

**The Japanese and Okinawan American Communities and Shintoism in
Hawaii: Through the Case of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii**

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE GRADUATE DIVISION OF THE UNIVERSITY
OF HAWAII AT MĀNOA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE
REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS
IN
AMERICAN STUDIES

MAY 2012

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Keywords: Japanese American Community, Shintoism in Hawaii, Izumo Taishayo
Mission of Hawaii

To My Parents, Sonoe and Yoshihiro Kinjo,
and My Family in Okinawa and in Hawaii

Acknowledgement

First and foremost, I would like to express my deep and sincere gratitude to my committee chair, Professor Dennis M. Ogawa, whose guidance, patience, motivation, enthusiasm, and immense knowledge have provided a good basis for the present thesis.

I also attribute the completion of my master's thesis to his encouragement and understanding and without his thoughtful support, this thesis would not have been accomplished or written.

I also wish to express my warm and cordial thanks to my committee members, Professor Katsunori Yamazato, an affiliate faculty from the University of the Ryukyus, and Dr. Akemi Kikumura Yano, an affiliate faculty and President and Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of the Japanese American National Museum, for their encouragement, helpful reference, and insightful comments and questions.

My sincere thanks also goes to the interviewees, Richard T. Miyao, Robert Nakasone, Vince A. Morikawa, Daniel Chinen, Joseph Peters, and Jikai Yamazato, for kindly offering me opportunities to interview with them. It is a pleasure to thank those who made this thesis possible.

Especially, I owe deepest gratitude to Richard T. Miyao, a grandchild of Rev. Shigemaru Miyao, who kindly offered me countless helps in collecting reference

materials, providing me opportunities to learn about the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, and letting me participate in the shrine's events. I would also like to show my gratitude to all the members of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii. It has been one of the most precious experiences to get to know the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine community during my stay in Hawaii.

I am also grateful to the East-West Center for financial assistance, especially through Obuchi Student Scholarship in the 2009-20012 academic years. Moreover, I am indebted to many of my fellow friends who supported me and gave me a home away from home: Kinuko, Kohei, Sanae, Kevin, Yusuke, Masami, Yohei, and Hyeon-Ju. Thank for being such dear friends. In addition, special thanks go to Chiara Logli, a Ph.D. student from Italy, one of my best friends who always worked hard with me along this journey of writing a thesis or a dissertation. Thank you for just being there with me.

Lastly, I thank my family in Okinawa and in Hawaii for supporting me throughout my studies for the master's degree at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. This thesis would not be possible without love and support of my family in both islands.

Sawako Kinjo
March 21, 2012.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

On October 10, 2010, I worked as a volunteer assistant at the 104th Annual Autumn Festival (*Akimatsuri*) held in Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii. It was my first visit at the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine since I had started my master's program in Americans Studies at the University of Hawaii at Manoa in 2009. In fact, I had no idea that there was the Izumo Taisha shrine ever existed in Hawaii, or even several Shinto shrines remained in the United States. At first, the presence of Shinto shrines in the Hawaii Islands sounded bizarre to me, but simultaneously evoked my interest in the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine in various senses. One of the unique aspects of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine is perceived in its location in China Town. Surrounded by numerous Chinese restaurants and grocery stores, the shrine structure seemed as though its own space was a reconstruction of the circumstance existing in Japan. A Shinto shrine in China Town--probably, as long as I know, such a sight would never been seen in the mainland Japan. The space of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine itself seemed odd enough to me. Passing through the Torii gate, I saw the wooden main shrine decorated with red and white curtains, *Shime-kazari* (a decoration of sacred straw festoons hung with strips of white paper), and several Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's banners to

celebrate the Autumn Festival. Inside the precincts of a shrine, I felt even more familiar with its space than when viewed from outside. The beating of a *Taiko* drum was heard from the main shrine while several Japanese Shinto priests and shrine maidens were serving for the religious ritual. In the middle of the program, all of the volunteer members gained an opportunity to participate in the *Mikoshi* parade, carrying the *Mikoshi* (a portable shrine) with members of Oedo Mutumi Mikoshi organization of Asakusa, Tokyo. Several stage performances were also conducted among the entertainers including Kenny Endo Matsuri Taiko, Hanayagi Dancing Academy, Nakasone Ryukyu Buyo (dance), Dazzman Toguchi with his dancing, and Dennis Oshiro Studio.

The Autumn Festival at the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine seemed to have numerous commonalities with that of Shinto shrines in Japan, however, I discovered differences between the two. For instance, one of the festival programs contained raising the national flag and chanting the American national anthem. The music was played over loudspeaker and several American visitors, including Japanese Americans, started to face the national flag and chanted *The Star-Spangled Banner*, placing their right hands on the chest.

In this thesis, I focus on the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii on the grounds that the shrine surpasses other Shinto shrines in the length of its history (on O'ahu Island), the population of visitors, and the scale of the building. This thesis intends to examine the perspectives of two different groups: the Japanese Americans and the Okinawan Americans. My research questions are: 1) How has the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii functioned in the Japanese American community over time? 2) How do Japanese Americans or Okinawan Americans perceive Shintoism and Shinto shrines in Hawaii today? 3) How do Okinawan American outlooks to Shintoism or Shinto shrines in Hawaii differ from those of Japanese American?

Previous Studies

Existing studies have discussed over the transformation of Japanese Americans' religion, particularly Shintoism and Buddhism here, and its functions among the Japanese American community in the United States over times. Some scholars claimed these religions function as "ethnic church" and have created plurality and uniqueness of the Japanese American religion in Hawai'i.

Here, I briefly explain the three main scholars whose studies are related to my thesis topics: Takakazu Maeda, Nobutaka Inoue, and Norihito Takahashi. First, Takakazu Maeda, the author of *The Historiography of Shinto Shrines in Hawaii*

(*Hawaii-no-Jinja-Shi*, 『ハワイの神社史』, 1999), compiled the comprehensive studies on all of the Shinto shrines in the Hawaiian Islands. His research covers the establishments of Shinto shrines in the early years of the Japanese Americans' immigration, each history of seven existing shrines, and the shrines' challenges today. Maeda's book aims to extend a research even to extinct Shinto shrines (fifty-three of them) on the islands of Hawaii, which was the first attempt among the other academic works on Shintoism in Hawaii. Maeda also analyzes non-Japanese Americans' public responses toward the Shinto shrines in Hawaii's community over years--most of them offered negative reactions to Shintoism and Shinto shrines since the whole series of the religious ceremonies simply seemed enigmatic to Americans who share less cultural backgrounds in common as Japanese Americans. Then, *The Historiography of Shinto Shrines in Hawaii* also describes the Japanese Americans' struggles to maintain their own culture and religion under mainstream American values.

Norihito Takahashi, explores plurality of Japanese American religion in Hawaii on his doctoral dissertation, "The Development of the Japanese American Religion in Contemporary Hawai'i and the Homeland, Japan" (近現代ハワイにおける日系宗教の展開と故国『日本』). Takahashi makes a wide investigation into various sects of Japanese Buddhism in Hawaii (the Jodo sect, Soto School of Zen Buddhism, the Tenri

sect, and Konkokyo sect) and its history, along with the history of Shinto shrines established by the Japanese Americans. Moreover, referring to Peter Ludwig Berger's and Roland Robertson's theories, Takahashi takes a sociological approach to examine the Japanese American's nostalgic mentalities in association with the role of Japanese American religion and its institutions. Takahashi argues that the Japanese Americans who belong to the minority religious groups, such as Tenri sect and Konkokyo sect, do not always share the mentalities of nostalgia.

In Japanese Religion Across the Sea—Inside and Outside of the Japanese American Society (『海を渡った日本宗教—移民社会の内と外』, 1985), Nobutaka Inoue studies young Japanese Americans' detachment from Shintoism and Shinto traditions. In 1977, Inoue conducted a survey for 355 Japanese American individuals and discovered the Japanese American younger generation no longer seeks for nostalgic catharsis in Japanese tradition. Inoue claims that a phenomenon is even found among the Nisei individuals and the later generations. In this manner, *Japanese Religion Across the Sea—Inside and Outside of the Japanese American Society* unveils the reality of the post-war Japanese American community which does not share “nostalgia” with Shintosim and its traditions inherited in Hawaii.

In the previous scholarship, the Okinawan American community has integrated into the Japanese American community even though the Okinawan Americans share distinctly different culture, customs, history, indigenous religions and its values. Thus, this study differentiates each group and separately explores their perspectives to Shintoism or Shinto shrines in Hawaii. Moreover, the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawai'i has been a famous landmark for the Japanese tourists and many of them visit the shrine to participate in volunteer activities at the events. Through my participant observation, I will research what attracts the Japanese tourists to do volunteer services and the interactions with the local Japanese Americans at the festival.

This thesis aims to contribute to the Japanese American Studies through exploring diversity of the Japanese American communities engaged in Hawaii Izumo Taisha. Since few have been researched Okinawan-Americans and other multiethnic Americans who are involved in the activities and ceremonies performed by the shrine, this study hopes to enrich understandings of the diversity of the Japanese American ethnicity and community.

Resources and Methodology

In this thesis, I employ text analysis, interviews, and participant observation to develop my arguments on research topics. First, various types of publications are used

to examine the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's functions among Japanese and Okinawan American communities, as well as their perspectives to Shinto shrines in Hawaii. For instance, I analyze two anniversary books of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii written by Richard T. Miyao, *90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii* and *Centennial Anniversary Book*, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's brochures, pamphlets, leaflets, several copies of Izumo Taisha Newsletter (from Spring 2005 to Spring 2012), and a local news paper such as the Hawaii Herald. In order to deepen understandings of today's Japanese and Okinawan Americans' voices, I conducted several interviews with Japanese and Okinawan Americans of different generations. For example, I interviewed with a Yonsei Japanese American, Vince A. Morioka, a grandchild of Shigemaru Miyao (the former Bishop of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine), Bob Nakasone (Nisei Okinawan American), Daniel Chinen (Sansei Okinawan American), and two Yonsei Okinawan Americans, Jikai Yamazato, and Joseph Peters. Particularly, few has been studied about Okinawan American viewpoints on Shinto shrines in Hawaii, I selected more Okinawan American interviewees than Japanese American ones. Finally, I also conducted participant observation to more specifically investigate the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's roles in Japanese and Okinawan communities. As a volunteer, a visitor, and an observer, I participated in the 104th and

105th Autumn Festivals in 2010 and in 2011, *Hatsumoude* (the New Year's visit) on the first and the second days of January, 2012, and the monthly worship service between October in 2011 and January in 2012. These participant observations above provide the current situations of the range of the visitors, the management system of the ritual service, and the interactions between the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and surrounding communities.

Chapter Outlines

The following chapter provides the historical overview of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii in the pre- and the post-war time. The first half of this chapter also describes the foundation of other Japanese religious institutions on the Hawaiian Islands including, Jodo Shinshyu Honganji School (1889), Higashi Honganji sect (1899), Nichiren sect (1900), Soto School of Zen Buddhism (1903), and Shingon sect (1914). In so doing, one can grasp the significance of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine within the socio-historical context in Hawaii. The latter half of this chapter highlights the text analysis of *90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii* and *Centennial Anniversary Book*, particularly examining numerous voices from the Japanese American board members, non-Japanese American government officials, and Japanese Shinto priests from Shimane-ken, Japan. The purpose of the text analysis here

is to study how the Izumo Taisha shrine is accepted in Japanese and Okinawan American communities in the post-war period.

Chapter 3 explores more details of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's functions in today's Japanese American community, especially through conducting participant observation and the interview with a Yonsei Japanese American, Vince A. Morikawa. In stead of doing additional interviews with Nisei and Sansei Japanese Americans, I utilize text analysis on numerous scholarly works since many have already discussed about the topic in previous studies. Regarding participant observation, I involved in *Hatsumoude* (the New Year's visit) as a volunteer assistant on the first and the second days of January, 2012, and in the monthly worship service as a visitor from November in 2011 to January in 2012. Here, I discuss the present range of the visitors, the management system of the ritual service, and the interactions between the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and surrounding communities.

Then, Chapter 4 reveals Okinawan Americans' outlooks on Shinto shrines in Hawaii today. Although Okinawan Americans embrace distinct cultural heritages, indigenous religion, and unique ethno-cultural identity as "*Uchinanchu*," their voices were scarcely examined in previous studies but just integrated into a larger framework of the Japanese American religious studies. Considering their situations as "double

minority in double diaspora,” I conducted personal interviews with four Okinawan Americans of different generations (Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei) and analyzed their perspectives to Shinto shrines in Hawaii.

Chapter 5 concludes with a discussion of Japanese Americans’ and Okinawan Americans’ common religious mentalities which perceive Shinto shrines in Hawaii as a reconstructed space to manifest the epitome of all that seems Japanese.

Chapter 2

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Nothing can bring out the richness and the variety of Hawaii quite as well as do her Christian churches of all types and shapes, her Shinto shrines, her Hawaiian heiaus, her Chinese temples, and her Buddhist kyokais. –H. H. Zeigler

In Pre-War Period

In 1868, the first Japanese contract labors, called *Gannen-mono* (the men of the first year of Meiji), disembarked from The Scioto at Honolulu, Hawaii. 148 Japanese labors were accepted to work under the three-year contract agreed upon by Japanese and American government. However, because of the extremely wretched labor conditions, many of *Gannen-mono* complained the hardships of their plantation lives. As a result, the Japanese government would not agree to the resumption of immigration until 1885. Then in 1885, immigrants were contracted to the Hawaiian government's Board of Immigration through its agent in Japan. Upon arrival in Hawaii their contracts were reassigned by the Board to various plantations. According to *The Japanese in Hawaii: A Century of Struggle*, the first *Kanyaku Imin* (the government contract labors) included 945 individuals in total (682 men, 164 women, and 102 children), 842 farmers and 95 servants. By 1894, approximately 29,000 *Kanyaku Imin* arrived in Hawaii. Between 1885 and 1924, approximately a total of 180,000 Japanese immigrated to Hawaii and became an integral part of the Hawaiian labor force. Enforced to sign labor and

nonviolence contracts, which were formally outlined in the Masters and Servants Act, 40% of the Japanese immigrants left Hawaii due to the wretched working conditions at the plantations. The rest of them remained as permanent residents and created a foundation for their lives on the Hawaiian islands. During the time of Japanese immigrants' domiciliation, the Japanese religious organizations were founded on the islands of Hawai'i. Especially for Isseis, these Japanese religious bodies played a significant role in perpetuating a society of Japan in the different sociocultural space in America. It is said that most of Isseis refused to be assimilated into the mainstream of American culture but remained being Japanese citizens even after settling down in Hawai'i.

The Start of Japanese Religious Institutions on the Hawaiian Islands

The social infrastructure of the Japanese immigrant's community was formed as their population was increased with the years. For instance, the Japanese immigrants founded churches, schools, kindergartens, news paper publishing companies, social welfare institutions, private enterprises, and business community, in order to create a foundation of their lives. Regarding religious organizations, not only Japanese immigrants but also other multiethnic immigrants started to construct their national religious institutions on the islands of Hawaii. The Christian sects were the most influential religions among the multiracial communities in Hawaii and many converted

from their national religions into Christianity. Even for the Japanese immigrants, Kanichi Miyama, a minister of the Methodist Church in San Francisco, was sent to Hawaii in 1887 and engaged in missionary work in the Japanese immigrants' community. However, Christianity was not efficiently spread among the Japanese immigrants in Hawai'i –that is, the Christian religion was not able to become a spiritual shelter for most of the Japanese immigrants whose polytheistic cultural backgrounds was not compatible with the worldview of a monotheistic religion. For Isseis, it was merely regarded as a method to understand the American culture and society (Maeda 1999). Then, in 1889, Jodo Shinshyu Honganji School started to be brought from Japan into Hawaii, so were the other Japanese religions, especially Higashi Honganji sect (1899), Nichiren sect (1900), Soto School of Zen Buddhism (1903), and Shingon sect (1914) (*Aloha Nenkan*, アロハ年鑑). In this way, most of the established Buddhism was introduced to the islands of Hawai'i. In *A History of Japanese in Hawaii*, it concludes such as “Shintoism and Buddhism with their rites, festivals and native customs brought a feeling of ‘home’ to the Japanese. Religion also brought stability to the plantation communities. (...) Buddhism and Shintoism for the immigrants were, however, more of a traditional custom in carrying out the rites of birth, marriage and death rather than an understanding of their difficult theology” (United Japanese Society

of Hawaii, 229-230). Different from Christianity or other religions, Japanese culture and traditional customs are firmly tied with Buddhism and Shintoism, even brought a feeling of “home,” as the quotation shows. Therefore, establishments of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines played a significant role for Isseis to maintain their social and cultural lives and to strengthen unity among the community. Then, the next paragraph provides a close focus on the history of Shinto shrines in the Hawaiian Islands.

In 1898, Yamato Shrine (Hilo Daijingu Mission today: Hilo, Hawaii Island) and Lawai Daijingu (Lawai, Kauai Island) were established as the first shrines on the islands of Hawai’i. Soon after these two shrines were established, numerous shrines were constructed over the islands of Hawai’i including Hawaii Island, Kauai Island, O’ahu Island, and Maui Island. Takakazu Maeda reports that there were 59 shrines built in total, including small shrines without the personnel, but he also estimated there must have been many more undiscovered (Maeda 1999, 7). There were three types of enshrined deities in the shrines in Hawaii: Tutelary deities attached to Issei’s hometowns (e.g. Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, and Okinawa), deities to confer prosperity of business and occupation (*Inari*, *Itsukushima*, and *Konpira*), and the

general deities such as the Sun Goddess (*Amaterasu Ookami*) and the god of marriage (the Izumo Shrine deity).

Today, existing Shinto Shrines are only 7 out of the number above: Hilo Daijingu, Hawaii Oogamigu, the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, Hawaii Ishizuchi Shrine, Malaea Ebisu Kotohira Shrine, Maui Shrine, and Hawaii Kotohira Shrine.

Maeda emphasizes in his book that these shrines were spontaneously constructed by the hands of the Japanese immigrants, not by the Japanese government. Until the end of the Second World War, numerous State Shinto shrines were constructed by the Japanese government in order to occupy overseas territories such as Sakhalin, Korea, Manchuria, Kwangtung, and Taiwan.

The Differences Between State Shinto and Sectarian Shinto (Kyōha Shinto)

To avoid misunderstanding, I have to clarify the differences between State Shinto (Shrine Shinto) and Sectarian Shinto (Kyōha Shinto) before proceeding to the further explanations about Izumo Taisha Mission of Hawaii. In the previous paragraph, I mentioned that the Shinto shrines in Hawaii completely differ from the State Shinto shrines in the Japanese occupation areas. Then, what are the differences between the two types of the shrines? I intend to explain the historical backgrounds of State Shinto and Sectarian Shinto and then depict the case of Hawaii Izumo Taishakyo shrine.

First of all, State Shinto was utilized as a device to colonize the overseas territories by the Japanese government, imbuing the Far East and the Southeast Asian citizens with the Japanese imperial values of chauvinistic patriotism and loyalty to the emperor during the war time. State Shinto was declared to be rather political and “non-religious” though it was presented as a religious institution to the subjects of the Japanese empire. In *Modern Japan and Shinto Nationalism*, D. C. Holton claims State Shrine is connected with nationalism, militarism, and imperialism; it was originally a cult lacking political significance, and had been perverted by the militarists. Holton provides a further description of State Shrine such as:

State Shinto in the matter of legal control and co-ordination of activities is placed under the jurisdiction of a bureau of shrines in the Department of Home Affairs. Special enactments and administrative orders issued in this ministry regulate the affairs of the shrines in matters of organization, priesthood, and ceremonies. A major interest of the bureau of shrines is so to direct the ceremonies and beliefs of the national faith as to overcome local superstition and heterogeneity in the interest of ceremonies that foster community and national solidarity. The shrines and their rituals are united into a hierarchy that is a projection into the god-world of the vital interests and patterns of the political life. (Holton 1963, 34).

The shrines under State Shinto were managed by the Japanese government and their priests were placed under government payroll. The roles of the State Shinto priests were to propagate the superiority of the Japanese race, Japanese nation and its expansionist foreign policy. Even inside Japan, State Shrine worked to strengthen “national

solidarity” to support military force and to unite against the Great Powers. State Shinto, therefore, worked systematically to indoctrinate citizens at home and subjects abroad of the supremacy of Japanese hegemony. The presence of the State Shinto shrines throughout the colonies of Japan seemed to serve the purpose of representing this Japanese ideology. Helen Hardacre reports that by 1940 there were 137 shrines in Manchuria, 368 small and large shrines in Korea, 18 shrines in Taiwan. All of them were removed after Japan’s defeat in the war.

On the other hand, in the Hawaiian Islands, the Sectarian Shinto shrines were spontaneously built by the Japanese immigrants to establish the shrine organizations and preserve the Japanese culture and society in their settlements. Here, Sokyo Ono depicts the origins of Sectarian Shinto thus,

Sectarian Shinto is composed of a number of heterogeneous groups which the Meiji government, in connection with the nationalization of shrines and the emphasis on shrine worship as a state cult, placed under supervision of a separate government office. Subsequently, most of the principal groups became independent religious bodies and were officially classified as ‘Sectarian Shinto’. There were thirteen such sects in pre-war days (Ono 1962, 12).

In brief, Sectarian Shinto, which was never associated with State Shinto, is comprised of the religious bodies that refused to be a part of State Shinto. Sectarian Shinto has a completely different principles, beliefs, management styles, basic texts, and shrines from State Shinto. Ono also lists the thirteen independent religious sects of Sectarian

Shinto that were officially recognized between 1867 and 1908: Kurozumi-kyo, Shinto-Shūseiha, Izumo Taishakyo, Fusou-kyo, Jikkou-kyo, Taisei-kyo, Shinshū-kyo, Utaki-kyo, Shintou-taikyo, Shinri-kyo, Misogi-kyo, Kinkou-kyo, Tenri-kyo, and Jingū-kyo.

Of the thirteen aforementioned religious sects, the significance of the Izumo Taishakyo warrants further analysis. In 1873, Sonpukuko Senge, hereditary head of the Izumo Taisha Grand Shrine of Shimane-ken, Japan, informally formed a sect to resist the Japanese government's efforts to absorb all Shinto shrines as State (National) Shinto and to regulate the management, religious practices, and the propagation of Izumo Taishakyo. Then in 1882, the Izumo Taisha Shrine was formally declared religious autonomy and was recognized by the government as an independent Sect (Kyōha Shinto). Miyao asserts that Izumo Taishakyo is “not a State Shinto and was never under the control of the Japanese government. As one of the main 13 sects, [Izumo Taishakyo] was not subject to dissolution or disestablishment after World War II, as were State Shinto,” as well as “No, as there is great diversity within Buddhism and Christianity, not all Shinto are the same. This [Izumo Taishakyo Shrine] is a sectarian (religious) Shinto with a ‘kyo’ (teachings)” (Miyao 1996, 51).

The Great Shrine of Izumo in Shimane-ken, Japan

The Great Shrine of Izumo is located in Taisha Machi, Shimane-ken, near the shores of the Sea of Japan. The main shrine structure was constructed in 1744, which

was designated as a national treasure in 1900, and its archaeological excavations in recent years have confirmed that the present Great Shrine of Izumo was erected above the site of the first shrines built in Japan (Miyao 1996, 57). 21 shrine building and 1 Torii gate are also assigned as important cultural properties in 2004. Patrick Lafcadio Hearn (1850-1904), a journalist, an author, and a scholar best known for his book *Kwaidan: Stories and Studies of Strange Things*, visited the Izumo religion and commented that the Great Shrine of Izumo is the original home of all the Shinto shrines in Japan.

There are two primary deities that the Great Shrine of Izumo has been dedicated to. The one is Susanō-no-Mikoto and another is Okuninushi-no-Okami. First of all, Susanō-no-Mikoto is the Shinto God of agriculture in Japanese mythology, mainly described in *Kojiki (Record of Ancient Matters, 712)* and *Nihon-shoki (The Chronicles of Japan, 720)*. Another primary divinity is Okuninushi-no-Mikoto whose name literally means “Great Land Master”. Similar to Susanō-no-Mikoto, Okuninushi-no-Mikoto is depicted as the God of agriculture and in *Nihon-shoki* he is considered as a son of Susanō-no-Mikoto.

Izumo Kokuso (Izumo regional administrator) was the chief priest family who manage the Great Shrine of Izumo. However, in South and North court period in 1336-

1392, Izumo Kokuso was divided into two families, Senge family and Kitajima family. According to Senge Takamune, these two families halved the managements and shrine rituals, however, since Meiji period Senge family has played a central part in the management of Izumo Taisha (Senge 1975, 196). Here, I have to mention about the key person in the Senge family—Takatomi “Sompukuko” Senge. He played a significant role to make the Great Shrine of Izumo a sectarian or *kyoha* Shinto. The Japanese government during Meiji and Taisho period attempted to absorb all Shinto shrines into the national shrine, controlling over the management, practice, and propagation. However, in 1882, Sompkuko incorporated an independent religious organization called the “Izumo Taishakyo (Izumo Oyashirokyo)” and became a first *kanchō* or superintendent. Independent of the government’s national shrine organizations, Sompukuko was able to establish many shrines and shrine organizations to propagate the faith of Okuninushi-no-Okami. During 1850-1950, he established 360 shrine organizations including those in Japan, Korea, and Hawaii.

The Establishment of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawai’i

In 1874, Rev. Katsuyoshi Miyao, the founder of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, was born into a family of Shinto priests in Hiroshima. Before leaving for Hawaii, Rev. Katsuyoshi served as a priest at Yahata Shrine and Sorahigo Shrine in Fukuoka and obtained a certificate for teaching Izumo Taishakyo. On March 22nd in

1906, Rev. Katsuyoshi and his wife, Isoko, left Japan for Hawaii for a temporary visit with two major objectives. The central purpose was to provide wider publicity about Izumo Taishakyo and to propagate Shintoism among the Japanese immigrants' community. The second one aimed to construct the permanent building of Izumo Taisyakyo Mission of Hawaii since there was only a temporary shrine for a worship site of Hawaii Izumo Taisha. The temporary shrine was constructed on Aala Street on August 25, 1907. Then, in 1919, a decision to establish the permanent shrine was made; however, due to the second plantation strike started by the Japanese and Filipino workers on February 2, 1920, fundraising was not embarked on until the end of the strike. The original budget of \$25, 000 to complete the construction was increased to \$35,000 due to rising cost of lumber (Miyao 1996, 79). In November 1922, the permanent shrine was finally completed under the guidance of the master builder, Ichisaburo Tanaka. The main shrine structure was built by the Japanese traditional architectural techniques and even a sacred straw festoon was brought from the Grand Shrine in Shimane-ken, Japan to decorate the shrine roof. Moreover, Rev. Katsuyoshi reorganized Hawai'i Izumo Taisha as a religious nonprofit corporation, not as his own private property. Maeda argues this conversion into a religious nonprofit corporation has a significant meaning to gain recognition in the Hawaiian society and to share the

shrine as a communal property (Maeda 1999, 157). Recognized by law, Hawai'i Izumo Taisha was able to gain a legal countermeasure as a nonprofit corporation and to ensure the preservation of the shrine.

In the Mid-War Period

The undeclared war on China by Japan, which was to eventually lead to the war between U.S. and Japan started off as the Manchuria Incident on September 18, 1931 and developed into the Shanghai Incident in 1932. The Japanese militarists' propaganda barrage aimed at the Western world to justify Japan's aggression and "holy campaigning" in the Orient increased in intensity. Relations between the United States and Japan continued to deteriorate especially when a blackout practice drill on Oahu May 18, 1939 brought the feeling of war closer to Hawaii. On December 7, 1941, the unexpected attack to Hawaii carried out by 360 Japanese planes showered bombs on Pearl Harbor and other defense installations (Okahata 1971, 261). The attack on Pearl Harbor hugely impacted on the lives of the Japanese-Americans in Hawai'i. Numerous directives were issued from the military governor's office to keep the approximately 35,500 Japanese Americans in Hawaii under strict control. The three Japanese banks were also closed. Before the Pearl Harbor attack in 1941, a secret "blacklist" was already compiled to oversee some leading figures among the Japanese-American community, the F.B.I.,

Army Intelligence, and police officers detained 345 leaders including Buddhist and Shinto priests, Japanese businessmen, and Japanese school teachers by December 8th.

After Bishop Imamura of Honpa Hongwanji and Dr. Kohatsu, Bishop Shigemaru Miyao of Hawaii Izumo Taisha was interned together with Yuki Miyao and grandmother Yoshie Miyao. Families were separated when Mrs. Yuki Miyao and grandmother Yoshie Miyao were sent from Sand Island to Angel Island and Bishop Miyao was taken to remote men's camps in Wisconsin, Louisiana, and Tennessee. Shigemaru Miyao's three children, Richard, Florence, and Masanori, were left without parental protection. While the Miyao family was detained at three different interment centers and the shrine's function went out of commission, the property of Izumo Taisha was "gifted" to the City and County of Honolulu (Miyao 1999, 86). The official and personal articles including the records of the shrine and items of private nature were confiscated by the government agents after the Miyao family was interned. Most of them, including the records of all of the marriages, were not returned. However, the ancient heirloom swords were restored.

In the Post-War Period

After the atomic bombs were dropped in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9 in 1945, Japan was surrendered on August 1945. Boarded *Shawnee*, a military transport ship, together with Nisei troops, the Miyao family finally returned to Hawai'i

on December 11, 1945. For Bishop and Mrs. Shigemaru Miyao and Yoshie Miyao, it had been four years since they came back to Hawai'i after detention at Sand Island. The shrine was used as a city park after the property was "gifted" to the city of Honolulu on December 7, 1941. During the Miyao family's absence, the main building of the shrine was entirely changed into a ruinous condition, standing on a few bare columns and holding nothing inside, even without walls. The surrounding community and the news papers complained about the dilapidated structure standing in the land overrun with grass. Here, another time of tribulation was waiting for the Miyao family to make major repairs on the shrine and bring suits against the city of Honolulu for nine years.

Firstly, in order to embark on the reconstruction of Hawai'i Izumo Taisha, Bishop Shigemaru Miyao rented a small residence-like warehouse to open the temporary shrine. Bishop Shigemaru used one-half of the warehouse for the shrine and the other half for his family's residence. This temporary shrine was operated from 1946 through 1968. The Japanese American and the Japanese residents hesitated to visit the temporary shrine at first, but visitors gradually came back several years after the war. In 1952, Hawaii Izumo Taisha organization petitioned the City and County of Honolulu for the return of the shrine. The signature campaigns were conducted on the entire

island of Oahu and over 10,000 signatures were collected for the petition (Miyao 1999, 88).

Meanwhile, the shrine property had to be relocated to a new place. According to Miyao, the Izumo Taisha property was located in the Kukui redevelopment site, bounded by North Beretania, Liliha, and Vineyard Streets, and College Walk up to Kukui Street. The area is presently known as Kukui Gardens. The senior members of the shrine, consisting of Uichi and Kazuo Yamane, Matujiro Otani and his sons, Jay and Akira, and Mitsuo Fujishige, negotiated with the Federal Housing Administration and the City Redevelopment Agency over the condemnation price and future relocation site. After some dilemmatic negotiations, an agreement was reached with the new site located a few hundred yards east, along the Nuuanu Stream and Kukui Street. In 1963, the run-down shrine was moved by the Roy Kawasaki Company to the new location at the cost of \$7, 000.00.

After the relocation of the shrine structure to a new site, the board members had to seek funds to restore the shrine. The fundraising committee was composed of the chairman, Yoshio Koike (former principal of the McCully Japanese School), Kintoku Tanabe, Masao Tanabe, Teiichi Sugimoto, and Kiyochi Fujii (Miyao 1999, 91). After seven years of the fundraising committee' daily efforts, sufficient money was donated

for the restoration. On December 22, 1968, the ceremony of the moving of the shrine was held by Teiichi Sugimoto, President and Chairman of the Board. A procession mikoshi (portable shrine), the Boy Scouts, and the priests proceeded from McCully to the present site on Kukui Street along the Nuuanu Stream. Miyao describes that the celebration was “fulfillment of a dream to return to the shrine closed and lost since December 7, 1941 (Miyao 1999, 91). Then, on February 20, 1968, the restoration work was started until the following year at the cost of \$170,000 (Miyao 1999, 92). The architect Robert Katsuyoshi was sent to the Grand Shrine of Izumo in Shimane-ken, Japan, and studied the style of the Izumo Taisha structures called *taisha zukuri* (Taisha form of architecture), and engaged in the repair of Hawai’i Izumo Taisha shrine, saving as much original structure of 1923 as possible.

90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii and Centennial Anniversary Book

In 2011, Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii celebrated the 105th anniversary of its foundation. The organization issued three commemorative publications: *Saga of a Church in Hawaii 90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii* (「九十年の歩みハワイ出雲大社教分院」, 1996) and *Centennial Anniversary Book Saga of a Church in Hawaii 1906-2006* (2006), *Centennial Anniversary Book Supplement* (2006), all of them written and edited by Richard T. Miyao. Each of the

texts includes the following contents: the author's acknowledgements, congratulatory messages from government officials and representatives, the history of the Izumo Taisha in Japan and in Hawaii, the founder's family background, Hawaii Izumo Taisha's religious services and special events, fundraising and volunteer work, and activities of private groups related to Hawaii Izumo Taisha. *Saga of a Church in Hawaii 90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii* had 3,500 copies published and *Centennial Anniversary Book Saga of a Church in Hawaii 1906-2006* had 5,000 copies issued. The low volume of published copies of these books was intended to distribute to members and friends of Izumo Taisha both at home and abroad. According to Miyao, he selected plain language to write the anniversary books in order to provide a discourse of straightforwardness and clarity for all of his readers, including the second language readers. On October 7, 2006, approximately 650 copies of *Centennial Anniversary Book* were distributed to invited guests at the 100th anniversary ceremony at the Waikiki Sheraton Hotel (Miyao, "Personal Interview"). The fact that these books were not for sale and were acquired through membership coupled with the production of the low number of copies have made it difficult for one to access either title. Therefore, these anniversary books are one of the rare materials to analyze the

present state of the connections between Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and the Japanese American community.

These anniversary books are worth analyzing in two respects. First, it has numerous voices from the Japanese American board members, non-Japanese American government officials, and Japanese Shinto priests from Shimane-ken, Japan. Although these voices may not be a comprehensive representation of the whole Japanese American individuals in Hawaii, the voices that are represented provide the thoughts and commentaries of the Japanese American leaders can serve as the presentation of the voices of the good portion of the Japanese American community. Through the community leaders' voices, one can examine how Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine is accepted in the Japanese American community today. Are there any differences or similarities in each member's perspectives to the roles of Izumo Taishakyo among the Japanese American community? Moreover, viewed and analyzed from a historical standpoint, what can be determined from the community leaders' voices? Second, it is written as a narrative story of Hawaii Izumo Taishakyo shrine and its family members, not as a historiography. There are numerous purposes of using this particular narrative style. How the narration functions to represent the story of Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine to the Japanese American readers will be expressed below.

In the eyes of the citizens of non-Japanese descendants in Hawaii, especially during and in the aftermath of the war, the Japanese Americans were always “enigmatic” figures. According to *Hawaii’s Japanese An Experiment in Democracy* (1946) written by Andrew W. Lind, the Japanese Americans were frequently viewed with these questions such as—“Are they Japanese or are they American? And where do their real loyalties lie?” (Lind, 1). During the war time period, barriers of language and culture, always acute between the Japanese and other racial groups in Hawaii, were bolstered by wartime fear and suspicion. Lind also describes the Japanese immigrants’ life styles thus:

The Japanese community was specifically criticized for maintaining ‘different living and wage standards’ (...) ‘The great trouble, so far as the Japanese are concerned, is their language schools, and their native feeling for their native country—they still continue to feel Japanese. (...) They [the Japanese immigrants] remain largely in their home life as they were in their native land. In these language schools they are taught what their fathers were taught (Lind, 29).

The Issei’s adherence to Japanese tradition, avoiding adaptation to American culture and custom at the same time, excluded other groups and was often criticized as “they still continue to feel Japanese” by the other racial groups in Hawaii.

Considering this historical aspect of how the Japanese immigrants’ community and its traditional customs were viewed and often criticized by the other racial groups, the next paragraph explores the present state of the Japanese American community and

its relation to the presence of Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine by examining the Izumo Taisha's anniversary books.

Returning to the text analysis on the congratulatory message in *90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii*, there is a description in the Congress person Neil Abercrombie's (the 7th and current Governor of Hawaii) message that emphasizes coexistence or harmony among the multiethnic communities in Hawaii such as, "Living in Hawaii, with its rainbow of cultures, we have much to be grateful for. The beauty of our islands, and the wonderful of peoples, and the Aloha spirit make our home an ideal place to live and raise our families. Mahalo [thank you] to the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii for 90 years of contributions to our beautiful island state" (Miyao 1996, 26). Abercrombie describes the diversity of Hawaii's ethnic cultures with the phrase, "its rainbow of culture", and represents Hawaii as "our home" where the other ethnic groups coexisted overcoming their differences. Moreover, he expresses gratitude to Hawaii Izumo Taisha's role in sharing the cultural diversity in Hawaii's communities. Likewise, in Mayor Jeremy Harris's message, the concept of "harmony" is also stressed as, "Your belief that people must live in harmony with each other and the environment is as true in today's complex society as it was when that principle first became a part of Shinto doctrine. All of us benefit when we live by such a philosophy"

(Miyao 1996, 29). In addition to creating harmony among the multicultural communities, the Mayor also states that Hawaii has accepted and learned from a philosophy of Shinto doctrine. Finally, Congressman Ed Case, comments on the role Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii has, such as, “You had come together and held on for the past century to share the riches of the Shinto Faith with our Hawaii through your dedication, commitment, and perseverance to enrich the lives of all and experience and age-old tradition. (...) Your many years of service to improving the lives and spirituality of our people show a benevolence which is truly the mark of a great ‘Izumo Taisha’” (Miyao 2006, 29). Again, similar to the other two political leaders, Case also accepts that Izumo Taisha had played the part of “enrich[ing] the lives of all” in Hawaii and “improving the lives and spirituality of our people” in Hawaii. Using the pronoun “our,” Case expresses the inclusiveness of the Hawaii’s community. Through these three politicians’ messages for Hawaii Izumo Taisha, one can understand the shrine has been accepted by both Japanese and non-Japanese communities and functions as a means of sharing the Japanese religion and tradition with the other multicultural communities in Hawaii.

Next, in order to analyze the other examples of the leader figures’ messages, this paragraph explores the Japanese American leaders’ voices in the anniversary books. It is

intriguing that the Japanese American leaders tend to emphasize Hawaii Izumo Taisha's contributions toward not only religious services but also the preservation of the Japanese culture and tradition in the Japanese American community today. Rev. Eshin Irene Matsumoto from United Japanese Society describes the roles of Hawaii Izumo Taisha thus, "These two days in October commemorates the one hundred years that Izumo Taisha has been an integral part of our Japanese heritage and tradition and a vital part of our community in Hawaii" (Miyao 2006, 35). Matsumoto explains that Hawaii Izumo Taisha plays "a integral part" to maintain the Japanese heritage and tradition" in the Hawaiian community. Wendy A. Abe, the President of Honolulu Japanese Chamber of Commerce, also mentions about the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's role to succeed the traditional Japanese culture namely, "Through the work of your Mission, we also continue to benefit from the beautiful arts, cultures, and traditions of the Shinto faith" (Miyao 2006, 33). In the anniversary books, one can realize almost all of the Japanese American leaders refer to Hawaii Izumo Taisha's functions of succeeding the traditional Japanese culture and customs. Here are more instances; Senator Daniel K. Akaka comments such as "Today, and just as it has been year after year, urged by culture, custom and tradition, this mission holds its annual Autumn Festival to celebrate and give humble thanks" (Miyao 1996, 24); Walter M. Saito from the Japanese Cultural

Center of Hawaii (JCCH) describes as “The Japanese Cultural Center commends Izumo Taisha for their religious and cultural services such as blessings for children’s Shichigosan (7-5-3), yakudoshi, ground breaking, offices, homes and other opening events” (33); Fred Miura, the president and chairman of Hawaii Izumo Taisha, comments as “The shrine structure is not a museum relic. It is a cultural and religious symbol, a house of worship, which daily serves the worshippers and visitors” (20). From the Japanese American leaders’ perspectives, Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii is not only a religious symbol of the Japanese American community but also one of the integral foundations to preserve the traditional Japanese culture and customs in the Japanese American community.

Finally, the last paragraph examines the Japanese Shinto priests’ messages in the 90th and centennial anniversary books. In the felicitation messages, both of the two Japanese Shinto priests from the Grand Shrine of Izumo in Shimane-ken, Japan, Takatoshi Senge and Michihiko Senge, firstly express the feeling of sorrow for the Japan-the U.S. relationship during the World War II. For instance, the Chief Priest Takatoshi Senge states such as “Then came the war between Japan and the United States of America. During this period of hardship, you firmly continued to worship the OKuninushi-no-Okami, the faith inherited from your forefathers” (Miyao 1996, 17).

The Assistant Chief Priest also mentions the war time relations between Japan and the United States thus, “The role of the church in providing many years of service to the community was recongnized in 1971, a quarter century after the World War, when the Hawaii Legislature unanimously commended the Rev. Shigemaru Miyao, son of the founding priest, for his many years of service to the community” (Miyao 1996, 18). In the quotation above, it is not stated in the English translation of the Assistant Chief Priest’s message, however, in the original message in Japanese, the war time experience is described such as “あの悲しい出来事が終わった後” (the direct translation is “after the tragic event was over”). The priests’ messages contain political and transnational consciousness, which, on this point, differ from the American leader figures’ messages. Then, Assistant Chief Priest continues that he “pray [s] for the continued prosperity and the well-being of the State of Hawaii and hope that the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii may serve as a bridge between Japan and the United States of America” (Miyao 1996, 18). Here, the word “bridge” is the key term constantly repeated by the other Japanese Shinto Priests in Centennial Anniversary Book as well. For instance, the 84th Chief Priest Takamasa Senge states such as “May the bond between persons be extended to bridge the relationship between Japan and the United States” (Miyao 2006, 21), and then Superintendent Michihiko Senge mentions that “It is all my hope that in

the future, all of the local shrines—Kotohira Jinsha, Dazaifu Tenmangu, Hawaii Daijingu Temple, Ishizuchi Jinja, and Hawaii Izumo Taisha—pray and work together to serve as bridges between the United States, Japan, and other countries” (Miyao 2006, 23). Overall, the Japanese priests represent their pacifistic perspectives on their messages, wishing that Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine serves as a “bridge” between Japan and the United States and promote peaceful and amicable relations with each other.

In sum, in the congratulatory messages on the anniversary books, the political leaders of non-Japanese ancestry describe the presence of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine as one of many religious organizations which contributes to enrich the diversity of the Hawaii’s multicultural communities. They also stress their ideals that each ethnic community would “harmonize” to peacefully coexist with each other in the community. While the non-Japanese American leaders accept the Hawaii Izumo Taisha’s role of adding to cultural diversity among the multiracial groups, the Japanese American leaders pay more attentions to the shrines’ services to preserve the traditional Japanese culture and custom through the shrine’s annual events and religious ceremonies. For the Japanese American community, Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii serves an integral part to succeed the Japanese cultural heritages to the next generations. In this respect, the Japanese American leaders highlight one of the major functions of Hawaii

Izumotaisha to maintain the Japanese cultural heritages for the Japanese American community. Finally, regarding the last category of the community leaders, the Japanese Shinto priests represent the presence of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii within the framework of the history of the Japan-the U.S. relation. In their messages, the three priests use the expression of “bridge” as to the shrine’s role to build the peaceful relationship between Japan and the United States.

In the congratulatory messages, in *90th Anniversary of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii* and *Centennial Anniversary Book Saga of a Church in Hawaii 1906-2006*, Richard T. Miyao narrates the Miyao family’s experiences and the history of Hawaii Izumo Taisha’s foundation. In the editor’s note in *90th Anniversary of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii*, he mentions about the style of the narration such as,

We will miss the point if we simply recite chronological events saying that “The Reverend Katsuyoshi Miyao was authorized by the Izumo Taishakyo of the Grand Shrine of Izumo in Shimane-ken, Japan, to start a church in Hawaii. He arrived in 1906 and built a large shrine in 1923”. There is human drama, such as, the struggle to establish a shrine on this own, since he had no funding from the church in Japan, the death of his ill wife, Isoko, three years after arrival in 1906, and the purchase of an automobile with his personal heirloom swords. This is our story....(Miyao 1996, 14).

Miyao states that the book is written to record the Miyao family’s hardships and achievement in the last 100 years, emphasizing “human drama” in the history.

Chapter3

JAPANESE AMERICANS AND THE SHINTO SHRINES

Americanism is a matter of mind and heart; Americanism is not and never was a matter of race or ancestry. –Franklin Delano Roosevelt

The Functions of the Shinto Shrine at the Plantation Villages

Immigrating to Hawaii in 1885 during the reign of King David Kalakaua, the large number of Japanese laborers engaged in various plantation works in the Hawaiian Islands. The Japanese immigrants faced the harsh reality of plantation life of low wages, long working hours, a poor living standard and homesickness, and then eventually emphasized the values of group collectivism as a measure to overcome adversities and hardships. Group collectivism served as a protective factor to provide solidarity, strength, and support to the Japanese immigrants' community during the beginning stages of their migration to Hawaii (Hishinuma 2010, 128). Particularly, according to Nobutaka Inoue, the Japanese religious institutions, such as the True Pure Land sect of Buddhism temples, *Shingon* sect of Buddhism temples, and the Izumo Taishakyo shrines, played a significant role in functioning as “community center” where the Japanese immigrants could interact with other immigrants from the same province and support one another (Inoue 1985). In a personal interview with Richard T. Miyao, a grandchild of Bishop Shigemaru Miyao (the founder of Hawaii Izumo Taisha), Miyao

also describes the function of the Japanese religious organization as “community center” by saying:

(Looking at the photograph of C. Brewer’s Honolulu Plantation mill at Aiea, Ohahu, ca. 1906 on *the Centennial Anniversary Book*) This is a photo of the plantation mill at Aiea. There was a (Hongwanji Buddhist) temple located in the center of the community. At that time, the Japanese immigrant workers did not have any families and relatives at the plantation mill, so religion played a significant role in their community. It served as a place to provide the Japanese immigrants emotional healing and comfort when they faced problems. These days, people do not depend on temples and shrines when they have troubles with their families and relatives and so on, don’t they? Today, we have psychologists and counselors (to receive counseling to deal with problems) (Miyao, “Personal Interview” [2]).

In regards to the Honolulu Plantation mill at Aiea, Miyao mentions that Hongwanji Buddhist Temple was constructed in the center of the housings for the immigrant laborers and families, ministering to provide the Japanese immigrants mental support and social needs. The Japanese religion brought a feeling of “home” to the Japanese immigrants—a mental shelter that they could count upon to gain restoration of mind.

The similar case is applied to the situations of the Shinto shrines in Hawaii. In the case of Hawaii Izumo Taisha, a temporary worship site was established on Aala Street, near Aala Park , on September 6, 1906. Many Japanese immigrant workers were attracted to Aala Park and Japan town, which was in close proximity to the park, for its shopping and other amusements. Especially, since the young Japanese frequently came to the location to hangout, it was not only Bishop Shigemaru Miyao who visited there to

preach to them but also Christian pastors and Buddhist monks (Maehara, 153). As a result, similar to the case of Hongwanji Buddhist Temple, Izumo Taisha's temporary worship site was established in the area near a busy thoroughfare and served as a community center.

Moreover, much financial assistance provided by the plantations proved the significance of the Japanese religious institutions' functions in the Japanese community. Based on the research conducted by the United Japanese Society Hawaii, the Waipahu and Kahuku plantations started subsidizing Buddhist temples and their language schools in 1901. Ewa, Aiea, Waialua, and Waianae plantations followed in 1903 and Waimanalo plantation in 1904. All major plantations on the Hawaiian Islands offered financial assistance for the Japanese religious organizations, either through the grant of rent-free lands or monetary subsidies. Such financial assistance continued until the plantation strike in 1920 (UJSH, 229). In addition to Miyao's interview, the UJSH's report also shows the importance of the Japanese religious institutions to the Japanese communities in the Hawaiian Islands, as seen in the fact that the plantations assisted the management of the Japanese religious organizations with financial support.

Besides the role of "community center," ceremony service was another important function that the Japanese religious institutions provided the Japanese

immigrant community. For instance, the Buddhist temples in the Hawaiian Islands have held events to celebrate *Hana-Matsuri* or Buddha's Birthday on the 8th of April.

Regarding the Izumo Taisha Mission of Hawaii, the shrine played a significant role in providing wedding ceremony services for the Japanese immigrants. Particularly, in the "picture-bride" period or *Yobiyose* period, the Japanese immigrant laborers, mostly composed of young, single male individuals, requested their families in Japan arrange marriages through exchanging *miai* photographs (a photo of an individual taken for a prospective marriage partner). The American government legally acknowledged the system of "picture-bride" marriage, but applicants were required to request the priests (e.g. Either Christian pastors, or Buddhist monks, or Shinto priests authorized by the Hawaii Government) to issue marriage certificates and submit them to the Immigration Bureau.

Regarding Shinto shrines in the Hawaiian Islands, Bishop Katsuyoshi Miyao of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii and Rev. Shinji Saeki obtained the official qualifications to conduct stipulated procedures. In the 1930s, the number of mass weddings reached a peak, as seen in a report in 1931 which recorded more than 10,000 Japanese immigrants had wedding ceremonies at Hawaii Izumo Taisha (Inoue 1985). In the same manner, the other Shinto shrines such as Daijingu and Kotohira Shrine reached

their flourishing time of wedding ceremonies in the thirties. Among other Shinto shrines in Hawaii, Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii monopolized general popularity for wedding ceremonies. It has been the belief since ancient times that the primary God of Izumo Taisha, Okuninushi-no-Okami, enables to establish relationships, *En*, with other individuals including parents, children, brothers, sisters, and other broader social contacts. In Japan, Okuninushi-no-Okami has been widely known as “match-maker” God of the bonding between man and woman, or Emmusubi-no-Kami (the god of marriage). It is reported that Bishop Katsuyoshi Miyao presided over wedding ceremonies for 30 couples when it was the highest time, a total of 6,900 wedding ceremonies for 31 years. Hawaii Izumo Taisha’s contribution to the “picture-bride” marriage is obvious when one views an instance of a statistic of 1913; the total of the Japanese immigrants’ wedding ceremonies was 1,252, made up as follows: Christian wedding, 550: Shinto wedding 459: Buddhist wedding 243. Of that number of the Shinto marriage ceremony, Bishop Katsuyoshi Miyao conducted 260 weddings, while Rev. Sinjiro Saeki’s 190 weddings and Rev. Seigou Kawasaki’s 9 ceremonies are given as the details (Maeda, 17). The investigation shows that the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine’s distinctive feature of enshrining Okuninushi-no-Okami, renowned as the god of

marriage, particularly attracted the Japanese Americans' holding wedding ceremonies at the shrine during the picture-bride period.

The Inherited Japanese Culture and Shinto Shrines in Hawaii

Before the Second World War, one can view that the Japanese religious organization were Japanese-tradition-oriented, as seen in a tendency that they conducted various social events to uphold and inherit the Japanese culture and tradition. It was not only seen in the Japanese religious foundations but many Issei parents also exhorted their children to go to Japanese language schools or Sunday schools operated by Buddhist or Shinto shrines. Some Issei parents even made their children practice the Japanese martial arts such as judo and kendo at training halls provided by the Japanese religious foundations. At the Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines, there were numerous cultural events held to teach *Ikebana* (Japanese flower arrangement), calligraphy, Sumo, and the game of go. Many Issei parents desired that their children would learn Japanese culture and the Japanese spirit or *Yamato Damashii* in order to remain as the Japanese, as well as to remember their legacy. Therefore, Isseis discovered that the Japanese religion and its religious institutions contained the essence of Japanese culture, while the Japanese religious organizations also attempted to bear the responsibility of maintaining as the symbol of the Japanese culture or the embodiment of all that is Japan.

There were numerous ceremonies and social events that Hawaii Izumo Taisha organized to commemorate the Japanese traditions and annual functions. The ceremony for the 2,600th year of the Imperial reign (the Anniversary of Emperor Jinmu's Accession) is one of the highlights of these Hawaii Izumo Taisha's events before the war, on February 11, 1940. There were celebrations for the anniversary of Emperor Jinmu's accession in various institutions on the Hawaiian Islands, for instance, approximately 500 Japanese individuals attended the celebratory banquet at the Honolulu consulate general. According to Maeda, Hawaii Izumo Taisha celebrated the event with over a hundred of the Japanese-Americans. On March 10, 1940, there was a celebration event at Hawaii Izumo Taisha for establishing Oahu Sumo Association at Hawaii Izumo Taisha under the purpose of "inheriting Japanese virtue and culture to the second and the third generation through the national sport of Japan" (Maeda, 169). Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii specially invited twelve crew members on the auxiliary vessel of the Imperial Japanese Navy, over 4,000 guests were attended at the celebratory events.

The New Year's Day events and the Autumn Festival have been one of the most significant celebrations that Hawaii Izumo Taisha provided for the Japanese-American community. In 1941, nearly 30,000 individuals visited Hawaii Izumo Taisha to

celebrate the New Year's Day, which reached the highest number of visitors in the pre-war period (Maeda, 172). Moreover, on October, 19, 1941, Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii jointly celebrated its thirty-fifth year's anniversary and the Prayer for Japan-the United-States Friendship Festival. This celebratory festival is noteworthy since the key government officials such as the Mayor of Honolulu and the former secretary of City and State paid an official visit to Hawaii Izumo Taisha. Both politicians participated in the ceremony, delivering the congratulatory addresses, watching sumo, and offering a branch of the sacred *sakaki* tree in front of a shrine altar. In the congratulatory address, the Mayor of Honolulu mentioned that the peoples of Hawaii were able to enjoy their lives with freedom of religion and thus they should appreciate the United States' national character of freedom (Maeda, 17). The Mayor's speech represents his concern to the Japanese American individuals since Japan-American political relation had been deteriorated at that time.

Americanization of the Shinto Shrines

While the Shinto shrines strived to strengthen ties with the homeland, Japan, they faced problems to deal with criticism from the ruling classes in Hawaii. In prewar times, Shintoism and Shinto shrines were critically viewed and often misunderstood by the American society, as the anti-American ideology and organizations which promoted loyalty to the Great Empire of Japan and the Japanese emperor, while inculcating anti-

American thought into the Japanese Americans. For most of the Americans with non-Japanese heritage, Shintoism or Shinto shrines were merely an inexplicable religion or the institutions, which the Americans could hardly imagine what they were. Moreover, from an angle of socio-historical backgrounds, the increasing number of the Japanese immigrants to the United States caused the anti-Japanese sentiment mainly on the West Coast that reached a high peak in the 1920s, and the feeling of “Japanese menace” also impacted on the Hawaiian Islands during the period. Especially, at a conference held in Honolulu on February, 1920, the political leaders including the governor of the state of Hawaii, Charles J. McCarthy (1861-1929), and the other eleven members of the Upper House expressed their strong fears about the Japanese leaders’ occupying the political arena in Hawaii. Many of them also concerned the Japan’s imperialistic foreign policy and its growing power of the military in the Shino-Japanese War (1894-5), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5), the annexation of Korea (1910-1940), and the Manchurian Incident (1931). Some American political leaders feared that the Japanese government maneuvered the Japanese Americans to control over the Hawaiian politics. Thus, these American leaders perceived all of these activities including Japanese language schools, propagation of Buddhism and Shintoism, Niseis’ obtaining dual citizenships were associated with supports for the Japanese empire’s imperialistic policies. They even

concerned that the Japanese press was an agency to deliver the imperialistic ideas to the Japanese Americans. In the end, these political trends led an enactment of Immigration Act of 1924. Therefore, such social climate as the anti-Japanese sentiment exerted influence upon misunderstandings of the concept of Shintoism.

Then, it was extrinsically emerged from the influences of the American society's criticism toward Shinto shrines that the shrines started to adapt Americanization to their religious rituals. Particularly, for the case of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, they employed the following policies for Americanization: 1) adaptation of English 2) Raising the Star and Stripes during religious ceremonies. Moreover, on May 21, 1940, The Honolulu Shinto Association expressed a declaration of resolve with the official document, designated as "Shinto Shrines under the Stars and Stripes," to the American government. The three major policies were described as those that follow: 1) proclamation of its doctrine of Shintoism under the official approval by the Constitution of the United States. 2) Display of the photographs of the first President George Washington and the current President at the main building of the Shinto shrine. 3) Americanization of the propagation style through providing the English publications on the doctrine of Shintoism (Maeda, 26). In a similar way, Japanese language schools and Buddhist temples had already expressed loyalty to the American government before The

Honolulu Shinto Association manifested allegiance. Therefore, different from the Japanese-oriented management policy at the early immigration years, Hawaii Izumo Taishakyo attempted to acclimatize itself to changing socio-political demands that required the Japanese religious foundations to Americanize their propagation style and religious services. In so doing, it enabled Hawaii Izumo Taisha to reduce conflicts with the dominant classes and seek for possibilities to survive under the harsh propagating conditions.

Nisei's Americanization and Alienation from Shintoism

Having a strong desire to return to Japan in due course, Issei parents strived to encourage their children to learn Japanese language and culture in order to educate them as “Japanese”. It was partially because many Issei assumed that their children would never be accepted fully into American society, and they must return to their country ultimately for the future opportunities for their children. In fact, Nisei children struggled with racism spreading among the American society in the decade following 1930. In *Nisei The Quiet Americans*, William K. Hosokawa writes thus, “in their [Nisei’s] schools, however, they [the Nisei] had been taught to believe in the American doctrine of freedom of opportunity; they shared in the American dream of progressing as far as their God –given abilities and energies could take them. Yet, the reality was that outside the classroom America was a racist society where skin pigmentation and facial

conformations often were more a factor than a person's ability" (Hosokawa, 171).

Hosokawa's quotation shows that Nisei faced the reality of the social, racial, and economic disadvantages rooted in the Japanese community. Therefore, Americanization was a key for the Nisei to overcome these difficulties and to equalize them with the white-American, middle-class society.

For the Nisei, Americanization means to detach themselves from the Japanese socio-cultural values and traditions, while absorbing anything American. The process of Americanization considerably impacted upon the Nisei's identity formations. In *Japanese Eyes American Heart*, a collection of Nisei soldiers' personal reflections compiled by the Hawaii Nikkei History Editorial Board, Ted T. Tsukiyama's autobiographical essay reveals the Nisei's identities as American thus, "Although living in America, most Issei parents, including my own, insisted that their children be exposed to Japanese culture and language. Despite such a bicultural environment and upbringing, I never had any question or problem regarding my identity. There was no doubt in my mind that I was an American of Japanese ancestry—not a Japanese living in America" (HNHEB, 336). Tsukiyama's parents remained as the "Japanese living in America," on the other hand, he developed his own identity as "American of Japanese ancestry" with complete confidence as he represents in the quotation, "[t]here was no

doubt in my mind”. Born and raised in Kaimuki, Oahu Island, in 1920, Tsukiyama gained a formal schooling and a higher education in Hawaii. His four siblings and he attended Japanese-language school for an hour everyday for ten years, but Tsukiyama states his Japanese language abilities did not reach sufficient.

Regarding another Americanization movements among the Japanese American society, the “Speak English” movements were widespread even among the Japanese communities before the war. The “Speak American” campaign was initiated by Shigeo Yoshida, principal of Ala Moana School in Honolulu and an influential member of Emergency Service Committee, and he admonished that acquiring the English language is absolutely necessary as a means of communication for all Americans in their business and social relationships. Americanization was a key factor for Nisei individuals to be accepted by the American society, to gain equal opportunities and to succeed in their professions and life. It was natural that less light was spotted on the importance of the Japanese language education for Nisei children. Therefore, as seen in the case of Tsukiyama, one can understand the language barrier was also a factor to increase alienation from their homeland, Japan.

Propagation of Christianity among the Japanese Americans communities was another major influence upon the process of Nisei’s Americanization. Conrad

Tsukayama, a former member of 100th infantry battalion, describes his experience in relation to Christianity such as, “While the Buddhist temples served the youngsters in the plantation camps, the Community Christian Church became the center of activities for youngsters in Kailua. We became ‘Americanized’ through Boy Scout troops, YMCA (Young Men’s Christian Association) clubs, organized athletics, and other such recreational activities” (HNHEB, 14). Here, one can view the interrelated relations between Americanization and Christianity as Tsukayama explains that the youth of Nisei in his community in Kailua became Americanized through the activities organized by the Christian Churches. Christianity has been established as the state religion in the Hawaiian Islands since the Christian mission led by Rev. Hiram Bingham started to propagate the religion in 1820. Conversion to Christianity was greatly encouraged among the Japanese communities since it was regarded as a medium to accomplish Americanization by comprehending Americanism and democratic ideas. Thus, this situation enabled the Japanese missionary communities to cooperate with the American missionary organization and smooth away various difficulties. On the other side, Japanese Buddhism and Shintoism were criticized as the obstruction to the Japanese Americans’ Americanization and evangelization and gained less financial assistance from the non-Japanese business and political communities (Okahata 1964, 229).

The Nisei and the Second World War

The Pearl Harbor attack and the outbreak of the Pacific War greatly impacted on Nisei's lives and their perspectives to Japan. For the great majority of Nisei, it was the time of trials. In *Japanese Eyes American Heart*, Samuel Sasai, the former soldier of 442nd Regimental Combat Team, reflected his feelings of revulsion against Japan directly after the Pearl Harbor attack thus, "How I hated the Japs for bringing this upon us. We were having a hard enough time establishing ourselves in America, and now this. Would we ever be accepted in the land of our birth?" (HNHEB, 86). The quotation above represents the struggle of Nisei who lives within the two transnational borders between Japan and the United States. Expressing his fury at the Japanese army's attack on the Pearl Harbor, Sasai struggles to express loyalty to "the land of [his] birth". Then, the anti-Japanese sentiment was prevailed among the Hawaii's Nisei individuals especially after the Pearl Harbor Attack. Moreover, in *Hawaii's Japanese*, a Nisei college freshman elaborates a complex position of his identity as an American, thus:

In the eyes of Americans we are of the yellow race—members of its most unworthy branch. In the eyes of our relatives in Japan we are *America modori*, fit only to be laughed at for our mistakes in language and custom. For ourselves, we want to be Americans. Our ideals, our customs, our very modes of thinking are American; and our brothers, desperately eager to show that they are Americans, have volunteered as soldiers of the United States Armed Forces and have given up their lives. Yet, there still remain Americans who doubt our loyalty. What other ways are there to prove our worth? (Lind, 128).

The quotation above represents the Nisei's collective mentality as "American" by asserting, "For ourselves, we want to be Americans. Our ideals, our customs, our very modes of thinking are American". Different from their Issei parents, the Nisei's mentality as "American" simultaneously signifies resistance to their Japanese heritage since during the wartime period it could be an "obstruction" to prove their loyalty. Even after the war, there were some Nisei discharged soldiers who opposed to have the Shinto shrines to be opened, claiming Shintoism is the essence of Japanese spirit which bears a close resemblance to Fascism and Nazism (Maeda, 39). Thus, it is remarkable to view the Nisei's resistance to the Japanese heritage, culture, custom, and religion especially during the Second World War.

The Interview with the Yonsei Japanese American

The previous paragraphs explained the gaps between Isseis' and Niseis' perspectives on Shinto shrines over times. The Isseis viewed the Shinto shrines as emotional mainstay to survive the harsh lives at the plantations. Avoiding assimilation, the Issei attempted to remain as Japanese, thus the Shinto shrines were the important institutions for them to leave the traditional Japanese culture, customs, and their legacy. On the other hand, the Nisei emphasized "Americanization" as a key to achieve social and economic success, which their Issei parents could hardly accomplish due to the socio-racial hierarchy rooted in the Hawaiian society. Many Niseis lost interests in

learning anything related to Japanese language and culture. The tradition of the Shinto shrines was not an exception. One can also view the transformation of the significance of the Shinto shrines for the newer generations in the Japanese American community in the following paragraphs.

Little has been studied about Sansei or the new generation's perspectives on the Shinto shrines in Hawaii. Sansei and the new generation's socio-cultural backgrounds differ from those of Isseis and Niseis. It has been studied that the Sansei are more Americanized than the Nisei since most of the Nisei parents were not be able to speak Japanese and did not attempt to teach their children the Japanese language and culture. The increasing number of interracial marriage is another factor to make the Sansei have less sense of belonging to their native country of Japan. Narihiro Adachi points out the differences between the Nisei's assimilation and the Sansei's. The Nisei's assimilation was mainly generated from their desires to gain the middle class living standard and personal achievement. On the other side, the assimilation of the Sansei is scarcely related to ambition to advance in their career and social recognition. Having a strong sense of race, Sanseis have searched for a new ethnic identity and positioned themselves in the larger framework as "Asian Americans," rather than as "Japanese American". In

this manner, Adachi claims that Sansei has more detached from the Japanese culture and tradition than the Issei and the Nisei” (Adachi, 217).

In order to explore the present state of the new generations’ views upon Shintoism and the Shinto shrines, I conducted an interview with Vince. A. Morikawa, a grand child of Shigemaru Miyao (the former bishop at Hawaii Izumo Taisha), on December 10, 2011. I firstly met Morikawa when I was working as a volunteer staff at the Autumn Festival (*Aki-Matsuri*) in Hawaii Izumo Taisha on October, 2011. He was also a volunteer staff assisting in preparing a venue and a stage for the festival. Helping the kitchen staffs cooking the Japanese foods for the visitors, I had several opportunities to talk with some of the Japanese American volunteers including Morikawa. There were hardly any young Japanese American volunteer staffs seen at the festival but the majority of them were the middle-aged and the elderly Japanese Americans. In this respect, the interview with Morikawa would be worth analyzing the connections between the new generations and Hawaii Izumo Taisha, especially the functions of the Shinto shrines among the young Japanese Americans.

Before proceeding to the interview, this paragraph describes the interviewee’s general backgrounds. Vince Morikawa is a fourth-generation Japanese American who was born and raised in Honokaa, the Hawaii Island. Morikawa enjoyed the rural life at

his hometown, which was about sixty miles away from the biggest town, Hilo. Both of his parents were school teachers in Waimea. Morikawa was not familiar with Shintoism but his family used to go to a Buddhist temple in Hawaii Island. In 1970, his family moved to Oahu to assist their grandparents in managing the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine. Then in 1986, Morikawa received a Bachelor of Arts Degree in Communication from the University of Hawaii at Manoa. According to Morikawa, the existence of Hawaii Izumo Taisha meant different from many of his Japanese American friends and peers. Since Morikawa's family has been directly committed in the management of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha, he assisted his family in preparing for the events and cleaning up the precincts of the shrine.

Morikawa enlisted in the Army in 1981 as an infantryman and attended Basic Combat Training at Fort Benning, Georgia and was commissioned a 2LT in the Quartermaster Corps through the Army Reserve Officers' Training Corps. He retired from active duty in 2006. Regarding the environment of working places, Morikawa referred to the omnipresence of Christian churches in the American military facilities such as:

VM: "Many places we have been, in the most military installations in the bases, they had chapels and churches. But they don't offer Shinto religion or even Buddhism. You won't find them in Virginia, Pennsylvania, Virginia, or Kansas or many places we have been. It's whether too far or simply they don't have.

The only thing they had was a Buddhist chaplain per se. A very few. (...) So like I told you I enjoyed our time spending in Japan and in Okinawa. So look, there is Futenma Jingu. It's cool, you know. So, for us, there was a very heart-warming thing for feeling. I think my children felt the same way. It's happy to be able to live near a lot more our culture (Morikawa, Personal Interview [2]).

In the quotation above, Morikawa represents his experience of re-acknowledging the sense of belonging to Japanese culture and religion throughout his new posts inside and outside the United States. The presence of the Japanese religious institutions was scarce inside the American military bases thus Morikawa expresses his nostalgic feeling toward the Japanese religious foundations such as “a very heart-warming thing for feeling.” Morikawa continues to explain the significance of the Shinto shrines in Hawaii as below:

Besides teaching of Shintoism, I think Shrine represents Japanese here. It's a symbol of our heritage, our culture. Even when I was a child, I remember I stood in front of the shrine and felt awe, you know. You see the Torii gate, and the shrine and you feel good. It's humbling and yet it makes you proud to be Japanese American. For me, it also represents more than being Japanese American, to me, my ancestors. And it makes you think about what they sacrificed, so that we have better life. We have more freedom and opportunities. (Morikawa, Personal Interview [3]).

Based on the interview with Morikawa, the Shinto shrines in Hawaii have played an important role in functioning as space that Japanese Americans perpetuate their ethnic roots, culture, tradition, and the connection with the ancestors. Different from the Issei's period, one can view that the Shinto shrines today no longer serve as “a mental shelter” that Japanese Americans could gain emotional healing to overcome adverse

circumstances in the host country, however, the shrines function as entities which provide the Japanese Americans an opportunity to reconfirm their cultural roots and identity as Japanese American. Another remarkable point is that Morikawa stresses the aspect of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's role in maintaining cultural and ancestral roots, instead of the religious part. By stating "besides teaching of Shintoism" in the quotation, he also conveys uncertainty of Japanese Americans' practice in Shintoism. In

Japanese Religion Across the Sea—Inside and Outside of the Japanese American

Society, Nobutaka Inoue points out when certain ethnic group immigrates abroad, an ethnic religion can often serve as a symbolization of one's "ethnic identity." For the Japanese Americans' case, Inoue explains, the Japanese religions provide an opportunity for the Japanese American individuals to reconfirm their ethnic identities and roots. Inoue's argument here also can be applied to Morikawa's interview as he mentions that the Shinto shrines are "symbol of our heritage and culture" and they make the Japanese Americans "proud to be Japanese Americans."

Hatsumoude (The New Year's Visit) and the Hawaii Izumo Taisha Shrine Today

The New Year's visit to a Shinto shrine is one of the most significant parts of the Shinto Shrine's rituals in Japan. The custom embodies both "Japanese" and "Shinto" practices since these two factors are inseparably interwoven with Shinto rituals.

Similarly to the other Shinto shrines on the Hawaiian Islands, the Izumo Taishakyo

Mission of Hawaii has also provided the New Year's events to Hawaiian residents since its establishment in 1906. *Hatsumoude* and the New Year's events serve as a keystone to understand the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's functions in today's Japanese American community. This paragraph aims to examine the present situation of the New Year's events and its roles among the Japanese Americans, particularly by observing the two different spheres of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and the visitors.

First, Izumo Taisha Newsletter explains the purpose of the New Year's visit is "to wipe your personal slate clean with a renewed promise of hope and well-being from the start of the New Year. For an individual and family, it is the prayer and hope for personal and family health and well-being, prosperity and good relationship with others. For a business-person, it is the hope for a prosperous year with great customer satisfaction" (Izumo Taisha Newsletter Spring 2012). Then, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's newsletters emphasize "openness" for visitors which are not limited to any disparity in particular generation, culture, race, ethnicity, and nationality, along with religious or non-religious boundary. On the newsletter of Spring 2012, it asserts thus, "New Year's visit is for everyone. Even those who are not really religious attend every year. But when they visit the shrine with their family, wash their hands and receive the assistant priest's blessing while their hands are drawn together and head bowed, for that moment,

the prayerful person is surely blessed” (Izumo Taisha Newsletter Spring 2011).

Moreover, Izumo Taisha Newsletter Spring 2005 also stresses “inclusiveness” of Shintoism such as, “Although New Year’s visit to the Shrine is religious in nature, it is also an integral part of the Japanese culture. Buddhist and Christian friends come for blessing in harmony. Our far eastern religions are ‘inclusive,’ not ‘exclusive’” (Izumo Taisha Newsletter 2005). In the interview with Vince A. Morikawa, he describes the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine’s visitors for *Hatsumoude* (the New Year’s visit) by stating:

That’s not too uncommon in Hawaii. You find people who are Buddhist still go to Shinto shrines. You may also find people who are Christian still go to shrines. I think you will see, during the New Year’s Day, they lined up at the shrine for the New Year’s blessings. Many of them are not Shinto. But they come to Izumo Taisha Shrine anyways. At least once a year. I think, for people in Hawaii, it’s good lucks to do this. You have many businesses here, they may not be practicing Shinto, but they are better come to get the business bless, better call for health bless. You are better call to get the car or boat blessed (Morikawa, Personal Interview [3]).

Morikawa leaves the intriguing remark on a wide range of the visitors’ religions which includes a monotheistic religion such as Christianity. He also points out the main visitor stratum is composed of business-related individuals who wish for success in business through visiting a shrine.

In order to gain a further understanding of the current situation of *Hatsumoude* at the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine, I conducted a participant observation at the Hawaii

Izumo Taisha shrine on the first and the second days of January, 2012. On each day from noon to six o'clock in the evening, I participated in the New Year's events as a volunteer shrine assistant serving *omiki* (blessed *sake*) to the visitors at the shrine. When I started my shift at noon, there had been already a long line of visitors continued to the bridge along Nu'uanu River and the precinct of the shrine was crammed with a continuous flow of worshipers. *Taiko* drum was constantly played to conduct the ritual services inside the main shrine hall. Moreover, in front of the shrine structure, there were two priest assistants providing the blessing services to visitors. *Hatsumoude* and the New Year's blessing services were mainly managed by the officers and directors, *Fujinkai* (the Women's auxiliary) and the family of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine. There were also approximately ten other volunteer members outside the shrine assisting in management of the New Year's event, serving *omiki* or offering visitors *omamori* (amulets) for sale or packing amulets into bags. The majority of the volunteers were the female Japanese nationals in the average age of thirty-five, including those who were long-stay tourists and students at the Hawaii Pacific University and at language schools in Waikiki. Most of them obtained the information of a volunteer opportunity at the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine through a bulletin board posted by Yasuko Amano (a priestess) on Social Networking Services on the Internet.

The visitors at the shrine went through the following steps to complete a New year's visit: (1) wash hands at the entrance nearby the *torii* (gateway), (2) approach the main shrine below the bell and ring the bell by pulling the lanyard bell, (3) bow twice, clap the hand four times, and bow once again in prayer while the priest waves the wooden wand with white purification papers, (4) walk down the stairs and purchase *omamori* at the booths if they wanted. Inside the main shrine, the private blessing services were also offered for those who made appointments in advance. The core stratum of visitors was composed of family groups, married or unmarried couples, and friend groups in a wide range of ages. While engaging in a volunteer work, I realized the visitors were classified into four groups, that is: (1) the Japanese tourists, (2) the local Japanese Americans, (3) the local non-Japanese Americans, and (4) a group or a couple of the Japanese (-American) and the non-Japanese individuals (either of them had a Japanese heritage). The elder group of visitors seemed more religious to conduct a series of procedures to worship at the shrine as I observed some of them deeply bowed in front of the *Torii* gate. On the other hand, the younger group of both the Japanese native and the Japanese American visitors comparatively appeared to be visiting a shrine as a part of tourist attractions or simply as a cultural custom. Particularly, the recent Japanese variety TV show entitled "Moya Moya Summers (English title:

Complicated Summers)” can be considered as one of the primary factors to attract the young Japanese visitors at the Izumo shrine. The TV show has been broadcasted by TV Tokyo since 2007 and Bishop Daiya Amano was introduced with an informal name as “Nushikan-san” and popularly known among the young viewers. During my volunteer service, I was often asked by the young visitors whether or not Bishop Daiya Amano was on his duty at the shrine.

Regarding *omamori* (amulets), there were various *omamori* for different purposes, such as general protection, good business, education, traffic safety, travel, good match in marriage, pregnancy, sports, and even a medal for animals. The visitors selected each amulet for their own purposes and prayers. For instance, during my volunteer service, a female visitor in her middle forties even asked me if she could purchase *omamori* for a golf match. There were other talismans sold at the booth inside the shrine as followings: *ofuda* (a strip of paper often considered to protect the home and office) and *hamaya* (an arrow for averting evil), and *emma* (a wooden board on which the wishes are written. These amulets were distributed with an Izumo Taisha Newsletter, *Osenmai* (blessed rice), and a Izumo Taisha calendar. In this manner, numerous visitors purchased good-luck charms for their personal wishes.

In closing, as Takakazu Maeda and Juntaka Inoue indicated in the previous studies, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's adjustment to Hawaiian society was observed through its adopting English language to an announcement over a shrine system, the New Year's blessing services conducted in both English and Japanese, published materials in English including leaflets, calendars, and newsletter for distribution. Moreover, even on Izumo Taisha Newsletter, "openness" and "inclusiveness" were frequently repeated as the key terms to accept visitors with different backgrounds of race, ethnicity, nationality, and religion. Thus, as Maeda claims in his book, one can understand the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's function as "ethnic church" (Maeda 1999) which provides access to both Japanese or non-Japanese visitors. On *Centennial Anniversary Book*, it represents the shrine's function for the Japanese volunteer students thus, "For about two decades, Japanese students from UH and other colleges have volunteered to assist in the New Year's activities. The shrine has provided a "home" atmosphere for these students during the time" (Miyao 2006, 105). The Izumo shrine also offered the Japanese students space where they feel a "home" in Hawaii. It differs from the shrine's role as "ethnic church." Here, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine also emphasizes a connection with the homeland of Japan. Moreover, a similar case was viewed among the Japanese tourists at the New Year's visit. *Hatsumoude* event at the Hawaii Izumo

Taisha shrine provides the Japanese tourists a opportunity to discover ties between Hawaii and Japan. During participant observation, numerous Japanese tourists left comments that they did not know about the presence of the Izumo Taisha shrine in Hawaii.

The Monthly Worship Service at the Hawaii Izumo Taisha

At the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine, the monthly worship service has been provided on the tenth of every month, except for the annual Fall Festival or *Aki Matsuri* on October. Especially, on the tenth of January, lucky number drawings are held after the regular worship service. There is no weekly Sunday service as in the Christian tradition, however, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine offers the private blessing services for individuals, families, and companies during the weekends. In order to provide a further research for Hawaii Izumo Taisha's ritual service for the community, I conducted participant observation throughout four monthly services performed between October in 2011 and January in 2012. The following observation provides the current situations of the range of the visitors, the management system of the ritual service, and the interactions between the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and surrounding communities.

First, the monthly worship service was started inside the main shrine building from seven to eight o'clock in the evening. There were approximately 15 visitors at the worship service and the majority of the worshipers were composed of the elder

members from women's auxiliary and the operating committee. However, there were also three Japanese visitors, two female Chinese and Hong Kongite visitors, sometimes two South Korean women and one Russian woman as the occasional visitors. The program was started with Bishop Daiya Amano's reciting *norito* (composed prayers) and waving the wooden wand with zigzag white paper streamers (*Haraigushi* or *Gohei*) over the bowed head of the worshippers as purification and blessing for protection. A few short prayers from the Prayer Book were repeated by the worshipers. According to Centennial Anniversary Book, the Prayer Book was compiled in 1996 with bilingual entries, that is; the basic prayers were written in Japanese with the Japanese pronunciation romanized into English (Miyao 2006, 106). Then, two visitors present for the ritual service offered *Tamagushi* (banyan branch) at the altar. After reciting "Teaching of Izumo Taisha," Bishop Daiya Amano and Richard Miyao provided sermons, comments, and announcements of the shrine activities. Then, *Omiki* (blessed *sake*) was served for every worshiper, along with paper bags of snacks. On the tenth of December, there was a purification ceremony using *Katashiro* (a paper doll) in the middle of the worship. *Katashiros* were distributed to the visitors and Bishop Amano asked them to breathe on it and touch their own bodies with *Katashiro*. The whole series of movements are considered as purification of a spirit. Then, Bishop Amano

collected all the *Katashiro* paper dolls and washed the paper dolls out to the Nu’uanu River.

After the ritual, a friendship reception was offered to the visitors, with numerous refreshments and home-made meals at the shrine office. It was distinct that the young Japanese Americans were not seen at the ceremony and the reception, while several young Japanese students and tourists were involved in. Regarding the range of the visitors’ ethnicity, Priestess Yasuko Amano mentioned that several European-Americans, such as Jewish business persons, occasionally visit the shrine to participate in a private service and a blessing. In the conversation with Priestess Amano, she also stated that several non-Japanese visitors, mainly business-related individuals, come to the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine either to attend in a purification ceremony or to obtain amulets and *Ofuda* (a talisman consisted of a thin strip of wood wrapped in a white paper) for good lucks. While the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine has several multiethnic visitors at times, they have been facing a challenge to overcome the public misconception of Shinto just as a “good luck” religion. According to a feature article of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine’s ninetieth anniversary on the Hawaii Herald on October 4, 1996, it writes thus, ““The misunderstanding is that everything is good luck, like during New Years or for a blessing..., says Richard. ‘But that’s like saying a

crucifix that a Christian wears is a good luck charm. Whereas it has a far greater, different meaning. (...) ‘We’d like to emphasize the religious aspect more, just as much as the Christian church would like to emphasize the birth of Christ over the gift giving element of Christmas’” (The Hawaii Herald October 4 1996, A10-11). Here, it is clear that Shintoism and the Shinto shrines in Hawaii are frequently misperceived as a symbolized entity to wish for good lucks by the locals. With a subhead “Getting Beyond ‘Good Luck,’” the quotation of the article above displays the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine’s struggles to propagate the Shinto faith to individuals in Hawaii today.

In “The Development of Missions of Japanese Religious Groups in Modern and Contemporary Hawai’i and ‘Japan’ as the Homeland,” the sociologist Norihito Takahashi’s study covers the Japanese American religions in Hawaii from the nineteenth century to the present. His research reveals that the recent Japanese American community shared the sense of “homelessness” and thus fostered “nostalgia mentality” to perceive the Japanese religious institutions. Moreover, according to Takahashi, the majority of the Japanese religious foundations such as the Buddhist organizations have played a significant role in the Japanese Americans’ cherishing “nostalgia mentality,” while it has been difficult to view in the minority group of the Japanese American religions, such as Shinto shrine institutions. Even through my participant observation, it

was perceived that the majority of the visitors considered the Hawaii Izumo Shrine as a religion mainly for wishing “good lucks,” not for sharing “nostalgia mentality” among the Japanese American community.

The Youth Shinto Group at the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii

The Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii has faced its transition of the generation especially since there was not a single Issei on the board of directors. On a brochure of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii published in 1997, Richard T. Miyao emphasizes the importance of the youth Shinto group thus, “ In this changing world, all of us, including the younger generations, hold the key to the survival of the Shrine” (Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, 1997). On the other hand, Izumo Taisha Newsletter (Fall 2007) expresses its apprehension of losing the young worshipers such as, “There is a perception that the younger generations are generally not as enthusiastic in believing and providing service for the churches. There may be other priorities and interests in mind” (Izumo Taisha Newsletter, Fall 2007). On an interview with Dale Richeson in 1961 in a *Honolulu Star-Bulletin* article entitled, “Is Long Fight to Save Shrine Doomed?,” Richeson stated that, “To many of Hawaii’s Japanese, the loss (of the Izumo shrine) will be a small one, for the present trend among many young Japanese is to grasp the new Western culture and the devil to the old. To them the

shrines of Kukui are little more than a ‘bunch of termite-eaten old building’” (The Hawaii Herald, 1996).

On the leaflet for Young Shinto Membership, it inserts an invitation for young membership thus, “As the shrine celebrates 105 years in Hawaii, the young Shinto Group at the Izumo Taishakyo Mission is looking to the future. Our group was founded to organize young people who are interested in the Shinto Religion and to provide an avenue for them to become genuinely involved and more fully understand and appreciate the Shinto religion. (...) Currently, we are looking for young men and women between the ages of 18 and 45 to join our shrine fellowship group” (Young Shinto Membership Info Form, 2011). With a subtitle “Generational Changes But There is Hope,” Izumo Taisha Newsletter also describes volunteer work conducted by the University of Hawaii Mortar Board by stating, “A few years ago, members of the University of Hawaii Mortar Board, a national honor society, approached the Hawaii Izumo Taisha to do volunteer work. The society’s motto is to serve as leaders, and its goal is to complete 50 service projects in a year. (...) Among the best members are those who cooperate fully and willingly in support of the leaders and the mission. Volunteers need not be members.” (Izumo Taisha Newsletter, Fall 2007).

Moreover, there are several remarks on the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's publications which one can view the shrine's attempts to hold the younger fellowships on the Japanese religion market in Hawaii. For instance, Albert Kobayashi, one of the board members at the shrine, admits that the membership has been less active as they get older thus "We're (the shrine) looking especially where we can find younger directors, the aggressive one" (The Hawaii Herald, October 4, 1996). Kobayashi also mentions a plan that the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine would provide a recreation facility to teach *Kendo* and *Judo* to the youth. The leaflet of Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii also writes such as, "Today, there is a multi-purpose social hall where religious, social, cultural, sports and other meetings, gatherings and classes are held. All, especially the young people, will be able to participate more fully in the direct and indirect activities of the Shrine" (Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii, 1997).

Chapter 4

OKINAWAN AMERICANS AND THE SHINTO SHRINES

No matter how Japanized (or ‘Yamotonized’) it may outwardly appear now, Okinawa still maintains its non-Yamato cultural identity; and, unlike the insular, unaccommodating and emperor focused culture of the rest of Japan, it is blessed with a richness and diversity peculiar to peripheral cultures. Its people possess openness to the world than comes from knowing the meaning of relative values—Kenzaburo Ōe (1995).

Much has been written about the Japanese American experience and the history of the Shinto Shrines in Hawaii. In previous studies, however, Okinawan Americans were rarely touched upon as a subject of investigation, but were only referred to collectively as part of the “Japanese American” community. Considering the Okinawans’ distinct culture, religion, customs, and socio-historical backgrounds with its strong influences from China, Korea, and Southeast Asia, it is questionable that the previous scholarship has incorporated the Okinawan American experiences into the larger Japanese American history. Even in respect of institutional structures, Okinawan Studies has typically functioned as a subset of Japanese Studies, especially having less light spotted on Okinawans’ modern diaspora.

In fact, differentiation between the two studies has been notable in recent Japanese American scholarship, as started in the establishment of Okinawan Studies by Fuyū Iha in 1911, as well as seen in emergence of numerous scholars in a variety of

disciplines throughout the twentieth century and continuing today. For instance, among North American- or European-based researchers, some of the classic works of scholarship can be cited as anthropologist William P. Lebra's book *Okinawan Religion: Belief, Ritual, and Social Structure* in 1966, Josef Kreiner's *Sources of Ryūkyūan History and Culture* in 1966, archeologist Richard Pearson's 1969 book, *Archaeology of the Ryukyu Islands: A Regional Chronology from 3000 B.C. to the Historic Period*, and Patrick Beillevaire's wide-ranging work on modern Okinawan identity in such essays as "Assimilation from within, appropriation from without: the folklore-studies and ethnology of Ryukyu/Okinawa," (1999) and *Ryukyu Studies Since 1854: Western Encounter, Part 2* (2003). Another remarkable instance of Okinawan Studies' involvement can be seen in the first center on Okinawan Studies outside Japan, the Center for Okinawan Studies (COS) at the University of Hawaii at Manoa founded on July 1, 2008.

Thus, the Okinawan Americans' perspectives on the Shinto Shrines in Hawaii should be separately examined from the Japanese Americans' because both groups embrace different cultural and historical contexts. Therefore, this chapter aims to analyze Okinawan Americans' changing perspectives on the Shinto Shrines over time

and to diversify the discourse over Japanese Americans' experiences and the Shinto shrines.

The Historical Overview of the Okinawan Immigrants

Before exploring the Okinawan Americans' perspectives to Shinto shrines in Hawaii, this paragraph covers the historical overview to provide a better understanding of the different socio-historical backgrounds of the Okinawan Americans in Hawaii. The people of the Ryukyu Island had their own king and government.

According to the Chinese accounts, the earliest documentation of Okinawan history begins in the twelfth century, with the appearance of a ruler called Shunten (ca. A.D. 1187-1237). Some sources claim that Tenson's dynasty lasted for twenty-five generations and supposedly extended over a period of nearly eighteen thousand years.

During this protohistoric period, the island was divided between a number of independent chieftains or feudal lords, called *Aji*, each of whom ruled a small territory with a group of armed followers (Lebra, 96). By the early fourteenth century, these territories had integrated into three feudal states--Hokuzan, Chuzan, and Nanzan. Today, they are known as northern (Kunigami), central (Nakagami), and southern (Shimajiri) regions. In 1429, the northern sovereign Shō Hashi achieved political unification and surpassed all further internal warfare; it was a transitional period that led to the establishment of the Ryukyu Kingdom.

The Ryukyu Kingdom remained a small independent nation, concentrating most of its domains on the Ryukyu archipelago, including Amami archipelago and Sakishima archipelago when at its height of prosperity. As a dependent of China, the Ryukyu Kingdom made regular tribute payment to China since the Yuan dynasty attempted and failed to conquer the kingdom during the last decade of the thirteenth century.

Notwithstanding the subordinate relationship with China, no administrative control was exercised over the islands, and China's sovereignty remained entirely ostensible. Then, by 1609, the Ryukyu Kingdom came under the control of the Satsuma clan of Japan.

Nevertheless, the Ryukyu Kingdom retained trade relations with China and the outside world. With the Meiji Restoration in 1871, Okinawa officially became a prefecture of Japan. The Japanese education system was introduced to Okinawa in 1880, after the Meiji government abolished feudal domains and established prefectures.

Twenty-nine years after the Meiji Restoration, the first group of the Okinawan immigrants came to Hawaii. Kyuzo Toyama, known as the Father of Immigration, promoted a project to send young individuals overseas in order to find better business opportunities, as well as to improve their living conditions and to earn a better life. Toyama made numerous requests to the Meiji government to allow all of the Okinawans to emigrate to many places in the world, including Hawaii, North America, Canada,

South and Central America, and the many islands of Micronesia. Twenty-five thousand of the Okinawans immigrated to the Hawaiian islands between 1900 and 1924 (Matsukawa 2011, 134).

Since the Okinawan immigration group came 15 years later than the first Japanese contract laborers, the Japanese immigrants had already established their own community, with their own social organization, customs, and culture as the prevailing standards of life. The immigrants from Okinawa prefecture were both newcomers to this community, as well as isolated from it; their different languages and customs did not fit in with the mainstream lifestyle of the Japanese, and they were looked down upon as a strange and inferior group of people. During the immigration period, Japanese imperialism and colonialism exercised in their overseas territories also affected the racial hierarchy in the Okinawan diaspora. For instance, Nakasone remarks that in Micronesia, the racial hierarchy imposed by the Japanese colonizers—Japanese at the top, Okinawans and Koreans in the middle, and indigenous Chamorros and Yapese at the bottom (Nakasone, 19). The growing empire's newly subjugated people were often referred to "*Seiban*," or "aborigines," in such countries as Korea and Taiwan. The Okinawans were not an exception. They were referred to as "the other Japanese" by the mainland Japanese in Hawaii. The Okinawans language, culture, and religion were

frequently labeled as “uncivilized” and “irrational” that were required to be modernized, which meant to become “Japanese” (Nakasone 2002, 18). Then, although the implication of Okinawan culture and religion as “uncivilized” or “irrational” are simply not theoretical, what were the distinct characters of the Okinawan indigenous religion?

The next paragraph elaborates the Okinawan indigenous religion.

The Okinawan Peoples and *Kami*

The Okinawan people have developed their own indigenous religion and religious traditions and customs that differ from Japanese religions such as Buddhism and Shintoism. In previous studies conducted before World War II, Kunio Yanagida, Nobuo Origuchi, and Fuyu Iha, the premier scholars specializing in Okinawan folklore and religion, examined Okinawan gods and their places of worship. These three scholars created the canon for future Okinawan folklore studies. In *Okinawan Religion Belief, Ritual, and Social Structure*, William P. Lebra presents distinguishing features of the Okinawan religion and its concept of *kami* (God), comparing the Japanese *kami* and the other religions’ concept of God as shown below:

For the Okinawan, the whole of the universe, animate and inanimate, is occupied by myriads of indwelling spirits, the most important being the *kami*. These appear markedly similar to the Japanese ‘kami’ in most respects, although the Okinawan *kami* seem less personalized and even more vague than those of the Japanese pantheon. (...) They are possessed of superhuman and supernatural powers, sanctity is attached to them, and rituals are performed in their behalf. They bear little resemblance to the Western-Graeco-Roman or Judaeo-Christian

concept of God. While not distinctly anthropomorphized, they are discrete entities or spirits capable of independent action; consequently, I do not view them as being predominantly animatistic, mana-like forces. (Lebra 1996, 21).

Here, Lebra points out that the Okinawans' polytheistic worldview which believes that "the whole of the universe, animate and inanimate, is occupied by myriads of indwelling spirits". The most distinctive character of the Okinawan gods is seen in their vague quality of less personification when compared with the Japanese gods. However, the Okinawan gods are not completely animatistic as *mana* in the Polynesian religions.

Moreover, for the systematic description, Lebra classifies Okinawan *kami* into five groups; the first category is designated as the heaven and natural phenomena group. This group includes *ting nu kami* (heaven *kami*, often vaguely regarded as supreme), *unjami* (sea *kami*), *tiida-gami* (sun *kami*), *miji-gami* (water *kami*) and many others. The second category is related to the place or location *kami*; *kaa nukami* (well *kami*), *fī nu kami* (fire *kami*), *fuuru-gami* (bath *kami*), *taa nu kami* (paddy *kami*), and *yashichi-gami* (house-lot *kami*). The third category of deities has attached to occupation or status: *fuuchi nu kami* (bellows *kami*), *funi nu kami* (boat *kami*), *sheeku nu kami* (carpenter or woodworker *kami*), *nuru-gami* (the *kami* of the village priestess), etc. According to Lebra's research, a *kami* for the net-maker does not exist anymore since the net-making specialists have disappeared and Japanese manufactured nets have replaced the traditional ones. The ancestral spirits, *futuki* (*kami* on low rank) comprise the fourth

category. The *fustuki* provides the significant role to bridge between their living descendants and the supernatural. The last category includes *kaminchu* (*kami* persons), living persons regarded as possessed of *kami* spirit. In *Kami to Mura* (1968) written by Yashu Nakamatsu, the God of nature such as sea gods, sun gods, water gods, and rain gods are especially worshiped by the Okinawans with the feelings of respect and reverence since these gods provide them contradictable influences in their lives, in other words, punishment and rewards, such as material and spiritual prosperity and natural disasters.

In conclusion, Okinawan religious belief can be concluded as animistic that perceives all things, animate and inanimate, are possessed of indwelling spirits. According to Lebra, the Okinawan religion is classified as “tribal” since membership is acquired by birth or residence, not by the conviction or conversion (Lebra 1996, 45). In this respect, the religion has never been a proselytizing nor exportable system. It is also nonexclusive to the extent since the evidence is remained that their borrowing from outside, although it does not imply that they blindly selected outside religious influences. Ambiguity of the Okinawan religion is also showed in their deficiency of sacred texts and a rationalized theology. Moreover, the supernatural rewards and punishments are highly contingent on the reciprocal relations with the Okinawans.

Religious Practices

Religious practices serve as means to translate belief into action, which possibly provide individuals opportunities to reflect upon the major areas of concern and anxiety, along with the conditions of life and its significance. In Okinawan religion, religious practices are concerned to have a causal relationship with supernatural punishments and rewards, based on the idea that all manifestations of misfortune are affiliated with the supernatural causation. Therefore, it is not surprising that religious practices emphasize apology, placation, and propitiation, or that rewards are meant to obtain through religious practices (Lebra 1996, 46). Lebra stresses the observance of ritual obligations has been the keystone of Okinawan religion; namely, it is the matter of performance. For the disinterested observers, it may seem as a relatively perfunctory, conventionalized way of practicing religious rituals. Proper performance is of itself attached great importance in the religion, whether in religious or in social contexts, there is a focus of attention to the external details of performance.

The use of the lunar calendar (the Chinese calendar) is one of the remarkable instances that the Okinawans conduct their religious practices on a regular basis. Although the Gregorian calendar has been adapted as the official calendar in Okinawa since the early years of Japanese administration, the Chinese lunar calendar serves as the farmer's guide in regulating the agricultural cycle, as the ceremonial calendar, and

as the basis for a complex of beliefs and practices relating to the individual's personal fortune (Lebra 1996, 47). In this manner, the Chinese calendar significantly functions for the Okinawans' religious life and livelihood.

Finally, the presence of shaman or *yuta* has played an integral part in the Okinawan religious scene and ritual services. According to Lebra, the word *yuta* derives the verb *yuyung*, meaning "to tremble," "to shake," or "to rock to and fro." (Lebra 1997, 84). Among the Okinawan community, *yuta* are believed to be selected by the *kami* (God). Thus, the *yuta* are regarded to endowed with preternatural powers of seeing, hearing, and possession, and commonly called upon when clienteles in misfortunate circumstances need personal consultation or spiritual guidance. In Okinawa, Shamanism has remained predominantly associated with females, although a small number of male shamans can be discovered. Based on the Lebra's research, many remarked that male shamans tend to be *wikiga-winagu* [male-femals, i.e., homosexuals] or more deviant than their female counterparts, but no cases of transvestism or homosexuality were found in Lebra's investigations. Shamans are discovered in all areas of the Okinawan Islands, but they are more predominantly concentrated in the urban areas. During the eighteenth century, the Japanese government attempted to counteract the influence of the *yuta*, then in 1736, the practice of shamanism was banned. Okinawan Shamanism

was constantly condemned by the government and similar policies were later enacted by the Japanese, but it has been thriving in the Okinawans' society even today.

The Okinawans in Hawaii and the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii

Among the seven existing Shinto shrines (over sixty shrines when included the extinct ones) on the Hawaiian Islands, each shrine enshrines an *Ujigami*, a local tutelary, from each immigrant's prefecture in homeland. For instance, Hawaii Konpira Shrine (Oahu Island) has enshrined the altars from Shirasaki Hachiman-Gu and Ōtaki Shrine in Yamaguchi Prefecture since 1930, so has Hilo-Daijingū (Hawaii Island) enshrined the gods from Katō Shrine in Kumamoto Prefecture (Maeda 1999, 7-13). Hawaii Izumo Tiahsha has enshrined the Gurdian Kami (Deity, God) of Okinawa in the right altar along with the other altars as Ebisu, Inari, and Waianae-*Ujigami*. Okuninushi-no-Okami, the Primary God of Izumo Taisha is enshrined in the center altar of the shrine and the ancestral altar (the deceased ancestors' spirits) has been enshrined in the left altar.

On April 15, 1941, the late Bishop Shigemaru Miyao and his family departed for a two-month business and family trip to Japan. The main purpose of the trip was to discuss over the shrine's future prospects and issues with the head of Izumo Taishakyo at the Grand Shrine in Shimane-ken, Japan, as well as visiting Okinawa to receive "apportioned" Divine Spirits of Naminoue-Gu (shrine), and Futenma-Gu, Okinawa Shrine (Miyao 2006, 80). The Miyao family also traveled around Tokyo, Kobe,

Fukuoka, and Tsushima (Nagasaki), however, due to the political tension between the U.S. and Japan, they were prevented from returning to Hawaii and forced to stay in Japan until November 1, 1941. During the extended stay in Japan, the late Bishop Miyao was able to visit his sister in Manchuria and to make an inspection of religious situation in Korean Peninsula (Maeda 1999, 173).

Here, Izumo Taisha Newsletter Spring 2012 explains that the late Bishop Shigemaru Miyao visited Okinawa “[s]ince many Okinawan people in Hawaii worshiped at our shrine, he [the late Bishop Shigemaru Miyao] enshrined the Okinawan Kami at Hawaii Izumo Taisha.” The similar description is also seen in *Centennial Anniversary Saga of a Church in Hawaii* written by Richar Miyao thus, “[d]ue to many Okinawan membership in the Izumo Taishakyo of Hawaii, he [the late Bishop Shigemaru Miyao] took a special trip to Okinawa to bring back the shrine (or the spiritual body) of Naminoue-Gu to be placed in the right altar of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha Shrine” (Miyao 2006, 81). However, different from the two sources above, Takakazu Maeda explains the late Bishop Miyao’s visit in Okinawa from the shrine management’s perspectives such as, “[t]he late Bishop Shigemaru Miyao visited Okinawa to enshrine the *Ujigami* (the local guardian deity) of Naminoue-Gu and Futenma Shrine together with the primary Deity of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha Shrine.

The solidarity of the Okinawan community appealed to the Hawaii Izumo Taisha's management to gain more visitors to the shrine for the future. In order to strengthen a management foundation of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha Shrine, the officers and directors felt a need to bring over the Okinawans visitors to the shrine" (Maeda 1999, 173-174).

In the main island of Okinawa, there are nine major shrines including Asato-Hachiman Shrine (Naha City), Okino-Gu (Naha City), Ameku-Gu (Naha City), Shikina-Gu (Naha City), Sueyoshi-Gu (Naha City), Naminoue-Gu (Naha City), Futenma-Gu (Ginowan City), and Kin-Gu (Kin Town). Particularly, Naminoue-Gu, Futenma-Gu, and Okinawa Shrine are regarded as shrines for nobles in the Kingdom of Ryukyu Islands. Naminoue-Gu (Naha City) and Futenma-Gu (Ginowan City) have enshrined Kumano-no-Kami, the Gardian Kami (God) of Okinawa, which has been believed to reside in the ocean in an ancient time. Okinawa Shrine was built on a hill near Shuri Castle in Naha City in 1925. The shrine has enshrined the successive kinds of the Ryukyu Islands. The reasons why the late Bishop Miyao selected these three particular shrines among the other shrines are not clearly elaborated in the primary and secondary sources above. However, it is obvious that the three shrines have distinguishing traits compared with the other six shrines. For instance, on Izumo Taisha Newsletter Spring 2011, it explains that the Naminoue-shrine is "one of the most famous shrines in

Okinawa” and Futenma-Gu is “well-known for the large cave located behind the shrine structure.” Name recognition and uniqueness of the three shrines in Okinawa might be considered as helpful to appeal to the Okinawan Americans’ interests in the Hawaii Izumo Taisha Shrine.

The Okinawans--Double Minority within a Double Diaspora

Exploring the Okinawan-*Naichi* relationship will serve as a keystone to understand the Okinawans’ position as a double minority within the Okinawan diaspora. The Okinawans were often viewed as “the other Japanese” by the mainland Japanese in any countries they immigrated into. For instance, the Okinawans have been referred to as “‘the other Japanese’ in Mindanao, ‘*otro Japones*’ in Peru, ‘*Japan-pake*’ in Hawaii (by mainland Japanese), and ‘*Japanese-kanaka*’ in Micronesia” (Arakaki 2002, 37). The identity of the Okinawan diaspora has been constantly unstable and fluent, as they were often represented “both Japanese and non-Japanese” (Arakaki 2002, 37). Then, how did the Okinawans’ state of a double minority influence upon their perspectives to the hegemony of Japanese culture, especially Shinto traditions? In order to gain a better understanding of the Okinawans’ situation as double minorities, this paragraph aims to examine the Okinawan-*Naichi* relationship constructed under the multiethnic society of Hawaii.

First of all, before the Okinawan individuals immigrated into Hawaii in 1900, numerous assimilation policies had just been implemented to the Okinawan society between 1872 and 1903. The Meiji government initiated a series of measures to eliminate “uncivilized” Okinawan customs including their language and their ‘irrational’ shamanistic spiritual practices and modernize the newly acquired territory (Nakasone 2002, 18). During the first two decades, the most significant changes imposed by the new administration were the abolishment of the old class system and the curtailment of upper-class pensions. With forcible dethrone of the last Okinawan ruler, Sho Tai, and compulsion of his permanent exile in Tokyo, members of upper class and lower-ranking gentry had to seek for their new livelihoods in the countryside. Another major change was the abolishment of communal land tenure and introduction of the Japanese system of private property and inheritance (Lebra 1966, 18). Due to this policy, the general public could obtain equalized justice, greatly reduced taxes on arable land, and granted some voice in government to the common man. Moreover, adoption of a new education system was especially emphasized among the other assimilation policies. The official policy intended to underscore Japanese language education and at the same time attempted to eliminate Okinawan language and culture. During the same period,

the imperial Japanese government conducted the similar assimilation policy to their overseas colonies including Korea and Taiwan.

Even when the Okinawans started to immigrate in the islands of Hawaii, they were still labeled as the subcategory of the Japanese nations. Their language, culture, and religion were often stigmatized as “uncivilized” customs and beliefs compared with the Japanese ones. Toyama and Ikeda also represents the Okinawan-Naichi relationship as “the relationship between the Okinawans and the Naichi in Hawaii is somewhat like that between the Irish and the English: one group feeling superior to the other, and the other having a defensive pride. The situation is also comparable to the Jewish-Gentile relationship in that there are very seldom manifest dangerous, overt feelings, the attitudes being mainly covert” (Toyama and Ikeda 1978, 241). It is obvious to perceive the Japanese immigrants’ abhorrence to heterogeneous elements of the Okinawans, which differs from the mainstream Japanese society and culture. Toyama and Ikeda discloses the Japanese supremacy toward the Okinawans embedded in the hierarchy structured in the homeland of Japan. Moreover, Toyama and Ikeda point out the Japanese’s discrimination toward the Okinawas was rarely mortal danger, yet still there was an invisible barrier to overcome between the two groups.

However, the Okinawa-*Naichi* relationship underwent a major change as the mainstream American society and its racism overwhelmed the two communities.

Arakaki states thus:

“*Naichi* discrimination pressured Okinawan issei to reject their language and culture and to encourage their Nisei children to assimilate into Japanese and American communities. As a result, the schism between the Okinawans and the *Naichi* community began to diminish. In addition, the language barrier disappeared because both second-generation Okinawan and *Naichi* spoke English as their first language and shared similar experiences growing up in Hawai’i. Moreover, mainstream America discriminated against all Asian communities equally, and during World War II, Okinawans were lumped together with the ‘Japas,’ further eroding the gulf between the two communities. (Arakaki 2010, 132)”

Arakaki mentions the Japanese and the Okinawans were equally the same “Japs” in the eyes of the oppressors under racism in the Hawaiian community before and during the war. Thus, the double-structured diaspora-- *Naichi*-Okinawa relations and mainstream America-Asian Americans—complicate the Okinawan’s ethnic identity.

Interviews with an Okinawan Nisei and a Sansei

The previous paragraphs have explained the Okinawan-*Naichi* relationship in relation to the Okinawans’ position as “the other Japanese,” their fluid identity in-between Japanese and non-Japanese, and the state of double minority within a double diaspora. In view of the fact that the Okinawan-Japanese ambivalence persisted in several generations, it seems as a paradox that the Okinawan Americans have practiced Shintoism and engaged in the Shinto shrine organizations and the religious services.

What does Shintoism and the Shinto shrines mean to the Okinawan Americans in Hawaii? What roles have the Shinto shrines played in their lives? Especially, in present generation, Okinawans started to construct their subjectivity in the social context of the 1960s and 1970s, knowing one's cultural roots was positively valued due to multiculturalism and notion of identity politics (Arakaki 2002, 133). Then, how do the Okinawans today accept and view Shintoism and the presence of Shinto shrines, the manifestation of the Japanese culture and its core ideal? First of all, the following paragraphs argue the differences and commonalities between the Nisei and the Sansei Okinawan American interviewees' perspectives to Shintoism and the Shinto shrines. I conducted the interviews with the Nisei Okinawan American, Bob Nakasone, on November 18, 2011, and with Daniel Chinen, the Sansei Okinawan American, on November 27, 2011.

Before proceeding to the discussion, this paragraph provides a description of the general backgrounds of the two interviewees, Bob Nakasone and Daniel Chinen. First, Bob Nakasone is seventy four years old, the second generation Okinawan American, whose father immigrated to Hawaii and eventually started a restaurant business after several years of working at the sugar cane plantation. Nakasone often assisted his family business in dishwashing and cooking throughout his junior and senior high school years.

Since Nakasone's father emphasized education for his children, all of his six siblings received college degrees or more, as Nakasone himself earned a bachelor's degree in physics from MIT and the master's degree in Business from Purdue University. While building up his job careers in Los Angeles, Tokyo, New York, and Hawaii over several years, Nakasone has performed his duties as the president of UJSH (The United Japanese Society of Hawaii) in 1995-1996 and the current chairperson of WUB (The Worldwide Uchinanchu Business Association). Nakasone's one of the most notable contributions to the Okinawan society at home and abroad is that he projected the Worldwide Uchinanchu Festival held in Okinawa in 1990. At the first festival, 2,397 Okinawans from 41 regions in 17 countries came together in their home prefecture of Okinawa. This festival has been held in every five years and the recent one (the fifth festival) was held on October 12, 2011. Nakasone has also served as Senior Advisor for the Center for Okinawan Studies and Special Coordinator for Obuchi Student Scholarship provided by the East-West Center for the Okinawan students since 2001 and has assisted numerous Okinawan students, including the author, in the past years. Although Nakasone's family has practiced Seventh-Day Adventist, he does not believe in any religion in particular. Next, Daniel Chinen was born and raised in Kaimuki, Hawaii. He received a bachelor's degree in Electronic Engineering from the University

of Hawaii at Manoa and the Master's degree from the Arizona State University. Chinen has been living in Okinawa as a visiting scholar at the University of the Ryukyus since 2007 and has attended some classes as a guest lecturer at Business Management department and Tourism department. Chinen has three siblings, two sisters and a younger brother, and all of them regularly go to Seventh-Day Adventist church. Chinen himself does not practice any religion but his parents have practiced Christianity as his grandparents did.

In the interviews with Nakasone and Chinen, both of them answered that they have visited shrines in Hawaii, in Japan, and in Okinawa. The purposes of their visiting were not to worship, but mainly to go sightseeing, to participate in the family's celebrations, or to visit at the beginning of the New Year. Nakasone mentions thus, "I have been to the Meiji Shrine for many times when I lived in Tokyo. When it was *Oshogatsu* (the New Year), we went to the shrine since we lived near there" (Nakasone, Personal Interview [1]). In Okinawa, Nakasone also has visited the Okinawa Shrine to celebrate his grandchild's birth there. In Hawaii, he made several visits to Izumo Taisha shrine for the UJSH's work to strengthen the ties between UJSH and the shrine. Chinen has been to Shinto shrines in Okinawa such as Namino-Ue Shrine and Futenma Shrine for several times. However, in the interview, Chinen mentions that he was uncertain to

distinguish Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples in Okinawa and in Hawaii. He states such as, “To me, it looked the same, like they are the same. The Buddhist temple I went looked the same (with a Shinto shrine). They went from one side and did a little prayer. I think they were burning incents. They were also throwing some money” (Chinen, Personal Interview [1]).

A remarkable gap between the two was seen in their understandings of Shintoism or the Shinto shrines. While Nakasone often connects the ideas of Shinto or the Shinto shrines with the Japanese culture, history, and the Japanese American experiences, Chinen expresses the sense of unfamiliarity with Shintoism, roughly categorizing Shintoism as a part of the East-Asian Religion as a whole. “I know I sometimes mix up Shinto with Buddhism, Confucianism and Daoism,” states Chinen, “I know Shinto does have gods, but Buddhism, Confucianism, and Daoism don’t. But to me, I grouped them all as the Eastern religion so, Shinto, Buddhism, and Daoism, maybe those three” (Chinen, Personal Interview [2]). In the interview with Nakasone, on the other hand, his memories of the Shinto shrines in Hawaii are often associated with the Japanese Americans’ experiences during the World War II. Nakasone stated the tension among the Japanese American community in wartime such as, “when I went to Japanese school, we merely talked about the Japanese religion” (Nakasone, Personal

Interview [2]). In wartime, the police authorities including FBI kept a strict watch over on the Japanese religious institutions (especially on the Shinto shrines) in Hawaii, therefore, many Japanese Americans avoided any contacts with the Shinto shrines and Buddhist temples. Nakasone explained that the presence of the State Shinto shrines inside and outside Japan and the Japanese wartime education to worship the Emperor as the god left a powerful impression on him as a juvenile. Nakasone continued to mention about his wartime experiences of going to an elementary school carrying a gas mask with him. Eventually, he was unable to go to Japanese school due to its school closure on account of martial law. It was after the war that he could start going to Japanese school again.

Regarding the connections with the Okinawan religious traditions, Nakasone mentioned that his family has a *Butsudan* (a household Buddhist altar) at his mother's home, yet none of his family members practice ancestor worship. Moreover, he states thus, "I would rather believe 'ancestor respect' than ancestor worship. There are some differences between worship and respect. Worship is like to pray for the god. So I would rather say 'respect' for the elderly in the past" (Nakasone, Personal Interview [3]). The ideal of ancestor worship is even more ambiguous than Shintoism, especially to practice in a remote place from the homeland. Similarly to Nakasone's case, Chinen's

family does not have a *Butsudan* or practice ancestor worship either. Chinen was more unfamiliar with ancestor worship until he visited his Okinawan relatives in Okinawa and had religious events for several times. Throughout the interview, one can view the reality that ancestor worship has hardly ingrained in the Okinawan American community. Similar to the Shinto religion's case, ancestor worship also requires to the relations between the Shinto tradition and Okinawan identity, Nakasone answers as follow:

SK: "When you were living in Japan and visited Shinto shrines, did you feel anything difference because of your ethnic identity, Okinawan American?"

BN: "Not really. It's like "Christmas" for the Japanese. You are not Christian but you still celebrate Christmas at home. We have Christmas in Japan, ne? So I am not really conscious of Okinawan or Japanese to celebrate *Oshogatsu* or the other Shinto events at the shrines" (Nakasone, Personal Interview [4]).

The previous paragraph shows that the two Okinawan American interviewees perceive the Shinto shrines as social and cultural space. Nakasone states the role of the Shinto shrines such as, "It is good as a culture, to know your legacy and ancestors. There are so many ceremonies in Shinto. It [Shinto] has many cultural events too like *Seijin-shiki* (a coming-of-age ceremony) and *Shichi-go-san* (a gala day for children of three, five, and seven years of age). But I feel it is not really related to the god, *Kami-sama*" (Nakasone, Personal Interview [5])." For Nakasone, the Shinto shrines function as a site where both Japanese Americans and Okinawan Americans can receive opportunities to reconfirm

the roots of the Japanese culture and the connections with their ancestors. One can understand that Nakasone does not perceive a Shinto shrine as a religious place. In the personal interview with Nakasone, he also mentioned that he does not have any particular religion to believe in. Nakasone explained that when he was living in Tokyo, he used to visit the Shinto Shrines since it was like “festivals”. He continued to state thus, “I think visiting shrines for *Oshogatsu* is a good custom. Honestly, I think everybody does not really know (about Shinto tradition such as *Oshogatsu*). It is like a festival. Everybody goes to the festival, so we go” (Nakasone, Personal Interview [6]). Chinen expresses a similar perspective with Nakasone thus, “I didn’t really know what they were. Maybe, it’s the same meaning of a Jewish temple to you [an Okinawan individual]. Because it is a religion [Shintoism] that I am not part of. I feel like the religion is not for me. And I have never had interests so I have never really put the efforts to go explore it” (Chinen, Personal Interview [3]).

Interview with the New Generation of Okinawan Americans

In order to deepen an understanding of the younger Okinawan Americans’ perceptions of Shintoism, I conducted personal interviews with two Okinawan Americans in Hawaii; one of the interviewees is Jikai Yamazato, a twenty-year-old American of Okinawan and Korean heritage (with Okinawan American as his major identity marker); the other is Joseph Peters, a twenty-seven-year-old Yonsei Okinawan

Portuguese American. I came to know the two interviewees through the Okinawan students' club at the University of Hawaii at Manoa called *Akisamiyo!* in past academic years. As for the interview methodology, I conversed with Yamazato over the phone on December 30, 2011 and exchanged several e-mails with Peters on January 10, 2012.

Before proceeding to analyze the interviews, I will describe the general backgrounds of the two interviewees. Jikai Yamazato has been studying New Media Arts at Kapiolani Community College since 2009. He is a grandchild of Rev. Jikai Yamazato, the second resident minister at Jikoen Hongwanji Mission located in Honolulu, Hawaii. Yamazato's mother is Korean, while his father is an Okinawan whose grandparents were from Kume Island and Motobu, Okinawa. Yamazato practices Jodo Shinshu Buddhism (the True Pure Land sect of Buddhism) as his family does. He does not have any siblings. Joseph Peters was born to his Okinawan mother and his Portuguese father in Aiea, Hawaii. He has an older brother. Peters received an associate degree in Liberal Arts at Leeward Community College and earned a bachelor's degree in Elementary Education from the University of Hawaii at Manoa. After graduation, he was accepted in the JET Program (The Japan Exchange and Teaching Programme), and he has been teaching English as an ALT (Assistant Language Teacher) at Uwa-Jima Highschool in Ehime, Japan since 2009. Peter is a practicing Christian.

Both of the interviewees have visited Shinto shrines either in Hawaii or in Japan. Peters has visited several Shinto shrines in both places such as the Senso-ji shrine in Asakusa, Tokyo, and the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine in Honolulu, Hawaii, while Yamazato had his first visit to a Shinto shrine, Naminoue-Gu in Okinawa, Japan, on New Year's Day in 2012. Peters told me that he "visited Senso-ji on the New Year because it was so famous," and he felt that "it was very Japanese" (Peters, Personal Interview [1]). Both Yamazato and Peters affiliated the images of the Shinto shrine with nature worship, Japanese traditional culture, and integration with nature in architecture. "It [a Shinto shrine] reminds me of animism, worshiping nature," (Yamazato, Personal Interview [1]) said Yamazato, and Peters answered thus "Whenever I see the gate of the Shinto shrine or the bell, I think of Japan. The Priests also wear Japanese Kimono. I always associate Kimono with Japan. Shinto shrines are everywhere in Japan, so it's something you usually expect to see. Japan also values nature, and Shinto incorporates nature within its practices. For example, drinking spring water, having big trees, and location in nature." (Peters, Personal Interview [2]). In the interview, the two interviewees both remarked on the general images of Shinto shrines as a manifestation of Japanese tradition, culture, and its ideals.

Then, in regards to their personal understandings of Shinto shrines in Hawaii,

Peters states thus:

Shinto shrines are a part of Japan. It has a long history. They provide people to share their hopes and dreams, for example, *daruma* or *emma*. These things also remind me of Japan because they are very unique and easy to identify due to their shape. For me, they are more ornamental. (...) I rarely visit shrines in Hawaii. However, I do feel nostalgic because it is very Japanese. For example, if I go to Byodo-In temple, it makes me feel like I am in Japan because it is a replica. (Peters, Personal Interview [3]).

Here, Peters' using a term such as "a replica" is a symbolic representation of his perception of Shinto shrines in Hawaii as a space which has been reconstructed to demonstrate the epitome of all that seems Japanese. In *Imagined Community*, Benedict Anderson refers thus, "In fact, all communities larger than primordial village of face-to-face contact (and perhaps even these) are imagined. Communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined" (6). Anderson's theory of "imagined community" is applicable to Peters' notion of Shinto shrines in Hawaii. The Shinto shrines are also "imagined communities" in which many Japanese Americans are able to gain an opportunity to appreciate Japanese culture, and even a feeling of nostalgia for their homeland. In this respect, among young Okinawan Americans, one can view the function of Shinto shrines in Hawaii as ornamental "replicas," which provides both Japanese Americans and

Okinawan Americans an imagined space to reconfirm the connections with their homeland.

In the interview, Peters continued to mention thus, “I think of them [the Shinto shrines] but they are not something I care much about. I don’t associate myself or consider myself Shinto. I don’t believe in the Shinto stories such as Izanagi and Izanami Mikoto” (Peters, Personal Interview [4]). Here, Peters expresses a feeling of disorientation to comprehend Shinto mythology of the couple deities, Izanagi-no-mikoto and Izanami-no-mikoto in *Kojiki* (Records of Ancient Matters). A similar comment was also seen in the previous interview with Bob Nakasone, a Nisei Okinawan American, in regard to his uncertainty of applying Shinto’s ambiguous religious worldview to practice. Therefore, less spiritual or mental connections with Shintoism were perceived among the Okinawan American interviewees, compared to the Issei Japanese in Hawaii.

Finally, Norihito Takahashi, in his Doctoral Dissertation in 2007, points out that the multifarious state of Japanese Americans’ approaches to a religion was a result of their differing hometowns and religious organizations. In the case of Okinawan Americans, they have constantly proclaimed distinct ethno-cultural identity as “Uchinanchu,” especially beginning in the 1980s, even seen in Kaneshiro’s speech such

as, “The main component of Uchinanchu identity has always been the deeply rooted need to separate and distinguish itself from Japanese (American) identity” (Matsukawa 2011, 141). In this respect, Shinto shrines in Hawaii can be the *contact zone*, which Mary Louise Pratt theorizes thus, “I use this term to refer to social space where cultures meet, class, grapple, with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (Pratt 1991, 1). However, throughout my interviews with Okinawan Americans of different generations, fewer distinctions are seen between the Japanese Americans’ and Okinawan Americans’ perceptions of Shintoism and the Shinto shrines. Both groups share similar religious mentality, which perceive the Shinto shrines as social space where they can inherit the Japanese cultural legacy, customs, and ancestral roots. One reason can be found in Okinawan Americans’, especially of the new generation’s, multi-ethnicity today. Matsukawa states thus:

According to HUOR, in 1979 over 70 percent of the Okinawan Americans who married had spouses of Japanese descent, 20 percent married people of other ethnicities, and only 10 percent had Okinawan spouses. From the fourth generation onward, there will probably be only few people of solely Okinawan ethnicity. These part-Okinawans will likely find their other roots in different parts of the world” (Matsukawa 2011, 148).

The interview with Yamazato provides proof of the quotation above, as Yamazato states, “I don’t really feel myself outsider [in terms of the relations with the Shinto shrines in

Hawaii]. In a way, I feel it as part of my culture. I consider myself Okinawan, but also Japanese and Korean” (Yamazato, Personal Interview [2]). Though Pratt’s *contact zone* theory implies conflict between asymmetrical powers, I found that these tensions are less evident among the current generation of Japanese and Okinawan Americans, in terms of religious mentalities.

Chapter 5

CONCLUSION

This thesis adopts a descriptive study on the Shinto shrines and the Japanese American and Okinawan American communities in Hawaii. The contents of the research include: 1) transformation of the Shinto shrines' functions among the Japanese American community in Hawaii over times, 2) the Japanese Americans' and the Okinawan Americans' different or common perspectives to Shintoism, and 3) the influences of the Shinto shrines upon the Japanese Americans' or the Okinawan Americans' ethno-cultural identity today. A brief review of the investigation is explained in the following paragraphs.

First, Chapter 2 covers the historical overview of the Japanese American immigrants, as well as the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine, in order to provide a better understanding of the reasons of the Shinto shrines' establishment in Hawaii, the progress of Americanization of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine, and today's shrine's functions among the Japanese American community. The highlight of the study here is a text analysis of *90th Anniversary Book of the Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii and Centennial Anniversary Book*. Through examining these two anniversary books, one can understand numerous voices from the Japanese American board members, non-

Japanese American government officials, and Japanese Shinto priests from Shimane-ken, Japan. These community leaders' thought and commentaries on the anniversary books provide a clue to examine how the Izumo Taisha shrine is accepted in the Japanese American community today. In the congratulatory comments, the non-Japanese community leaders often describe the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's contribution to enrich the Hawaii's multicultural communities and stress the importance of "harmony" to peaceful coexistence each other in the community, while the Japanese American leaders pay more attentions to the shrine's integral role in perpetuating the Japanese cultural heritages for the Japanese American community. Finally, the Japanese Shinto priests view the presence of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine within the historical context of the U.S.-Japan relation and emphasize the shrine's function as a bridge between the two nations. Although these community leaders' comments do not provide an overarching representation of the whole Japanese American individuals in Hawaii, the voices that are presented on the anniversary books can serve as viable viewpoints to consider within the Japanese American community.

Moreover, Chapter 3 covers the details of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine's functions in today's Japanese American community, particularly through conducting participant observation and the interviews. Participant observation, which was directed

at the two major events of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine--*Hatsumoude* (the New Year's Visit) and the monthly worship service, reveals the present range of the visitors, the management system of the ritual service, and the interactions between the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine and surrounding communities. At the events, the visitors are mainly categorized into four groups: 1) the Japanese tourists, 2) the local Japanese Americans, 3) the local non-Japanese Americans, 4) a group or a couple of the Japanese (-American) and the non-Japanese individuals (either of them had a Japanese heritage). The older group appeared to be more faithful as viewed in their worshiping manners at the shrine, while the younger group of both the Japanese and the Japanese American visitors seemed to be visiting a shrine as a part of tourist attractions in Hawaii or simply as an experience to appreciate Japanese traditional custom. The challenge of the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine was also examined in the public misconception of Shintoism just as a "good luck" religion. While many business-related individuals visit the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine to obtain amulets and blessings for good lucks in business, Richard T. Miyao states thus, "The misunderstanding is that everything is good luck, like during the New Years or for a blessing. (...) We'd like to emphasize the religious aspect more, just as much as the Christian church would like to emphasize the birth of Christ over the gift giving element of Christmas" (The Hawaii Herald October 4 1996, A10-11).

Miyao's statement unveils the challenge Hawaii Izumo Taisha faces propagating Shinto faith on the Hawaiian Island especially because the idea of Shintoism is closely tied with the Japanese native lands, and its culture and history.

Next, the final chapter focuses on the Okinawan Americans' changing perspectives to the Shinto shrines in Hawaii over generations. In previous studies, less light is shed on this subject matter but the Okinawan Americans were integrated into the larger Japanese Americans' framework, regardless of their distinct cultural heritages, indigenous religion, and socio-historical contexts. The question had arisen as to whether the Okinawan Americans maintain the similar religious mentality to that of the Japanese Americans'. In order to explore this query and gain a glimpse of Okinawan perspectives, the personal interviews were conducted with four Okinawan Americans of different generations (Nisei, Sansei, and Yonsei) residing in Hawaii. The commonality with the Japanese Americans was found in the Okinawan American interviewees' perspectives to the Shinto shrines as a social place to perpetuate the Japanese culture and customs, as well as connections with their ancestors. In the Japanese Americans' and the Okinawan Americans' notion of Shintoism, the cultural aspects are more emphasized rather than the religious respect. Moreover, the Okinawan Americans' mental detachment from Shintoism is not involved in resistance to mainstream Japanese culture, or even none of

the interviewees practice or were familiar with Okinawan indigenous religion either. In sum, as for religious mentality, the Japanese Americans and the Okinawan Americans in Hawaii today are characterized by similar perspectives. They share a common outlook to view Shintoism and the Shinto shrines.

All in all, in the Japanese American, Okinawan and non-Okinawan community, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine has served as a social area where the Japanese Americans gain some contacts with their heritage, ancestral reflections, and cultural practices. During and after the Second World War, the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine faced rejection by the American government and the Hawaiian society, yet today, the shrine still exists and are accepted as part of Hawaii's ethnic makeup of churches. As described in this thesis, the transformation of Shintoism from a religious institution to one of a shrine that connects Japanese and Okinawan Americans to images of Japan and a place to visit, especially during the New Year's for "good luck" are perhaps the most notable characteristics commonly shared. Drawing from this study, major discrepancy between the Japanese American and the Okinawan American perception of Shintoism or the Hawaii Izumo Taisha shrine were not evident, even though many Okinawan Americans in Hawaii have formed distinct ethno-cultural identity as *Uchinanchu* (Okinawan).

In previous studies, the two premier scholars of the Japanese American religious studies, Takakazu Maeda and Juntaka Inoue, comprehensively investigated the Shinto shrines in the Hawaiian Islands and its historiography in the pre- and the-post war time. In *The Historiography of the Shinto Shrines in Hawaii* (1999), Maeda summarizes the main point thus, “Before the war (or certain period when many Issei were alive in Hawaii), Hawaii’s Shinto shrines were able to gain the Japanese community’s understandings since most of the Issei were familiar with Shinto beliefs and its ritual practices. The Issei were also active supporters of the shrines’ activities in the community so that the future of the Shinto shrines’ managements seemed to be guaranteed. However, today, Sansei and Yonsei have less knowledge about Shintoism, and the Shinto shrines in Hawaii have been struggling to propagate Shinto philosophy among the Hawaiian community. Thus, the Hawaii’s shrines have faced a period of transition” (Maeda 1999, vi-vii). Regarding a “period of transition,” Maeda also points out today’s Shinto shrines’ issue of lacking successors, as well as the challenges of propagating Shinto philosophy in the Hawaiian society. In addition to Maeda’s research on the Shinto shrines in Hawaii, this thesis employs participant observation, text analysis, and the personal interviews, and then uncovers the public misconception of the Shinto shrine as a “good luck” religion in today’s Hawaiian community. Moreover, this

paper focuses on the Okinawan American perspectives to Shintoism and the Shinto shrines in Hawaii since their viewpoints were rarely argued in previous studies. In this respect, this thesis brings a new angle of the Okinawan Americans' religious mentality in relation with Shintoism.

Finally, several tasks are still remained as a research subject for later discussion on this study. For instance, the relations between the Shinto shrines' presence in Hawaii and the Okinawan Americans' ethnic identity are yet to be developed. Further research is suggested to examine Okinawan Americans' religious mentality and Shintoism within the context of Okinawan diaspora. In order to explore such topics, it is required to cover interdisciplinary scholarships including, history, diaspora studies, ethnic studies, religious studies, and the studies of transnationalism. However, this thesis will leave it up to another study opportunity for now.

Appendix

Interview Questions

Interview with Richard T. Miyao

1. Could you tell me the general backgrounds of yourself?
2. What roles do you think the Shinto shrines in Hawaii, like Izumo Taishakyo Mission of Hawaii has played among the Japanese American community?
3. What do you think the Shinto shrine mean to the other Japanese Americans in Hawaii?
4. Do you think the Japanese Americans have a nostalgic feeling toward the Shinto shrines in Hawaii? How about the young generation?
5. Do you have a young Shinto organization in the Izumo Taisha shrine? What kind of activities do they have?

<Japanese Americans>

1. Could you describe your general backgrounds? (e.g. the birth place, academic backgrounds, generation, and religion)
2. Have you been to the Shinto shrines in Hawaii or in Japan?
3. What do you think about the Shinto shrines? Do you have any particular images about the Shinto shrines?
4. Do you feel that you are Japanese or Japanese American when you visit the Shinto shrines? Do you feel any connections with Japanese culture or tradition?
5. What do the Shinto shrines mean to you?

<Okinawan Americans>

1. Could you describe your general backgrounds? (e.g. the birth place, academic backgrounds, generation, and religion)
2. Have you been to the Shinto shrines in Hawaii/Japan/Okinawa?
3. What do you think about the Shinto shrines? Do you have any particular images about the Shinto shrines?
4. Do you feel that you are Japanese or Japanese American when you visit the Shinto shrines? Do you feel any connections with Japanese culture or tradition?
5. What do the Shinto shrines mean to you?
6. Do you feel “nostalgic” when you visit the Shinto shrines in Hawaii?

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