While the other sects formed a relatively small minority compared with the powerful Shin group in the United States of the pre-war period, they were nevertheless organized. Jōdō tended to align itself with Shinshū and to participate in the Hongwanji organization. Zen, Tendai, Shingon, and Nichiren, however, remained independent. While Shinshū in 1932 had 59 ministers, no other sect had more than three or four at any time. One of these priests, usually the senior member, acted as bishop, or sōchō, the term in Japanese implying not so much an ecclesiastical head as any supervisory official. Despite the lack of a central headquarters in the United States, the other sects carried on their business with Japan through the

bishop and followed essentially the same type of church organization as the Shin, replete with officers and normally a language school.

Shinshū organization in the United States was by far the most spectacular. In 1936, just prior to the erection of the great temple in San Francisco, the total investments of the sect were nearly \$1,000,000.⁹ The great temple, built in 1937, is designated as a temple or shrine, thus being distinguished from the congregational church body. It is of interest to note that the sanctity of the temple was enforced by the fact that a delegation from the San Francisco congregations visited India to secure a relic of the Buddha. Bones of Sakyamuni Buddha repose in the tower of the structure which is modelled after a Hindu stupa.

The sects of Japanese Buddhism in the United States had little contact with each other in the pre-evacuation period. Occasionally, a minister from another sect might be invited to share a pulpit with regard to some special service or religious holiday. Each church group, however, was relatively autonomous. Members of different sects, together with the ministers representing them, would participate in the affairs of the Japanese community, such as membership in the Japanese Association (Nihonjinkai) or in one of the prefectural associations (kenjinkai). Others, members of a Buddhist church, might visit a Shintō shrine from time to time. In matters such as these there might be social interests which cut across

9. U. S. Bureau of the Census, op. cit. Vol. II, pp. 341-42.

the lines of sectarian membership. Despite abortive efforts made from time to time to effect a Buddhist union, the sects remained as separate units. Mention is made above of the Buddhist eclecticism in Japan. Under the influence of the competitive spirit prevalent in American culture, the Buddhist churches began to show more sharply defined divisions than appear in Japan. As churches molded along American lines, the Buddhist groups exhibited stronger sectarian feelings and some rivalry developed between them.

We have now seen how the general organization of the Buddhist bodies in America has been modified and how markedly different these Americanized churches have become in comparison with the temples of native Japan. Not only are the prevailing legal codes of the various states responsible for this change but the influence of the Christian churches has also had an effect. As the immigrants became settled, they were reluctant to be regarded as entirely alien by the Caucasian residents of the cities and towns in which they lived. Moreover, they became sensitive to the criticism of their Japanese neighbors who by virtue of Christianity had become more thoroughly Americanized. This desire to conform was particularly strong among the Nisei, a group which has to the present day been desirous of being identified with America. The formation of the congregational type of organization offered one means of escape from the stigma of being regarded as exotic. As the Buddhist groups were organized, many Issai who had come under the earlier influence of the Christian churches and missions, brought to

Buddhism a number of the familiar features of the Christian organization. The singing of hymns both before and after the sermon, the designation of special hours of congregational assembly, the sudden growth of the concept of Sunday as a holy day in addition to its being the usual American day of rest, suggest a Christian influence.

These relations between the priest and the layman which have been so modified as a result of the importation of Buddhism to America were the cause of some conflict in the pre-war period. A number of the Buddhist priests, regarding the new type of organization as too radical a departure from orthodoxy as it was known in Japan, resented the control exerted by lay officials. The fact that some Issei held to the concept of the sole authority of the priest while others supported control of church affairs by officials elected by the congregation was a source of dispute and often of secession in the pre-war period. Thus as a result of personal pressures exerted by non-conformist priests, seven of the Shinshū congregations were independent of the parent synodical body in 1940. One Zen church was independent, while the six Nichiren congregations remained aloof from each other. These independent groups were more or less self-supporting. They were more careful of their Japanese cultural heritage and retained a fairly strict isolation. In such churches the priest was an autocrat, the officials, if any, accepting his demands and submitting to his financial management.

But the foregoing remarks concern only the ecclesiastical body itself and the general structure of the church body as it pertains to the relations between the laymen and the cleric. There is little doubt that church membership would have been less than it was had it not been for the fact that quite apart from their religious function, the Buddhist churches were social centers. This feature, too, marks a definite revision of the native Japanese standard. In Japan, while some types of affiliated organization, such as the Ladies' Club, the Young Men's Club, may be Buddhist in name, they are rarely associated with some specific temple. Barred by virtue of race from participation in American activities, the Japanese in America found in their respective Buddhist, Shintō, or Christian churches a social outlet. Various organizations were associated with the different churches. In the Buddhist group, the affiliated institutions came to play an important part in keeping the various age classes within the church. Leadership in these clubs or societies provided a way for all Japanese-American Buddhists to achieve a certain social prestige.

As the Nisei, as a general class, reached school age, they were obliged by law to attend the public schools in the communities in which they lived. Their Issei parents regarded free education as one of the great advantages of life in the United States. In keeping with the family solidarity that is so significant a part of Japanese life, the child who failed in school was felt to have disgraced his entire family group. Most Issei felt that their children should know English so as

to take advantage of the American educational system but many viewed with alarm the growing tendency of the Nisei to become Americanized. To counteract the influence of the public school, the Japanese language schools were instituted. As is mentioned above, these were normally associated with some Buddhist church or with a Shintō group. Attendance in the language school afforded a means not only of keeping the Nisei Buddhists within the church but also of instilling in them a consciousness of race and Japanese nationality. In short, the language school, as an affiliated Buddhist organization, enforced the maintenance of Japanese culture in America. Some such schools were highly partisan and nationalistic, others sought to do no more than counteract the growing tendency toward the competitive spirit which for many Japanese characterized America. Much of the subject matter taught in the language school dealt with such concepts as self-sacrifice and cooperation. As a sample of the nationalistic trend, mention may be made of a questionnaire given by a Buddhist priest to students in the school associated with the Gardena Buddhist church:

Question:	Yes	No	Doubt
Do you like the Japanese language?	64	1	5
Will you always speak Japanese?	61	3	7
Are the Japanese superior? (sic)	63	3	7
etc.			

Coupled with the language school was the Sunday School. Many more Nisei attended this than the daily language classes. The frank aim of these institutions was to make Buddhism a religion for the Nisei in America. The term Sunday School has obviously been borrowed from the Christian concept although organizations of this type were known in Japan. In Kyōto, in 1900, there were attempts to organize training courses in religion for children. Several of the sects published hymnals and religious texts for this purpose. This type of organization in Japan itself probably reflects western influence, being enforced in America through Christian example. The hymnals and Sunday school tracts used by the Buddhist churches in the pre-war period were thus in Japanese and the meetings of the body were conducted in that language. By 1936, several of the more progressive ministers began to encourage the use of English and the singing of Buddhist hymns in English. This movement began somewhat earlier in Hawaii and was limited pretty much to the Shin sect, being favored by the younger members of the clergy. Opposition to this movement was strong and it gained little headway. The Sunday Schools were divided into classes on the basis of age and the corresponding grade in school. The classes were conducted in the main by the minister in whose weekly lecture such platitudes as the necessity for doing good, cooperating with one another, loving parents, and the like, were repeated. Some of the older Nisei Buddhists might aid occasionally in the teaching of classes.

In the Sunday Schools the children were not divided as to sex but there were clubs associated with the school for both boys and girls. The emphasis in the Buddhist Sunday School was on the social rather than on the religious side. It was felt that by offering a supervised series of social programs that the young people could be kept within the church. Sunday School parties were held from time to time on various American and Japanese holidays. These were conducted in the church building if school rooms were lacking, or in the language school building. While the Sunday School might observe especially the various Buddhist holy days which are mentioned below, there were generally festive gatherings for the Japanese Girls' Day, (Doll Day, March 3) the Boys' Festival (May 5), and the O-Bon dances (July 7 - 15). In addition, however, the Sunday School usually observed St. Valentine's Day, Easter, (often celebrated with an Easter egg hunt), July 4, Hallowe'en, Thanksgiving, and sometimes, Christmas. The boys' and girls' clubs organized outings, had special gatherings from time to time, and arranged for groups to visit sick persons.

In 1940, there were about 65 such Sunday Schools associated with nearly every Buddhist church. The enrollment, computed on the basis of paid membership which averaged about one dollar per year, was estimated at about 7,500. In 1930 there were 56 such schools in the Shin sect, sponsored by the Buddhist Mission of North America, with 6,969 pupils.¹¹ During the decade of the 1930's, attendance did not materially increase.

11. Ibid. p. 18.

Sunday school services were held normally on Sunday morning at about 9:00 o'clock. The minister opened the service with a request for a boy and girl to light the incense. This was followed by a hymn, or variously, by a declaration of faith in Buddhist teaching by the group as a whole. The minister then told a story of Buddhism and exhorted his listeners to do good. The service closed with a hymn and the threefold repetition of the mantra on which the given sect is founded. This type of service was instituted by the Shin sect and was followed by the other denominations. The various Zen temples were slower to take over this type of organization and by 1940, had not wholly done so. Class meetings, supervised by older Nisei and Issei Buddhists, might follow the short order of service.

Just as the Sunday School emphasizes the social and religious side of Buddhism, so also do the affiliated organizations for the older members. In Japan, the founding of a Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Association was a direct result of the introduction of the YMCA and YWCA. It was a YMBA which was first organized in San Francisco in 1899. At first, this body was composed of young unmarried Issei who made use of the organization as a mutual aid society. As the churches became established, these young Buddhists' clubs were associated with them and came to solicit Nisei membership. The Young Buddhist Associations, as they were called after about 1930, became the most important Nisei Buddhist groups. Most such clubs were associated with the Shinshū Hongwanji, having less importance among the other sects.

The YBA groups, in the decade of the 1930's, became little more than social clubs. As the Nisei gained control of them, they provided a social outlet for the second generation Japanese-American to which the religious element was subordinated. In the Shin churches, the YBA was supposedly responsible for the Sunday School and its support, but the results were often negligible. The YBA service was usually held on Sunday morning following the Sunday School meeting. It followed closely the order described for the Sunday School. In the pre-war period, services were held in Japanese, although groups of the young men and women often met for English devotionals. Following the religious meetings, either on Sunday or on special evening services during the week, there were social gatherings. These involved dancing, group games, or card parties. The social, rather than the devotional, provided the incentive for church attendance.¹² Many Nisei, particularly the girls, were prohibited from meeting boys or engaging in "dates" by their strict Issei parents. The expressed desire to attend a church service, however, could not in all fairness be denied. Moreover, there was, on the part of some Issei, the thought that if such matters were condoned by the church, there could be no wrong in them. The factor of the social gathering is still a force in keeping the Nisei within the Buddhist ranks. It will be remembered that European dancing, despite the waltz craze which swept Japan at the turn of the century, is often considered immoral and shameful

12. Sakoda, J. Second Generation Japanese Religious-Social Organization of Berkeley, Typewritten ms. Berkeley, 1941. (Courtesy James Sakoda.)

by the Japanese. Many Issei still are puzzled and angry by the fact that the Buddhists permit the young people to engage in social dancing at church gatherings.

The organization of the young people in this way, the average age was about 17 - 19 in the pre-war period, has been of marked success in keeping a strong YBA group. For the most part, the young people, then and now, tended to keep to their own organization and mixed very little with the Issei congregation. At the same time, however, Japanese was the language of the church, English the language of the social. Most YBA groups were chartered by the church to which they belonged. They formed, under the constitutions which they drew up, separate bodies within the respective churches, electing their own officers and managing their own affairs. These "Bussei" (Young Buddhists) groups put membership on a paid basis, dues for one year averaging between one and three dollars. The YBA membership was derived almost wholly from the young unmarried people in the respective congregations. A constant source of complaint of the Buddhist minister of the pre-war period was the failure of the young married people to attend services.

Attempts of the Young Buddhist Leagues to organize on a national or even a state-wide scale in the pre-war period were unsuccessful. Attempts were made to do so but the Japanese-American Citizens' League, the so-called JACL, a non-sectarian political organization devoted to the furthering of Nisei assimilation, and the like, attracted a much larger following, especially in 1940 and 1941.

The Nisei organizations associated with Buddhist church, and particularly the YBA, attempted to parallel in their general structure the corresponding young peoples' societies in the Christian churches. In permitting dancing and card playing, however, the YBA groups offered a wider social horizon. But many of the Japanese Christian churches had similar groups. While the church social was an important feature in determining membership in the various Japanese Methodist, Presbyterian, or Congregational bodies, the Japanese Christians were on the whole more progressive and sponsored social gatherings outside of the church itself. Many young Buddhists attended these and were drawn away from the Buddhist fold. In the main, a somewhat higher social standing was, and still is, accorded to the Nisei Christian than to the Buddhist by the Japanese community at large.

Most Nisei Buddhists had some other social outlet than the church. Even though as a minority group they were ever reluctant to participate in any activity in which Caucasians were engaged, they were members of students' clubs, athletic clubs, and of other types of organizations which they developed themselves. The Kibei group, on the other hand, as a minority within a minority, lacked the wider social horizon possessed by the Nisei. As a group they were never organized. If Kibei did engage in Buddhist activities, they never did so as members of the Nisei group. The Buddhist churches made little provision for the Kibei; beyond participation in the Issei services the Kibei Buddhists remained outside of the various congregations.

As a result, many simply remained aloof from Buddhism, although they might consider themselves nominal Buddhists.

The Issei were much more limited in their social sphere than the Nisei. Many of the priests in the pre-evacuation period complained that the Issei were not sufficiently interested in their church activities. "Too busy" was often the excuse for failure to attend the Sunday evening Issei services which most Buddhist congregations held. One Buddhist priest made the following comment:

Now if one asks: Do the Issei disregard the existence of the church? The answer is no. The fact is in direct contradiction to the question. They are the ones who really feel the necessity for the church. They are the ones who miss the church the most if there is none. And yet, the majority of them neglects to attend the regular Sunday service. I think that the reason for their peculiar and contradictory attitude is this: They feel as though they are the graduates of the church. Whether they attend the regular Sunday services or not, their faith in Buddhism stands unshaken. They believe that their religion is the best of all existing faiths and they do not think that a new religion, better than theirs, can ever be born on this earth.... Their ideas of going to the church service are not to acquire new faith but to warm up what they already have. When they attend the church, they are satisfied more to hear the ways and methods of applying Buddha's teachings to a new environment rather than to hear about the main principles of the Buddhist faith. -13

For many Issei the church did become a social center. This was particularly true of the Issei women for whom the Buddhist church was often the only social outlet. It is suggested above that the Nisei were far more concerned with the social opportunities afforded by membership in a Buddhist group than with the religious teachings. To a lesser extent, this is also true

13. Ochi, Bishop D. The Spiritual Life of the Japanese Evacuees. (Unpublished ms. in Japanese) Rivers, Arizona, 1942-43. (Courtesy Dr. D. S. Thomas)

of the Issei. While many were devout Buddhists, others found in the church a tie with the mother country. Issei men were particularly poor church-goers, although some, in taking the offices which the organized congregations offered, were able to satisfy a desire for social prestige. On the whole, however, Issei men were able to find a social outlet in the various associations which the Japanese in the United States organized. Thus membership in the Nihonjinkai, or in one of the kenjinkai, or in a tanomoshi, the cooperative economic clubs which met periodically for mutual aid, or even in one of the pro-Japanese societies which were in existence on the Pacific Coast before the war offered to the Issei men a number of social possibilities.

Beyond visiting back and forth with each other, the Issei women had a few social opportunities beyond the church. The women's societies, or fujinkai, were associated with virtually every Buddhist congregation. The fujinkai is a type of organization which is fairly common in Japan. In pre-war Japan there were numerous ladies' auxiliaries attached to Buddhist temples, to Shintō shrines, and to the numerous patriotic groups. When imported to America, the program of the fujinkai was not materially changed. Membership in a club of this type was open to all of the older women of the congregation. The cost of membership was nominal, averaging one to three dollars per year as in the case of the Nisei societies. The ladies' clubs of this type were much less formally organized than either the church itself or the associated YWA. Officers were chosen by election in some cases although in others the minister's wife acted as

head of the club. The women met at various times during the month quite apart from the regularly established Sunday evening Issei service. At their meetings they had lectures, usually by a minister, teas, domestic science classes, and the like. At special holidays of the church, the Issei women were usually responsible for the flower arrangement decorations in the church building. If banquets were held, or some special service which required the giving of food, the Issei women's club was usually on hand to make such preparations as might be necessary.

The foregoing remarks summarize the clubs and associations which, in the pre-war days, might be found in connection with every Buddhist church, whether urban or rural. Sectarian differences do not emerge in connection with the formal church organization. Shinshū took the lead in modifying its general structure when it was imported to America, while the other sects followed the general patterns which the Shin group adopted. The organization described here differs markedly from the regular Buddhist practise in Japan. In America the Buddhist temple becomes a true church in the western sense, creating for its members a social as well as a religious center.

One other point with respect to the formal structure of this modified Buddhist organization remains to be considered. In the pre-war era, the role of the priest became subject to marked change. One or two matters in this respect have been already discussed, as, for example, the fact that the priest was given a definite salary and to a certain extent acted in accord with the wishes of the congregation. It has also been

noted that the priest was often entrusted with the management of the Japanese language school associated with the church. It should be remarked that the priest acted and thought much more as a Japanese than did the members of his congregation. He had been educated in Japan and made his living by adhering to Japanese practices. In only a few cases did the priest speak English. In most instances the congregation, and the clerics themselves, preferred to avoid the term priest and, as has been mentioned, most were called ministers or perhaps even more commonly, by the term "reverend". It has become quite customary for both Issei and Nisei to refer to the priest by this term in either Japanese or English.

It is difficult to state how many ministers there were in the United States in the pre-war period. One reason for this is that clerical personnel moved rather freely between Japan and America. Permitted freedom of entrance into the United States by immigration laws, the men in charge of the various churches remained only for short periods of time before returning to Japan. The average length of time which an individual priest spent in America was four years.¹⁴ Others, however, settled in the new country and raised families there. The central headquarters of the various sects in Japan sent clerics to America on a voluntary basis. Those wishing to go were sent as missionaries as the need in America arose. Most such priests were already in charge of a temple in the homeland for the administration of which they were responsible to the headquarters. In order to take time to go to America, most priests, regardless of

14. Ogura, K. op. cit. p. 34.

sect, had to find a substitute, usually a novice, who might manage their affairs during their absence. In the case of the Shinshū priests, temple or shrine supervision passed on from father to son. A case is known to the writer of a Shin priest settled in Hawaii who was obliged to make periodic visits to Japan to supervise the temple which he inherited. His son, likewise a priest, carried on the obligation for a time after the father's death but finally made arrangements to devote his time to mission work in America and entrusted the temple to another family. Although the writer has unfortunately been unable to consult the records of the San Francisco headquarters of the Shin sect, it may be estimated that at any given time between 1930 and 1941 there were about 60 Shin priests in America. These, together with the clerics representing the smaller sects, made up from 75 to 80 priests in the United States at this time. There were a great many more in Hawaii, an area which the present study omits from discussion.

In the pre-war period, the clergy were concerned with the Issei, keeping alive for them Japanese culture and institutions. Many priests in America stubbornly refused to learn English and were devoid of any interest outside the Japanese community. Coming as they did directly from Japan, the priests tended to look askance on the Americanized Nisei, condemning their poor Japanese and their bad manners. The Issei minister of the pre-war period was a force in molding the conservatism of the Buddhist group and in helping it to retain Japanese ways. The priests who had settled in America for a longer period gradually

became more tolerant of the second generation. Some had left wives in Japan, others married women in the Japanese-American communities. Even outside of the Shin sect, nearly all the priests were married. The Zen bishop who came to America in 1941 was the only older unmarried priest known to the writer. This fact in itself reflects the changes that took place in Japanese Buddhism since the Meiji era. The rules of celibacy which applied to the non-Amidist clergy have been broken both in Japan and America.

The Buddhist minister in America gradually came to model his office after that of the Christian clergy. He functioned in a ritual capacity, acted in respect to the life crises of birth, marriage, and death, was expected to lead social events connected with the church and to make periodic visits to his parishoners. The priest's wife, moreover, was expected to be a social leader in the congregation. She was obliged to take an active part in the Sunday school and YBA activities, to teach in the language school, and to participate in the fujin-kai. It is of interest to note that the priest and his wife were subject to the secret censure of the congregation for their actions in much the same way as befalls some Christian clerics. The splendid vestments which characterize the Buddhist priest in Japan were discarded in favor of a black robe purchased in America from a church supply company. The distinctly Buddhist features which marked the priest in religious services were the stoll, purple or gold, and the rosary beads. Most Buddhist ministers in America wore, and still wear for everyday

use, a black business suit, with white shirt and black neck-tie. One or two affected the clerical collar.

While the general organization of the Buddhist churches in America suggest Christianity, the cleric, despite the forms which were borrowed directly from the Christian Protestant groups, attempted to keep the spirit of Japanese Buddhism intact. Mention is made above of the fact that Buddhism is pliable; it adapts itself to a new environment with ease. For the reasons described, Buddhism in America could change in its outward forms but relinquish little of its dogma. Japanese Buddhism is less of an organized religion, paralleling, let us say, Christianity, than it is a religion of the home and family. Hindu Buddhism emphasizes the individual, offering the promise of individual release, enlightenment, and the ultimate achievement of Nirvana. Not so the Buddhism of the Japanese. Here the stress is on the collective group; the family rather than its single member is important. Buddhism in Japan has become a means of enforcing the ancestor cult and the obligation to the home. While the various Buddhist sects in Japan hold promise for the individual, the dogmas pertaining to the bodhisattva concept, to samsara, to Nirvana, are secondary to the emphasis on the collective. Hence church attendance is less significant. The Buddhist backslider is not he who fails to participate in the services of some organized congregation; rather is it the individual who departs from the collectivistic aims and practises of Japanese culture. In America, the Buddhist church was a means of

preserving the family cult, or keeping to the fore the individual's consciousness of his identity as a Japanese.

Hence, Japanese Buddhism in America must be considered from the point of view that it is a religion of the family and home. Of the 650 Buddhists in the Seattle Shinshū group, only 250 were regarded as faithful members of the church.¹⁵ It is fairly certain, however, that all the families who called themselves Buddhist, whether they actually engaged in church activities or not, observed Buddhist practices in their homes. In the pre-war period, most Buddhist families kept a small butsudan. This is the cabinet or shelf in which objects sacred to Buddhism were kept. The small corner of the home in which the butsudan reposed was regarded as the sacred place of the house. This object was regarded as the point toward which devotion, meditation, and concentration could be directed. It normally contained an image of some Buddha or bodhisattva, or, particularly in the case of Shin devotees, a small scroll on which the nenbutsu was written. The sects varied as to the image they required in the butsudan. Shin and Jōdō made use of the Amida image or the nenbutsu (Namu Amida Butsu) scroll. Zen and Nichiren, and sometimes, Shingon and Tendai, required the image of Sakyamuni Buddha, although Nichiren devotees also might have their mantra inscribed in a scroll: Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō.

The butsudan is a characteristic feature of Buddhist homes in Japan. In America, though the home may be western in every respect, this family shrine may remain as the one tie with the

15. Miyamoto, S. op. cit. p. 100.

homeland. Most Buddhists attempted to decorate the butsudan in some manner. Thus at the back or at the side of the shrine itself might hang a kakemono, the Japanese artistic scroll, on which some religious dignitary would be portrayed. Thus Shin adherents would often possess a scroll depicting Shinran Shōnin, the founder of the sect, others might show Hōnen, Kōbō Daishi, and the like. In the pre-war period, photographs of the Japanese emperor and empress might flank the butsudan. Indeed, Japanese Buddhists in America, like those in Japan, were not without Shintō practises and concepts. The kamidana, the so-called "god-shelf" of Shintoism might have been noted as a conspicuous feature in many Buddhist homes. Many Buddhists, in keeping the Shintō household shrine, retained on it the images of various of the deities of Shintō, such as Daikoku and Ebisu, the little Chinese gods of plenty. Others kept Shintō ofuda, the paper charms, and omamori, talismans of various kinds. The butsudan and the kamidana were often placed together in the home. A frequent feature in connection with them were crossed Japanese and American flags.

But it was to the butsudan, rather than to the kamidana, that the Buddhists in America looked for a re-enforcement of their spiritual needs. In the little cabinet in which the image of the Buddha reposed were also kept the ihai, the ancestral tablets. These were the nameplates of the deceased members of the family, made of paper, and hung in the cabinet itself before the image. The butsudan normally has two doors which open out. On one of the these, or both, the ihai might be placed. An

outstanding part of the Buddhist practise is the memorial observance for the departed members of the family, the so-called hōji. This takes place annually on the anniversary of the death of the family member. Both in Japan and the United States, hōji is observed as long as the individual family thinks fit, sometimes for several generations. Thus memorial services for ancestors in Japan might be observed in America. At the hōji the ihai belonging to the deceased family member is brought out and put to the front of the butsudan. Some families do this only, bowing before the ihai, offering cooked rice and incense, and changing the flowers before the family altar. Other, and perhaps more devout families summon the priest who holds a short memorial service. The priest begins by reciting a short sutra, after which incense is lighted by the family head and placed before the butsudan, usually in a small cup filled with sand. The other members of the family, in order of age, also light sticks of incense and lay them in the burner. The priest follows by giving a short sermon on the meaning of the day, discussing the relation of the deceased to the family, his marriage, and the like. If Amidist, there is usually mention made of the love of Amida Buddha for men. At the hōji family friends are usually invited. After the service they join the members of the family in offering to the deceased favorite foods, flowers, rice, and tea. Mochi, rice dumplings or cakes, are normally given at this time.

It is of interest to note that the hōji is not solely a Buddhist ceremony. In America, many of the Christian Issei

observe and practise it. While in most such cases the butsudan and ihai are discarded, a picture of the deceased is retained and offerings of food and flowers are made to it on the anniversary of the death of the person whom it represents. Most Issei Christian ministers sanction hōji and officiate at it for members of their parish.

The Buddhist or Christian minister is paid for this service depending on the amount the individual family desires to give or feels it can afford. Observance of hōji is one of the chief duties of the Buddhist ministers and it offers, both now and in the pre-war period, a way for them to become acquainted with the members of their congregations, even though many of these people do not regularly attend church services. The memorial services have been little modified by their importation to America. They are still observed and form one of the most significant Buddhist practises for most Issei. In a sense the hōji is a tie with the culture of the homeland. It is a factor in enforcing family solidarity and the consciousness of the unity of the Japanese in America.

Social emphasis in Japan is directed toward the family unit. The chief resistances toward acculturation in America were those which the Issei raised against any threat to family unity. A basic cause for the conflict which has ever been present between the first generation immigrants and their American born children is the desire of the latter to forge an independent path. The Issei complaint has been directed not so much against American institutions in general as it has against the

individualism which characterizes Euro-American culture. Many Issei have been assimilated to the point where they have purchased American homes, furnished them in the accepted American way. The automobile, the electrical appliance, the radio are items which are eagerly sought by Issei and Nisei alike. Ownership of such characteristically American possessions carried no stigma in the pre-war period, and, indeed, such things reflected a certain social standing in the Japanese community. But the Issei resisted any item which they felt might tend to disunite the family. Many found in Buddhism a means of maintaining the family tie. Church attendance in this respect was hardly necessary. What was important was that Buddhism or Shintō be maintained in the home as a religious form which would enforce the concepts of family solidarity. Most Issei Buddhists, and indeed, a large number of Issei Christians sent their children to the various Japanese language schools to have instilled in them a consciousness of the Japanese ethics of filial piety.

In Japan, Buddhism is preoccupied with death. Around it has arisen a series of mortuary customs and practices. Buddhism is primarily an ancestor cult, secondarily a dogmatic set of attitudes and ritual. The Buddhist priest in Japan acts at funerals, in the memorial services which are described above. His role as a preacher and theologian is a secondary one. To be sure, there are those devout who are concerned with salvation and the hope and promise which they discover in formalized religion. But these are a minority compared with the large number of Japanese to whom Shintō is a series of beliefs for success in life and Buddhism a ritual connected with death. Some

Japanese do direct Buddhism to take in all the aspects of life. Fairly common is the concept of the Buddhist Jizō, the patron of children, and Kwannon, the merciful female bodhisattva who can relieve the pangs of labor.¹⁶ Again, in Japan of today, marriages may be performed by the Buddhist priest, although this is a recent innovation and suggests an influence emanating from America. The primary function of the Buddhist cleric in America is still with respect to mortuary practises, but, because he assists in maintaining in America the basic Japanese family system, some new duties have been taken over by the priest. These new functions affect, besides death, all the crises of life.

In rural Japan there are usually naming ceremonies connected with the birth of a child. These social gatherings have been shown to have fallen into disuse among the Japanese in Hawaii, although some families were noted by Mabree to have observed them.¹⁷ On the mainland, the celebration of a birth of a child had, between 1930 and 1940, been reduced largely to a family gathering. In rural areas, Japanese midwives still practised their vocation, but in the cities, most women went to hospitals for their confinement. No special attention was given to the birth of a child, either boy or girl, the parents generally

16. Mabree, J. F. "Some Social Functions of Religion in Rural Japan", American Journal of Sociology, 47:184-89, Chicago, 1941.

17. Mabree, J. F. Suye Mura, a Japanese Village, Chicago, 1939, pp. 180-81.

Mabree, J. F. Acculturation among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii, Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, #59, Menasha, 1941, pp. 73-74.

selecting a Japanese and English name for it. The Japanese who were Buddhists, however, generally brought the child to the Buddhist church 100 days after birth for a special short service. The priest opened the service with a short sutra, incense and flowers were offered, and the priest generally made a few informal remarks on how karma determined that the parents should have their child, how the child should be raised in the knowledge of Buddhism, and the like. This service, the same for both boys and girls, is still observed by most Buddhists and has its counterpart in Japan. The Buddhist hatsumairi, the presentation of the new born child to the church in the way described, has its counterpart in the practices of the Shintō and Christian Japanese with regard to birth. Most Shintoists in America, those who had no connection with Buddhism, observed the hiaki, the ceremony observed for a child after its first month of life in which it was presented to the Shintō deities. Some Buddhists practiced both hiaki and hatsumairi. The Christian Japanese in America normally allowed baptism to supplant the native Japanese observances. In observing any of these customs, however, the Japanese in America called for a celebration to which family and friends were invited. In America, these religious rites had fairly successfully supplanted the native Japanese custom of the naming ceremony a week or so after the birth. To the celebration, friends brought gifts for the child. It may be noted parenthetically that, quite apart from religion, most married Nisei girls are given baby showers for their expected child by their friends.

It is in marriage, particularly, that the Buddhist priest has taken on a number of new functions. In Japan, marriage is purely a civil affair, it being required that the couple register their marriage with the recorder of the town in which they live. This is usually accompanied by a declaration of the marriage to the ihai of the ancestors if the family is Buddhist, or to the kamidana if Shintō. Japanese Shintoists have a rather lengthy marriage service involving a symbolic drink exchange (san-san-kyū-dō), special garments, exchange of gifts, the functions of the go-between, and the like. A number of these elements have been brought by the Japanese to the United States and are still of importance. The Buddhist wedding in America, and the Shintō as well, differs from the ceremony in Japan in that it involves the legal sanctions which are a part of American culture. The officiating priest is obliged to sign the marriage license, a point required by law, and to make the proper provision for the exchange of vows between the principals. In Buddhism, the form of the marriage service which came into use in the United States closely parallels the Christian.

Between 1930 and 1941, nearly all marriages took place between Nisei. Most such unions resulted from the free choice of the couple. In the Buddhist and Christian churches, and in the clubs and societies which were formed by Nisei, the social gatherings brought young people together, adolescent attachments often culminating in marriage. Among the Japanese minority as a whole, and particularly among the more conservative Buddhist

group, the young people tended to lay a strong taboo on sexual promiscuity and even petting.¹⁸ Any romantic attachment was regarded as a serious affair and often kept secret from the prying eyes of parents. This freedom of social relations between the sexes stood in marked contradiction to the ideas of the Issai, especially the Buddhists, among whom the feeling was strong that the parent should provide the proper mate for his offspring. In rural Japan, marriage involves the baishakunin, the marriage broker or go-between, whose function it is to make the proper arrangements for the marriage, to examine the background of each of the principals, and to handle the financial arrangements. Most Issai came to allow their children freedom of choice in selecting a mate, albeit reluctantly, and then arranged for a friend or distant relative to act as go-between in seeing to the marriage arrangements. In many cases there was friction between the parents and children, the parents fearing that the partner chosen by the child might come from a family in which tuberculosis, insanity, or some other equally feared disease had been present. There was also the fear that marriage might be contracted with some lower class person, such as an Eta, the pariah caste of Japan.

Many of the Buddhists arranged for a betrothal ceremony some months before the marriage took place. In such cases, the couple, accompanied by their families, presented themselves to the church and announced to the image of the Buddha there their intention to wed. This ceremony was optional and might

18. Sakoda, J. op. cit. p.7.

be conducted by the priest in the home of the boy. In such cases the betrothal was announced to the butsudan of the boy's family. Engagement in America normally implies a ring, most married Nisei using both the engagement and wedding ring.

Buddhist marriages normally take place in the church. After the betrothal, the go-between selected by the parents makes arrangements with the priest for the ceremony. Depending on the economic status of the family, marriages before the war, as now, might be simple or extremely elaborate. In the latter type, there may be a rehearsal the evening before the ceremony. Aside from the fact that the haishakumin plays a significant part in the marriage, the ceremony suggests western and Christian practice rather than Japanese. Some Issei insist that the Japanese kimono be worn at weddings but others are less dogmatic and permit western dress. In the elaborate ceremony, the bride may dress in accepted American fashion, veiled in white and carrying a bouquet. An organist may be hired to play the conventional western wedding music, the various marches familiar to Caucasian-American weddings being played. Another interesting feature of the wedding is that the bride may be given away by her father and may be accompanied by him as she marches down the central aisle of the church. Flower girls, maids of honor, groomsmen, may be associated as well with the Buddhist wedding ceremony among the Japanese in America.

It is in the marriage service itself that the Japanese elements are to be seen. Bowing to the principals and the congregation, the priest opens the service with a salutation

to the congregation, stating the purpose of the gathering. Facing the image he offers incense and announces the marriage to the altar. Facing the shrine, the couple, beginning with the groom, repeats the vows imposed by the priest. Japanese is the usual language although some couples prefer English. The vows repeated follow exactly the similar elements in the Christian service. They and the ceremony itself have been sanctioned by the central Buddhist headquarters of each sect in Japan. Following the exchange of vows, the ring is given. A non-western element is the appearance of the juzu, the Buddhist rosary, carried by each principal, red to the bride and white to the groom. Following the ring ceremony, the priest addresses the congregation as to the significance of the occasion, the meaning of marriage in Buddhism, and the like. The kiss after the ceremony, which appears in some western marriages, is absolutely taboo. Even the Christian Nisei avoid this in their marriages.

In Japan, and indeed, in Hawaii, a bride price, an engagement gift, the provision by the bride's family of her clothing and of certain articles of household furniture are mandatory. In the United States, this type of arrangement fell into discard among most Nisei by at least 1930. To a certain extent, rural Japanese held to this custom of monetary exchange between the two families but it no longer exists except in the few exceptional cases where the parents actually arrange the marriage and select the mates for their children. The ability to make a free choice of the marriage partner has effectively disposed

of many of the ceremonial features of the Japanese wedding and its arrangements. In the Buddhist marriages, the most significant survival of Japanese custom is in the presence of the baishakumin. These are usually an older married couple who are responsible for the success of the marriage they arrange and sponsor. Buddhism does not sanction divorce and in the event of domestic discord the couple is supposed by Japanese usage to consult their baishakumin for advice. In rare cases in America domestic problems are brought to the Buddhist priest; this never occurs in Japan.

Another feature which suggests Japan is the inevitable banquet after the wedding. Buddhists urge this and most Christian Japanese adhere to it as well. The married pair sit at the head of the banquet table flanked by their go-betweens. Speeches are made by Issai and sometimes the Hisei friends of the couple. The family of the groom is usually responsible for the banquet and pays for it, a matter which suggests the Japanese concept that the bride is now a member of her husband's family. Depending of the wishes of the couple or the tastes of the guests, the food served may either be Japanese or American. It is usually the former since the older people prefer the wedding foods of Japan. In many instances, there may be Japanese food for the main part of the banquet followed by an American type wedding cake. It follows that the older people are permitted some freedom, drinking freely and exchanging ribald witticisms. On such occasions, the Hisei are expected to behave in a decorous manner; drinking is regarded

by the Buddhist Nisei as taboo, although the same prohibition does not extend to the Issei.

The Buddhist marriage in America has few elements that suggest Japan. Because Buddhism in Japan does not concern itself with marriage, the ceremonial which has arisen as a result of the Euro-American interpretation of marriage as a secular rite is not Japanese. Only a few elements which are reminiscent of Japanese Buddhism appear in the ceremony. Under the influence of the American Buddhists and the necessity for creating a marriage service in Buddhism, the sects in Japan have begun in a small way to make use of the American custom.

But if the Buddhist birth and marriage practices offer a mere pale reflection of native Japanese customs, the mortuary rites and the concepts associated with death are derived almost wholly from Japan. While the Japanese Christians in America still observe many of the funeral customs with which they were familiar in Japan, the Buddhist groups, both now and in the pre-war era, make of the death ceremonies an elaborate ritual. It is among them that the funeral takes on its most impressive form and it is in respect to death that the Buddhist priest is most active.

When a person dies, the priest is notified at once by the head of the family and comes at once to the home or the hospital where death occurred. The first service is the nakurakyō, the chanting of a sutra before the deceased and before the butsudan of his family. After this, the body is consigned to an undertaker. Close friends and relatives are notified to come at once

and the head of the family designates some one to act as the manager for the funeral. Here again is the Japanese concept of the delegation of authority, the appointing of some person to act as manager for an important crisis. The individual so designated arranges with the bereaved family for a date for the wake (otsuya) and for the funeral itself. He is known as the nushi-dōri.

In deciding the date, many Issei attempt to find an auspicious day. The Shinshū priests prefer to avoid any consultation of favorable omens but, if possible, some Issei will attempt to contact a Tendai, Shingon, or Nichiren cleric in order to have made a reading of the Chinese calendar. Lacking a priest from one of these sects, any member of one of the congregations may be consulted. The purpose of this is to avoid the so-called tombiki days which are regarded as unlucky for funerals. It is said that if the funeral is held on one of these days, the closest friend (tomo) of the deceased will die in the same manner. If the funeral must be held on this day, a figure made of dough or straw is placed in the coffin. This puppet functions to absorb the ill-luck and the danger resulting from the use of the inauspicious day.

There were a number of Japanese morticians in the large urban communities of the pre-war period. Most of them were in contact with Japan and imported coffins and the special white kimonos which were necessary to the funeral. Most Issei preferred to have the funeral handled by a Japanese undertaker. In rural Japan, the disposal of the body is left to the cooperative

group. Indeed, in the Japanese communities of rural Hawaii mutual aid is extended to bereaved families by members of the community.¹⁹ On the Pacific Coast of the pre-war period, this was sometimes done but usually the necessity for having a physician sign the death certificate as well as the presence of a mortician took the responsibility out of the hands of the cooperative group. In nearly every case, the mortician was employed. He functioned to provide a coffin, to wash and dress the body and to bring it to the home of the deceased for the wake and funeral services.

The body might be dressed in its best western clothes or, if the family wished to observe Japanese customs, in a white kimono, especially sewn, and folded in the way opposite from that in which it would be worn in life. The clasped hands of the corpse held a Buddhist rosary. Many Issei, then as now, placed the favorite possessions of the deceased in the coffin. Jewelry, money, any precious article, might be put in with the body into the coffin.

Normally there is one day between the death and the otsuya, or wake service. This depends entirely on the family arrangements of the time. There may be some delay if family members must come from afar to attend the funeral or if unlucky days are noted. During the time between the wake service and the funeral the butsudan, which is placed near the head of the corpse, is decked in black and white as a sign of mourning. At any time before the funeral friends may visit to extend sympathy. While

19. Embree, J. F. Acculturation... op. cit. chapter V.

the cooperative neighborhood organization was not known to the pre-war California Japanese, gifts of money and flowers might be brought to the bereaved family, the former to help in defraying funeral expenses, the latter as an offering to the departed. The giving of flowers is known in Japan but in America large bouquets or funeral wreaths may be offered, a feature suggestive of American rather than Japanese custom. In Japan the money given at such occasions is especially wrapped in hoshongami, white paper designed for use in either sad or happy events. There are special ways of folding the paper depending on the occasion. Some in America, eager to retain certain Japanese traditions, make use of the hoshongami; others give the money in a white envelope.

When a death occurs in a poor family, friends may offer to make loans in addition to the small gifts of money (usually one or two dollars) tendered before the funeral. Lacking these, a family might have to borrow to help defray funeral expenses. In marriage, too, the Issei in America often went into debt. This sometimes took a lifetime to repay. Today, most Nisei oppose the Issei habit of becoming indebted over marriages or funerals. In the pre-war period, the kenjinkai to which a man belonged might have an insurance fund in case of the death of one of the members although the different kenjinkai made different arrangements.

The visitor to the bereaved home supposedly is offered food of some kind. The friends and mourners may assist in the preparation of this, or the local Buddhist fujinkai might offer its

services. Relatives and friends share in the expenses for the funeral feast. The food served is shōjin ryōri, in other words, a meatless recipe. No flesh, lard, or fish may be used in preparation of this food. Usual is mochi, a kind of rice cake, various vegetables, and tofu, bean curd.

The otsuya is held at night before the day of the funeral. In Japan it is for the family who are provided an opportunity to spend the last night with the deceased. The friends and neighborhood group are invited to attend the funeral on the following day. The same concept appears in respect to travellers, who customarily spend the night before departure with their families. But in America the otsuya is for those who cannot, because of work or some other obligation, attend the funeral service. Thus as this custom moves from Japan to America, the emphasis has become modified. One reason for this is undoubtedly the fact that the extended family group does not exist among the settlers in America and attempts are made to find an adequate substitute. Thus members of the kenjinkai of the deceased, or his tokoro no mono, people from the same neighborhood or village in Japan, may attend the otsuya. A number of priests have complained that the function and meaning of the otsuya is lost in America and that it should be dropped. The Shinshū bishop of Honolulu, for example, about 1930 asked that only funerals, not otsuya, be held. As a result the custom has fallen into disuse in Hawaii at least among Shin adherents. On the mainland, however, it is a custom still followed by Issei. Whether or no the Nisei approve of the practise, they are still drawn by their parents into participation in it.

In America, the otsuya and funeral program is about the same. At the former, the priest wears a plain black robe with the usual stoll, although at the funeral the priests wear their more elaborate black, white, or even gold robes. In America, the priest selects some familiar sutras so that all present can join in the chanting. In Japan only the priest may intone the sutra but in America the assembled group joins him when it knows them. This is followed by an offering of incense to the butsudan and by a message from the priest. At the otsuya family and friends may sit all night with the deceased.

The funeral may be held in the home or in the church building itself. In Japan and Hawaii the concept of making speeches at the funeral is less well developed than among the Japanese of the American mainland. Several speakers may be called in. These follow the initial funeral service which is conducted by the priest. Like the otsuya, it is opened with sutras, followed by the incense offering and the presentation of flowers to the home or church butsudan. After the service and the address of consolation by the officiating priest, the speeches are heard. Most of the organizations to which the deceased belonged send a representative to signify regrets, offer sympathy, or simply to eulogize the deceased. The average length of the funeral service in the United States is about two hours. A number of the priests who think in terms of the precepts of Shinran or of other Buddhist saints, regard this display as irreverent and overly sentimental. Most Nisei, too, oppose the funeral service of this type which the Issei tend to demand.

While burial and cremation are both customary, the latter is the favored method of disposing of the body among Buddhists. Here again, the actions which are regarded as best in Japan, i.e. cremation over a charcoal flame, are prohibited by law in the United States. In modern Japan, however, most towns have their crematoria. California law prohibits the ashes of the deceased from being kept by the relatives. Consequently, the ashes are usually buried in Japanese cemeteries many of which are maintained by the Japanese community. The priest and family normally accompany the body to the crematorium, often in automobiles hired for the purpose.

Some families in America make use of the hollow container in the cemetery in which the ashes of the entire family may be put. In Japan, most Buddhist temples contain a vault in which part of the ashes of the deceased are placed, the rest occupying for a time in the family butsudan. In modern Japan as well as in America, an attempt is made to have a photographer come in to take a picture of the body. This is placed on the family altar and remains there at least until the mourning period is over. One Christian Isei of the writer's acquaintance kept a picture of her dead son on top of the bookcase on which the family Bible rested. From time to time she placed cooked rice before it.

Despite the preoccupation with death which characterizes Japanese Buddhism, its partisans in America have been forced to abandon some of the practices which are important in Japan. Here there is usually a seven week mourning period with a weekly

service celebrated on the day of the death. The relatives of the deceased share in the expenses of this since food must be prepared, friends invited, and the priest given adequate payment for his services. Lacking the large family, and since the expenses for the funeral often run so high, this weekly devotion is scarcely feasible in America. Many families have abandoned this service altogether, observing among themselves a 49 day period of mourning. Others do observe the 49th day and summon the priest to have a short service. What is perhaps more significant in America is the celebration of the yearly hōji, the memorial rites which occur on the anniversary of the death of a family member.

Payment to the priest for his services in conducting both funerals and the various memorial rites is variable and depends on the financial status of the families involved. Five to ten dollars is given for any single service, although there is the feeling that social prestige requires as large an amount as can possibly be given. Many priests have merited the censure of their colleagues for setting fees or for demanding an exorbitant amount.

The concept of the memorial service and the celebration of the anniversary of the death of a family member is intimately linked with the Buddhist ceremonial calendar. Buddhist festivals occur from time to time throughout the year which are still celebrated by the Japanese-Americans. They form an important part of the Buddhist church regimen and were observed in the pre-evacuation era, in the relocation center, and are still important

to the Japanese Buddhist congregations everywhere. A listing of these festivals is appended.

In the pre-war period, Japanese Buddhism in America was a religion of, by, and for the Issei. It was a faith which attempted to recreate in the new environment the values and emphases which were characteristic of life in Japan. It was a social outlet, a means of furthering personal prestige, and above all, it constituted a sentimental tie with the homeland. As a religion it was less significant than as a social factor which effected solidarity among a segment of a minority. Among the Issei, neither Christianity nor Buddhism were sufficiently strong to divide the group against itself. The Nisei, as the second generation Americanized group, was much more aware of religious partisanship and rivalry. Most Issei Buddhists were acquainted with Christianity through friends or relatives and did not condemn it. Indeed, there was for them little difference between the ethical systems of the two. Hence, many of the Nisei whose parents were Buddhists turned to Christianity, not from any deep seated religious conviction but because friends were Christian or because the Christian churches in some of the Japanese communities had better socials. The Issei Buddhists objected much less to the transition of their Nisei children to Christianity on ethical grounds than they did because the Christian Nisei were regarded as too progressive. Smoking, experiments in drinking and petting, gained for the Christian Nisei an unfavorable reputation among the older generation.

The general series of remarks made by this chapter provides a background for the situation in which Buddhism found itself at the outbreak of the war. The general statements as to the Issei-Nisei relationship apply only insofar as they include a majority of cases. Space forbids a detailed discussion of cases. Nor has too much attention been given the function of the various sects of Japanese Buddhism in America in the pre-war period. Essentially, the import of each sect was the same. It is in the relocation center that arrangements become necessary whereby doctrinal and dogmatic differences may be settled. Some of the Japanese Buddhist sects, particularly Shingon and Tendai, are permeated with certain magical practises. These offered little by way of appeal to the California urban Japanese in the pre-war period but some customs of this sort were fairly well known in the rural areas of the Pacific Coast. It is of interest to note how an ideological conflict arose in the relocation center to be discussed here as a result of these differences in belief. Under the changed environmental circumstances, the sects of Buddhism assume a new importance.

III. BUDDHISM IN THE RELOCATION CENTER

The Buddhist activities of the pre-war period have been described from the point of view of the immigrant generation. Buddhism in America changed principally in its formal organization, in its public role. To the Issei it fulfilled the more significant psychological function of a religion of the home. Indeed, it is in this respect, as a series of household practices embodying for the most part attitudes toward death, that Buddhism still is the predominant faith of the alien group. The formal church was and remains less important. As we have seen, however, the church became the means of centralizing the activities connected with the Buddhism of Japan. It was a social center which enforced the identification of the individual with the homeland and with the mother culture. In America before 1941, Buddhism was a Japanese religion. Under the impact of war and the somewhat unprecedented mass evacuation of Japanese-Americans, it may be noted that the acculturation process was vastly accelerated. Since the war years Japanese Buddhism in America has struggled to become a faith better adapted to the ways of a new cultural environment. The remaining sections of this study hope to demonstrate how and why this new situation has arisen.

The justice or injustice of the removal of Japanese-Americans from their Pacific Coast homes to relocation camps

administered by federal agencies is of no consequence to the present discussion. Evacuation became a fact shortly after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941. By February 14, 1942, at the request of the military supervising the administration of the Western Defense Command, legislation was enacted to effect the removal from various western states and zones of some 112,985 persons of Japanese ancestry, citizen¹ and alien alike. Provision was made for the reception of the evacuees first in the temporary assembly centers entrusted to the Wartime Civil Control Administration (WCCA), and later in the ten relocation camps or centers supervised by the War Relocation Authority (WRA). It is scarcely feasible to offer here a detailed discussion of the process of evacuation or its background. Suffice it to remark that apparent military needs coupled with pressures brought into being by strong anti-Japanese factions in California, Oregon, and Washington were successful in furthering the evacuation program.

Throughout the Pacific Coast states, fifteen points were established for the reception and processing of the Japanese evacuees.² Beginning in March, 1942, evacuated persons were housed in these assembly centers and detained there until provision could be made to expedite their delivery to the relocation camps which were designed for greater permanence. The centers administered by the civilian War Relocation Authority agency were ten in number and were located at various points

1. U. S. Government, War Department, Western Defense Command, Final Report, Japanese Evacuation from the West Coast, Washington, 1943, p. 84.
2. ibid. pp. 151-185.

in western states. Two were established in California, two in Arizona, two in Arkansas, and one each in Utah, Colorado, Idaho, and Wyoming. The average capacity of each was variable, the smallest having been designed for an evacuee population of about 8,000, the largest for 20,000. The average population of each center at the height of occupation was about 12,000. Under the living conditions provided in both the assembly and relocation centers, the evacuees became in effect wards of the federal government, supplied with shelter, food, and under certain circumstances with clothing, in addition to being provided with some recreational facilities and if desired, with employment.

The social situation created by evacuation was a highly abnormal one. Despite the general solidarity which characterized the Japanese communities in the United States in the pre-war period, there were subdivisions on the basis of interest. The conflict between the generations is perhaps the most outstanding example of a cross-current within the group. To it may be added the growing rivalry between Buddhist and Christian or the growth of various economic classes. Evacuation, moreover, gave rise to a question of loyalties in terms of nationalism, a dormant aspect in the pre-war period, but a vital one during the war. Certain organizations founded by the Japanese in the years preceding Pearl Harbor were instrumental in effecting group cohesion. Thus the Japanese Associations (Nihonjinkai) were of import to the Issei throughout the Pacific Coast and created a bond of common interest for the

immigrant generation. The associations, together with the Buddhist and Shintō churches, Japanese newspapers, and what may be defined as simply common cultural interests, forged a chain of more or less united Japanese communities along the Pacific Coast. The Nisei had begun to expand in the direction of their own interests but until the war no Nisei organization possessed very great strength. The Japanese-American Citizens' League lacked the leadership to wield any appreciable political influence. On the whole, however, the Japanese in pre-war America had formed small units in the cities, towns, and hamlets in which they lived. Despite the fact that group solidarity did exist, when the various segments of the Japanese population representing different interests were thrown forcibly together, tensions arose in each government relocation center. These could not be easily resolved.

Conflict within the centers was further enforced by the crowded living conditions, the close confinement, the military guard, and the unfamiliar supervision by the often incompetent appointed Caucasian personnel charged with camp management. The evacuees were confronted with the prospect of taking up residence in hastily and inadequately prepared accommodations. They were housed in barracks of the army type which were subdivided into apartments. In the initial stages of settlement, overcrowding was well-nigh inevitable. The relocation centers were often situated in inhospitable areas, some of which were selected in order to develop latent agricultural possibilities. These features, coupled with the necessity for adequate adjustment,

served to produce a somewhat depressing and often tragic situation. Viewed objectively, the evacuation offers a fascinating picture of marked sociological interest. It is tempting to dwell on the matter of personal and group adjustment to center conditions. As we now consider Buddhism and its changing character under evacuation personal and group conflict situations may become more readily apparent. In the relocation centers Buddhism had a relationship with the whole community and it is in this function sense that the present section proposes to review it.

Each relocation center formed a distinct community and drew its inhabitants from different sections of California and the Pacific Coast at large. In each center the rise of social groups followed a slightly different pattern, varying somewhat depending on the nature of the Caucasian administration and the accidents of evacuation which brought certain leading factions and personalities together. Leadership, or the lack of it, the desire to cooperate with the appointed Caucasian personnel, or the stimulus to rebel were all factors in shaping the direction taken by each center in its respective development. But while the case of the Japanese evacuation furnishes a concrete example of a minority group made subject to domination by legal enactment, the writer does not feel free to describe the phases undergone by each assembly and relocation center. In respect to Buddhism, certain general trends may be elicited which appeared in every camp. While these may be presented, the writer proposes to draw from his own investigations in a single center the facts relative to the changing

role of Buddhism. As a sample case, Buddhism in the Gila River Relocation Center, situated at Rivers, Arizona, will be treated in some detail. A consideration of this center, the third largest, will provide a basis for comparison. The development of Buddhism here is in general reflection of the role of the faith in the other evacuee communities.

In the hectic days following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, federal agents representing various law enforcement bureaus and the immigration service took into custody many of those Japanese aliens who were suspected of pro-Japanese activities. These were for the most part men who had been active in the various Japanese-American communities as heads of the Nihonjinkai, the various kenjinkai, the Japanese Chambers of Commerce, and members of a number of military-nationalist organizations. ³ Not the least to be apprehended were Shintō priests, a considerable number of Buddhist priests, and some of the teachers in the language schools. Feeling was directed against Shintō and Buddhism as strong pro-Japanese religions. This was particularly so since the shrines and temples supported language schools. A number of the Christian bodies, Japanese and Caucasian alike, took a firm stand against the "pagan" Japanese religions. One of the first problems to be encountered by the Buddhist groups following the outbreak of the war was the sudden decrease in the number of clerical personnel. Not all the Buddhist priests and Issei church leaders were taken into custody. Some were permitted to remain

3. War Relocation Authority. Community Analysis Section, Japanese Groups and Associations in the United States, Community Analysis Report No. 3, Washington, 1943.

to be evacuated with their families while others were cleared of any nationalist leanings by federal investigation and permitted to return to their homes. A fairly large number of the Buddhist priests, however, were interned in camps administered by the immigration authorities and were obliged to remain confined for much of the war.

Shintō was conceived to be a militant pro-Japanese politico-religious activity. All of the individuals who were not citizens and who were actively associated with formal Shintō observances, priests, custodians of shrines, teachers, were hastily interned. Opposition to state Shintō and its alleged deification of the Japanese emperor was particularly strong. It is of interest to note, however, that the leaders in various of the sects of Shintō which did not bear that title, such as Seichō no Iye or Tenrikyō, were undisturbed. If some were apprehended, it was for another activity than association with a religious and nationalistic sect. All formal practices which suggested state Shintō were banned after the beginning of the war by government authorities and in no case were Shintō convocations permitted in either the assembly or relocation centers. Informal Shintō activities, however, did continue. Magical practices, the Inari or fox cult,⁴ the Japanese type of wrestling known as sumo were elements suggestive of Shintō permanence.

The Japanese Buddhists underwent a trying period in the early months of the war before evacuation. Many, fearing that

4. Opler, Morris K. and R. S. Hashima, "The Rice Goddess and the Fox in Japanese Religion and Folk Practice", American Anthropologist 48:43-53, 1946.

identification with Buddhism was sufficient cause for arrest, disavowed their Buddhist connections and destroyed their household butsudan and the paraphernalia associated with them. Pictures of the Japanese royal family, Japanese flags, and Shintō kamidana, and, indeed, Japanese scrolls and books were consigned to the flames by families fearing a sudden raid by members of the Federal Bureau of Investigation or of the various intelligence branches of the armed forces. In some assembly centers, Japanese books, newspapers, and letters written in that language were often confiscated by over-sealous members of the Caucasian administrative staff. The fear of being associated with Buddhism and its alleged implication of loyalty to Japan drove a large number of Issei and Nisei alike from the faith. Some resumed their Buddhist connections in the various relocation centers but throughout the evacuation period church activities were much curtailed. A number of those who severed their connections with the Buddhist congregations became associated with one or another of the Christian bodies, thereby avoiding the suspicion of disloyalty to the United States. The more earnest and devout Buddhists tended to look askance at such "Christians of convenience" as the backsliders were called.

It is certainly a fact that the West Coast military authorities were opposed to the Buddhist groups. The Christian groups, under the leadership of various Japanese ministers, were encouraged to organize in the WCCA assembly centers. Efforts were made to prevent the use of the Japanese language in church services, permission of the assembly center manager being necessary

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to conduct services in Japanese. The writer was told by a WCCA staff member that any amount of nationalistic pro-Japanese propaganda might be disseminated in meetings of the Buddhist groups if they were permitted to be conducted in Japanese. Buddhist gatherings in the assembly centers were limited to one day a week. This order, together with the absence of most of the clerical personnel, effectively halted sectarian activities in the assembly centers and promoted the establishment of joint Buddhist meetings. Most of the priests being Shinshū, there was little difficulty encountered in this arrangement except in the Santa Anita assembly center. Here the majority of the inhabitants were drawn from the Los Angeles area and six sects were represented. The Zen priests in Santa Anita took charge of most of the activities connected with the formal Buddhist services. At the Tanforan center near San Francisco the Shinshū leaders were most active. Here too, there were a number of priests, not all of whom had been interned and some of whom were permitted to rejoin their families after a brief interment and clearance by justice department authorities. In all the assembly centers, however, the Issei ministers were considerably handicapped by their inability to make free use of Japanese. At Tanforan, this difficulty was overcome in that Rev. Kumata, a Nisei, regularly preached in English and carried on his activities principally among the Young Buddhist members. In most assembly centers, activities of the church were turned over to the Nissei who combined a social and educational program with their religious

U. S. Government, War Department, Western Defense Command,
op. cit. p. 212.

activities. Buddhist meetings often took the form of lectures on topics of current interest, dealing in particular with the evacuation program. Dances and socials were sponsored by the YBA groups in the various assembly centers.

The marked change that came about as a result of evacuation had two very important effects. The Japanese language was suddenly made subordinate to English with the result that the Nisei English-speaking group found itself in a position which it had never occupied before. Administrative order drove the Issei leadership into the background and paved the way for the Nisei to take control of church affairs. Smooth sailing was of course out of the question; Issei elders and priests alike resented the sudden rise of YBA leadership. Moreover, the somewhat vacillating character of the Nisei left them ill-prepared to assume the burden of leadership in the formal affairs of the organized church. In some centers Buddhism never organized, while in others, as, for example, at Santa Anita, permission was granted for Issei organization and the conducting of services in Japanese. The important point with respect to assembly center Buddhism was that the Nisei began to have a greater voice in church matters, a fact which marks the beginning of a stronger trend toward the Americanization of Buddhism.

The inhabitants of the Gila River Relocation Center were drawn from two assembly centers in the San Joaquin Valley of California, one located at Turlock, the other farther south at Tulare. The Issei Shinshū priests at the Turlock camp were unsuccessful in maintaining a formal Buddhist organization.

Occasional meetings were held for the Issei while the Nisei groups were free to organize or not as they chose. The Turlock YBA did not become particularly active until its transfer to the more permanent settlement in Arizona. The priests, for the most part, visited among the Issei, conducting funeral and memorial services, and retaining as much as they could of the traditional Buddhist practices. At Tulare, there was only one priest, a Nisei, the Rev. Kanuo Inamura, representing the Nichi Hongwanji. Because of the careful and suspicious scrutiny by the WCCA administration, it was felt best to have an occasional Issei meeting and to center the church activities in the organized YBA. The Sunday Schools and devotional services were conducted through the young peoples' organization. Attempts were made to combine services with some of the Christian ministers and joint Buddhist-Christian gatherings for Nisei were held in the stands surrounding the race-track on which the Tulare center was built. These were rather unsuccessful despite the efforts to avoid reference to doctrine. The topics for discussion, such as juvenile delinquency in the center, camp social life, and the like, were forgotten in the desire of various Nisei to present the Buddhist or Christian views. The joint service plan was abandoned in favor of religious independence.

The assembly center phase of the evacuation program was of short duration. Administrative order had suppressed the immigrant generation, had broken up the pre-war Japanese societies and organizations which were sponsored by Issei, and had served to bring the citizen group to the fore. The inexperience of the Nisei, coupled with Issei resentment against them, caused the social

development of each relocation community to take a number of different forms. Issei, Nisei, and Kibei leadership in the relocation centers occasioned variable conflict situations in each community. It has not been feasible for lack of adequate data to consider in detail the Buddhist development in each assembly center. We may turn now to the Gila River Relocation Center to determine one of the possibilities in the development of Buddhism under the changed conditions and the consequent furthering of the process of acculturation.

The Gila center offers a rural-urban combination from which a fair sample of the evacuation situation may be taken and which at the same time reflects the economic dichotomy of the pre-war period. The camp was originally designed to house 15,000 evacuees and was divided into sections. These were about three miles apart in the desert areas of the Pima Indian Reservation near Sacaton, Arizona. The smaller section, the so-called Canal Camp, accommodated the residents of the Turlock assembly center, Japanese farmers for the most part from the northern San Joaquin valley area of California. Of these there were about 5,000. The larger section, Butte Camp, housed the group from the Tulare center, for the most part evacuees from the suburban Los Angeles area, as well as groups from the Santa Anita zones in Los Angeles County. The entire population of the center at the height of its settlement was 13,313, slightly more than one tenth of the Japanese population of the United States. The two sections formed essentially autonomous units although administered by the same Caucasian personnel. In considering the role of

Buddhism in the Gila center, we are confronted with two separate units in which slightly different developments occurred. For this reason, some comparative treatment of the role of Buddhism in each may not be amiss.

Religion in the relocation center was slow to develop. In the Gila area, the evacuees were ushered into a hastily erected, hardly completed nest of army barracks in the scorching heat of the Arizona desert midsummer. The process of settlement and organization, of adjustment to the new community, was at first sufficient hindrance to the growth of social, religious, and recreational activities. Within a month after the opening of the Gila project, however, the Christian bodies had organized. Nisei Christian ministers, of whom there were two, as well as the six Issei clergymen in the center, aided by Caucasian missionaries from the adjacent Arizona towns, petitioned the project director and the project activities section for church space. The center was divided into a number of separate blocks of barracks. Each block was capable of accommodating about 220 people and contained a mess hall and a recreation hall. Some of the latter buildings were designated by project officials for church use. Several of the Christian bodies, availing themselves of the opportunity to establish church buildings, provided pews, altars, and other church furnishings from scrap lumber or from wood purchased in nearby towns. But the Buddhists were much slower to bring their demands to the administration. Still smarting from the treatment they had received at the hands of the assembly center

authorities, they were inclined to be suspicious of the new administration. While the Methodist, Congregational, and Episcopalian groups had adequate Nisei leadership capable of attracting the attention of the War Relocation Authority officials, the Buddhists were handicapped by lack of clerical personnel and by leaders who were hesitant to take responsibilities. Although the Buddhists were in the majority at the Gila center, they continued to hesitate to organize despite the assurance given by the War Relocation Authority that freedom of religious worship, with the exception of any organized Shintō practises, and the free use of the Japanese language would be permitted.

In January, 1943, the center director issued a statement of the vital statistics on the inhabitants of the Gila project. From the registration form which was submitted for or by each evacuee some data as to religious affiliation were compiled. The following statistics were made available:

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Canal</u>	<u>Butte</u>	<u>Total</u>
Buddhist	3,905 (77%)	4,651 (55%)	8,556 (64%)
Christian	822 (17%)	2,230 (28%)	3,052 (23%)
Sectarian breakdown:			
Presbyterian)	791	2,064	2,855
Methodist)			
Congregational)			
Baptist)			
Episcopal	-	93	93
Roman Catholic	30	52	82
7th Day Adventist	-	14	14
Friend	-	3	3
Christian Science	1	2	3
Mormon	-	2	2

Other			
Shintō sects			
Shintō	-	24	24
Tenrikyō	-	15	15
Seichō no Iye	-	9	9
Konkoryō	-	4	4
Rensho	-	1	1
No entry	319 (6%)	1,353 (17%)	1,672 (12%)
Total population:	5,046	8,267	13,313

The compilation of religious census figures in the columns above is not as accurate as might be desired. Buddhism has not been subjected to a sectarian breakdown inasmuch as the denominational affiliation of each registrant was not required. A few of the Nichiren partisans indicated their sectarian preference but the resulting tabulation is so unreliable as to preclude listing here. Many Issei were uncertain as to what sect they belonged. It has already been noted that not all of the Japanese of the pre-war era who professed Buddhism were church members. Some allowed their children to become Christians and remained apart from the organized church. Others changed their sect upon coming to America since, in such matters as the funeral services, they might not have been able to secure the attendance of a priest of the sect in which they had been raised in Japan. It is safe to assume that the majority of the Gila center Buddhists were connected in one way or another with the Shin sect.

The Christians, it will be noted, were in a minority. Most belonged to the Presbyterian, Methodist, or Congregational denominations who, with the small number of Baptists, formed a Christian Union church in the center and were assigned

several meeting places in both sections or camps. A Nisei Episcopalian minister, the Rev. John Yamasaki, administered to the needs of the members of that sect and cooperated with the Christian ministers of the Union church as well. The Catholics were assigned a small chapel, a Caucasian Jesuit priest being permitted entry from time to time to administer confession and Mass. Caucasian clergymen and missionaries were permitted to enter the center from its inception and carried on services on various occasions.

The twenty-four individuals in Butte camp who were so bold as to claim Shintoism as their faith raised against themselves the strong suspicions of the center administration. This group for the most part was made up of Kibei. Some of the Kibei leaders who were most active in denouncing the injustice of evacuation were also those who took a violent pro-Japanese stand and took every opportunity to foment Japanese nationalism in the center. A number of such individuals openly flaunted their Shintoistic beliefs..The relationship of these elements to the Buddhist organization is reserved for discussion below.

As the above statistics show, the Buddhists were the largest single religious group in the Gila center. The fact that somewhat over three-fourths of the inhabitants of the Canal section of the project listed Buddhism as their preferred religion suggests their rural background. In California of the pre-war period, Buddhism tended to embrace a larger following than it did in the cities despite the fact that

it was in the urban areas where the centers of religious worship were located. The urban Japanese had come into more extensive contact with Caucasians and were presented with a more favorable opportunity to learn English. In consequence, most of the Christians in the Japanese minority were city dwellers. This fact is reflected in the religious statistics for Butte camp which was inhabited principally by urban and suburban people. It would be purposeful to equate religious affiliation with the two generations in the center but unfortunately the data necessary for this are as yet not compiled.

If the religious situation in the relocation center is to be viewed in its functional light, the churches must be regarded as only one of a rather large number of separate and yet interlinked social segments. For the Issei and Kibei the organizations to which they belonged were often a means of gaining a certain prestige and of securing a degree of political control in center affairs. The managers of each block, occupying a position for which a fair salary was given by the administration, formed, for example, a strong Issei pressure group and in fact, one of the most esteemed positions an Issei could hold was that of block manager. The churches also provided a springboard by which some political eminence could be attained. Under the leadership of certain individuals both the Buddhist and Christian groups attempted to exert some quite extra-ecclesiastical influence in community affairs. The Buddhists, anxious to revive their religious faith under the changed circumstances, were led by a number

of influential personalities. How these individuals directed their efforts toward a renaissance Japanese Buddhism and how they were counteracted by more progressive spirits in the church as well as by administrative antagonism are of considerable import to the analysis of a changing culture pattern. There is little doubt that Buddhism of the pre-war period had also departed from the ways of the homeland in offering to its members a means of satisfying the prestige motive. In the center, however, the Japanese-Americans were brought together in larger numbers than they had been previously. In addition to this, time hung heavily on the hands of most Issei, presenting an opportunity for them to take a more active part in community affairs than they had formerly been able to do. For many, devotion to the teachings of Buddhism was quite apart from the chance afforded by center life to make use of the church to elicit personal acclaim.

The individuals who wielded the greatest influence in respect to church affairs were of course the priests. It was in the Canal section where Buddhism was at first most actively begun. In the initial stages of settlement, four priests were active. These were later joined by a fifth who was released from internment. All were Issei, conducting their services in Japanese, and all were members of the Shin sect. One was associated with the Higashi Hongwanji of the Shin sect, while the others were members of the Nishi Hongwanji. One of the number, a Rev. Hata, currently active in Richmond, California, had broken away from the central

headquarters in San Francisco and had formed an independent congregation in the Turlock assembly center. While he had tended to dominate his pre-evacuation congregation, the presence of other priests made it expedient for him to realign himself with the Shinshū group. Schisms of this sort were rarely, if ever, caused by doctrinal dispute. Once a congregation was self-supporting and could pay a higher salary to its priest, there was normally no need for continued affiliation with the headquarters of the synodical body. In the Gila center, under the influence of the Shin priests, the Canal residents launched the Buddhist church as a fully organized segment of the community, modelled as closely as possible after the Buddhist churches of the pre-evacuation period and replete with the various Issei and Nisei auxiliary organizations.

According to the plan of the War Relocation Authority, each center was to elect its own governing body. At first, the Issei were barred from serving on the community council which consisted of a number of offices open only to citizen evacuees. This point, together with other measures which favored the American born group over the immigrant generation, drove a number of Issei into the various organizations which attempted to some degree to exert political pressures on the community. In the Canal section, the Buddhist church became a strong Issei organization. As soon as a recreation hall was assigned as a church building, officers were elected to

carry on church affairs. A president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, auditors, a representative from each block in the community were elected. The fujinkai, or ladies' auxiliary, also organized and elected its own officials and provision was made for a Young Buddhist League, the Bukyō Seiningkai. The latter organization had its president, a religious chairman and a social chairman. One of the ministers acted as advisor to the YBA group. The Canal Buddhist church, like the Japanese religious bodies of the pre-evacuation period, was an Issei organization. The priests were Issei and Japanese was retained as the church language.

Carpenters donated their services to the building of an elaborate butsudan, the pews, and other church appurtenances. The church could seat about 250 persons but this was often scarcely sufficient space. Open air gatherings were sometimes held and use was made of the high school auditorium for a number of festival services. The Canal church purchased several public address systems which were used for broadcasting sermons and other church events. It is of interest to note that a separate door was made into the side of the church building as a means of removing the dead from the church after funerals.

The War Relocation Authority, in addition to providing food and lodgings, was authorized to pay fairly small amounts of money as salaries to its evacuee workers. The maximum wage was \$19.99 per month, the average about \$16.00. Priests and clergymen, regardless of sect, were not regarded as project

employees and could not be paid from WRA funds. There was some feeling against this with the result that the various churches attempted to give their clergy a salary while in the center. In the Canal Buddhist church, the pre-evacuation pattern of the membership fee was retained and an alms-box was also placed in the church building. After the first year, this church had large amounts of money. The priests were paid from the church funds the sum of \$19.00 per month. Since each paid worker in the various centers received a small allowance for clothing in addition to his monthly stipend, the Canal church matched this amount for the clergy. When the Gila center closed, some three years after its inception, the Canal Buddhist church had several thousand dollars in its treasury. This was divided between the five priests. The priests in both the Canal and Butte sections received small amounts for officiating at such occasions as weddings, funerals, and memorial services.

The Canal Buddhist church, for the Issei and Nisei alike, was a social as well as a religious center. The Issei men carried on the administration of the church, the women had the ladies' club, and the Nisei YBA sponsored socials and dances from time to time. The devotional services followed fairly closely the pattern of the pre-evacuation period. Sunday was retained as the day of worship. A Sunday School, conducted by YBA members, and divided into grades paralleling those of the schools, began the day. The YBA service followed, with the conventional hymns, the offering of incense to the

butsudan, and a sermon by one of the priests in Japanese. The church on Sunday was usually filled with young people, some of whom were obliged to remain standing. At various special services, two church meetings were held. The late afternoon and evening was the time for the Issei service. This was like that of the pre-war period, the usual order of service involving the sutra recitation, Japanese hymns, incense offerings, and a sermon in Japanese. The various priests alternated in conducting the different services from week to week.

The Canal section of the Gila center offers a fair replica of the pre-evacuation situation with respect to Buddhism. There was only the one church but it was a large one. Many Issei and Nisei who had not been church-goers in the pre-war period found themselves attending the services once it was ascertained that no nationalistic stigma attached itself to the individual Buddhist. The leisure which the relocation center afforded, a social life which had previously been impossible for the busy farmer or hard pressed small business man, created a marked interest in social and religious affairs. The Canal Buddhists were for the most part a harmonious group. There were no sectarian differences and the priests settled between themselves any varying points of view. The YBA was effectively subordinated to the Issei organization. New members were brought into the church seemingly largely because of the social and political opportunities which organized religion afforded. Many of these were condemned as "Buddhists of convenience" by some of the more religious minded but there can be little doubt that it was the social rather than

the religious side of the formal church which was attractive.

It was in the Butte section, the larger of the two camps, where an entirely different spirit prevailed. In several of the relocation centers, movements were begun which in the post-war era have effected decided changes in Buddhist organization. The younger priests, some of whom are Nisei, have directed their efforts to reviving Buddhism as a religion and to stripping it of its social side. Such a movement was begun in Butte in the face of considerable strong opposition. As a formal church Buddhism in Butte was a failure. As a religious force, however, it was probably more effective than in Canal. The Butte section was much less strongly Buddhist than Canal. On the whole, there was less interest in church affairs. Canal camp had a number of Issei who had been active as leaders in the rural Buddhist churches of California. The priests themselves had been evacuated with their parishioners and tended to hold their congregations together. In the Butte camp, however, there were at first only three priests, strangers to the Butte residents, and there were few Issei who were willing to take an active role in church management. In Canal, the church was successful in avoiding any connection with Japanese nationalism. To be sure, there were a number of instances in which Canal individuals raised a Japanese flag or decried American war efforts but the Buddhist group was successful in remaining free of any purported nationalistic bias. The Butte Buddhists, on the other hand, were divided into separate factions in which nationalism was a significant issue.

The Buddhist priests in Butte camp were also split on the basis of sect. Mention was made above of Rev. K. Inamura, a Hawaiian Nisei priest, who led the Shinshū group at the Tulare assembly center and later in the Butte section of the Gila relocation center. There were also two Zen priests, both from the Los Angeles area. Rev. Suzuki and his wife who was also active in church affairs in pre-war California had built a fairly large church in Los Angeles. The Zen bishop, Rev. Ochi, had been sent from Japan in 1941 to supervise sectarian activities in the United States and to effect a reorganization of the Zen sect in America. The latter was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary in the center. His was a decidedly forceful personality, one which must be considered in the analysis of the growth of Buddhism in the camp.

Buddhism had not been organized in the Tulare assembly center. Rev. Inamura opposed any organization in the relocation center as well. His ground for this lay in the contention that in organization the basic principles of religion would be forgotten and the church would become a social and political club. Ochi, unfamiliar with the Japanese Buddhism of America supported Inamura's arguments but favored the growth of organizations which might exist side by side with the church rather than within it. Suzuki favored organization along the lines of the Canal section. Shortly after the inception of Butte camp a meeting was held by the three priests to which all interested in the church were invited. It was voted that the Buddhist church should not organize, should emphasize religion, and should not

become involved in any political or social entanglements. In consequence, no officers were elected and no provision made for a fujinkai. The YBA was asked to supervise the Sunday School but the young peoples' group was discouraged from becoming in any sense a social club. A religious chairmanship was established for the YBA, the only office which the group maintained for the first two years of center life. In the third year, the YBA drew up a constitution and elected officers, carried on a social and educational program, and in general, adopted the type of organization possessed by the Canal Hisei. The church situation which resulted from the decision as to the form Buddhism in the Butte section should take left the priests in virtual control of ecclesiastical policy. While the resulting organization was more closely analogous to the Buddhist temple structure in Japan, the income of the priests was limited by the fact that no membership dues were solicited and the contributions to the church alms-box were small.

Church needs under the arrangement described were few. There was no necessity for a maintenance or building fund and volunteer labor supplied most of the outward necessities. The priests brought with them images, kakemono, and the vessels necessary for the butsudan. The public address system was donated by the YBA and two pianos were rented. Flowers for the church were supplied by the center nursery. Donations of candles and incense were made by members of the congregation from time to time. An alms-box was placed in the Butte hall which served as a church meeting place. In Japan the priest

would normally be entrusted with the disposal of funds given as contributions by the members of the parish. In Butte, however, the priests could not agree in this matter and instead delegated several faithful Issei members of the congregation to take charge of contributions. Every month this committee subtracted from the available money such amounts as had been incurred by the church by way of incidental expenses and divided the remainder between the priests. The amounts given to the clergy in this way varied between \$5.00 and \$15.00. In addition, the priests earned small sums by officiating at weddings and at the various funerary services. From time to time during the three years of life in the center, other priests were either released from internment or transferred from other centers. Although some favored a formal organization like that of Canal camp, an incorporated church body was never realized. Had it been, the priests would undoubtedly have profited.

Rev. Suzuki led the movement to effect some kind of formal organization. It is of interest to note that this Zen dignitary had the somewhat unfortunate reputation of being money conscious. Clever with tools, he fashioned household butaidan at the request of any family who had destroyed theirs in the initial hysteria of the war's beginning. He also supplied the ancestral tablets for the small household shrines. When a death occurred in a family, Suzuki visited those concerned and asked if he might make a butsudan or supply ibai. His position as religious editor of the Japanese language section of the

mimeographed center newspaper he used in different ways to augment his income. He made New Years' cards, greeting cards for various occasions, lettered posters in English and Japanese, and his plan to duplicate hymnals and prayer books for the church through his access to the mimeograph machine in the newspaper office was neatly turned to his own profit. Suzuki made the discovery of certain types of wood in the area which, when crushed and processed, yield a fair incense for use before the butaudan. Every service which he performed had its fee. He also knew all the common sutras and rituals for every sect. As a means of enhancing his prestige and increasing his income, he conducted services of various kinds for the few adherents of the Tendai, Shingon, Nichiren, and Jodō sects. He also knew the Shinshū and Zen rituals. In each case he was able to perform the proper funeral or memorial service and pocketed the fees which the priest merited. Fees which he obtained from members of the Zen sect were divided with Bishop Ochi but Suzuki retained the rest. In the Issai parlance of the center, he was "damn' clever guy". Suzuki's importance was considerable; it was to his advantage to keep sectarian affiliation alive and to resist a Buddhist union as might have taken place. He was instrumental in preserving many of the formal aspects of the Buddhist system as it exists in Japan.

Since there were three priests representing two different sects in Butte camp at the inception of the center, the problem of ritual had to be met. The majority of Buddhists belonged to the Shin sect but there were small numbers of adherents to

the five other sects. A number of Issei who had previously been connected with Shinshū churches while in their pre-war California homes resented the fact that the Shin priest, Rev. Imamura, was a Nisei. Although he was a man in his late thirties, many of the older people felt that he was too young to assume the responsibilities of church leadership. Since Bishop Ochi had arrived from Japan so recently, many felt that he constituted a closer link with the homeland. This, together with his higher ecclesiastical office, caused a number of Issei who had formerly been members of the Shin sect to adhere to the Zen ritual and to attend the special Zen services. Even at the present time, many Issei frankly admit that they go to a particular church, Buddhist or Christian, because they "like the minister". As a result of Ochi's efforts, a fairly large number of people, Issei, and many Kibei, attended his sermons and invited him to their homes. After the founding of the Buddhist church in Butte camp, the three priests agreed on services and ritual. It was decided to hold joint services on Sundays but to have special sectarian groups which might meet on other days. For the Sunday services, the sutras which were very nearly common to every sect were employed and the ministers agreed to confine their sermons to general concepts which were applicable to any sect of Buddhism. Thus such subjects as karma, the Eightfold Path, Buddha's love for man, and the like, provided topics for sermons.

The Sunday services followed the usual pattern which has been described for Canal camp. They opened with the Sunday school gathering which was supervised by one of the priests and

taught by members of the YBA. The YBA service followed and Issai gatherings were held in the evenings. In the former, Imamura often addressed the group in English, a language in which the other priests had no proficiency. As in Canal, the three priests took turns in conducting the various services. From time to time, one of the Canal priests would exchange his pulpit with one from the Butte. Despite the general eclectic character of the Butte Buddhist church and the attempt which was made through it to effect some kind of sectarian union, nearly all of the members attending the various services recited the nembutsu, the characteristic Shin formula "Namu Amida Butsu", at the close of the meeting. No objection to this was raised by the various Zen priests. Bishop Ochi, in fact, made this pronouncement with regard to it: "There can be no harm in the repetition of the Shinshū mantra; Amida, as the expression of boundless light and love, reflects man's oneness with the Buddha."

On different days of the week, special meetings were held for the different sects. These were devotional assemblies which met weekly in the church on different evenings. For the most part, they were attended by devout Issai who had retained a consciousness of sectarian identification. The Shinshū gathering was known as the Howakai, which might be translated as devotional group. Meetings were attended by devout Shin members as well as by the few Jōdō devotees in the center. Howakai gatherings were for the most part conducted by Rev. Imamura and had as their purpose the expression of Shinshū and Amidist beliefs. An attempt was made to recreate the general atmosphere prevalent in a Shin temple in Japan and to establish a common religious

bond between the members in attendance. Ochi and Suzuki carried on the Zen meetings, the gathering being known as Kwannonkō, the name being derived from the Zen patroness, the Chinese goddess Kwan Yin. Shingon meetings were instituted by Rev. Suzuki, a group being formed in honor of Kōbō Daishi and known as the Daishikō. Suzuki also arranged meetings for the adherents of the Nichiren sect, the group being the so-called Hodaino, after the Nichiren formula "Namu Myōho Renge Kyō".

The Hovakai did not organize and met solely for devotional services. The three other groups, however, had Issei socials as well as the religious meetings. Under Suzuki's influence, these groups were organized, electing the officers of president, vice-president, and treasurer, and soliciting membership fees. Some of the money which was collected is alleged to have gone to Rev. Suzuki but the Daishikō and the Hodaino in a few instances paid the travel expenses of Shingon and Nichiren priests from the neighboring center of Poston, located on the Colorado River. These priests were invited to the Gila center for special religious holidays and in one or two instances to perform funeral services for members of the sect. Rev. Sogabe was a Shingon priest who had been a resident of the Los Angeles area, while Rev. Ishihara, a Nichiren cleric, had also been a resident of that city. Both made special visits to the Gila camps from Poston at the invitation of individuals or the respective societies. Tendai had a few adherents in the Butte section. The members of this sect joined the Daishikō and in general attended the special Shingon services. Some individuals from Butte camp attended the Shinshū services at Canal. Here, in addition to Sunday,

services were held in the Buddhist church every day for the Issei members of the congregation. When transportation was available, a few Nichiren and Shingon devotees from Canal camp made the trip to Butte to attend Rev. Suzuki's meetings for these sects.

Despite certain ideological differences which were apparent between the Buddhist priests in the Butte section, they worked fairly closely together and, in matters of religion at least, were more or less in accord. The agreement which they had reached with respect to the joint sectarian meetings on Sunday was fairly successful. After the first year of camp life, other Shinshū ministers came by virtue of release from the Department of Justice camps or were transferred from other relocation centers. They aided Imamura in his efforts to maintain a Shinshū organization. In July, 1943, Bishop Ochi was arrested and interned by government agents. After his removal from the center, Shinshū again became the dominant faith, most of the Issei who had become affiliated with Ochi's Zen group rejoining the Shin congregation. The conflicts which arose between the three priests at the inception of the center depended not on religion but far more on issues of nationalism and patriotism.

The key to much of the nationalistic pro-Japanese activity which occurred in the center lay with Bishop Ochi. During his year of residence in the center, he was without doubt one of the most influential of the evacuees, a vigorous and forceful personality, lacking any of the marginal or vacillating characteristics which apply to some of the Japanese in America. It would perhaps be unjust to ascribe to Bishop Ochi a strong pro-Japanese

nationalism. It must be admitted, however, that his motives were a bit obscure. He had none of the desire for prestige which apparently characterized the ministers in the Canal section, he did not share with Suzuki the desire for gain, and he apparently had little sympathy with Imamura's earnest conviction that the religious side of Buddhism should be made paramount. Ochi, moreover, was a profound Buddhist scholar. He had studied the Chinese classics and had better than a nodding acquaintance with Sanskrit texts, an accomplishment to which few Japanese Buddhist priests can lay claim. Rumor had it that he had been in Russia and was a member of the Communist Party. This he denied but he did read daffily in the works of Marx and Engels of which he had Japanese translations, and was familiar with the writings of Lewis H. Morgan. Why Ochi came to America in the months just preceding the outbreak of the war is a question which this writer is unable to answer. Ostensibly it was for purposes of Zen reorganization. At the same time, however, Ochi affected the greatest contempt for the Japanese-Americans, especially the uneducated Issei farming class. In accordance with the Zen doctrine, he held that religion in the formal sense was unimportant. His listeners were shocked by what they regarded as his iconoclastic utterances and behavior. A minor furor was occasioned by Ochi's remark from the pulpit that the Lord Buddha died by indigestion from eating undercooked pork. The bishop shared an apartment with Rev. and Mrs. Suzuki. The fact that he made public his seduction of Suzuki's wife and subjected to community censure because of it in no way detracted

from his prestige and influence. In his sermons he remarked that since life was an illusion, and since each man must seek the Buddha essence in the way he thinks fit, marriage and society had no basis in fact. These were somewhat novel ideas to serve up to a conservative group of farmers and small shopkeepers. Indignation, feigned or real, swept the Buddhist church when Ochi uttered a new or sensational idea. His, like Beecher's was never an empty church. Unlike Suzuki, Ochi had followed the more or less orthodox Zen practise of remaining celibate.

Despite his adherence to Zen orthodoxy and his supposed leftist leanings, Ochi was strongly of the opinion that Buddhism, an Oriental religion, had no place in occidental culture. This view, it should be mentioned, is shared by most Issei Buddhists. Ochi expressed the belief that the Japanese were in error to have come to America and should prepare to return at the war's end to Japan. In the early months after evacuation, there was little doubt in the minds of Issei and Kibei who gave any thought to the matter at all that Japan would ultimately be victorious. There was no strong attachment to either Japan or the United States in respect to nationalistic feeling. The tendency was rather to swing to the winning side. Ochi was opposed to the young people who had become so divorced from the culture of the homeland that they were unable to converse freely in Japanese much less read the language. He rejected for this reason the Nisei YBA..When the decision was ultimately reached, furthered largely by Iimamura's efforts, that there

should be no formal church organization in the Butte section, Ochi was in agreement. He did feel, however, that a society consisting of active Nisei who spoke Japanese and who favored Japanese culture should be formed to work in conjunction with the Buddhist church. This was the Kibei-Nisei organization, the society which was actively pro-Japanese and which carried on an active propaganda campaign. The Gila Seiningkai, or young peoples' club, was founded largely by Ochi. While its membership was not limited to either Kibei or to Buddhists, the organization was in effect a body designed for Japanese-speaking young people, nearly all of whom had been educated in Japan.

The seiningkai was recognized by the administration after some hesitation and was assigned a barracks for use as a club house. Its elaborate constitution lists as the purpose of the organization the "promotion of the welfare of the residents of the center". Emphasis was placed on the purely Japanese patterns of behavior. The club began a domestic science program for girls, arranged for a Japanese language library, and sponsored athletic meets for the male members. Judo, sumo, and kendo, as Japanese sports, were encouraged. In the hall of the club, maps showing Japanese expansion in the Far East were maintained and the walls covered with patriotic maxims and proverbs in Japanese. The Kibei group opposed the Nisei YBA. Through the society, however, the Kibei began to take a new interest in Buddhism. A great many of the 500 odd members of the club attended Ochi's services and allied themselves with the Zen sect. This in itself was an interesting development.

The group known as Kibei had not, in the pre-evacuation era, consisted of many church-goers. The Kibei for the most part remained apart from both Christian and Buddhist services largely because they could not adjust to the Nisei YBA groups and felt themselves somewhat out of place in the Issei gatherings. Ochi was successful in bringing a large group of Kibei into the church and one of the policies of the society itself was to urge its members to attend Ochi's services. The bishop continually reminded his listeners that they were Japanese and that in going to the services of the Buddhist church they were enforcing their closer association with Japan. Utterances such as these, his support of the pro-Japanese Kibei club as well as of a number of smaller anti-American Issei groups combined to effect Ochi's arrest as a source of un-American activity in the center.

In February, 1943, the Japanese evacuees were asked to submit special forms which had been prepared by the Selective Service System in which one of the points which were raised related to the willingness of the registrant to renounce loyalty to any foreign power and to serve in the armed forces of the United States. It was out of this process of registration that the issue of loyalty arose which formed the basis of the later segregation of so-called anti-American elements among the evacuee population. The incidents which relate to the registration program reflect at length the indecision and doubt faced by a minority group of marginal culture in a time of crisis. The Kibei group in the Gila center took a negative stand on the loyalty issue and urged others to do the same. Flagrant

disloyalty as was exhibited by members of the group could scarcely be tolerated by the War Relocation Authority. Facing the problem of what to do with citizens guilty of un-American activities, individuals who could not legally be detained, the administrative agency established an isolation center in Utah for leaders of the disloyal factions. The Kibei leaders in the Gila center were apprehended and placed in close confinement in the Utah center. Meanwhile, the finger of accusation was levelled at Bishop Ochi by a Shinshū priest, Rev. Ishiura, a Nisei who had been transferred from the Wyoming center. Ochi was arrested and bundled off to a Department of Justice internment camp where he spent the remainder of the war. With him went a number of his Issei supporters, also accused of fomenting anti-American activity. The result was the break-up of Ochi's congregation and the dissolution of the Zen sect in the Gila center. The Issei who had been members of the Zen group returned to the Shinshū fold or dropped away altogether. Suzuki, it is true, remained as the representative of the Zen sect and continued to officiate at the meetings of the various sectarian groups. He retained a small Zen group and had, in preaching, some following among the Issei women who enjoyed his touching and sentimental sermons. But his was not a sufficiently commanding personality to assume the control of Ochi's partisans. The Kibei group dropped back to the status of a small social club once its leaders had been apprehended and the bulk of the membership was no longer affiliated with the Buddhist church. After Ochi's departure, Shinshū became the dominant sect at Butte just as it was in the Canal section.

Shortly after the arrival of the Nisei priest, Rev. Ishiura, other Shin clerics were admitted to Butte camp. Several Issei priests, Revs. Masunaga, Fujinaga, Yamamoto, and Matsura, arrived from various internment camps or were transferred from other centers. In the few months before the closing of the relocation projects, Rev. Hida, an Issei, and Rev. Miura, a Nisei priest, augmented the ranks of the Butte clergy. All were members of the Nishi Hongwanji of the Shin sect and all worked in fairly close harmony together. The three Nisei priests undertook the reorganization of the YBA and effected a formal YBA group in lieu of the establishment of an organized Issei body. The plan to keep politics out of the church, as was originally agreed upon at the inception of the center and of the congregation at Butte, did not, however, always have the approval of the late-coming Shinshū priests. Several of the Issei clergy were of the opinion that lack of formal organization was detrimental to the interests of Buddhism in the center. With the development of a strong Shin priesthood in the Butte section, a number of attempts were made to effect a centralized congregational body with an elected "cabinet" of officers. The movement to organize an Issei congregation met with failure for a number of reasons.

The War Relocation Authority had adopted two measures which were of considerable importance to the life of the evacuees in all the centers. One was the resettlement program, a plan designed to permit all evacuees against whom no suspicion of disloyalty was entertained to settle in the unrestricted areas of the midwest and Atlantic Coast. The movement was to some

extent successful since the opportunities for employment and residence in areas outside of the west coast proved attractive to some. Salt Lake City, Denver, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, New York and many other urban and rural sections in the Middle West and east now possess thriving Japanese communities. One of the effects of resettlement was the removal from the centers of the progressive elements of the Japanese-American population, those who possessed sufficient courage to begin anew in a strange environment. A large number of those who had taken a leading role in center affairs at the inception of the evacuation process now left the centers. In the Butte Buddhist congregation, both the preparations for departure from the center and the leaving of individuals who might have been interested in assuming church office, coupled with a mounting lack of interest on the part of the Issei in religion, acted as deterrents to the consummation of the plans of some of the priests who were newly arrived to effect a formal organization of the Butte Shinshū congregation.

The second measure which was initiated by the War Relocation Authority was the segregation program. This process effected the removal from all the centers of those avowed pro-Japanese sentiments. Begun by the Selective Service System as a loyalty test for the Nisei of draft age, the program of the need for declaring loyalty to the United States was extended to all center residents above the age of 17 by the War Relocation Authority. On the basis of answers to questions as to the willingness of the individual to renounce foreign loyalties and to

bear arms for the United States, personal political and national attachments were determined. Those who were unwilling to declare for America were removed from the centers and quartered in the Tule Lake project in northern California. Citizen Japanese were given the opportunity to recant or to renounce citizenship. Arrangements were made to effect the removal of the Tule Lake segregants to Japan. The disloyal groups were made up largely of Issei and their dependent children, Kibei, and some Nisei. The number segregated amounted to somewhat less than one-fifth of the entire Japanese population in America and was reduced still further by many who ultimately declared in favor of the United States. By far the greatest percentage of those who came to be regarded as disloyal and were segregated were Buddhists. From the Gila center, Issei and their minor dependents totalling nearly one thousand were removed in the late fall of 1943. From both sections of the community, citizens, i.e. Nisei and Kibei, who were subjected to segregation amounted to 885. Of these, 113 were from Canal camp, 114 having been educated in Japan, the remainder being Nisei. The remaining 672, a slightly higher proportion, were drawn from Butte camp. 311 were Kibei, the remaining 361 Nisei. If these figures are examined in the light of declared religious preference, the following tabulation may be made:

<u>Canal Camp</u>	<u>Segregants</u>	<u>Buddhist</u>	<u>Christian</u>	<u>Shintō</u>	<u>None</u>
Kibei	114	99	7	-	8
Nisei	99	86	4	-	9
<u>Butte Camp</u>					
Kibei	311	275	7	1	28

<u>Butte Camp</u>	<u>Segregants</u>	<u>Buddhist</u>	<u>Christian</u>	<u>Shinto</u>	<u>None</u>
Nisei	361	285	22	1	53
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Totals:	835	745	40	2	98

While a similar tabulation for the Issei who were subject to segregation is not as yet available, a predominantly Buddhist preference may be anticipated.⁶ The effect of both resettlement and segregation on Buddhism in the Gila center was considerable.

On the heels of the segregation program, considerable movement of population between the centers took place. The War Relocation Authority was confronted with the necessity of removing to other projects the loyal elements of the Tule Lake group. In addition, the resettlement program had constituted a drain on the population of some centers, leaving housing facilities available. Economy demanded the closing of centers in Arkansas. In consequence, following the removal of the avowedly pro-Japanese residents of the Gila center, some 2,000 evacuees from the Jerome Relocation Center were settled in Butte Camp. In the Jerome Center in Arkansas, Buddhism had been organized in much the same way as had taken place in the Canal section of the Gila center. By the mid-summer of 1944, the Jerome Buddhists at Gila, under the leadership of the

6. The present study makes no attempt to discuss in any detail the background and the nature of either resettlement or segregation. A full treatment of the conflicts which arose out of these measures is given by D. S. Thomas and R. S. Nishimoto, et al. Japanese-American Evacuation and Resettlement, Vol. I, The Spoilage, etc. In press, Berkeley, California, 1946. The above figures are cited through the courtesy of Dr. Dorothy S. Thomas.

Shinshū priest, Rev. Hida, were clamoring for a revival of the familiar type of congregational organization. The Tulare group supporting Rev. Iimura, who continued his firm stand against formal organization, were again successful in preventing the formal incorporation of a church body.

Resettlement and segregation had been effective in drawing off much of the potential Issei leadership. The immigrant generation began gradually to give way to the Nisei in the management of Buddhist affairs. In all of the centers, segregation was a fundamental cause of the beginnings of a more active Nisei role in the church. To the majority of Issei, the progress of the war in 1944 and in the early months of 1945 made it increasingly evident that the Axis powers had lost all hope of victory. The determination to remain in the United States, even on the part of those who refused to take advantage of the opportunities for resettlement, effectively precluded a revival of the pre-evacuation Issei church and social organizations. For many of the Issei who now saw before them a future in America, the import of Buddhism as a sentimental link with the homeland was lost. Some resisted the new course which Buddhism in America was obliged to follow but it was in general agreed that the Nisei were to be more of a power in the churches than they had previously been. It was in accord with this trend that the YBA was organized on a formal basis in the Butte section of the Gila center.

But always there had been the problem of keeping the young people within the Buddhist church. As early as 1930, Christianity, as the prevailing American religion, was more attractive

to many Nisei than the Buddhism of their parents. A somewhat higher social status was accorded the Nisei Christians who were regarded as more progressive and more Americanized by the group as a whole. To very few were the doctrines taught by the respective faiths of any great import. The greater freedom, the social opportunities, the advantages of shaking off the stigma of religious identification with the culture of the parents lent an attraction to Christianity which Buddhism in America could never possess. Many of the Nisei Christians interviewed by the writer were frank in stating that they had joined the congregations of various Christian sects simply because their friends had done so. Deeply rooted religious convictions, a conversion "experience", a preoccupation with the respective dogmas were found to be exceedingly rare. To the Nisei, religion has been a social force, membership in one or another sect or faith a social accident. Before evacuation, the transition from Buddhism to Christianity depended to a large extent on the training and personality of the individual. Many of those who tended to be more progressive, better adapted to life in America, less under the domination of their Buddhist Issei parents, entered the Christian ranks. In consequence, despite the fact that the Christians in the Gila center were in the minority, it was among the Nisei young peoples' auxiliaries, the so-called "fellowship" organizations, in the Canal and Butte Christian Union Churches that the most active religious leaders were to be found. Those who were instrumental in organizing a chapter of the Japanese-American Citizens'

League, who took the lead in promoting social and recreational programs, were Christian Nisei. The more conservative Russel group, larger in numbers but with a less well defined leadership, was considerably less active in center life than the young Christians. While instances of individual conversions from Buddhism to Christianity were few, and proselytizing forbidden by center authorities, the Buddhist leaders, principally the clergy, revised the YBA organization in both camps. A more intensive social program was carried on by the groups in both camps and the Butte YBA was formally organized. It was only in respect to the young peoples' organizations that a Buddhist-Christian rivalry asserted itself.

The formalizing of the Butte YBA arose after the entrance of the Jerome group into the center. The Kibei who had been active in the Seiningkai were lost to the center by the segregation process. The Kibei Gila Young Peoples' Club, although since the removal of the more dangerous leaders little more than a Japanese-speaking Nisei social club, was feared by the Nisei Buddhists as a threat to a potential YBA organization. The break-up of the Seiningkai, coupled with arrival from the Jerome center of a nuclear YBA group, gave rise, in mid-summer of 1944, to a formal Butte Young Buddhists' League. A cabinet of officers was established, membership dues solicited, and an active social program begun. In the Jerome group, originally resident in the Stockton area in California, individuals interested in taking a leading part in the management of YBA affairs were found. Strong YBA groups were already in existence in the other centers

and began to manifest their strength in a series of inter-camp YBA meetings. Nisei delegates met at a Buddhist convention in Salt Lake City in July of 1944, a series of meetings in which all of the centers as well as the Buddhist churches of the newly formed midwestern and eastern Japanese communities were represented. This marked the beginning of a movement to make of Buddhism an American church for residents of the United States, a matter of considerable significance which we may reserve for discussion in the next section of this analysis. The formal organizing of the Butte YBA was a direct reflection of the now growing movement on the part of the Nisei to assume control of the Buddhist church in America; through it social parity with Christianity has been effected.⁷

The development of Buddhism in the relocation centers was determined to a large extent by administrative action and by the various policies of the army and of the War Relocation Authority. Formal Buddhism in the one center which has been chosen for discussion here was gradually entrusted to the Nisei, despite their lack of leadership and the mistrust of some of the clergy who saw in the rise of Nisei control a threat to their own positions. The Issei congregational organization began to lose ground at Gila as soon as the segregation took place. In general, the same situation held true of the other centers. What began as a continuation of the pre-evacuation situation with the Issei in control of the churches ended with the relegation of the Issei to the background. A primary effect

7. Japanese-American Citizens' League, Pacific Citizen, Vol. 18, Nos. 13-18, Salt Lake City, 1944.

of the war was the realization by the immigrant generation of the complete disruption of the tie with Japan. Evacuation meant the complete readjustment of the pre-war values. But if the formal participation in the church and congregation had to some extent lost its appeal, Buddhism for most, in or out of the center, was still the religion of the household. As long as there are Issei Buddhists to carry on the honors to the dead, it seems doubtful that these practises will perish.

The customs which were described in the previous section with respect to the life cycle continued to be observed in center life. In fact, the assembly of fairly large numbers of Japanese, such as had not been possible in the pre-war era, tended to revive some of the practises which had fallen somewhat into disuse. The emotional upheaval which was the inevitable consequence of the disruption of familiar ways of life manifested itself, for many Issei at least, in a return to religion. As has been previously noted, church attendance was not a required or vital part of the Issei religious life. On the contrary, membership in a congregation afforded a social opportunity; the psychological and emotional appeal of religion lay in the observance of the various aspects of the ancestor cult. While some of the members of the immigrant generation, both in the center and in the pre-evacuation era, were insistent that their children remain in Buddhism, a great many more were of the opinion that any kind of religious training was acceptable provided that the family as a whole observed certain customs in the home which reflect the memorial cult

of Japanese Buddhism. While respect for the priest, or for that matter, the Christian minister, as men of superior education and social standing has always been demanded, the normal form of address for them being sensei, i.e. teacher, the most important function fulfilled by these dignitaries was and remains in respect to the dead. Nisei Buddhists, however, when left to themselves, tend to emphasize the church and to drop the Buddhist customs which are so familiar to their parents. This changed emphasis of the relationship of the Nisei to the church rather than to the religion of the household continues to apply just as it did in the pre-evacuation situation and in the relocation centers.

Families, who, before the war, retained the Buddhist customs in their homes continued them in the center. The sacred butsudan or kamidana with the associated images and tablets were either brought to the centers or, if, as has been mentioned above, they were destroyed when war came, were made out of lumber scraps. Skilled carpenters might be employed to make them. Taking an image or a scroll for the butsudan, some families applied to the various priests for a bit of paper on which non-butsu was inscribed. Cut from white Japanese rice paper, the ihai could be supplied also by the priest. At occasions when the family butsudan was opened, as, for example, at memorial celebration, incense might be burned before the shrine. The incense was either made in the center or purchased from those who had brought packages of incense sticks to the center with them. Some of the more devout placed a cup of boiled rice,

obtained from the center mess halls, before the shrine at least once a day. Similarly, the priests took charge of the offering of rice to the larger butsudan in the churches. In the centers, some made use solely of the Buddhist household shrine, while others kept a small kamidana with little Shintō images beside the butsudan. On these sacred shelves reposed photographs of the deceased members of the family, while family pictures might be hung on the walls in back of the shrine or near it. The Japanese flags and the pictures of the Japanese royal family were for the most part gone. Some families hung an American flag in back of the butsudan while others framed or tacked into the wall newspaper pictures of the Japanese emperor. In the Gila center, since Arizona law does not forbid the retention by a family of the ashes of the deceased, the remains of family members who died in the camp were kept in jars of small white boxes before the butsudan.

In the centers some of the more devout Buddhists urged that new born children be brought to the temple on their 100th day of life. The priests themselves tended to encourage this. Some of the rural people, particularly those in Canal camp, continued to have naming parties for children born in the center. Those invited, friends, relatives, if the family was Issei, tekoro no mono, brought gifts of candy, soda water, cheese, or of such canned goods as the center stores might have been able to supply. A number of the married Nisei whose children were born in the center were urged to have a naming party for them. In some Buddhist families, after the child had been given a

name, it was usually announced to the butsudan. One departure from the pre-evacuation rural practise was the fact that all births occurred in the center hospitals. A Buddhist priest often visited the new mothers in the hospital and urged that they bring their infants for presentation in the church. A number of the urban Buddhists, Nisei as well as Issei, tended to abandon this practise.

In the centers, Buddhism also continued to function in respect to marriage. The marriage ceremony which was described in the previous section, supervised by the Buddhist priest, was a vital part of the social life of the center. A number of rather elaborate church weddings were held, which, with the reception which followed, represented considerable monetary outlay. The custom of the baishakamin continued to be observed. The leisure time which center life afforded, as well as the gathering of large numbers of Japanese, permitted a larger number to participate in social affairs of this kind. While a few of the more devout Issei announced the marriage of their children to the butsudan, most were content to follow the practise of having the service read by a Buddhist priest. One interesting Japanese custom which was revived in the center was the singing of old Japanese wedding chants. The Issei who could perform the chanting were much in demand by the Issei for the marriages of their children. Most of the Nisei tended to look with some scorn on these practises but when an elaborate Buddhist wedding took place, they usually submitted to the requests made by their parents.

Just as, in the center, weddings became somewhat more elaborate than in the pre-war period, an increased emphasis was placed on funerals. The same pattern of mortuary observances which has been described for life outside of the centers was followed fairly closely during the war. The fact that the War Relocation Authority was obliged to cover the cost of most of the funeral expenses permitted a somewhat more elaborate funeral display than had been possible for most of the poorer Japanese in the past. It was again in respect to death that the Buddhist priest was most active. At death, particularly of an Insei, the priest selected by the family was summoned at once to the hospital or home to perform the first rites. A fairly common practise in the Gila center was the assembly of the entire family of the deceased at his bedside until the arrival of the mortician. At death a nishidōri was appointed by the family to supervise the funeral arrangements. He delegated friends or tokoro no mono of the deceased to prepare the body for the arrival of the undertaker. These individuals folded the hands of the dead, left over right, generally placing the Buddhist rosary between them. Some of the rural people retained the custom of washing the corpse and clothing it in the white tatabira, the special garment for the dead. Following the laying out of the body, all those who had touched it observed the custom of purifying themselves in salt water. The body was then removed by the mortician and embalmed. Most of the urban people in the Gila center avoided the more elaborate preparations made by the rural groups. The priest

performed the nakurakyo but the dressing, washing, and preparation of the corpse were normally left to the undertaker. If the white tatabira was to be used, rather than western dress, these garments were often purchased from Rev. Suzuki, by whose wife they were sewn.

No Japanese morticians were allowed to practise in the center. Some families felt considerably disturbed by the fact that the War Relocation Authority at the Gila center gave a contract to a woman mortician in the neighboring town of Casa Grande, Arizona. Another cause for shame was the occasional demand by the chief medical officer in the center for an autopsy, a requirement which sometimes completely disrupted the funeral arrangements. In most instances, if a funeral or the preparations for it did not meet expectations, Issei tongues wagged and malicious gossip was often begun. There is no doubt that the eyes of the Issei community were turned on the bereaved family and a careful account was taken of its actions. The failure to pay proper honors to the deceased was an immediate cause for censure by the Issei group at large.

The embalmed body was returned to the center and, its coffin, was placed in the Buddhist church. The otsuya and the funeral on the day following were attended by as many as could come of the relatives, friends, neighbors, and even chance acquaintances. The more intimate associates of the deceased generally brought gifts of money, food, and flowers before the otsuya. The family later attempted to make some suitable return for the gifts thus given. A short service, the incantation

of eulogies, eulogy of the dead usually given by a number of his friends were characteristic of both the wake and funeral service. Following the funeral, the body was removed by the mortician for cremation.

The War Relocation Authority allowed the payment of \$87.00 for each death to defray the cost of funeral expenses. This was hardly enough to meet the Issei demands for a proper service and a number of families, having only the limited funds which they were able to earn in the center at their disposal, went heavily into debt. The following is a list of expenses incurred by one family in the Gila center at the death of the Issei family head:

Casket	\$100.00	
Cremation	35.00	
Transportation	17.50	(Mortician's hearse hired.)
Refreshments (300 Guests)	80.00	(Soda pop, tea, ice cream, candy, cheese, crackers, rice.)
Return gifts to mourners and friends	50.00	(Estimated)
Gifts to officiat- ing Buddhist priests	250.00	(Paid into Canal camp church treasury)
Total	<u>\$532.50</u>	
WRA allotment	87.00	
Cost to family	<u>\$445.50</u>	

Several of the more affluent families in the community were said to have expended considerably more than the above amounts in distributing gifts and in feeding a large number of mourners. A small part of funeral expenses was of course defrayed by contributions from friends but in such cases the necessity arises of making a suitable return gift. These gifts of money were

usually wrapped in white paper marked kōden or koryō, referring to "cost of incense", the usual euphemism employed in such gift giving. The Christian groups in the center tended to adhere to the same practices, observing the gift exchange, the funeral meal, the otsuya, and the like. Christian gifts, however, are usually marked, where the practice is still continued by Christian Issai, hanaryō, "cost of flowers".

Since the centers were conceived to be temporary, no provision was made for a burial ground in them. The War Relocation Authority urged the cremation of deceased evacuees. While the Buddhists normally followed the practice of cremation, some objection was raised by the Christian groups in the centers. Some of the individual families in the latter group went to considerable expense to arrange for burial in cemeteries near their pre-evacuation homes. The ashes of the deceased were normally returned to the center by mail, the body having been removed by the mortician after the funeral. One of the functions which the priests adopted was the return of the remains to the family. At this time, a brief service was held in which the priest recited several sutras of consolation. In the center, Buddhist families were watched somewhat closely to determine the length of time spent in mourning. Among the Issai, there was a tendency to revive the mourning services which had fallen somewhat into disuse in the pre-evacuation era. Leisure time permitted the full observance of the 21st, 35th and 49th days of mourning, most families being careful to avoid social activities during the prescribed 49 day period. The more elaborate

services which have been described here were reserved for the deceased older members of a family. The observances for younger people and children normally followed the same pattern but did not entail so great a monetary outlay.

Some of the Buddhist priests in the center, particularly the younger ones, became somewhat annoyed at the Issai pre-occupation with the elaborate mortuary observances. Actually, the priests were of two minds regarding the funeral ceremonies. The more conservative Issai group of priests tended to favor the accepted Japanese customs, to regard them as an integral part of Japanese Buddhism. In the light of theological justification, one wrote the following:

By devoting himself to the ancestral cult, a person may appear to be idolatrous. Yet the fact cannot be overlooked that by doing so he is adoring the Buddha in his heart. Buddhist philosophy holds that the Buddha essence melts into the spirit of one's ancestors... On this basis, ancestral worship and the Buddha constitute an inseparable unit. Through sutras and services the ancestor is one with the Buddha. To the Buddhist in America the Buddha and the ancestors exist together as a meaningful part of the life of the individual.

The younger Shinshū priests stood in opposition to this view. There were some who regarded the funeral displays as "irreverent". The priests in the Gila center never did effect any agreement among themselves in this matter. While favoring the emphasis on the family unit, and applauding a respectful rendering of honors to the dead, the Nisei priests in the center were of the opinion that the mortuary practices of the Issai were being carried to too marked an extreme and refused to officiate at them.

8. Ochi, Bishop D. The Spiritual Life of the Japanese Evacuees. (Unpublished ms. in Japanese) Rivers, Arizona, 1942-43.

In center life, New Years' Day was probably the most important single festival. At this time Buddhists exchanged gifts, visited from house to house. The next most important holiday was undoubtedly the Buddhist festival of Bon, the time of the return of the spirits to the land of the living. In the pre-evacuation era, O-Bon had lost much of its religious character and had become somewhat commercialized. In the centers, the Bon Odori, the ceremonial dances in honor of the return of the ancestral spirits were continued and constituted a social event for young and old alike. The Bon festival normally occurs in the middle of the seventh month and in Japan is utilized to visit the graves of the departed, to clean them, and to bedeck them with lanterns. Some of these elements were retained in pre-evacuation California but in the center the Bon season lost most of its religious flavor. At the first Bon dance, held at the dedication of the Canal Buddhist church, the time had been changed. It was held in September rather than in July because of the objections to it raised by some of the assembly center administrations. Primarily a Buddhist festival, Christians participated in it as well. The dancing, the wearing of Japanese costumes, the period of merrymaking offered an appeal to all center residents. Bon dances were held in July in both of the Gila sections, constituting a high point of the summer season. Originally a part of the mortuary observances of the Japanese, the Bon O-dori in America were shown to have lost most of their religious and funerary significance. In Japan

9. Leighton, A. H. The Governing of Men, Princeton, 1945, p. 134.

in the Meiji era the dances were banned by governmental decree and have been revived only in recent years. Some survival of the license which surrounds a rural agricultural festival in Japan has survived in America in that a number of the Issai participants dressed in humorous costumes and cavorted about in a somewhat suggestive manner. For the Japanese-American group as a whole, Bon is a general holiday rather than a religious one. In the butsudan of the homes in the center, however, some special observances were followed by devout Buddhists. The shrines were cleaned and rearranged by various families. If a death had occurred in the family during the period since the last Bon, the favorite foods of the departed, as many as could be procured, were placed before the butsudan.

The religious activities which have been discussed in the present chapter have pertained for the most part to the Shin practises in the center. Quite apart from these, however, there were those rites which were performed by members of other denominations. Aside from the formal sectarian groups which are mentioned briefly above, members of the Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren sects tended to assume certain special duties. These for the most part involved divination and curing. The few Shingon devotees, particularly, were concerned with these practises and there were several Buddhist faith healers in each camp. Some of the Shingon-Tendai people were paid to consult the Chinese calendar in order to determine propitious days for funerals, for weddings, or even for a lucky day on which to depart from the center. In Japan, most Shingon temples are

centers of faith healing. Omiz (holy water) which is prepared by Shingon priests is believed to be effective in curing various diseases of the skin, such as measles, eczema, sore eyes, and the like. The Daishi cults of Japan, branches of the Shingon sect so named in honor of the founder, Kōbō Daishi, effect cures through the repetition of Buddhist mantras and purport to work miracles. In Shingon, there is a marked emphasis on the magic of the written word. Those who experience difficulty in learning to write need only call on the name of Kōbō Daishi to become expert calligraphers. In the centers, there was some retention of these beliefs by Shingon devotees.

The members of the Shingon sect prepared ofuda (paper talismans) on which the name of Kōbō Daishi was written or on which his image was printed. These were employed in curing. Several of the Shingon congregation set themselves up as faith healers and carried on a lively business among Issai in the Gila center. The ofuda were placed over the affected part of the body as a kind of plaster. The practitioner then massaged the affected part over the paper charm. One Issai woman in the Shingon group had a fairly large following and charged \$3.00 per hour for her services, treating, among others, some of the Shin priests. Ofuda were prepared by members of the Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren sects and were sold by them. These charms were hung in various houses as a means of warding off ill-luck, disease, and the like. Members of these sects visited the hospitals from time to time and attempted to effect cures among the patients there.

One of the more interesting figures in the Butte section of the Gila community was a self-styled "Reverend" Tanaka. He had been a Shingon practitioner but while in Japan had been converted to the Shintō sect of Tenrikyō. In his faith healing practises, he combined Shingon and Shintō elements. He laid his patients on the floor, placed the ofuda over the part of the body in which pain was felt, and began to intone the curing ritual. If the patient did not feel relief, the body was massaged with whites of eggs and the ofuda applied again. Tanaka played the shakohachi, a Japanese flute, and danced in a frenzied manner about the patient. Headaches, pains in the head, and the like Tanaka cured by lifting the head of the reclining patient several times while intoning the proper ritual.

A Nichiren practitioner in Canal camp effected cures by prescribing to his patients a draught of fresh fish blood while the proper formulas were repeated.

Practises such as these were rather rare in the center and commanded no Nisei following. Similar rites are known by the Japanese in the homeland and in the Hawaiian area. In America, most such observances were confined to the rural Issei and had largely fallen by the way in urban areas. In the Gila center, some attention to curing was given by the devotees of the small Shintō Inari cult but the writer did not have the privilege of witnessing their ceremonies or of obtaining a description of them.

Orthodox Shinshū, unlike most of the other sects of Japanese Buddhism, opposes any measures designed to cure the sick or to

prevent death. According to the teachings of Shinran Shōnin, there are merciful beddhisattvas who devote themselves to man's welfare. The Buddha himself remarked that sickness was a blessing because it taught sympathy and compassion. In their training, the Shinshū priests learn no ritual for the healing of the sick. In the Gila center, the Zen priests were sometimes summoned to the bedside of a sick person by his family so that the healing rituals might be spoken. Similarly, the Shingon priest from the Poston center, Rev. Sogabe, was asked to officiate in helping to cure the sick. An interesting ritual was practised for the illness of the wife of a former Guadalupe, California, farmer. The man, a person of some means, hired Bishop Ochi to begin a 100 day period of ritual purification for his wife. Rising daily at dawn, Ochi took a cold purifying shower, recited a number of sutras in the church for three hours, and refrained from eating fish or meat. During this period, he avoided all unnecessary conversation and addressed himself to meditation. Just what the Zen bishop was paid for this service is not known but it was agreed to be a considerable sum. At the death of the patient, Ochi was accused of faithlessness, his own relationship with Suzuki's wife having been brought to public attention.

Cases of Japanese customs which were practised in the relocation centers might be multiplied at considerable length. The above constitute a few examples from the Gila center only. In other centers, such aspects of "practical" Buddhism also had some following from among the Issei group. On the whole,

the Nisei tended to ignore this side of religious worship. In Buddhist families, the Nisei were obliged to participate in the memorial services which the family head felt necessary. Beyond the offering of food and incense to the ihai, however, the Nisei interest in the Buddhism of the family was not marked. The esoteric side of Buddhism was reserved for the members of the immigrant generation and remains important to them.

The general forms of the organization and practice of Buddhism in the Gila River Relocation Center which have been sketched in the above paragraphs suggest an Issei-Nisei religious dichotomy. Nisei religion is tied up with the church, that of the Issei, even though they may take an active part in church affairs, with the home. In general, this is a reflection of the increasing assimilation of the second generation Japanese-Americans. As nearly as can be judged, the religious development which took place in the Buddhism of the other nine relocation centers ran parallel to that at Gila. While the historical development of the respective churches may be shown to have been somewhat variable, the trend toward the Americanization of the Buddhist church has its inception in the relocation centers. We may turn now to a consideration of the Buddhism of the post-war period, noting to what extent the process of acculturation has been accelerated as the result of the end of the war and the closing of the relocation projects.

IV. JAPANESE BUDDHISM IN THE POST-WAR UNITED STATES

By the summer of 1946, despite the fact that the war with Japan had not as yet been terminated, the War Relocation Authority had begun its plan to close the various centers. The Western Defense Command, following the segregation of the disloyal elements of the Japanese-American group and their confinement in the Tule Lake project, had lifted, late in 1944, the restrictions which had banned persons of Japanese ancestry from the Pacific Coast states. The return to the west coast, however, was not a mass movement, even though the great majority of evacuees had yearned for the day when they would be permitted to return to their pre-war homes. The return homeward was gradual. Large numbers of Japanese had already settled permanently in the cities of the midwest and east with the result that Japanese communities arose in these areas. Resettlement had effectively distributed a considerable group across the United States. The Japanese-American community as it arose after evacuation was a small one; the collapse of many of the unifying factors of the pre-war era prevented the renaissance, in other areas, of the "Little Tokyo". There is a fairly large Japanese population living in Chicago at present but here, as elsewhere, the fact that the Issei no longer form a controlling group has tended to eliminate the specific character of the minority community which had existed in pre-war California. On the Pacific Coast, the

situation is virtually the same. The ties which formerly enforced the consciousness of identification with a large minority group have for the most part been cut. In the post-war era, the Japanese-Americans still find social outlets within their own group but the process of the adoption by the Nisei of more distinctly American ways of thought and behavior has been accelerated. The fact that the link with Japan is no longer existent has been effective in furthering Americanization among both the immigrant and citizen groups. As the Japanese-Americans have returned to their pre-evacuation homes, or have sought new lives in different surroundings, they have for the most part been successful in taking up their careers as individuals. For the Nisei particularly, there has been a growing emphasis on the individual as opposed to the collective entity.

The disruption of the Japanese population in America has necessitated the reshaping of the attitudes and values of the minority as a whole. This readjustment problem is one of which the Nisei have become markedly conscious. The second generation, returning to a post-war situation in which wholesale social changes are taking place, is faced with the necessity of sharing in a society in which indifference readily gives way to hostility. But the Issei of the post-war period have been in general content to submit to the circumstances which America has imposed upon them. They have not revived the social and political clubs and organizations which were formerly so significant in maintaining the solidarity of the Japanese community and the few movements which have been initiated in this direction have encountered

failure. The Japanese Association, the local Japanese Chambers of Commerce, the various kenjinkai, the many other Issei groups have all been lost to the post-war era. If Japanese solidarity in the United States is to be reborn, it must be accompanied by Nisei support and subjected to Nisei leadership. But there seems little likelihood that this situation can be realized. The bulk of the second generation Japanese-Americans is still, on the average, just above high school and college age, many are recently discharged from military service, while others, newly married, are seeking for themselves the security which they regard as an integral part of their share in American culture. The Japanese-American Citizen's League constitutes the one organization which is attempting to effect minority solidarity and to further the interests of the Nisei. But JACL support is not universal; too many cross-currents are at work and too many varying interests exist to permit the unimpeded growth of a potential controlling body. When an attempt is made to visualize the future, the outlook becomes blurred; the vacillating Nisei character reflects the dilemma of the "marginal man".¹

The foregoing statements become significant when an attempt is made to consider the reconstruction of Buddhism among the Japanese-Americans of the post-war era. In keeping with the trend to submit to Nisei leadership in the formation of the new Japanese community, a large number of the members of the immigrant generation who were formerly active have retired to the

1. Linton, R. The Cultural Background of Personality, New York, 1945, p. 145.

background. Organized Buddhism in America, despite the resistance of Issei members of the clergy, has been entrusted to Nisei management. Out of this changed situation a series of new problems and conflicts has arisen.

In July, 1944, a convention took place in Salt Lake City which had as its aim the reorganization of the Young Buddhists' Association in America. This reform movement had its inception in the Topaz Relocation Center in central Utah where a strong YBA group, under the leadership of an active Nisei Shinshū priest, Rev. Kumada, launched a drive to effect a national Buddhist organization for the Nisei. To this conference came elected representatives from YBA chapters in every center, as well as from the newly organized branches in Chicago, Denver, and elsewhere. The conference succeeded not only in reviving a national YBA but also in reconstructing the general church organization in America.

The convention in Salt Lake City was attended almost entirely by members of the Shin sect, representatives having come from both the eastern and western Hongwanji. One of the first steps taken by the assembly was the repudiation of any tie with Japan, relations with the Kyōto synodical headquarters being thus effectively severed. In keeping with this, the two branches of the Shinshū Hongwanji were united. An adopted measure was the elimination of all denominational differences; it was proposed that a movement be begun to effect the unification of all Buddhist sects in America. The name which had been used until the outbreak of war, Buddhist Mission of North America, was

rejected as suggestive of a connection with Japan, the term Buddhist Churches of North America being substituted. An advisory cabinet, consisting of fifteen Nisei, three of whom were priests, was elected to administer the revised Buddhist organization. The new constitution provided that offices in both the central headquarters of the synodical body, at present still in San Francisco, and in the respective churches should be occupied by Nisei, i.e. citizens of the United States, although provision was made in each case for the establishment of an Issei advisory council. Justification for the removal of non-citizens from office was felt to be a legitimate step in the creation of a religious organization adapted to the contemporary American scene. The point was raised that the pre-war Buddhist churches had been strongly pro-Japanese since the Issei, barred from citizenship, had looked to Japan as the source of their religious and moral life. The new constitution of the synodical headquarters of the Buddhist Churches of North America provides that Buddhism in the United States and Canada must take its place with the other religious denominations and sever its connections with a foreign culture.

A motive underlying the reorganization of the Buddhist body in the United States was the desire to make Buddhism more attractive to the Nisei. It has already been remarked that Christianity possessed, for the Nisei, a higher prestige value, a Buddhist affiliation being regarded as synonymous with a conservative and reserved personality. In the attempt to make of Buddhism an American religion, it was hoped that more Nisei

would be drawn into the churches. In furthering this aim, it was suggested that English become the language of the church and that a program of instruction be begun to inform the members of the Nisei congregation of the basic teachings of Buddhism, facts of which in the past they had been woefully ignorant. There seems little doubt that the various priests and active YSA lay leaders who favored this movement were firmly convinced of the religious and ethical reality of their faith. The Buddhist regeneration of the post-war period has become dependent on the missionary zeal of the selected few. It is a movement which for some has come to fulfill a definite religious need. As will presently be shown, however, the social character of organized religion, Buddhism as well as Christianity, remains the paramount attraction for the young people.

The repudiation of the tie with Japan which was voted by the delegates at the Salt Lake City convention has had the effect of raising several problems of which not all have been solved. The head of the church in America had, before the war, been appointed by the Hongwanji in Kyōto. Under the changed organization this was no longer possible. The new constitution provides for the election of the bishop by the members of the affiliated churches. Similarly, the other officials of the central organization are to be elected by mail ballot. At the present writing, no such elections have taken place, the present sōchō, Rev. Matsukage, retaining the office to which he was appointed by Kyōto. A conference, contemplated for the latter part of 1946, is to be held by the various priests in the hope

that some solution to the problem of succession of the heads of the church may be found. An Issei group of ministers surrounding Rev. Matsukage is, with him, opposed to the election of the bishop, fearing their ouster by Nisei priests. Despite the acceptance of the decisions of the Salt Lake City convention by Issei, those who continue to interest themselves in church affairs, the Issei clergy in particular, have blocked the new measures from time to time. An example of this is afforded by the failure of the reorganization of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

A second problem has arisen with the need for new ministerial personnel. As early as 1930 a movement was begun to train Nisei for the priesthood but no attempts were made in the decade which followed to institute a seminary. A technical difficulty was faced by the group in the pre-war period since, theoretically, only a board appointed by the central headquarters in Japan had the right to ordain members of the clergy. All of the priests in America at the present time were trained and ordained in Japan. Even when, as in some cases, the prospective priest had been trained by his father, as might occur among members of the Shin sect, there was no way of obviating the necessity of going to Japan to take the examinations for ordination. The decimation of the numbers of priests in America as a result of detention and segregation raises the question as to the manner in which new personnel might be examined and appointed. In the centers, several of the priests took time to train candidates for the ministerial office, devout Nisei and Kibei who wished to enter the clergy. Since, in the pre-evacuation

period, a small fund had been established to train Nisei theological students, some money is available. One Nisei, Arthur Takeyama, having been trained by Shinshū priests in the Topaz Center, is currently enrolled in the City College of Los Angeles in preparation for the priesthood. Another apprentice, (Gyōshin), Roy Higashi, is acting as assistant minister in the Chicago Buddhist Church.² Despite the presence of one or two others interested in pursuing studies in theology, the problem of ordination is still to be met.

The measures which were adopted by the Salt Lake City convention of 1944 were submitted to the various Buddhist congregations both in the centers and in outside areas. The new constitution which established the Buddhist Churches of North America was ratified by the individual churches despite some strong opposition from former congregational leaders and from the majority of Issei priests. It might have been expected that the coup delivered by the Young Buddhists' Association in effecting reorganization of the church would have met with failure. That it did not was occasioned by the fact that the delegates to the convention were able to swing the vote of the various YBA chapters in its favor. Nor were all the Issei Buddhists opposed to the proposed measures of reorganization. A number expressed the opinion that American Buddhism could continue only through the efforts to preserve it made by the second and third generations. One counter measure was initiated and

2. Shibutani, T. The Initial Phases of the Buddhist Youth Movement in Chicago, Chicago, 1944. (Unpublished manuscript in possession of the Evacuation and Resettlement Study.)

supported by Issei church members. This was the temporary reappointment of the sōchō, Rev. Matsukage, as ecclesiastical head of the church, his position as bishop having been reaffirmed by votes taken in all the churches affiliated with the new organization.

As the centers closed, the returning evacuees were confronted with the problems of reestablishing their homes. In the Pacific Coast area, church buildings, some of them mortgaged, had been closed up completely or had been let by the individual congregations as housing facilities for war workers. The War Relocation Authority, in furthering its resettlement program, had secured buildings in various midwestern and eastern cities which might serve as temporary residences for newly arriving evacuees. These were the so-called "hostels". The various Christian sects had taken the lead in seeking to provide such temporary quarters for individuals and families which could be utilized until housing could be secured by them. The Buddhists followed suit in establishing hostel units of this kind. In both the midwest and Pacific Coast, the Buddhist hostel became the nucleus for the founding of new churches. In the west, the property which had been held by the various congregations was used as a reception point for returning evacuees, the more formal aspects of religious reorganization being deferred until the general living conditions could be made more stable. The Buddhists established several such hostels in the Los Angeles area, a number in towns of central California, while the great temple in San Francisco was reserved for this purpose for several months. On the Pacific Coast, while such property was owned

by the congregation as an incorporated body, elected Nisei officers were entrusted with the general administration of the buildings. This was in keeping with the plan of church re-organization but it was also felt that the Nisei were better equipped, by virtue of citizenship, to manage church property. Each hostel had its Nisei cabinet. The priests were the nominal heads of each hostel but were stripped of their former power to exercise a voice in financial matters. Religious services were carried on almost daily in the hostels, in Japanese when the individual priest lacked a command of English, but English services were led in many cases by YBA officers.

It was in the hostel that the new organization underwent its first tests. A number of conflicts arose between the Nisei officers and the Issei who desired more of a voice in the management of the church. Once it was discovered that there was actually little resentment shown by Caucasian-Americans in the districts where the Buddhist churches were located, and no attempts were made by local authorities to hinder the resettlement of the former evacuees, an Issei movement to revive the pre-war organization was begun. Too frequently, YBA leadership was apathetic, unwilling or unable to take a firm stand in the leadership of the hostel or church group. At the present time in many churches, even though a Nisei board of directors has been elected, it is the Issei advisory group which has assumed control of church affairs. In other congregations, however, an active YBA leadership has emerged with the result that Nisei leadership functions under the terms of the new constitution. In most of the revived Buddhist churches of the west coast,

the former split between the Issai and Nisei is reasserting itself, nor does this seem likely to resolve itself as long as Issai interests continue to be operative.

A number of factors, however, are present which do tend to promote more effective Nisei leadership. One of these is the financial difficulty faced by the churches wherever they may be. Evacuation and the removal of financial support from Japan has tended to disrupt church economy. The membership fees which are collected in the revived congregations are not at the present time sufficient to pay a salary to the priest, to make the necessary contribution to the central headquarters in San Francisco, to cover taxes and building maintenance. The majority of churches has been forced into drives for new membership. Since this cannot take place among the relatively static Issai group, the bulk of the new members must be recruited from among the young people. Most churches at the present time are conducting membership campaigns, sponsoring a series of social events which might be effective in attracting backsliding Nisei into the congregation. To some extent this movement has been satisfactory. Some churches have built up a large YBA membership through which the financial problem has been largely solved. In other cases, particularly where a building mortgage remains to be paid, even increased membership has not been of aid in removing a deficit.

A forced measure of economizing in a number of the churches has been the reduction of the salaries paid to the clergy. Where formerly the Shinshu priests in America had been paid

stipends averaging \$125.00 per month, present salaries have been cut, in many cases, by fully a third or half. Some of the larger churches have been able to meet the former salary. In San Francisco, for example, the bishop's stipend is still a comparatively large one, as is that of the priest in charge of the Buddhist congregation in that city. The fact that many of the priests are faced by penury and impoverishment as a result of the curtailment of their funds has made it necessary that they take some employment in addition to their parochial duties. But this in turn has created a serious problem. Most of the Issei priests had been admitted to the United States after the Exclusion Act of 1924. The conditions for their entrance as clergymen deny them the privilege of undertaking any other employment outside of their ministerial duties. The conditions of their admission of the United States require that they be supported by the church or synod in which they work. Their failure to abide by these regulations renders them liable to deportation. Since there are a number of priests who have been obliged to take work as gardeners, janitors, or as farm helpers, an illegal situation has been created. At the present time an investigation of the employment of priests who come under this classification of immigration by ecclesiastical permit is being made by officials of the United States Immigration Service. The number of priests at present in the country may be cut still further if action is taken. Not all priests come under this category. Some are Nisei, others entered as immigrants under the quotas which existed before 1924. The fact that some have made application for federal welfare aid will ultimately cause their deportation to Japan.

At the present time, there are roughly sixty priests in the United States. Three are Zen, two are Shingon, three are Nichiren, the remainder being Shinshū. There are no Tendai or Jōdō ministers. With the exception of the Shin priests, all others are in the Los Angeles area and possess small congregations. The Shin churches are now connected with the Buddhist Churches of North America but not all take an active interest in the national organization. The attempts made by the largest body to effect a sectarian union and to include the other denominations have been so far unsuccessful. It seems likely that the Nichiren congregations in Los Angeles will resist any attempt at union but a greater success is anticipated in bringing the Zen and Shingon bodies into the main organization. On the whole, the smaller sects have not followed the type of organization which has been adopted by the Shin. In these churches, the priests have been successful in maintaining a predominant Issei congregation and in excluding the young people from participation in church organization and management. The Shingon group is faced with the rather serious problem of paying for the church which was built in Los Angeles just before the outbreak of the war. If the building is lost by foreclosure, and this seems likely, this sect will probably be dissolved. Zen is being carried on by the personalities mentioned in the previous section, Bishop Ochi, now permitted to return to California, and Rev. Suzuki. A third Zen cleric has retired and no longer takes an active interest in religious affairs. It is said of the latter that he has retired from the world and is

engaged in contemplation in preparation for his approaching Buddhahood.

The movement to abolish the sectarian differences of the Buddhism of Japan had its inception, as has been noted, in the Salt Lake City convention. Of considerable influence in furthering the cause of non-sectarianism in American Buddhism has been a society of Caucasian Buddhists which at the outbreak of the war began to work in closer accord with some of the members of the Japanese churches. This is the so-called Buddhist Brotherhood in America, founded within the last decade and growing out of the Hawaiian International Buddhist Institute. The guiding spirit in the formation of the Buddhist Brotherhood is a former rabbinical student, the Rev. Julius A. Goldwater, who continues to be active in the leadership of the organization.³ The Buddhist Brotherhood in America has sought to return to basic Buddhist principles. From the point of view of doctrine, the organization may be classed as a Hinayāna manifestation, although it combines a number of the teachings of northern and southern Buddhism. The Brotherhood prefers to minimize ritual, although in its meeting place in Los Angeles some use is made of the Buddhist liturgies and of gathas (hymns). Sanskrit and Pali terms and phrases have found their way into some of the services of the organization. The clergy are called bhikshu and Indic titles are given to various aspects of the

3. Freed, A. and K. Luomala, Buddhism in the United States, War Relocation Authority, Community Analysis Section, Community Analysis Report #9, Washington, 1944, p.12.

order of service. Sutras translated into English by Rev. Goldwater, English hymns, as well as marriage and funeral services in English, have been published by the Buddhist Brotherhood. The group aims at the dissemination of Buddhist teachings among all races and nationalities, the restoration of Buddhist orthodoxy, and the spread of the universal truths wherever possible. In accord with this aim, the Brotherhood carries on a number of missionary activities. As yet no account of the formal organization of the group or of its numbers has been published. The services are attended by Caucasian Buddhists, by members of the Bahai and Theosophical sects in various cities of the United States.

While the writer is not informed as to the effect of this somewhat marginal religious movement among non-Japanese in America, some attention may be given here to the import of the group in respect to its relations with the Buddhist Churches of North America. Between the two some rivalry has existed. Some of the Issei priests, and indeed, the majority of Issei Buddhists have been of the opinion that Buddhism, as an Oriental religion, can have no appeal to the Caucasian. Hence, when, as sometimes occurs, interested non-Japanese attend the Buddhist services in Japanese churches, there is often some resentment and suspicion. In the entire Japanese Buddhist group, both in the pre-war period and at the present time, any attempts by Caucasians to enter the churches have been looked upon with disfavor. The efforts of Rev. Goldwater to be of assistance to the reorganization of Japanese Buddhism in America have been resented by some but

favored by others. The rejection by the Brotherhood of the Amidist teachings of Shinran has been regarded as little less than heresy. At the same time, however, the Brotherhood has gained the active support of several of the younger priests who claim that the Buddhist methods and services which the group has established are effective in promoting the Americanization of Buddhism. A number of YBA chapters have taken over the order of service which the Brotherhood has formulated. Hymns, services of various kinds such as infant dedication, marriages, and funerals can now be carried on in English and led by an English-speaking priest. The catechism published by the Brotherhood has also found a place in the post-war Sunday School. In the adoption of the publications of the Buddhist Brotherhood, however, the nembutsu have not been discarded. All services in churches affiliated with the Buddhist synod are terminated by the repetition of the "Namu Amida Butsu" phrase. There are, at the present time, a number of YBA chapters which are making definite efforts to formulate a closer union with the Brotherhood. Representatives of the latter are occasional speakers at YBA services. Opposition to Caucasian participation in congregational matters, despite a few attempts to eradicate the racial barrier, continues to be the rule rather than the exception to it.

The reorganization of the formal side of the church as it has taken place following the war, the new role of progressive YBA leaders and the more liberal younger priests, as well as the influence of such a group as the Buddhist Brotherhood, are

factors which suggest a change in the doctrines of American Buddhism. It should not be expected that Issei attitudes toward religion would have been significantly changed. Indeed, it seems apparent that the Issei Buddhists are holding tenaciously to the elements of Buddhism which they regard as sacred. Just as before the war the Buddhism of the immigrant generation was reserved for the household, so at the present time there is greater preoccupation with the ancestral cult than with the aspects of formal church attendance. Motives for participation in the congregational assembly do not appear to have been modified among the Issei. The opportunity to meet friends, to hear a sermon which stirs the emotions, or to witness the familiar ritual are factors which serve to attract Issei to the church. If any thought is devoted to doctrinal matters, although it may be mentioned parenthetically that theological speculation is extremely rare, the problems which are raised may be solved in the light of the familiar explanations which Japanese Buddhism provides. But the devout Nisei cannot take refuge in the patterns of an old world culture. From the religious and emotional point of view, it has been necessary for them to arrive at a new set of customary values.

It is in respect to just this point, the satisfaction of the religious need, that a finger may be laid on the weakness of Buddhism in America. The post-war YBA chapters have revived the habit of the weekly devotional, led either by an English-speaking priest or by an elected religious chairman of the group. The subject matter is nebulous, nor do the attending

members demonstrate any great interest in religious matters. Most are badly informed as to the history of Buddhism, or even as to the doctrines taught by the various Japanese sects. Such few rituals as are preserved, the offering of incense, the nembutsu repetition, have no definite meaning. To the young people, Buddhist doctrines have been presented as providing an acceptable code of ethics for living. There has been a de-emphasis on doctrine, on the Amidist Pure Land, and on the concept of Buddhahood. As an extremely flexible religion, Buddhism in America has allowed itself to change too much to be an effective religious force. At the same time, however, the group has been held together by common interests which for the most part reflect an interest in the social affairs which the various churches offer. In the weekly devotional services, it has become customary for the religious chairman to call upon members of the Nisei group for what in Christian parlance would be regarded as the "testimonial". Some of these have been recorded by the writer:

Religious chairman:- Noboru, will you get up and tell us just what Buddhism means to you?

Noboru:- Well, I always went to YMAA services before evacuation and before that I went to Sunday School. When I was in the center, I started going to the Christian fellowship meetings and later in Chicago I went to them too. But they don't believe in what they're doing. Since then I came back to California and I'm going to the Buddhist Church. Buddhism tells me not to be a hypocrite and I don't think I am. I've found truth in Buddhism and I'm not a hypocrite any more.

The above statement was made by a young man of about 21; a second statement may be given:

Religious chairman:- Can any one make a definite statement as to why he attends the Buddhist Church?

Nisei girl: (Age ca. 19) Buddhism is unity and we're all together in it. We're not doing any one a favor by coming to church; we're trying to learn more about our faith. There are lots of things about Buddhism I don't understand and I'm sure you all agree with me that we want to learn about Buddhism. We can criticize Buddhism all we want; that's what I like about it. It doesn't try to tie us down.

A favorable comparison might be made between statements like these above with similar ones made in Christian churches. These, and others like them, reflect the indecision and hesitation which the Nisei carry over into every activity. The failure of Buddhism, in both Japan and America, to make any demands on the individual, to insist that he conform by attending church services, acts as a deterrent to the successful growth of the religious force. It is only by sponsoring an effective social program that a large number of Nisei members is kept.

In the congregations affiliated with the Buddhist Churches of North America, the offices of president, vice presidents, secretary, treasurers, and auditors have, as is mentioned above, been filled from out of the Nisei ranks. Both church and YBA offices have been taken by the few young people who have shown themselves willing to assume responsibility. The continuing tendency of the Issei to dominate has had the effect of increasing Nisei lack of interest in many of the churches. One of the problems which has arisen in this connection has been caused by the failure of the Buddhist churches to provide an interest for the newly married Nisei. The young people who attend the YBA services and socials, who take an active interest in the

churches, are almost wholly the unmarried. The months of residence in the relocation centers promoted an increase in the number of marriages among members of the second generation. The social events which attract the unmarried Nisei, the opportunity for the younger people to meet, fail to provide an incentive to the young married couples to attend church services. At the present time, those who are active in YBA and church affairs, those who are willing to be elected to congregational offices, are for the most part older unmarried Nisei, a group which at the present time is decreasing in numbers.

The general pattern of social events connected with the Nisei religious services has not been subject to any marked changes. Following the devotional service for the young people, a church social is usually held. These entail social games, folk dancing, and the like. A number of the ministers, including all of the Nisei priests, have urged that socials be held in the evenings and have suggested that the period following the YBA devotional be given over to lectures and debates on religious matters. Church attendance shrinks visibly when such proposals are put into effect. The church service for the young people is regularly opened by the religious chairman, a Nisei elected to serve for a specific term of office or appointed by the priest from Sunday to Sunday. From the English selections of the Buddhist canons verses such as the following are read by the religious chairman:

Oh, Thou, the Buddha, the Supremely Awakened One, the Most Honored One, here we are gathered together in Thy presence with deepest reverence and adoration in our

hearts. We put our whole trust in Thee, in Thy teaching, and in Thy order, and we earnestly resolve to be good Buddhists and to follow the Holy Path Thou hast shown us, so that we may, like Thyself, attain the happy and most peaceful realm of Nirvana.

The first hymn, led by piano or organ, follows. In this the entire assembly joins. At the present time, some of the larger churches have formed choirs, which, with an organ accompaniment, act to lead the singing and to present anthems. The following is a typical sample of the Buddhist hymns in current use:

Lord Buddha speaks to me
In accents low:
My child, look up and learn
The truth I show;
Trust not illusion's vision
Ever brief and fleeting
For only Truth can give thee
Thy heart's desire.

Lord Buddha speaks to me
When sin (sic) holds sway:
When passion's fires rise high
And help seems far away:
Fear not, for I have conquered
Passions fierce and raging
Tread thou the path I show thee
Therein lies peace. 4
etc.

The YBA groups appear to favor hymns of the above type. These are written by Caucasian Buddhists and follow Occidental modes quite closely. Less popular are the translations from Japanese and Sanskrit, chants which preserve the Oriental measures.

A sermon, preceded by the burning of incense before the opened butsudan, follows the hymn and the opening invocation. The sole function of the priest in the currently adopted YBA service is the delivery of the sermon; only rarely are sutras

4. Buddhist Brotherhood of America. Ceremonies for the Use of Buddhists at Gatherings. Los Angeles, 1943, p. 113.

intended before the young peoples' gatherings. Without exception, the Issei priests deliver their sermons in Japanese, the Nisei in English. Japanese sermons are looked upon with considerable disfavor; most of the YSA members maintaining that they are unable to understand them. This is rather doubtful, since the priests tend to preach a simple sermon and to phrase it in easily intelligible language. Sermon topics vary considerably with the officiating cleric. A number of the Issei clergy continue to emphasize the consciousness of race, the identification of Buddhism with Japan. Others stress the necessity of adhering to the Buddhist principles, the love of Buddha for men, and the like. On the whole, a close parallel is to be noted between the hymns and sermons of the Nisei Buddhist services and those which appear in Christian Protestant churches.

Following the sermon, a second hymn is sung, after which another short verse is read by the religious chairman, or responsive readings between the chairman and the assembled group. The final doxology may be sung in Japanese, the one suggestion, besides the sermon, of the retention of the Japanese language. Such services are of about forty minutes duration. No collection is taken up, but contributions are made to the alms-box in the church by the members as they enter. Some, with folded hands, bow as they make their contribution; the rest make their offering without ceremony. At the close of service, as the doxology is sung, a threefold repetition of the nembutsu occurs.

The YBA service, occurring for the most part on Sunday morning, may be followed by the social afternoon. The group often has a luncheon after the religious gathering for which a small amount is charged. In urban areas, the food served is distinctly western, a typical meal consisting of meat loaf, peas and carrots, cottage cheese and apricot salad, ice cream. The only suggestion that the gathering is Japanese arises from the fact that tea may be served. The rural churches tend to make greater use of Japanese food. Larger churches have kitchen facilities and some employ cooks. In the smaller, committees are appointed or volunteer to manage the refreshments. The wife of the minister normally lends a helping hand in the preparation of the food for various occasions.

The general pattern of the YBA service has not changed perceptibly since the pre-war era. The attitudes surrounding the devotional do reflect some modification. These have called for the accelerated trend toward Americanization, an increased use of English in all aspects of the service. Some of the more devout maintain that the social gatherings after the religious meeting are out of harmony with the spirit of religion. As a result, in some of the churches attempts have been made to drop the social affairs.⁵ Some criticism has been forthcoming because of the fact that parties may be held in the church itself, since facilities are lacking in some buildings for a social hall. This situation has been described as "irreverent" and "blasphemous".

5. Shibutani, T. op. cit. In Chicago, a schism in the newly founded Buddhist church in which this point was one of the main causes of dissension.

In keeping with the plan to nationalize the YBA and to inaugurate a campaign to increase membership, conventions, regional meetings and the like have been brought into being as a means of furthering this program. The various YBA chapters attempt to keep abreast of each other and to compare notes and news. In a number of areas chapters have combined to publish news-letters and papers. Most of these have been begun recently, since the early months of 1946. The synodical headquarters in San Francisco publishes religious tracts and papers. Here the YBA has taken over the general editing and publications of the main temple. Issai and Nisei together aid in the publishing of the Mahadharma, as the monthly journal of the headquarters is called. While this is published in both English and Japanese, the periodicals issued by the various combined YBA chapters are solely in English. Bussei publications are circulated from the Los Angeles area, from Fresno, in central California, from Salt Lake City, Denver, Chicago, and New York. The founding of a YBA chapter in Minneapolis, another in Cleveland, and others planned for several mid-western cities, has received considerable publicity from the periodicals already in existence. The rising interest in the formal organization suggests the future course of Japanese Buddhism in America. Despite the few columns in each publication devoted to religious news, the preponderant emphasis is on social, athletic, and political events.

6. YBA publications currently available include the following: Buddhist Churches of America, Mahadharma (in English and Japanese), a monthly publication of the Buddhist Churches of America, San Francisco, Vol. I, no. 1, November, 1945. Young Buddhist Associations, The Bussei Review, Fresno, 1946; The Midwest Dharma, Chicago, 1945; The Tri-State Bussei Bulletin, Denver, 1946. The latter is mimeographed, the others printed. Of interest are the Sanskrit names given to these publications, a result of the influence of the Buddhist Brotherhood in America.

The patterns of behavior and the attitudes which surround the Buddhism of the immigrant generation have tended to survive in the post-war period. Even though there can be now no connection with Japan, many Issei attend the churches simply for the renewal of the familiar associations. It is with considerable reluctance that some have admitted the Buddhism which they knew to be passing away. There is marked pessimism in respect to the growing influence of the YBA. Opposition to the socials has been strong; as was noted previously, dancing and dating tend to be viewed as somewhat immoral. The Issei consensus is borne out in the following statement:

I don't like to see my children use the churches to have a good time. Religion is something that should come from the heart, from the inside. Some of these young kids act just like the church is a dance hall. But my wife said to me that maybe it's a good thing they do go to church. When they do, they hear about religion even though they dance afterwards. They should all have some kind of religious training and I don't care if they go to a Christian church. That's better than being nothing at all. I can't teach my children about Buddhism; I don't know enough about it myself. The church is the only way. What I don't like to see is these inexperienced boys try to run the church; even if the sensei (priest) does help, some of them are trying to do things too much their own way.

The opinion above was voiced by a man of about 55 who had formerly been active in the San Francisco Buddhist Church. In the church itself, the Issei services continue to be held on Sunday evenings. As before the war and in the centers, they are conducted exclusively in Japanese. Sutras are recited in which the entire group joins, one or two Japanese hymns sung, a sermon delivered by the priest. The services are led by the priest, there being no lay leader involved. The favored sermon, among the Issei, is the one capable of stirring the emotions. The most popular priest is the

one who can intertwine with the moral exhortations of his sermon sad and beautiful anecdotes. An intellectualistic sermon based on doctrine and theology arouses little interest.

At the present time, many less Issei attend the services than before the war. Since not all the churches are reestablished as yet, it is not possible to obtain statistical figures on the number of Buddhists, Issei or Nisei, in the United States at the present time. Those Issei who formerly attended the church services and now do not, profess to be too busy and tend to be somewhat embarrassed when they encounter their priest. It appears that many of those who no longer interest themselves in established Buddhism have simply lost heart as a result of the defeat of Japan. The realization that the old Japan is no more has made faith in Buddhism meaningless. It seems unlikely that this attitude is carried over into the Buddhist household practices but it has had its effect on Issei church attendance. There are a number of Issei parishioners who have dropped out of the churches because of the growing YBA control. It follows, moreover, that the congregations which have a more active Issei advisory board have a larger Issei attendance.

A number of the church members who were born in Japan and do not now attend continue to support the churches by paying the membership fees. As before the war, these dues form the basis of church income. In order to solve their financial problems, a few churches have raised their dues although by never more than two or three dollars per year. Dues collected by the YBA are incorporated into a fund, part of which is used to defray expenses

incurred by the church. Some congregations have revived the fujinkai and this likewise forms a source of income for the church. No attempts have been made to reestablish a national fujinkai or to revive the Bukyo Fujin (Buddhist ladies' publication), which was circulated in the Pacific Coast areas before the war.

As each Buddhist congregation becomes more settled, it is possible that Issei attendance will increase. In any case, a number of the California churches are attempting to revive the interest of this group. Banquets and social get-togethers for the men, sewing, flower arranging, and lecture classes for the women are being carried on by the larger churches particularly in San Francisco and Los Angeles. Here too, there is a recognition of the social function of religion. Efforts are being made to restore the Buddhist church as a center of Issei social affairs. Most such movements have been begun by Issei priests, their wives, and Issei friends.

The descriptions which have been given above of the various functions of the Buddhist faith as a religion of the home are still applicable to Issei Buddhism in America. The butsudan is kept by many, although others have never bothered to restore theirs, hoji observances, and the features which are connected with the various aspects of the life cycle have been subjected to little, if any, change. Issei Buddhists still insist, for the most part, that their children be married through the offices of the go-between, that their offspring, in turn, be presented to the church, and that full attention is given to the funeral

service. The Nisei tend to leave matters of this kind to their parents and to participate in household Buddhism according to the wishes of their parents. Rarely, however, are these aspects of Buddhism initiated by Nisei. The formal side of the religion may survive through the Nisei, but it seems dubious that the household religious practices will continue to persist after many years.

The present section of this study has emphasized the organizational aspects of Japanese Buddhism in America since it is in respect to these that the greatest number of changes has taken place since the war. It is obvious that the many problems of reorganization which the central headquarters and the respective congregations face have not as yet been resolved. As the evacuees have returned from the relocation centers and have reestablished their homes either in the new areas of the midwest and east or again on the Pacific Coast, the efforts to restore religion have been successful or not depending on the nature of the new situation. Each church faces its own problems and can best solve them by effecting a harmony between priest, Issei, and Nisei. The controlling board of 15 Nisei in the central headquarters of the Buddhist Churches of North America has not as yet begun to function smoothly. The problem of the hierarchy, of the redistribution of the clergy, of the training of candidates for the priesthood must still be faced. Whether a cabinet made up of 12 lay Nisei members and three young priests can effectively settle these affairs remains a question. The strong opposition of the Issei priests and of the incumbent

bishop must be overcome. The ability or inability of the Nisei cabinet to function will undoubtedly have far-reaching consequences for the future of Buddhism in America. Should it fail, the old dichotomy may reassert itself and the union of the Buddhist churches be threatened. Already a number are dissatisfied with the headquarters and are promising to withdraw. The national Young Buddhists' Association would remain the sole basis for Buddhist unity in the event that the synod is disrupted. As has been suggested, however, this group is little more than a union of social clubs, rivalling to some extent the Japanese-American Citizens' League. The Buddhist Churches of North America, founded on the older Shin Hongwanji mission, form a synod which may or may not be successful in preserving unity and in furthering Japanese-American Buddhism.

CONCLUSION

It has obviously not been possible to offer in the preceding pages a detailed account of every facet of the emotional attitudes, the ritual, and the types of organization which surround Japanese Buddhism in America. It is hoped that sufficient data have been presented, however, to permit the formulation of some general conclusions with regard to a culture contact situation.

The fact is apparent that every aspect of the culture which the original Japanese immigrants brought with them to America has undergone a change. "Continuous first-hand contact" between native Japanese patterns of thought and behavior and the culture of modern America has been operative in one direction: toward the modification of the culture of the immigrant. The Japanese in America constitute a dominated minority. Unlike the European immigrant and his descendants, the Japanese cannot look forward to complete assimilation by contemporary American culture. His race is against him; although he may emulate the patterns prevalent in his new cultural environment, and although his children may make every effort to be accepted by a society to which they are aliens, the Japanese-Americans occupy a marginal status and move on the fringes of the culture in which they have chosen to live or into which they have been born. The immigrant, whatever his motives in coming to the United States, was faced with the necessity of recognizing that the well-ordered

folkways of native Japan could not be retained in America in their integrated forms. The very fact that the new environment with its stress on individual economic competition militated against the native Japanese concepts of mutual aid and cooperation marked a radical departure from the familiar old-world mores.¹ As the Japanese communities in the United States became settled, consciousness of group solidarity was enforced by external pressures exerted by the dominant majority. In consequence, the immigrant generation clung tenaciously to its tie with the homeland, even preserving items of culture which had become meaningless in America, e. g. the otsuya. The immigrant viewed with alarm the changed attitudes and values which his children adopted. It is in the recognition of the interaction of the two generations and the degree of assimilation which each has achieved that the key to the understanding of the processes of acculturation among the Japanese-American minority lies.

The present study has chosen for somewhat close examination the role of an old world religion in this marginal group. Buddhism has been retained in America, even encouraged by the fact that freedom of religion and worship is permitted by the prevailing legal codes. As the motives which prompted the retention of Buddhism by some 60% of the Issei and by about 40% of the Nisei are examined, two very different attitudes assert themselves. Before the war, the Issei Buddhists felt that through their faith a closer bond with the homeland could be effected. Church

1. This point is emphasized by J. F. Embree, Acculturation among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii, Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, #59, 1941, pp. 143-147

attendance was not a requirement but most did attend on special holidays and continued to observe practises connected with Buddhism in their homes. The opportunity for the free practise of Buddhism in America, as well as the emotional values associated with it, were factors in keeping it alive. The Buddhist temple of Japan became the Buddhist church in America, a meeting place for those who wished to renew and preserve common sentiments.

The Nisei, on the other hand, found Buddhism considerably less attractive than did their parents. For them no need existed to renew a sentimental link with a foreign culture. Many, as we have seen, resisted the efforts which their parents made to bring them into the Buddhist congregations and resented the religion as a force which made for conservatism and too close a relation with a foreign way. It was in the Nisei groups, in consequence, where the attempts arose to emphasize the social side of religion. In keeping with the prevalent church systems in the United States, Buddhism too, became a social rather than a religious force. But even the fact that the churches became social centers for the Nisei was scarcely sufficient to keep a membership which could increase. Christianity, a more integral part of American culture, drew heavily from the Buddhist young people. Christian friends and acquaintances were often instrumental in bringing young people out of the Buddhist group and into the Christian. The Nisei Buddhists, in their attempts to emulate in their own organization the social patterns which they saw in operation in the Christian groups, organized the young peoples' club and stressed the young peoples' devotional service, favoring English for the latter rather than Japanese.

But if the Issei were able to retain elements of Japanese culture in their practices of Buddhism as a religion of the home, they were also obliged to make concessions to the new cultural environment. The temple of Japan, entrusted to the sole charge of a priest, became in America an incorporated church body, adopting a type of congregational organization in keeping with the laws of the various states. It was for this reason that the Issei Buddhists of the pre-war era elected officers from among their own number to conduct church business. For many Issei, office holding in the church, a radical departure from the native Japanese Buddhist practices, was a means of gaining some prestige and acclaim as a community leader. As one of the Issei associations which characterized the Japanese settlements before the outbreak of the war, the Buddhist churches assumed a political importance.

Life in America also had its effect on church services and rituals. The adoption of Sunday as the church day is an innovation. It is true, however, that in Japan, as a result of the adoption of the Gregorian calendar, the concept of a day of rest has gradually taken hold. But this is not, as in America, a day specifically devoted to religious worship. The Buddhist Sunday services, as they have been and continue to be practised in the United States, have brought about the formulation of an order of worship which differs from that known in Japan. Even though the sacred objects of the church, the butsudan, the flowers and incense, the gong, have retained their character, there have been added not only an English but also a Japanese hymnology,

a concept of a specific order of service centered about a sermon, and western clerical garb for the priests. The Nisei groups, in their type of organization, have taken over the concepts associated with the young peoples' groups in the various Protestant sects of Christianity. As a means of maintaining a Nisei interest in Buddhism, the Sunday School was inaugurated. It is of interest to note that this concept spread back to Japan from America, the Buddhist Sunday School or its equivalent now having become a part of the organizational program of the Shin sect there. It appears at the present time that the other sects are also instituting their own children's classes.

The comparisons between the Buddhism of Japan and America which have been made in the preceding chapters serve to indicate that American Buddhism has changed as a result of pressures exerted both from without, as through legislation affecting church organization, and from within, the latter point being typified by the desires of some of the group, particularly the Nisei, to adopt some of the ways of the majority. Before the war, the process of acculturation, the Americanization of Japanese Buddhism, was proceeding at a relatively normal rate as a result of the protraction of the contact with American culture. In the decade of the 1930's Buddhism was a Japanese religious form which was maintained by Issei for their own benefit. Except to participate in the YBA services and organizations, the Nisei had relatively no voice in the church. With the outbreak of war, however, the Americanization of Japanese Buddhism was accelerated, partially successful attempts having been made to assume

control of church affairs by members of the second generation. The result has been a growing bid on the part of the Nisei to become the dominant forces which operate to preserve and maintain Japanese Buddhism in America. In fact, as a result of the growing, although still contested, Nisei voice in church affairs, the link with the old world has been broken and a religious force better adapted to the American scene brought into being.

If a comparison is made between the Buddhism of the Japanese immigrant and the Christianity of any of the groups of European origin, a striking parallel is at once apparent. It is the immigrant generation to whom the old world religious forms have emotional value. The tendency to preserve the familiar ritual, the language, and indeed, the beliefs associated with the religious forms of the mother country is strong. Even though the immigrant casts aside numerous of the attitudes and values surrounding other aspects of life, the emotional tie with religion is stronger and less apt to change. Indeed, there is little motive to abandon the forms which are connected with religion; these have the effect of preserving the common sentiments which form a tie with the mother culture. This point has already been noted as a factor in keeping Buddhism alive among the first generation Japanese immigrants.² The revision of the values upon which religious emotions of the immigrant group are founded appears to arise from among the second generation, the group to which the attitudes of the parents are alien. The European Protestant churches in America, indeed, have undergone just such

2. Stephenson, G. M. The Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration; a Study of Immigrant Churches, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, 1938, Chapter 28.

phases in becoming Americanized. Japanese Buddhism in America is likewise subject to the same process.

Rarely, however, is it possible to observe a process of culture change in action as it occurred in the various relocation centers. The fact that here the Nisei were favored by virtue of citizenship permitted them to assume a new and more important role. In Buddhism, despite the growth of a strong Issei congregation in some of the centers, it was the Young Buddhists' Association which was encouraged to reorganize. The new role of the Nisei was operative in hastening the Americanization, i.e. acculturation, in all forms of Japanese-American life. Of particular import in this connection has been the re-orientation of Buddhism as an American religion. The process still continues but it seems reasonable to anticipate the complete breakdown of old world sectarianism and the regeneration of a religion suited to American life. The relocation center phase, while it may have been demoralizing, served to accentuate the conflicts between the two generations and to turn the eyes of the Nisei group toward America.

The immigrant generation sought to recreate in America the familiar religious forms of Japan. In keeping with this effort, a church organization was established. What is perhaps of greater importance was the retention of the household cult and its associated native Japanese practices. To the Issei, the household observances still constitute religion. But to the general Nisei group, religion is in the church rather than in the home. The preoccupation with the ancestral cult does not

come into the Nisei sphere. Like other Americans, the Nisei are attracted to the churches by the social opportunities which they afford. It is perhaps unfortunate that Buddhism possesses the character that it does. In Japan, it readily has given way to an ancestral cult; in America, it has become a social outlet for all but the devout few. The war years accelerated Japanese-American acculturation. It remains to be seen if Buddhism in America will survive or be destroyed as the Nisei find their niche in the United States of the contemporary post-war period.

APPENDIX I

BUDDHIST FESTIVALS AND HOLIDAYS OBSERVED IN THE UNITED STATES

The Japanese Buddhist immigrants to America brought with them a rich background of religious festivals and holidays and attempted, as far as they were able, to preserve and maintain them in the new environment. Coupled with the native religions of Japan are concepts of sacred and profane seasons, an emphasis on the relation of human activities to a well defined yearly round of events. Observable among the agricultural classes of Japan is the celebration of various ceremonial days reflecting both Shintō and Buddhism and linked with the Chinese lunar calendar.¹ Regardless of religious affiliation all Japanese celebrate New Year's Day, Doll Day, Boys' Day, and the Bon festival. Since the Meiji Restoration, moreover, and until the occupation of Japan by the allied powers, holidays decreed by the government in honor of the birthday of the reigning monarch, in commemoration of Meiji, or the like, were observed by Japanese nationals everywhere. But of greater significance to the Japanese rural people, the agricultural backbone of the Japanese nation, are the holidays connected with the yearly round of events. A correlation between agricultural slack periods and the sacred season is observable. Throughout the year, however, there are greater and lesser holidays. Some of these are derived from foreign lands, the Bon season, for example, and entered Japan

¹ Lebreton, John F. Suye Mura, a Japanese Village, Chicago, 1939. pp. 263-298.

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with Buddhism. Of particular interest to devout Buddhists in the various sects are the birth or death dates of the respective sectarian founders, of the Buddha, or of various saints who for one reason or another are regarded as worthy of commemoration.

A fair number of native Japanese holidays has been preserved in America although their character has been somewhat modified. The fact that the Pacific Coast of North America does not have the same pronounced seasons which appear in Japan has tended, among the rural agricultural classes, to reduce the significance of the yearly round of events. In urban areas, Issei have continued to observe certain festivals of the homeland even though these are not maintained by the second generation. New Years' Day and the Bon season are perhaps the most popular Japanese holidays in America. These are family festivals in which all Japanese-Americans tend to participate. The other festivals, celebration of which depends on family interests or religion, are not observed by all the members of the minority group. The religious holidays which are kept by the Christian Japanese follow more closely the American pattern, although the Issei Christians prefer to reserve gift exchange for New Year's and the Bon festival becomes a time of general merry-making. Japanese festivals in America have in many instances lost or changed their old world meaning, their length of duration has been modified, and the agricultural lunar calendar abandoned.

Since the present study has been preoccupied with Buddhism, no account is to be taken in the following list of the Shintō feast-days which were observed in the United States before the war.

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The following list offers a brief description of the purely Buddhist observances of Japanese and American holidays in the various churches of the United States:

January

1. New Year's Day (Shōgatsu Kanshi)

In America, all members of the church attend services, making obeisance before the altar and lighting candles and incense. This is the one festival which all Buddhists observe in the church even if they do not attend services throughout the remainder of the year. A short devotional service is held by the priest on New Year's morning, although the church itself is kept open all day. Special food is offered to the members as they appear in the church. Mame (beans) and kazunoko (cod roe) are indicative of prosperity and its increase for the coming year. Kagami-mochi (melon-shaped mochi) is prepared and placed as a special offering before the church butsudan. This consists of rice dumplings (mochi) and peeled oranges. All such preparations, the food, the church decorations, are normally entrusted to the fujinkai.

Various observances also take place in the homes of members.

In Japan, church or temple observances are somewhat different. Here the service is held at midnight of December 31. The temple gong (okane) is sounded 108 times, signifying the countless desires which must be cast away and the progression toward purity of mind. As the gong is heard, members of the parish change their clothing and hurry to the temple. A short service and the food offerings do not differ between Japan and America. In the observance of the New Year's holiday there are in Japan some

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sectarian differences. These, for the most part, have been discarded. The festival itself continues for fifteen days with special observances on the 7th and 15th of January.

In America, the New Year's feast lasts only one day, although mention may be made of it on the Sunday following the holiday in the various church services. The general character of the festival as a world renewal rite continues in America as in Japan. Gong sounding has been discontinued and the time of services been changed.

More elaborate New Year's celebrations were conducted in America by Shintō devotees.²

16. Memorial Day for Shinran shōnin, (Goshiki karyō)

This is a Shinshū festival set aside in honor of St. Shinran, the founder of the sect. The celebration by Buddhists of a special hōon ko day, a festival in gratitude to the respective sectarian founders may occur at any time throughout the sacred season of November, December, and January. In Shinshū, January 16 is generally chosen.

In Japan there are two kinds of hōon ko observances. In many towns the occasion becomes a time for carnivals. Circuses, theatrical productions, and talent shows are held. In addition, there are religious ceremonies. In Japan, the Shin sect often observes hōon ko in connection with the death day of St. Shinran.³

The central Hongwanji at Kyōto, both Nishi and Higashi, devote a week to Shinran's memorial day, normally beginning on

2. Ikeda, H. The Ceremonial Life of the Japanese in California and Japan, Berkeley, ca. 1935 (Unpublished manuscript in possession of Dr. Paul Radin.)

3. Babree, J. F. op. cit. p. 235.

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the 13th and terminating on the 19th of January. The chief celebrations occur on January 16, the midpoint of the period. During the seven day interval, 21 services are held in the Kyōto Shin temples. At this time there are special lectures and sermons in honor of St. Shinran. Occasion is taken to express gratitude to him for his founding of the sect. Each Shinshū temple in Japan holds a three day celebration with several services each day.

Other sects do not observe Goshoki kuyō but have special observances of their own during the hōon kō season.

In America, there is a three day series of events in the central headquarters in San Francisco, a one or two day celebration in each church. Usually, the Saturday and Sunday nearest to January 16 are chosen for festivities but not all churches observe the same date. To make the event as colorful as possible a number of preachers and lecturers are invited. Because of this varying dates may be chosen. The Shinran memorial service may be celebrated at any time during the winter months in either Japan or America.

The festival is the most important one of the Shin sect. The American churches are especially decorated and all members urged to come. The sutras recited are especially related to St. Shinran and the sermons are concerned with his works. In post-war America, there is a tendency to lay less emphasis on this festival.

February

14. St. Valentine's Day

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Most YBA chapters sponsor a social gathering for this American holiday.

15. Nehane (Nirvana) Festival

This is a religious holiday commemorating the anniversary of the death of Sakyamuni Buddha. It is observed by all the Japanese sects which emphasize the person of the founder of Buddhism. Zen, Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren honor the death date of the Buddha but Shin and Jōdo do not. The Zen sect, in both Japan and America, emphasizes the 1st and 15th of each month as days to honor Kwannon and Sakyamuni but reserves a special series of ceremonies for February 15. In Japan, special temple services as well as observances in the central headquarters are held. In America, the churches belonging to these sects are open on this day, or on the nearest Sunday, and sermons delivered in honor of the Buddha.

March

3. Girls' Day (Hinamatsuri)

This is the Japanese national holiday for girls and is designed for the exhibition of dolls. It is not a religious holiday. A fairly large number of Japanese families in America still observe it.

21. O-Higan (Spring equinox)

In Japan, a week is devoted to Higan observances, March 18 to 24 being the usual period in which celebrations take place. There are no elaborate temple services but the building is kept open for the week. The various sects open shrines, in rural Japan local pilgrimages being made to them. Graves are visited and

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there is considerable attention paid to social calls between friends and neighbors.

In the United States, some families prepare special foods and continue to visit the graves of deceased family members. The churches hold special services on the Sunday nearest the 21. In their sermons, the priests call attention to the old Japanese customs connected with Higan. The social nature of the festival in America has all but vanished. Issei are concerned with it but it affects the Nisei only incidentally.

Members of the Shingon sect, both in Japan and America, pay special honors to Kōbō Daishi on the occasion of the spring Higan.

Higan observances in America last only one day.

April

7. Hōnen Shōnin anniversary

In Japan, this is the festival day in honor of St. Hōnen, the founder of Jōdō. The holiday has fallen into disuse in America, most adherents of the Jōdō sect having joined other denominations.

8. Hana Matsuri (Flower festival)

This is an important Buddhist holiday, observed in honor of the birth of Sakyamuni Buddha. This festival has become more important in lands where Buddhism is not native than in Japan. It is a day for missionary activities among Buddhists in America. Each Japanese-American church member brings to the church as many flowers as possible. These are banked high around the butsudan in the church building. A miniature shrine, containing an image of the infant Buddha, is made with flowers and placed

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before the altar. The image stands in a special vessel containing sweetened tea. Everyone pays homage to the image by lighting incense and by pouring the tea over it. In this way a pleasant reminder of Buddha's birth, in a flowering garden watered by spring showers, is achieved. The sermon which normally follows makes a point of the fact that in this way the individual may identify himself with the birth of the Buddha.

In America, this festival is also known as Wesak-tide and it is honored by the following hymn:

Buddha, Lord, we offer	Holy Day of Wesak
On Thy birthday fair	Day of Buddha's birth
Garlands of the brightest	When the sun of wisdom
Blossoms choice and rare.	Shone upon the earth.

etc.⁴

Outside of the church, a festival spirit prevails; picnics, outings, barbecues, and the like are sponsored by the Issei group or YBA and all church members invited.

In Japan, little attention is given to this festival and then only by non-Amidist sects. Shinshū makes use of it in America. In Hawaii, however, a description of the holidays at Kona mentions it as a Zen festival.⁵

May5. Tango (Boys' Day)

This festival is observed by most Issei in America but has no religious connotation.

4. Buddhist Brotherhood in America, Order of Ceremonies for the Use of Buddhists at Gatherings, Los Angeles, 1943, p. 76.
5. Embre, J. F. Acculturation among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii, Memoirs, American Anthropological Association, #59, 1941, p. 124.

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Mothers' Day (Second Sunday)

An American holiday, Mothers' Day is celebrated by most Buddhist churches. The YBA service makes a point of inviting all the Issei mothers and holds a banquet and entertainment after the service. Gifts are given to the mothers at this affair and special foods prepared for them. Red and white carnations are worn by the young people in accord with the American custom.

May 21. Birthdate of St. Shinran

A festival observed in America on the Sunday nearest to the 21. Mention of the day is made by the priest in his sermon. The festival is solely Shinshū.

In Japan the Shin temples and the Kyōto headquarters of the sect have special one day observances. These tend to be somewhat elaborate, and more care is taken than in America to provide the proper honors for Shinran Shōnin.

30. Memorial Day

This festival has a double connotation. It is the American Memorial Day holiday but it is also the birthday of the reigning emperor of Japan. Before the war, most Japanese communities made some observance of the latter, arranging for patriotic speeches and demonstrations in honor of the Showa regime. Since the war, because of the fact that many Nisei were killed in battle, the holiday has become oriented to the American practice and honors the war dead. The Buddhist churches remain open on this day.

June

4. Dengyō Daishi Day

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The special holiday for devotees of the Tendai sect. Since there are no Tendai temples in the United States, and few adherents to the sects, there is no formal observance.

Fathers' Day (Second Sunday)

The Issei fathers of YBA members are honored in a YBA service which follows the same pattern as that described for Mothers' Day.

July

15. The Bon Festival

This is the Buddhist Memorial Day. It is one of the great Japanese festivals reserved not only for Buddhism but for all Japanese. It is a time for merrymaking and gift exchange. The Bon festival, apparently of Chinese importation, is the time when the ancestral spirits return to the land of the living.

In Japan, every town has dances beginning on the first of the month and culminating on the fifteenth. Although the Meiji edicts forbade the Bon-O-Dori, they have been to some extent revived. Every family attempts to have at least one social gathering during the Bon period. The Buddhists clean the cemeteries, offering flowers, fruit, and hanging the Bon lanterns on the gravestones of deceased family members. Each cemetery is a veritable ocean of lanterns. These are made by artists who support themselves by designing and painting the paper lanterns. Members of the Zen and Nichiren sects float lights downstream and throw offerings of food and flowers into the waters.

In the United States, only one Bon day is observed. It is usually on the Saturday or Sunday nearest to the fifteenth of

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the month. Most churches sponsor the dances which are revived in the costumes of old Japan. A number of those who cling more tenaciously to the customs of the homeland make or buy the lanterns and make use of the occasion to clean the cemeteries. The dances are held outside of the churches in parks, squares, or schoolgrounds. The concepts of gift exchange and social gatherings are retained although the legendary meaning of the dance, the fact that monks danced for joy at the release of souls from the bondage of life and desire, and the meaning of the Bon festival itself, are said to be largely forgotten. For most it is a time of merrymaking with few religious connotations. As the present study notes, Christians as well as Buddhists and Shintoists participate in the festival.

A number of the churches hold special services and the sermons then given attempt to revive the spirit and meaning of O-Bon.

August

No festivals observed.

September

23. Fall Higan

Observances of the Autumnal equinox parallel those described for the spring Higan above in both Japan and America.

October

No festivals observed.

November

Thanksgiving

Some Buddhists, most Christians, and a few of other sects, following the American custom, have a Thanksgiving meal. This

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has no Buddhistic significance except that the church festival immediately following marks the beginning of the Hōon kō season.

23. For members of the Shin sect in America this festival is particularly important. Mention is made above of the Shinshū observances connected with death anniversary of St. Shinran. By the lunar calendar, Shinran's death is computed to have occurred on November 23. The festival may be observed at any time between this date and January 16, the intervening period the Hōon kō season. In both Japan and America, either day or both days are observed in the manner described above (January 16). The other sects may also observe special ceremonies and festivities in honor of saints and Buddhas sacred to them.

December

8. Bodhi Day

This festival honors the attainment of enlightenment by Sakyammuni Buddha. The festival is especially sacred to Zen, Shingon, Tendai, and Nichiren and takes the place to some extent of the Shinshū celebrations in honor of St. Shinran. Shin mentions this occasion in sermons in the churches but does not otherwise observe it. The other sects in Japan have various special ceremonies in their headquarters and in the local temples. In America, however, these sects have become less important and do little more than make mention of Buddha's enlightenment in special services normally held in the evening of December 8.

25. Christmas

The Buddhists make no special observance of Christmas, Easter, or other Christian festivals. In America, the YBA,

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following the prevalent customs, generally have a social gathering of some kind. Hallowe'en affords another opportunity for a YSA get-together.

* * *

The sacred seasons, in both Japan and America, depend somewhat on the individual sect. Winter tends to be the sacred period. The concept attached to the spring Higan involves the beginning of the agricultural round; it is the planting time. Summer is the busy agricultural season, the fall Higan the beginning of the harvest time. In Japan, the autumnal equinox constitutes a kind of thanksgiving period in that the first of the new crops are offered to the ancestors and the Buddhist shrines by the devout. In the United States, and particular, in California, the greater diversity of crops and the varying seasons in which they ripen have tended to disrupt the agricultural cycle and its corresponding holidays which were known to the farmer of Japan. Ohatsumono, the first fruits offering, is preserved even at the present time by Japanese farmers in California and was observed in the relocation centers. The relation between the farm and the seasons has been lost, however, resulting in a changed emphasis on many of the holidays and festivals.

APPENDIX II

THE BUDDHIST MARRIAGE CEREMONY

Since the Buddhism of Japan makes no provision for marriage ceremonies, a marital union in Japan being a civil contract without defined religious sanctions, it became necessary to formulate some appropriate kind of service when Buddhism was imported to America. To be sure, the Shintoists had developed in Japan a marriage ritual but its emphasis on drink exchange, the bride price, and the go-betweens was scarcely suited to adoption by the Buddhists who had contented themselves with a formal announcement to the ancestral tablets of the family of the groom. In consequence, a number of the features of the Christian service were adopted when the Japanese in America formulated a marriage ritual. At the present time, a priest may conduct weddings in either English or Japanese; the import of the service in each case is about the same. The new ritual came about through the demand, by American law, that legal marriages must be conducted by some empowered person and a signed marriage certificate presented.

The following is a conventional wedding service of the type that is used by English-speaking Japanese in America. It is the one which commonly employed by the priests of the Buddhist Brotherhood in America and is favored by the Nisei for their own weddings.

While the Buddhist Brotherhood prefers to avoid music, the preferred Nisei wedding involves a pianist and singer who can provide the accepted and conventional western wedding music. In the

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post-war era, western dress is the rule, although in the past, the bride might wear a kimono and the associated garments, the groom a western business or full dress suit.

After an interlude of music, followed by a processional, the couple meet before the opened butsudan.

VANDANA

(Sanskrit: Salutation, Reverence)

Officiant (striking gong) Homage to Him, the Exalted One, the Enlightened One, the Supremely Awakened One.

TI-SARANA

(Threefold reverence)

Officiant (striking gong) I take my refuge in the Buddha.

(The above may be said in English, Japanese, or Sanskrit)

Congregation I take my refuge in the Buddha.

Officiant (striking gong) I take my refuge in the Dharma.

Congregation I take my refuge in the Dharma.

Officiant (striking gong) I take my refuge in the Sangha.

Congregation I take my refuge in the Sangha.

EXHORTATION

(All be seated)

Officiant: Here we are gathered in the sight of our Compassionate Buddha to bring this couple into a most perfect matrimonial union. The estate of marriage is the sacred fountain of all life, to which do the successive generations of mankind owe their being, and from which do all the social codes of morality derive their origin. Nothing happens without cause. Know, therefore, Beloved People, that such a sacred union of two persons which shall last throughout their lives does not come about through an accident. Indeed, it is the preordained consequence of Karmic Laws of many past lives and the fruit of the benevolent guidance of the Buddha.

May this new couple who enter the holy estate of marriage, keeping this blessed circumstance in their hearts, be lastingly true to their vows, love and respect each other, help each other in stress and woe, keep themselves pure both in mind and body, and

Appendix II

encourage each other in the promotion of all virtues. These are the essentials to a happy wedded life and the true way of living in accordance with the Teaching of the Buddha.

Officiant (to the couple): Therefore, before taking on yourselves these vows, remember that it is the duty of a husband to support and cherish his wife, to be faithful unto her in thought and in deed, to comfort her in sickness and sorrow, and to assist her in the training of children. It is the duty of the wife to love and help her husband, to be patient and gentle in her manner, and be faithful unto him in all things.

Officiant (to each in turn): Do you solemnly declare that neither of you knows any impediment to prevent you from being lawfully joined together in marriage?

Couple (in turn): I do solemnly declare that I know of no impediment.

Officiant (to groom): Will you,, take this woman,, as your lawfully wedded wife?

Groom: I do.

Officiant (to bride): Will you,, take this man,, as your lawfully wedded husband?

Bride: I do.

At the direction of the officiant, the groom places the ring on the finger of the bride.
The officiant joins the hands of the couple, placing strings of rosary beads over them. (These are the juzu, a white string going to the groom, a red to the bride.)

Officiant (to couple): Seeing that you have agreed to marry according to the Buddhist Rite, I pronounce you husband and wife. May you always be surrounded with Infinite love and Compassion.

WEDDING GATHA (Hymn)

Congregation: No more apart, but one in love forever,
United stand against a common foe.
Hand clasping hand in hours of joy or sorrow,
Along life's upward pathway you shall go.

No longer for the self but for each other,
Thus earthly love shall stronger, broader grow,
And through this love life's deeper truths revealing
Before our eyes the upward pathway show.

Appendix II

And when our day of life sinks slowly westward,
 And we must leave our loved ones here bereft;
 The Truth Immortal by Lord Buddha given,
 Shall take away the painful sting of death.

This earthly union, symbol of a greater,
 When freed from self, our wanderings here shall
 cease,
 And gazing in the face of Lord Amida
 We enter in the great Eternal Peace.

The newly married couple offer incense and return to their places.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Officiant: The Blessed Buddha said: "Support father and mother, cherish wife and child, follow a peaceful calling; this is the greatest blessing."

We surround all men and all forms of life with Infinite Love and Compassion. Particularly do we send forth loving thoughts to those in suffering and sorrow, to those in doubt and ignorance, to all those striving to attain Truth, and to those whose feet are standing close to the great change men call death; to these do we send forth oceans of wisdom, mercy, and love.

(The order of service described above may be in Japanese as well.

In Buddhist weddings which the writer has witnessed an order of service read first in English, then in Japanese, has been employed.)

GLOSSARY

baishakunin	The marriage go-between.
Bon Odori	Dances in honor of the return of the ancestral spirits, held July 15.
bukyōkai	Buddhist association, church.
Bussei	Young Buddhist.
butsudan	The household Buddhist altar; a cabinet containing Buddha's image or a <u>nembutsu</u> scroll, ancestral tablets and other religious paraphernalia.
daimyō	Feudal lord of mediaeval Japan.
eta	Pariah caste of Japan.
fujinkai	Ladies' society.
hanamatsuri	Flower festival; April 8 in honor of the birth of Sakyanuni Buddha.
hanaryō	Money offered by Christians to aid in defraying the costs of funeral expenses. Lit: "Cost of flowers".
hatsumairi	The presentation of a new-born child to the Buddhist temple.
hiaki	Last day of a child's first month of life; end of the 49 day mourning period after a funeral.
Higan	Lit: "other side", refers to the equinoctial festivals.

Glossary

hinamatsuri

Girls' festival, Doll Day, March 3.

hōji

Memorial services in honor of the deceased members of a family.

Hongwanji

Headquarters, a term used specifically to refer to the two branches of the Shin sect, the Nishi, or western, and Higashi, or eastern. In America, this term has become synonymous with Shinshū.

hōon kō

Festivals honoring and paying gratitude to the various sectarian founders. Reserved for the most part to describe the goshoki kuyō, festivals in honor of St. Shinran.

hoshongami

White paper envelopes in which gifts of money are offered to defray the expenses of weddings, funerals, and other enterprises which require co-operative aid.

hossu

Abbot, the head of a sectarian body.

ihai

Ancestral tablets containing the names of the deceased. These are kept in the butsudan of the household in America.

Inari

The Shintō fertility deity whose messengers are foxes.

Glossary

Issei

Term regularly used to denote an alien Japanese-American, viz. an immigrant from Japan.

jūdō

A form of wrestling, popularly known as jiu jitsu, often connected with the Japanese Buddhist temple.

juzu

The strings of 108 Buddhist rosary beads. These represent the innumerable steps of progression toward Buddhahood.

kaichō

Supervisor. Term used to refer to the supervisory head of a church, i.e. a minister.

kaike

Treasurer.

kakemono

Scroll bearing written nembutsu, proverbs, saints' images or any artistic representation. In most homes and churches, the kakemono hangs near the butsudan.

kamidana

"god shelf", the Shintō place for the household gods and charms. Usually in the sacred corner of the house with the butsudan.

kanji

Secretary.

kendō

Japanese fencing.

kenjinkai

A Japanese-American pre-war society made up of people coming from the

Glossary

	same <u>ken</u> , or prefecture, in Japan.
	A group founded for mutual aid by members of the immigrant generation.
Kibei	A person born in America and possessing American citizenship but whose education, training, thoughts, habits, and attitudes are Japanese.
kōden	Money given to a family in which a death has occurred. Term used by Buddhists; Christians call this <u>hanaryō</u> .
kuyō	A memorial service. <u>Hōji</u> is the term in more common use.
makurakyō	The first ceremonies conducted by a priest for a deceased person.
mane	Beans, signifying prosperity and plenty.
mochi	Dumplings made of pasty rice flour. A festival preparation.
nembutsu	The repetition of various mantras which make use of the term <u>butsu</u> , Buddha. The two prevalent forms are Shin: "Namu Amida Butsu", and Nichiren: "Namu Myōhō Renge Kyō".
Nihonjinkai	Pre-war Issei organization: the Japanese Association.

Glossary

Nisei	An American citizen of Japanese ancestry. Children of immigrants.
nishidōri	Overseer; a term used to refer to the close friend of a deceased person appointed by a family to take charge of funeral arrangements.
ofuda (ofuta)	Shintō paper charms.
ohatsumono	The offering of the first of the harvested crop to the ancestors and the Buddhist altar.
okane	The gong in the Buddhist temple or church.
omamori	Shintō talismans or charms.
otsuya	The wake service preceding a funeral; the last opportunity for a family to be together with the deceased.
rijiichō	The president of a congregation.
samurai	The warrior class of feudal Japan.
Sansei	An American citizen of Japanese ancestry; the third generation in America.
seinenkai (seinengkai)	Young peoples' club.
sensei	Teacher, a term used to address the Buddhist priest.
shakohachi	A Japanese flute.

Glossary

-shū	A suffix denoting "sect", "religious body".
sōchō	Superintendent. A term used to indicate the head of a Buddhist sect in America. Normally rendered as "bishop".
sumo	A form of Japanese wrestling intimately connected with Shintō ceremonies.
Tango	Boys' Day, May 5.
tanomoshi (kō)	A group which meets for mutual financial aid.
tatabira	The white funeral garment in which a corpse is dressed.
tōfu	Bean curd
tokoro no mono	Individuals who come from the same district, town, or village in Japan.
tomobiki	Term used to refer to certain inauspicious days reckoned by the Chinese calendar.
uji	The ancient clans of Japan, basis for the mediaeval aristocracy of the court period.

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