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Westward Dharma

Buddhism beyond Asia

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14 Repackaging Zen for the West

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INTRODUCTION

The embracing of Zen in certain sectors of North American and European societies occurs through an unlikely confluence of histories, ideas, and practices from two starkly different cultural complexes. Observing the routine of a traditional Japanese Zen monastery, especially a Rinzai one, with its strict uniformity, inflexible routine, almost military sense of order and discipline, and the willingness of the monks to subject themselves to blows from a stick, one would think it unlikely that such a form of religious practice would achieve any foothold in Western countries characterized by democratic ideals, reverence for individual freedom, and suspicion of authority and hierarchy. It would seem even less probable that the Americans initially most attracted to Zen would be iconoclastic poets, artists, and refugees from Christianity and Judaism who felt stifled by the strictures of those faiths.

If Zen is paradoxical at its core, with its elegant juxtapositions of candor and conundrum, of spontaneity and discipline, that paradox is only magnified in its presence in the West. Part of this magnification is due to popular culture's odd embrace of the term *Zen*—I will not say the *tradition* of Zen, of which most Westerners remain largely ignorant. A brief perusal of Amazon.com's books containing the word *Zen* reveals titles like *Zen in the Art of Golf* and *Zen Sex*. One also finds the word tossed around casually in more studied culture—a *New York Times* review of an art retrospective by Yoko Ono declares it "very Zen."¹ Whether noun or adjective, *Zen* has, it seems, come to denote a kind of free-floating state of being, both relaxed and disciplined, engaged yet detached. While such a way of understanding the term may have something vaguely to do with the actual practice of this tradition, the use of the term *Zen* to designate a state of mind completely dissociated from the long and complex historical tradition of Chan and Zen in Asia is a unique development of the modern West and the missionary-minded Japanese. Scholars may be tempted to simply dismiss

such vagaries, but the manner in which *Zen* has become a household word in many Western countries is worth considering, for this nebulous and disembodied *Zen* to some extent results from the ways in which Zen has been presented to the West by both Asians and Westerners.

I will not in this short essay attempt to clear up the considerable confusion as to what Zen "really is"; my purpose, instead, is to examine a few stretches on the path whereby *Zen* came to be thought of in the West as a free-floating state of being, rather than as a concrete, historical tradition shaped by years of reflection and practice. I shall also mention a few important issues facing Zen in the West and a few individuals and groups who are addressing these issues in ways characteristic of Western Zen.

WESTERN ZEN IN THE MAKING

An important part of Zen's adaptation in the West, and especially in America, has involved an attempt by some of its interpreters, both Asian and Western, to decontextualize it and de-emphasize elements thought to be "too Asian" or "too traditional," or that simply don't work in the West. The re-envisioning of various forms of Buddhism in Western terms—more specifically, in terms influenced by the Western Enlightenment tradition—is an integral part of the story of Buddhism in the West. Europeans encountering Buddhism in the late nineteenth century read many ideas in ancient Buddhist scriptures and philosophical texts that appeared to resonate with the modern, scientific attitude. They saw in textual Buddhism an experimental attitude, a de-emphasis on faith and belief, and a sophisticated philosophy—exquisitely rational, yet soaring beyond ordinary reason. Buddhism as practiced in various Asian countries, however, seemed permeated by things quite counter to the modern, rationalistic attitude—practices and beliefs that appeared superstitious, magical, and ritualistic. A number of early Western admirers and modernizing Asians tried to extract the empirically minded philosophical and practical ingredients of Buddhism from what they considered its idolatrous and superstitious elements.² This "demythologized" Buddhism—more accurately, "remythologized" in terms of the dominant European and American attitudes and beliefs—is what most Westerners still know of Buddhism.

The original efforts to bring Zen into a dynamic relationship with modernity and the West were undertaken not by Westerners, but by Japanese Zen Buddhists who understood the ethos of European and American intellectual and religious culture. The adaptation of Zen to the West, therefore, is not simply a Western invention. In the post-Meiji and postwar periods,

many Japanese adherents of Zen advocated the modernization and revitalization of the tradition. Some saw the West, especially America, as an arena where such revitalization could flower. Shaku Sōen, the first Zen missionary to America and the first to publish a book on Zen in English, set the stage for how Zen would often be interpreted in the West. Along with Paul Carus, an important promoter of Buddhism in its early life in America, Sōen presented Buddhism in a very modern light, claiming that the Buddha's teachings "are in exact agreement with the doctrines of modern science."³ Sōen attempted to align Buddhism with the scientific spirit of the times, giving it an intellectual credibility and prestige that were eroding in Christianity among the intellectual elite. Appealing to the ethos of modernity, he displayed an empirical bent and an agnostic indifference about miracles. He presented karma and *Dharmakāya* in terms of both "natural law" and "moral law," concepts that many late-nineteenth-century American and European intellectuals found irresistible. Moreover, he claimed, this moral law leads to enlightenment, in which all great men—including Jesus, George Washington, and Abraham Lincoln—participate to some extent, albeit not to the extent of the Buddha.⁴ These themes—an embrace of science combined with the promise of something beyond it, and a universal reality in which different religions and individuals participate, but which Buddhism embodies most perfectly—characterized the tone set for the interpretation of Zen and Buddhism in the West, a tone still present in many writings.

As much as the presentation of Zen by its early emissaries to the West was colored by rationalism and modern science, the *decline* of the rational and the crisis of relativism in the twentieth century may have had a more profound impact on the reception and re-envisioning of Zen in the West. Zen Buddhists came to America at a time when the Enlightenment's combination of rationalism and empiricism was still prominent, even while historical, cultural, and intellectual forces were shaking the foundations of the Enlightenment discourse, and faith in reason waned. Cultural relativism compromised confidence that any one religious form could lay claim to universal truth as diverse cultures became increasingly available to each other. Truths once considered universal now seemed more evidently a product of particular historical, cultural, and geographical factors. William Barrett, in a 1956 introduction to D. T. Suzuki's *Zen Buddhism*, suggested that Zen is a possible answer to the problem of the "meaninglessness" that he considered essential to the experience of modern humanity, as both science and Western metaphysics had failed to provide certainty or meaning in the modern world.⁵ Existentialism perhaps best expressed the disaffection with

the idea that there is a universal truth; the belief that reason can resolve all problems; and the forms of traditional Judeo-Christian religious institutions. It is no accident that a number of existentialist philosophers were attracted to Zen. Zen appealed to intellectuals and artists insofar as it seemed to acknowledge the limitations of rationality and displayed a suspicion of all words, institutions, authorities, and conventions. While Zen was as iconoclastic as Sartre, it still offered a pure experience of unmediated truth obtainable through one's own effort and insight—a feature that appealed to the individualist tenor of Western, and especially American, society.

Western interpretations of Zen have often remained within the framework of notions of freedom and individualism so deeply rooted in modern Western philosophical and political discourse. The iconoclasm and individualism of Zen appealed to the modern Enlightenment and Protestant mentality, even while those experimenting with Zen attempted to reject and surpass this mentality. Passages in Zen literature that ridicule imitation, empty ritual, rote learning of scripture, and emphasis on the magical and mysterious became the hallmarks of the tradition in Zen literature written for the West.

Another element still important in the interpretation of Zen in the West is the impulse toward universalism and the attempt to find a common spiritual ground for the world religions and their conflicting truth claims. The crisis of cultural relativism in the twentieth century led thinkers such as Aldous Huxley, Carl Jung, and Swami Vivekananda to search for similarities in the world's religions, such that all could be conceived of as leading to or participating in the same ultimate reality. This has been an underlying theme in much of the West's involvement with Asian religions, and is evident in some of the hybrid forms of Zen emerging in the West, such as Christian and Jewish groups that incorporate Zen meditation with their practice.

Perhaps the most important figure in the "repackaging" of Zen for the West is D. T. Suzuki. It is no coincidence that he was the translator for Shaku Sōen's visit to the World Parliament of Religions. More than anyone, Suzuki furthered a process begun by Sōen of attempting to extrapolate the essence of Zen from Zen Buddhism as a religion. Zen, as Suzuki presented it, is the pure experience of unmediated encounter with reality, and the spontaneous living in harmony with that reality. It is not, therefore, a property of Buddhism. The essence of Zen, for Suzuki, was mysticism, which he believed was common to other religious traditions as well. At the heart of the widely variegated forms of historical religions, he claimed, was a common, universal mystical experience—an experience

that transcends all cultural trappings.⁶ While espousing the universality of mysticism, however, he also claimed that Zen was the purest and most direct form of mysticism, calling it "the ultimate fact of religion."⁷ This answered to the need for universalism while removing the meditative aspects of Zen from the rest of the complex tradition of rituals, priesthoods, and hierarchies that held little attraction for many Westerners.

Recent historical and critical study of Zen suggests that Suzuki's presentation of the tradition to the West is, in fact, rather selective and limited.⁸ But Zen was proffered to the West not as a historical tradition but as an ahistorical essence of spirituality. What is important to us here is that this image, created during a crisis of intellectual and religious life in Europe and America, was crucial to Zen's enthusiastic reception among those disenchanted with what they saw as the failed promises of Western culture. Such disenchantment entailed a rather idealized vision of Zen, as well as other Asian spiritual paths—an inverse image of the perceived spiritual cul-de-sac of the West. As much as the embracing of Zen was a response to disillusionment with Western cultural, intellectual, and religious forms, Zen was often interpreted in terms of those forms, or in some cases their inverse. Instead of faith, Zen relied on direct experience; rather than relying on culturally limited forms of discourse, it transcended words and made contact with the ineffable; in place of salvation through another being, it offered enlightenment through one's own efforts. Historians of religion can, of course, be suspicious of this picture of Zen because it is tailored too much to Western needs and interpreted too much in Western categories. It would nevertheless be unrealistic to expect otherwise in its short history in the Western hemisphere. Yet the repackaging of Zen in the West has been no more radical and no less inevitable than the cultural transformations Buddhism underwent upon entering China, Tibet, or Japan. This complex process of cultural adaptation will no doubt proceed through continuing reassessment, re-envisioning, and negotiation between novelty and tradition.

WESTERN ZEN: SOME CURRENT ISSUES

Ethnicity and Practice

The overwhelming majority of non-Asian Westerners who practice Zen are white, middle-class, and relatively well educated.⁹ Practitioners of Zen meditation in Asia have generally been monastics, and few laypeople take up zazen in earnest. Non-Asian Zen practitioners in the West, however, tend to be interested almost exclusively in meditation, though very few

become monastics. This issue is inseparable from the social class of these converts. In Asia, monastics not only have respect and prestige, they have the financial support of the community. In the West, no such support system exists. It takes money and time to go on retreats and to buy books, zafus, and other accoutrements associated with Zen practice. Being of the middle or upper class—that is, having money and leisure time—becomes the surrogate for such support in the West.¹⁰

These middle- and upper-class Buddhists are unique—even anomalous—in the Buddhist world. Western Zen Buddhists have little connection with the social, liturgical, and ritual aspects of Zen prominent in East Asia. Despite the fact that Zen is the "meditation school," it would surprise Western Zen practitioners to know that most Zen temples in Japan have little to do with meditation. Rather, they function largely as social centers and places for the performance of ancestral death rites. Most Zen temples in the West serve similar functions for those of Japanese ancestry. In contrast to these temples, a small number of monasteries and Zen centers offer meditation training, programs, and *sesshins*. In North America, these centers make up a small percentage of the Zen institutions, and the overwhelming majority of those who take advantage of their services are non-Asian Americans.¹¹

Therefore, a rather marked separation exists between Asians and non-Asians affiliated with Zen institutions in the West. The former tend to associate with Zen temples as a way to maintain cultural identity. The latter are interested in meditation and de-emphasize distinctively Japanese, Chinese, Korean, or Vietnamese cultural elements as inessential, particularistic, and perhaps even contrary to what they understand as the essence of Zen—the cultivation of the mind through meditation and mindful living. This does not mean that Westerners lack support, training, and guidance from Asian teachers. Asian Zen teachers are the source and continuing support of Western Zen. But the now-substantial number of non-Asian teachers that they have trained and to whom they have given Dharma transmission often head their own Zen centers. This could take Zen in the West in very different directions in future generations. It remains to be seen whether "ethnic Zen" and "Westernized Zen" will continue to follow separate courses or find closer relations in the future.

Social and Political Involvement

Buddhism has always been engaged in its various socio-political contexts, but in Europe and America this engagement tends to take a unique shape. *Engaged Buddhism* is a concept gaining a great deal of attention in a

number of modern Buddhist contexts (not all Western), and may become a defining idea in the constitution of a modern, lay-oriented Buddhism in the West. It is an ecumenical approach, including certain practitioners from the Zen, Theravāda, Tibetan Vajrayāna, Jōdo Shinshū, and Sōka Gakkai traditions. *Engaged Buddhism* refers broadly to the application of Buddhism to matters of everyday life, including work, family, politics, and community. Some have refined the term further, designating *socially engaged Buddhism* as a more direct application of Buddhist principles and concepts to the social and political arenas.¹² An example of this application of traditional Buddhist concepts to modern issues is the use of the key concept of the interdependence of all things. In engaged Buddhism, this idea is augmented by contemporary biological and ecological models of the interrelationships between living things. The result implies a modern take on the bodhisattva vow: to save all sentient beings by engaging in environmental activism. This thinking also extends to include the interdependence brought about by the globalization of trade and the part that Western consumers inevitably play—even in the apparently insignificant choices of food, clothing, and other products—in the structural violence and suffering brought about when industry destroys natural resources or exploits labor in developing countries.¹³ Another example of the adaptation of classical concepts to contemporary social and political issues is understanding the first precept of Buddhism—*do not kill*—as applying broadly to institutions and governments that perpetrate war and contribute to the killing of endangered species.¹⁴

It might be tempting to think that this kind of engagement is simply an ad hoc attempt to make Buddhism fit the socio-political concerns of the largely liberal convert community, and it does have connections to 1960s activism and the American spirit of reform-minded Protestantism. The origins of this movement, however, lie in Asia and in worldwide struggles during the late twentieth century with colonialism, war, and social injustice. The Vietnamese Zen monk Thich Nhat Hanh, who coined the term *engaged Buddhism*, is perhaps the most visible figure in the movement. In the 1950s, he and other Vietnamese Buddhists promoted the incorporation of Buddhism in everyday life through mindfulness in activity. During the Vietnam war, this developed into a more overtly social and political movement emphasizing nonviolence, social justice, and freedom from oppression. Influenced by Mohandas K. Gandhi, these Buddhists opposed the war through nonviolent protest, involving demonstrations, strikes, songs, fasting, and non-cooperation with government. Today Nhat Hanh promotes socially engaged Buddhism in a wide variety of formats, including his

many publications and a number of communities and organizations in the West. He interprets the bodhisattva ideal and the Mahāyāna concept of interdependence as mandates for action in the world, while maintaining the importance of meditation for cultivating peace and harmony in the individual.¹⁵

Many Western practitioners of Zen have taken up engaged Buddhism with vigor, and organizations with this orientation have proliferated in the recent decades. The Buddhist Peace Fellowship, which includes in its membership such notable Zen Buddhists as Robert Aitken and Gary Snyder, has actively promoted peace and justice issues. Especially noteworthy is its Buddhist Alliance for Social Engagement (BASE). Modeled on other faith-based volunteer corps movements, such as the Catholic Worker Movement and the Jesuit Volunteer Corps, BASE sends volunteers into the field to mediate conflicts, cook for homeless shelters, care for the dying, and engage in a host of other social service activities.¹⁶ Bernard Glassman Rōshi established the Zen Peacemaker Order, an organization with a distinctively activist agenda. In Yonkers, New York, Glassman has set up drug-abuse treatment clinics, cooperative housing for the poor, AIDS hospices, a bakery, and a construction company that provides training and employment for the homeless and destitute.¹⁷ Other activist Zen teachers have set up prison ministries and care-giving facilities for the dying, like the Zen Hospice Project. Virtually all of these people see social engagement and service not as an alternative to meditation and mindfulness, but as an extension of it. They interpret social service and political action as part of the Buddhist path, taking the peace that can be cultivated in meditation into a wider arena than just the personal.

These projects are obviously innovations in Zen, but they are not just Western adaptations. They are responses by an increasingly global Sangha to suffering not only at the level of the individual, but also at the systemic level. They are another aspect of the contemporary Buddhist reply to the unique problems brought about by modernity: globalization, the dominance of technology, environmental devastation, and large-scale military conflict. Engaged Buddhism is especially important to the lay orientation of the convert community, which sees engagement with life—family, social service, work, political activity—as part of practice. In contrast to this, the monastic model often sets the two in opposition. Engaged Buddhism also tempers the individualistic and personalistic tone set by some early missionaries and interpreters of Zen in the West. The extent to which social engagement will be a formative force in Zen and other forms of Buddhism during the twenty-first century is impossible to determine; but the rapid

growth and widespread appeal of engaged Buddhism suggest that it could become an important and enduring development.

Rethinking of Authority and the Roles of Women

In Zen and other Mahāyāna literature, statements abound to the effect that all things are *equal, the same, or one* in Buddha nature. Indeed this nullification of distinction at the highest level of truth is part of the appeal of Zen in the West, in part because many have become sensitized to the problems of social inequality and hierarchy. Zen in practice, however, has always maintained strict, formal hierarchies among senior and junior monks, among men and women, and between masters and disciples. The transfer of such a system of authority to the largely lay convert community in the West—with its ideals of equality and democracy, its suspicion of authority, and its valorization of rebellion (the very things that first attracted many to Zen)—was bound to encounter turmoil. Perhaps the most important challenge that Zen communities in the West have faced in this regard involves two intertwined issues: authority and the roles of women. Because of limited space, we can only give a few examples that illustrate the directions Zen communities are taking regarding authority and women's roles.

The first involves the system of leadership at the San Francisco Zen Center (SFZC), one of the earliest centers used primarily by non-Asian American Buddhists. After the sudden flourishing of Zen in America in the 1960s, during the 1980s, scandals involving teachers' abuse of power and sexual relationships with students rocked a number of Zen centers, including SFZC. In the aftermath, the center attempted to democratize the leadership and insure that no one would have too much power. When Richard Baker Rōshi resigned after admitting to an affair with a married student, his Dharma-heir, Reb Anderson, was hired for a four-year term, and a system of electing, rather than appointing, board members was instituted.¹⁸ Another innovation came in the 1990s, with an experiment in shared leadership between Zoketsu Norman Fischer and Zenkai Blanche Hartman, a grandmother and one of Shunryu Suzuki Rōshi's students. The changes were made to discourage a concentration of power and to shift to what Fischer calls a "student-centered," rather than "teacher-centered," organization of the *zendō*.¹⁹ Such innovations would be highly unlikely in a Japanese temple or monastery.

The incident reveals the tensions that can arise when a system that is traditionally authoritarian, patriarchal, and monastic is taken up by a largely lay population in a more democratic environment. The role of the

teacher, the degree of power he or she should hold, and whether it should be taken for granted that the teacher is a moral exemplar are live questions in Zen and other Buddhist traditions in the West. While different communities have responded with different answers, most have been cautioned by such incidents of abuse of power. While the tradition of the teacher as a guide is still strong in Western Zen, many students are reluctant to practice within a system of fixed hierarchy and unquestioned authority.

One striking aspect of Zen in the West is the increasing number and prominence of women and of women teachers. In contrast to Zen in Japan and Korea, where the role of women has been minimal, female converts in the West have emerged as some of the most visible Zen teachers and as some of the boldest innovators. While no one approach characterizes all female teachers, some have been at the forefront of experimenting with less hierarchical Sangha organization, gentler approaches to discipline, and innovation in styles of practice. The large subject of women teachers in Western Buddhism is, fortunately, treated in depth elsewhere.²⁰ Here I simply mention one teacher worth noting, not because she is typical, but because of the particular way in which she is anomalous.

Toni Packer represents the most striking example of a Western Zen that has virtually ceased to be Zen. Packer was Philip Kapleau Rōshi's successor at the Rochester Zen Center. While Kapleau was an innovator himself, in the *zendō* he nevertheless kept largely to traditional protocol, including bowing, rapid chanting, use of bells, and the *kyōsaku*—the encouragement stick. After becoming disillusioned with traditional forms and hierarchy, Packer left and formed her own Sangha. She now runs the Springwater Center for Meditative Inquiry and Retreats, which holds meditation workshops and retreats influenced by Zen but with no overt affiliation and few of the tradition's standard formalities. She dismisses the value of transmitting a lineage and insuring the transition of teachings from one generation to the next.²¹ Instead, she insists on the importance of being present in the moment, openly investigating the network of conditioned thoughts, and allowing the mind to move beyond that network. These themes are, of course, important in traditional Zen; but Packer sees the rest—chanting, bells, bowing, and, most important, the traditional relationship between master and disciple—as inessential and even deleterious to the possibility of awakening.²²

Toni Packer and her center are not typical of Zen in the West. While nearly all Western Zen centers and teachers have adapted their forms in significant ways to meet the character of their Western practitioners, few have gone as far as Packer in abandoning elements of traditional Zen. Most

Zen centers follow some degree of traditional protocol. They maintain the importance of the teacher, though not in the sense of an absolute authority; they hold to the significance of Dharma transmission and lineage; and they observe some of the rituals and use many of the material implements of traditional Zen. In dismissing most of these elements, Packer admits that she is no longer really practicing Buddhism, while still emphasizing the importance of "meditative inquiry." In this sense, Packer is "post-Zen."

Why, then, mention her in a discussion of Zen in the West? Because Packer's example is instructive in understanding the character of convert Zen insofar as it embodies the extreme, and yet in some ways the logical, conclusion of an important theme in American Zen that can be traced back to Suzuki: the idea that Zen is more an inner process or experience than a historical tradition or institution. Packer, in distancing herself from Zen as the latter, has said that she understands the word *Zen* as "descriptive of a mind that understands itself clearly and wholly from instant to instant" and that it "suggests a way of seeing and responding freely, without the limitations of the self."²³ And it is this idea of Zen—as a condition of mind separable from historical tradition and East Asian cultural forms—that has been one of the prime movers in the development of the unique character of Zen in the West and its adaptation in convert communities.

NOTES

1. Michael Kimmelman, "Yoko Ono: Painter, Sculptor, Musician, Muse," *The New York Times*, 27 Oct. 2000, E35.

2. Martin J. Verhoeven, "Americanizing the Buddha: Paul Carus and the Transformation of Asian Thought," in *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, edited by Charles S. Prebish and Kenneth K. Tanaka (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 207–27.

3. Shaku Sōen's name was first romanized as *Soyen Shaku*, and some of his publications are cited in that form. See Soyen Shaku, "Reply to a Christian Critic (1896)," in *Asian Religions in America: A Documentary History*, edited by Thomas A. Tweed and Stephen Prothero (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 139.

4. *Ibid.*, 137–40. See also Soyen Shaku, *Zen for Americans*, translated by D. T. Suzuki (LaSalle, Illinois: Open Court, 1992; original publication, 1906). It is notable, in considering the continuing influence of this general view, that Barnes and Noble Books re-released *Zen for Americans* in 1989, 1993, and 2000.

5. William Barrett, "Zen for the West," introduction to D. T. Suzuki, *Zen Buddhism* (New York: Anchor, 1956).

6. D. T. Suzuki, *Mysticism, Christian and Buddhist* (London: G. Allen and Unwin, 1979).

7. D. T. Suzuki, *Essays in Zen Buddhism* (London: Rider, 1949–53), 270–2.

8. For a critique of Suzuki, see Bernard Faure, *Chan Insights and Oversights: An Epistemological Critique of the Chan Tradition* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 53–74.

9. This applies to all meditative traditions of Buddhism in the West. For statistical information on these communities in North America, see James William Coleman, "The New Buddhism: Some Empirical Findings," in *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings in Recent Scholarship*, edited by Duncan Ryūken Williams and Christopher S. Queen (Richmond, U.K.: Curzon Press, 1999), 91–9.

10. Jan Nattier, "Who Is a Buddhist? Charting the Landscape of Buddhist America," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 183–95.

11. For further treatment of Zen temples in the United States, see Senryō Asai and Duncan Ryūken Williams, "Japanese American Zen Temples: Cultural Identity and Economics," in Williams and Queen, *American Buddhism: Methods and Findings*, 20–35.

12. Donald Rothberg, "Responding to the Cries of the World: Socially Engaged Buddhism in North America," in Prebish and Tanaka, *The Faces of Buddhism in America*, 266–86.

13. For examples and discussions of this approach, see Stephanie Kaza, "To Save All Beings: Buddhist Environmental Activism," in *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, edited by Christopher S. Queen (Boston: Wisdom, 2000), 159–83; and Mary Evelyn Tucker and Duncan Ryūken Williams (eds.), *Buddhism and Ecology: The Interconnection of Dharma and Deeds* (Cambridge: Harvard University Center for the Study of World Religions Publications, 1997).

14. See Robert Aitken, *The Mind of a Clover: Essays in Zen Buddhist Ethics* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1984), 19–20.

15. See Thich Nhat Hanh, *Interbeing: Fourteen Guidelines for Engaged Buddhism*, 3rd ed. (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1998), and *Being Peace* (Berkeley: Parallax Press, 1987); also Patricia Hunt-Perry and Lyn Fine, "All Buddhism Is Engaged: Thich Nhat Hanh and the Order of Interbeing," in Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, 35–66.

16. See Judith Simmer-Brown, "Speaking Truth to Power: The Buddhist Peace Fellowship," in Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, 67–94.

17. See Christopher S. Queen, "Glassman Rōshi and the Peacemaker Order: Three Encounters," in Queen, *Engaged Buddhism in the West*, 95–127; Bernard Glassman and Rick Fields, *Instructions to the Cook: A Zen Master's Lessons in Living a Life that Matters* (New York: Bell Tower, 1996); and Bernard Glassman, *Bearing Witness: A Zen Master's Lessons in Making Peace* (New York: Bell Tower, 1998).

18. Rick Fields, *How the Swans Came to the Lake: A Narrative History of Buddhism in America*, 3rd revised and updated ed. (Boston: Shambhala, 1992), 362–4.

19. Helen Tworokov, *Zen in America: Five Teachers and the Search for an American Buddhism* (New York: Kodansha America, 1994), 245–6. For a more detailed account of the incident and its aftermath, see Tworokov, 190–252.

20. See Sandy Boucher, *Turning the Wheel: American Women Creating the New Buddhism*, expanded and updated ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1993); Lenore Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women: Buddhist Teachers in America* (Boston: Shambhala, 1987); Ellison Banks Findly (ed.), *Women's Buddhism, Buddhism's Women: Tradition, Revision, Renewal* (Boston: Wisdom, 2000).

21. "On Transmission and Teaching," an interview with Toni Packer from the 1997 Buddhism in America Conference in Boston; <http://www.servtech.com/public/spwtrctr/bostonQA.html> [15 Dec. 2000].

22. These themes are developed in her books, *The Light of Discovery* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1995) and *The Work of This Moment* (Rutland, Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1995).

23. Friedman, *Meetings with Remarkable Women*, 60. This is Friedman's paraphrase of an uncited quote.