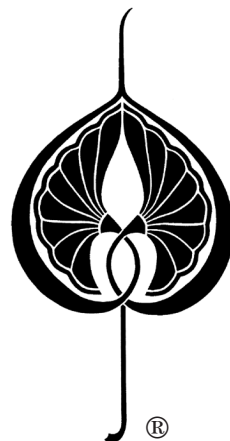


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A Transnational Development of Japanese Buddhism During the Postwar Period: The Case of Tana Daishō

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ABSTRACT

While there is abundant scholarship on the postwar reconstruction of Japanese religion and identity, the development of Japanese religion beyond its national borders after World War II is relatively understudied. This paper aims to expand the scope of scholarship on modern Japanese Buddhism by treating changes that affected Japanese Buddhism in the United States during the postwar period as an extended experience of Buddhism in Japan. It analyzes the work of Tana Daishō (1901–1972), an Issei Shin Buddhist minister who spent the second half of his life in the U.S., using Robert Bellah’s concepts of “facilitated variation” and “conserved core processes.” Tana wrote and compiled a set of books in Japanese as a doctrinal exegesis and expressed his vision for the development of Shin Buddhism in the United States. In his discussion of this future adaptation, however, he always referred to the Japanese tradition as the basis of comparison and justification. He set out to recover “archaic” Shin Buddhist symbols while taking into account the differing cultural conventions of Japan and the United States. By situating the study of modern Japanese Buddhism in a transnational context, I hope to clarify a broader spectrum of the Japanese Buddhist experience during the mid-twentieth century.

INTRODUCTION

The Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA)—the oldest Japanese Buddhist organization in the United States, which is affiliated with Nishi Honganji, a dominant branch of Jōdo Shinshū known as Shin

Buddhism—adopted the appearance of American institutions after the outbreak of the Pacific War. The bombing of Pearl Harbor led to the arrest and internment in camps of Japanese religious leaders, including Buddhist clergy, separated from their families. Later, President Franklin D. Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066, forcing approximately 120,000 persons of Japanese ancestry living mainly in the Pacific Coast states to be evacuated and incarcerated in internment camps. Facing this crisis, BMNA issued a statement pledging loyalty to the government of the United States. Subsequently, in 1944, BMNA leaders changed the name of their organization to the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA), a name that more closely resembled an American religious institution. Nisei, the American-born children of Japanese immigrants (known as Issei) began representing the Nikkei (those of Japanese ancestry) community and took the initiative in organizing the BCA.¹

During the Pacific War the U.S. government interned not only Issei but also Nisei, who were American citizens. Caught in the collision of two modern nation states, people of Japanese ancestry living in the United States responded to the government in various ways. For instance, questions about their loyalty to the United States caused many Issei to sever their ties to Japan. A large number of Nisei volunteered to join the U.S. armed forces and fought on the European front, many at the expense of their lives. Kibei Nisei, U.S.-born children of Issei who had gone to live in Japan but returned to the U.S. before the war, struggled to balance their national identities and felt a sense of alienation from other Nisei who grew up in America.² Those who resisted the federal government faced severe consequences. Antagonistic Issei were moved to segregation centers or forced to return to Japan, while disloyal Nisei were deprived of their citizenship. An analysis of the postwar development of the Buddhist Churches of America cannot be separated from a discussion of the afflictions suffered by Shin Buddhists in the United States and their connection to Japan.

This paper examines Tana Daishō's engagement in the postwar development of Shin Buddhism in the United States, while also treating the impact of war and suffering. During the Pacific War and the tumultuous postwar period, as an Issei minister of the BMNA/BCA, he sought a new direction for American Shin Buddhism. Like his predecessors before the war, Tana diverged from Shin Buddhist practices in Japan and catered to the Nisei laity's demands, while reapplying traditional

values to their situation.³ He defined Shin Buddhism as a family religion that offered a spiritual standpoint to cope with death, reexamined the notion of worldly benefits, and explained the importance of practicing basic Buddhist principles by bridging differences between Shin Buddhism and other Buddhist traditions.

In this endeavor, he took a different path from that of his counterparts in Japan, who had initiated the postwar development of Shin Buddhism by rebuilding local temples and restoring Shinran's teaching, promoting a denominational identity, and rejecting practical benefits believed to be brought about by petitionary prayer. These differences do not, however, suggest that Tana was at odds with the tradition. He recognized the importance of the Japanese household system, made direct references to Shin scriptures to clarify its practical benefits, and engaged in a discussion of the theory of two truths, which underpinned the doctrinal foundation of the Nishi Honganji. Put another way, Tana reemphasized the fundamental principles of Shin Buddhism and articulated them for Nikkei Buddhists during the postwar period.

Tana's efforts illuminate the notions of "facilitated variation" and "conserved core processes." Robert Bellah applies these concepts, originally introduced by two biologists, Mark Kirschner and John Gerhart, to a discussion of cultural integrity. According to Bellah's summary of their study,

[M]utations can occur only in organisms that are already structures (sic)—already have core processes that have persisted through long ages of evolutionary history—and that mutations, though inevitably random, will be accepted or rejected in terms of how they relate to the conserved core processes. The primary contribution of [Kirschner's and Gerhart's book *The Plausibility of Life*] is to clarify how conserved core processes promote variation, that is, "facilitated variation," in ways that produce novel developments in phenotypes without undermining the continuity of the core processes. Stability and change, in this view, enhance each other rather than conflict with each other.⁴

For Bellah, the conserved core processes, which promote variation, represent the "acquisition of new capacities" for human beings to adapt and reorganize, responding to new conditions and various needs, albeit not in a linear fashion connected to the history of evolution.⁵ When Tana's attempt to rethink the future of American Shin Buddhism is analyzed under this light, he appears to have recovered

“archaic” Shin Buddhist symbols that had been important to both the Nishi Honganji order and the BMNA, and brought them back into effect with their variations.

A SHORT BIOGRAPHY OF TANA DAISHŌ

Little is known about Tana’s life before he came to the United States. He rarely talked about his childhood; however, the few remarks he did make on this subject can help us understand his younger days. He was born in Sapporo (Hokkaidō) in March 1901. His family was impoverished, so he was raised by his grandparents. After Tana completed elementary school, his grandparents took him to a Shin Buddhist temple in Astubetsu, where the elderly, childless priest made him his apprentice. Tana received ordination at the age of seventeen and decided to stay on in Kyoto; the resident priest in Atsubetsu arranged for him to work at the Nishi Honganji headquarters. In essence, Tana had an unhappy childhood and did not receive the higher education for which he had longed.

The headquarters later assigned Tana to the Sunday School Department and he qualified as an overseas minister (*kaikyōshi*) at the age of twenty-four.⁶ In 1924 he was sent to Taiwan, and the headquarters subsequently transferred him to the Berkeley Buddhist Temple in the United States in 1928, then brought him back to Japan two years later. He was sent to Korea in 1934 and reassigned to Berkeley in 1936. He returned to Japan the following year and, at the age of thirty-eight, married Hayashima Tomoe. Tomoe was born to a temple family in Hokkaidō and was a sister of Tana’s fellow minister, Hayashima Daitetsu. Tana and Tomoe returned to Berkeley in 1938 and had two sons, Yasuto and Shibun. (Their sons Chinin and Akira were born during the internment and postwar periods, respectively.)⁷

At the time of the Japanese Navy’s attack on Pearl Harbor, Tana was serving in a Buddhist community in Lompoc, California. The Federal Bureau of Investigation immediately arrested him. Tana was first detained at the Santa Barbara County Jail, transferred to a Civilian Conservation Corp camp in Tujunga, outside Los Angeles, and subsequently to the Santa Fe (New Mexico) internment camp in March 1942. The Justice Department sent him to the U.S. Army’s Lordsburg internment camp in New Mexico about three months later. Tana was then moved back to the Santa Fe camp in 1943.⁸ In the meantime, his

wife and their two children were forcibly moved to the Gila Relocation Center in Arizona as a result of Executive Order 9066.

While in Santa Fe, Tana suffered from recurring bouts of tuberculosis, which he had contracted in Taiwan, and was hospitalized until the Justice Department released him in April 1946, approximately seven months after the war. On his release, he moved to Richmond, California. The BCA then sent him to Hawai'i, where he served at the Honpa Hongwanji Hilo Betsuin and the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii in Honolulu. Tana returned to the Buddhist Churches of America in 1951. After serving as resident minister at the Palo Alto and San Mateo Buddhist Temples in California, he was named Head of the BCA Sunday School Department in 1955, but he resigned from the BCA in 1959 due to illness. He died in 1972 in Palo Alto, at the age of seventy-one.⁹

Despite his active role in the BCA, Tana's contributions have been largely unrecognized. A dispute between the Palo Alto Buddhist Temple's board members and the Tanas had a negative impact on his later career. A misunderstanding arose when temple members began gambling at temple bazaars, which the couple opposed. The dispute eventually led board members to terminate their relationship with the Tanas in September 1955, forcing the Tana family to leave the Palo Alto Buddhist Temple.¹⁰ After Tana's death, his family requested the temple board members to rescind the public announcement of his termination. Although his family has continued to pursue this matter for over 30 years, the two parties have failed to come to an agreement. This incident has unfortunately overshadowed Tana's achievements in the BCA.

TANA'S WORKS

A close reading of Tana's writings makes it possible to reevaluate his work. Though not widely circulated today, his works are impressive in terms of their content and volume. During the war years he wrote an internment diary, in Japanese, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki* in four volumes. His wife published the diaries between 1976 and 1989. Discussion of Tana's camp experience is beyond the scope of this paper; however, the characteristics of his diary are worthy of mention.¹¹

First, despite the U.S. government's hostility toward the Issei, Tana was proud of being Japanese and accepted the status of "enemy alien." At the same time, he was determined to make the BMNA a more

American-type religious institution and educate Nisei and Sansei (children of Nisei) in Shin Buddhism. Tana, therefore, made efforts to discover the positive side of internment: it freed him from the administrative chores of a temple and allowed internees to express Japanese sentiments without reserve. According to Tana, this would not have been possible if the Japanese community had not been segregated. He was able to enjoy camp life because he could study Shin Buddhist doctrine, practice calligraphy, learn English, meet and talk with other Issei and Nisei who were brought to the camp from other regions of the United States, and learn about American cultural practices of which he was until then unaware.¹²

Second, his diary contains a variety of criticism. He not only evaluated fellow Japanese internees and camp authorities, but also criticized the Japanese and American governments and the social structures of the day. Tana was particularly critical of fellow Buddhist ministers who engaged in gambling and playing baseball, while neglecting their ministerial duties, such as officiating at Shin Buddhist services and giving Dharma talks. He also pointed out the inefficient camp management, which included frequently moving internees from one place to another without reason, and the dysfunctional mailing system; the misconduct of undisciplined guards; the hypocrisy of the U.S. government, which promoted democracy and liberty while mistreating Nisei and Sansei, who were American citizens; and the careless behavior of those who supported the nationalistic and militant ideology of the Japanese government.¹³

Third, Tana's diary is full of concern about his wife and children, who had been incarcerated at Gila. His diary contains stories of his children, poems his wife wrote to him, and descriptions of the dreams he had about her. The long distance that separated the couple did not prevent Tana from reflecting on his wife's difficult situation. Many internees called him a "saint," but Tana was vividly aware of his deep attachment to his family.¹⁴ In sum, Tana's camp diary is a great resource that offers a Japanese American collective response to the Pacific War and internment, and personal reflection from a Buddhist cleric's perspective.¹⁵

Tana also wrote a set of three books explaining the basic teachings of Śākyamuni and Shinran, and dedicated them to the development of BCA Sunday Schools. While in Hawai'i, he followed in the footsteps of BMNA minister Kyōgoku Itsuzō (1887–1953), and others, who had

developed a curriculum with “pasted-on” English lesson cards in 1946; Tana elaborated on these learning tools. In 1952, after returning to the BCA, Tana embarked on a project to create a new series of cards. He wrote them in Japanese and several members translated them into English. His lesson cards were accompanied by a manual for Sunday School teachers.¹⁶

In 1955, the Sunday School Department decided to compile textbooks in English as a commemorative project for the 700th-year passing of the founder, Shinran (1173–1263), which was to take place in 1961. The Sunday School Department commissioned Tana to collect materials and write on four topics: “Introduction to Buddhism,” “The Teaching of Buddha,” “Salvation by Buddha,” and “Buddha and His Disciples.” After the textbook advisory committee’s review, three Nisei ministers used his writings as reference for the publications *Buddhism for Youth, Part One: Buddha and His Disciples* and *Buddhism for Youth, Part Two: The Teaching of Buddha*, published by the BCA in 1962 and 1965, respectively. Both of these works discuss basic principles of Buddhism, though not specifically those of Shin Buddhism.¹⁷

Tana later published a set of three books on the same themes in Japanese, expanded and written in a dialogue style: *Hotoke no kyūsai* (*Salvation by Buddha*) in 1966, *Busshi seikatsu hen* (*Buddha and His Disciples*) in 1969, and *Hotoke no kyōbō* (*The Teaching of Buddha*) in 1972. The subtitle “Sunday School Text Excerpts” is given to *Hotoke no kyūsai* and *Busshi seikatsu hen*, which consists of Tana’s extensive discussion of Shin Buddhism with fifty-two and fifty-three Dharma talks, respectively. These books are collections of his correspondence to his former Sunday School students during his internment. Internees were restricted to only two letters and one postcard per week. Tana distributed a Dharma talk, and also wrote a letter to his family, every week.¹⁸ It is difficult to identify the readership of the Japanese books he wrote, however. First, during the mid-1960s, the ages of the Nisei ranged from thirty-five to fifty,¹⁹ so printing his wartime Dharma talks, which he had addressed to young Nisei, would not have made much sense. Second, judging from the division of work in the source and target languages at the BCA Sunday School Department, Tana seemed to communicate with Nisei primarily in Japanese. Yet though most Nisei had received at least a rudimentary education in the Japanese language, their ability to read advanced Japanese books on Buddhism is doubtful.²⁰ It is, therefore, unlikely that Nisei Buddhists were able to understand Tana’s books.

Further, according to Michael Masatsugu, during the 1950s, Nisei Shin Buddhists participated in the Berkeley Buddhist Study Group, which was affiliated with the BCA. This group engaged in a transsectarian Buddhist dialogue with Euro-American Buddhists, including the Beats, Asian immigrants, and Asian Americans. These people sought a universal Buddhism but simultaneously competed in “constructing ‘authentic’ Buddhist practice and teaching,” reflecting their racial/ethnic identities.²¹ For these Nisei Shin Buddhists, Tana’s exclusive focus on Shin Buddhism might have appeared too sectarian, although he himself proposed that Shin Buddhists adopt broader Buddhist practices. Tana understood the untimely publication of his books and wished them to be used for future propagation aimed at the new Issei (*shin issei*)—Japanese nationals who migrated to the United States after the revision of American immigration laws in 1968.²²

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE HONGANJI

Shinran’s followers structured his doctrine and practice by forming various organizations. Among them, the Honganji became the most powerful Shin Buddhist order under the leadership of the eighth abbot, Rennyo (1415–1499). The succeeding generation of Honganji abbots fought and negotiated with national unifiers, such as Oda Nobunaga (1534–1582), Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536–1598), and Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616). With the establishment of the Tokugawa regime (1603–1867), Ieyasu divided the Honganji into two denominations—the Nishi (West) and the Higashi (East) Honganji—to weaken its power. The split of the Honganji was done for political reasons, not for doctrinal differences. Since then, these two Honganji organizations have been the dominant branches of Shin Buddhism.

Honganji leaders deviated from the founder’s teaching in two major ways. First, Shinran considered birth in the Pure Land both a matter of the present life and that of the afterlife, but emphasized the importance of spiritual liberation attained in this life, known as “having immediately entered the stage of the truly settled” (*shōjōju*).²³ His followers, however, began addressing the assurance of salvation in the next life. For instance, Rennyo added to Shinran’s teaching an element of petitioning, such as to “beseech Amida for salvation in the next life.”²⁴ Today, according to the Nishi Honganji authority, the goal of Shin Buddhism is twofold: gaining the benefit of “having immediately

entered the stage of the truly settled” in this world and attaining buddhahood in the Pure Land in the future.²⁵

Second, Honganji leaders discussed the social dimension of those who obtain *shinjin* (or entrusting mind). Although Shinran emphasized the importance of maintaining spiritual principles over observing the secular rules, his descendants reversed the priority. For instance, Rennyo urged his followers to distinguish the laws of the Buddha from those of the king, and to observe both but under different circumstances. This strategy was instrumental for the Honganji leaders in negotiating with and securing its position in the Tokugawa regime. When Japan encountered the West and modernization began, Shin clergy rekindled the discussion of spiritual/secular rules and formulated the so-called theory of two truths (*shinzoku nitairon*)—spiritual and mundane.

Regardless of the variants in this schema of secular/spiritual rules, both Nishi and Higashi Honganji leaders saw the importance of obeying secular rules and conformed with the state apparatus: Article 28 of the Constitution of the Empire of Japan states that “Japanese subjects shall, within limits not prejudicial to peace and order, and not antagonistic to their duties as subjects, enjoy freedom of religious belief.”²⁶ The Honganji organizations counseled their followers to keep faith to themselves, while consenting to Imperial laws and supporting Japan’s colonial expansion.²⁷ After the Pacific War, Honganji leaders abandoned imperialistic wartime theology and “democratized” their organizations. The Nishi Honganji headquarters, however, have maintained the theory of two truths, with the secular rules being defined as “democracy.”

SHIN BUDDHISM AS A FAMILY RELIGION

Following the Nishi Honganji tradition, Tana insisted that attaining birth in the Pure Land was important to American Shin Buddhists and that such a spiritual standpoint was the basis for sustaining them in this world. With a clear understanding of the Primal Vow and through the act of reciting the name of Amida Buddha, Shin Buddhists can gain peace of mind and live confidently in the present, despite the many problems that everyday life brings.²⁸ At the same time, Tana emphasized a material aspect of the Pure Land, reiterating the idea that it is where husband and wife, parent and child, and siblings can all meet after they leave this world.²⁹ This forward-looking perspective on the afterlife derives from the heart of the Shin Buddhist tradition, drawing

from Shinran's statement that after his death he will await his followers in the Pure Land,³⁰ and the idea of "meeting together in one place [in the Pure Land]" (*kye issho*), from a scriptural passage in the *Smaller Sukhāvativyūha-sūtra*. By the mid-Tokugawa period, Shin Buddhist followers throughout Japan had begun seeking afterlife-unification with Shinran. They brought the remains of their loved ones to Shinran's mausoleum or to the Honganji head temple (either Nishi or Higashi), which enshrined the sacred image of Shinran. This burial practice even rationalized communal interment in some areas where Shin followers did not observe individual family entombment.³¹

The following question-and-answer passage in Tana's *Hotoke no kyūsai* demonstrates Shin Buddhist postmortem soteriology:

Question: We are worried about life. If atomic war breaks out, all forms of life may become extinct. Instead of studying hard to make our future life better, isn't it better to enjoy our present life with friends? What does Buddhism say about this?

Answer: We can live our present life righteously without the fear of death by accepting the Buddha's salvation. Imagine that a doctor tells us we have a terminal illness. Unless we have heard the Buddhist teaching and believe in the attainment of birth in the Pure Land with recitation of the nenbutsu, we will become agitated and upset. We all understand that life is limited, but the majority of us tend to think, "I will live a bit longer." At bottom, however, we are all uneasy. Today, the developments of science, which are supposed to enrich our lives, alert us to the possibility of atomic war and make us nervous. Our government and society are dealing with this problem, so we should cooperate with them. They do not, however, guarantee our security. Even though they may be fully prepared, they cannot promise the safety of all our family members. We may go astray when evacuating. Imagining atomic warfare is, however, unnecessary for the meditation of our response to death. Death is an unavoidable aspect of life. Today, Buddhist salvation means that family members [who will be separated by death] can say, "We recite the nenbutsu together so we will meet again in the Pure Land." This is what makes Shin Buddhism a family religion.³²

This dialogue, in which the fear of death is magnified to make it seem that the young feel so hopeless they are unable to even consider their future, reflects not only the escalation of the Cold War but also the collective Japanese experience of the atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Earlier, during World War II, Tana employed the rhetoric of birth in the Pure Land as a rendezvous in the afterlife and comforted Nisei soldiers and their parents. He not only explained birth in the Pure Land as the fulfillment of a life of *kue issho*,³³ but also introduced various Buddhist stories related to Nisei soldiers. For instance, a father began to study Buddhism seriously after his son decided to volunteer for the American armed forces, and then explained the Buddhist teaching to his son. When it came time for them to say goodbye to each other, the father expressed the wish that if his son did not return home, he would reunite with him in the Pure Land. The father longed to attain buddhahood for himself and hoped for his son to become an Amidist.³⁴

Another Nisei soldier, who had attended Sunday School as a child, remembered those days and began singing Buddhist *gāthās* on Sundays. It helped ease his fear when he and his fellow soldiers faced battle.³⁵ Many Nisei Buddhist soldiers carried a small piece of paper inscribed with the six kanji characters of *na-mu-a-mi-da-butsu*. They may have considered this to be a talisman or divine protector, but from Tana's perspective, it allowed them to live each day strongly with the assurance of birth in the Pure Land.³⁶

The way Tana explained Shin Buddhism in the United States during the wartime years differed significantly from the way his counterparts in Japan propagated the religion during the same period. The great majority of Shin Buddhist priests in Japan supported Japan's Fifteen-year War (1931–1945) and asserted that death in action was honorable, representing the "bodhisattva practice of non-self,"³⁷ and that spiritual principles had already determined a soldier's birth in the Pure Land. Therefore, according to the secular rules, a soldier was obliged to perform his duty on the battlefield, with the knowledge that his service was spiritually sanctioned. The Japanese government also enshrined the war dead at state-sponsored Shintō shrines, such as the Yasukuni Shrine in Tokyo, and it was common for local Shin priests to place mortuary tablets for the emperors next to a statue of Amida Buddha. In short, the notion of birth in the Pure Land became deeply connected to Japan's colonialism and the ideology of imperial Shintō.

Although the idea of birth in the Pure Land played a different role in the United States, American Shin Buddhists during and after the war also embraced a kind of nationalism. Nisei soldiers chose to go to war as a pledge of allegiance to the U.S. government and on behalf of those of Japanese ancestry, hoping that this act of service would demonstrate

their loyalty and the government would stop discriminating against them. The idea of birth in the Pure Land therefore upheld the spirits of Nisei Shin Buddhist soldiers, as well. It sublimated their fear of unnatural death and recast it as sacrifice for one's country—as well as guaranteeing the afterlife reunion with their loved ones. For Nisei families too, the notion of birth in the Pure Land represented continuity of family life. To put it differently, family ties and ethnic loyalties encouraged Nisei Buddhists to uphold a belief in birth in the Pure Land.³⁸

In postwar Japan, nationalistic and sentimental attitudes associated with the Pure Land died out and Shin Buddhist leaders reformed their organizations. In 1951, the Nishi Honganji headquarters in Japan coined the slogan: “Let us share the tradition of a Shin Buddhist life from one generation to the next through the efforts of resident ministers of Shin Buddhist temples, their wives, and followers.” Its objective was to promote the teaching at local temples.³⁹ In the case of the Higashi Honganji in Japan, the rebuilding effort was more progressive. To revitalize local temples in response to the shift in family structures—from the extended family with patriarchal values to the nuclear family—its leaders organized a Youth Department that aimed to help young adults establish a Shin Buddhist identity on an individual level, instead of engaging in the religion only through family Buddhist affiliation.⁴⁰ The effect of the Tokugawa household registration system, which utilized Buddhist temple registries, remained strong and many parishioners observed Buddhist funerals and memorial services without really understanding the teaching. Reviving the roles of local temples and initiating a bottom-up lay movement was, therefore, an urgent task for postwar Shin Buddhist leaders in Japan.

Tana, however, still considered the household as the basic unit for practicing Shin Buddhism in America. During his internment, he witnessed many devout Issei who came to Sunday services regardless of weather, and who embraced the idea that the seeds of wholesome karma implanted in them during their childhood had taken root and allowed them to appreciate Shin Buddhism as they became older. Tana observed that not many people became followers of Shin Buddhism after the outbreak of the war, even though they began to listen to the teaching in the camps. He concluded that this revealed the importance of parents' Buddhist influence over their children.⁴¹

Tana also applied another traditional Japanese household practice in propagating Shin Buddhism in the United States. He observed

that for more than seventy years, Shin ministers in America conducted memorial services mainly at temples, though their Japanese counterparts performed such services at the parishioner's home. Reflecting on this Japanese custom, Tana proposed that each household become a center of Buddhist activity. What Shin Buddhists observed at temple should be extended to the private sphere, he said, so they could practice Buddhism at home following and adapting established American customs. For instance, Tana suggested the Thanksgiving holiday as a day to commemorate the passing of Shinran, who died on November 28th,⁴² and Christmas as a day to celebrate Siddhārtha Gautama's attainment of awakening. Instead of a Christmas tree, a Buddhist family could place a statue of the Buddha underneath a *bodhi* tree.⁴³ In this way, Tana attempted to relocate Buddhist practice from the temple to the home, and to adapt Christian American household practices to Shin Buddhist life.

REDEFINING SHIN BUDDHIST BENEFITS

Hotoke no kyūsai, in six chapters, is a comprehensive introduction to Shin Buddhism. The book discusses its sacred texts, tradition, Shinran's life, and Shin Buddhist doctrine. In the last chapter, Tana refers to Shinran's magnum opus, the *Kyōgyōshinshō* (*The True Teaching, Practice, and Realization of the Pure Land Way*), and explains ten benefits listed by Shinran in that work. Among them, the efficacy of "having immediately entered the stage of the truly settled," the tenth benefit, is the ultimate.⁴⁴ Based on the tradition in Japan, where Shin Buddhist clergy considered the act of praying to Amida Buddha for worldly benefits to be a sign of unsettled faith and a lack of clear understanding of the teaching, Tana states in this work that Shin Buddhists reject petitionary prayer because seeking worldly benefits does not lead to established spiritual awareness, while those who entrust in Amida's Primal Vow and recite the nenbutsu in gratitude maintain peace of mind because they are assured of attaining buddhahood in the future.⁴⁵

Tana, however, recognizes the power of nenbutsu as the effect of a decisive spiritual settlement and introduces several stories. While in Taiwan, he heard the following from a fellow minister: A Sunday School child once caught measles and lingered on the verge of death. Rather than praying for recovery, he and his mother concurred that Amida Buddha would take him to the Pure Land upon his death, so there was nothing for the minister to say or do. Strangely, the child

recovered and began attending Sunday School again. In Tana's mind, the nenbutsu teaching, to which the child had listened, helped him make up his mind to accept death, and this resolution then brought about his positive physical transformation.⁴⁶

Tana also wrote about an event that happened to Japanese American youth. He felt that recitation of the nenbutsu generated mental concentration, which helped the reciter achieve a goal. Imagine a football team of which a Sunday School student was a member. If the team won the game, the student might think his team won because he had recited the nenbutsu. According to Tana however, it was not Amida's divine power that had helped the team prevail, but rather that the practice of reciting the nenbutsu had helped the student focus on the game. Tana further argued that because Shin Buddhists in Japan rarely discussed the efficacy of single-mindedness associated with the nenbutsu, the practical benefit of Shin Buddhism remained unnoticed and underappreciated.⁴⁷

Another story in Tana's book exemplifies regaining one's self-composure through the act of reciting the nenbutsu. One day, Gilbert Sasaki, a Sunday School student in Hawai'i, climbed Mt. Mauna Kea with some friends, but he became separated from them during the descent. He ended up spending the night all alone on the mountain. In a state of extreme anxiety, he thought of his mother and the Buddhist altar at home. Recitation of the nenbutsu helped calm him and gave him the strength to seek a way out the next morning.⁴⁸ For Tana, this youth's experience demonstrated the importance of listening to the teaching every Sunday.

There is another story about a Mrs. Umeno, who used to work for an elderly Caucasian widow in Palo Alto, Mrs. Brown. She fell ill one day and asked Mrs. Umeno to put her hand on a Bible and pray to God for her recovery. Umeno felt she could not refuse, so she repeated the prayer that Mrs. Brown asked her to recite but added *namu-amida-butsu* at the end. The widow asked her about the phrase. Umeno told her it was the holy name of the Buddha and that she considered prayer unnecessary because the Buddha watched over her at all times, whether she was aware of it or not. Mrs. Brown came to admire Mrs. Umeno and asked her to say the nenbutsu after the Christian invocation whenever she visited. The widow later moved to her son's home but continued reciting the nenbutsu because it helped to calm her. In Tana's mind, Mrs. Brown's case is an example of the inconceivable working of the

nenbutsu that deeply affects and uplifts those who interact with nenbutsu followers.⁴⁹

In sum, Tana, without distorting doctrine, expanded the scope of Shin Buddhist understanding regarding worldly benefits. He argued that benefits would come naturally to those who take refuge in Amida Buddha's Primal Vow and that worldly benefit is not the cause for people to seek religion, but rather is a consequence of their "correct" understanding of it. He seems to reiterate Rennyō's position that worldly benefits have already been included in the act of the nenbutsu.⁵⁰ Tana may have felt he had to clarify the worldly benefits of Shin Buddhism for Sunday School students because, as Mrs. Umeno's story shows, prayer is an important aspect of Christian life.

DEFINING "PRACTICE" FOR AMERICAN SHIN BUDDHISTS

Tana's efforts to elucidate the worldly benefit of Shin Buddhism are associated with his attempts to outline a new set of Shin Buddhist practices. In the United States, Tana participated in the postwar discussion of the theory of two truths. In the Postscript to *Hotoke no kyōbō*, he underscores the need to define "practice" as Shin Buddhists' engagement with society increases:

Buddhists in the United States who listen to "The Teaching of Buddha" must think less about attaining birth in the Pure Land and more about improving their present lives. Birth in the Pure Land is like a child making his way home after a long break, where his parents await him. Even if his clothing is dirty, there is no need for him to wash it before returning home [because his mother will do it for him]. Similarly, the Buddha's salvation does not depend on our actions, whether they are good or bad. The child must, however, be cared for because he has to drive home. Buddhist salvation explained from this point of view represents the gate of mundane rules in Shin Buddhism.

The Shin Buddhist teaching in Japan has focused on the gate of spiritual rules, which exemplifies a child's decision to return home, and emphasizes "Birth in the Pure Land even if I die at this moment," and not very much on the gate of mundane rules. Here in America, however, the entirety of a happy life is considered to be in the present. The mundane rules that accompany and ensure the child's return become very important.⁵¹

Within the concept of birth in the Pure Land, Tana distinguishes two kinds of intentions—desire for birth and pursuit of that goal—and relates them to the gates of spiritual and mundane rules, respectively. Referring to *The Larger Sutra of Immeasurable Life*, he defines the practice of six *pāramitās* (charity, morality, patience, diligence, meditation, and wisdom) as the gate of mundane rules for Shin Buddhists. The *sūtra* states:

You all should thoroughly cultivate the roots of virtue in this life. Express gratitude, manifest a kind heart. Do not violate the proscriptions set for followers of the Buddha's Way. Practice forbearance, apply yourselves energetically. Concentrate the mind and cultivate wisdom. Instruct and transform each other in the Dharma. Practice virtue, uphold what is good. Keep your mind and will straight on the Path.

It is better to purify yourselves by observing for one day and one night the precepts of the fortnightly retreat than it is to practice the good for a hundred years in the country of the Buddha of Measureless Life. . . .⁵²

Tana, who read the description of the six *pāramitās* through the lens of the Shin Buddhist tradition, takes the passage “concentrate the mind and cultivate wisdom” to mean the state of developing *shinjin*. He, therefore, extends the spiritual life of nenbutsu followers to include the practice of six *pāramitās* and maintains that it would contribute to a prosperous land where “the people live in peace. There is no need for soldiers or weapons,”⁵³ as the *sūtra* later states.⁵⁴ His experiences during World War II as a prisoner and internee, tormented by the war between his home country and the nation he had emigrated to, as well as witnessing his Sunday School students sent off to the front, must have resulted in a deep longing for a country free from warfare and violence.

Tana was not, of course, the first person to propose that American Shin Buddhists adopt the practice of the six *pāramitās*. His predecessor Kyōgoku Itsuzō had also suggested it. Kyōgoku, an active BMNA minister, contributed to the establishment of the BMNA Endowment Foundation and laid the foundations of Buddhist education for youth. In fact, the BCA identifies him as “the father of the BCA Sunday School Department.”⁵⁵

The lack of a defined practice in Shin Buddhism, which would have turned away BMNA Nisei and Euro-American sympathizers, caused

Kyōgoku to try to bridge the gap between the basic teachings of Śākyamuni and those of Shinran. Outwardly they seem quite different: Śākyamuni teaches practitioners to control their blind passions by pursuing self-discipline (known as “self-power” among Shin Buddhists), while Shinran teaches that followers should entrust him- or herself solely to the Primal Vow of Amida Buddha (“other-power”), without setting any ethical guidelines. For Shin Buddhists, practicing the six *pāramitās* and observing the five precepts (abstention from killing, stealing, lying, sexual misconduct, and ingesting intoxicants) are not necessary prerequisites for attaining birth in the Pure Land because they represent the virtues of Amida Buddha, on whose salvific power the follower relies.

Kyōgoku, however, came to value the process of trial and error on the follower’s part. He felt that one cannot understand self-limits and the necessity of entrusting to something larger than oneself without realizing one’s attachment. For instance, if one fails in the first practice of the six *pāramitās*, *dāna* (offering or charity)—comprehending how difficult it is to give without expecting anything in return—one would recognize one’s deep attachment to self. Failure in the practice of *dāna* would eventually lead followers to accept Amida Buddha’s salvation, which embraces sentient beings just as they are.⁵⁶

The Sunday School textbook, which the BCA commissioned Tana to write, attempts to connect the basic doctrine of Śākyamuni and Shinran’s hermeneutics, so Sunday School students will not misunderstand and consider them to be two separate lineages.⁵⁷ In the Postscript to *Hotoke no kyōbō*, Tana writes:

To compile textbooks, it is necessary to consider the relationship between the original teachings of the Buddha and the doctrine of Shin Buddhism. Unless we do, and if we merely reiterate the traditional Japanese expression [which is “Just recite the nenbutsu and you will be born in the Pure Land”], it would be extremely difficult for those born and raised in the United States to accept the nenbutsu teaching.⁵⁸

The emphasis of the Japanese cultural practice would not only relegate Shin Buddhism to the status of an ethnic religion in America but also prevent Nisei and Sansei from understanding the nenbutsu teaching. At the same time, Tana knew from experience that superficial inter-Buddhist denominational dialogue would not help clarify the connection between the teachings of Śākyamuni and those of Shinran. For instance, during the internment, Buddhist clerics, Christian ministers,

and Shintō priests agreed not to criticize each other's religions in order to avoid unnecessary friction. The Buddhist clerics decided to conduct transdenominational services in which Shin Buddhist ministers, including Tana, chanted *The Heart Sutra* (Jpn. *Hannya Shingyō*), even though this practice was uncommon in their tradition.⁵⁹ In *Hotoke no kyōbō*, Tana does not propose such ad hoc ritual practice but suggests seeking the doctrinal foundation of Shin Buddhism in Śākyamuni's teachings. In addition to the six *pāramitās*, Tana applies the eightfold path to the gate of mundane rules as an extension of the nenbutsu practice.

Including the six *pāramitās* and the eightfold path in the spiritual lives of Shin Buddhists is, however, misleading; it generates a debate about whether these practices represent self-power or other-power because the nenbutsu is said to be the sole cause for birth in the Pure Land.⁶⁰ Tana avoids the mix-up by limiting the discussion of self-power and other-power to the attainment of buddhahood. The former is the practice to become a buddha through one's own effort, while the latter implies that the attainment of buddhahood is accomplished through the efficacy of Amida's Primal Vow. Other-power does not imply giving up one's responsibility and leaving everything up to Amida's will in all things, however. For instance, a child grows and thrives because of the parents' care and protection. To become a better student however, the child must study diligently and should not rely on his parents to do his homework. In like manner, the eightfold path and the six *pāramitās* represent the practice of being indebted to Amida Buddha after entrusting in his Vow, but they are not the conditions for birth in the Pure Land.⁶¹ By relating the eightfold path and six *pāramitās* to the notion of indebtedness, Tana remained loyal to the tradition.

While emphasizing Amida's salvific grace however, Tana neither specified Shin Buddhists' relationship to the secular law of the United States nor took into account the complex international politics of the day. In this regard, he overlooked the central issue in dealing with the theory of the two truths—defining “the relationship between the ultimate truth of *shinjin* and the worldly principles of secular society”⁶²—and took the Buddhist teachings to himself while avoiding expressing his faith in public. His criticism of the U.S. government remained solely in his diary and he refrained from taking political action after the war. Tana's attitude represents the majority of Nikkei Buddhists' stance in the postwar years. According to Stephen S. Fugita and Marilyn Fernandez,

[T]he contemporary religious orientation of former Japanese American incarcerated is related to differing retrospective views of their World War II incarceration. Specifically, even though the Buddhists were more marginalized by the larger society than were Protestants before, during, and immediately after the war, they remember their incarceration as a significantly less negative period in their lives than do Protestants. . . . Finally, Buddhists were somewhat less active than Protestants in the social movement to redress the injustice of their wartime treatment.⁶³

For Nikkei Buddhists, endurance of suffering during internment did not lead them to question the institutional structure of American society and its discrimination against people of Japanese ancestry, but it led to their acceptance of their past just as it was.

Tana, in fact, avoided negotiating the boundary between religion and state. He discouraged Sunday School students from expressing their Buddhist faith in public. As an example, he said that when an American court asks a Shin Buddhist to swear to tell the truth by placing their hand on a Bible, he or she should simply do so.⁶⁴ In *Busshi seikatsu hen*, he even recognized warfare as a necessary evil and encouraged Buddhist followers to protect their country by referring to the *Golden Light Sutra*. Death in action is an “act of giving”—donating one’s life to one’s country, according to him.⁶⁵ In this aspect, Tana contradicted his previous position that the practice of six *pāramitās* would contribute to the founding of a country where “. . . the people live in peace. There is no need for soldiers or weapons.” It is puzzling why Tana’s internment experience led him to seek the abandonment of weapons on one hand and yet led to his support for warfare (in certain conditions) on the other. This inconsistency implies that Tana did not fully articulate, even to himself, the theory of two truths.

CONCLUSION

During the postwar period, Tana Daishō sought to help those of Japanese ancestry reestablish a Shin Buddhist identity in the United States. Instead of adding layers of new ideas, however, his work consisted of two processes: confirming the core doctrinal concepts of Shin Buddhism and rearranging the ideas and practices that had already been constructed by Shin Buddhist clergy both in Japan and the U.S., taking into account the cultural conventions of the two countries.

Tana first emphasized that no one can escape death and avoid the suffering caused by the loss of loved ones, but at the same time he

explained that one can transform death into a positive state through belief in birth in the Pure Land. Unlike major modern Shin Buddhist scholars in Japan, who emphasized birth in the Pure Land as a nondualistic and here-and-now experience,⁶⁶ Tana recognized the other aspect of the tradition and embraced Shin followers' emotional responses to death, in which the Pure Land is seen as a place for reuniting in the afterlife. His experience of the Pacific War and internment made Tana more sensitive to the feelings of his fellow Japanese.

Second, Tana characterized the practical benefit of taking refuge in Amida Buddha's Primal Vow in developing a strong spirituality. Shinran composed the *Genzei Riyaku Wasan* ("Hymns on Benefits in the Present"), in which he said that nenbutsu followers are protected by deities and buddhas. Zonkaku (1290–1373), the eldest son of the third Honganji abbot, Kakunyo, pointed out the efficacy of nenbutsu prayer extended to this world if recited in favor of seeking birth in the Pure Land. Rennyō recognized the fulfillment of practical benefits in the act of reciting the nenbutsu, whether or not a follower seeks those benefits.⁶⁷ Instead of discussing the efficacy of divine protection, Tana emphasized the spiritual freedom a follower would experience in not being disturbed by unpleasant events, including one's own death. Tana's interpretation of the Shin worldly benefit deserves attention, since Shin Buddhist scholars have strongly encouraged the reevaluation of Shinran's *Genzei Riyaku Wasan*.⁶⁸

Third, for Tana, seeking a postwar Shin Buddhist identity in the United States was closely related to creating a Shin Buddhist tradition unique to this country. One of the ways he contributed to this was by reiterating the findings of his precursors. For instance, in 1916, Imamura Emyō (1867–1932) of the Honpa Hongwanji Mission of Hawaii formally explained to his ministers the importance of practicing Buddhism at home. Before the Pacific War, Kyōgoku Itsuzō, who had been influenced by Kiyozawa Manshi's (1863–1903) "Spiritualism," associated the nenbutsu with the practice of the six *pāramitās*. (As early as 1903, Kiyozawa had considered the five precepts and other Buddhist practices to constitute the practice of religious morality for Shin Buddhism.) Tana did not develop sufficient hermeneutics in his promotion of the six *pāramitās*, however, nor did he explore the correlation between the nenbutsu and Zen, which was rapidly emerging as the most popular Buddhist spiritual interest in America from the late 1950s. Other Shin Buddhist groups, such as the Berkeley Buddhist

Study Group, made a response to this movement, but it is unlikely that Tana was involved in this exchange.⁶⁹

For Tana, the future of American Shin Buddhism was to be directed within the established Shin discourse, albeit with a variation of its core doctrines and practices. It remains unclear to what degree his colleagues and lay members of the temple communities in which he was involved understood his efforts. The language barrier between Issei and Nisei, as well as a generational gap, might have easily prevented his message from being recognized. Yet for Tana, cultural differences between the two countries was not a cause to make significant changes in the interpretation of Shin Buddhism in the United States.

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NOTES

1 Tetsuden Kashima. *Buddhism in America: The Social Organization of an Ethnic Religious Institution* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1977), pp. 47–48, 59–60; *Judgment Without Trial: Japanese American Imprisonment during World War II* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2003), pp. ix, 4, 9.

2 Concerning the Kibei Nisei's identity crisis, see, for instance, Minoru Kiyota, *Beyond Loyalty: The Story of a Kibei* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1997), pp. 59–60. In the case of Kiyota, his internment experience led him to seek "a realm beyond political loyalty and disloyalty," which he found in the "world of free intellectual inquiry," namely, academia (p. 228).

3 For a discussion of Shin Buddhism in North America prior to World War II, see Michihiro Ama, *Immigrants to the Pure Land: The Modernization, Acculturation, and Globalization of Shin Buddhism, 1898–1941* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2011).

4 Robert N. Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution: From the Paleolithic to the Axial Age* (Cambridge, MA: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2011), pp. 60–61.

5 Bellah, *Religion in Human Evolution*, pp. 65–66.

- 6 Tana Daishō, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, 4 vols. (Tokyo: Sankibo, 1989), vol. 4, pp. 878–879, “hissha ryakureki.”
- 7 *Buddhist Churches of America: A Legacy of the First 100 Years* (San Francisco: Buddhist Churches of America, 1998), p. 88; Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 4, p. 511.
- 8 For the process of internment, see Kashima, *Judgment Without Trial*, pp. 104–126.
- 9 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 108, 110, 120–122, 241; vol. 4, p. 672.
- 10 The Palo Alto Buddhist Temple announced the termination of its relationship to Tana on September 15, 1955.
- 11 For an analysis of Tana’s internment camp diary, see Michihiro Ama, “A Neglected Diary, A Forgotten Buddhist Couple: Tana Daishō’s Internment Camp Diary as a Historical and Literary Text,” *Journal of Global Buddhism*, forthcoming.
- 12 For instance, Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 220, 285–286, 340, 345–346, 383, 434, 449, 452, 462–463.
- 13 For instance, Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 14, 251, 296, 306, 318, 356, 365, 368–371, 390–391, 394, 405–406, 409, 413, 416.
- 14 For instance, see Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 330, 339, 349–350, 369.
- 15 Records of other Japanese ministers include, for instance, Fujimura Bunyū, *Though I Be Crushed: The Experience of Buddhist Minister* (Los Angeles: The Nembutsu Press, 1985); Fukuda Yoshiaki, *My Six Years of Internment: An Issei’s Struggle for Justice* (San Francisco: The Konko Church of San Francisco, 1990); and Lester E. Suzuki, *Ministry in the Assembly and Relocation Centers of World War II* (Berkeley: Yardbird Publishing Co., 1979).
- 16 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History, 1899–1974*, 2 vols. (Chicago: Nobart, 1974), vol. 1, p. 103; Kashima, *Buddhism in America*, p. 157.
- 17 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History*, vol. 1, pp. 103–104.
- 18 Tana Daishō, *Hotoke no kyūsai (Salvation by Buddha)* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1966), p. 380.
- 19 According to David Yoo, in *Growing up Nisei: Race, Generation, and Culture among Japanese Americans of California, 1924–1949* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2000), “By 1940, American-born Japanese (60, 148) in California well outnumbered foreign-born Japanese (33, 569). The bulk of the Nisei population consisted of those from the ages of ten to twenty-four” (p. 3).

20 Jere Takahashi writes in *Nisei/Sansei: Shifting Japanese American Identities and Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), “Generational differences (between Issei and Nisei) were certainly exacerbated by language problems. Although most Nisei attended Japanese language schools, few could be considered fluent Japanese speakers” (p. 45).

21 Michael K. Masatsugu, *Reorienting the Pure Land: Japanese Americans, the Beats, and the Making of American Buddhism, 1941–1966* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of California Irvine, 2004), p. 12.

22 Tana Daishō, *Busshi seikatsu hen (Buddha and His Disciples)* (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1969), pp. 453–454.

23 Dennis Hirota, et al., trans., *The Collected Works of Shinran (CWS)*, 2 vols. (Kyoto: Jōdo Shinshū Hongwanji-ha, 1997), vol. 1, pp. 406, 455.

24 Stanley Weinstein, “Continuity and Change in the Thought of Rennyo,” in Mark L. Blum and Shin’ya Yasutomi, eds., *Rennyo and the Roots of Modern Japanese Buddhism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 56.

25 Naitō Chikō, *Anjin rondai o manabu* (Kyoto: Honganji shupansha, 2004), p. 272. The efficacy of double benefits had been discussed and defined by the time of Rennyo.

26 “Constitution of the Empire of Japan,” *Japan: An Illustrated Encyclopedia*, 2 vols. (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1993), vol. 1, pp. 232–224.

27 Shigaraki Takamaro, *A Life of Awakening: The Heart of the Shin Buddhist Path* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005), pp. 184–185. According to Shigaraki, there were five interpretations of the theory of two truths: “the ultimate and worldly truths are a single truth,” “ultimate and worldly are parallel truths,” “ultimate and worldly are interrelated truths,” “ultimate truth influences worldly truth,” and “worldly truth is a means to realize ultimate truth” (p. 186).

28 For instance, Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 42.

29 On the other hand, Tana simultaneously warns against the materialization of Amida Buddha and the Pure Land: “But we will be greatly mistaken if we consider the Buddha to be the image installed in our Buddhist altars or a being who exists far off in the Pure Land” (*Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 391).

30 Although Shinran avoided discussing the afterlife, he wrote the following message to his follower, Yūamidabutsu. “My life was now reached the fullness of its years. It is certain that I will go to birth in the Pure Land before you, so without fail I will await you there” (CWS, vol. 1, p. 539). See also James C. Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshinni: Images of Pure Land Buddhism in Medieval Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2004), p. 71.

31 For a discussion of *kue issho*, see, for example, Mark L. Blum, “Stand by Your Founder: Honganji’s Struggle with Funeral Orthodoxy,” *Japanese Journal*

of *Religious Studies* 27, no. 3/4 (2000): 194–196; Kodama Shiki, *Kinsei shakai to chiiki shakai* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2005), pp. 237–241, 251–252.

32 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 91–92 (author’s translation).

33 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, p. 375.

34 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 320–323.

35 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 348.

36 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 285.

37 Odake Shōkyō, “Monshu no sensōchū no goshōsoku nado no shikkō o hyōmeishita shūrei shūkoku no seika to kadai,” in Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū henshū iinkai, ed., *Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū: Gendai shakai to jōdo shinshū no kadai* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2006), p. 244. For a discussion of medieval Shin Buddhists’ warfare, see Carol Richmond Tsang, *War and Faith: Ikko Ikki in Late Muromachi Japan* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

38 The issue of Nisei soldiers’ loyalty is, however, complex, since there are multiple overlapping layers of sensibilities, such as the soldiers’ political ties to the United States, their cultural connections to Japan, and their emotional attachments to their families. I thank George J. Tanabe, Jr. for this insightful comment.

39 Oe Osamu, “Sengo monshusei no dōkō,” in Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū henshū iinkai, ed., *Shigaraki Takamaro sensei sanju kinen ronshū*, p. 191.

40 Mizushima Ken’ichi, *Kin gendai shinshū kyōgakushi kenkyū josetsu* (Kyoto: Hōzōkan, 2010), pp. 724–725, 728.

41 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 274.

42 This is the date observed by the Higashi Honganji. The Nishi Honganji changed the date of its observance to the lunar calendar date of January 16.

43 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 192–196.

44 The ten benefits obtained in the present life upon realization of *shinjin* are “being protected and sustained by unseen powers,” “being possessed of supreme virtues,” “our karmic evil being transformed into good,” “being protected and cared for by all the buddhas,” “being praised by all the buddhas,” “being constantly protected by the light of the Buddha’s heart,” “having great joy in our hearts,” “being aware of Amida’s benevolence and of responding in gratitude to his virtue,” “constantly practicing great compassion,” and “entering the stage of the truly settled” (CWS, p. 112).

45 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 181, 183.

46 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 200–202.

- 47 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, p. 205.
- 48 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 70–76.
- 49 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 219–221.
- 50 Kasahara Kazuo, *Shinshū ni okeru itan no keifu* (Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1962), p. 143.
- 51 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō* (*The Teaching of Buddha*) (Kyoto: Hyakkaen, 1972), pp. 465–466 (author’s translation).
- 52 Luis O. Gómez, *The Land of Bliss: Sanskrit and Chinese Versions of the Sukhāvativyūha Sūtras* (Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 1996), p. 214.
- 53 Gómez, *The Land of Bliss*, p. 215.
- 54 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō*, p. 466.
- 55 *Buddhist Churches of America, 75-year History*, vol. 1, p. 101.
- 56 For a detailed discussion of Kyōgoku Itsuzō, see Ama, *Immigrants to the Pure Land*, pp. 118–132.
- 57 Tana, *Hotoke no kyūsai*, pp. 464–465.
- 58 Tana, *Hotoke no kyōbō*, p. 467 (author’s translation).
- 59 Tana, *Santa Fe, Lordsburg, Senji tekikokujin yokuryūsho nikki*, vol. 1, pp. 260, 269.
- 60 In the Preface to Tana’s *Hotoke no kyūsai*, Ōhara Shōjitsu writes: “Because the book was intended for use as a Sunday School text in the United States, I was under the impression that it differs from the Japanese exegeses in some aspects, but as a scholar trained in the Ryūkoku University, I was extremely gratified at the great efforts Tana made to not deviate from the Shin Buddhist doctrine” (p. 4). Author’s translation.
- 61 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 95–96.
- 62 Shigaraki, *A Life of Awakening*, p. 185.
- 63 Stephen S. Fugita and Marilyn Fernandez, *Altered Lives, Enduring Community: Japanese Americans Remember Their World War II Incarceration* (Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 2000), p. 192.
- 64 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, pp. 26–27.
- 65 Tana, *Busshi seikatsu hen*, p. 165.
- 66 See for instance, Dobbins, *Letters of the Nun Eshinni*, pp. 70–71.
- 67 Kasahara, *Shinshū ni okeru itan no keifu*, pp. 129–131, 135–136, 143.
- 68 Sasaki Shōten, former head of Institute of Liturgy and Buddhist Music (Honganji bukkyō ongaku girei kenkyūsho) made the following remark in 1990:

“Would our believers be running to New Religions in times of need, if we truly had a doctrine of the worldly benefits (Genzei Riyaku)? It is probably true that Shinran speaks much more about worldly benefits than Dōgen. Kaneko Daiei, one of the most influential Shin Buddhist scholars of the former generation, has expressed the opinion that we have to rethink fundamentally our doctrine on ‘Non-Retrogression in this life (Genshō Futai),’ ‘Worldly Benefits (Genzei Riyaku),’ and ‘Amida’s Directing of Virtue for Our Return to This World (Gensō Ekō).’ In a conference, he said, for example: ‘I want you to study carefully what is meant exactly by worldly benefits. We must come to understand why there is no contradiction between, on the one hand, maintaining that there is no true worldly benefit outside of the Jōdo School and, on the other, rejecting all religion that seeks worldly benefits.’

“Bandō Shōjun, the priest of the famous Hoonji-temple in Tokyo, once said: ‘The nembutsu at times begins to enter into the midst of folk practice and magic belief, and from there turn people to a true Buddhist life.’ May I finally express the heartfelt wish that you, who shoulder the future of Shin Buddhism, may elaborate a doctrine of worldly benefits?” Sasaki Shōten, *Shinran to kyōdan no fukkatsu* (Kyoto: Nagata bunshodō, 2006), p. 28.

69 Masatsugu, *Reorienting the Pure Land*, p. 190. Masatsugu did not come across Tana in his research (personal correspondence with the author).