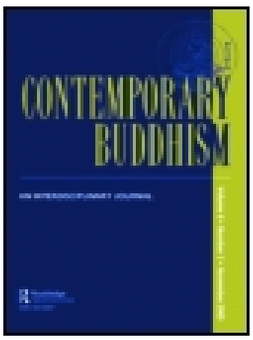

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Contemporary Buddhism
An Interdisciplinary Journal

ISSN: 1463-9947 (Print) 1476-7953 (Online) Journal homepage: https://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rcbh20

A RETROSPECTIVE SNAPSHOT OF AMERICAN ZEN IN 1973

Helen J. Baroni

To cite this article: Helen J. Baroni (2020): A RETROSPECTIVE SNAPSHOT OF AMERICAN ZEN IN 1973, Contemporary Buddhism, DOI: 10.1080/14639947.2020.1734731

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/14639947.2020.1734731

Published online: 19 May 2020.

CONTEMPORARY BUDDHISM
https://doi.org/10.1080/14639947.2020.1734731

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

A RETROSPECTIVE SNAPSHOT OF AMERICAN ZEN IN 1973

Helen J. Baroni

Department of Religion, University of Hawaii at Manoa, Honolulu, HI, USA

ABSTRACT

In the early 1970s, Zen in the United States remained a fledgling new religious movement, characterised by small, informal meditation groups or living room sanghas, and only a handful of larger practice centres in major metropolitan areas. Existing groups were experimenting, tentatively exploring possibilities to adapt Zen for an American context; groups' continued survival was precarious. In retrospect, the American Zen movement was actually on the cusp of four decades of dramatic growth and change. This paper analyses data preserved in an unpublished study from 1973, and provides an overview of basic patterns such as membership size, geographical distribution, lineage affiliations and the place of teachers. It identifies and profiles the basic types of Zen organisations and their stage of institutional development, with special attention to group longevity, identifying factors that supported future growth and those that placed groups at the greatest risk for dissolution.

In 1973, Zen remained a fledgling new religious movement in the United States, characterised by small, informal meditation groups meeting in living rooms and rented spaces across the country, which I call living room sanghas. Only a handful of large practice centres existed in major metropolitan areas, such as San Francisco, Los Angeles and New York. Few American practitioners enjoyed any access to an authorised Zen teacher. In retrospect, however, the Zen movement of 1973 appears poised for dramatic change, situated at the beginning of four decades of rapid growth and development, during which American Zen shifted from the missionary stage to an extensive network of practice centres. In 2014, research identified nearly 700 Zen organisations,[1] representing a growth rate of more than tenfold. Zen centres, monasteries and temples can now be found all across the United States, in most medium to large cities, extending far beyond the limited coastal presence manifest in 1973.

The purpose of this article is to describe the contours of Zen practice centres as they existed in 1973, beginning with an overview of such basic patterns as size, geographical distribution, lineage affiliations, the place of teachers within practice communities and the like. It then identifies and profiles the basic types

of Zen organisations and their stage of institutional development, followed by an analysis of the typical services offered and the fees charged for membership and residential practice, and participation in intensive retreats. Special attention is paid to group longevity, identifying those factors that supported future growth and those that placed groups at the greatest risk for dissolution. Although Zen practice was still relatively new and in a formative stage, I will argue that many of the now-familiar patterns were already emerging. Identifying these patterns at this early stage with a retrospective lens may help us to better understand the mature patterns one finds today. I hope to continue to use the analysis of data from 1973 as a baseline to explore the patterns of change, development and continuity over subsequent decades in future work.

Framing the shot: sources, scope and definitions

Over the spring and summer months of 1973, Ronald W. Hadley, a young American scholar and Zen practitioner, travelled across the country preserving a written snapshot of Zen, thus providing us with a glimpse of the Zen landscape as he saw it. My research was inspired by the chance discovery of Hadley's self-published manuscript, *A List of Organisations for the Practice of Zen Buddhism in the United States: Spring–Summer 1973*.[2] Hadley provides profiles of 44 Zen practice sites throughout the continental United States, with an appendix detailing three other sites in Hawaii.[3] Hadley intended his work 'to provide a sketch of organised Zen Buddhist practice in the United States in 1973' (Hadley 1973, i). He organised his findings related to each organisation under six subheadings: history, schedule, teacher, practitioners, description of practice and additional information. The entries vary greatly in length, ranging from half a page to 11 pages, typically one and a half to two pages. In a few cases, he supplemented his entry with materials provided by the organisation. Hadley made no attempt to analyse his findings in any systematic manner, and the work presents itself more as a resource for practitioners seeking a place to practise than as a scholarly text. Handwritten notes on Robert Baker Aitken's copy suggest that Aitken and other members of the Diamond Sangha used it in precisely that manner. While Hadley presented his findings without analysis, the rich details he preserved provide data for compiling the sketch that he hoped to provide.

According to the Preface, Hadley conducted field research between March and July 1973, visiting sites and practising with the group whenever possible. He then conducted follow up research, presumably via telephone interviews and letters, and wrote up his findings. He noted that he did not practise at all of the sites profiled, without specifying which ones, and indicated that a few centres declined to participate in his study.[4] Hadley was unable to visit Hawaii for firsthand research, and therefore did not profile any Hawaiian groups in the main body of the text. He exchanged correspondence with Robert Baker

Aitken, leader of three small Zen groups in Hawaii, and Aitken agreed to answer his extensive set of questions via letter. I was able to include the Hawaii sites based on detailed information from Aitken's response, which Hadley included as his Appendix 1 (Hadley 1973, 97-100), as well as other contemporaneous resources.[5] Hadley did not include profiles for the 17 affiliated groups listed by Rochester Zen Centre in its supplemental materials; the list of groups, dated 22 February 1973, provides little more than addresses and telephone numbers (Hadley 1973, 19). I could not include these groups, due to the lack of detailed information. Hadley's research appears to have been completed as a part of graduate work at Dartmouth College; he thanks the College's Committee on Graduate Fellowships for their support of the project (Hadley 1973, ii).

The understanding of Zen implicit in Hadley's study differs significantly from my own. Hadley concentrated exclusively on groups that made Zen meditation, known in Japanese as *zazen*, the centrepiece of their practice. This understanding conforms to the popular image of Zen (as the meditation school of Buddhism) commonly held by Americans, including many practitioners. However, Hadley's definition of Zen also effectively circumscribed his search for Zen practice groups in a particular fashion. He includes, for example, San Francisco Zen Centre (SFZC), but does not profile Sokoji, the Sōtō Mission temple that serves the Japanese American community in the same city, where SFZC first formed. For the purposes of this study, I have not extended the scope beyond the groups Hadley visited, in an attempt to include the many Japanese American Zen communities that existed; securing accurate data from 1973 would be impractical at this temporal distance. The study therefore begins with the historical snapshot as Hadley framed it.

Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that the popular image of Zen does not describe what academic specialists in the field find on the ground today or in the historical record, in either Japan or the United States. In Japan, Zen meditation has traditionally been understood primarily as a monastic rather than a lay form of Buddhist practice. Even among Zen monastics, the practice of meditation is relatively rare as a central focus, especially in contemporary Japan, where most Zen priests are married men serving a local parish and, as often as not, are otherwise employed to make ends meet. In my experience, American forms of practice likewise diverge from the popular image, if one extends one's view to encompass the numerous Asian American Zen communities that include Japanese American, Chinese American, Korean American and Vietnamese American temples. Having lived and worked in Hawaii for more than two decades, I have had the opportunity to work closely with several Buddhist temples that primarily serve Japanese American congregations, as well as with Honolulu Diamond Sangha, which can be described, for lack of a better word, as a convert community.[6] The style of practice typical of these groups differs significantly; Diamond Sangha makes

zazen the central practice, while Japanese American temples do not. I do not regard either style as more authentic than the other.

Distribution, longevity, size and teacher status

Hadley included 44 Zen groups in the continental United States, most concentrated in the northeast corridor between Boston and Washington, DC (15 groups) or along the west coast (26 groups), especially in the greater Los Angeles and San Francisco Bay areas, as illustrated by Figure 1.

California alone accounted for half of the practice sites he profiled. Only three groups were situated in the upper Midwest. None were situated in the south, southwest or mountain regions. It is therefore not surprising that even today, when scholars discuss Zen in America, they largely appear to reduce the country to the East and West coasts.[7] Forty years ago, that assumption was more nearly accurate. Until recently, studies of Buddhism in America rarely included Hawaii, presumably because of the prohibitive price of conducting research here – precisely the problem Hadley faced. Hawaii can often be safely ignored in statistical studies of American culture because of its small population. I chose to include the Hawaii sites in my research for several reasons. Hawaii's relatively large Buddhist population, perhaps 20% of Hawaii residents in 1973, would have represented a significant portion of what was otherwise a tiny minority religion on the national scene.[8] In addition, the three Hawaii practice sites, located on Oahu, Maui and Kauai, were all affiliated with Diamond Sangha, which subsequently grew into an extensive network of affiliated Zen centres, representing one of the major lineages of American Zen.

The 47 Zen groups were founded between 1922 and 1973: approximately one third between 1922 and 1964, one third from 1965 to 1969 and one third in the last four years alone. As Figure 2 indicates, the pace for

Figure 1. Geographical distribution of Zen centres in 1973.

emergence picks up steadily after 1950, and escalates rapidly after the change in immigration laws in 1965, which allowed Asian teachers to travel to the United States with fewer restrictions and to remain for extended periods of time. Research using alternative sources shows that the years from 1970 to 1975 were indeed very active for the emergence of new Zen practice centres, and that growth continued in the decades that followed (Baroni 2012, 38-39).

Hadley reported the number of members or participants for most groups, so a breakdown by size can be charted. As Table 1 indicates, small groups with fewer than 20 participants comprise about half of the research study. Indeed, groups with fewer than 10 members represented the largest subsection, with nearly a third of the total (14 out of 47 groups). The largest groups were all located in densely populated areas of New York (two groups) or California (four groups), including three groups in the San Francisco Bay area.

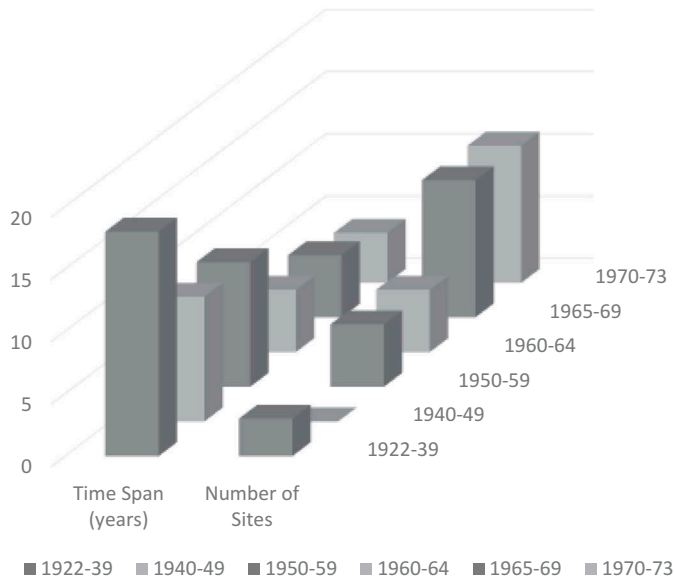

Figure 2. Practice centres by founding date (clustered).

Table 1. Size by membership

Number of members	Number of sites	Percentage
Less than 20	24	51%
20-50	9	19%
More than 50	6	13%

Seventeen of the 47 groups (36%) had closed their doors sometime before 2014. Analysis of these groups' demographics and history reveal several factors that may have contributed to their demise. Most obviously, stability over time appears to correlate closely with membership size: 16 of the defunct groups fell into the smallest category, with fewer than 20 members, the vast majority of them reporting membership of less than 10.[9] In total, two thirds of the small groups ceased operation, while all medium and large groups were still operating in 2014. Membership data suggests that the critical mass necessary for long-term longevity is at least 20 active members. Equally important for survival was having a stable location. All of the groups that closed met in private homes (13 sites) or rented spaces (four sites). Meeting in a private home left groups vulnerable to disruptive changes when a key individual died, retired or relocated, as appears to have happened in all but one case. Nor could groups with such limited space provide any option for residential practice, which may have fostered leadership skills that allowed other groups to more effectively share responsibility and to train future teachers. Although practising without a resident teacher appears to have been a significant risk factor, it was not as critical as either membership size or a stable location, because the problem could be offset through other means, such as affiliating with larger Zen organisations and inviting teachers to visit periodically.

Practising without a teacher, either as a member of a small group or as a solo practitioner, was typical for many, perhaps most, American Zen students and sympathisers in the 1970s. This phenomenon was the subject of two previous studies (Baroni 2012, 2015). Approximately half of Hadley's profiled groups practised together without a resident teacher (26 sites, 55%), although several indicated that a recognised teacher visited them periodically to lead retreats (11 sites, 23%). In a few cases, group members travelled individually or together to attend retreats that their distant teacher held elsewhere. Because Buddhism in America was still in a missionary stage, the pattern of visiting teachers and distant students remained strong and continued to develop for at least another decade. It seems likely that the pattern would begin to decline in importance only when sufficient numbers of second- and third-generation teachers had been trained and confirmed to serve centres in smaller cities, beginning in the late 1980s.

Denomination and lineage issues

The predominant number of groups identified themselves with either Sōtō or Rinzai, the two major Japanese denominations of Zen. Identification with Sanbōkyōdan, a modern form of Japanese Zen established by Yasutani Hakuun (1885–1973) in 1954, represents a sizeable minority; the terminology employed at the time was some variation of 'the hybrid style of Harada and Yasutani'.

Sanbōkyōdan practice is distinctive because it was originally designed to serve the needs of lay practitioners, and because it draws upon elements of both Sōtō and Rinzai style. While Sanbōkyōdan has a small, somewhat marginal place in the history of Japanese Zen, it has had a disproportionately large impact on American Zen, where the vast majority of practitioners are lay people rather than monastics (Baroni 2012, 27-28, 39-40).

The profiled sites include several other examples of smaller lineages, especially Korean Chogye, as seen in Table 2. More than a quarter of the groups either explicitly reported that they had no denominational affiliation or simply reported no preference. Of the eight explicitly unaffiliated sites, seven were small to medium in size, meeting in a private home without the benefit of a teacher. Most of these groups indicated that their members followed whatever style of meditation they had learned elsewhere. This type of group is discussed at more length in a later section.

Geographical analysis indicates that the patterns of denominational distribution were uneven in 1973.[10] For example, Rinzai (6/15 sites or 40%) was more dominant on the East coast, while Sōtō groups represented fully half of the reporting groups on the West coast (13/26 sites). Within California alone, the division between Sōtō and Rinzai is regionally distinct. Northern California was predominantly Sōtō (10/14 sites or 71%), while Rinzai represented a much larger portion of the Southern California groups (4/9 sites or 44%). Southern California was far more diverse than any other part of the country. Thus, the geographical distribution of Zen centres in 1973 already hints at the development of networks of branch centres affiliated with a few major centres and lineages, such as SFZC's network created by Suzuki Shunryū's students, still predominantly clustered in Northern California.

In 1973, most of the prominent first-generation Asian-born Zen teachers were still alive and active in the United States, including Taizan Maezumi (1931–1995), Joshu Sasaki (1907–2014), Eidō Shimano (b. 1932), Seung Sahn (1927–2004), Katagiri Dainin (1928–1990), Thich Thien-An (1926–1980) and Matsuoka Sōyū (1912–1997). Only Suzuki Shunryū (1904–1971) had passed away before Hadley started his research. Of the 28 practice centres with a resident or visiting teacher, 18 (64%) were still under the direction of a first-

Table 2. Denomination

Affiliation	Sites	Percentage
Sōtō	15	32%
Rinzai	10	21%
Sanbōkyōdan	4	9%
Chogye	3	6%
Vietnamese	1	2%
Chinese	1	2%
None/none reported	13	28%

generation Asian-born teacher, among whom 14 teachers were Japanese, two were Korean, and one each were Chinese and Vietnamese.

Four members of the first generation of founding teachers were born in America or Great Britain. Jiyu Kennett (1924–1996) was British; Philip Kapleau (1912–2004), Robert Aitken (1917–2010) and Jakusho Kwong (b. 1935) were American. Kennett, Kapleau and Aitken all trained extensively in Japan under Japanese teachers, and could claim either Dharma lineage or permission to teach. Kwong trained in the United States with Suzuki Shunryū. He received permission to teach and was ready for transmission in 1971, when Suzuki died. At this early stage of Zen growth in America, only a handful of American Dharma heirs exclusively trained in American centres had assumed leadership of their community, including Richard Baker, who succeeded Suzuki at SFZC on his death.

Counting generations within Zen lineages presents a complicated puzzle in several cases and raises interesting issues related to the mechanism for designation as a teacher, most of which are beyond the scope of this study. In a Zen context, it often takes many years – even decades – for a student to receive full authorisation, and in most cases Zen communities in the United States were too young in the 1970s to have attained that stage of development. Three temples had America-trained, second-generation leaders in residence who lacked permission to teach independently. At the Redondo Beach Zen Centre, for example, Ron Olsen presided as an ordained student of Joshu Sasaki, but Sasaki remained the official teacher. Sasaki visited the group regularly to offer *sanzen* (face-to-face interviews), since Olsen was not authorised to do so. Joshu Sasaki died in 2014, at the age of 107, without designating an American-born Dharma heir.

Diamond Sangha presents an interesting case for considering lineage. Today, Aitken is considered the first-generation founding teacher for the entire international network of Diamond Sangha affiliate groups. In 1973, he was still a student of Yamada Kōun without permission to teach independently, although he was preparing to assume that role. In 1973, therefore, none of the Diamond Sangha sites had a resident teacher, and the organisation regarded Yamada as their official (visiting) teacher. Once Yamada granted Aitken provisional permission to teach in 1974, followed by full authorisation in 1986, Aitken would have been regarded as a third-generation Dharma heir within Yasutani's Sanbōkyōdan lineage. Aitken's status shifted once again in 1995, when Diamond Sangha formally broke its institutional ties with Sanbōkyōdan to become fully independent. Since that time, Aitken is reckoned the first-generation founder of a new lineage, which today includes at least eight second-generation teachers, 10 third-generation teachers and 13 fourth-generation teachers and apprentice teachers.[11]

Types of Zen practice sites

The 47 profiled sites present a wide spectrum of Zen practice options that existed in the United States in 1973, ranging from large, well-established Zen centres to tiny groups of individuals meeting in private homes and shared rental spaces. Some groups had a resident teacher or a visiting teacher, while others did not. In some cases, the style of practice was determined by the lineage of the teacher; in others, practitioners followed whatever style of meditation they preferred, finding strength in communal practice. While variety seems to typify the 47 groups, each having its own story and unique configuration, some contours do emerge from the data if one steps back from the details.

For purposes of visualising the landscape of Zen practice available in the United States in the 1970s, I will describe four basic types that emerge from careful analysis of Hadley's data: major Zen centres and monasteries, small centres with a teacher, affiliate groups and living room sanghas. Not all of the 47 sites fall into one of these primary categories. Hadley included a few so-called ethnic or heritage temples that primarily served a local Asian American community but simultaneously provided options for communal Zen meditation as a form of outreach to other Americans interested in learning about Buddhist practice. There are also a few mixed-practice centres, where teachers offered instruction in several forms of Buddhist practice that included Zen meditation as one option.

Living room sanghas

Living room sanghas represent the largest portion of the practice sites (40%) and provide a valuable glimpse into the grassroots level of Zen communal practice in the United States in the early 1970s. These groups met in a private residence, usually the home of the primary organiser, though sometimes a converted garage or a shared rented room. In several cases, a dedicated Zen practitioner set aside a room in her home to function as a private zendo and then welcomed like-minded individuals living nearby.

In 1973, the Cambridge Buddhist Association (CBA) still met in the large library in Elsie Mitchell's home on Brattle Street in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where they gathered one evening per week during the academic year, a common pattern for groups associated with universities. Hisamatsu Shin'ichi (1889–1980) founded CBA in 1957, when he was lecturing at the Harvard Divinity School. The group described itself as non-sectarian, with teachers from different Buddhist denominations serving in turn as director, as prescribed by the founder. When Hadley visited in 1973, a Shingon priest was serving in that capacity. Members were allowed to practise meditation in their chosen manner (Hadley 1973, 1-2).

The Los Gatos Zen Group took a different approach, sharing the responsibility for hosting their bimonthly meetings. The group met in six different members' homes on a rotating basis. The group originally started as a discussion group, but became a practice group and established a regular schedule of meditation after some members attended a *sesshin* with Yasutani Hakuun sponsored by the California Bosatsukai of San Diego. The group had no teacher in 1973, so each individual practised the form of meditation they had learned elsewhere. When introducing a beginner to Zen practice, members of the group would describe their practice history, and allow the new person to select the style that seemed best suited (Hadley 1973, 69).

Perhaps the most unusual meeting space for communal meditation was created by a member of Diamond Sangha's Buddha Mountain Zendo, originally situated within the Taylor Camp commune on Kauai. Buddha Mountain's first zendo comprised the lower portion of a member's tree house, which he set up as a practice space for the group's use. Another member described the zendo in Diamond Sangha's newsletter:

> Probably one of the smallest Zendos in existence, it seats only six, with some room for future expansion. It is also unusual in that it is very brightly coloured, with tie-dye and tapestries covering the walls and ceilings. We sit daily, an hour in the morning and an hour and a half at night. Bob Aitken continues to come monthly, when we have a one-day sesshin and a public talk (Keeney 1972, 1-20.

In a few cases, small groups of practitioners shared the expenses of renting an apartment or office space used exclusively as a zendo, without the option for residential practice. The Philadelphia Zen Group, for example, used membership dues of 12 USD per month to cover the rent for their zendo, located on 17th Street and Locust. Albert Strunkard, a professor at the University of Pennsylvania, founded the group in approximately 1960. The group was tangentially associated with the New York Zen Studies Society, since three of its five core members were students of Eido Shimano and distant members of the New York group. For this reason, despite having no teacher, the practice was described as 'quite uniform', following the style of the New York sangha and using its sutra book for chanting (Hadley 1973, 25-26).

Some living room sanghas followed a single meditation style, but several were eclectic – each individual followed whatever style of meditation she or he had learned elsewhere and preferred. Even the smallest groups welcomed newcomers and made some provision to teach beginners the basics of seated meditation. Several of these smaller groups were situated in the vicinity of colleges or universities, from which they drew interested individuals. While providing a steady stream of potential participants, there is an inherent instability in university populations, since students graduate or drop out and faculty leave for research, a new university position or retirement. Many of these small groups proved ephemeral, and yet they probably represent the

most typical pattern of practice in America in the 1970s. Teachers such as Robert Aitken encouraged Zen solo practitioners and sympathisers with whom he corresponded to locate a meditation group or to find even a single Zen friend in order to enjoy the benefits of communal practice (Baroni 2012, 150f).

While Hadley would not have missed any of the larger practice centres with a recognised teacher, I argue that he identified only a fraction of the smaller living room sanghas that may have existed for periods of time. These groups represent the grassroots Zen movement of the 1970s that is difficult to accurately document. Indeed, Hadley's work may preserve the only reliable information about such groups currently available to scholars. Virtually none of the living room sanghas that he identified appear in later published guides to Buddhist practice centres,[12] presumably because such informal groups were not legally incorporated or listed in telephone directories.

Major Zen centres and monasteries

I define major Zen centres and monasteries as organisations with a large membership,[13] under the guidance of a prominent Zen teacher with an established network of affiliated centres. These centres and monasteries offer a wide range of membership and practice options, including possibilities for residential and/or monastic-style practice. Such centres typically have a staff either of resident members or non-resident volunteers who assist the primary teacher. Only four sites could be described as fulfiling these criteria in 1973:

- Zen Studies Society (established in 1956) in New York City, under Eidō Shimano;
- Zen Centre of San Francisco (established in 1959), under Richard Baker;
- Rochester Zen Centre (established in 1966) in Rochester NY, under Philip Kapleau;
- Mt. Baldy Zen Centre (established in 1970) outside Los Angeles, under Joshu Sasaki.

The Zen Studies Society was originally established in 1956 to support the work of D. T. Suzuki in promoting a scholarly introduction of Zen to the West, producing a number of publications related to Zen. As interest in Zen shifted towards practice over the next decade, the society likewise transformed itself to support the meditation practice of a large community of practitioners living nearby. In 1973, Eidō Tai Shimano was the president of the society and its resident teacher. Shimano moved to New York in 1965, after working for five years with Diamond Sangha in Honolulu, Hawaii. He established Shoboji Zen Temple at its current location on the Upper East Side of

Manhattan in 1968. In 1973, the society owned two properties, Shoboji and a newly purchased facility in the Catskills that would become Dai Bosatsu Monastery. The membership was quite large, with approximately 180 regular members. The Shoboji zendo seated only 50 practitioners, and was often full to overflowing. In addition, it could only accommodate three residential members, far less than the demand. The group was therefore planning to relocate and expand its residential programme to Dai Bosatsu, leaving Shoboji as a non-residential urban practice centre (Hadley 1973, 9-12). In addition to these two primary sites, Eidō Shimano had loose ties with two other groups on the East Coast, whose members travelled to New York for retreats.

In 1973, SFZC, founded by Suzuki Shunryū (1904–1971), had built the largest and most extensive network of affiliated Zen centres in the United States. The main organisation comprised three major practice sites, SFZC, Tassajara and Green Gulch, all under the leadership of Richard Baker. It likewise enjoyed affiliate ties with eight other groups in this study, representing nearly one fourth of the profiled groups, all located in California. Suzuki founded the SFZC in 1962 with a group of Euro-American students who began meditating with him at Sokoji Sōtō Mission. Suzuki came to San Francisco in May 1959 to serve as resident priest for the local Japanese American Sōtō community at Sokoji. He let interested people know that he sat *zazen* every morning, and by 1961, his sitting group had grown to more than 15 regular members. The members formally incorporated under the name Zen Centre in 1962. In 1969, the SFZC formally split with Sokoji, moving to their current location on Page Street. In 1973, the residential community comprised 50 regular resident and guest practitioners as well as 30 other full-time students living in the vicinity. An additional group of approximately 50 non-residential members frequently practised at the centre. SFZC purchased Tassajara Hot Springs in 1966 in order to establish a monastic community. In 1973, approximately 45 resident students participated in the intensive practice periods at Tassajara, with up to 50 guests joining them to practise for various lengths of time. SFZC purchased the 115-acre Green Gulch Farm in 1972 to establish a new style of practice centre focused on meditation combined with 'an ecologically sound approach to farming'. The residential membership included 24 regular residential students and six guest residents. Green Gulch likewise served as a place of practice for members of the local community in and around Muir Beach (Hadley 1973, 64-65, 77-78, and 85-89).

Philip Kapleau (1912–2004) founded the Rochester Zen Centre in 1966 at the invitation of an existing meditation group with 22 members, who learned of him through his recently published book, *The Three Pillars of Zen*. Kapleau trained for 13 years in Japan, eventually working with Yasutani Hakuun, founder of Sanbōkyōdan. Although Kapleau taught Yasutani's hybrid style of Zen, he never completed the training to become a fully designated

Dharma heir. He broke with his teacher and established his own independent lineage of Zen, so the Rochester Zen Centre never claimed formal affiliation with Sanbōkyōdan.[14] The centre provided Hadley with a listing of 17 affiliated groups, located throughout the United States (Hadley 1973, 13-22).

In 1971, Kyozan Joshu Sasaki (1907–2014) established Mt. Baldy Zen Centre in the San Gabriel Mountains, 40 miles east of Los Angeles, as his monastic headquarters in the United States. The centre offered a formal monastic setting where rigorous residential practice would be available to a larger number of his students than the original Cimarron Zen Centre in urban Los Angeles could accommodate. In 1973, 14 students were in fulltime residence at Mt. Baldy, and many others came for a single training period, known as a Great Sesshin (a seven-day intensive retreat), or shorter weekend stays. Cimarron Zen Centre, founded in 1968, accommodated 44 people in its zendo and had 15 residential students in 1973 (Hadley 1973, 40-43, 46-47). Sasaki's full network included four other affiliated sites at that time.

Four other groups subsequently became well established and highly influential in the American Zen scene, and one may be tempted to retrospectively include them in the category of major Zen centres and monasteries. They serve to illustrate the formative stage of development that still typified even larger Zen practice sites back in 1973. These groups were:

- Providence Zen Centre (established in 1972) in Rhode Island, under Seung Sahn;
- Minnesota Zen Centre (established in 1972) in Minneapolis, under Katagiri Dainin;
- Zen Centre of Los Angeles (ZCLA; established in 1967), under Maezumi Taizan;
- Shasta Abbey (established in 1972) on Mt Shasta in northern California, under Jiyu Kennett.

Three of these groups were established in 1972, just one year prior to Hadley's visit. Nevertheless, most of them already had relatively large memberships of approximately 40 to 50 participants, and all offered a range of practice options including residential practice. In 1973, Shasta Abbey was already in the process of establishing two affiliated priories, which would become the basis of the later network called the Order of Buddhist Contemplatives, headquartered at Shasta Abbey. It is worth noting that three of the groups, Providence Zen Centre, Minnesota Zen Centre and ZCLA, reported to Hadley that they were full to capacity and had no residential openings in 1973. In each case, they had outgrown their facility and would eventually need to find a new location that could accommodate further growth. These centres sought larger urban locations and/or built rural practice sites to accommodate expanded residential programmes.

Small centres with a teacher

Small centres with a teacher, groups with a core membership of between 10 and 20 members, typically had no option for residential practice. I argue that this is the primary reason these groups had only a 50/50 chance of surviving. Residential practice typically encourages some members to gradually develop leadership skills, reducing dependence on a single individual. When a group relies too heavily on its teacher, then the teacher's eventual death or retirement can prove devastating. When a small centre with a teacher successfully transitions to a larger site and develops residential options, they more often continue to thrive.

Small groups with even a tentative connection to a teacher tended to follow a uniform style of practice, such as the Rinzai style of Joshu Sasaki (observed by the Stony Brook Zendo) or Shimano Eido (observed by the Philadelphia Zen Group and the Washington, DC Zen group), the Sōtō style of Suzuki Shunryū (observed by the Bolinas Zen group and Portland Zendo), or the hybrid style of Sanbōkyōdan (observed by Diamond Sangha's Buddha Mountain Zendo).

Affiliate groups

Affiliate groups do not have a teacher in residence, but have established a strong relationship with a teacher who visits occasionally. Some members likewise travel elsewhere for *sesshin* with the teacher. These groups maintain the practice style encouraged by their teacher as best they can. Affiliate centres represented a minor pattern in the Zen landscape in America in 1973, with only seven or eight groups falling into this category. They nevertheless represent a harbinger of the rapid growth of an extensive network of affiliated Zen centres that developed in the 1980s and 1990s, when second- and third-generation Dharma heirs set out and founded communities of their own.

In 1973, Diamond Sangha fell into this category as an affiliate of Sanbōkyōdan, headquartered in Kamakura, Japan. Yamada Kōun, head teacher of the Sanbōkyōdan international network of Zen centres, visited yearly. Diamond Sangha may provide the best example of ongoing change and development in a relatively large Zen community in the decades following 1973. Today, Diamond Sangha is an international network of affiliated sanghas, including Honolulu Diamond Sangha on Oahu, Maui Zendo, the Hilo Zen Circle on Big Island, 11 other centres in the United States and eight centres in Australia, New Zealand and Germany. Robert Aitken (1917–2010), who founded the group along with his wife Anne Hopkins Aitken (1911–1994), is generally regarded as one of the most prominent American Zen teachers. In 1973, however, the situation was far from stable, despite the

group being among the oldest in Hadley's study. Diamond Sangha started in 1959 as a small meditation group meeting without a teacher in the Aitkens' living room. By 1973, it included three practice sites on different islands, with a total membership of approximately 40, including 10 residential practitioners each at Koko An in Honolulu and Maui Zendo. Nevertheless, the group had not attained the level of institutional stability of other large groups, which typically had a prominent teacher in residence. The group still had no fully qualified resident teacher in Hawaii, and continued to rely on visits from Sanbōkyōdan teachers. Prominent teachers from Japan routinely visited several times a year to lead retreats, and less prominent Japanese teachers had lived with the group on Oahu and Maui for extended periods during the first 15 years of its history. In 1973, Aitken was already assuming teaching responsibilities as an apprentice teacher. Once he was designated an associate Sanbōkyōdan teacher in 1974, the group would assume a more stable existence under his guidance. Nonetheless, the group continued to experience extensive transformations throughout the following decades. For example, they closed and sold Maui Zendo in 1986, built the new Palolo Zen Centre starting in 1987 and closed KokoAn Zendo in 2002; in 1995, they parted company with Sanbōkyōdan to become an independent American Zen lineage group.

Heritage and mixed-practice temples

Hadley included only three heritage Japanese Buddhist temples, temples originally founded to serve the religious needs of the local Japanese immigrant and Japanese American community in their area. All of these temples provided typical Japanese Buddhist services for their Japanese American congregations, including funeral and memorial services, weddings and observances for major holidays such as Obon, Hana Matsuri, commemorating the Buddha's birthday and New Years. Priests at these and other heritage temples commonly established meditation groups in the 1970s and 1980s as a form of outreach to the growing number of other Americans interested in Buddhist practice. It was not uncommon for temples to serve the disparate religious needs of two parallel communities at their facility: an Asian and Asian American community that continued to practise Buddhism in a manner familiar to the first generation of immigrant founders and a community of Buddhist sympathisers and converts interested in following a Buddhist meditative practice (Numrich 1996).

By 1973, Japanese and Japanese American Buddhists had been in continental America for several generations; Japanese temples were established even earlier in Hawaii, before the overthrow of the Kingdom of Hawaii in 1893 and the subsequent annexation of Hawaii as a US territory. Nevertheless, their clergy were still predominantly Japanese missionaries; occasionally an

American-born priest from the community would be trained and ordained in Japan. One reason these heritage temples played such a critical role in the growth of Zen in America is that many of the now-famous Japanese Zen teachers first came to the United States to serve in one or the other of them. For example, Taizan Maezumi (1931–1995), founder of ZCLA, and Dainin Katagiri (1928–1990), founder of the Minnesota Zen Meditation Centre, began as young missionaries at Zenshuji in Los Angeles. Scholars often gloss over the crucial role that heritage temples have played in the development of Buddhism in America, so each of the three temples in Hadley's study will be discussed in some detail.

Reverend Hosen Isobe, a Japanese Sōtō Zen missionary, founded Zenshuji Sōtō Mission in 1922, to serve the growing Japanese and Japanese American community in the Los Angeles area. It was the first Sōtō temple in the continental United States, and eventually became the official North American Headquarters for Sōtō Zen. Throughout its history, Zenshuji has fulfilled its primary mission to serve its Japanese American congregation, except during the Second World War, when it was closed and all of its priests and members were sent to detention camps. After the war, the temple served as a temporary shelter for Japanese Americans returning from detention camps. Eventually the temple was restored and resumed normal services, once again inviting missionary priests from Japan to lead the community. Starting with Maezumi in the early 1960s, some of these missionaries at Zenshuji accepted meditation students from outside their regular congregation. Such was the case in 1973, when Hadley visited, and Reverend Yamada Ryuho was leading a small meditation group. In many cases, Japanese missionaries do not speak fluent English when they first arrive in America, and this limits their ability to work with English-speaking meditation students. Many missionaries are younger priests who are not yet authorised to offer *dokusan/sanzen* and can therefore only guide beginning students (Hadley 1973, 56; Zenshuji History 2017).

Hadley's profile for Buddhist Temple of Chicago does not follow the usual format and provides very little information compared to the other entries. I therefore supplemented his information with that derived from other sources. Reverend Gyomay Kubose (1905–2000) founded the temple as a non-sectarian Mahayana church[15] in 1944, soon after he was released from two years in a Wyoming detention camp. Kubose and his wife were among the several thousand Japanese Americans who relocated to the Chicago area after their release (Buddhist Temple of Chicago 2017). Rev. Kubose, an American citizen born in San Francisco, spent a large part of his young life in Japan. After graduating from the University of California, Berkeley in 1935, he returned to Japan, where he trained as a Shin Buddhist priest. Kubose added the Zen Meditation Group to the temple's regular offerings in 1969 or 1970, after his third extended visit to Japan, where he

studied at Otani University (Hussein 2000). The current website identifies Buddhist Temple of Chicago as 'an administratively independent temple with a historical lineage rooted in the Japanese Pure Land tradition' (Buddhist Temple of Chicago 2017). All of its ministers have been ordained in the Higashi Honganji denomination of Jodo Shinshu. The temple still offers Zen meditation sessions on a regular basis, and the website explains that their founder was among the first Shinshu ministers to conduct Zen meditation sessions in the United States.

Matsuoka Sōyū (1912–1997) founded Zen Buddhist Temple of Chicago in 1949. He originally came to the United States as a Sōtō missionary in 1939, and served the Japanese American Buddhist community for a time at both Zenshuji in Los Angeles and Sokoji in San Francisco. Although the Chicago temple may have initially served the Japanese American community in the area, by the 1960s, Rev. Matsuoka had attracted a significant number of non-Asian American students. Among these meditation students was Richard Langlois (1935–1999), who already headed the temple in 1973, when Hadley visited. Langlois assumed the position of abbot of the Chicago temple in 1971, when Matsuoka retired and relocated to Long Beach, California. Langlois served as abbot for 28 years. Like Matsuoka, Langlois was deeply interested in the connection between Zen and the martial arts. At the same time as he was practising meditation with Matsuoka, he studied several forms of Chinese martial arts with Professor Huo Chi-Kwang, with whom he likewise studied Daoist and Confucian thought and Chinese medicine. Langlois later introduced these elements into the temple's regular offerings, when he became Professor Huo's successor as Director of the Chinese Cultural Academy in 1988 (Zen Buddhist Temple of Chicago 2017).

I would characterise two of the sites in Hadley's study as mixed Buddhist practice centres, where teachers offered Zen meditation as one among several options for Buddhist practice. Members of the Sino-American Buddhist Association (established in 1959), comprising lay students of Chan Master Hsuan Hua (1918–1995), founded Gold Mountain Monastery in San Francisco in 1971. Temple literature indicates that they 'propogate all major Mahayana schools (Ch'an, Pure Land, Vinaya, Scholastic and Esoteric) and work closely with Theravada' (Morreale 1998, 118). This mixed style is typical of Chinese Buddhism in general. In 1973, the community included nine men and three women who were ordained and 'strongly uphold the Vinaya and practice austerities such as eating only one meal per day before noon' (Hadley 1973, 82-83). Thich Thien-An, a Vietnamese Zen monk and scholar, founded the International Buddhist Meditation Centre (IBMC) in 1970, while he was teaching at UCLA. In the early 1970s, most IBMC members were university students who expressed an interest in practising Buddhism. Hadley characterised the centre as non-sectarian, observing that 'One may

choose from a variety of meditation practices from each of the three main Buddhist traditions (Theravada, Mahayana, Vajrayana)' (Hadley 1973, 49).

Services offered, residential options and *sesshin*

The services provided by the 47 Zen groups differed greatly depending on their size and type and the availability of a resident teacher. Despite the fact that only half of the practice sites had regular access to an authorised teacher, the vast majority (37 groups, 82%) made some provision to teach the basics of seated meditation to beginners who attended services. In some cases, instruction was built into the weekly schedule, while smaller groups tended to offer instruction on an ad hoc basis. Two thirds of the groups (31 sites) likewise offered daily opportunities for communal *zazen*, with more extended programmes often provided on the weekend. Daily meditation sessions were typically held either early in the morning or late in the day, thus accommodating most work and school schedules. Weekend programmes generally included several periods of meditation, lectures, shared meals and work sessions (called *samu* in Japanese). Other groups limited their meetings to meditation sessions offered one to three times a week, usually in the evening.

Approximately half of the groups (24 sites, 51%) had no facilities for residential practice. Residential options provided by the other half of the groups ranged from living in a formal monastic setting, where ordained and lay practitioners lived and practised together (three groups), to small shared houses where like-minded people came together in the morning and evening to meditate, but otherwise worked or attended school nearby (six groups). Several larger, better established Zen centres (14 groups) offered space for a limited number of residential practitioners, although most of them (nine groups) were already filled to capacity and had a waiting list. Ten of the 23 groups with residential members explicitly indicated that they had no openings when Hadley contacted them. Clearly, the demand for residential options far exceeded the available space in 1973.

Intensive meditative retreats, known in Japanese as *sesshin*, form an integral part of Zen practice, both in the monastic tradition in East Asia and at American Zen centres. In the American context that Hadley surveyed, the term *sesshin* was applied to everything from Great Sesshin (*dai sesshin*) lasting for seven days to all-day sits typically lasting 12 hours or less, and everything in between. Zen groups tended to offer what they could manage, working around limited space, availability of teachers and other logistical constraints. Hosting a seven-day *sesshin* for even 20 participants required significant resources and coordination: sufficient living space to house the participants overnight, adequate bathroom facilities, a working kitchen and dining area, a teacher to oversee the practice and offer *dokusan/sanzen*, enough advanced students to fill at least a few minimal leadership roles, and someone to take

reservations and vet applicants, lay in supplies, and so forth. Larger, more established groups were obviously in a better position to offer such a service, and even they sometimes required participants to supply their own bedding and eating utensils.

Fourteen groups held seven-day *sesshin* on a regular basis. Six groups, all falling in the large category, had the facilities and organisational structure to offer Great Sesshin multiple times each year. Mount Baldy Zen Centre already functioned as a rural monastery, and was thus able to mount them on a monthly basis, as did Providence Zen Centre in its more limited urban facility. Two of these larger groups already maintained two affiliated facilities, an urban centre focused on weekend services and a rural retreat centre with greater capacity for extended *sesshin*. Five groups without a resident teacher routinely hosted a single Great Sesshin each year with the support of a visiting teacher. Prominent Japanese teachers such as Yasutani Hakuun and Nakagawa Sōen travelled often to the United States, visiting several cities and leading *sesshin*. Ten groups held shorter weekend *sesshin*, ranging in length from two to four days.[16] Since many of the groups that scheduled weekend *sesshin* also provided several Great Sesshin each year, it seems likely that the shorter retreats were geared for slightly different audiences. Distant members of the Diamond Sangha, for example, made an effort to travel to Hawaii once a year for a Great Sesshin. Members living nearer by and those with less available free time would have more easily afforded the shorter weekend format.

Almost a quarter of the surveyed groups (11 sites, 23%) offered one-day intensive periods of sitting, most often on a monthly basis. Seven of these groups had no fully authorised resident teacher; six of them either offered no residential option or were already full to capacity. These groups therefore lacked the necessary resources in terms of trained personnel or space to readily host more extensive *sesshin*. In three cases, teachers from nearby centres visited the group on a weekly or monthly basis to lead these all-day sessions, much as travelling Christian missionaries serve multiple congregations in their mission fields. Maezumi Taizan would lead the Sunday *sesshin* for the Santa Barbara Zen Group, after holding extended Saturday morning services at his home centre ZCLA. Richard Baker from SFZC visited Berkeley Zendo approximately once a month for their one-day *sesshin*. In two cases, at Providence Zen Centre and Maui Zendo, the residential community held a weekly one-day session and invited practitioners from the outside community to join them.

Membership fees and other monetary matters

Twelve of the groups provided information about their monthly membership dues, including six groups in the northeast, one in the upper Midwest, and five in California. The fee schedules sometimes included savings for couples or for individuals living outside the immediate vicinity (distant members). The average

membership dues were 15 USD/month (median 12 USD), ranging from a high of 40 USD/month at Rochester Zen Centre for members in the immediate vicinity, to a low of 5 USD/month at the Washington, DC group's Downtown Zendo. Many groups indicated what expenses the membership fees covered, including tea, food and rent. In the case of centres with resident teachers, membership dues and other fees would likewise provide income for the teacher and his family.

Several groups set out the procedures for becoming a member, which sometimes included a probationary period (Zen Studies Society in NYC) or even a prescribed extensive period on a waitlist (Rochester Zen Centre). Only a few groups, especially SFZC, Tassajara and Green Gulch, had developed a more extensive range of membership options that have since become common at larger centres. Despite requesting monthly pledges or fees from different types of formally recognised members, SFZC nevertheless welcomed non-members to join them in the zendo for meditation, even on a daily basis, free of charge. Other groups, such as First Zen Institute of America, allowed only contributing members to practise with them during regular meditation sessions, but provided one free and open session each week for newcomers.

Eleven centres provided information regarding their residential fees; all of these centres were located in California or Hawaii. In some cases, the fee covered both room and board, with meals provided, and in others the fee covered only the room. To help place the following data into context, rental data from 1973 indicate that the median cost of a rental unit in the United States that year was 175 USD/month (The People History 2017). Residential practitioners would have had much less personal space and privacy than most apartments would offer, and accommodations were often rudimentary, but they also paid significantly less each month. The residential fees at Zen centres ranged from a low of 35 USD/month at IBMC in inner city Los Angeles to a high of 160 USD/month plus food at Santa Barbara Zen Group. The median cost was approximately 100 USD/month.

The fees charged for attending a 7-day Great Sesshin ranged from a low of 3.50 USD/day (approximately 25 USD total) at SFZC, where guest students were asked to supply their own bedding, to a high of 100 USD for non-members at ZCLA. Average costs for *sesshin* were between 50 and 60 USD. In some cases, these fees covered not only the cost of food, but the rental fee for a retreat facility for those groups without sufficient space at their home site. Groups in the LA area all listed different prices for members and non-members, a practice that has since become standard at most large practice centres. In most cases, residential members do not appear to have paid any additional fees for participating in extended *sesshin*. For purposes of comparison, in 1974, the federal government set the base-level per diem travel expenses, covering food and lodging, at 35 USD/day, or 245 USD/week, for travel within the continental United States (Congress.gov 2017), so *sesshin* charges appear to have been quite modest.

Concluding remarks

In 1973, the Zen landscape in the United States that Hadley observed was still in its infancy. Only a handful of the largest metropolitan areas offered multiple options for individuals seeking to join a Zen practice community. Based on Hadley's findings, Zen groups existed in only 13 states, almost all clustered on the East or West coast, with fully half of the centres located in California. Most Americans were therefore out of reach of a Zen teacher, with access only to the small living room sanghas, where members relied on one another for support and sought guidance from a handful of published descriptions of Zen practice. Most of the centres that Hadley identified can only be described as fledgling, the vast majority (35 sites, 74%) in their first decade of operation, and more than half without the benefit of a resident teacher (26 sites, 55%). Nevertheless, viewed retrospectively from a vantage point more than four decades later, the Zen movement of 1973 was already on a steep course of rapid growth and change, however fragile the progress felt from within struggling communities.[17] By this time, a number of sanghas were actively laying the foundations for institutional expansion and growth: Urban sanghas were buying rural property to establish more extensive residential programmes, Asian teachers at larger centres were training students who would become the next generation of leaders, and everywhere teachers and students were experimenting with processes that would better suit the American milieu.

Hadley's data reveals the emergence of enduring patterns that typify the American Zen landscape today, such as the networks of smaller practice groups affiliated with a major centre based on teacher–student relationships, the creation of levels of membership, options for *sesshin* of variable length, and the adaptation of common American patterns of religious practice, especially reliance on weekend services, which were not typical of Zen in Asia at the time. Other patterns, such as living room sanghas, visiting teachers and distant students, more likely represent a transitional stage in the development of American Zen, filling the gaps until Zen's institutional structures could meet the growing demand for teachers and local sanghas. Living room sanghas still exist, especially in smaller cities and towns, and teachers may still travel to serve the needs of groups in more isolated areas, but the need for these patterns is much reduced. By 2014, when putting together a database for future parts of this research endeavour, my research partner found 694 Buddhist organisations that identified themselves as affiliated with Zen. These groups were located in 48 states, excluding only North Dakota and Wyoming. While Zen remains a minority religion, many more Americans live within easy reach of a teacher and a sangha.

Notes

1. This portion of the database was created by my research partner, Christine Walters, a scholar of Buddhism in America and a lecturer at Leeward Community College, using an internet-based Buddhist directory.
2. I came across the manuscript while conducting research on an unrelated Buddhist topic. It was tucked in the back of a box of materials related to 'Other Buddhist Groups' in the Robert Baker Aitken Papers, housed at the University of Hawaii at Manoa's Hamilton Library. The manuscript is not listed separately in any of the finding materials for the Aitken archive, nor does it appear in the library catalogue. An interested researcher could find a copy of the manuscript listed in the catalogue for Duke University, but otherwise it appears that the manuscript is unavailable to scholars. Mr. Hadley is not certain that he would be able to locate his own original.
3. The latter is actually a lengthy letter, written in response to Hadley's detailed questions regarding Maui Zendo. Robert Baker Aitken, founder and Director of Diamond Sangha, described the history and practice patterns at KokoAn on Oahu, Maui Zendo and Buddha Mountain Zendo on Kaui, providing most of the same information included in Hadley's entries, except presented in narrative form.
4. In a personal email to the author, dated 24 June 2015, Hadley noted, 'A very small percent (no more than 10% and probably rather less than that) of the total number of groups contacted chose not to participate'.
5. I wish to thank Michael Kieran, the teacher at Honolulu Diamond Sangha, for sending me materials related to the Kauai site, originally published in the *Diamond Sangha Newsletter* in the early 1970s.
6. Many members of Honolulu Diamond Sangha, including their current teacher Michael Kieran (third-generation Dharma heir in Robert Aitken's lineage), object to this characterisation as 'convert Zen' for various reasons. The issue is too complicated to explore in this paper, but their objection should be noted.
7. Jeff Wilson showcases the problems inherent in continuing to present the practice of Buddhism found in the coastal regions as representative of the entire continent. See *Dixie Dharma: Inside a Buddhist Temple in the American South* (UNC Press, 2012) and 'Regionalism in North American Buddhism', in *Buddhism Beyond Borders: New Perspectives on Buddhism in the United States* (SUNY, 2015).
8. A study conducted by the Department of Religion at the University of Hawaii Manoa reported that Hawaii's Buddhist population numbered 121,460 individuals in 16 groups, representing 15.4% of the population in 1972. As is typical of Hawaii, only 69% of the population was willing to indicate religious affiliation of any kind. Those identifying themselves as Buddhist represented 22.4% of individuals in that category. See Schmitt (1973, 46).
9. Hadley did not report the membership for the final group that closed.
10. This analysis is based on a related project undertaken with a geographer, Rodman Low, a GIS (Geographic Information System) expert working for Esri. The findings are not yet published.
11. Based on the lineage chart found in the *Honolulu Diamond Sangha Fiftieth Anniversary Program*, 2009, 24.
12. See for example Morreale (1988, 1998).

13. For the purposes of this study, this entails having a reported membership of more than 50 practitioners.
14. For purposes of this study, I have nonetheless categorised Rochester Zen as part of the Sanbōkyōdan lineage.
15. Hadley identifies the temple as a Buddhist church, which is terminology commonly found among Shin Buddhist temples. Before WWII, for example, temples associated with the Nishi Hongwanji branch of Shin Buddhism were known collectively as Buddhist Missions of North America. The organisation changed its name to Buddhist Churches of America during the years of internment as a means to ease assimilation and promote acceptance by other Americans.
16. Terminology varied, such that a *sesshin* starting Friday evening and ending Sunday afternoon might be called either a two-day or a three-day retreat.
17. Robert Aitken sometimes discussed the precarious nature of his groups in correspondence with trusted friends and teachers. In a letter dated 24 January 1967, he wrote to Elsie and John Mitchell in Cambridge, MA, that 'after seven years [since establishing Koko An] there are no roots at all. We will celebrate our tenth birthday by expiring'. On 4 January 1971, he wrote to Nakagawa Soen, 'We have a problem here which I want to share with you, in the hope that we may discuss it when you come. We are not able to keep good Zen students here because I am not strong enough to inspire them with the feelings that they are getting spiritual leadership. I do not feel critical of them or of myself, but simply accept it as reality. Thus the Maui Zendo becomes a stepping stone for Tassajara, or Ryutakuji, or for the Sanbo Koryukai, and does not develop any sangha identity of its own'.

Acknowledgements

The author wishes to acknowledge assistance received from Christine Walters of Leeward Community College for providing access to her database on Zen centres operating in the United States of America in 2014, Rodman Low of Esri for assistance in creating the maps, and Michael Kieran, head teacher at Honolulu Diamond Sangha, for providing access to archival copies of annual newsletters from 1972 to 1975 produced by Diamond Sangha.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

Notes on contributor

Helen J. Baroni is a Professor of Religion at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. She is the author of *Love, Rōshi: Correspondence between Robert Baker Aitken and his Distant Correspondents* (SUNY 2012), *Iron Eyes: The Life and Teachings of the Obaku Zen Master Tetsugen Dōkō* (SUNY 2006) and *Obaku Zen: The Emergence of a Third Sect of Zen in Tokugawa Japan* (University of Hawaii 2000).

References

Baroni, H. J. 2012. *Love, Rōshi: Robert Baker Aitken and His Distant Correspondents*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Baroni, H. J. 2015. "Zen at a Distance: Isolation and the Development of Distant Membership." In *Buddhism beyond Borders; New Perspectives on Buddhism in the United States*, edited by S. A. Mitchell and N. E. F. Quli, 93–110. Albay: State University of New York Press.

Buddhist Temple of Chicago. 2017. "About Us." Accessed 31 March. https://buddhisttemplechicago.org/about-us/

Congress.gov. 2017. "H.R.16872 - Travel Expense Amendments Act." Accessed 30 March. https://www.congress.gov/bill/93rd-congress/house-bill/16872

Hadley, R. W. 1973. "A List of Organizations for the Practice of Zen Buddhism in the United States: Spring-Summer 1973."

Honolulu Diamond Sanga. 2009. "Honolulu Diamond Sangha Fiftieth Anniversary Program". Honolulu, Hawaii, Honolulu Diamond Sangha, p. 24.

Hussein, R. 2000. "Rev. Gyomay M. Kubose Opened 1st Buddhist Temple in Chicago." *Chicago Tribune*, April 5. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/2000-04-05/news/0004050298_1_buddhist-temple-american-buddhism-chicago

Keeney, M. 1972. "Buddha Mountain Zendo." In Diamond Sangha Newsletter. Honolulu, Hawaii, Diamond Sangha.

Morreale, D. 1988. *Buddhist America: Centers, Retreats, Practices*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: John Muir Publications.

Morreale, D. 1998. *The Complete Guide to Buddhist America*. Boston: Shambala.

Numrich, P. D. 1996. *Old Wisdom in the New World: Americanization in Two Immigrant Theravada Buddhist Temples*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press.

Schmitt, R. C. 1973. "Religious Statistics of Hawaii, 1825–1972." *Hawaii Journal of History* 7. Accessed 30 March 2017. http://hdl.handle.net/10524/240

The People History. 2017. "The Year 1973 from the People History." Accessed 30 March. http://www.thepeoplehistory.com/1973.html

Wilson, J. 2012. *Dixie Dharma: Inside a Buddhist Temple in the American South*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Wilson, J. 2015. "Regionalism in North American Buddhism." In *Buddhism beyond Borders; New Perspectives on Buddhism in the United States*, edited by S. A. Mitchell and N. E. F. Quli, 21–33. Albay: State University of New York Press.

Zen Buddhist Temple of Chicago. 2017. "About." Accessed 30 March. http://www.zbtc.org

Zenshuji Sōtō Mission. 2017 "History." Accessed 2 April. http://www.zenshuji.org/history.html