

A PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE OF RELIGION IN THE  
GILA RELOCATION CENTER

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The artificial situation under which 110,000 persons of Japanese ancestry must live as the result of army order which forced their mass migration from their Pacific Coast homes, has given rise to a host of adjustment problems. Since the announcement of the necessity for the evacuation of the coast Japanese, entirely new situations have arisen which call for personal and group conformity to a new environment and to an entirely strange social life. As the process of evacuation has been carried out, first, in the temporary assembly center, and second, in the more permanent relocation center, the impact of new adjustments becomes at once apparent. The social manifestations of the relocation colonies which appear in political and religious life, in the conflicts between the generations and social groups, and in the more personalized readjustments in individual and family life, are exemplary of the new situation.

The most casual observer in any one of the newly created relocation centers could not fail to be impressed by the rife conflicts which appear on every hand. Such conflicts seem to stem out of group controversies which have their roots in the desire for prestige, control, eminence, or simply self-assertion. Thus in nearly every social manifestation of the new communities, in the social, political, recreational, and religious life, any analysis must concern itself with the delineation of the comprising groups and of the group conflicts entailed. Thus, in the consideration of the religious life of a community of this kind, it is essential to preserve a functional point of view and to thus observe the aspects of religion in relation to the whole community. This analysis will concern itself with this functional role of the religious life in the Gila Relocation Center.

This center, located in southern Arizona between the cities of Phoenix and Tucson, is made up of a population formerly resident in the San Joaquin Valley



and Los Angeles areas of California. The center is divided into two camps. The smaller, Canal Camp, is made up of people who formerly lived in the northern half of the San Joaquin Valley from the Fresno region to the city limits of Oakland. Thus it is predominantly rural in its population. The larger, Butte Camp, takes in people from the southern San Joaquin Valley area and the suburban Los Angeles area. In this camp there is a large group from Pasadena, another from Compton and the Long Beach region, and still others from suburban Los Angeles points. The Tulare and Turlock Assembly Centers are represented in the center in toto, the former in the Butte Camp, the latter in Canal. In addition, Butte is made up of some of the excess Turlock people, and contains 2,000 people from the Santa Anita Assembly Center in Los Angeles. Canal, made up chiefly of a Turlock Assembly Center population, still has some 1,500 or more from the so-called "White Zone", people who were evacuated directly from their homes to the relocation center. These were rural farming people from the region to the east of Fresno. The total population of both camps is 13,313.

Some stress must be laid on the locality from which the Gila population comes since one of the most significant conflicts which first becomes apparent to the observer in the center is that which occurs between people of urban and rural origin. It will be noted from the statement given above concerning the place of origin of the Gila population, that there is predominantly a rural emphasis. At another time the striking degree of difference in Americanization between urban and rural groups may be discussed more fully. There is, however, a definite difference in assimilation between the two. The rural group tends to lag behind the urban in the acceptance of Anglo-American patterns of culture and to conform more closely to the ideology of the mother country. Thus, the social patterns of Japan are manifested in family organization, religious life, recreation, and the like, by those whose background is rural and who have had less contact with Anglo-American society.

Paralleling the urban-rural conflict is that which occurs between the two



generations represented in the center. The immigrant generation, Issei, clings most closely to the Japanese pattern and is attempting to maintain its domination over the second generation, the Nisei. This group attempts to shake itself of Issei influence and to embrace more closely the Anglo-American way of life. A reactionary element in the Gila population, the so-called Kibei-Nisei, a group composed of those American-born Japanese who have been reared in Japan, sides with the first generation and attempts to aid it in its desire to become the dominant group in the community.

Given this general background of the community, and keeping in mind the fact that the population is mainly conservative rural in origin, it is possible to properly analyze and understand the role of religion in relation to the community at large. It is the aim of this discussion to depict the religious groups of the center and to show them in their proper light in respect to the conflicts arising out of differences in generation and pre-evacuation locality.

The conservatism of the rural groups is in accord with the fact that it has been possible for the country Japanese to divorce themselves more completely from the Anglo-American world and to adhere more closely to the patterns of culture which the first immigrants brought with them from Japan. In the urban groups there has been greater contact with the city at large and less with the Japanese community. This is more significant for the Nisei, who, by virtue of education and employment in urban areas, have enjoyed a closer contact with Caucasian people. Urbanized Nisei in general attempt to conform closely to the demands of the American community, even though they formed their own social world in the pre-evacuation situation. In accord with this desire on the part of the Nisei in urban communities to break away from cultural domination by their Issei parents, many of them have adopted Christianity. In the discussion of the religious situation at Gila which is to follow, this point will be further elaborated. The fact that mission churches in the cities of the Pacific Coast offered a shelter to newly arrived immigrants was instrumental in bringing many



Issei to Christianity. Thus, it happens that in the new communities of this kind, Christianity seems to have its greatest focal point in those Japanese of urban origins. The proportion of those who were converted to the Christian faith in the homeland is small. Buddhism is the chief religion of those evacuees of rural background, Nisei as well as Issei, being more in conformity with the rural Japanese conservatism.

The chief faiths of the Gila community are two: Buddhist and Christian. Other faiths are of little or no importance. Shinto, the national religious philosophy of Japan, is banned by the military authorities because of its close connection with Japanese militarism and the deification of the Japanese emperor. As an influence in the community, however, Shintoistic practises cannot be overlooked, linked as they are with Japanese Buddhism. Thus, many who profess Buddhism practice Shinto. The latter is not recognized by the officials of the War Relocation Authority, the civilian agency charged with the maintenance and administration of the relocation centers. Nor are there Shinto priests in the community. These, together with some Buddhist priests, were all interned by the Bureau of Justice after the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Japan. It is the hope of the writer to demonstrate the peculiar relation of Buddhism to Shinto in the Gila community, even though the latter does not exist as a formally organized religious faith. The Buddhist and Christian churches, having priests and ministers and having been accorded formal recognition by the administration, are the only leading major faiths in the center.

A certain amount of conflict arises between the two religions. It will be the purpose of this analysis to show the extent and importance of this conflict. Facts of this kind will come out more clearly in the description of the attempts of each group to effect political control in the community and of the struggle for power and prestige which arises between the immigrant and the native born generations. More significant than the conflict which arises between the two major faiths is that which occurs between the sects of each faith. Actually, there is



a surprisingly amicable relationship between the Christian and Buddhist memberships and a greater degree of intolerance between the sects which make up the Christian and Buddhist bodies.

Before considering the two major religions individually, it will be well to offer a comparison of the numerical strength of each. A religious census has just been compiled by the Division of Housing and Employment through the use of forms primarily designed to show occupational listing. On this form a small section asks religious preference. The individual in filling out the form, stated, in most cases, either "Christian" or "Buddhist". A few indicated the sect to which they belonged. Of the following figures, those for the major faiths are fairly accurate, but a true enumeration for the various sects is not given. Camp populations are also given in the statistics which follow.

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATIONS  
GILA RIVER PROJECT  
JANUARY 2, 1943

<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Canal</u>	<u>Butte</u>	<u>Total</u>
Buddhist	3894 (77%)	4623 (55%)	8517 (64%)
Konko Kyo Kai	-	4	4
Tenrikyo	-	15	15
Zenshu	4	7	11
Seicho no Iye	-	9	9
Shinshu	7	-	7
Shinto	-	24	24
Rensho	-	1	1
Nichiren	-	1	1
Christian (No denomination)	672	1662	2334
Methodist	56	201	257
Episcopalian	-	93	93
Catholic	30	52	82
Protestant (not specified)	15	63	78
Presbyterian	18	48	66
Baptist	12	50	62
Congregational	18	40	58
7th Day Adventist	-	14	14
Friend	-	3	3
Christian Nagakane	-	2	2
Christian Science	-	1	1
Mormon	-	1	1



<u>Denomination</u>	<u>Canal</u>	<u>Butte</u>	<u>Total</u>
Bahai Christian	1	-	1
Total Christian	822 (16.7%)	2230 (27.5%)	3052 (22.7%)
No Entry	330 (6.3%)	1414 (17.5%)	1744 (13.3%)
Total Population	5046	8267	13313

A brief analysis of these figures may be given here, with it a summarization of the denominations and sects represented in the community. It will be seen that a little more than sixty-four per cent of the entire community, including both camps, expresses a preference for Buddhism or one of the more exotic Oriental sects. Christianity, on the other hand, is limited to only 22.7 per cent of the entire community. Not all of the community, of course, takes an active part in the religious life. Some of those who expressed a religious preference are not church-goers, and it will be noted that 13.3 per cent of the community chose not to commit itself on its religious affiliation. It is, however, noteworthy that a very large percentage of the community takes an active part in the spiritual, social, or recreational advantages offered by either one of the two organized religions of the center. There is a greater number of active religious participants, it appears, than in a Caucasian community of similar size. A definite "return to religion" is apparent in the Gila relocation center, the result, perhaps, of the emotional stress now imposed on the inhabitants as the outcome of enforced evacuation. This, too, will come in for further consideration.

In the compilation of the above religious census figures, no careful distinction was made between the various sects of each major faith since each individual committed himself as to his own religious preferences. Thus, the sects of Buddhism, such as Zen, Shinshu, Nichiren, Seicho no Iye, and the like, are listed only as the individual wrote them down on the census form. It is apparent that most people simply listed the major faith. In only a few cases is the true picture of the numerical strength of a religious denomination given. Shinto or



Konko Kyo Kai, for example, must be discarded since only 28 members are listed. It is undoubtedly true that there are more Shintoists in the center, but that because of the suspicious light reflected on Shinto, many who formerly openly practised the philosophy in the pre-evacuation period, now list themselves as Buddhist or did not state their preference on the census form. The peculiar inter-relationship of the two faiths would allow the former. The enumeration given for the vigorous little Seicho no Iye sect, the activities of which will be discussed further, is probably correct, as is that given for Episcopalian, Catholic, Seventh Day Adventist, Mormon, and Friend. All of these sects and denominations have held somewhat aloof from participation in united Buddhist or Christian activities.

In viewing the individual camp statistics, it is seen that Buddhism almost completely eclipses Christianity in the Canal Camp. Canal Camp is almost wholly made up of individuals with a rural background. In the Butte Camp, where there is a larger percentage of urban people, there is greater support given Christianity. Even in Butte, however, the rural population predominates with the result that Buddhists are far in the majority. In spite of numerical inferiority, it will be seen that the Christians are ~~as~~ fully as active and militant a group in the Gila community as the Buddhists. The Buddhists, however, are more concerned with the political developments in Gila with the result that the church has been used as a political weapon, especially through the activities of the Zen bishop. Furthermore, the Buddhists present a more united front than do the Christians, in spite of the formation by the latter group of a Protestant Union Church.

Before taking up the developments of this kind, which reflect the desire on the part of various religious groups to assert themselves as political pressure groups in the center, it will be well to consider the spheres of influence held by organized religion in the community. The question as to the nature of the actual vital role of religious development in the center may justly be raised. It is the object of this analysis to supply an answer. The effect of religious organization in the Gila community is threefold, having a spiritual, social, and



political impact. The spiritual effect of religion in the center life is that, of course, which concerns the individual and reflects his personal attitudes and religious morals. The question of faith, of dogma and tenet, and of spiritual life in general is one which must concern the individual person. It is, however, the spiritual side which unites the social group and brings in the church membership and services, the function of the priests and ministers, and the ceremonial and ritualistic life of the community. Organized worship in the center offers a social or recreational outlet to its participants. The various clubs and organizations sponsored by the various church groups are recognized by the Community Activities Section of the center administration as significant recreational bodies. These clubs are important particularly to the Nisei, many of whom follow the various church activities in order to participate in the social opportunities offered. The third factor in religious life is that which is concerned with the political role played by the various religious organizations. Not only do the various religious groups attempt to assert themselves as political factors in the center, but also there are struggles for authority and prestige within the groups themselves. In order that the role of religion in the Gila community may be properly delineated, it is necessary to consider these three factors in relation to the Christian and Buddhist groups.

It is, therefore, advisable that the two major religious faiths be considered separately in respect to spiritual, social, and political aspects. Considered in terms of an analysis of the factors of acculturation in the center, that is, the interesting manifestation of religious practises occurring in this country yet having Japanese antecedents, the spiritual side of community life will be the most significant. The conservative Buddhist groups, being in the majority, are influential in swinging camp sentiments in favor of Japanese patterns of behavior. They, as a result, hold closely to the cultural ties with the mother country. Even though they are numerically superior, however, the Buddhists are



so conservative that they are less important to the social development of the community than the more progressive Christians. Yet, in political issues affecting the center, the Buddhists generally are most active. Those Buddhist individuals who do concern themselves with political activities, however, do so without the sanction or organized pressures of the Buddhist church. But, it will be shown that the Buddhist priests who mix into center politics are sure of the support of the Buddhist membership. The Christians, on the other hand, are not so successful in being an organized political pressure group. Shinto, Tenrikyo, and other of the more exotic beliefs which offer faith healing, and the like, present no possibilities for individual prestige and must be considered solely on the basis of faith and dogma. Although some attention must be given to these sects from the cultural viewpoint, it is to be understood that they are without real social significance in the Gila Center. With Buddhism, they offer interesting examples of religious acculturation and are exemplary of the Japanese cultural heritage.

In taking up individually the activities of the two organized faiths, in attempting to show their relation to the community as a whole, and in designating the part they play in community life, the more active of the two groups, the Christians and their sects, should be considered first.



CHRISTIANITY IN THE GILA CENTER

In the community there are large Christian groups which have their origins in the urban areas of California. For example, there is a large group from the city of Pasadena, another from Santa Maria, a third from Guadalupe, and so on. These groups have had their own organization and leadership in the past. On being concentrated in the Gila Relocation Center, these Christian groups at first acted independently and clung to the local California group in conducting their activities. This made for some confusion, and it was not until a church council was brought together by the Community Activities Section that the Christians became fully organized. There is, however, a decided difference in religious emphasis in the two camps. The census figures cited above show that Canal Camp is strongly Buddhist. The urban Christian groups which are so strong in the Butte Camp are not at all present in Canal. With the inception of the relocation center, Canal Camp was settled first by evacuees from the Turlock Assembly Center. At that time, all religious activities were under the supervision of the head of community recreation. The picture in the earlier days of settlement was that of chaos, the Canal Buddhists being at bitter outs with the Canal Christians. With the opening of Butte Camp, many of the Turlock Christians elected to move to the new settlement, partly because of this religious disharmony. This may account in part for the complete predominance of Buddhism in the Canal Camp. Thus, in discussing the Christians in the center, it is to be understood that reference is made solely to Butte Camp, unless otherwise stated. The fact remains, however, that Buddhism is pretty clearly indicative of a rural background, Christianity of an urban. The Butte Camp Christians have been successful now in bringing together all the Protestant Christian groups in both camps, thus presenting a united church which has become a power in the community.

The outstanding Christian group in the center is that of the Protestant Union Church. In the pre-evacuation period the chief denominations represented



in the Japanese quarters of California were those of the Methodists, Presbyterians, and Congregationalists. In many cities, Japanese members of these various sects got together to form a joint or union church. This idea has been transplanted to the relocation center with the result that the strongest Christian group is that of this Protestant Union. It may be fairly estimated that 90 to 95 per cent of the active Christian membership is centered in the union church. This group now includes the Free Christian, Baptist, and Episcopal denominations, although the latter attempts to preserve its identification as a separate sect. Presbyterian, Methodist, and Congregational still remain the most important religious sects in this church.

In the Butte Camp, there are seven Christian ministers who are active in the union church. They represent the various Christian denominations which make up this church. These ministers share the pulpits of the various chapels, recreation halls which have been made available by the Community Activities Section for Christian use. Recreation halls 32, 40, and 59, are the Christian chapels in Butte Camp. In Canal Camp, hall 7 is open for Christian use. In each of these halls, simultaneous services are held every Sunday under the direction of one of the Christian ministers who have made a kind of round-robin arrangement in sharing the pulpits. Because there is only one Christian minister in Canal Camp, the Butte ministers take over his services. This Canal minister is the Methodist Reverend So, an elderly Issei, who, although retired, still preaches in the Japanese language. All English services must be handled by the Nisei ministers from Butte. The Butte Camp ministers are as follows: Reverends Tsuda, Tajima, Oishita, Satow, Izumi, Susu-mago, and Yamazaki. With the exception of the latter two, all are Issei and favor the Japanese language in delivering their sermons and messages. Tsuda and Tajima are the only Issei clerics who command the English language sufficiently well to be able to preach in it. Tajima, Satow, Izumi, and Susu-mago are Methodist; Tsuda and Oishita are Presby-



terian and Congregational, respectively. Yamazaki is the representative of the St. Mary's Episcopal group, and although he cooperates with the Union Church in its services and council, he remains somewhat aloof from it. Yamazaki, although nominally head of a small congregation of only 93 members, has been successful in getting chapel 32, called the St. Mary's Episcopal Church, and shares it with the union church only reluctantly. Actually, the Episcopal group has allied itself with the Union Church and prefers to use the terminology, "Joint Union and Episcopal". A brilliant preacher, Yamazaki has a large following among the Nisei Christians. With the exception of this disagreement in the formation of a united Christian church, there has been no cause for dissension among the clergy. They are all agreed on the way in which they share the various pulpits and they have repeatedly emphasized the fact that their strength lies in their Christian unity. Japanese union churches have been successful in the past and continue to be so in the relocation center.

Other Christian sects, however, are represented in the camp, particularly Catholics, who number 82 in both camps. A single apartment in a residence barrack has been made available for use of the Catholics as a chapel. This arrangement has been found practicable in both camps, since the number of Japanese Catholics is fairly equal. In these chapels, fortnightly services under the direction of a Maryknoll priest, Father Clement Boespflug, who, as a long-time missionary in Japan, preaches and gives absolution in the Japanese language. Father Clement divides his time between the Poston and Gila Relocation Centers. This priest has long been a thorn in the side of the center administration, having an almost fanatical interest in increasing his small flock. In addition to the Catholics, there are other sects such as the Seventh Day Adventists, Nazarenes, Free Methodists, and other small unorthodox denominations whose membership is limited to a very few. The Adventists number 14 or 15 active members, and are met weekly by a Caucasian spiritual leader who comes from the neighboring



town of Coolidge. This man is a lay missionary for the Adventist Church and also speaks Japanese. Under his direction, the group has made application for representation on the united church council, but Reverend Yamazaki has bitterly opposed their request. The other groups have no known leaders and have not applied to the administration for recognition. It is believed that they meet for prayer and worship in private homes. As a functioning group in the community, however, they are not active. A group of Swedish Methodists in Canal Camp, at first a non-conformist organization which stressed the benefits of their own particular sect, and still speaks of resettling in Sweden in the post-war period, has gone over into the Union Church except when visited by one of their own Caucasian missionaries. The Catholics, Seventh Day Adventists, and for a time, the Episcopalians, were the only groups exclusive of the Union Church which requested separate recognition and quarters from the Community Activities Section. The dominant role of Christian groups in the community is played by the Protestant Union Church.

It will be well to consider the spiritual application of the various denominations in the community and to scan briefly the program which is offered to the individual worshipper. Very early on a Sunday morning the Christian activities begin. At 8:15 every Sunday morning, the Communion service is held simultaneously in each of the three designated Christian chapels in Butte, and in the Canal chapel as well. The sacrament is given in this way to oblige both the Free Christian church members and the Episcopal denomination whose practice is for weekly distribution. It is noteworthy that communion wine is used in the Episcopal 32 chapel, but that in chapels 40 and 59, grape juice is employed in the ceremony. Paper cups are used to distribute the communion wine. A short service accompanies this sacrament, the service usually consisting of the benediction, confessional service, oration of the words of institution, and final prayers of thanksgiving. No sermon is preached at this time. Some of



the Japanese Christians view the eucharistic distribution of wine as unnecessary and sinful, an interesting carry-over of the Japanese concept of Christianity, which forbids any alcohol, smoking, undue merrymaking, and the like. Grape juice was used regularly in most of the Japanese Christian churches in the Christian ceremony. It is interesting to note that although the Presbyterian church condones the use of sacramental wine, its Japanese members feel safer in employing grape-juice.

Following the communion service, a 9:00 o'clock Sunday School service is held. The Sunday Schools are divided into classes under the supervision of a lay superintendent. The teachers are for the most part Nisei and the classes are conducted in English. Children up to high-school age attend the Sunday School services. A Sunday School service is held in all four of the Christian chapels simultaneously, and, indeed, because of the large number of active Christians, this pattern is followed out throughout the day of worship. Usually the officiating minister of the day preaches a short sermon to the children after hymns have been sung and the Bible lesson read. The lay superintendent reads an order of service, testimonials of conversion, and the like. The Sunday School classes are graded. The younger children are taught simple Bible stories, while the older participate in a kind of catechumen class, in which they are taught the meaning of various points of theology with the idea of preparing them for baptism, church participation, and membership. The interesting subject of baptism will be discussed shortly since the pattern followed is out of accord with the normal Anglo-American church practice.

Following the Sunday School service, the usual Sunday morning church service is held at 10:15. The majority of Christians are Nisei and this is exclusively the Nisei service, held in all four chapels in English. In the Butte Camp, the service is opened by a hymn led by the choir, if this body is present. There is one choir which divides its time between the three chapels of Butte



Camp. Each chapel has benches and a piano. Chapel 32, the Episcopal meeting place, requires the congregation to bring its own seats, sufficient lumber for benches or pews being lacking. Hymns are led by the choir and accompanied by the Nisei pianist. English speaking ministers lead the order of service in this morning service. Yamazaki, Susu-mago, and Tajima are the three principal preachers at this time. They have to divide their Sundays between four chapels. This means that one pulpit is unoccupied. Usually, a Caucasian minister from Phoenix, Coolidge, or Casa Grande is called in to officiate. Reverend Tajima prefers to devote his time to the Japanese service and begs off whenever he can. It sometimes occurs that a church service will be held with no officiating minister. In this case, some Caucasian member of the administrative staff will be called in to speak or a Nisei church leader will read testimonials, letters, etc. of a religious nature.

When the minister is present, the service is opened with a hymn followed by an order of service which consists of responsive readings, another hymn, a short sermon in English, the collection, a series of benedictions, and a doxology. The money collected is turned over to a Union Church treasurer and assistant treasurer and is spent for church improvements. If no cleric is present, the order of service is much the same, prayers and responsive readings being conducted by a Nisei in whom the membership places trust and confidence.

An afternoon service is held for the Issei Christian. The order of service is much the same except that it is entirely in the Japanese language. These services consist of less hymn singing on the part of the congregation. Sometimes the pianist simply plays softly during the responsive readings and prayers. There is a definite reluctance on the part of Issei Christians to join in communal singing as in the Nisei church service. Reverends Tsuda, Oishita, Izumi, Satow, and Camp Canal's So are the most active in conducting these services.



There is usually only one Issei Christian service in each camp, inasmuch as Issei Christians are numerically far inferior to the Nisei Christians. The ministers divide their Sundays and officiate alternately. There has arisen a marked Nisei-Issei split as the result of this difference in language. Church activities are divided between the two generations, both as to ministerial leadership and as to weekly run of activities.

In the evening on Sunday, the Issei have another service at 7:30 o'clock. This is slightly different from the afternoon divine worship and takes place as a kind of church meeting at which prayers are recited, benedictions given, and religious testimonials read. This service, too, is conducted in Japanese. At the same time, the Christian Young Peoples' group has a fellowship get-together. This takes place in both camps, chapel 7 in Canal, chapel 40 in Butte. This is opened with a prayer and closed with a benediction. It may present a varied program: communal singing of secular songs, folk-dancing, games, or a speaker may be called in to discuss any educational or edifying subject. The Young Peoples' group forms the principal outlet for Christian social activities.

During the week prayer meetings are held principally for the Issei. The Nisei have a Wednesday evening vesper service. The Christian activities are almost wholly limited to Sundays except for political meetings in which the church becomes another pressure group in the community.

The Catholic group holds a fortnightly High Mass under the direction of Father Clement. Now that they have been given a chapel, their activities center in their own group. The 93 Catholics are devout and aloof and do not mix in with the other groups, holding themselves apart. The same is true of the Adventists. The latter group has prevailed on the administration to grant them the use of one of the Christian chapels for Saturday services. There is definite discrimination against the Catholics and Adventists on the part of



the other sects. The Union Church presents a strong united front against the smaller denominations which are not included in the church alliance.

The doctrines and theology which are expounded by the Union Church vary slightly according to the interpretations of the individual clergymen. By far the most liberal of the ministers is the Nisei Methodist, Reverend Susumago, who rejects fundamentalistic Biblical interpretations in favor of scientific explanations. This has earned for him the criticism of the other Nisei minister, the Episcopalian Reverend John Yamazaki. The other Christian ministers, being Issei, have an entirely different attitude toward Biblical interpretation and seemingly rejoice in the fact that they are Christians. All of them were converted to Christianity in Japan. They are thus united in their denunciation of Buddhism and other Japanese sects and do not concern themselves with theological quibbling, preferring to preach testimonials of conversion and joys of the Christian paradise. Of all the clerics in the center, the Issei ministers of the United Church are the most bigoted and intolerant. It is noteworthy that the Christian ministers are accorded respect by members of the Buddhist groups and are recognized by them as leaders in the community. By the Buddhist they are held to be holy men and thus men to whom deference is to be shown. This is seemingly in accord with the Buddhist tolerance and willingness to admit religious equality in the center. The Buddhists are at a loss to understand the bitterness and vehemence with which they are attacked by the Christian ministers. It is in the ministerial personnel that the chief inter-religious conflicts arise.

The ministers are not paid. Other workers in the center draw a small stipend from the administration for the tasks which they perform about the center. The War Relocation Authority decided, however, that ministers and priests occupy too nebulous a position to be accorded status as paid professional workers. Therefore, unless the clergymen are willing to work at other



tasks, they cannot be officially paid through the project finance department. Christian and Buddhist clerics alike, however, draw honoraria from their parishioners for services at weddings, funerals, baptisms, mourning services, and the like. Reverend Susu-mago, under the influence of his Caucasian wife, attempted to set up a welfare department of his own in competition with the welfare work done under administrative supervision. His request was denied with the result that he has been at odds with the administration ever since. He still handles welfare cases, advising the Christian young people to come to him for a solution of their various problems regarding marriage, spiritual consolation, and so on. Although the most liberal of the ministers, he has taken a rabid stand against the inception by the administrative medical department of a birth control clinic, a position which some of his parishioners are at a loss to understand. Susu-mago has further been annoyed over the failure of the administration to provide the clergymen with salaries.

The personalities of the various ministers have their effect on the congregation under their ministration. A church audience usually follows the speaker it prefers. In the round-robin of pulpit interchange, a clergyman will usually find himself preaching to the same audience Sunday after Sunday. Most of the Protestant Nisei follow Reverend Susu-mago.

*Not clear* (The question has frequently arisen as to the attitudes of the Christian church-goers. It is to be wondered just how much of the attendance in churches is based on the need for religious stimulation and spiritual satisfaction. Undoubtedly, the average Nisei who attends the Christian church subscribes to its tenets and doctrines. A social consideration enters in, however, which must be denied. Many of the Nisei with whom the writer has discussed the subject admit that they find a social outlet in the church. Church attendance presents an opportunity to dress up on Sundays, to be seen by the other Nisei and to



establish a small amount of prestige. In a community of this kind, however, even though the Buddhist groups are willing to admit Christian equality, there is a certain amount of tacit pressure directed against the Christian membership. It has been pointed out that Buddhism orients its members toward Japan, that it is a factor in producing group solidarity among the Japanese in the New World communities.<sup>1</sup> Thus in the Gila Relocation Center, pressures are directed against the Christians not because of dogmatic or doctrinal reasons, but rather because the renunciation of Buddhism is tantamount to a complete severance of the sentimental tie with the mother country. Such a criticism is not of a religious but rather of a social nature. Those Issei and Nisei alike who have adopted Christianity are subject to community disapproval. This feeling is intensified now when community solidarity and identification as a member of the Japanese minority group is regarded as desirable. It is for this reason that membership in the Christian bodies, especially in this, a predominantly Buddhist community, is difficult. For this reason it may be safely stated that the Christian membership is made up of those to whom the church offers not only spiritual values but also the opportunity of identification with the Anglo-American pattern of culture.

In many cases, families are split over religious issues. The Nisei parents are members of the Buddhist groups while the Nisei children have been converted to Christianity. Religious fervor is particularly strong in those who have been brought to a new religion as the result of association with Caucasians in the pre-evacuation communities. Most Issei have no objection to the religious conversion of their children as such, but they are resentful of the criticism of their neighbors. This is seemingly inevitable when a family is divided in this way. Such a situation is of frequent occurrence. The breaking of the sentimental tie with Japan is felt most strongly in cases of this kind.

1. S. F. Miyamoto, "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle." University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, II, 2, 1939. p. 96 ff.



As a result of this trait, the Japanese Christians have been inclined to leave the adoption of a religious choice up to the children. It is not until adolescence, for example, that the rite of baptism is undergone. In the center as in the pre-evacuation communities, the Union Churches do not baptize until the individual is of an age to make his own religious choice. Infant baptism is thus discouraged. On Christmas Day, 1942, the first baptism was held in the center. Two boys, 15 and 17 years of age, were inducted into the Union Church membership. Confirmation as a church member follows the Sunday School course of instruction and baptism. This practice has been general among the Japanese communities even though the denomination at large may advocate infant baptism.

From the spiritual point of view, there has been a marked return to religion in the relocation centers as the result of evacuation and the concomitant emotional stress. This is particularly true of the Christian groups. Christianity, because of its personalized nature, offers the individual a strength and solace. This is a point which has been emphasized again and again by the Christian preachers. The devout Christian clings tenaciously to his religion, feeling secure not only in it but also in the belief that by being a Christian he asserts himself as a loyal American and not as a "Jap". The curious mixture of religion and patriotic loyalty is exemplified by the fact that few Kibei-Nisei are Christian, and that those Nisei who openly denounce Japanese customs and the use of the language and who are at variance with the Issei are nearly always Christians. A certain sense of martyrdom is apparent among those Nisei who are particularly devout. They actively oppose anything that remotely reflects the culture of the mother country. As the result of evacuation, many of the backsliding Nisei returned to the Christian fold, finding in it not only a social outlet but also a direct emotional release. On the other hand, the Christian Issei are more



tolerant of the Buddhists and willing to accept them on equal terms. With the exception of a few Issei persons who tend to be fanatical, the Christian Issei seemingly take only a passive interest in religion. As the result of the active interest of the Nisei in the church as opposed to the rather lax attention of the Issei to dogmatic matters, there is an actual split in the Christian Church. The interest is markedly divided between Issei and Nisei. As had been pointed out, the Issei services are conducted separately from those of the Nisei. With the exception of the fact that headship in the church is centralized in ministers and in the United Church Council, there is no intercourse between the Issei and Nisei Christians.

The social aspects of Christianity in the Gila Relocation Center have been touched upon to some extent. Here again, the generation split must be emphasized. The Union Church, since it separates Issei and Nisei, offers to each generation a separate social or recreational program. For the Nisei, this is well organized, but for the Issei, general recreational organization is lacking. Statements have already been made concerning the young people's evening services, that is to say, the so-called Fellowship group. This brings together Nisei who have similar interests and who are united by a fellowship bond arising out of similarity in religious convictions. In accord with the existence of a certain amount of religious revival as the result of the evacuation, these young peoples' groups have a strong following. These meetings take place Sunday evening in both camps and are conducted in the way described above. The young peoples' Christian group has been accorded full recognition as a recreational agency by the administrative Community Activities Section. In this respect, it has a constitution and representation on the Community Activities Council, a body which plans and approves the various recreational activities proposed in the Center. Not only does the young peoples' group sponsor the Sunday evening meetings, but also weekly activities, such as social get-togethers, community sings, and the like, are held during the week



under the auspices of this Fellowship group. This group is remarkably clan-nish, finding its own social outlet entirely within itself. This is in accord with the above statements relative to the identification of Americanism with Christianity. The young Christian people band together socially, not only in the organized religious activities which are sponsored by the church, but they remain together in all other activities as well, and tend to look with contempt upon the activities of a Japanese nature which take place in the Center. This is the principal organized social expression for the Christian Nisei. It is most significant in the community, however, because around it functions all of the social manifestations of this group.

In accordance with the division between the Issei and Nisei Christianity, it follows that there is a certain amount of social rivalry between the two. The Nisei do not consider the Issei branch as much of a social force in the community. It is certainly true of the Issei Christians that some became converted at the time of evacuation in order to offer proof of loyalty to the United States. This may explain to some extent the reason for the passive Issei interest in Christianity. The attempts to use Christianity as a vehicle for sociability among the Issei have thus far been unsuccessful. The attempts to start a Ladies' Aid Society, a Men's Club, and a Sewing Circle among the Issei Christian Church members were frustrated through lack of interest. In fact, the Issei Christians prefer to seek out their social life among people of their own kind irrespective of religious affiliation. It thus happens that the home locality plays an important part in bringing Issei together. It seemingly matters little if the respective members of a given social group be Christian or Buddhist. The Issei Christian men find a certain outlet in participation in the Church Council in a kind of advisory capacity, the counterpart of what would be, on the outside, the board of elders.



Some mention has been made already of the political function of the Christian Church. It is this relationship of the organized Christian body to the community which will next be considered. Aside from the fact that certain of the Issei are active in the Church Council, like the Buddhist, the Christian Issei tend to separate themselves from their church when dealing with matters of community politics. There is a strong Issei front in the community which is entirely independent of any religious affiliations. It must be understood, in considering the political activities of the church groups, that a division occurs in political activities within the church groups themselves, between the generations, and that a conflict arises between the politically minded church people and the secular political factions in the center. It is the Nisei, rather than the Issei, who attempt to use their church affiliation as a means of enforcing certain political measures in the community. The Kibei Nisei have formed a strong organization of their own which is closely allied with the Buddhist Church. Mention of this will be made in further discussion. The Christian young people, in order to present an organization which somewhat counterbalances the effect of the Gila Young People's Association, that is to say, the Kibei Club, have made use of their own Fellowship group to assert themselves as a political factor in the community. They have not been particularly successful in doing this because of the lack of adequate leadership. The spirit, however, is there and a marked rivalry exists between the young peoples' Christian Fellowship group and the Kibei Club. This situation is again exemplary of the split in the Union Church between the two generations. At the present writing, the Christians are not a political factor in the community, but this is because of their own lack of leadership and not because they desire to remain aloof from being a pressure group.

The unification of two generations occurs in matters pertaining to intra-church politics. In this respect, the Union Church is the most significant.



Following the organization of the Union Church in the Center, it became necessary to draft a church constitution and to present organized leadership so that the church might be represented on the Community Activities Council and play its part in community affairs. With the election of a Church Council, the constitution was drafted. The council was elected from among the members of the Union Church. This council consists of ten Issei and ten Nisei who are members of the various Protestant denominations which are represented in the Union Church. A political issue arose between some of the ministers who are acting in an advisory capacity, as to the admission of Catholics, Episcopalians, and Seventh Day Adventists, to the United Church. It was decided that inasmuch as Reverend John Yamazaki had already cooperated with the Union Church in effecting the organization of the Christian Young Peoples' Fellowship group, of which he is the spiritual advisor, and had been successful in obtaining for his own small St. Mary's Episcopal Church group a chapel, that the Episcopal group would be admitted. Once Yamazaki had been allowed voice in the Council, he devoted his entire effort to the exclusion of the Seventh Day Adventists and Catholics from representation. With the recent adoption of the constitution, which is included here as an appendix, the Union Church is settled as to position in the community. This unification may effect a united Christian position in the community which is instrumental in bringing about the Christians' desire of having the Church become a political factor. Under the leadership of Yamazaki and Susu-Mago, this situation may well arise.

The Christian groups must be considered in relation to the opposing major faith, namely, the Buddhists. It is this faction which will next be considered.



# BUDDHISM IN THE GILA CENTER

Like the Christian groups, the Buddhists of the community are divided into sects. Two principal Buddhist sects are represented in the Center. The stronger is the Hongwanji, or Shinshū, the most popular of the sects of Japanese Buddhism in this country. The second is Zen which has its stronger representation in the Butte Camp. The Shinshū sect is divided into separate sects called Higashi, or Eastern Shin, and Nishi, or Western Shin. There are slight differences in theology between Higashi and Nishi. Most of the Buddhists in the Gila Relocation Center belong to the Nishi Shinshū sect of Japanese Buddhism. In addition to those two major sects, some of the smaller are represented in the Center. These are principally Nichiren and Tendai, the membership of which is very small. There are no priests. The only important sects to be considered, therefore, are the two mentioned above.

The Buddhist priests in the Center are seven. The activities of Buddhism center around them. Like the Christian dignitaries, the Buddhist priests are not allowed to be paid for their services. Nevertheless, they continue to function in their pre-evacuation professions and to draw their incomes from the general populace, money being paid to them for various services such as weddings, funerals, mourning rites, and the like, and by donations from the community residents. It is particularly true of the Buddhist leaders and priests that although they have no official position so far as the administration is concerned, they are social leaders in the community and do much to influence public opinion and the actions of the Buddhist members, Issei and Nisei alike. It has been pointed out that the population in the Canal Camp is predominantly Buddhist. Most of the Buddhist priests, in fact, came from the Turlock Assembly Center and were settled in Canal. The Shinshū Priests are five. They are Reverends Tsufura, Matsumoto, Kimura, Hata, in Canal Camp, and Reverend Imamura in Butte



Camp. Of these, all are Issei with the exception of Imamura who is a Kibei Nisei. Tsufura, Kimura, and Imamura are advocates of Nishi-Shin, the western branch of Shin-shū. Only Reverend Matsumoto is Higashi-Shin. Reverend Hata, in the pre-evacuation community, broke away from Nishi-Shin to form a congregation of his own. For a time, Hata occupied a position of considerable importance in the community since he brought with him his protestant pre-evacuation congregation. As the community has become more settled, the congregation has broken away to some extent from the domineering influence of Reverend Hata, with the result that he no longer wishes to remain aloof from his fellow priests and is returning into the Nishi-shin sect. Of the five, only Imamura preaches in English. This occurs, however, only occasionally since the Japanese language is favored. The Zen Priests are from the Tulare Assembly Center. They are Reverend Ochi and Reverend Suzuki. Reverend Ochi occupies the status of a bishop. He is the highest ecclesiastical dignitary of the community. He is a young and vigorous man reputed to be a great scholar of the Chinese and Japanese classics. Of all the churchmen in the Gila Center, Ochi is by far the most powerful. More of his activities and character will be introduced subsequently. If, however, he is the ecclesiastical power in Butte Camp, Hata is his counterpart in the Canal Camp, even though the latter occupies no episcopal position.

It is difficult to state the number of Shin-shū adherents as compared with that of Zen. The census figures issued by the administration are obviously inaccurate, and it may be ascertained only that 64 per cent of the community is Buddhist, but the break-down into sects cannot be clearly obtained. It is estimated that only 10 per cent of the Buddhist population subscribes to Zen beliefs, the remainder to Shinshū.

The break-down of the Shin sect into Nishi and Higashi is a development which has been accentuated in this country. The division occurs in Japan and is somewhat analagous to the Methodist divisions which occur in the United States.



It has been difficult for the writer to ascertain the exact differences of doctrine which occur between Nishi and Higashi and, indeed, there is seemingly no literature extant on the subject.<sup>2.</sup> It is apparent, however, that the differences in doctrine are slight. In Japan, Nishi has different schools and a slightly different church body from Higashi. The two have large separate temples in Kyoto. Shin-shū is the salvationist faith which holds to a tangible after-life in a western paradise through the mercies of Amida Buddha.<sup>3.</sup> In this paradise, the individual may become a Buddha, eventually obtaining the blessed state of Nirvana.<sup>4.</sup> Amida is the Sanskrit Sakyamuni, the Lord Gautahma, or the Buddha Incarnate. In Shin-shū, (Hongwanji), every prayer must reflect the name of Amida, by whose grace men are saved. It is, therefore, essential to Hongwanji Buddhism that the individual have faith. In this respect, the Shin sect is analagous to certain Christian beliefs in calling for faith by the individual and intercession by a divine or quasi-divine figure. This sect makes great use of a rosary as a means of counting the repetition of the name Amida, the Buddha figure, and sometimes of charms and spells.<sup>5.</sup>

In the manifestations of the Shin sect in the Center, attention is paid to the repetition of the name of Amida, and to outward demonstrations of religious faith. Thus, nearly every devout Shin adherent has in his home a butsudan, the miniature ceremonial closet in which reposes the figure of Sakyamuni. The Shin-shū believer is generally devout, more so than the Zen adherent. Zen, although also Buddhist, brings in some entirely new concepts relative to faith and salvation. Of the two, Zen is the more highly metaphysical, having

2. K. Ashida, article, "Japan," in Hastings Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Vol. 7. 1915. pp. 481-489.
3. E. Steinilber-Oberlin, The Buddhist Sects of Japan, London, 1938. p. 209.
4. Charles Eliot, Japanese Buddhism, London 1935. p. 360.
5. W. E. Griffiths, Religion of Japan, New York 1912. pp. 263-272.

*Arch-  
bishop  
Söderblom  
is reminded  
of Lutheran  
or Moravian  
tracts.  
(Einführung  
in die  
Religions-  
geschichte,  
p. 115,  
Leipzig,  
1920).*



certain philosophical connotations which lack the general appeal and the more concrete elements of Shin. It is a sect of contemplation, demanding a good life and good works so that <sup>an</sup> individual may ultimately become a part of the infinite intelligence of which man is representative. This infinite intelligence is the true Buddha. It is only by negation of the flesh and contemplation of the good way of Buddha that truth may be attained. The emphasis of Zen is on introspection and a search after truth.<sup>6.</sup> It is essentially a sect transplanted from China to Japan as opposed to Shin,<sup>7.</sup> which is purely a Japanese development. It is the aim of the Zen believer to become one with Buddha and the Universe. As opposed to Christianity and Shin-shu, Zen offers no promise of salvation of the individual.

In view of the fact that the doctrines presented by these two sects are so at variance with one another, it seems odd that such strong cooperation exists between the two. It is mentioned above that the ecclesiastical head of this community is, so far as the Buddhists are concerned, Bishop Ochi. He is accorded respect and obedience by the other priests in spite of the fact that he is of the Zen faith and they of the Shin. This has been explained on the basis of doctrine, the Sanskrit concept of the Mahayāna, the "great vehicle" of Buddhism which reaches all mankind. Mahayāna is opposed to the Indian Hinayāna, which is the smaller vehicle of Buddhism destined for India. Mahayāna is the Buddhistic spirit which reaches to all the outlands. It is the great doctrine of self-negation, contemplation, and a reunion with the cosmic mind of the Buddha. It is to become Buddha-like.<sup>8.</sup> Thus, the Buddhist priests are able to operate in common. Both Shin and Zen stem out of Mahayāna doctrines, since the aim of both is the same, namely, to become Buddha-like and to attain Nirvana. The Zen

6. ibid. p. 252.

7. R. C. Armstrong, Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan. New York 1927. pp. 82-90.

8. W. Griffiths op. cit. p. 253 ff. A. Lloyd. The Creed of Half-Japan London 1911. pp. 1, 2.



believer does this by contemplation, the Shin believer by the invocation of Amida. Of the two, Shin is the more personalized and has the greater appeal to the unsophisticated mind. In the religious history of Japan, it is demonstrated clearly that Shin and Nichiren, the latter holding a similar personal promise, had their greatest impetus in the rural areas.<sup>9.</sup>

In spite of the tolerant union of the two sects, the doctrinal differences between them are more pronounced than those which occur between, let us say, Protestantism and Catholicism. It has been mentioned that the Shin-shū believer subscribes to outward properties such as the butsudan, the repetition of the name Amida, the rosary, the use of the Sutra, or Buddhist litany, in services, and the like. Zen, on the other hand, negates all of this and stresses contemplation only; the Zen believer thus tends to throw aside all outward manifestations of piety. It has been said of the Zenshū adherents that they have no regard for Buddha, that they indulge in iconoclastic horseplay and that in general they discard completely the outward expressions of religious faith.<sup>10.</sup> Ochi, although a power in the community, is, nevertheless, severely criticized because of his, to the Shin believer, heretical attitude. In discussing the nature of the Gautahma, Ochi remarked in a sermon that the Saint died from eating too much pork, which caused his death through poisoning. Since he was referring to the Shin Amida, many of the Shin worshipers in the audience were profoundly shocked at this statement. He was asked to retract it but refused to do so on the ecclesiastical ground that the Buddha, as a person, is of no importance. Ochi is a man of outstanding personality. The fact that he has made public his seduction of Reverend Suzuki's wife and been subjected to criticism from the community because of it, has in no way detracted from his prestige and influence. He resides with Reverend and Mrs. Suzuki and has forced

9. W. Gundert. Japanische Religionsgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1935. p. 167 ff.

10. Eliot, op. cit. p. 396.



Suzuki's silence by his superior ecclesiastical position. The affair continues to go on openly under the eyes of every member of the Buddhist Church. Ochi's defense of his position is peculiar. He states on ecclesiastical grounds that the Zen sect does not permit marriage and, therefore, marriage has no sanctity. Indeed, in a normal Japanese situation, Zen priests do not marry. They occupy a position analagous to that of Jesuit priests in Western society. Of all of the individuals in the Center, Ochi enjoys the greatest prestige.

The union of Zen-Shū and Shin-Shū parallels the Union Church development among the Christians. The Buddhist have been much more conservative than the Christians in their demands upon the administration for the use of facilities. Both Zen and Shin priests share the recreation hall which in each camp has been designated as the Buddhist Church. The Buddhists have asked for only one church in Canal Camp and have been given recreation hall 4. They have also requested only one chapel in Butte Camp, recreation hall 63. All of the priests, irrespective of sect, take their turn on the church pulpit. The office of Buddhist priest is quite similar to that of a Christian minister. They perform rites at births and funerals. They perform marriages and they are expected to visit with the members of their congregation, offering help and advice where it is needed. For these services, they may solicit and receive funds for themselves and their church. It is customary to offer the priest a gift of money for his services at a wedding, funeral, or other functions. Some of the wealthier members of the community give money to endow the church. It is expected that everyone who is a member of the church will make some small contribution to the priests at various times during the year. Unlike the Christian services, the Buddhist churches do not take up a collection. A contribution box is placed at the door. Furthermore, all church finances are in the hands of the priests and not of the lay church members. Moreover, the priest is the sole authority in matters pertaining to the welfare of the church building itself. He is the chief dignitary



and advisor and the full church authority. Although he may take council with some older people in matters relative to the disposition of church affairs and policy, laymen may act only on invitation of the priest. In the pre-evacuation days, Buddhist priests, unlike Christian ministers, were never salaried, but had their source of income in payment for services from the individual members of their congregation. This pattern is being followed in the Gila Center, and it appears that the priests are better paid than any other worker in the community.

*Though allowable, this rather unusual use of the word over & over again is a mannerism.*

A peculiar development, exemplary of acculturation, occurs in the Buddhist Church. The services are quite different from the normal pattern of divine worship practiced in Japan. Buddhist services, both in the pre-evacuation period and in the Relocation Center, have taken on features which are identical to those practiced in the Christian congregations. A Sunday School, an order of service, hymns, church socials, and the like, are directly drawn from the Christian pattern. Likewise, a Young Men's and Young Women's Buddhist Association is in existence which parallels the YMCA and YWCA. In order to retain hold on the individual members, it was necessary to effect a pattern of church structure which was analagous to that of the Christian Church, since adverse comparisons were made between the Anglo-American Christian practices and the more authentic Buddhist services which were transplanted from Japan. Embree makes mention of <sup>11.</sup> this in his Kona study. This fact will be observed from the description of the Buddhist Church services which follows.

Like the Christian services, those of the Buddhist take place on Sundays and the program of the day begins with a Sunday School service. This is a young people's service in the main, and does not have the same "Sunday School" connotations that the Christian does. This service lasts about an hour and is under the sole direction of the priest since there is no division into classes as in

11. J. F. Embree. Acculturation Among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii. Memoir, American Anthropological Association 59. 1940. p. 91.



the Christian Sunday School. It is an actual service with hymn singing, benediction, and Sutra-reading by the priest. There is usually a short sermon delivered by the officiating priest. This young people's service takes place simultaneously in each camp, usually at 9:30 Sunday morning. The priests take turns conducting it. It sometimes happens that older people will attend the services as well. For this service, Reverend Imamura is the most popular, since he is occasionally willing to preach in English. The other priests restrict themselves to the use of the Japanese language. The morning service is designed to reach the younger people of the community. A definite effort is being made by the priests and the Buddhist Issei alike to keep the young people within the bounds of the church. It has already been mentioned that true Buddhism is felt a sentimental tie with the homeland. It is for this reason that Buddhism is stressed, rather than from any dogmatic or doctrinal point of view. This, too, is a factor in bringing about the mutual aid, tolerance, and cooperation which exists among the Buddhist groups. In accordance with the "Return to religion", a greater emphasis has been placed on church attendance since settlement in the relocation centers. According to informants on the subject, less interest was manifested in the church by the Buddhist young people than under the present situation. Now, the young people flock in large numbers to the church and take an active part in the various social activities sponsored by the Buddhist Church group. It has been mentioned that there are only two Buddhist chapels, but they are not nearly adequate to provide for the services. The 9:30 service is sometimes held twice or three times in order to accommodate the attending crowds.

Buddhist Church activities take place through the day on Sundays. There are various prayer meetings during the day which are led by the priests. These, however, are not regarded as formal services and it is not until the evening that adult worship takes place. This service is opened with hymns which, like



the young people's services, may be sung in the Japanese language, but to occidental tunes and rhythms. Occasionally, hymns are sung in English by the young people and older people alike, although among the latter English hymns lack popularity. The hymns are particularly interesting, modeled as they are on Christian patterns. They deal with the praise of Amida, the good way of the Lotus, and other related Buddhist subjects. Sutras are recited by way of benediction and the name of Amida is continually mentioned. A sermon follows, given by the priest in charge, on any number of subjects. A favorite subject is the application of Buddhism to world peace. These sermons are always in Japanese in the Issei evening services. After the sermon, another Sutra is recited and the congregation rises prior to departure, repeating with bowed head the three-fold blessing of the name Amida. This is the repetition three times of the phrase, "Namu Amida Butsu" (Blessed be the name of Amida). This, of course, is the Shin-Shū pattern. When the Zen priests takes over, there is a slightly different service which is of a much simpler nature. Sutras are abandoned as are hymns. The services begins with the priest calling for the reading of the Zen precepts, a short missal, which reminds the individual of the need of the inner contemplation of the Buddha. After this, the priest, either Bishop Ochi, or Reverend Suzuki, delivers a sermon in which he may deal with any number of purely secular subjects. He may speak, for example, on world politics, on his experiences when he last visited Japan, and similar subjects which ostensibly have nothing to do with religion at all. Reverend Ochi delights in iconoclastic utterances. He may denounce the family institution, the idea of faith without reason, and the moral stupidity of superstition. He is not too popular, but he attracts large audiences who wait for him to say something daring or revolutionary.

The Young Buddhists' Association of the community, although it participates in the Sunday morning services, usually has a service of its own some night



during the week. This very closely parallels the Young People's Christian Fellowship, since it is very often of a social nature and speakers from the administrative staff, from among the intellectual Japanese leaders of the community, may be called upon to lead a discussion. The religious connotation is not lost, however, since a priest is generally present to lead a prayer and to give a benediction in the name of Amida. This service is almost exclusively Shin, and it is in this respect that a marked difference between Zen and Shin appears. The five Shin-shū priests sponsor this Young Buddhists' Association group. There is, however, a Kibei Club in the community made up of those whose education has taken place in Japan. This is under the direction of the Zen priest and usually meets Sunday afternoons at two o'clock. More of this difference between Kibei Club and the Young Buddhists' Associations will be forthcoming presently.

The Buddhist group exerts a spiritual, rather than a social, influence upon the community. Actually, the doctrines of Buddhism as applied in the community are exceedingly simple, much more so than are those of the Christians. Shin offers salvation through faith and the constant repetition of the name Amida. Thus, the promise of after-life through the Buddha is simply effected through faith, but the faith required is not necessarily active. This, with the Buddhist precepts which parallel the Christian, in that they call for good works, is all that is required of the members. The Buddhist feels most secure in his identification with the Buddhist group at large. Among the Buddhists, therefore, there is no need for fervent and more dogmatic outlook which is found among the Christians. It is enough to find contentment in unification with the group at large. This is the chief precept which the Issei Buddhists attempt to instill in the Nisei Buddhist members. The Issei rather scorn entertainment sponsored in the name of the Buddhist Church. They are content to find what recreation they do allow elsewhere. They do feel it essential, however, that the young people use the church as a means of social expression, thereby identifying themselves with their



own Buddhist group. As noted in the case of the Christian Church, there is a marked split between Issei and Nisei with regard to Church participation. Actually, although there is no organized Issei Buddhist group, there are entertainments which are provided through the church, which offer recreation to Issei and Nisei alike. In conjunction with church dedication ceremonies which occurred in the Center recently, feast days which occur from time to time, such as the "Bon Odori," and the like, there are Japanese-style productions held, engai-kai, or talent shows, which are a source of recreation for the Issei rather than the more americanized Nisei.

There are two vehicles for social outlet for the Nisei Buddhists. These take the form of two organizations: the Young Buddhists' Association, and the Gila Young People's Association, the latter being the so-called Kibei Club. The Young Buddhists' Association parallels the Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association. In the pre-evacuation period, this was indeed divided between YM and YWBA; now, however, in the Center, the two organizations have been united. In accord with Buddhist conservatism, this body has been very slow in getting organized and is just now, at the present writing, drawing up a constitution and applying for recognition through the Community Activities Section. It has been stated that one of the reasons that the group has been slow in getting started is the fact that adequate leadership is lacking, and that most of those who would normally be the Young Buddhist leaders, have already taken an active part in the Kibei Club. One of the Kibei Nisei, George Yamashiro, has been president of the Kibei Club and an active leader in the Young Buddhists' group. The YBA has been sponsored by the five Shin priests. The Gila Young People's Association has as its advisor, Ochi, the Zen priest. Ochi uses the Gila Young People's Association as a vehicle for his own prestige and he has, therefore, taken an active stand against the Young Buddhists' Association, attempting to effect a union of the two under his own direction. The Gila Young People's Association,



although not primarily an ecclesiastical organization, has become a front for the Buddhist Church through Bishop Ochi. The Young Buddhists' Association has more the aspects of a social club and is not desirous of becoming a political factor in the community. For this reason, it has stayed clear of the Kibei organization. It is mentioned above that there is little rivalry between the Buddhists and Christians. In one sense, this statement is incorrect since the Gila Young People's Association, backed by the strong Issei Vigilante Committee, is in opposition to the Christian groups on what might be termed a nationalistic basis. It is not that there is a doctrinal dispute, rather that Buddhism is associated with Japan, Christianity with the United States. There is a certain drive against the Christians because they have broken one of the cultural ties with the mother country. In this respect, Buddhists, who are members of the Issei Vigilante Committee, which has a large membership, and the Gila Young People's Association, link their religion with their sentiments of a pro-Japan nature. Indirectly, the Buddhist Church is a focal point for nationalistic expression. To protect itself, the Christian Church must become a patriotic institution as well as a religious body, and it is on this basis that the two groups emerge as political factors, and are in strong opposition.

In the Assembly Centers, too, Buddhism was recognized by the administration in charge to have a nationalistic impetus. The Buddhist priests, although they were not interned, were asked to confine their activities merely to preaching and not to concern themselves with making the Buddhist Church groups into social clubs, or to enter into subjects relative to Japanese national morality. Furthermore, they were forbidden to proselyte. While none of this was true in the relocation center, inasmuch as Shinto itself could be organized if the initial fear of governmental interference were overcome, the spirit of fear has, in part, remained, with the result that the Buddhist priests prefer to confine their activities solely to ecclesiastical matters and to make use of



the church only as a vehicle of spreading the good word of Buddha. Mention is made above, however, of the strong Issei so-called "Vigilante Committee." In Canal Camp, this was an organization known as the Kenkyu-kai, a self-styled "investigating" agency whose concern it was to promote the interests of the first generation and the moral spirit of Japan as against that of the second generation and the United States. In Butte Camp, this group has its counterpart in what is termed the Kyowa-kai, or "Peace Promotion Society". The adherents of both of these groups are largely Buddhists. Similarly, the Kibei organization, or Gila Young People's Association mentioned above, has a large Buddhist membership. The fact that Reverend Ochi is the spiritual advisor to the Kibei Club, and is active in the Kyowa-kai, lends to these political factors in the community a religious sanction.

Thus, although there is no ostensible rivalry between the Zen and Shin sects, a clash arises between the two in regard to extra-church activities. As has been mentioned, the Shin priests wish to sponsor the Young People's Buddhist Association on purely social grounds, while the Zen priest lends his support to the rival Kibei club. The Kibei club is not only under the direction of a Zen priest, but also has as its leaders members of the Zen sect. It has been mentioned above, that in order to reach the rising generations, Buddhist services have been instituted along the pattern of Christian church services. This is true of the more pliable Shin sect. Orthodox Zen in its simplicity of service is truly oriental and is not successful in conforming to the New World way. The Kibei leaders have been bitterly opposed to the Shin services even though the other Zen and Shin church members are at harmony with one another. The Gila Young People's Association has raised strenuous objections to the fact that in the butsudan of the chapels of both camps, there are two Buddha figures, one representing Amida, and the other the more intangible composite Buddha of the Zen sect. If a rift in the church does occur, it will come through the bitter



opposition of the Kibei leaders to the Shin sect. In the social life of the church, the Kibei group has opposed the formation of the Young People's Buddhist Association. The rift in denomination occurs through the young people, therefore, and not through the well unified Issei members. Feeling this discrimination, the Young Buddhist people of the Shin sect often meet privately on informal occasions for religious conferences with one of the Shin priests, particularly with Reverend Imamura, the Nisei English-speaking priest in the community.

In accordance with the provision which forbade the use of the Buddhist Church as a socializing factor in the Assembly Centers, which were under army control, no attempt has as yet been made to make use of the church as a recreational agency for the Issei, as has been mentioned. There is adequate leadership, it is true, but the more conservative Buddhists prefer to see in their church the reflection of their own spiritual inclination rather than a vehicle for their diversion. There has been hesitancy on the part of the Buddhist members to act together to form a church council which parallels the Christian organization. The Buddhist Church furthermore, is a less democratic institution than the Christian, laying stress upon the priestly hierarchy. No need is felt for a church council because of the autocratic position of the priest. It has been mentioned that the priest is the sole authority in the disposition of church affairs. Intra-church politics, with the exception of the rift between the young people, concern themselves entirely with the priests and their activities. Ochi, because of his position as bishop, commands sufficient respect so as to direct affairs more or less in his own way. Even though the other priests may somewhat resent his supercilious high-handedness, his authority as a churchman is too great to be affronted.

The brief description above outlines to some extent the function of the Buddhist and Christian groups in the Center. Equally significant to the social



scientist, however, are the factors of acculturation which are discernible upon viewing the religious life of the Gila community. These are marked in the Buddhist rituals and patterns, and in the evidences of Shinto faith-healing and superstition which appear in the Center. A brief consideration of these elements of culture survival should be given here. In considering the Buddhist activities, for example, it is well to make note of such events of the festival calendar which have thus taken place since the inception of the community. Certain holidays are observed both by Buddhists and Christians even though they are principally Buddhist in nature. A "Bon" dance was held at the time of the autumnal equinox. This Bon dance, the time when the ancestral spirits return to visit the earth, is normally held in July, but as the result of the pressing problems of evacuation, the Buddhist groups decided to wait until settlement in the relocation center before beginning the dance. It was held, therefore, in the Higan, or equinoctial time. Although held in both camps under the auspices of the Buddhist Church, Christian people, nevertheless, participated. The Bon dance, or "Bon Odori," took place at this time in the Center. Thanksgiving and Christmas, purely Christian holidays, were observed by Buddhist and Christian alike, the former group falling into accord with the Anglo-American scheme of feasting and giving gifts on the latter occasion. Church festivals were held over the New Year's celebration. The Christians had a small church service, but the Buddhists, on the other hand, staged an elaborate celebration of services, dramatic presentations, singing of Japanese songs, and the like. In accordance with this festival, the Japanese custom of gift-giving was observed by the Buddhist, but not by the Christians. At this time, gifts (O-sei-bo) are to be given to all those who have been of service to an individual or to his family during the year. This custom has been entirely abandoned by the Christians, but is still observed by the Buddhists. The seasonal eating of omochi (special rice cakes) was observed by Christians



and Buddhists alike and , indeed, was sponsored by the leaders in the various residence blocks into which the center is divided. The New Year's festival lasts until January 15, with special feast days on the 7th and the 15th. These festivals were observed by the Buddhists in that church services were held on these days. This is particularly significant for Shin sect members, inasmuch as on the 16th of January, festivals called the Ho-on-ai, namely the memorial services for the Saint Shinran, the founder of the Shin sect, are held. The last days of the New Year's festivals were not observed by the Christians. These are the chief religious festivals which have taken place in the center thus far, and which have been given publicity. Others will be held from time to time as significant holidays approach. Some of these festivals, particularly those which are celebrated in the homeland, have aroused some feeling of nationalism among some of the residents of the community. Shinto and Tenrikyō festivals have been accorded no publicity and if observed, have been observed in secret.

Mourning services are observed by all Buddhists and the priest is called in to officiate for a family, one of the members of which has died. The Japanese ritual pattern of an otsuya, service prior to cremation, a brief ceremony on the return of the ashes of the deceased to the family, and further mourning ceremonies on the 35th and 49th days after death, are carefully observed by the Buddhists, more carefully, in fact, than in the pre-evacuation period when there was less opportunity for adverse comments by neighbors. Some of the funerals conducted in the Center under the auspices of the priests are extremely elaborate and entail considerable expense on the part of the bereaved family. Some of the families in the Center who have both Buddhist and Shinto antecedents keep up the Shinto religious closet in their homes as well as the Buddhist. This is the kamidana which may occupy a place next to the home shrine of the Buddha, or the butsudan. Buddhists and Shintoists alike revere



tablets on which are inscribed the name of the deceased family member. These may be placed in the butsudana, or if the family has a Shintoistic leaning, in the kamidana. Individual religious expressions of the kind mentioned above could be discussed at great length<sup>12</sup>. These items are, however, more significant to the individual resident than to the community at large, and are indicative of culture survivals rather than of concerted community religious manifestations.

Some attention should be paid to the other sects of Buddhism, however, of which two occupy some status in the community. First of these is the Nichiren sect. This is a personal faith much like Shin, except that it denies the saving grace of Amida. It is related to Tendai, of which there are also some adherents in the community. The two together make great use of charms, spells and religious revivalism.<sup>12</sup> The few Nichiren-Tendai members in the community attend to some extent the Buddhist services inasmuch as they have no priests of their own, but are known to have private meetings at which they practice curing and making use of superstitions and the loud invocation of the name Buddha. This group takes on an almost shamanistic quality. One of the members is adept with the ouija-board and purports to find lost or stolen articles. Another man in the Canal Camp has inscribed in Japanese all over the outside of his house, such sayings as "great is the way of the Buddha." This Nichiren group finds its counterpart in some of the more unorthodox revivalistic Christian sects. The writer has not been sufficiently fortunate to witness a curing ceremony purportedly held on occasion by this group. That they do make amulets and charms against evils and witchcraft is known. The other Buddhists make rather a joke of them. The Nichiren people, although strong in this country, have very few members in the Gila Relocation Center. It is said that the practices which they adopt are unorthodox and that they are a protestant Nichiren group.

12. W. E. Griffiths. op. cit. p. 277



Another group in the community with Buddhist affiliations is the small sect of Seicho-no-ye. This, translated, means literally the "House of Long Life" and attempts to give peace to its members through contemplation and a renewal of the "inner self". This group has adopted the "better parts" of Buddhism and Christianity, and is seemingly very closely allied with Christian Science. It attempts to cure through the mind and to give the individual long life and happiness. There are 14 active members of Seicho-no-ye in the Butte Camp. They have insisted upon administrative recognition with the result that an apartment in a residence barrack has been given to them as a chapel. Unlike the other Buddhist groups, the Seicho-no-ye people are engaged in an active program of proselyting. This sect has only secular leaders.

Mention is made here, too, of other practices related to Buddhism which are direct carry-overs from Japan. Not only are certain festival and saints' days observed by the Church at large, but also there are certain individuals, who, like the Nichiren people, mentioned above, attempt to combine Buddhism with Shintoistic or shamanistic phenomena. Good luck pieces and charms of a Shintoistic nature may appear in Buddhist homes even though the family, on the surface, does not subscribe to the maxims of Shintoism. The stone, called Jizō, is primarily a Buddhist institution which has been adopted by the Shintoists. To the best of knowledge of the writer, there are no Jizō stones in America. Several people have set up stones of volcanic rocks, on which they have carved Buddha faces. While not true Buddha stones, they become a sentimental reminder of the Jizō of Japan. These are thought to bring good luck and good fortune to the house. Items of this kind bring the observer into the realm of Shintoism, and it is the practice of this peculiar philosophy which should next be observed.



# SHINTO IN THE GILA CENTER

In the pre-evacuation period, Shinto, so-called "Way of the Gods", was a popular religious institution among many of the rural Japanese in California. Shinto can scarcely be called a religion. It is, rather, a system of philosophy based on mythological history. Shinto adherents are generally agreed that there is no unified system of Shinto beliefs in this country. In Japan, the identification of Shinto as a national religion has made for some unity and as  
13.  
a weapon for political solidarity. Shintoism is polytheistic, embracing greater and lesser pantheons and including many beliefs, practices, and societies, which are not well unified and which vary from locality to locality in this country. There used to be Shinto shrines and temples in many parts of California, particularly in rural communities. In the United States, there is a greater emphasis in what Embree calls "personal Shintoism", as opposed to shrine or organized  
14.  
Shinto. Household gods and good luck charms were held by families and belief in various spells was common. The activities of the Shinto people are centered around a shrine to which people came to observe special events of the Japanese calendar. It was unusual for actual services to be held on prescribed days since Shinto practices follow a ceremonial calendar. Thus, most of the people who practiced Shinto also attend the Buddhist churches. At the Shinto shrine were priests with possibly one or two assistants depending on the size of the shrine. In most cases these were subsidized by Japanese money, possibly through the help of the Japanese Consulate. There was such a shrine in Fresno and one or two others through the San Joaquin Valley. Shrine developments and partisanship in Shinto sects seems to have been limited in California in the pre-evacuation period. The principal expression of Shinto was in the home, in the household gods which were kept for good luck and in the kamidana, the small Shinto shrine of the home which has been described above. With the apprehension

13. W. G. Aston, Shinto, the Way of the Gods. London, 1905. p. 359

14. J. F. Embree, Suye Mura, a Japanese Village, Chicago, 1938. sc. Section on Shintoism.



of the Shinto priests by the federal authorities after the outbreak of hostilities between Japan and the United States, there were many who have been afraid to admit their Shinto partisanship. The twenty-four who were bold enough to admit adherence to the Shinto faith in the center do not give an accurate picture of the true situation. Many of those who practiced both Shintoism and Buddhism preferred to list their religious preference as Buddhist. According to the Buddhist priest, Reverend Imamura, a good many of those who gave no religious preferences were members of Shinto sects. It is necessary to understand the position of the Shinto in the pre-evacuation communities in order to reflect its present situation in the relocation center. In this respect, further information should be elicited regarding the religious situation of the pre-evacuation period.

It is obvious that the distinctions between Buddhism and Shintoism are not at all well defined. It might be said that each devout Japanese who subscribes to the religious systems of the mother country is at once a Buddhist and a follower of Shinto. Shinto is applicable to the mundane existence, bringing good luck, curing diseases, and offering certain patterns which make for a successful earthly life. Most Buddhists, with the exception of the members of the Zen sect, have some veneer of Shintoism in their beliefs. This religious division in the individual is true of both the Japanese and American situation, but Shintoism in this country does not offer a basis for social activity. For this reason, it is in the United States, a purely personalized phenomenon.

Shinto subscribes to a kind of ancestral worship. The illustrious ancestors of an individual take their place in the Shinto pantheon. There has been a definite break-down in religious concepts between Buddhism and Shintoism, both in Japan and in this country. Many Buddhists in this center revere the ancestors in the accepted Shinto manner in that they keep up the tablets



and relics of the departed members of the family. Mention has already been made of those religious people who keep both the Buddhist butsudan and the Shinto kamidana in the home. Thus, in the Gila Center, there are many individuals who are both Shintoistic and Buddhistic. There are, furthermore, many Buddhists who engage in various Shinto practices without actually realizing that they are departing from the prescribed practices of the Buddhist church. Many people have erected in their yards and gardens little stone lanterns to which they sometimes attach the paper good luck charms which are called ofuta. These, together with the kamidana, are the few outward manifestations of Shintoistic practices in the community. In the Butte camp, certain people have made shrines. There are in existence two shrines, one of which has been placed upon a neighboring hill and the other just outside the camp boundary. These are roughly made of wood and contain no figures or representations of deities, but simply cactus plants to which are attached paper charms. It is said that those who visit these shrines will have good luck. Oddly enough, however, these shrines are not wholly Shinto inasmuch as they have certain Buddhistic elements, namely the purported presence of the Buddhist saint of mercy, the Chinese Kwannon. In this respect, there is a curious mixture of Buddhism and Shintoism. The shrines, ostensibly Shinto, were erected by Shintoists aided by members of the Shin sect. The dual application of religious philosophy is clearly demonstrated here. A further manifestation of Shinto is to be observed in some of the rites, superstitions, spiritualistic observances, faith healing, and the like, which occur in the center. Superstitions center around concepts of good luck which may be brought about by charms which, in the pre-evacuation days, were often sent from Shinto shrines in Japan and sold by priests.

The so-called Inari cult has some following in the center and it appears



to have been revived since evacuation inasmuch as it was not known to have existed in California in the pre-evacuation period. Inari is a Shinto deity whose messengers are foxes.<sup>15.</sup> Because little foxes have been seen at Gila, the Inari concept is returning to some extent. Foxes have been captured and kept in cages. On one occasion, this observer noted the presence of the paper ofuta charm. The foxes are regarded as good luck by some of the Shinto Issei who subscribe to the Inari belief. The fox is also thought to be a trickster and a harbinger of death. In Japan, the fox clearly shares some of the trickster culture-hero traits so common to the northern and circum-polar regions. A few examples of faith healing through the Shinto have occurred in the Gila Center. The use of fish blood and incantations to cure a sick person has been observed, but, as yet, spiritualistic seances and the presence of spirit mediums have not been known to occur. In the pre-evacuation period, the Shinto priest acted as a faith-healer and as a spirit <sup>e</sup>medium, playing an almost shamanistic role. Such manifestations of faith-healing as do occur are clearly Shinto, as demonstrated by the use of the paper charm which is applied to the ailing part of the patient's body.

Like Buddhism, Shinto is divided into sects. The Inari cult, for example, might be considered a separate sect of Shintoism. Those denominations of Shinto, which do appear in the center, are those which arise out of superstitious manifestations rather than through any philosophy<sup>ca</sup> application. Shinto is the national religion of Japan, and the Mikado cult is the one under which the modern military regime operates. This Mikado cult is closely allied with the concept of Bushido or military philosophy. Bushido has been mentioned from time to time in the center, particularly with regard to enlistment of Nisei, American citizen Japanese, in the armed forces of the United States. The courtly way of Bushido was mentioned by some of the Issei to defend their

15. D. C. Buchanan. "Inari, It's Origin, Development and Nature." TASJ, 2 ser. XII, 1935.



children against adverse criticism when the latter enlisted in the United States Army. The Shintoistic application of this occurrence is, of course, moralistic rather than religious.

Another Shinto cult which has some impetus in the center is that of Tenrikyō. Literally, Tenrikyō means "The Heavenly Way of Rational Thinking." The cult is a new one, having been founded recently in Japan by a woman named Omiki, who has been called the Mary Baker Eddy of Japan. <sup>16.</sup> Although a cult of Shinto, Tenrikyō is more of a religion than Shinto proper, since it gives to the individual the definite promise of afterlife and sets up a series of moral precepts and well-defined sacraments by which the individual may live. Like other manifestations of Shinto, Tenrikyō brings good fortune to the believer, and, by faith, freedom from sickness and ill health. The Tenrikyō development in this country is entirely independent of affiliations with Japan. Thus, there are no professional priests. A man named Tanaka in the Butte Camp, where the cult centers itself, is a self-appointed priest or evangelist, with a great reputation as a faith healer. He has actively been engaged in proselyting and has gained a fairly large following through the cures which he repeatedly has effected. Tanaka has a following from among certain Issei, although the general <sup>5</sup> consensus in the community is that he is a charlatan. He effects cures through what are ostensibly shamanistic practices, making use of dance steps, a flute, a spiritual paper from the great shrine of Tenrikyō in Japan, and other curative elements including incantations, the lifting of the head of the patient so that the curative spirits might enter his nostrils, and the like. His aim is to call down the spirits of air and earth who might cure the sufferer. He, unlike possessed shamans, merely calls upon the spirits and does not pretend that a spirit enters his own body. Unlike the Inari devotees, the Tenrikyō people believe that faith effects success and health.

16. W. G. Aston. op. cit. p. 375.



The Inari believers subscribe to a concept of spirit possession. The few members of Tenrikyō in the center are extremely devout and almost fanatical in their approach to religion. For this reason, they are somewhat avoided by other members of the community and in the main, have created their own little social group. It should be fairly clear from the foregoing remarks, however, that Shinto and its sects in the community call for a purely personal and individual application, and that the Buddhist and Christian religions only are the functioning ecclesiastical groups.



It will be noted from the foregoing statements regarding the role of religion in the Gila Relocation Center that a definite distinction between organized religious expression and the purely personal or individual religious acceptance exists. In considering the function of religion in the community, it is necessary to keep this distinction continually in mind. It is from this view that the Gila religious development has been approached. Thus, the attempt has been made to see the problem in a dual light. On the one hand, there are the manifestations of organized religious worship with its churches, congregations, and accompanying social groups. On the other hand, there has been noted the presence of less formalized and unorganized religious forms, sects with few adherents which follow most closely the ways of the mother country. It has been shown that the Buddhist and Christian groups, recognized by the center administration, are able to exert a social and political influence on the community. Shinto, Tenrikyō, the minor sects of Buddhism, and Christianity, and the several apparent forms of spiritistic or animistic worship exert little or no influence on the community and its developments.

In the various aspects of religious and family life, the closest cultural ties with the Japanese homeland appear. The family institution, even among the most americanized Japanese residents of the relocation centers, has a slightly different emphasis in comparison with the Anglo-American family. It, with religion, is one of the last culture traits to be abandoned in favor of the Caucasian American way. In considering the acculturated traits of the Japanese in the New World, it is to these two developments that the observer must turn. This analysis has somewhat neglected this aspect; more attention might have been given to a consideration of the purely Japanese forms in the religious situation and their application in the United States. In order to understand the workings of the community, however, these purely oriental traits do not take on much importance. In the consideration of Buddhism, for example, it becomes clear that although the patterns of belief are Japanese,



and the rituals and services are presented in the mother tongue, nevertheless, in its application to the community, Buddhism occupies a position similar to that of Christianity. Its effect in this and in the pre-evacuation communities as well, is much the same as the Christian. It attempts to exert a certain amount of control, to mold to some extent the patterns of behavior of the individual member. In the Gila Community, both organized religions attempt to instill a similar moral and social pattern in the individual member.

The question as to the attitude of the individual member toward this attempted control on the part of his church may justly be raised. In this respect, the role of religion has not been delineated too clearly, more attention having been paid to the efforts of the organized group to assert itself as a factor in the community. Organized religion has been unsuccessful in becoming a dominant factor in the center, largely because the communal attitude toward it is that the church, Buddhist or Christian, should show the spiritual way and not emerge as a political or recreational institution. As the result of evacuation, religion has taken on, perhaps, a more significant quality than existed in the pre-evacuation scene. It has been mentioned that many who had previously ignored the spiritual side of church activities have now returned into the religious fold. It is in keeping with this changed attitude toward religion that the community consensus demands a greater emphasis on the part of the churches on the spiritual side and less attention to the more secular matters. It is this demand which prevents the churches from becoming the community powers that their clerics and some of their members would like to see them be. Organized religion, Buddhist and Christian alike, takes a back seat in the disposition of community affairs.

It appears that most Issei take their religion as a matter of course. Few are particularly ardent in their religious aims. The Nisei, too, incline to attend the churches on the days of organized worship but are not too con-



cerned with church affairs at other times. To both groups the church gives security and an unconscious identification with a social group in which the individual can feel secure. This is the most significant role played by organized religion in the community. Of all the church groups, the Christian Nisei are the most fervent. They must justify their religion not only to the community at large, but often to their families. Issei Christians are not subject to general community criticism; they are Japanese citizens and their ties are felt to be in the homeland through language and custom. The Christian Nisei are censured because of the feeling of the identification of Christianity with Americanism. In becoming Christian, in carrying on Christian services and doctrines, it is generally felt that they are abandoning the tie with Japan, the mother tongue, and the moral principles of the homeland; and that in so doing, they are relinquishing their Japanese birthright. Thus, in their attempts to justify their stand, the Nisei Christians have made of their church more than have either the Issei Christians or the Buddhists. Although a minority group in the center, the Nisei Christian church looms as the most important religious social group in the community. A more passive stand is taken by the other faiths.

It is to be understood that this discussion is of a preliminary nature only, implying considerable further research into the subject of the religious development in the Gila Relocation Center. At the present time, the religious emphasis centers itself around the Christian group. As the Buddhist Church, numerically superior in the community, asserts itself and is able to organize a stronger social group, the religious status quo may well be subject to change. It will be the task of this writer to record further developments of this kind.

In the foregoing discussion, the factors of religious acculturation have been mentioned but not fully shown. These, too, provide a subject for further research. In an analysis of religion, two factors are to be considered in view of the newly created evacuation situation: the first concerns community reli-



gious developments, the second, the factors of religious acculturation which appear not only in the relocation center but also which were evident in the pre-evacuation situation. It is the latter factor which will be made the subject for further analyses.



## APPENDIX I

### CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE RIVERS CHRISTIAN CHURCH

#### PREAMBLE

Inasmuch as we, members of various Protestant churches, are assembled to live for the duration of the present war in the United States War Relocation Authority project center at Rivers, Arizona; and

Inasmuch as we desire, as we deem it right that we should, to work together as a united Christian congregation for the promotion of the Gospel of Jesus Christ and the realization of His teaching in our lives and in our community:

We hereby covenant ourselves in an ecclesiastical organization under the name and constitution herein adopted, to continue for the duration of the war, namely:

#### ARTICLE I. Name

The name of this organization shall be "Rivers Christian Church."

#### ARTICLE II. Membership

Membership in this Church shall be through confession of faith and baptism. Members of all Protestant churches will be accepted into this Church without altering their previous affiliations.

#### ARTICLE III. Doctrine and Discipline

The prevailing doctrines, disciplines and usages of the denominations represented in the Rivers Christian Church will be respected.

#### ARTICLE IV. Government

Section 1. The governing body of this church shall be known as the Council, and shall consist of two Japanese speaking, and two English speaking delegates from each large participating church group represented in Rivers, and others selected by the ministers. All



chairmen of standing committees and departments, and all ordained ministers in good standing shall automatically be accepted as members of the Council.

Section 2. The officers of the Council shall be: Chairman, Vice Chairman, Treasurer, Clerk, Corresponding Secretary.

Section 3. (a) All delegates shall serve a term of one year as members of the Council.

(b) All officers shall serve a term of one year.

(c) Attendance of three-fourths of the Council membership shall constitute a quorum necessary for election of officers.

Section 4. The chairman shall be an ordained minister, and shall preside at all meetings of the Council. He shall further perform the duties usually pertaining to his office.

Section 5. The Vice Chairman shall preside and otherwise discharge the duties of the chairman in the event of the latter's absence.

#### ARTICLE V. Amendments

Section 1. Amendments to this Constitution may be proposed either by the Council, or by a petition signed by fifty or more members of the Church.

Section 2. Adoption of an amendment shall be by majority vote at a meeting of the Council.

#### BY-LAWS

##### 1. Standing Committees:

The following standing committees shall be headed by ministers: Worship, Membership, Visitation, and Social Welfare.

The following standing committees shall be headed by laymen: Finance, Music, Chapel.

##### 2. Departments:

There shall be four departments, namely: Religious, Education, Young People, Laymen, and Women's Auxiliary. The first two shall be headed by



ministers, the latter two by lay chairmen.

3. The Directors of Religious Education shall be elected by the Council.

4. The Auditor shall be elected by the Council, to which he shall be responsible for the accuracy of all financial records. He shall make quarterly and annual reports to the Council.

5. Chairmen of all committees and departments shall hand in written reports monthly to the Church.

6. A full-time Church Secretary shall be elected to the Council for a term of one year at a salary of \$16.00 per month.

7. There shall be a nominating committee of seven, who shall present a list of candidates at the election meeting.

8. There shall be a Coordinating Committee, composed of delegated officers from the Butte and Canal Councils, which shall pass on matters pertaining to the Rivers Christian Church as a whole.

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SUGGESTIONS:

Appropriations shall be made by three-fourth's vote of the Council.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

The foregoing analysis made some reference to the theological points which arise out of Buddhism and Shintoism. The following materials helped to shed some light on the more metaphysical aspects of these two faiths. Most of the information in this report was gleaned from personal notes and observations by the writer and through the use of informants. In view of the varying quality of this bibliography, annotations by the writer as to the merits of the various works are in order:

Armstrong, Robert C. Buddhism and Buddhists in Japan. New York, 1927.

This is a scholarly digest of the works on Japanese Buddhism. It is worthwhile in its summarization of the importance of the Mahayana doctrine, an exceedingly complex doctrine on which the bulk of Japanese Buddhism is founded.

Aston, W. G. Shinto, (The Way of the Gods). London, 1905.

Aston's work on Shinto is regarded as authoritative. Indeed, it is the only compendium on Shinto extant.

Buchanan, D. C. "Inari, Its Origin, Development, and Nature," Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 2nd ser. XII, 1935.

A comprehensive analysis of the Inari cult is presented by this work. The importance of the sect in Japan is discussed as well as its spiritistic qualities. On the whole, this monograph seems to place the cult in its proper relation to the Japanese religious scheme.

Eliot, Sir Charles Japanese Buddhism. London, 1935.

This work is primarily a history of Buddhism in Japan. As such, it is regarded as the most authoritative account in English by contemporary Japanese scholars. The history of the various sects of Japanese Buddhism is traced and their differences in doctrine compared. The work presupposes a thorough grounding in Buddhist history and is thus rather difficult reading for the uninitiated reader.

Embree, J. F. Acculturation among the Japanese of Kona, Hawaii. Memoir, American Anthropological Association, 59, Menasha, 1940.

Embree's work is one of the few dealing with the New World Japanese. As a purely descriptive account the study is excellent, presenting clearly the factors of acculturation involved in the Japanese settlement of Hawaii. This analysis is invaluable in giving a background of the problems of the New World Japanese.

Embree, J. F. Suye Mura, A Japanese Village. Chicago, 1938.

Excellent background is provided by this descriptive account of a rural Japanese village, especially in the religious discussion.



Griffis, William E. Religions of Japan. New York, 1912

This is possibly the best comparative account of the religions of Japan extant. A good generalization of the religious developments of Japan, this work is an aid to the understanding of the relative importance of the major Japanese faiths.

Gundert, Wilhelm Japanische Religionsgeschichte. Stuttgart, 1935.

A scholarly and exhaustive analysis of the history of Buddhism in Japan. It is comparable to Eliot's work cited above but takes a slightly different approach in that it is a pure history, not being concerned with the doctrinal differentiations in the sects. It attempts to trace the history and origin of the sects of Japanese Buddhism in relation to Japanese political history.

Hastings' Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics. Article, K. Ashida, "Japan," v. VIII:481-489, 1915.

Hastings' Encyclopedia, although a secondary source, is valuable for the number of original articles it contains. The article in question is helpful from the point of definition of various terms in Japanese Buddhism and in Shintoism.

Katō, Genchi A Study of Shinto, the Religion of the Japanese Nation. Tokyo, 1926.

Written by a Shintoist, this work extols the moral precepts laid down by national Shinto. This work is interesting and enlightening in giving an account of the function of Shinto in Japan and showing its relation to the adherent.

Knox, George W. The Development of Religion in Japan. New York, 1907.

This work is of aid in understanding the interrelationships of the Japanese religions, as, for example, that between Buddhism and Shintoism. It, too, is a fair historical account.

Lloyd, Arthur The Creed of Half Japan. London, 1911.

In spite of a somewhat sensational title, this work is regarded as authoritative by Japanese scholars. It is an analysis of Buddhism in its historical light with application to the Japanese situation in the Meiji period. This work clears up to some extent the layman's misunderstandings regarding the delineation of the Buddhist sects. Lloyd clearly outlines the distinctions between them.

Miyamoto, Shotaro F. "Social Solidarity among the Japanese in Seattle." University of Washington Publications in the Social Sciences, II, 2, Seattle, 1939.

This is the only first-rate account of a New World Japanese community. As such, it is of invaluable aid to an understanding the social reactions in the post-evacuation situation. It is the only worth-while attempt to analyze a pre-evacuation Japanese community.



Reischauer, August K. Studies in Japanese Buddhism. New York, 1917.

Of the works chosen as an aid to the understanding to the role of religion in the Gila Relocation Center, this biased critique of Buddhism in Japan is the least valuable. The more exotic rites of Buddhism are accentuated by this author. The work is not without value, however, since it presents a clear picture of denominational differences in Japanese Buddhism.

Steinleber-Oberlin, E. The Buddhist Sects of Japan. London, 1938.

Translated from the French, this work is an attempt to compare and to somewhat popularize the Buddhist sects of Japan. It is valuable in that it offers the reader an understanding of the doctrinal differences between the sects. It does not concern itself with historical development of the various Buddhist cults but shows their application in the religious picture of modern Japan.