A, B, 3, 5

BUDDHIST CHURCH

Preliminary Report (Confidential)

BUDDHIST CHURCH

I. INTRODUCTION

A. General Identification

Just as the Christian Church in Tule Lake is dominated by the Protestant group, the Buddhist Church is controlled by the Jodo Shinshu group, the most popular Buddhist sect in both Japan and America. The only other Buddhist sect that is represented in Tule Lake is the Nichiren sect, which has a group of followers who conduct one service every Sunday morning. The Buddhist Church is a single organization operating as a unit, although its structure seems to be neither as elaborate or as formally knit together as the Christian Church. The official name of the church has never been widely publicized and is unknown to the writer, although the youth group, Young Buddhist Association, has chosen an official name and even a banner for itself.

B. Significance

Americanized than Christians. The former have usually spoken more and better Japanese, while their grasp of the English language was proportionately poor. In their ideas, in the things they did, in the way they dressed even, they were generally thought to be more backward in a cultural sense than their Christian counterparts. Underlying this fundamental difference in acculturation seems to be a difference in the adjustment pattern of the individual. Whereas the Christian tended to strive for leadership and position, Buddhist tended to remain simple. The latter are less willing to take leader-

ship roles, are more inclined to conform to the ways of their parents, and less likely to strike out on an unbeaten path.

Because of these characteristics, the adjustment of the Buddhists to conditions here in Tule Lake should be of interest. In comparison with the Christians, especially, their behavior should be revealed.

C. Method of Writing

First a chronological account of the development of the Buddhist Church shall be given. This section will be concerned with 3 divisions of the Buddhist Church—the Sunday School, the adult service, and the YBA. The last group will be given more thorough treatment than the first two because of the greater material on hand and also because it is of more value in contrasting with the fellowship group of the Christian Church. Following this, a cross-sectional picture of the Buddhist group will be given in terms of significant membership characteristics, uniform ways of the group, and inter-personal relationships.

II. GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT

A. Incipient Organization

In contrast to the Christian group which began to have meetings even without the help of a minister, the Buddhist group did not have any sort of meeting until it was organized by the first Buddhist reverend that arrived in Tule Lake.

Reverend Sasaki, a middle-aged Issei reverend of the Jodo

Shinshu Sect, arrived with the people from the Walerga Assembly Center. It wasn't until June 27, after all the people from Walerga had arrived that the first service was announced in the Tulean Dispatch. It was held in an empty recreation hall

(No. 3008) in the section of the Colony where the people from

Walerga settled down. A few rows of benches were available, but people were asked to bring their own chairs. In the morning a service was held for Sunday school children, and for the adults a different kind of service was held in the afternoon.

J.S. in his journal described the service in the following manner:

"Went to 10 o'clock Sunday school service. There were little children sitting up in front, while adolesents were standing in the rear. There were a few college students, too. Funio and Jimmy N, shida were acting as leaders, passing out song cards. The whole service was held just as it would have been held in a city before the evacuation and the war. Everything was carried out in Japanese, and the service was directed toward little children. The Juneral was chanted, and Japanese songs sung.

Most of the group was conservative-looking in appearance.

"There were three reverends, all of whom spoke in
Japanese. Reverend Sasaki was in charge of the service, and
is evidently the most elderly and the head of the Buddhist
group. He said that he received much cooperation from the
administration in setting up the Sunday school. Reverend
Nagatani was from San Jose and was a good story-teller forchildren. Reverend Hirabayashi spoke with a more direct approach
to religion and advised the children to tell Buddha whenever they did anything good or bad.

"All of the reverends mentioned that the grabbing for lun-(see Scrap Lumber Conflict)

¹ T. D. 6/27

ber was disgraceful.

Was

The service/for young children, and I couldn't get any satisfaction from it. I don't think that many of the older ones could."1

The service for Isseis was different in that it was directed toward a much older group whose primary interest in church going was in hearing the sermons. J.S. describes the second service for Isseis in the following manner:

"Ruby insisted on going to the Buddhist service in Japanese. We got there right after it started, and had to sit through almost half an hour of chanting of okyo (sutra). There were practically no young people. The number of women was around 60, while the men numbered around a dozen. The sermon was by Rev. Naito from Brawley. He spoke on faith. not to use it as a tool for daily living, but to use it as a guide, to give oneself up to this guidance, etc. He impressed the audience very much with the idea of how wrongly they live and how they should put more trust in Amida Buddha, and mumurs of "Namu Amida Butsu" could be heard from time to time from the audience. He used the right amount of emotionalism to move the listeners, and still kept practical enough to get them thinking about action. Ruby seemed to like it very much, and said that it was worthwhile. I myself was not impressed by it too much. George didn't go because he thought that it would be a waste of time."2

^{1.} J.S.J. 6/28

^{2.} J.S.J. 7/5

The Sacramento Buddhist girls' choir was reorganized here by Miyoko Mano, the choir leader. A notice of the first meeting appeared in the Tulean Dispatch on July 10. On July 19, the choir appeared on the outdoor stage in attractive uniforms and sang a few numbers. At the first meeting of the Y.B.A. it was scheduled to sing, but the choir did not appear. Since then it has not been so very active.

B. Development

on July 12 the activities of the Buddhist Church expanded. Sunday school services were held in three different places and the adult service in 4.2 Two weeks later after the Pinedale group came in it was still further expanded. Sunday school was held in five places and adult services in five places. Two weeks later two evening services for adults were added to the five held in the afternoon. Churchgoers were still being asked to bring their own chairs. At the same time the first Y.B.A. service was held in a mess hall. By September 6, Sunday school services were being held in eight places, adult afternoon services in five places, adult evening services in two places, and the Y.B.A. in a single mess hall.

The interesting point about the development of the Buddhist Church is that the services have not been sub-divided into smaller age groups as the Christians have done. From the beginning the Sunday school included from tottering little children who could not possibly understand what was beingsaid by the minister, to high school and even college students who could not get very much out of the childish story that was

^{1.} J.S.J. 7/19

^{3.} T.D. 7/25

YBA would take care of the adolescent and older groups, no opportunity for leadership was made for the more capable young people by breaking up the Sunday School services into smaller classes. Perhaps it was partly due to the lack of adequate facilities. Nevertheless, this lack of elaborate organization is characteristic of the Buddhist group.

C. Tule Lake Y. B. A.

The suggestion to form a youth organization of Buddhists first came from Ben Kasubuchi, block manager for Block 14. He talked to Buddhist reverends and called a meeting of all former presidents of YBA's of Washington, Oregon, and California during the second week of July. At the meeting of Bussei (Buddhist youth) leaders on July 9, Bill Teramoto, a block manager, presided as chairman. Yasuo Honda was appointed temporary chairman of the new organization, while Shizuko Minomura was elected secretary. A mass meeting was scheduled to select nomination and charter committees. The preparation committee for the organizational meeting included:

Yasuo Honda, chairman (Portland)

Margie Ito (Seattle)

Tomiko Inouye (Salem)

Eiko Uyeno (Placer)

Haru Ogawa (Isleton)

Kiyoshi Magatani (Florin)

Evelyn Date (Sacramento)²

2 T.D. 7/11/42

¹ No. 14 Block Manager's Report 7/13/42

At the organizational meeting on July 12 registration was taken and a total of 286 registered. A consitution committee and a banner committee were nominated. In addition to the reverends, Ben Kasubuchi and Bill Teramote were chosen as advisors to the YBA. One interesting phenomenon at the first organizational meeting was the overwhelming large proportion of girls. Most of them were around high school age. Nominees were selected by a separate committee for Board of Directors for the YBA organization. It was decided that three would be elected from the Northwest and seven from California. This was probably in proportion to the number of people from the two sections of the country. The Pinedale group had not entered yet. How the latter group was represented on the Board of Directors is not known.

The official name of the Buddhist youth organization was adopted as the Tule Lake YBA (Young Buddhist Association). For the Board of Directors the following were elected:

- 1. Yoshio Usui
- 2. Margie Ito
- 3. Shizuko Ninomura
- 4. Noboru Honda
- 5. Yasuo Honda
- 6. Haruko Ogawa
- 7. Evelyn Date
- 8. Tetsujiro Nakamura
- 9. John Kashiwabara
- 10. Jean Mori

A constitution was accepted at a meeting and a banner previewed. 5

On July 19, the YBA held an installation service for its new officers on the outdoor stage. Mr. Shirrell and Mr. Waller 7

³ T. D. 7/15/42

⁴ J.S.J. 7/12/42

⁵ T. D. 7/18

were guest speakers, and they gave their assurance that the organization was welcome and that they would give it all the help they could. The girls' choir, garbed in attractive uniforms, sang a few songs. The response to the singing from the audience, however, was very poor. The sermon was delivered by Reverend Naito, who said that although we considered our life here our darkest moment, there was always a bright side to even a dark moment. He stated that this was an opportunity for people to gain faith. There was a fair turnout of several hundred.

on July 26, a rally for the organization festival to be held on the coming Sunday was held in a mess hall in the evening. The mess hall was filled by young people of about high school age. There were at least five girls to each boy. A service was held before the rally and Rev. Sasaki delivered the sermon. He spoke on the meaning of Namu Amida Butsu and said that it meant depending on the boundless light and knowledge. The rally consisted of introduction of officials for the coming festival and a program of entertainment. This pattern of service and entertainment was to be followed in all of the later YBA meetings. 7

The festival on August 2 consisted of the following program:

1.	Registration	8	a.m.	
2.	Opening Service	9	a.m.	
3.	Speeches	10	a.m.	
4.	Baseball games	1	- 4	p.m.
5.	Community singing	•	4	p.m.
6.	Talent show		7	p.m.
7.	Dance	8	-11	p.m.

Registration was required to receive bids to the dance in the evening and many people must have registered just for that purpose

⁶ J.S.J. 7/19 7 J.S.J. 7/26, T.D. 7/25

The total registration for the day is not known. The service followed the conventional pattern. The public address system was not working until the middle of the program because of lack of electricity, and the singing was feeble. A short period of group singing was held, but without the public address system, not even a pianist, and a lack of sufficient song sheets, it was not successful. This lack of organization seemed to be typical of the activities of the Buddhists. Then several Bussei leaders got up and spoke on the YBA movement. The grammatical atrocities were glaring, while some of the speakers pronounced "th" as "d." The softball game was between the Pinedale Busseis and the Tulean Bussei All-Stars.

In the evening the talent show was scheduled to begin at 7. Because the talents hadn't gathered together by that time, group singing was held again. There were no song sheets and the leader was poor, and it wasn't a success. The talent show consisted mostly of singing and a few dances, plus a few novelties. Japanese songs by Kibei were conspicuous by their poor rendition. Although the dance was scheduled to be held in two halls, the group was able to procure only one hall for this purpose. This was inexcusable as the number of people registering was known beforehand. The single hall was extremely crowded and some people had to be turned away. The dance, itself, however, was claimed to have been a success.

On the following Sunday evening the first regular meeting of the YBA was held. The time was announced as 7, while the leaders intended it to start at 7:30. Actually, however, it did

⁸ J.S.J. 8/2 T.D. 8/1

not begin until 8 p.m. The mess hall was not quite filled. The choir, the speaker, and not all of the entertainers had showed up. The entertainment consisted of vocal and instrumental selections. This was promised as a regular feature every Sunday evening.9

evening YBA meetings has not changed greatly. The service has usually consisted of songs both in English and in Japanese, the Junital chanted in Japanese and the sermon by a reverend in Japanese. Then there was often a Bussel speaker on some phase of Buddhism. Following this was a program of entertainment. The service was scheduled to begin at 7:30 p.m., but usually did not start a little after that. More recently people have been coming on time because the hall quickly filled up and there was not enough room for everybody in a single mess hall.

The theme for the service on August 16 was the Obon memorial service (dedicated to the souls of the dead). Roy Higashi also spoke on "Buddhism, Its Inception and Development."

On August 23 there was a panel discussion of Americanized Buddhism, but the Nisei speakers spoke only poor English. The Sacramento Girls Choir sang at this service.

For entertainment there was a community sing. 11 On August, 31, for entertainment a movie consisting of comedies, sea voyage, sport reels were given. Movies were given as entertainment at two other meetings later. The number of attendance at these

⁹ J.S.J. 8/9

¹⁰ T.D. 8/18

¹¹ J.S.J. 8/23 T.D. 8/22

Sunday evening meetings were increasing and the hall was packed by this time. Some of the adolescents came in couples. 12 On September 6 "Battle of Sexes" was held for entertainment.

J.S. estimated that girls outnumbered boys about three or four to one. 13 J.S. describes the meeting for September 20 in the following manner.

This evening went to the YBA service. I was there just before 7:30 when the service was supposed to begin. A group of young people were aready waiting outside, while benches were being put in to supplement the tables, which were not sufficient to hold all the people attending the meetings. I talked with George Kawano and sat with him inside. I said "hello" to Gace Matsune. There were others from our block present. Dorothy S. and Clara were there. Evelyn and M. chiko D. from the Records Office came to sit with us. and they introduced May Sato's sister to me. The service had not begun at eight o'clock. They were still trying to get some equipment. The piano had come, but the truck had to be sent after the loud-speaker. They were also looking for the platform on which to have their entertainment program. This inefficiency of the Buddhist group is characteristic of them. They have members, but not many good leaders.

"I think that the number of boys in comparison to the number of girls is increasing. I estimated that there were two girls to every boy in the group. Formerly, when the group was first started, the overwhelming large number of girls was

apparent. Now, just at first glance there are as many boys as girls. Part of this increase can be attributed to general organization. But more than that, it seems to me that boys have discovered that services are one place where they could meet their girlfriends. A couple of boys from Block 25 were coming with about four girls. It is doubtful whether the boys would be going to the service if there weren't any girls present at all."14

By September 20 song pamphlets were mimeographed and distributed to members. The attendance was constantly increasing and at the following several meetings about 100 people were counted standing outside to listen to the service, while others went home disappointed. There talks of increasing the number of meeting place to two, but no action was taken on this urgent matter.

Reverend Julius Goldwater was scheduled to speak for the Buddhist group and an outdoor mass meeting was scheduled for September 27, but this arrangement met a snag and had to be postponed. It was said that Mr. Shirrell had neglected to sign a permit for Rev. Goldwater in time for him to come on that date. Rev. Goldwater was one of the few Caucasian Buddhist ministers whose services were available to the Japanese on the coast.

On October 4, Americanization was started by having Miss Topping, and English teacher, as speaker. On the following

¹⁴ J.S.J. 9/20

13

Sunday the Americanization program featured Mr. Shirrell as the main speaker and also Noboru Honda as a Bussei speaker on Americanization. Singing of Japanese songs and chanting of Sutras were discontinued. Entertainments were continued as usual. On October 10, it was announced that the membership drive had yielded 2,000 members, with a few blocks still to be accounted for.15

For over a month the hall had been overcrowded every

Sunday and more than a hundred persons were not able to get in,

but there seems to be no sign of having another meeting place

for the group. 16

C. Analysis of Development

Thus we can see that the development of the Buddhist
Church has been sower than that of the Christian Church. Only
such adjustments as were necessary and not too difficult seem
to have been made and for the most part the Buddhists have been
satisfied with the status quo. The service for the Sunday school
continues to be centered around talks in Japanese, instead of
having classes in which the little children can have more individual attention and instruction suited to their age. 17
While Sunday school services were opened in eight different
places, they did not bother to divide up the different services
into separate age groups. Nothing was done to give the older
young people a chance to take an active part in teaching other
Sunday school children. The YBA programs have also remained unchanged. 18 For almost a month there was a crying need for another

16 Meeting in two places planned for November 15

¹⁵ T. D. 10/10

¹⁷ Beginning November, Sunday school classes were conducted by Bussel leaders.

¹⁸ Entertainments were discontinued in November.

meeting place, but it wasn't arranged. When the Christian group hold the same type of meetings in 5 different places with the same amount or even less membership, it becomes evident that the Buddhists are less capable of making adjustments than their Christian counterpart.

Also, all through the process of organization, we find traces of poor organization. Meetings do not take place on time, equipments are not on hand when they should be, people do not show up when they should, speakers and chairmen are even poorly trained for their task of leading a group. Plans are made but not always carried out. More often it seems that plans are only sketchily made.

In spite of the poor organization, the membership of the YBA group, at least, has steadily increased. Most of the members who do attend the meetings seem to do so regularly. The entertainment part of the program may be responsible for much of the interest in the meetings. However, when over a hundred people stand outside in the cold just to hear the reverend or the speakers, it becomes evident that the interest in the more serious aspects of the meeting are important in drawing attendance. When this state of affairs is compared with the development of the Christian Church, it can be seen that the strength of the Buddhists lies in its membership, whereas the strength of the Christian lies in its leadership.

One other interesting point brought out by the developmental section is the progressive increase of boys in proportion to the girls. At the first organizational meeting most of the young people

were girls. For the first several meetings the girls outnumbered the boys by about 5-1. This is gradually reduced in
subsequent meetings until it is down to about 2-1.19 On the
other hand at the festival dance the hall was overcrowded with
a large number of stags. The question could be asked whether
very many boys would have come to the services if there were
no girls present. There was some sign that more persons were
coming in couples, but no figures are available on this.

With these observations on the development aspect of the Buddhist Church, we proceed to the cross-sectional deseription.

III. A Cross-Sectional Description

A. Organization

a. Sunday School

The Sunday school is held in 8 different recreation halls in different sections of the Project. Although there are only 7 wards, the example of the Christian group seems to have been followed by the Buddhists in having a Sunday school in "Alaska," which is made up of 4 blocks separated from the rest of the project by a ditch. This special treatment of the "eighth ward" is the more interesting because there are only 7 Buddhist reverends in the project and the help of a layman is necessary in conducting classes in 8 different places.

In most of these halls the only facilities available are a few rows of benches. The rest either have to bring theirown chairs or remain standing during the services. Pianos are usually not available to these halls unless special arrangements are made to use one of the 5 pianos belonging to the Recreation Department. The hours are from 9 to 10 a.m.

19 Probably closer to 3-1.

known. There were about 80 children counted at one Sunday school service. These children included two or three children of 3 or 4 who were brought by their older brothers and sisters. There were usually also a handful of above high school age persons standing in the rear. The girls outnumbered the boys noticeably, possibly about 3 to 1. Except for the small children, the boys and girls usually separate themselves on both sides of the hall, a habit characteristic of Buddhists.

The service is presided almost wholly by the reverend in charge. Usually it is begun with the chanting of the Junirai, one of the shorter sutras consisting of 48 lines of Chinese characters 4 to a line. Since the original lines are written in ancient Chinese and only readable to the children by means of Japanese phonetic aids (kana), the meaning is entirely unintelligible, not only to children but even to adults.

During the service several songs are sung in Japanese, such as "Hotoke no Kodomo," "Ondokusan," "Nori no Miyama" and others usually used in Buddhist Sunday schools. "Shinshu Shuka," a song belonging specifically to the Shin Sect, is also a popular song, which partially shows the extent to which the Buddhist Church is dominated by this sect.

The main part of the service is devoted to a talk to the children by the reverend. Usually it has a religious or moral tone. Sometimes belief in Amida Buddha is harped on directly. At other times, or depending on the reverend, interesting stories are related and the religious and moral points are brought home more indirectly. Obedience to one's parents is often stressed, and the analogy of the Buddha as a parent is

most frequently used.

Japanese is spoken by the reverend almost exclusively, and only some of the Reverends use English words now and then.

At the end of the service the traditional "Sayonara" ("Farewell"), which is used at the end of a Sunday School Service, is sung.

b. Y.B.A. Service

The service for the young people is held every Sunday evening in a mess hall which is centrally located in the community. A different mess hall is used every Sunday in rotation so as not to inconvenience one block excessively. Arrangements are made to have a plane, a platform, a public address system and a Buddhist shrine brought to the mess hall. Also extra benches are put in to accommodate as many people as possible.

The meeting is scheduled for 7:30 p.m. but usually does not begin until a little later. The hall, however, fills up completely by that time, and those who come late are unable to get in, even. As many as one hundred persons are sometimes standing outside listening to the service. The mess hall probably holds over 400 persons. The age ranges from about 15 or 16 to about 30. The vast majority are probably between the ages of 18 and 21. The girls out number the boys about 2 or 3 to one.

YBA meetings are usually composed of three different sections.

First, there is the service, which includes a sermon in Japanese by one of the reverends; second, Bussei speakers in English; and third, the entertainment. This pattern has been followed rather closely in most of the meetings. The services are characterized by a peculiar mixture of both Japanese and English. Some of the

songs are sung in Englishand others in Japanese. The songs in English are usually less well known to the members because in many churches they have never or seldom been used. For chanting the Juniral is used. The sermon is delivered by one of the reverends, who take turns in doing this, in Japanese. The sermon usually carries a strong moral or religious tone. Such topics as "The Meaning of Namu Amida Butsu." "Camp Life as an Opportunity for Spiritual Development," "The Correct Religious Attitude" have been discussed in the past. Reference is made to many Japanese concepts such as obedience to one's parents, or reverence to one's ancestors, or sometimes pride in the Japanese race. Illustrations are drawn almost wholly from Japanese sources and not from European history and scientific fields as is often done by some of the Christian reverends. Story of the love shown by a mother to a soldier maimed in China, experiences in an interpment camp, and also many stories from Buddhist sources are used in the course of the sermon. The interest of the audience seems to be well-maintained, and many of the young people have declared that they have gotten something out of the service. There is very little complaint because Japanese is used.

The Bussei speaker usually makes a short talk on his view of Buddhism or on the future of Buddhism in America, or relate some personal experience. English, of course, is used but the speaker makes glaring errors in grammar or mispronounces the "th." For the last few meetings as a part of the Americanization program, outside Caucasian speakers have been obtained.

Miss Topping, who has been in Japan and is a disciple of Dr. Kagawa, and Mr. Shirrell have both spoken to the Bussei group.

Entertainment has been a regular feature of the meetings from the very beginning. At first talents in the membership were asked to sing and to play on a musical instrument. There were also jokes cracked, raising an uproar of laughter, a contrast to the serious service and speaker preceding. Movies have been shown at 3 different times. As time went on, however, the entertainment became more organized. Different groups were assigned to take care of the program for one Sunday. These groups have been chosen on a sectional basis and have included Marys—ville, Sacramento and Tacoma. Jokes, skits, Battle of Sexes, songs and the like have provided the audience with half an hour or more of enjoyment. This entertainment part is almost purely American in character.

Besides these Sunday meetings, the YBA has made plans for organizing of members on a ward basis, but very little has been accomplished in this direction, it seems. Plans for a choir in each ward with a joint choir of about 200 persons has been amounced, but so far there is only the single Sacramento girls choir, which seems to have ceased functioning. Some of the sectional groups have organized softball teams among the Bussel members. One festival was held when the organization was inaugurated, at which time a dance was given. Whether the TBA intends to have a conference corresponding to the YPCC is yet to be seen.

e. Adult Service

The services for adults are held in recreation halls, where some have to bring chairs of their own. Five services are held on Sunday afternoon, 2 in the evening and one on Thursday evening. Those attending number on the average from about 50

to 150. Most of those attending these services are over 40 years old, and include some in their 60's and 70's. Only occasionally does one see anyone around 30 years of age present, and then usually it is a woman. Women outnumber men anywhere from 2 to 1 to 4 to 1.

For chanting usually one of the sutras longer than the Junirai is employed and it sometimes requires 20 minutes or more to complete. A few songs are sung, but not as many as in Sunday school or in the YBA service. The service is taken up largely by the sermon by the reverend. It is almost wholly religious in character, although here and there a moral tone may be inserted. According to good Shin tradition faith in Amida Buddha is stressed. There is a great deal of harping on salvation and how it can be accomplished. Most of the teachings are based on the interpretation given by St. Shinran, who believed in salvation through faith alone and not through deeds. The sermon often sets off an emotional release of thankfulness, and at such times murmurs of "Namu Amida Butsu" can be heard through the audience. The interest of the adults is in religion itself and no stress on entertainment is necessary to attract them to the service. Of course, only Japanese is spoken.

d. Miscellaneous

There are 7 Buddhist reverends in the Project and none of them are Niseis or predominatly English-speaking. This fact has necessitated the delivering of sermons in Japanese. Two or three Isseis have helped in conducting some of the Sunday school classes.

The expenses of the reverends are probably being paid out of the money collected at services. A box is placed by the doorway where each person can drop in his coin if he chooses.

At the YBA meeting plates are passed around to collect offerings.

The only amouncements that are distributed regularly by the Buddhist group are one-page notices of all the services for the coming week. Half of it is in English, and the other half in Japanese. The YBA meeting is given the most prominence in these notices, announcing speakers and also the entertainment. These notices are posted up in the mess halls.