

**RELEARNING RELIGIOUS PRACTICE WHEN HOME IS ACROSS THE SEA: THE CASE OF
TENRIKYŌ IN BRITISH COLUMBIA**

by

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Abstract

The Japanese New Religious Movement, Tenrikyō, views a specific geographical point in Tenri City, Japan as the “Origin” (*jiba*)—where humanity was conceived by God the Parent, the central deity of Tenrikyō, and a number of other deities. Identified by their foundress, Miki Nakayama, in the 19th century, and the location of Tenrikyō headquarters today, the *jiba* is far across the ocean from followers whose families migrated to Vancouver, British Columbia. In a religious sense, followers living in overseas diaspora communities have become both physically and spiritually displaced from their Origin. In this thesis, I examine how Tenrikyō adherents in Vancouver practice when they are so distant from the “Origin.” Based on fieldwork and interviews, I have found that many choose, or desire, to return to the Origin. I argue that at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape followers become immersed in intensive, daily group practice. These intensive experiences are crucial for active followers to develop a connection the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape and this connection continues to be important after they leave Tenri City. After they leave Tenri City, practice then becomes a matter of re-learning how to be at-a-distance from the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. Followers in Vancouver come to face the anxieties and difficulties associated with practicing in the area and begin to feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment they had experienced. While in Vancouver, followers maintain this connection to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape in Tenri City from afar through monthly services. These services invoke a sense of nostalgia through ritual, clothing, food and events but leave those who have not yet been to the Origin feeling no connection or sense of nostalgia. For this reason it becomes ever more important for Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver to encourage people to return to the Origin and the surrounding area, so they too may establish a connection.

Lay Summary

Tenrikyō, a Japanese religion, built its headquarters in Tenri City, Japan at a specific point where humanity is said to have begun. I examine how adherents in Vancouver, British Columbia practice when they are so distant from this point. I suggest followers want to return to this point, and become immersed in an environment while at the headquarters where they practice with other followers around them. These experiences foster a connection with this point in Tenri City and the place overall yet they have to be separated from it when followers return to Vancouver. After they leave Tenri City, followers feel a sense of nostalgia and keep this connection through monthly services in Vancouver. However, those who have not been to Tenri City do not feel a connection or nostalgia when seeing these monthly services so followers in Vancouver encourage more people to return so they can create a connection.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Emmett Chan. The fieldwork reported in this thesis was covered by UBC Ethics Certificate H18-01973.

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List of Abbreviations

JEC Japanese Education Center

NRM New Religious Movement

Notes on Conventions and Translations

I refer to Tenrikyō terms using English translations after providing romanization using the modified Hepburn system, and Japanese syllabary (*kana*) or sinographs at first occurrence. Contemporary Tenrikyō texts and adherents maintain historical kana spelling for technical terms so there will be cases where the *kana* does not match the romanization. In sources, citations and quotations there are also cases where Tenrikyō appears without the diacritic (eg. Tenrikyo) because that is how the religious institution itself writes it and some sources use that romanization instead.

Japanese names have been written in personal name, family name order (e.g. Miki Nakayama). In some cases where multiple people share the same family name I will refer to the specific person using that person's personal name or full name to avoid confusion. All names of Tenrikyō followers I report in this thesis are either their real name or pseudonym according to what they consented to the day of the interview. I refer to interviewee by their personal name.

Unless otherwise noted, all translations of interviewees' direct quotes henceforth are my own. I have attempted to capture the meaning as closely as possible and have provided the original quote as well. Mistakes in translations are my own and in such cases please refer to the original for clarification. The original quote will sometimes be a combination of English language and Japanese language. Quotes are not verbatim and I have edited quotes for readability taking out um, ah, er etc. and repetitions of the same word. I have kept these edits to a minimum and have tried to stay as close as possible to the original.

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To my constellation of support

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Japanese New Religious Movement, Tenrikyō 天理教, views a geographical point identified by their foundress, Miki Nakayama みき中山, in Tenri City, Japan as the “Origin” (*jiba* ぢば). The Origin is where God the Parent, the central deity of Tenrikyō, and a number of other deities conceived humanity. Tenrikyō built its religious headquarters directly over the Origin. Migration overseas necessarily separates Tenrikyō adherents from this sacred site, the people there, and its liturgical calendar. Many Japanese migrants have settled in Vancouver, British Columbia, and have established diaspora Tenrikyō communities. In this thesis, I examine how Tenrikyō diaspora followers became immersed in transformative group practice while at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. Once followers leave Tenri City, a sacred site like no other, followers in Vancouver must re-learn how to practice at-a-distance.

The Origin is a physical point identified by Miki and through fieldwork and interviews I have found that diaspora followers understand a sense of sacred-ness to permeate the surrounding areas as well. The Origin and the surrounding landscape which becomes sacred for followers in addition to the social aspect of transformative group practice is what distinguishes the headquarters at Tenri City from any other Tenrikyō site. Followers in Vancouver come to face the anxieties and difficulties associated with practicing in the area and begin to feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment they had experienced but now no longer have. While in Vancouver, followers maintain this connection to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape in Tenri City from afar through monthly services (*tsukinamisai* 月次祭). These monthly services invoke a sense of nostalgia through ritual, clothing, food and events but leave those who have not yet been to the Origin and the nearby area feeling no connection or sense of nostalgia when seeing the services. For this reason it becomes ever more important for Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver to encourage people to return to the Origin and the surrounding area, so they too may experience transformative group practices there.

In this thesis, I hope to contribute to the general scholarship on Tenrikyō through an analysis of practice in Canada, an area that has received little attention. In this chapter, after providing a brief overview of Tenrikyō, I will discuss relevant English language

scholarship on pilgrimage in Japan, Japanese nationalism and “Japanese-ness,” and the structure of practice and Tenrikyō in diaspora. Then I will describe the methodology used for this study and provide an outline of the following chapters.

1.1 A Brief Introduction to Tenrikyō

Tenrikyō is one of the largest religions in Japan founded during the last two centuries.¹With an estimated two million followers worldwide, Tenrikyō, which translates as “teachings of heavenly principle,” is a monotheistic new religious movement founded by Miki Nakayama in the mid-nineteenth century. Miki became the living shrine or hosted a deity called Tenri Ō no Mikoto 天理王命, most commonly referred to by followers as “God the Parent” (Oyagami 親神) (Ambros and Smith 2018, 33-34). As the foundress, she continues to be worshiped and her immortal spirit is enshrined at the headquarters in Tenri City (Ambros and Smith 2018, 35).As the bodily host, with God the Parent speaking through her, she deemed a location at her residence as the “place of origin,” where mankind is said to have been created by God the Parent, installing a wooden pillar at that exact location (Ambros and Smith 2018, 33-34). Tenrikyō's current headquarters is built around this wooden pillar in Tenri City, Nara Prefecture (Ambros and Smith 2018, 45).

Miki Nakayama is of paramount importance in Tenrikyō: her life became a model to emulate, her written work became its doctrinal texts, and the songs, dances, and gestures she used were incorporated into its central ritual (Earhart 2012, 237). Between the 1860s and the 1880s, she wrote a number of songs that are used during Tenrikyō ritual practices and these songs came to be known as *The Songs for the Service* (*Mikagura uta* みかぐらうた). In the same period she also wrote the poems which later became *The Tip of the Writing Brush* (*Ofudesaki* おふでさき) (Ambros and Smith 2018, 41-42). These two texts, and the additional *The Divine Directions* (*Osashizu* おさしづ) written partly by Miki but

¹This summary of Tenrikyō history is based on the following sources: Straelen (1957); Offner and Straelen (1963); Ellwood (1982); Earhart (2012); Cornille (2015); and Ambros and Smith (2018). There is little disagreement about this material in scholarly sources. One of the more recent publications on Tenrikyō is Barbara Ambros and Timothy Smith's (2018), a short encyclopedic entry that covers Miki's life, the religion's development over the years, core texts and doctrines and recent developments.

mainly by Izō Iburi 伊蔵飯降, her successor, from the three original scriptures (*genten* 原典) of Tenrikyō (Ambros and Smith 2018, 40-42).

God the Parent spoke through Miki, treating her as a living shrine. In the narrative of the first time of this occurred, Miki, asked to perform the role of medium during an exorcism, was possessed by the “True God” (Moto no Kami 元の神). Speaking through her, the deity revealed to those present that Miki’s body belonged to him, that he was reclaiming it, and directing her to use that body to spread his teachings (Earhart 2014, 236-237). In Tenrikyō, the body is viewed as “a thing lent, a thing borrowed” (*kashimono karimono* かしもの・かりもの), used by humans during their lives on earth and returned to God the Parent for a new body when they are reborn at death (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1993, 50-55). Ultimately, they believe that God the Parent wants humans to live a “joyous life” (*yōkigurashi* 陽気ぐらし) on earth (Ellwood 1982, 80). Tenrikyō promises a this-worldly salvation in a physical body (Ellwood 1982, 91). This embodied utopia, according to Tenrikyō doctrines, will occur once humanity is properly prepared: “heavenly dew” (*kanro* 甘露) will fall from the sky, humans consume it, and then “will live happy lives free of illness for 115 years, and then die painlessly to be reborn to new long and joyous lives” (Ellwood 1982, 80, 92).

1.2 Literature Review of English Language Scholarship

The earliest English language scholarship on Tenrikyō was written by Paul Eckel in 1936 and since then Tenrikyō has been studied and discussed in a small number of books, articles, and theses. To date, there is a limited amount of scholarship on Tenrikyō in Canada. This thesis focuses on the practice lives of followers in Canadian diaspora communities, and their reflections on experiences both at the Origin and the surrounding landscape in Tenri City and after they have returned to Vancouver, British Columbia. Secondary literature that has been written on Tenrikyō particularly relevant to this thesis discuss the way that Tenrikyō is seen as a “very Japanese” religion outside of Japan and literature that analyzes Tenrikyō practice. In addition, I have included literature on

Tenrikyō in diaspora as my case examines the religion in Vancouver, a diaspora community.

In this thesis I focus on followers' experiences at the Origin and the surrounding landscape, the connection they establish and the feelings of nostalgia they maintain once they are necessarily separated through migration to Vancouver, British Columbia. This idea of nostalgia has been informed by secondary literature on Taiwanese Tenrikyō adherents who possess a unique post-colonial nostalgia for Japan (Huang 2017b, 289). Scholarship has also shown that in former Japanese colonies, such as Taiwan and Singapore, the perception of the Japanese occupation years directly affects people's perception of Tenrikyō as a Japanese religion. Canada is not a former Japanese colony but I draw from this idea of nostalgia. Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver have nostalgia for the Origin as their *spiritual home*, including the experiences they had and the social connections they made at the Origin. Scholarship has emphasized that for Tenrikyō followers in diaspora maintaining transnational ties to the headquarters in Tenri City is even more important than for those in Japan. Literature has also shown that Tenrikyō in the United States and Canada differed from Tenrikyō in Asia because it was brought by immigrant laborers. Taking this difference into account I have traced the history of Tenrikyō in Canada from the early immigrant followers to present day as part of my approach.

Pilgrimage is especially important to Tenrikyō followers in diaspora, more so than for those in Japan. Through pilgrimages followers are able to create ties with the headquarters in Tenri City. Pilgrimage to Tenri City is an interesting example, as its particular characteristics distinguish it from many of the well known cases of transnational pilgrimage. Pilgrimage to Tenri City are voluntary because it can occur whenever the follower desires, uses the language of home to describe the target site, lacks a liminal phase, has a transnational aspect and followers form deep social bonds. Well known cases of transnational pilgrimages such as the Islamic Hajj differ from Tenrikyō pilgrimages by being mandatory and having specific rituals. Another well known transnational pilgrimage is the Christian Camino de Santiago. While the Camino de Santiago focuses on relics of the past, pilgrims traveling to see the remains of Saint James the Great in the cathedral of Santiago de Compostelain northwestern Spain, Tenrikyō pilgrims travel to where the living

spirit of Miki resides. Her spirit continues to be enshrined and worshiped at the pilgrimage site. Thus, I have excluded literature on both of these well-known cases of transnational pilgrimages.

1.2.1 Single-Site Pilgrimage in Japan

Secondary literature on pilgrimage in Japan can broadly be categorized into literature on sacred mountains, pilgrimages motivated by beliefs in a deity or number of deities, or pilgrimage to a temple or shrine connected to a charismatic holy person (Ambros 2006, 291–96). The first category does not describe pilgrimages to the headquarters in Tenrikyō because the headquarters is not built on a sacred mountain, but an agricultural basin known for rice cultivation. The location was chosen because of the Origin as identified by Miki. Nor are pilgrimages to the headquarters motivated by beliefs in a deity or number of deities enshrined there. The last category does fit Tenrikyō because followers do go to “meet” Miki’s spirit even though she is enshrined at the headquarters. None of these categories fully capture the importance of the Origin as the birth place of humanity. The Origin in Tenrikyō is comparable to the Christian Garden of Eden, where God created Adam and Eve, except in Tenrikyō Eden is not lost: one can physically visit the Origin.

Joseph Kitagawa (1967) was one of the earliest scholars to categorize pilgrimage in Japan into the three different types noted above: (1) to sacred mountains, (2) to sacred places where a deity or deities are enshrined, and (3) or to temples or shrines that are connected with a charismatic holy person. An example of a pilgrimage to a sacred place with a deity is the Ise shrine, where the Shinto deity Amaterasu is said to be enshrined (Kitagawa 1967, 160). Annual Tenrikyō services, namely, the Autumn Grand Service (*Shūki taisai* 秋季大祭) that celebrates Miki’s first possession on October 26 and the Spring Grand Service (*Shunki taisai* 春季大祭), which celebrates Miki’s passing annually on January 26 (Ambros and Smith 2018, 46) share some resemblances to journey to Ise shrine usually in the spring or autumn (Kitagawa 1967, 160). Tenrikyō followers will often time their pilgrimage so that it coincides with annual services such as the Autumn Grand Service and the Spring Grand Service (Ambros and Smith 2018, 46). Pilgrimages made based on faith in

divinities enshrined at sacred places, such as the Ise shrine, can be undertaken by individuals (Kitagawa 1967, 160), which is another similarity with Tenrikyō's pilgrimages. However, what makes the Origin differ from the Ise shrine is that God the Parent is not believed to be enshrined at the headquarters whereas the Shinto deity Amaterasu is said to be enshrined at the Ise shrine. For pilgrimages made because of faith in a charismatic holy person Kitagawa provides the example of Kūkai or Kōbō Daishi (774-835), who founded the Shingon school of Buddhism and is remembered by followers to be a holy man that healed the sick and many believe that he did not die and is still walking around to this day disguised as a pilgrim (Kitagawa 1967, 161). Tenrikyō followers also believe Miki Nakayama's spirit continues to live on after her death and she is enshrined in a separate building from where the Origin lies (Yamada 2019, 279; Ambros and Smith 2018, 46; Morishita 2015, 178). An interesting difference is that Kūkai moves around and is disguised as a pilgrim whereas Miki lives in the space where her spirit is enshrined. It is said that Miki has attendants who prepare her food, clean her bedroom and take care of her every need as if she is still physically present (Clarke 2002, 2832) which is different from Kūkai, who disguises himself as a pilgrim and is hidden from plain sight.

While Kitagawa's categorization is useful he provides few examples of single-site pilgrimages and the three kinds of pilgrimages do not fully describe Tenrikyō pilgrimages. Tenrikyō's headquarters is not built on a mountain and is not where a deity is enshrined. When the categorization of a temple or shrine being connected to a holy person is applied to Tenrikyō it only describes Miki's spirit being enshrined and worshiped by followers. This excludes the importance of the Origin for Tenrikyō followers. The teaching about the Origin, being a site where humanity was created, and its re-enactment forms the very core of Tenrikyō's teachings and why the site is made important for followers. Yet, if Kitagawa's categorization is applied to Tenrikyō, the focus shifts to Miki's spirit, which is not the most important organizing feature of Tenrikyō pilgrimage.

1.2.2 Scholarship on Tenrikyō²

During the 1960s and 70s, there was an explosion of interest in Japanese New Religious Movements (NRMs). It was during this time that the field of NRMs first started to emerge and scholars first began to use the term to avoid the negative connotations associated with “cult” (Wessinger 2005, 6513–14). Scholars were trying to understand Japanese NRMs because of their sudden rise in number in the late 1950s and early 1960s: a reported total number of 171 NRMs and a total membership of over 18 million followers in 1958 (Astley 2006, 105). It was during this flourishing of literature on Japanese NRMs that Harry Thomsen (1963), Clark Offner and Henry van Straelen (1963), H. Neill McFarland (1967) published books covering a wide range of Japanese NRMs (Astley 2006, 104–8). Of which, Clark Offner and Henry van Straelen’s (1963) book on Tenrikyō treated it as a paradigmatic example of a Japanese NRM. Later, scholars wrote monographs focused on studying one or two religious groups in the 1980s (Astley 2006, 107). Examples of this include Winston Davis (1980) on Sūkyō Mahikari, Stewart Guthrie (1988) on the Risshō Kōseikai, and Helen Hardacre (1986; 1984) who wrote on both Reiyūkai and Kurozumikyō (Astley 2006, 107).

1.2.2.1 Japanese Nationalism and “Japanese-ness”

Tenrikyō has been accused of being nationalistic and to this day is often seen as a “very Japanese” religion outside of Japan. This is often in the context of whether or not Tenrikyō can be a universal religion. Many scholars also bring up the Origin in Tenri City and the associated creation myth as example of Tenrikyō being either nationalistic or ethnocentric or both. For this thesis I will be focusing on Vancouver adherents’ experiences at the Origin and the surrounding landscape and how they re-learn to practice one separated from the Origin. I have found that national identity is less important as diaspora followers are connected to the Origin as a place and not to Japan as a nation.

²Thora Hawkey (1963) examines what happens when Tenrikyō’s value system comes into conflict with an existing value system in a small Japanese farming village called Saburō in Shiga Prefecture, Japan. While Tenrikyō is part of this case study Hawkey’s focus is more on social cohesion than on Tenrikyō (Hawkey 1963, 114).

Paul Eckel, one of the first scholars to write about the religion in English, argues that Tenrikyō has been proven to be successful in Japan in terms of its numbers but is destined for failure in the West. According to Eckel, any Westerner with a background in Christianity, modern education and science would not believe in Tenrikyō because it would require one to accept “the belief that the Japanese are a superior race, living in a superior land, and propagating a superior religion” (1936, 113). He sees the creation myth associated with the Origin as an inherently nationalistic feature of Tenrikyō. Eckel fails to mention Tenrikyō’s periods of intensive government regulation in his discussion of its nationalistic qualities. Tenrikyō’s leadership drastically changed both ritual practice and teachings first in 1908, so that it would align with state-sanctioned Shintō in order to become an independent Shintō sect (Ambros and Smith 2018, 36-37); and second during the Interwar Period (1918-1941), when many Japanese NRMs experienced scrutiny, repression, and even dissolution (Garon 1986). Toyoaki Uehara, by contrast, includes government control in his three part periodization of Tenrikyō: the first period, beginning from 1838 to 1868, is filled with conflict because of zealous evangelism; the second from 1868 until the end of World War II, is characterized by institutionalization while being restricted by the government; and, the third, beginning post-war, is one of freedom from government restrictions (1955, 205–14). While I agree with Eckel that Tenrikyō does have nationalistic doctrines, I find his analysis focus narrowly on Miki’s writing and does not examine how intensive government regulation might have heightened the nationalistic doctrines or changed them. There might be variance in how Tenrikyō followers interpret Miki’s writings, which became doctrine. It is interesting to note that, even beginning with Eckel, Tenrikyō is always portrayed in connection with the Origin. This underscores how crucial the Origin and Tenri City are in any analysis of Tenrikyō.

In a similar vein, Catherine Cornille states that the teachings of Miki Nakayama have a nationalistic undercurrent. Over the course of Tenrikyō’s history, these teachings have been used for nationalistic purposes, even if she allows that Tenrikyō may not be strongly nationalistic per se (2015, 14). According to Cornille these nationalistic undercurrents may be a result of Miki having lived at a located that is present-day Tenri City when she wrote these teachings. Thus, Tenri City is the location where humanity was created (2015, 29). She suggests that Japanese NRMs must solve the tension between the universalism that

they preach and the varying degrees of Japanese nationalistic and ethnocentric attitudes that exist within them (Cornille 2015, 28-30). Those teachings in Tenrikyō that have the strongest nationalistic undertones are mainly connected to the creation narrative which locates humanity's origins at Tenri City and the "masked service" (*kaguradzutome* かぐらづとめ), where ritual dancers wear animal masks and re-enact the creation story every month at the headquarters (Cornille 2015, 14). Teachings about the Origin and the masked service form the very core of Tenrikyō, as the following quote from *The Tip of the Writing Brush* conveys: "If only I can teach the origin of human beings throughout the world, then I will work whatever kind of salvation. Indeed, with a single word I will save you from and every matter³" (quoted in Cornille 2015, 15).

However, during periods of intensive government regulation Tenrikyō had to *remove* their creation story from their scriptures (Cornille 2015, 15). This was done so that Tenrikyō's creation story did not contradict the official, national Shintō creation myth and challenge the legitimacy of the Japanese emperor (Cornille 2015, 15). With the Origin and the creation myth being at the heart of Tenrikyō it is necessary that followers afar in Vancouver, British Columbia find a way to practice when they have to be separated from the most important sacred site of their religion. It may be even more important for followers in diaspora to answer Cornille's questions of how Japanese NRMs will solve the tensions between the universalism and ethnocentricity, as the distinction between Tenri and Tokyo, obvious inside of Japan, is less visible from overseas. Perhaps they too can find resources in the way Tenrikyō's myth runs against the mythology of the national center.

Despite the potential reinterpretations of seemingly nationalistic symbols and teachings, contemporary Tenrikyō communities still struggle with being seen as "too Japanese" in places such as London and Singapore (Huang 2017c, 12; Hamrin 2013, 214). I suggest Tenrikyō communities in Vancouver, British Columbia also struggle with being seen as "too Japanese" as well. After the mid-1940s, most nationalistic terms and symbols

³ Cornille cites a 1986 version of *The Tip of the Writing Brush* but it is interesting that the wording of the exact same verse, in part 7, section 129 to 130, is translated differently in the 1987 version of *The Tip of the Writing Brush*. This section is instead translated as "I sincerely wish that I could teach everyone throughout the world about the origin of humanity. After that, I shall grant various salvations. With but a single word, I shall save everyone." (Inoue and Eynon 1987, 275).

have been reinterpreted from a more spiritual point of view (Cornille 2015, 16). For example, the fan used by ritual dancers during the masked service is emblazoned with the Japanese flag, a red round circle on a white background. This is reinterpreted as depicting “the sun” in general (Cornille 2015, 15). There are also verses in *The Tip of the Writing Brush* that may refer to other nations versus Japan and have more explicit nationalistic connotations (Cornille 2015, 15). Later in the English translation of *The Tip of the Writing Brush*, however, the word Japan (Nihon 日本) is instead explained as “a word that indicated the region around the Jiba, [and] refers to the place settled by those whose use of mind and way of living are near the intention of God the Parent, who is one in truth with the Jiba” (quoted in Cornille 2015, 16). Another late version of *The Tip of the Writing Brush* translates the same word, Japan, as “the initiated,” and states that it refers to those who embrace the teachings of Tenrikyō (Inoue and Eynon 1987, 400–401). Yoshinori Moroi attempts to distance Tenrikyō from Japanese nationalism and “Japanese-ness” in his article (1963, 320). He argues that when *The Tip of the Writing Brush* uses the word Japan (Nihon) it does mean Japan but one should not associate it with Japanese nationalism. Rather, Moroi argues that its meaning points to the idea of the Origin and, more importantly, that Tenrikyō is a universal religion (Moroi 1963, 321). This tension between universalism and Japanese nationalism comes up perennially.

1.2.2.2 Structure of Practice

The three scholars, Henry van Straelen, Robert Ellwood and Roy Forbes, focus on or include practice at the headquarters at Tenri City as part of their argument. In 1957, Henry van Straelen focused on Tenrikyō’s growth, as evident in the title of his book, *The Religion of Divine Wisdom: Japan’s Most Powerful Religious Movement*. He enumerates thirteen reasons for Tenrikyō’s success. Some of the most important and relevant to this thesis, in my view, are: (1) that Tenrikyō’s rituals provide relief for life’s hardships and illnesses; (2) that followers form close bonds while at the headquarters in Tenri City; and, (3) that followers congregate at the headquarters in Tenri City, become impressed by the buildings and rituals, leave energized and proud of being a Tenrikyō follower (Straelen 1957, 219–26). By suggesting Tenrikyō’s rituals provide relief for life’s hardships and illnesses Straelen

focuses on the practical benefits that Tenrikyō can provide its followers. Followers forming close bonds and congregating at Tenri City is a social explanation highlighting the social benefits that Tenrikyō offers its adherents. Reader and Tanabe suggest that providing “practical benefits” (*genzeriyaku* 現世利益) are crucial in Japanese NRMs’ early development and later growth (1998, 2). However, Reader and Tanabe go on to suggest that Japanese NRMs are not unique in focusing on practical benefits but rather are following what is often the norm in religion in Japan (1998, 14).

A watershed moment occurred when Robert Ellwood (1982; 2008) departed from earlier scholars and instead examined the *structure* of Tenrikyō practice. Ellwood describes it as a “pilgrimage faith” because according to him pilgrimage “controls the doctrine, the worship and the sociology” of Tenrikyō (1982, 113). That is to say, the services performed at the churches around the world are partial reflections of the complete service at the headquarters, followers are initiated by going for specific training at the headquarters, they return “home” to the headquarters whenever possible, especially for major celebrations, and they encourage others to make the journey (Ellwood 1982, 113–14). In fact, followers are greeted with “welcome home” (*okaerinasai* お帰りなさい) when they reach Tenri City (Cornille 2015, 15). In his later work Ellwood expands on his idea of Tenrikyō being a “pilgrimage faith” by stating that initiation into Tenrikyō is a personal commitment that is fairly simple and open to most people, marked by the effort to sustain a deep connection to a specific sacred place and community (Ellwood 2008, 195).

Similar to Ellwood, Roy Forbes focuses on the headquarters. In his thesis, Forbes (2005) traces the development of three religious groups that emerged from Tenrikyō: Tenrin Ō Kyōkai, Daidōkyō, and Honmichi. Forbes suggests that, in all three religious groups, ideas of sacred space and charismatic leadership became important themes (2005, 168). However, he explains that Tenrikyō was able to maintain cohesion because of the doctrine of the Origin and the masked service that is performed exclusively at the headquarters (2005, 168). If any follower wanted to form a separate religious group this follower would lose access to the Origin and the masked service. This would motivate the follower, who may be critical of the leadership, to remain quiet in order to continue to have access to this important sacred site (2005, 168). According to Forbes, another factor that

contributes to Tenrikyō's cohesion is that Tenrikyō restricts important training and ordination for followers to its headquarters, which is of course built at the Origin (Forbes 2005, 167).

1.2.3 Tenrikyō in Diaspora

I turn now to scholarship that has traced Tenrikyō beyond the borders of Japan. Tenrikyō in Vancouver, British Columbia shares many similarities with other diaspora communities. For example in Tenrikyō communities everywhere the religion continues to be perceived as “too Japanese.” Generally, Tenrikyō in diaspora can be categorized into those located in former Japanese colonies and which are not. Canada is in the latter category. Tenrikyō in diaspora is characterized by followers maintaining transnational ties to the headquarters in Tenri City, the impact of Japanese colonial history on people's perception of Tenrikyō as a Japanese religion, and Tenrikyō's struggle with language barriers and the image of being “too Japanese.” Tenrikyō communities in former Japanese colonies tend to have the largest number of non-Japanese adherents, while those in migrant diaspora communities, such as Vancouver or those across Europe, are mostly comprised of people of Japanese heritage. To date, scholars have written about Tenrikyō in places such as Taiwan, Brazil, Singapore, London and the United States, among which Taiwan is a former Japanese colony.

Tenrikyō first began to establish foreign missions in the 1890s, with substantial growth in the 1930s alongside the expansion of Japanese colonial power (Ambros and Smith 2018, 37; Yamakura 145). By 1932, transplanted Tenrikyō adherents established a community and churches in Manchuria and three years later, by 1935, mission settlements had been established in Korea and Taiwan (Ambros and Smith 2018, 37; Yamakura 2010, 145). Manchuria is unique as a mission site because Tenrikyō leadership worked with the Japanese government between 1932 and 1945 to occupy the colony, sending multiple waves of Tenrikyō followers through mass migration to build a “Tenri Village” (Yamakura 2010, 145). By 1945, Tenrikyō had established 211 churches in Korea, 124 churches in Manchuria and 46 churches spread out across the rest of China (quoted in Yamakura 2010, 145).

In former Japanese colonies, such as Taiwan and Singapore, the perception of the Japanese occupation years directly affects people's perception of Tenrikyō as a Japanese religion. There is a favorable perception of Japanese colonial rule among Taiwanese but many Singaporeans have a negative perception. Huang connects Tenrikyō's expansion into Taiwan with Japanese colonization (1895-1945) and the religious suppression of Tenrikyō in Japan, identifying three factors that contributed to its development: (1) increased religious freedom after the end of martial law in Taiwan in the late 1980s; (2) a favorable perception of Japanese colonial rule among Taiwanese and sense of affinity with Japan, especially among Hokkien people; and, (3) Tenrikyō's resemblance to Taiwanese popular religion, which also emphasizes "this-worldly benefits, practical matters, ancestor worship, personal relationships with family members, and the purification of the spirit by healing" (Huang 2016, 83;86;94-95). Taiwanese Tenrikyō adherents also possess a unique post-colonial nostalgia for Japan, making them different from other foreign pilgrims (Huang 2017b, 289). In contrast to the case of Taiwan, where many feel a sense of nostalgia and have an overwhelmingly positive image of the Japanese colonial years, many feel awful and negatively when recalling the Japanese occupation of Singapore (Hamrin 2013, 194). This continues to have an effect on the present Japanese community in Singapore as they are both respected to a degree for their economic power but also distrusted or even despised for their actions during the three years Singapore was a colony of Japan (1942-1945) (Hamrin 2013, 194,205). As a part of the larger Japanese community in Singapore, Tenrikyō adherents are also affected by these perceptions. Tenrikyō in Singapore has tried to change the negative image of Japan through social welfare activities (Hamrin 2013, 214).

The former Japanese colonies of Taiwan and Singapore are interesting contrasts on the issue of whether Tenrikyō is seen as "too Japanese." Tenrikyō in Singapore "does not reach far outside of a small circle because it is 'too Japanese.' Its teachings are in other words too much a vehicle of Japanese history, and its mythical dimension, which places Japan at the center of its cosmology, understandably grates on many people's feelings in Singapore" (Hamrin 2013, 214). Tenrikyō's history in Singapore began in the Japanese diaspora community and was able to expand outwards to the Singaporean Chinese community to a certain degree through cultural activities such as languages classes (Hamrin 2013, 214-15). In Taiwan, by contrast, Tenrikyō is able to overcome being

perceived as “too Japanese.” In a later article, Huang (2017a) examines Tenrikyō’s unique healing ritual called “divine grant” (*sazuke* さづけ). He argues that this healing ritual is comparable to local religious practices in Taiwan which offer practical benefits and a physical experience, which in turn may explain why Tenrikyō can overcome both cultural and language barriers (Huang 2017a, 1328).

Pilgrimage is even more important for the identity of Tenrikyō adherents in diaspora than for those in Japan. Cultivation of ties with the headquarters in Tenri City can be seen in the practices of Tenrikyō communities in Taiwan. Yueh-po Huang describes the way Taiwanese Tenrikyō followers make pilgrimages to “return to the Origin” (*ojibagaeri* おじば帰り) based on a desire for “spiritual development, healing and tourism” (Huang 2017b, 301). While followers are allowed to make this pilgrimage to Tenri City whenever they like, it is ideal that they make this pilgrimage on the twenty-sixth day of any month (Huang 2017b, 288). A number of important events occurred on the twenty-sixth: its founding on October 26, 1838; the identification of the Origin by Miki on May 26, 1875 (according to the lunar calendar and is equivalent to June 29 on the solar calendar); and, the death of the foundress, Miki, on January 26, 1887 (Huang 2017b, 288; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1991, 100; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 3, 41). This site of repeated pilgrimage is seen as a home “where a supposedly distant power is located and sanctified, to which a feeling of pious attachment is directed” (Huang 2017b, 301). Taiwanese Tenrikyō pilgrims return to Tenri City not as a “conscious attempt to leave their communities and escape daily life... [but rather this] collective journey to Japan is an act of continuation, reinforcement, and recreation of the ordinary faithful life that they have been leading in their communities; they visit Tenri to recharge their batteries, which enables them to accommodate themselves to a changing society when they return to normal life in Taiwan” (Huang 2017b, 301). Ultimately, the reason for returning to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape is related with a sense of belonging to the larger Tenrikyō community (Huang 2017b, 301).

Tenrikyō’s missionary activities in Asia were radically different from their efforts in North America (Yamakura 2010, 147). In Asia Tenrikyō often followed Japanese colonial power in terms of how it spread whereas in the United States and Canada Tenrikyō was

brought by immigrant laborers (Yamakura 2010, 147). Due to racism and language barriers, Tenrikyō in North America was limited to Japanese communities (Yamakura 2010, 147). In the period leading up to the Second World War Tenrikyō communities were comprised of converts, missionaries and ministers of Japanese heritage (Yamakura 2010, 147). During the war and afterwards, Tenrikyō was viewed with suspicion by the U.S. government and many Tenrikyō ministers in the United States were arrested and interned (Yamakura 2010, 141–42). Akihiro Yamakura suggests five factors played a role in Tenrikyō ministers being interned and treated more harshly than other religious leaders who were also interned during the same period. One reason was that Tenrikyō ministers in the United States limited their daily interactions and missionary activities to Japanese communities, inviting popular and official suspicions. Tragically, this ignores the role of racial segregation, which was prevalent at the time, in this very exclusivity (Yamakura 2010, 146, 156). Although Tenrikyō followers were only 0.4 percent of the interned population in the United States, they were treated with as much suspicion as any of the other Japanese religion with a larger following (Buddhism, Japanese Protestantism, and Catholicism), and usually Tenrikyō ministers received much harsher treatment (Yamakura 2010, 142). One such case is that of Bishop Hashimoto, who headed the Tenrikyō North American mission. He was interned until April 1947, which is a year and eight months after Japan surrendered, and considerably longer than most other Japanese Americans who were interned (Yamakura 2010, 142). It is difficult to apply Yamakura's conclusion that Tenrikyō ministers were interned for much longer than most other Japanese Americans to the case of Tenrikyō in Canada because there is so little data. Two ministers, Sawaharu Tashiro and Man Yasuda, and a Tenrikyō follower, Tomi Ōkura, were interned in Canada but it is unclear how long this lasted.

In terms of transnational ties and identity in diaspora in the United States, Masato Kato (2010) analyzes three Tenrikyō churches in the San Francisco Bay area. These churches continue to have ties with the headquarters in Tenri City and allow these transnational ties to the headquarters dictate leadership roles and facilitate training and education (Kato 2010, 108-109). For Tenrikyō followers in San Francisco, specifically younger second-generation followers, their sense of belonging is not tied to a particular place but rather their family. According to Kato these followers in diaspora remain in

Tenrikyō not because of a conscious choice but rather their religious identity is the result of their family obligations and religious upbringing (2010, 106). He also notes that these followers “did not show a strong sign of holding onto a distinctive Tenrikyo identity” (Kato 2010, 107). Kato suggests that because these followers live in a church building, where Tenrikyō rituals occur literally in their living rooms or other spaces that have been converted to a worship hall, their family members are the head minister or crucial members of the church. They are left without almost any choice but to participate (Kato 2010, 108).

Turning to the case of Vancouver Tenrikyō communities, it is also true that churches and mission centers have been established in living rooms or other spaces that been converted to worship halls. I agree with Kato that followers who live in these buildings would face pressure to participate in rituals and may not have much choice. Kato’s argument that followers who have kinship ties to Tenrikyō do not come to have a distinctive Tenrikyō identity is based on an assumption that a distinctive Tenrikyō identity is based on individual choice. He further assumes that because these followers live in close proximity to Tenrikyō rituals they do not have individual choice. Among my interviewees I have found this not to be the case. Kinship ties do not dictate whether followers have a distinctive Tenrikyō identity or not. Rather, I suggest followers’ sense of belonging is heavily tied to whether that individual has traveled to the Origin. Followers’ experiences in group practice at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape contributes to them having a distinctive Tenrikyō identity.

This connection to place—the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape—is perhaps why Tenrikyō is often seen as “too Japanese” in many diaspora communities. Masanobu Yamada suggests that the smaller following Tenrikyō has in Brazil compared to another Japanese NRM in Brazil, The Church of World Messianity (Sekai Kyūsei Kyō 世界救世教), can be attributed to the centrality of the Origin causing Tenrikyō to be seen as inseparable from the Japanese ethnic identity (Yamada 2019, 291–92). In Brazil Tenrikyō has approximately 30,000 followers (with around 20 percent being non-Japanese), with a mission headquarters and 85 churches (2019, 278). This is an astonishingly large number of followers outside of Japan. According to Yamada, the Origin is at the core of the doctrines

of Tenrikyō because it is both the “source of salvation of humanity and the focus of prayer” (2019, 279). Not only is the Origin doctrinally important but structurally it also forms the core of Tenrikyō. Tenrikyō’s structure includes both a multi-tier church system that forms lineages and regional relationships that consolidate and center on the Origin and headquarters in Tenri City (Yamada 2019, 280).

Similar to the case in Brazil where Tenrikyō is “too Japanese,” the Tenrikyō community in England is confronted with several issues, those being: language barriers and the perception of Japanese-ness and foreignness (Huang 2017c, 12). The songs sung during rituals are in Japanese. While observers may be given translations, they cannot sing the rituals songs in English and for non-Japanese people this language barrier causes them to be reluctant to take part in the ritual (Huang 2017c, 12). The language barrier is compounded by perception of Tenrikyō’s rituals as “foreign,” making some even more reluctant to become involved (Huang 2017c, 12). Non-Tenrikyō followers perceive a sense of “Japanese-ness” in Tenrikyō, categorizing it as more a Japanese religion and less a universal religion (Huang 2017c, 12). As a result, the Tenrikyō community in England is mostly comprised of people with Japanese heritage, which is again similar to the case in Brazil (Huang 2017c, 11).

1.3 Methodology

In this thesis I attempt to describe what practice looks like for Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver, British Columbia. After hearing about it briefly in an undergraduate university class, I initially approached the Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center around 2014 with the goal of learning more about Tenrikyō to see whether this religion could become my own. At that time I did not intent to conduct research on Tenrikyō nor did I approach them as a researcher. From 2014 onwards I continued to occasionally attend monthly services at the Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center and Vancouver Tenrikyō events. These connections to the Vancouver Tenrikyō community became the groundwork for this thesis.

For this thesis I draw mainly on fieldwork conducted between March 2019 and August 2019, during which I interviewed twenty-six people, conducted participant observation at each field site while attending monthly services and events, and conducted anonymous surveys. My three field sites were the Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center, the Vancouver Church and the Granville Church in Vancouver, British Columbia. I only attended monthly services twice at each site due to time constraints. The response rate to the surveys was too low to provide good evidence so I mainly draw on interview data and participant observation. The interviews were semi-structured, audio recorded and ranged in length thirty minutes to three hours. Interviews were either conducted in English, Japanese or we would switch between the two languages during the course of the interview. Perhaps because of my longest standing rapport with the mission center, eighteen out of twenty-six of my interviewees were from the Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center whereas only four were from Granville Church and two were from Vancouver Church. The interviewees' age ranged from the youngest being 19 years old and the oldest being 86 years old. In terms of gender identity, 15 of 26 self-identified as women, 10 self-identified as men and one person self-identified as non-binary. In addition, I draw on three interviews I conducted in 2018 as part of a class at the University of British Columbia. I interviewed these same interviewees a second time for this present study.

When I began this research, I had hoped to conduct fieldwork at the Tenrikyō Mission Headquarters for America and Canada, which is located in Los Angeles, in order to include information about Tenrikyō in the United States. Unfortunately, I was unable to go because due to the University of British Columbia's ethics regulations. UBC's Behavioral Research Ethics Board mandated that I disclose my intent. As mine was solely research-based, I was denied access to a month-long spiritual development course by the minister of the Tenrikyō Mission Headquarters in America and Canada. As a result, this thesis is limited to Canada and specifically to Vancouver, British Columbia.

1.4 Chapter Outline

This thesis will be divided into three parts. In the first part, I provide the history of Tenrikyō in Canada, highlighting two important patterns: (1) followers immigrating then later starting missionary work by starting a fellowship, mission center or church; and, (2) the lineage of that newly founded fellowship, mission center or church being passed on to a close friend, relative or family member.

In the second part, I discuss what happens when followers return to the Origin and the surrounding landscape at Tenri City. Among my research participants there are both followers who traveled to the Origin from within Japan and those who traveled from Canada, staying anywhere from three months to two years. I suggest that contemporary Tenrikyō followers become immersed in intensive, daily group practice at the Origin and its surrounding landscape. While immersed, followers see examples of what practice could look like from other followers around them. Also during these intensive, daily group practices, followers form social connections. They make friends and meet teachers, roles models and mentors. These important social connections and the experiences of intensive, daily group practice are especially memorable for followers because the physical location where followers experience all this is at the Origin, the most doctrinally significant site for Tenrikyō. So, followers form a long-lasting connection to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape because of intensive, daily group practice and a site-specific social network.

In the third part, I turn my focus back to Vancouver, British Columbia. Once followers return to Vancouver they are necessarily separated from the Origin and the surrounding landscape and the people there. Practicing in Vancouver comes with certain difficulties and followers begin feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment they had experienced at the Origin. Followers are able to maintain the connection they had initially developed while there through monthly services which invoke feelings of nostalgia through ritual, clothing, food and events. For those who have not been to the Origin and the surrounding landscape these monthly services invoke no sense of nostalgia or connection. For Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver it becomes ever more important to

encourage more people to return to the Origin and the surrounding area, so they too may establish a connection.

Chapter 2: Establishing Historical Roots

Tenrikyō was founded in Japan during the nineteenth century and its history in Canada began as early as 1903. In early and mid-twentieth century Japan, Tenrikyō went through a period of strict government regulation, underwent drastic changes, and later became an independent religious movement. The religion's history in Canada begins in Vancouver, British Columbia as immigrants arrive in the late 1890s and 1900s. After World War II, it spreads inland in British Columbia and eastward to Toronto, Ontario. The religion's missionary activities in Asia were drastically different from their activity in North America (Yamakura 2010, 147). The spread of Tenrikyō in Canada was led by immigrants. In contrast, Tenrikyō's activity in Asia would often accompany Japanese colonial power (Yamakura 2010, 147). Tenrikyō's international missionary work first began in the Japanese empire during the 1890s with the establishment of official foreign missions and displayed substantial growth in the 1930s (Ambros and Smith 2018, 37; Yamakura 145). Tenrikyō in Canada, however, displays very different patterns.

In this chapter, I provide a brief history of Tenrikyō in Japan followed by a history of Tenrikyō in Canada. This latter history contextualizes the situation of contemporary diaspora followers, but there are stark lacunas in the kinds of historical information available. For example, I was unable to find information about the age or socio-economic background of early Canadian followers. Nonetheless, looking at the history of Tenrikyō in Canada there are two general patterns that emerge. First, followers immigrated then later starting missionary work by starting a fellowship, mission center or church. Second, these newly founded fellowships, mission centers, or churches display an interesting lineage pattern: they are passed on to a close friend, relative or family member and not necessarily from father to son, the pattern seen in many other modern Japanese religions.

2.1 A Brief History of Tenrikyō in Japan

During the Meiji period (1868-1912), Tenrikyō was recognized as a form of Shintō, with “religious” Shintō officially referred to as “Sectarian Shintō” (Kyōha Shintō 教派神道).

However, following World War II, it became an independent religious movement (Ambros and Smith 2018, 33). Before its independence, however, Tenrikyō along with other new religious movements was controlled and suppressed by the government and police during the emergency and wartime era.

Between the 1920s and 1940s Japanese New Religious Movements (NRMs) often encountered problems with authorities and were subject to investigation by police. This led to the imprisonment of many of the religion's leaders and members or the dissolution of the religions themselves (Astley 2006, 100–101). During World War II, Tenrikyō faced severe government restrictions similar to other religions at that time, with the government imposing a number of changes on Tenrikyō with the aim of utilizing it as part of the wartime efforts (Ellwood 1982, 60). Specific texts were banned or changed: *The Tip of the Writing Brush* and *The Divine Directions* were no longer allowed to be circulated, and *The Songs for Service* was revised so that the two stanzas that referred to the Origin were removed (Ellwood 1982, 60). The service which re-enacts Tenrikyō's creation story, called the "kagura service" (*kagura dzutome* かぐらづとめ), was halted and not practiced for five years (Ellwood 1982, 60). Also during this time, the *Extended Tenrikyo Doctrine* (*Tenrikyō kyoten engi* 天理教教典衍義) was published, which included sections on patriotism, discipline, obedience and reverence to the emperor (Ellwood 1982, 60). Notably missing in the *Extended Tenrikyo Doctrine* was any mention of the Origin as the birthplace of humanity as this would contradict State Shintō ideology and national history (Ellwood 1982, 60). Tenrikyō was under intense pressure from the government to support the war effort (Ellwood 1982, 60; Garon 1986, 300). Tenrikyō's support included the first Sino-Japanese (1894-1895) and Russo-Japanese Wars (1904-1905) (Garon 1986, 282). Tenrikyō relief work followed Japanese forces, establishing churches, medical dispensaries and orphanages abroad in places such as Manchuria and China (Ellwood 1982, 60). While supporting the war effort alongside the expansion of Japanese colonial power, Tenrikyō saw substantial growth in foreign missions in the 1930's in places such as South Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria and across the rest of China (Ambros and Smith 2018, 37; Yamakura 145). However during this wartime period international missionary work outside of Japanese colonies in Asia was suspended.

After World War II, Tenrikyō became an independent religious movement (Ambros and Smith 2018, 33). During this post-war period Tenrikyō again underwent drastic changes including the publication of new versions of core doctrinal texts, a renewed focus on international missionary work, which had been suspended during wartime, and further construction at the headquarters in Tenri City (quoted in Ambros and Smith 2018, 39). Tenrikyō leadership encouraged followers to model their lives after the foundress, Miki Nakayama, with the aim of restoring her “original teachings” (quoted in Ambros and Smith 2018, 39). The foundress’ life is called the “divine model” (*hinagata* ひながた) which serves as an “absolute example and faultless pattern for all the believers” (Straelen 1957, 31). In her biography she is described as being extremely kind-hearted, compassionate, and generous (Straelen 1957, 38-40; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1993,35-42), qualities that her followers are enjoined to cultivate.

2.2 The History of Tenrikyō in Canada: A Drum and Small Gong

Tenrikyō was brought to Canada and the United States by immigrant laborers (Yamakura 2010, 147). Before the Second World War missionaries were sent to North American and Brazil (Cornille 2015, 13). The history of Tenrikyō in Canada begins as early as 1903, with Kohachi Tokiyasu 幸八時安 being the first document follower immigrating and the founding of the Steveston Fellowship スティーブストン布教所 in 1928. This early period was followed by an increase in followers who immigrated in the 1920s, despite immigration restrictions (Ward 1982). Wartime and internment in the 1940s brought Tenrikyō activities to a halt, and this was followed by a post-war period of activity and increased immigration from the late 1960s onwards—a wave of “newcomers.” Immigrants were crucial to the history of Tenrikyō in Canada and the actions they took accumulated over time to form the history. In many ways contemporary followers are still connected to the history of the followers who immigrated before them and those who experienced internment.

There is little academic work on Tenrikyō communities in North America discussing the period prior to World War II, with only a single book published in English by the

Tenrikyō Mission Headquarters in America (1984) covering the period from 1934 to 1984, along with several sources in Japanese (see Nakayama 中山 1954; Onoue 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d; 2018e). In this situation of a dearth of resources, material religion and attention to the stories of ritual objects cared for by followers can provide a window into Tenrikyō in Canada.

Another way to summarize the history of Tenrikyō in Canada is through the story of a drum and a small gong. On September 1, 2019, during our interview Jacob tells me “the drum and the small gong—all the paraphernalia associated with the [Tenrikyō ritual or]service and all that—was confiscated [by the Canadian government]. And so I still remember my dad telling me the former head minister again Reverend Man Yasuda got a phone call from a follower...here [in Vancouver, British Columbia] after the [Second World] War saying oh some of the items that were confiscated are being auctioned off including the drum and the thing[the small gong]. So it's interesting that the Tenrikyō people bought back their own instruments you know?” He goes on to explain that while there are newer instruments what makes these two special is that there is a “deep[er] meaning behind these. Whenever we see th[ese] two we think about people in those days having to you know give up everything they had except for two suitcases, being interned, and losing all this too” as he gestured to the living room that was converted to a worship hall where we sat (Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019).

This drum and small gong was brought from Japan to Vancouver, used by Tenrikyō followers before the war, taken by the Canadian government and not returned. Then followers had to find out about the auction themselves after the Second World War ended and buy back this drum and gong that had been confiscated by Canadian government, who were now selling these stolen items. Followers bought this drum and gong as an effort to restore them to their place in the church. Presumably, these two instruments are only a small portion of what was taken from the Tenrikyō followers before the war and what was ultimately lost. Later immigrants and their families who did not experience having their possessions confiscated and internment first hand are told about them through this story of a drum and small gong. This narrative symbolizes what happened to the Tenrikyō religion itself during the twentieth century in Canada. Interwoven into this story of the

drum and the gong is the history of internment, where both people and objects were forcibly removed from their homes, revealing a part of history of Tenrikyō in Canada unavailable in textual sources. This drum and gong tell the story of Tenrikyō in Canada because it highlights the actions that followers *chose to take on their own*, such as using their own money to buy back ritual instruments that were taken away from them. Followers called Man Yasuda to share the good news that the drum and gong were back. These experiences of arrival, suppression and loss, then effort to restore and revive, accumulate over time and form the history of Tenrikyō in Canada.

2.2.1 Arrival in Canada

When Tenrikyō first arrived in Canada, three immigrant laborers, Kohachi Tokiyasu 幸八時安, Man Yasuda マン安田 and Ei Shibata エイ柴田 (Soda 2014, 4; Nishi, n.d. 3-5; Egawa, n.d. 1), played a key role in the development of Tenrikyō in Canada by establishing fellowships or churches, some of which continue to exist to this day. They were also among the first few Tenrikyō followers to arrive in Canada. They all immigrated to British Columbia and worked in the fishing or lumber industries, similar to other Japanese immigrants at the time. Japanese immigration to Canada began in the late 19th century and early 20th century (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841; Soda 2014, 4; Nishi, n.d. 3; Egawa, n.d. 1). Work on the railroads or in coal mines also drew many of these early Japanese immigrants (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841).

Steveston Fellowship ステューブストーン布教所

The Steveston Fellowship was established in 1928 by Kohachi Tokiyasu and when he passed away on October 5, 1934 (Nishi, n.d. 3) the Steveston Fellowship also ended. The history of the Steveston Fellowship follows the pattern: Tokiyasu was an immigrant laborer who converted to Tenrikyō after arriving in Vancouver. He befriended another Japanese immigrant, who was a Tenrikyō adherent, and came to the religion through that connection (Nishi, n.d. 3). He first immigrated from Wakayama Prefecture to the Vancouver area in 1903 (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission

Headquarters in America 1984, 155;Nishi, n.d. 3; Egawa, n.d. 1). After converting to Tenrikyō he returned to Japan to attend a six month training course (*bekka* 別科) at the headquarters in Tenri City in 1915(Nishi, n.d. 3). Then, against the wishes of his wife and children, he returned to Vancouver for a second time and proceeded to do missionary work throughout the province. He later bought land in Steveston, an area near Vancouver, and establishing the Steveston fellowship in 1928 (Nishi, n.d. 3).

Canada Church 加奈陀教会

The Canada Church 加奈陀教会 was founded by a group of immigrants who had come to Vancouver for work. They were followed by a minister who was dispatched from the headquarters in Tenri City and placed under the new minister's guidance. The Canada Church is unique in that it was founded by following a directive of the religious and administrative leader of Tenrikyō when he visited Vancouver. The leader wanted a church that could unify all Canadian Tenrikyō followers to be founded. As a result, there are four founding members in comparison to the usual single founder. It is worth examining this church in further detail because of this interesting distinction.

During the 1930s, the association called The Canada Tenri Church 加奈陀天理教会, which later became the Canada Church 加奈陀教会, was formed by Kohachi Tokiyasu, Man Yasuda (who immigrated in 1921⁴), Hatsuo Shibata 初男柴田 (who immigrated with his sister, Ei Shibata, in 1929), and Kazuo Shiraki 一雄白木 (who immigrated in 1929) (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155; Nishi, n.d. 6-7; Egawa, n.d. 1). Each of these four founding members were affiliated with different grand churches⁵ in Japan: Kohachi Tokiyasu and Kazuo Shiraki with Takayasu Grand Church 高安大教会, Man Yasuda with Chikushi Grand Church 筑紫大教会, and Hatsuo Shibata with Honjima Grand Church 本島大教会 (Tenri University

⁴ It is unclear which year Man Yasuda immigrated. Some of my sources states that she immigrated in July 1921, one states that it was a year later in 1922 and the official church history published by the headquarters states she immigrated in 1912 (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155; Nishi, n.d. 4; Egawa, n.d. 1).

⁵ A grand church is different from a church because it has a larger number of followers and is the "head" church of a number of churches underneath it forming a lineage.

Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155). In 1933, Shōzen Nakayama 正善中山⁶, who was the religious and administrative leader of Tenrikyō, the second “Shinbashira”真柱 (literally, “central pillar”), visited Vancouver as part a American and Canadian circuit of Tenrikyō communities(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 8-10,155). His final destination was the World’s Parliament of Religions held in Chicago on August 27th, 1933 (a follow-up to the first held in 1893) (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 8). Upon observing the situation in Canada, Shōzen recommended a new church to unify all Canadian Tenrikyō followers and the elimination of individual church affiliations (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155). Following his directive, the Canada Church was established on December 1, 1934 (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155).

On March 3, 1935,Tōru Suzuki 享鈴木, a staff member from the headquarters in Tenri City, who was at the time the principal of Tenri Girl’s High School, arrived in Vancouver and became the first head minister of the Canada Church (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 8-10,155). On March 23 all four founding members of the Canada Church, Kohachi Tokiyasu, Man Yasuda, Hatsuo Shibata, and Kazuo Shiraki, were placed under the guidance of Tōru Suzuki (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155). Soon Tōru Suzuki became estranged from his followers at the newly founded Canada Church. He returned to the headquarters in Japan for Tenrikyō’s 100th year anniversary, was sent to North China to review churches there and was then appointed to be the head of the Mission Headquarters in Tientsin 天津伝道庁長(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 8-10,155). As a result, Sawaharu Tashiro 沢次田代, who was a staff member of Minakuchi Grand Church 水口大教会, was dispatched and became the second head minister of Canada Church on August 9, 1938 (Tenri University Oyasato

⁶Shōzen Nakayama the great-grandson of the foundress Miki Nakyama.

Research Institute 1989, 841–42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155).

Granville Church グランビル教会 (originally called Vancouver Church バンクーバー教会)

The Granville Church グランビル教会 again follows the familiar pattern of being founded by an immigrant who later started missionary work. Although this church was defunct for a short time when the minister was unable to enter the country, it was later re-established by a different follower. Neither the initial establishment nor the re-establishment was by a directive from the headquarters in Tenri City but was based rather on the followers' own desire to start a church.

In 1929, Ei Shibata, who was affiliated with Honjima Grand Church, immigrated to Vancouver. She received permission to establish the Vancouver Church and become its first head minister from the headquarters in Tenri City before immigrating (Nishi, n.d.). Accordingly she became the first head minister of the Vancouver Church バンクーバー教会, which later was renamed to Granville Church after World War II (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 118–19; Nishi, n.d. 5, 10). She was the founding member in the first instance. In 1933, after a brief return to Japan, she was denied entry to Canada based on immigrations laws (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841–42; Nishi, n.d. 5; Egawa, n.d. 1). In an attempt to continue her missionary work, she settled in Seattle (Nishi, n.d. 5). The Vancouver Church would later be re-established by Man Yasuda, who immigrated in 1932 (Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119).

2.2.2 Internment

There is limited information regarding Tenrikyō during the interment years beyond our knowledge that Sawaharu Tashiro, Tomi Ōkura トミ大倉, and Man Yasuda were interned. During this period there seemed to be little to no religious activity.

Canada Church 加奈陀教会

In September 1942, after World War II began, the Canadian government enacted policy to send Japanese Canadians to internment camps (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 8-10, 155-56). Sawaharu Tashiro, the second head minister of Canada Church, was interned at Tashme internment camp (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56). Tashiro lived at house number 712 with Tomi Ōkura トミ大倉, another Tenrikyō follower (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56; Nikkei National Museum and Cultural Centre 1942, 9). Tashme internment camp was located in the interior of British Columbia and was the largest and most isolated out of the ten internment camps that Japanese Canadian were sent to (HeritageBC, n.d.). Tashme internees lived in 14 by 28 feet wooden framed, non-insulated housing. One or two families would live together and they had no running water, plumbing and limited access to necessities such as food and clothing (HeritageBC, n.d.). Tomi Ōkura had been introduced to Tenrikyō through the first minister, Tōru Suzuki, in 1935. She had previously helped with missionary work while living at the Canada Church before being interned (Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56).

Granville Church グランビル教会

Man Yasuda, the second head minister of Granville Church, was interned at New Denver, British Columbia. He continued to do missionary work even while in the camps, both New Denver and in Kelowna (Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119; Nishi 1994, 20). The New Denver camp was one of the larger internment camps in the region and, by 1942, held 1,505 Japanese Canadian in 275 shacks (HeritageBC, n.d.).

2.2.3 Postwar Canada

After the Second World War, Tenrikyō followers became active again. During this period, churches that had been established before internment were now being passed on often to a

family member, close relative or friend and new churches were founded by postwar immigrants from Japan.

Canada Church 加奈陀教会

The Canada Church's head ministers were often the close friend, relative or family member of the former head minister. For example, the third head minister Tomi Ōkura was a close friend of the second head minister and the fourth head minister, Hisano Ōkura, was the daughter-in-law of the third head minister. Women were often head ministers, and in these two examples, the head minister position passed from a woman to a female friend, and from a woman to a daughter-in-law. This pattern, which includes the remarkable participation of women in what is normally a male-dominated and patrilineal process in most Japanese religion, is common for Tenrikyō in Canada.

Sawaharu Tashiro returned to Japan after the Second World War ended but before he left he entrusted the sacred objects which are enshrined in a Tenrikyō altar with his friend Tomi Ōkura, with whom he was interned. Ōkura later came to become the third head minister of Canada Church. Ōkura remained the minister until Ōkura's daughter-in-law became the fourth head minister. Tashiro, who was interned, returned to Japan after the war ended on June 18, 1946 (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56). Three months before Tashiro was set to return to Japan, the sacred objects were set-up in Tomi Ōkura's home in Toronto, Ontario (today they are enshrined in a Tenrikyō altar), and placed under Ōkura's care. Ōkura and Tashiro had been interned together in Tashme (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56). In 1951, Tomi Ōkura was asked by Shōzen Nakayama 正善中山, the second Shinbashira, while Shōzen was visiting churches in Chicago, to become the third head minister of Canada Church (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 155-56). The following year, she was appointed and installed (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 156; Egawa, n.d. 5). Tomi Ōkura remained the head minister until Hisano Ōkura ひさの大倉, the daughter-in-law of Tomi Ōkura and

the daughter of the first minister, Toru Suzuki, took over as the fourth head minister in 1979(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 156).

Since 1956, Granville Church has been a subordinate or a branch church of Canada Church in addition to two subordinate fellowships, namely, the B.C. Fellowship B.C. 布教所 and Spring Fellowship スプリング布教所(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 841-42;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 157). The B.C. Fellowship was established in 1971 by Kazuo Kido 一夫木戸 and Spring Fellowship was established by Shigeo Naka 重雄仲 in 1981(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 842;The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 157).

Granville Church グランビル教会

The pattern of passing on a church to a friend, relative or family member of the head minister also applied to the Granville Church as it was also passed on to a friend of the former second head minister. In 1956, Man Yasuda re-established the Vancouver Church, renamed it to Granville Church and became the second head minister at the age of 70(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 842;Kokuryo 1994, 21). Yasuda introduced Tenrikyō to Minoru Kokuryo 実国領, who would later become the third minister of Granville Church in 1966(Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 842; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119; Kokuryo 1994, 20-21). Kokuryo was attracted to Tenrikyō because of Yasuda's generous character and her dedication (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119; Kokuryo 1994, 20-21). Kokuryo had been working at an import-export company when he met Yasuda (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119). Yasuda had become the head minister at the age of 70 and stepped down due to her advanced age. Kokuryo succeeded her on February 26, 1966 (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 842; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 119). In 1964, the Okanagan Fellowship オカナガン布教所 was established by Keitaro Naka 慶太郎仲 under the Granville Church (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 842; The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 157).

Vancouver Church/ Vancouver 教会⁷

The Vancouver Church displays two general patterns that are consistent with the history of Tenrikyō in Canada in general. The church was founded by an immigrant who later started missionary work and the head minister passed on the church to a family member. As mentioned above, there was a Vancouver Church with a history stretching back to the pre-war period that was renamed the Granville Church after the war. In 1977, a separate, unrelated Vancouver Church was established by Kenichi Nishi 賢一西 (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198–99; Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 1114). Kenichi was born in Steveston, an area outside of Vancouver (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). Around the age of two he returned to Mio, Wakayama with his mother, and was raised there (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). When Kenichi was 20 years old he was diagnosed with severe lung and intestinal tuberculosis and was told he only had three months to live (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). From Kenichi's initial prognosis to his later recovery, his parent church's minister, Kumakichi Suzukawa 熊吉鈴川 of the Yūmio Church 湯三尾教会, continually performed Tenrikyō's healing ritual on Kenichi (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). It is said that this healing ritual enabled Kenichi to recover and be well enough to attend the three month long spiritual development course (*shūyōka* 修養科) in 1953 (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112).

In 1956, Kenichi returned to Canada. Two years later he completed the Minister Qualification Seminar (*kenteikōshū* 検定講習) at the headquarters in Tenri City while visiting Japan (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). In that same year he also married his wife Fusako Nishi 夫佐子西, who subsequently immigrated to Canada to join Kenichi (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America

⁷ The church's name is written in roman script as "Vancouver" followed by church (*kyōkai* 教会) in Japanese and was the first Tenrikyō church to be named in roman script (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198–99; Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 1989, 1114).

1984, 198; Nishi 1994, 112). In 1965, the Konokashu Fellowship 此加州布教所, which would later grow and become Vancouver Church, was founded (The Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 1984, 198-99; Nishi 1994, 112-13). In 2007, Kenichi's daughter, Linda became the second head minister of Vancouver Church (Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 2019, 17). This is another instance of a female head minister. Kenichi passed away at the age of 90 on August 5, 2019 (Tenrikyo Mission Headquarters in America 2019, 17).

Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center 天理教此花ジョイアス・ミッション・センター

二

Again, the patterns of being established by immigrants and passing the ministry to a family member or close relative, can also be seen in the Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center. Following the directive of a minister from a higher-ranking church in the Konohana lineage network of churches, Motoaki established the mission center with the goal of spreading Tenrikyō in Vancouver (Tracy Manome, interview with the author, March 14, 2018). The Tenrikyō Konohana Joyous Mission Center (hereafter, Joyous Mission Center) was established in 1992 by Motoaki Egawa 元明江川 (Egawa, n.d. 2). In the same year, Motoaki also established a Japanese language school (Egawa, n.d. 2). Motoaki and his wife, Machiko 真知子, first came to Vancouver in 1979 (Egawa, n.d. 2), and both taught at the Vancouver Japanese Language School バンクーバー日本語学校, with Motoaki serving as the school's principal for ten years (Tracy Manome, interview with the author, first interview March 14, 2018). Currently, the mission center is headed by Kozo Manome, who is the son-in-law of Motoaki. In other words, the mission center was passed on to a family member.

The mission center offers two types of programs, those where Tenrikyō is propagated and those where Tenrikyō is not (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3, 2019). Tenrikyō is explicitly taught in the organization called "Joyous" whereas the Japanese Education Centre 日本語教育センター (JEC), run by the same followers, is a secular Japanese language school that does not teach any Tenrikyō doctrines (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3, 2019). The JEC is the [successor to the?] Japanese

school Motoaki first established in 1992. As part of Joyous, Tenrikyō offers religious education together with child care in ways comparable to a Christian Sunday school (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3, 2019). In addition they also organize an all-girls dance group and a soccer club (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3,2019).Parents are asked to sign and acknowledge that their children are joining an organization where they will be taught about Tenrikyō whenever they enroll in any of the programs run by Joyous (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3,2019).

2.3 Conclusion

In summary, Tenrikyō in Canada displays two important patterns: (1)immigrants to Canada from Japan later begin work by starting a fellowship, mission center or church; and, (2) the lineage of that newly founded fellowship, mission center or church passes to close friends, relatives or family members in a succession that involves a significant number of woman head ministers. For many of these followers information about their age or socio-economic background is notably missing from this history making it difficult to fully understand the context.

Chapter 3: Remembering the Return Home

Tenrikyō followers from afar travel to return “home” to where humanity was created at the Origin in Tenri City. Once at the Origin, they are surrounded by other followers and become immersed in practice and learning about Tenrikyō. The religion becomes part of their daily lives. A good example of the immersive environment followers experience while at the Origin is the daily schedule of the “spiritual development course,” (*shūyōka* 修養科), a three-month long training program held at the headquarters. A typical daily schedule during in the summer time would involve waking up at 4:30 am, putting on a black *happi* jacket (はっぴ) that functions as a kind of uniform, and walking to the Main Sanctuary with other followers as a group to attend the morning ritual. The morning ritual begins at 5 am, set according to time the sun rises (“Shuyoka Classes Held in English, Chinese, and Thai” 2006; Shunsuke Hattori, interview with author, August 24, 2019). Next, the followers would return to their dormitory to practice the ritual together (“Shuyoka Classes Held in English, Chinese, and Thai” 2006). From about 8 am to 4pm, the follower enrolled in this course would attend classes with others in the course on topics such as Tenrikyō doctrine and Miki’s life. They would have group sessions to practice the musical instruments and dances that are part of Tenrikyō ritual. As well, they would engage in “devotional labor” (*hinokishin* ひのきしん) such as cleaning or pulling weeds (“Shuyoka Classes Held in English, Chinese, and Thai” 2006; Shunsuke Hattori, interview with author, August 24, 2019). Then a follower would return to the dormitory for evening ritual, attend further group practice sessions for Tenrikyō ritual. At the end of the day, followers have free time from about 8 pm or 9pm (“Shuyoka Classes Held in English, Chinese, and Thai” 2006; Shunsuke Hattori, interview with author, August 24, 2019). In other words, from four in the morning until eight in the evening, the follower is surrounded by other followers, engaging in rituals, learning about Tenrikyō or practicing devotional labor. This rigorous schedule is repeated daily until the three month course is complete.

An experience like the spiritual development course is what I term an “immersive environment.” In such an immersive environment, followers are continuously called upon to perform various actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō. They develop deep social connections while enrolled in training, at educational institutions, or at events held at the

Origin and its surrounding sacred landscape. Experiencing this immersive environment requires followers to be physically present and, because they are at the Origin, this experience becomes even more significant. The Origin, as the site of where humanity was conceived by God the Parent and a number of other deities, is the most sacred site in Tenrikyō. This sacredness extends to the surrounding area making it not just a single geographical point but rather a sacred landscape that followers occupy and move through. This is reflected in followers' accounts of their experiences and the language they use to talk about the Origin.

Scholars such as Paul Eckel and Catherine Cornille have tended to examine Tenrikyō in connection with Japanese nationalism. I have found, in contrast, that the immersive environment of the Origin is the most salient feature of Tenrikyō for diaspora followers. Although national identity labels appear, they do not structure follower experience. It is the Origin as a place and not Japan as a nation that matters. Followers are returning to *their* Origin, *their* home when they go to Tenrikyō headquarters in Tenri City. As part of their return home to the Origin, they know Miki will also “be there” to greet them. Her spirit is thought to continue to live on after death and her spirit is enshrined in a building near in the Origin's sacred landscape. Vancouver Tenrikyō families will often pressure younger members to go to the Origin, encouraging them to attend the training exclusively offered at the headquarters in Tenri City. Canadian followers who have not yet been to the Origin, often express a desire to go.

3.1 An Immersive Environment

At the Origin and in its sacred landscape, I suggest that followers experience what I describe as an immersive environment. This immersive environment is characterized by being surrounded by other followers, a focus on physical actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō, and followers developing deep social connections. Followers experience this immersive environment while enrolled in training, attending educational institutions, and taking part in events held at the Origin. This immersive environment is the site where an

experiential knowledge is developed and, as such, requires that followers be physically present at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape in Tenri City.

Linda tells me about the importance of being physically present at Origin and how she “learned to like” Tenrikyō when she was there:

[J]ust the whole two years experience *being there* you know and doing [devotional labor] *hinokishin*, and doing all kinds of meeting different people. And yeah you kind of like *learn to like Tenrikyō when you're in ojiba* [, at the Origin,] (Linda Nishi, interview with author, March 18, 2018; emphasis added).

While physically present at the Origin, followers experience an immersive environment and one occasion when followers describe Tenrikyō becoming part of their daily lives or lifestyle is when they recall their experiences. For example, Jacob, who spent three and a half years at the Origin and its surrounding landscape, uses the words “infused in the practice” to describe his experience to capture the all-encompassing character of the environment:

I think the biggest thing for me was you know actually living the teaching there, especially in the first year and half of volunteer work and actually just you know *going about my daily life infused in the practice of the teachings* [of Tenrikyō] (Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019; emphasis added).

Jacob went about his “daily life infused in the practice” of Tenrikyō. In other words, for him Tenrikyō was inseparable from his daily life while at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. Another follower, Janet, describes her experience at the spiritual development course specifically using the word “lifestyle,” emphasizing the idea of Tenrikyō as a part of her way of living. This is in line with how Jacob described his experience of Tenrikyō as inseparable from his daily life.

Another aspect followers frequently expressed about their experience in the Origin’s immersive environment is by mentioning how they were surrounded by other followers. For example, Momoe tells me about her experience at a week-long event for high school students where she experienced intensive daily group practice. During this event, she was surrounded by other followers both at daily group practice and outside of practice. She tells

me about how she spent her days: “[We] did things like take Tenrikyō classes. Everyone ate breakfast, lunch, and dinner together; we slept together; and we worshipped and did devotional labor [together].” (天理教の授業を受けたり、みんなで朝、昼、晩ご飯を一緒に食べて一緒に寝てもう参拝してひのきしんして)(Momoe Ikezoe, interview with author August 12, 2019). Similarly, when Yuki attended a Tenrikyō high school, all her friends and others around her were Tenrikyō followers:

When I entered Tenrikyō's high school, *the friends around me were all Tenrikyō followers*. Right? And even though everyone is different there must have been other people like me who hated Tenrikyō when they arrived. But day by day, as I lived in Tenri City, I learned about Tenrikyō and it was just something I said [just words about not liking Tenrikyō]... Because I met a lot of friends there, I really enjoyed my three years of high school and that was the biggest thing. *Since all the friends around me knew about Tenrikyō, and based their lives off of Tenrikyō teachings* (その天理教の高校に入った時に周りの友達もみんな天理教で。何だろう…やっぱりみんなそれぞれ私と同じような気持ちで入ってきた天理教嫌みたいな感じだったんですけど、でも毎日毎日その天理で暮らしてで、天理教のことも勉強して、口にそのなんですかね…そこで色々友達もできてで、高校3年間すごく楽しくてそれが一番大きかったです。やっぱり周り周りの友達が天理教を知っててで、天理教の教えに基づいて。) (Yūki Honshō, interview with author, June 20, 2019; emphasis added).

In cases, Momoe’s course and Yuki’s high school years, they were surrounded by other followers. I suggest this is a key characteristic of the Origin’s immersive environment.

At the Origin and in the surrounding sacred landscape, there is a strong focus on physical actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō. This is captured in the way followers would use phrases such as “put the teachings into actual practice” when describing their experiences (Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019). This phrasing of “actual practice” in English is reiterated by another follower, Janet, when she described experience at a spiritual development course (Janet Yip, interview with author, August 17, 2019). The importance of physical actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō is seen again in another follower’s, Kozo’s, interview. Although he did not remember the finer details of his

time at the spiritual development course, did remember being busy with classes and doing devotional labor (Kozo Manome, interview with author, March 14, 2018). Some followers in this immersive environment, like Kozo, may be so busy engaging with physical practices and going to classes that they forget everything else when recalling their experiences.

In addition to the focus on physical actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō, while in this immersive environment, Tenrikyō followers often formed significant social connections with colleagues and mentors. The presence of many other Tenrikyō followers creates the opportunity for them to develop social connections. Take Ami, for example, who went to Tenri University (*Tenri Daigaku* 天理大学). She was surrounded by Tenrikyō students and teachers, whom she looked up to as having ideal characteristics that she wanted to cultivate as well. She tells me that: “University students, like I was at the time, don’t really understand profound things [like Tenrikyō doctrine]. But I *did* know that seeing those people, those around me or my teachers--I knew I wanted to be like them.” (その時大学生はそんな深いことはあんまり分からなかったけど。だけど、やっぱりその人、周りの人とか、先生とかを見て自分もこうなりたいな。)(Ami Kuramori, interview with author, June 26, 2019). According to Ami, what distinguished these Tenrikyō students and teachers were that they were kinder and had the idea of saving other people at their core:

It was kindness, right? Something like an aura, their auras, were different...It wasn’t something you could see but somehow, you just knew when you saw them that they were determined never to let go of that something [that kindness] inside them. ...There was lots of that sort of person, you know? And so many teachers [like that] too. I think. After all I did not go to a Tenrikyō high school and went to a Tenrikyō university so you could say that I clearly saw the difference between the people. After all even if they are able to dislike others those who believe in Tenrikyō have the idea of saving others at their base level but the people here [in Vancouver, British Columbia] they only think about themselves and so if anything small happens they won’t help you, even if it is a small thing, even if they are able to help you, receiving help for those small things for me hold a significant amount of importance I think. (やさしいなんだろう。やっぱオーラ、オーラが違うなんて言うだろう…目には見えないけどなんとなくこう見てってこう一つ自分の中でこれ

だけは絶対ゆずれないって決めたものがある人なんだろう。…なんかそういう人が多かった。すごいいっぱい先生もいたし。なんだろうね。やっぱりこうその高校は天理教じゃない学校に行って天理大学は天理教だったから、この違いが人の違いがはっきり分かるというか。そのやっぱ天理教の人は基本ベースとしてその人助けを知ってるどうしたら人が嫌とか考えることができるでも、こっちの人は全部自分だからちょっと何かあってもちょっとしたことでも助けない、ちょっとしたことでも助けてくれる。でもそれちょっとしたことが私にとってはすごく大きなことだったかな。)(Ami Kuramori, interview with author, June 26, 2019).

Ami holds other Tenrikyō followers in high regard because she believes they are kinder and are more willing to help people. As a result, she wants to become like them. I suggest that, for Ami, the deep connections formed in this immersive environment, were social connections with her peers and teachers whom she wanted to emulate because of the ideal qualities she saw in them. Similarly, Yuki had great respect for her teachers in high school and was impacted by her connection with them. She respected these teachers because of their personalities; they were willing to share their experiences and she was able to learn from their experiences:

In those people that came from the Tenrikyō faith, those like the teachers—there were so many of those people there. Those with true Tenrikyō faith, I think their personalities were the best. In high school...the teachers were really, how do I say it, they were really amazing. Those teachers truly loved Tenrikyō, you know? Whenever there was a problem, they would talk to us about Tenrikyō. It was like it became, a sort of, became a kind of salvation of the heart for me. Sharing different Tenrikyō stories, their own stories, stories of what they had themselves experienced—so many times what those teachers told me [comforted] me. So I have great respect for them, my high school teachers. (天理教信仰してきた人を見て、そういうその先生だったりとか、そういう人たちがいっぱいいて、そういう本当に天理教信仰してる人の、その人の性格が一番良かったのかな。高校の時は…先生はもう、何て言うんですかね。もうすごいですね。…本当に天理教のことが大好きだし。先生達はで…色々トラブルがあったりして、でもその時に天理教の話をしてくれたり、そういうなんだろう。そういう心の救いになったっていうか。

色々天理教の話だったり、その人の話、今まで自分が経験してきた話だったり、その先生がそういう話を聞いて心の救いになったのが多かったですね。すごい尊敬してました学校の先生は。) (Yūki Honshō, interview with author, June 20, 2019).

For both Ami and Yuki being in these immersive environments allowed them to develop social connections with their peers and teachers, who became role models or were highly respected by them.

Outside of education institutions such as high schools and universities, Tenrikyō followers develop social connections during immersive experiences at training and events. For instance, Shunsuke emphasizes the social aspect of Tenrikyō being one of main reasons he has stayed with the religion over the years:

If I didn't meet all these people I probably wouldn't be doing Tenrikyō right now...all the people I met through my Tenrikyō career—I guess going back as a child to children's pilgrimage—all these kids they're still now at like Tenrikyō mission headquarters. And some of them are becoming successors and we just keep seeing each other all the time. And so I think that's like one of the main things that kept me in. (Shunsuke Hattori, interview with author, August 24, 2019)

For Shunsuke, the friends he has met through Tenrikyō, at events such as the children's pilgrimage, he continues to maintain over the years and sees all time. In a similar vein another follower, Momoe, speaks about how she made life-long friends at a week-long event for high school students: “[We] did things like take Tenrikyō classes. Everyone ate breakfast, lunch, and dinner together; we slept together; and we worshipped and did devotional labor [together]... it was really fun it was only one week but even now I still stay in touch with the friends I made then” (天理教の授業を受けたり、みんなで朝、昼、晩ご飯を一緒に食べて一緒に寝てもう参拝してひのきしんして...すごく楽しかったです一週間しかなかったけど今でも連絡を取る友達ことができました)(Momoelkezoe, interview with author August 12, 2019). This quote was also mentioned previously in this section. Even in the short span of one week, Momoe made such strong social connections in the immersive environment of the Origin that she continues to maintain these ties to the present day. For many followers, the most important impact of being in an immersive environment is the creation of deep social connections.

3.2 The Origin and the Surrounding Sacred Landscape

The immersive environment Tenrikyō followers experience becomes more significant because of the place: *the Origin*, the most sacred site in Tenrikyō. The Origin is sacred because this specific geographical point is where the central deity of Tenrikyō, God the Parent, worked with a number of other deities to create humanity. This sacredness extends outwards from that point to include the surrounding area, making it a *sacred landscape*. This is reflected in follower's experiences and the language they use to talk about the Origin. Followers are returning to *their* Origin, *their* home when they go to Tenrikyō headquarters in Tenri City. As part of the return home to the Origin Miki will also “be there” to greet them because her spirit is thought to continue to live on after her death. Her spirit is enshrined in a separate building near the Origin (Yamada 2019, 279; Ambros and Smith 2018, 46; Morishita 2015, 178). This further adds to the sacredness of the landscape.

When contemporary followers return to Origin it is as though they are returning to their “original home.” Miki identified this specific spot as the spiritual home of humanity (Ambros and Smith 2018, 45). The idea of home is reflected in the language followers use to describe the pilgrimage itself and how they are greeted when they “return” to the Origin. Pilgrims are greeted with “welcome home” (*okaerinasai* お帰りなさい) when they first reach the headquarters in Tenri City (Cornille 2015, 15; Ambros and Smith 2018, 45). Contemporary Tenrikyō followers refer to the pilgrimage to the Origin as “returning [home] to the Origin” (*ojibagaeri* おぢば帰り), using the verb *kaeru* (I return to my home) in an earlier period of Tenrikyō history, this pilgrimage was called “visiting the parental hometown” (*oyasato mairi* 親里参り), using the verb *mairu* (I go to someone else's respected place/home) (Ambros and Smith 2018, 45). “Visiting the parental hometown” came about because the headquarters in Tenri City is “her hometown,” the former residence of the foundress of Tenrikyō, Miki Nakayama (Ambros 2006, 296). Referring to the pilgrimage as “returning [home] to the Origin” most likely came about when the religion underwent drastic changes during the post-war period. In this pilgrimage, the nature of the place and in what way one travels to it have changed over time. According to

Barbara Ambros this change in language from (*mairi* 参り) to returning (*kaeru* 帰る) instead, calling the pilgrimage “returning to the Origin” (*ojibagaeri* おちば帰) emphasizes that this site is the place of *their* origin as humans (Ambros 2006, 296), a reference to the Tenrikyō creation story.

When Tenrikyō followers return to the Origin they are returning to the site that God the Parent created exactly 900,099,999 human souls, a site marked in by the “stand for heavenly dew” (*kanrodai* 甘露台) and where the “masked service” (*kagura dzutome* かぐらづとめ) is now performed (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20–23). So when a follower returns to the Origin it is as if they are one of these souls, created by God the Parent in the creation myth, returning back to the place of their original conception. The creation myth is detailed and followers pay less attention to these and more attention to the overarching theme of the Origin as sacred site of humanity’s conception. For example, Miguel tells me that, “Tenri is, you know, essentially a holy place” (Miguel Barrera, interview with the author, August 21, 2019).

Miki first wrote about the creation myth in 1869 and this was later compiled in *The Tip of the Writing Brush* (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1991, 79–80; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 25). This creation myth begins with God the Parent looking out at the world, which was just a vast muddy ocean, and creating man and woman from a fish and serpent. God the Parent summons the fish and serpent and, after asking for their consent, sees that they are not ready to become human until they are further strengthened and given the necessary abilities (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20–23). God the Parent then summons an orc from the northwest and a turtle from the southeast (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20–23). The orc is used to provide the fish with the male organ, bones and support and. This first model of man is given the sacred name, Izanagi (Izanagi no Mikoto いざなぎのみこと) (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20–23). The turtle is used to provide the serpent with the female organ, skin, and the ability to bind. She is given the sacred name, Izanami (Izanami no Mikoto いざなみのみこと) (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20–23). The orc is given the sacred name. Tsukiyomi no Mikoto

(月よみのみこと), and the turtle, Kunisadzuchi no Mikoto (くにさづちのみこと)(Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23).

Four more animals, who are each given a sacred name by God the Parent, provide Izanagi and Izanami with the abilities necessary to give birth to humanity: an eel (Kumoyomi no Mikoto くもよみのみこと) provides the ability to eat, drink and eliminate; a flatfish (Kashikone no Mikoto かしこねのみこと) provides the ability to breathe and speak; a black snake (Otonobe no Mikoto をふとのべのみこと) provides the ability to “pull forth”; and a globe-fish (Taishokuten no Mikoto たいしよく天のみこと) provides the ability to cut (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). God the Parent then eats all the loaches in the muddy ocean, which was the world at the time. There were exactly 900,099,999 loaches and God the Parent made these into the souls of humanity (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). These souls were put into the body Izanami by God the Parent. Between Izanagi and Izanami, humanity was conceived at the exact spot where the stand for heavenly dew presently stands (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). These souls were in the womb of Izanami for three years and three months before all 900,099,999 births took course over 75 days (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). These first human souls grew only three inches tall over 99 years (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). Next, they die, are reborn twice, and then grow to a height of four inches (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). Next, they are reborn 8008 times as worms, birds, and animals. All die except for one female monkey (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). This female monkey gives birth to the first real human beings but, at first, they are only eight inches tall. They later grow to be one foot and eight inches tall (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23).

At this time the vast muddy ocean begins to change and the land and sea, heaven and earth and the sun and moon all start to appear (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). Then humans begin to develop quickly with their total number increasing. When humans grow to three feet tall they begin to speak (Ellwood 2008, 72-73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). When humans grow to their final height of

five feet tall, they start to live on land. The whole universe is completed at the same time (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). Over the next 6000 years, God the Parent teaches humanity wisdom. Over the next 3,999 years, God the Parent trains humanity in symbols and letters (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 20-23). This creation myth is what doctrinally grounds the Origin as the geographical site of humanity’s original home. Followers are continually reminded of this myth through the ritual of the masked service performed every month.

The masked service reenacts the creation story and followers have a chance to see this ritual when they are at the Origin. The masked service is *only* performed at the headquarters in Tenri City and nowhere else in the world (Inoue, Eynon, and Nakayama 1987, 397; Ellwood 1982, 70; Ambros and Smith 2018,40). Kazumi tells me how extraordinary it was for her to see the masked service:

Being able to witness the masked service the day after I arrived [for the spiritual development course] was so moving--I was completely moved. It was so, you know, it felt like it was not of this world. Unless you see [with your own eyes] you won’t understand (かぐら勤めを入った次の日に見れたすごく感動する、すごく感動した。すごいなんかこう、このような世界じゃないみたいな感じ。見ないと分からない。) (Kazumi Takenaka, interview with author, July 20, 2019).

During this masked service, a total of ten dancers, five men and five women, among which are Shinbashira and his wife, dance around the stand for heavenly dew to the introductory verses of the “Song for Service” while wearing masks for each of the ten deities that took part in creation (Ellwood 1982, 70–74; Ambros and Smith 2018,40). In 1875, the precise location of the Origin was identified at the Nakayama residence and a wooden pillar was installed to mark it. The pillar is called the stand for heavenly dew (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1991, 99-100; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 25; Straelen 1957, 55; Ambros and Smith 2018, 33-34), in reference to the dish that is placed atop it to catch heavenly dew that will descend from the skies for humans to consume (Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1991, 100; Straelen 1957, 55). The masked service is performed around this pillar (Yamada 2019, 279). For Kazumi, the masked service was “something not of this world” because in that moment she was able to witness the recreation of Tenrikyō creation

story at the exact spot where it occurred. In addition, the Shinbashira, a descendant of Miki, took part making the service even more extraordinary. In the creation myth, God the Parent gives eight animals and the first man and women sacred names, and these two humans and eight animals are the ten deities--the same ten deities that the masked service dancers embody. Some of their names are the same as Shinto deities (Ellwood 2008, 72–73). For example, the Shinto moon deity, named Tsukiyomino Mikoto (月読尊) in Tenrikyō, also appears but plays a different role, a deity of support and providing the male organ and bones for the human body (Ellwood 2008, 72–73; Tenrikyo Church Headquarters 1995, 21).

The timing of pilgrimage, however, is not restricted; followers may make a pilgrimage to the Origin in Tenri City whenever they like (Huang 2017b, 288). Generally, followers will time their pilgrimages so that they coincide with annual services marking specific events in Miki's life, such as her birthday on April 18, or her first possession on October 26, which is called the Autumn Grand Service (*Shūki taisai* 秋季大祭). As well, followers might choose to visit on the date of her passing on January 26, which is called the Spring Grand Service (*Shunki taisai* 春季大祭) (Ambros and Smith 2018, 46). Anniversaries are especially large events that attract pilgrims (Ambros and Smith 2018, 46). As well, there are also New Year's celebrations held in early January and the children's pilgrimage in the summer (quoted in Ambros and Smith 2018, 46).

The followers I spoke with often talked about travelling to the Origin for the "children's pilgrimage" (*kodomoojibagaeri* 子供おぢば帰り) in the summer. This is a weeklong summer camp for children and followers travel to the headquarters in groups, coordinated by their respective churches (quoted in Ambros and Smith 2018, 46). At the children's pilgrimage, which first began in 1954, children are taught about Tenrikyō through lectures on God the Parent, how to play the Tenrikyō instruments, and how to perform the dances that are part of service ("Children's Pilgrimage to Jiba" n.d.). Also there is a variety of entertainment for children such as dance, musical, comedy and magic performances. There are opportunities to learn martial arts (judo, karate, and kendo), and visits to attractions including a ninja village and a dancing splash carnival ("Children's Pilgrimage to Jiba" n.d.).

Followers describe the Origin as *their* original home. Their attachment is reflected in how they describe being at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. In the following quotes, I retain followers use of the Japanese language term *jiba* (ちば) to refer to the Origin. An example of how the idea of the Origin as humanity's original home is inflected in an individual follower's experience is how Aki felt a sense of home after making the pilgrimage and also hearing Miki saying welcome home to her. Her sense of home at the Origin was strengthened because she had to travel farther to return (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019), from a missionary home in Chiba prefecture, where she was staying for one year,, which is significantly farther than where she had been previously living in Kyoto (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019). Aki tells me:

If [I am] further [from] *ojiba*, go[ing] back to *ojiba* is harder. But as farther as I go, like happier when I can [finally be] back to *ojiba* because farther is harder [to come back]... Yeah [I was] so moved when I saw Miki Nakayama, like "Aah, I've finally come home. *I feel home, you know? "I'm home, Miki Nakayama!" Like I can feel her say to me "Welcome home. You've come a long way."* (If further than *ojiba*, go back to *ojiba* is harder. But as farther as I go, like happier when I can back to Japan *ojiba* because farther is harder. ... Yeah so moved when I saw *Oyasama*. ああ、帰って来てましたって。I feel home, you know? ただいま親様。Like I can feel お帰り。遠いところから帰って来たよね。) (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019; emphasis added)

Aki's connection to the Origin as her home is so strong that she immediately felt home once she arrived and could "feel" Miki telling her welcome home. I suggest this is an example of how the Origin as humanity's original home translates to an individual follower's experience. Another example is Shunsuke, who tells me Tenrikyō is unique and special in having a particular place that everyone gathers and can return to: "there's one place we can go back to and that's Tenri. And whenever there is a big event. If we go back we'll see somebody and I think that's what is really special about it" (Shunsuke Hattori, interview with the author, August 24, 2019). For Shunsuke, Tenri City is a place all the followers can return to and I suggest followers all return to the Origin in Tenri City because

the Origin is the followers' spiritual home. Matt, who does not identify as a Tenrikyō follower and was only at the Origin and the surrounding landscape for a brief few days, also tells me how "going to Tenri felt more like a home where people are interconnected with each other" and that it "seemed like everyone was on the same page" (Matt Dolan, interview with the author, August 26, 2019). Even Matt noticed this idea of the Origin being a place of home. Followers report experiencing feeling relaxed and calm when they returned home to the Origin. I suggest this sense of calm is also connected to the idea of the Origin being their original home. Consider the following quotes where followers describe how being at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape makes them feel:

[Y]ou feel, yeah, I don't know, like very Tenri-nized. I don't know how to word it but you, well I mean, I felt really relaxed. And I don't know it's very hard to word it but very peaceful and then you could go to headquarters any time of day cause it's open 24 hours and ... it's just really like [a] soothing place to be (Shunsuke Hattori, interview with the author, August 24, 2019)

So if I go to Tenri City I feel a sense of relief (だから天理に行ったらほっとするかなって思います) (Momoe Ikezoe, interview with the author, August 12, 2019)

When I go to places like where Miki Nakayama's spirit lives, I calm down. I do not know why but there were times that happened. It was a sense that something about this place is good, it's good here and I like it 親様のところとか行くと落ち着く。なぜかわからないけど、とかがあったから。なんかいいなーってここいいなあ好きだなあみたいな感じだった。 (Ami Kuramori, interview with the author, June 26, 2019)

Followers reported being calm, relaxed, and soothed when at the Origin and headquarters, including the building where Miki's spirit is enshrined. Perhaps this is because home is a place where one can relax and so they experience the Origin, their spiritual home, as a place where they can relax.

3.3 Familial Pressures to Make the Pilgrimage to the Origin

Followers return to the Origin because it is the original home of humanity. While there, they experience an immersive environment. Followers who grew up in a family that practiced Tenrikyō often face familial pressures from both immediate and extended family to make the pilgrimage to the Origin. Pilgrimages to the Origin and the surrounding landscape also provide access to exclusive training that is only available at the headquarters in Tenri City. Family members and relatives would often argue that receiving training is a reason of why one should make the pilgrimage.

A number of followers with whom I spoke discussed how their family played a role in why they went to the headquarters. These followers articulated a reluctance to go to the headquarters and their immediate or extended family members influenced their decision to go to events or training at the headquarters in Tenri City. For example, Tracy felt pressure to go to a ten-day Tenrikyō seminar for high school and university students because her mother asked her to go and also because this was made mandatory by her grand church minister that year:

Usually we're not forced to go but that year our grand church minister told us that all the university students must attend. So I was like, oh come on mom, I have to work. I have my work. There's no way I can go. But I had to go. So I was like, ugh, and I go. (Tracy Manome, interview with the author, March 14, 2018)

Similarly, Shunsuke was told by his uncle to attend the spiritual development course when he visited Japan and did so accordingly (Shunsuke Hattori, interview with the author, August 24, 2019). This pattern of being asked or even pressured by parents or extended family members was reported by multiple followers. Tatsuya tells me how his parents told him to attend the spiritual development course when he left university in Tokyo if he wanted to move back home to Okinawa: “Then my parents said, ‘if you are going to come home, you have to go to the spiritual development course first’” (その時に parents said もし帰って来るだったらもう修養科に行って帰って来なさいって) (Tatsuya Kuramori, interview with the author, June 25, 2019). This was not the first time Tatsuya was told by his parents to attend training at the headquarters. When he was 17 or 18 years old, his

parents came to visit him and told him the he must attend the “special seat” lectures (*besseki* 別席). He did so but admits to sleeping through all nine of them:

They made me go to the special lectures! [That] must have been when I was seventeen or eighteen years old, and for no reason. I was living in Kumamoto then and my parents were in Ishigaki [in Okinawa]. My parents came to Kumamoto on a ordinary day and told me to go to the *besseki* lectures....and all seven, nine times I slept through it...I slept so I have no clue what they said. (別席には行かされたんですよ must when I was seventeen か eighteen years old without no reason 僕その時熊本に親は石垣 when I turned seventeen or eighteen 親は熊本に来て別席行って even it is normal day そう must...I took seven, nine times every time slept...I slept 何か話した分かんない) (Tatsuya Kuramori, interview with the author, June 25, 2019)

Tatsuya’s parent’s most likely wanted him take the lectures as soon as he was eligible. A requirement for the *besseki* lectures is that one must be of 17 years of age (Fukaya n.d.). Another follower, Aki was asked by her parents to take part in the spiritual development course once she graduated university (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019). She also went again to the same spiritual development course out of her own volition when she was around 26 and struggling with depression (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019). In these examples both immediate and extended family members pressured, if not demanded, that their younger relatives make a pilgrimage to the Origin for the purpose of exclusive training.

Pilgrimages to the Origin and headquarters in Tenri City provide access to exclusive training that is only available there. For example, it is only at the headquarters that followers are able attend the nine *besseki* lectures that are necessary before followers are allowed to receive permission to perform the divine grant from the head of Tenrikyō (Huang 2017a, 1318,1329; Ambros and Smith 2018,46). This permission is given to each follower individually in a private ceremony. Afterward, that follower is transformed into a “human resource” or “missionary” (*yōboku* ようぼく lit. timber ready for building) (Morishita 2015, 184–85; Ambros and Smith 2018, 46). Today, the divine grant is mainly administered for healing illnesses. Other programs the headquarters offers includes a three

month long spiritual development course, where followers can also attend the *besseki* lectures, a “lay minister preparatory course” (*kyōtōshikakukōshūkai* 教人資格講習会) that consists of three separate five-day sessions, a “head minister qualification course” (*kyōkaichōshikakukenteikōshū* 教会長資格検定講習) that is divided into course one and course two, both of which are roughly three weeks in length (“800th Session of Shuyoka Begins” 2007; “Lay Minister Preparatory Course Starts” 2011; “English Class of Head Minister Qualification Course One Held” 2004; “Teaching of Tenrikyo: Shuyoka Spiritual Development Course” n.d.).

Immediate and extended family members may view undergoing exclusive training at the headquarters as an important rite of passage. By going through the *besseki* lectures, receiving permission to perform the divine grant and becoming a “missionary” (*yōboku* ようぼく lit. timber) one is transformed from a child to an adult, thereby prepared for the outside world. Chihiro tells me about this idea of a rite of passage: “Generally, through becoming a missionary, one is prepared to face the outside world” (一般としてもようぼくになる事によって外に出ても大丈夫) (Chihiro Kanda, interview with the author, July 3, 2019). Chihiro’s parents wanted him to take the lay minister preparatory course before getting married and he happily obliged after learning of their wishes (Chihiro Kanda, interview with the author, July 3, 2019). He had not thought about taking this course before his parents suggested it (Chihiro Kanda, interview with the author, July 3, 2019). In the former instance through becoming a missionary one is transformed from a child to an adult and in the latter instance Chihiro is prepared before getting married both important rites of passages in one’s life. It is unclear how widespread these ideas are among Tenrikyō followers but would be an area for future research.

3.4 Those Who Have Not Made the Pilgrimage to the Origin

What about those who have not been to the Origin? One follower I spoke with has not been able to go to the Origin and expressed a strong desire to go. As well, a person who is not a follower expressed an awareness of the importance of the pilgrimage to the Origin to Tenrikyō followers. Jason, who is a Tenrikyō follower, tells me how he desires to make the

pilgrimage to the Origin, see the headquarters, and to learn the divine grant or the “healing hands” as he refers to it. He has been unable to do so because of financial reasons:

No I haven't traveled no money [*sic*]... I want to see the Tenrikyō church down there ...I want to go down and visit like the guys that came down here to visit right ... all the other guys that used to come here [to Vancouver] to visit so I want to go visit them [in Japan], go visit the [headquarters]. I want [to go to] the main church, the big church, and check that out, right? So I want [to] go visit that and do [worship] *sanpai* and check out their service ...And so I want to go there and I want to learn to do the healing hands. (Jason Camozzi, interview with author, May 17, 2019)

Jason desires to go the Origin, to see the headquarters, to receive exclusive training, and to see the service and perhaps specifically the masked service. Followers are motivated by the idea that the headquarters is the only place to receive certain training and permission to perform the divine grant.

The return to the Origin is important for many Tenrikyō followers and even non-Tenrikyō people take note of this practice. For instance, Huette tells me that although she has not made the pilgrimage to the Origin, she equates it with being knowledgeable about Tenrikyō and being a Tenrikyō follower:

I go to Tenrikyō services because of my children. They go JEC for [Japanese] language and they go to Joyous kindergarten.... So the teachers they invite us to the services to join them as a monthly, you know, gathering... I didn't go to, you know, Tenri teaching school or the *ojibagaeri* [returning to the Origin,] so I wouldn't say I'm a Tenrikyō follower... But I do think, I do keep the [Tenrikyō] teachings in mind. (Huette Akaike, interview with author, July 17, 2019)

Even as a non-Tenrikyō follower she identifies the importance of the pilgrimage to the Origin and explains that she is not a follower because *she has not done the pilgrimage*.

3.5 Conclusion

Scholars have tended to connect Tenrikyō with Japanese nationalism but I have found that national identity labels do not fit my fieldwork data. Rather, followers report connections to the Origin as a place and not to Japan as a nation. The immersive environment Tenrikyō followers experience at the Origin and the surrounding landscape is a time where they make deep social connections, and focus on practicing Tenrikyō while being surrounded by other followers at their spiritual home. Some followers make the pilgrimage to the Origin because of familial pressures. Others go for the exclusive training offered only at the headquarters in Tenri City. Followers who have yet to go to the Origin desire to go because of the exclusive training offered and the importance of the Origin their spiritual home. These experiences followers have in this immersive environment continue to affect them. They carry these experiences with them even after they leave the Origin.

Chapter 4: Back in Canada

The Origin as home continues to play a role for followers' present practice in Vancouver, British Columbia. After leaving the immersive environment, followers come to face anxieties and difficulties associated with practicing in Vancouver. Followers feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment they had experienced, but which is now lost and is no longer available to them. Monthly services at churches and mission centers invoke a sense of nostalgia for followers who have been to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape through ritual, clothing, food and events. At the same time, those who have not been to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape feel no connection and no sense of nostalgia as a result of practice in Vancouver. For this reason, it is important in diaspora Tenrikyō communities for more people to establish a connection to Origin as their home. Followers continue to talk about these experiences at the Origin as a way to encourage others to make this pilgrimage and to establish this connection for themselves. This becomes a primary way that followers attempt to spread the religion.

In this thesis I define nostalgia as an affect based on actual experience. A person having gone to a place, having a set of memories and experiences at this place, and then experiencing a sense of longing for that place. This definition limits nostalgia to actual experiences and is markedly different from nostalgia as defined by scholars such as Ann Reed and Takeyuki Tsuda (see Reed 2015; Tsuda 2016). Reed and Tsuda include in their definition of nostalgia feeling a sense of longing for a place that has not been visited in the past. I limit my definition of nostalgia for two reasons. First, it distinguishes between people "who have been there," longing for a place, and those "who have not." By distinguishing these as two separate categories of people it makes it clear who I am talking about and the importance of pilgrimage in establishing diaspora Tenrikyō identity. Second, my definition reflects the fact that the majority of the interviewees whom I spoke with had visited the Origin. I would need further data in order to examine this idea of feeling longing for a place one has not visited.

4.1 Nostalgic Longing for the Origin and the Surrounding Sacred Landscape

After leaving the Origin, having experienced the immersive environment there, followers return to Vancouver, British Columbia. Their practice situation in the Vancouver area is very different from what they experienced at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape, and they feel a sense of nostalgic longing for what they have lost. This difference causes anxieties and difficulties for followers.

Practicing in Vancouver brings with it specific anxieties for followers. For example, Tracy feels that members of the Tenrikyō community in Vancouver are distant from one another: “To tell you the truth we're not that close. I don't know. Compared to America, Hawaii,[they're] really close” (Tracy Manome, interview with author, March 14, 2018). She says, “I feel there's not a strong bond. It's like we see each other [and] we [will say] like, oh hi! It's not like, oh let's go for a birthday party, or like, it's not like, oh let's go out for dinner. We don't have that” (Tracy Manome, interview with author, March 14, 2018). Put another way, she longs for a religious community where the followers are physically and emotionally close. I suggest that she experienced this sort of close community at the Origin. Tracy goes on to suggest that followers are not close in Vancouver because of the difficulty of connecting across generations and because there are few followers in each age cohort (Tracy Manome, interview with author, March 14, 2018). Currently, most followers are in their 50s and 60s, very few are in their 30s, and some are in their 20s (Tracy Manome, interview with author, March 14, 2018). Her anxieties about generational conflict and weak age cohorts contains a desire for a religious community where followers of all ages practice actively and connect with one another. This again sounds similar to the immersive environment of the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape, a home for all Tenrikyō followers regardless of age to gather and practice.

At the Origin, followers meet other Tenrikyō followers, develop deep social connections, and practice together. Followers in Vancouver expressed a nostalgic longing for this. While I was conducting fieldwork on June 9, 2019 at the Granville Church after service, during lunch I was told by one follower how he would have loved to have heard about Miguel from the followers at the Joyous Mission Center much earlier on but did not. This implies a missed opportunity to befriend Miguel earlier, when he was still living in

Vancouver. Now that they live in different cities it is now much more difficult to meet up in person, become friends and practice together. Miguel too feels lonely, being the only Tenrikyō follower in the area (Miguel Barrera, interview with the author, August 21, 2019). He has used the internet to create opportunities to develop social connections with other followers, find a virtual community and attempt to bridge physical distance with other Tenrikyō followers online. He created the Facebook page called Joyous Victoria in an attempt to spread Tenrikyō and connect with any other potential Tenrikyō followers in the area (Miguel Barrera, interview with the author, August 21, 2019). On the Facebook page, he is able to repost videos, pictures and posts from other Tenrikyō communities worldwide in places as far as New York, Hawaii, Mexico, and in Tenri City, Japan. Both the follower who missed his chance for a friend and the one searching for new connections are examples of nostalgic longing for a religious community, such as the one at the Origin and the surrounding landscape, where all the followers meet one another, develop deep social connections, and practice together.

Followers focused on practicing Tenrikyō were not distracted by other things in their lives while at the Origin, but that is not the case in Vancouver. By telling me about how everyone is too busy to come together to think about new events, Linda expresses a longing for a situation, like the one at the Origin, where people are not too busy or distracted, where they have time to focus on Tenrikyō: “It would be nice if we could brainstorm something... but everyone is just so busy with their lives that we can’t get together and kind of like think [of events]” (Linda Nishi, interview with the author, August 13, 2019). Tracy expresses a similar concern and tells me how the younger followers are “working. They have their own lives. They have boyfriends. They’re not married. They don’t have kids. They have their own life” (Tracy Manome, interview with author, July 3, 2019).

4.2 Nostalgia for Tenri City through Ritual, Clothing, Food and Events

Tenrikyō followers momentarily recreate on a smaller scale what they experienced at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape in Vancouver, British Columbia through clothing, food and ritual during the monthly services...These monthly services at the

Vancouver Church, Granville Church and the Joyous Mission Center, which are generally the same at all Tenrikyō sites, remind followers through the senses of sound, sight and taste of the experiences they had at Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. At these services, one is surrounded by followers dressed in *kimonos*, *kyōfuku* robes (教服) or those wearing *happi* jackets (はっぴ) over their clothing. Both the *kimonos* and *kyōfuku* robes would be decorated with the Tenrikyō crest, which is a five-petal blossom enclosed in a circle. This symbol is prevalent at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape and used to decorate lanterns, buildings, and clothing. One would hear the sounds from *The Songs for Service* that are sung at Origin in the Japanese language. After the service and the sermon everyone would eat Japanese food such as sushi, *yakisoba*, and *karaage* together. This environment of Japanese food, Tenrikyō clothing and songs from the ritual all together invoke feelings of nostalgia for followers who have been to the Origin because they are the same as what they experienced in Tenri City.

At monthly services in Vancouver, attendees and instrument players wear black *happi* jackets over their clothing. These are a type of short-sleeved Japanese jacket that has become synonymous with Tenrikyō (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 2018, 781–82). These same jackets are very common at the Origin. Followers who see these black *happi* jackets in Vancouver are reminded of the Origin and upon seeing them will feel a sense of nostalgia for the time they spent there. These jackets have English characters in capital letters, “TENRIKYO,” horizontally across the back or Japanese language characters for Tenrikyō, “天理教,” vertically down the back (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 2018, 781–82). These jackets are also used to identify one’s church affiliation as it is printed on the jacket’s lapel (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 2018, 781–82). These were first worn by Tenrikyō followers in 1889 and contemporary followers wear these jackets in a variety of settings, from formal ceremonies to daily life, and from seminary to the spiritual development course at the headquarters in Tenri City (Tenri University Oyasato Research Institute 2018, 781–82). Therefore, it is common to see many—nearly all—followers wearing *happi* jackets at the Origin.

Not only does the monthly service in Vancouver offer familiar clothing, it also has the familiar songs. *The Songs for Service* that are sung at Tenri City, are the same songs

followers will again hear in Vancouver and be reminded of the time they spent there and feel a sense of nostalgia. *The Songs for Service* consists of a three part song for the masked service, the song for “the sacred dance” (lit. hand dance, *teodori* てをどり), and twelve numbered songs, all of which are in the Japanese language. As previously mentioned in chapter three, a special, complete version of the masked service is only conducted at the Origin in Tenri City, at the stand for sacred dew, with ten dancers. This ritual is echoed in reduced form in Tenrikyō churches and mission centers across the world. Outside of Tenri City, the masked service involves three men and three women, who remain seated and perform a number of hand motions. The song for the sacred dance, which operates as a prelude, for the following songs numbered one through twelve, are all performed with the six dancers who stand while performing a number of prescribed motions simultaneously. *The Songs for Service* performed during monthly services every second Sunday at the Vancouver Church and Granville Church last roughly two hours. At the Joyous Mission Center, a shorter service is performed consisting of the song for the masked service, the song for the sacred dance, and one of the twelve songs.

At the Vancouver Church, Granville Church and the Joyous Mission Center morning and evening services (*tsutome* 勤め) are conducted daily. Although, daily and monthly services differ in length, attendance and formality, they have similarities. Daily services at the all three locations are an even shorter version of the monthly service, and last around half an hour. Monthly services are followed by a meal, have a much higher attendance rate than daily services, and are performed with all nine instruments unlike daily services where only four instruments are used.⁸

In many ways a Tenrikyō environment that resembles the Origin and its surrounding sacred landscape is created not only through clothing and sound but also through food and cultural events as well. A meal is shared amongst all the followers as part of monthly service. During my fieldwork, Japanese food was often served and Japanese cultural events were organized. The Origin being geographically in Japan there is a resonance between the sensory experiences of food and culture at the Origin and in

⁸An ritual object used to keep count (*kazitori* 数取り) is also utilized during both daily and monthly services.

Vancouver. Japanese culture and Japanese food for followers who have made the pilgrimage to the Origin invokes feelings of nostalgia for the experiences they had at the Origin. For example in my field notes for the monthly service at the Vancouver Church on April 14, 2019 I wrote: “sushi, Japanese stir-fried noodles (*yakisoba* 焼きそば), Japanese fried chicken (*karaage* 唐揚げ), and fish cake were served and some followers who do not eat Japanese food had left.” At the next monthly service on May 2019 at the Vancouver Church, sandwiches and chicken noodle soup were served. This was not the norm and was done to accommodate the few followers who had left the previous month, unable to eat Japanese food. Similarly, at the Granville Church’s August 2019 monthly service, Japanese stir-fried noodles and sushi were served. In addition they had set up an area for people to catch floating Japanese noodles (*nagashisōmen* 流しそうめん). The next month at the June 2019 monthly service at the Granville Church there was a demonstration on the proper way to wear a *kimono*. On March 15, 2020 at the Joyous Mission Center there was a calligraphy demonstration (Tracy Manome, email to author, March 10, 2019). While there were exceptions at all three of my field sites, Japanese food and cultural events were overwhelmingly the norm. An instance of an exception would be the July monthly service at the Joyous Mission Center, where pizza, salad, watermelon, and corn was served instead of Japanese food. For many followers there is a connection between Japanese culture, Japanese food and Tenrikyō. For followers who have made the pilgrimage to the Origin, the prevalence of Japanese cultural events and Japanese food contributes to invoking feelings of nostalgia. Joss informs me of this connection between Japanese culture, food and Tenrikyō:

I think for many people here, Japanese language, Japanese culture and Tenrikyō are intrinsically linked as well. So everything about coming home is Japanese language, Japanese food, and also Tenrikyō is there [at the church or mission center]... home being JEC [the Japanese Education Center or the Joyous Mission Center]... Tenrikyō bubble is also. So their connection to their ethnicity, their language, their homeland, their family, right? So it's all roped together. (Joss Klinck, interview with the author, May 29, 2019)

As Joss describes it, Tenrikyō for many followers is intrinsically connected to Japanese food and culture. By serving Japanese food and at monthly services and having Japanese culture events in Vancouver followers are reminded of Tenrikyō and because of the importance of the Origin as a sacred site. As a result, followers who have made the pilgrimage to the Origin may also recall the experiences they had there when they eat Japanese food and see the Japanese cultural events.

At monthly service in Vancouver, British Columbia the sights, sounds, and tastes, through the clothing, food and cultural events all function to invoke nostalgia for followers who have been to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. Consequently, people who have not been to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape in Tenri City often feel no connection to the monthly services:

*There's no connection...It's very difficult for non-Tenrikyō members to sit through the whole thing, the service. Okay it's long. It's one and half hours long so ...they don't come they come once they experience it. And if it's just sitting in the back watching the whole thing, you know it's all in Japanese, if they're really interested they would read the English book or whatever. But most people, they don't. They just watch. They observe and then go, oh that was nice, and that's it. *It has no meaning to them* ... They just look at the dancing and the singing they think, it's nice but thank you very much. *There's no meaning to them*. I would think... I think if you're actually taking part in the service you, there are more benefits I think to the service *because otherwise everybody falls asleep, right? If you're tired*. (Linda Nishi, interview with the author, March 18, 2018; August 13, 2019; emphasis added)*

Linda says repeatedly that, for non-Tenrikyō members who have most likely not been to the Origin, that when they see the monthly services they feel no connection, it has no meaning to them and they may even fall asleep. I suggest this applies to everyone including Tenrikyō followers who have not been to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape.

4.3 The Importance of Bringing Others to Tenri

The Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape continues to be important for bringing people to the Tenrikyō faith. Taking non-Tenrikyō people to the Origin is encouraged in order to grow the number of followers in the religion. While this is generally true, some followers show a lack of enthusiasm for converting people. Nonetheless, followers often speak about their own experiences at the Origin or mention anecdotes about the Origin as encouragement to make the pilgrimage. For example, at the August monthly service at the Joyous Mission Center Tracy spoke about the two weeks she spent leading a group of 23 children and three other adults on the annual children's pilgrimage. Tracy emphasizes the importance of showing the Origin to "as many people as possible" because, to her, the Origin is a wonderful place where one can see God the Parent perform miracles and understand the messages that God the Parent is trying to communicate. The following is an excerpt from the script Tracy used for her speech for the August monthly service:

While we were in Jiba God the Parent showed us many of his workings in many places. The first time was two days after we arrived to [sic] Japan. One of the girls got a bug bite. The bug bite started to swollen[sic] and became a very big blister, which started to spread and she ended up having two very big blisters on each arm. ... The doctor said it was nothing to worry about but not to crush the blisters and to wait for it to disappear on its own. And told us it may take a week or two to break...We all went to the head quarters [sic] and prayed to God the Parent for her fast recovery. Then we went to the sanctuary of the foundress where Oyasama lives and I administered the Sazuke[,the divine grant] on her....After we prayed for her we were walking to the memorial hall when I heard somebody calling me...I turned around and seeing the girl with the blister tell me that the blister has popped on its own! We were told by the doctor that it may take a week or two but right after we prayed it popped! (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019)

She goes on to give two more examples of miracles related to the weather. The first case she mentions is when her group travelled to an amusement park and it was supposed to rain that day but when they arrived at noon the weather suddenly cleared up (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019). On separate occasion when they were

scheduled to perform as part of a parade at the headquarters in Tenri City, the weather miraculously cleared up again when the forecast had said it was supposed to rain and even warned of a potential typhoon approaching (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019). She associates these miracles with having returned to the Origin and the sacred landscape and implies that if one also makes the pilgrimage to the Origin one could experience similar miracles. In addition, she interprets a medical issue she had as a message from God the Parent concerning how she speaks to people. While in Japan, she booked an appointment to see a specialist regarding polyps that had developed in her throat, even though these had already been examined by doctors in Vancouver (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019). The doctor she saw in Japan was willing to perform a surgery but told her this surgery would not make much of a difference (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019). She concludes that this whole experience was a message from God the Parent:

I felt God the Parent telling me that surgery will cut the polyp but my actions itself and my usage of mind will not change unless I put effort in changing myself. In this situation I take it as my speaking words [*sic*] ...Right now I know for sure that if I change the usage of my mind and rely on God that this polyp will cure naturally. That is why I decided not to do surgery anymore ...The two weeks were not just full of fun activities but also reminded me of these important things. How thankful God's parental love for us is and to believe and rely on God the Parent more. Ojiba is a wonderful place! I would like to show Ojiba to as many people as possible.(Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019)

Tracy experiences what she sees as a message from God the Parent specifically while she was at the Origin. She takes this as further evidence of how wonderful the Origin is and wants to show the Origin to "as many people as possible" (Tracy Manome, unpublished data, August 11, 2019). These miracles and messages that she believes await pilgrims are also motivation for them to convert to Tenrikyō. Sharing this experience also serves to encourage other followers to make the pilgrimage to the Origin.

According to my field notes, an anecdote of a follower was shared as part of the Pep Rally for the 110th Anniversary of the Women's Association held on August 25, 2019 at the

Joyous Mission Center. This was presented to the audience by the Tōai Grand Church's minister's wife (東愛大教会), who had travelled from Japan to give the lecture. In this anecdote, a follower risked their life to make the pilgrimage to the Origin, while remaining steadfast in her determination to grow the religion through giving out pamphlets. The severely sick follower only had three working heart valves after triple bypass surgery and risked her life to return to the Origin. She replied that she would be happy to die at the Origin and that it was worth it. Every day this follower gave out pamphlets about Tenrikyō and audience members were given two of these same pamphlets when they first arrived to this event.

After the story, followers were urged to bring people to the Origin as a way to grow the number of followers in Tenrikyō. Audience members were exhorted to act like this follower and increase the number of Tenrikyō followers. They were encouraged to give out these two pamphlets and guide two new members to Tenrikyō with the goal of reaching one million followers worldwide this year and the ultimate goal of spreading the religion to all women in the world. This anecdote is told as example for followers so they can model their actions after hers. In my field notes, I wrote that as part of this speech the audience was told "every bit counts, even small." At both this event and as part of Tracy's speech at the August monthly service, there is an emphasis on returning to the Origin and bringing others with them. Both giving out information via pamphlets and inviting people to join pilgrimage serves to grow the number of followers in Tenrikyō.

In contrast to both the Pep Rally and the August monthly service, where Tracy and the Tōai Grand Church's minister's wife both showed enthusiasm when speaking about pilgrimage, bringing others, and proselytization, Jacob, the current head minister of Granville Church, notably lacks this same enthusiasm. He does not seem terribly worried about results in terms of the number of converts:

We encourage people to return to *jiba* because we think it'd be, it's something that's, it's just part of our faith. But okay, so you're gonna take the *besseki* lectures or take the spiritual development course, you know. Well if there's, certainly if there's a[n] interest we would encourage that. But not something so that they can become, we

can convert them or anything like that. I don't I tend not to think like that. (Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019)

He goes on to discuss how prevalent it is in Tenrikyō to focus on recruiting or converting people, but his main concern is whether or not people are truly practicing Tenrikyō and joining monthly services:

It's not about, you know, sort of recruiting. And sort of just for the sake of doing. Okay we got a 100 members. That's great but are they really following Tenrikyo? I don't really know so I'd rather for my focus to really have people, you know, sort of be able to put into practice the teaching[s], would be greatly something I want them to do. At the same time to join us for our service performance too... I think the focus is slightly different than getting members, so that we can say, oh we can get this many people.... If the focus becomes...I'm more concerned about you becoming a member ... I don't know if that's really something I would encourage but I see that often.
(Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019; emphasis added)

Jacob's desire to downplay a focusing on achieving a specific number of converts is contrary to the message of the lecture given at the Pep Rally for the 110th Anniversary of the Women's Association. In fact, at that event audience members were given the larger goal of reaching one million followers that year and ultimately converting *all* the women in the world. Jacob's personal goals for his local church do not align with these larger institutional goals of reaching specific numbers of converts and he also is not concerned with whether or not people self-identify as Tenrikyō followers as long they practice the religion and take part in the monthly services:

For me it's about implementing, having people implement the teachings. And whether they're followers of Tenrikyō, if they would call themselves followers of Tenrikyō or not, you know, I guess ideally it would be nice. But if not but they do practice implementing teachings, that's still a very, you know, nice thing. And I think it's a great goal for what we're trying to do for the church. Part of the emphasis would be having people join us in the actual service performance....I mean we do have enough people monthly to perform, you know, all the roles that are required

but it's always nice to have more.(Jacob Ogawa, interview with the author, September 1, 2019)

For Jacob the local concern of not having enough people for monthly services itself becomes much more important and overshadows the practice of bringing non-Tenrikyō followers to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape.

The emphasis of bringing people who are not Tenrikyō followers to the Origin also seems to be connected to Tenrikyō followers' individual spiritual growth as missionaries. According to Aki, who lived briefly at a mission home (*fukyō no ie* 布教の家) in Chiba Prefecture in Japan, by bringing people to the Origin she becomes a parental figure guiding a child: "If I return to the Origin alone, I return to God the Parent as a child, right? But when I bring someone else, I too become a parent...I grow up as a *yōboku* [, a missionary] (私がおじばに帰るだけだったら私は子供で神様親でしょ...私が誰かを連れておじばに帰ったら私も親になれる... I grow up as a *yōboku*) (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019).For this reason, she has brought people from both Vancouver and within Japan to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape (Aki Fujimoto, interview with the author, July 7, 2019). The practice of bringing non-Tenrikyō followers to the Origin is important as a way to grow the religion, but for those like Aki, it is important at the individual level for a follower's development as a missionary.

Support for the practice of bringing people back to the Origin to grow membership is consistently expressed in Tenrikyō, with few exceptions. While some followers do not engage in this practice with the purpose of converting people, they do engage in the practice nonetheless as part of their religion. While reasons may vary (for one's individual growth as a missionary, to increase a local's church's membership, or to increase Tenrikyō membership overall), the desire to bringing others to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape is remarkably strong.

4.4 Conclusion

In Vancouver, followers have to deal with the anxieties and difficulties that come with practice. Elements of local practice are designed so that those who have experienced at the Origin and the surrounding landscape begin to feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment they had but now have no access to. Monthly services invoke this nostalgia and serve as a way to remind followers of the experiences through clothing, food and ritual. Followers are aware that without a connection to the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape, those who see monthly services do not feel a sense of nostalgia. This motivates followers to continue to share their own and others' stories of events at the Origin, and to encourage other followers to make the pilgrimage. Pilgrimage itself is seen as a way to cultivate oneself and increase the number of Tenrikyō followers as well.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

In summary, Tenrikyō followers return to the Origin, experience an immersive environment, establish a connection, leave, feel a nostalgic longing and continue to recall their experiences through local practice. They recreate it through ritual and encourage others to also make this pilgrimage. I have examined how followers experience this immersive environment where they focus on physical actions as a way to practice Tenrikyō and develop deep social connections while enrolled in training, at educational institutions, and at events held at the Origin and the surrounding sacred landscape. The sacredness associated with the Origin extends outwards to include the surrounding area making it not just a single geographical point but rather a sacred landscape and this is reflected in followers' experiences and the language they use to talk about the Origin. Followers are returning to *their* Origin, *their* home when they go to Tenrikyō headquarters in Tenri City. Once they leave, they do not lose this connection to the Origin—this connection is what forms the core of their identity as Tenrikyō followers in diaspora.

Faced with the anxieties and difficulties associated with practice in Vancouver followers feel a nostalgic longing for the immersive environment at the Origin and its surrounding sacred landscape. Followers also maintain this connection to the Origin through monthly services that invoke a sense of nostalgia through ritual, clothing, and food. Those who have not yet been to the Origin are left feeling no connection or sense of nostalgia when seeing the services so it becomes important for Tenrikyō followers in Vancouver to encourage more people to return to the Origin.

Scholars have written about Tenrikyō in places such as Taiwan, Brazil, Singapore, London and the United States but Tenrikyō in Canada has received little attention. The goal of this thesis was to begin the conversation about Tenrikyō in Canada and offer away to understand what is most important in their practice and how they practice. In developing this idea of nostalgia I drew on secondary literature on Taiwanese Tenrikyō adherents who possess a unique post-colonial nostalgia for Japan (Huang 2017b, 289).

In terms of limitations, this thesis used fieldwork based only in a single area, Vancouver, British Columbia, and the majority of it was conducted during a six-month

period. Ideally, future research would be multi-site, including cities across Canada, and allow for more than one period of fieldwork. This approach would allow for further insight into what Tenrikyō practice is like across Canada. In addition, a number of the followers I interviewed were all from one field site and not evenly spread across all three of my field sites. This may have affected my conclusions but I was confined by ethics considerations and the self-selection of those who volunteered to be interviewed. As well, I was unable to find much information related to Tenrikyō during the internment period in Canada. This is a problem for the study of internment in general, but would be a potentially fruitful area for future archival research.

The thesis aimed to understand how Tenrikyō followers practice in Vancouver, British Columbia as part of a religion that locates its spiritual home in Tenri City, Japan. It is my hope that this thesis is only the beginning of scholarship on Tenrikyō in Canada and more broadly on Japanese NRMs in diaspora at large.

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