

CONTRIBUTOR

Rafael de C. P. Borges holds a PhD in medical pathophysiology from the State University of Campinas; a specialist in physical exercise applied to diseases, by Universidade Gama Filho, Rio de Janeiro; a bachelor's degree in Physical Education from the Pontifical Catholic University of Campinas and a bachelor's degree in Nutrition Sciences, from the Metropolitan University of Campinas, Brazil. Email: rafaelcpborges@gmail.com

Gustavo G.B. Maçaneiro has a bachelor's degree in Physical Education from Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Florianópolis, Brazil. He is a member of the Martial Arts and Combat Sports Research Group, Sport Department, School of Physical Education and Sport, of the University of São Paulo, Brazil. E-mail: gustavomacaneiro@usp.br

SHIGEICHI YOSHIMA'S TRAJECTORY IN THE PROMOTION OF JUDO IN BRAZIL

RAFAEL DE CAMARGO PENTEADO BORGES
GUSTAVO GOULART BRAGA MAÇANEIRO

DOI

10.18573/mas.137

KEYWORDS

Judo, Jiu Jitsu, History,
Shigeichi Yoshima, José
Almeida Borges

CITATION

Borges, R. & Maçaneiro, G.
2023. 'Shigeichi Yoshima's
Trajectory in the Promotion
of Judo in Brazil'. *Martial
Arts Studies* 13. 27-41. DOI:
10.18573/mas.137

ABSTRACT

The development and diffusion of judo in Brazil is attributed to a small group of Japanese immigrants living in the city of São Paulo. This study seeks to present the importance of Shigeichi Yoshima and his role in the spread of judo in the countryside of São Paulo state. The results of this study substantiate that Yoshima arrived in Brazil in distinct circumstances from the majority of the immigrants and was a judo practitioner closely related to Kōdōkan Institute teachers and direct students of Jigoro Kano, the founder of judo. Yoshima represents a very unique group of Japanese immigrants that came to Brazil, as a specialized worker and University graduate with an extensive experience in judo since his childhood who might have had contact with the ground fighting specialists of the kosen judo movement. The study demonstrates the importance of Japanese immigrants for the development of Brazilian judo through a micro-historical approach.

INTRODUCTION

In 1882, Jigoro Kano, a graduate of Tokyo Imperial University, founded his *dōjō* (place for practicing martial arts) the Kōdōkan. The years that followed served to develop and consolidate the now world-renowned Japanese martial arts and sport, judo. At the beginning of the 20th century, Japanese immigrants, far from their country of origin, began to internationalize the practice of judo. One of the countries to receive these immigrants and benefit from this opportunity was Brazil, one of the current powers of this sport.

On November 5, 1895, in Paris, Brazil and Japan signed the Treaty of Friendship, Commerce and Navigation, which allowed the beginning of the Japanese Immigration to Brazil [Brasil 1895]. Although the treaty was signed in 1895, it was only nine years afterwards (1908) that the Japanese immigration process formally began. With the restrictions then imposed by the United States (at that time the focus of Japanese immigration) [Kawai 1908] the Japanese government decided to redirect migration to Brazil, a country with which there was already an agreement signed.

Looking further behind the reasoning for the Japanese immigration to Brazil, the search for potential immigrants had two main reasons. First, there was indeed a need to complement the workforce, particularly in the state of São Paulo where there was a rapid economic growth, particularly the growth of the coffee production [Brasil 1897; Sasaki 2006]. On the other hand, there was a policy of 'populational whitening' (política de branqueamento) that directed governmental immigration policies towards the European immigration, in order to develop a new configuration of productive labor relations after the abolition of slavery, but also as a result of eugenic ideas which proposed the 'whitening' of the Brazilian population. In this sense, mass immigration was an important feature of the socioeconomic changes in Brazil from the end of the 19th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Between 1887 and 1930, about 3.8 million immigrants entered the country, with São Paulo standing out, concentrating 52.4% of foreigners who moved to Brazil. Thus, initially Japanese immigration was not a deliberate choice of the government for the option and intention of bringing the skilled worker from Japan since the immigration of European citizens was favored as a result of the 'política de branqueamento' policy [Carvalho 2019].

From the side of the Japanese government, due to racial prejudice, in the United States, Japanese immigration was not well accepted, so, despite a promising beginning, successive problems culminated in the prohibition of the arrival of immigrants in 1924, something that became practically impossible already from 1908 onwards. While in Brazil, at the time, German and Italian Immigration was already the focus of the Brazilian government, since 1859, as a result of the decree of 'Von der Heydt', German immigration to São Paulo has been prohibited. From the Italian side, based on a report by journalist Adolfo Rossi on the conditions of immigrants, in 1902 the Italian government determined, through the 'Prinetti decree', the prohibition of immigrants coming to

Brazil to work on coffee farms. Thus, Japanese immigration to Brazil began in 1908 due to the conjunction of these events [Kawai 1980].

Kasato Maru was the first official ship to bring Japanese immigrants to Brazil in 1908 [Suzuki 1995]. The first judo teacher registered at Kōdōkan to arrive in Brazil, in December of the same year, was Sack Miura, who from 1909 would teach judo in the Brazilian Navy [SBCJ 1992; Masuda 2012]. Two years later, in 1910, Mamizuka Takezo (born in Fukuoka Prefecture, second dan of jūdō), another important name in the implementation of judo in Brazil, arrived to the country. [SBCJ 1992; Sekine 2015]. After working as a farmer in the lands of Jataí (current city of Luiz Antônio, São Paulo) on the Mogiana railway line, he taught judo at the São Paulo State Police, and later opened Brazil's first judo dōjō at Rua Gloria 98, São Paulo, in 1912 [Sekine 2015].

Other sources commonly acknowledge the names of other pioneers such as Mitsuyo Maeda (Conde Koma, 7th dan, 1878-1941) in 1914 along with Satake, Raku (commonly spelled in Brazil as 'Laku'), Okura and Shimisu; Tatsuo Okochi (8th dan, 1892-1965), in 1924; Yasuichi Ono in 1928; Katsutoshi Naito (7th dan, 1895-1969) in 1929; Sobei Tani in 1931 (6th dan, 1908-1969); Tokuzo Terazaki in 1933 (Belém, PA) and later still in 1933 in São Paulo; Ryuzo Ogawa (8th dan, 1883-1975) in 1934; Seisetsu Fukaya in the early 1930s [MEC 1982; CBJ 1986; Nunes & Rubio 2012; CBJ 2020]. There is also information that an acrobat named Manji Takezawa (竹澤万次) might have taught jūjutsu to the guard of the Emperor of Brazil D. Pedro II around 1890 [Kobayashi 2010; Fukazawa 2016].

Publications and references from official institutions such as the Ministry of Education and Culture [MEC 1982] and Brazilian Judo Confederation [CBJ 1986; CBJ 2020], dealing with the development and diffusion of judo in Brazilian territory, for the most part, attributed to a select group of Japanese immigrants the responsibility of the introduction of judo in Brazil. The standard understanding of studies in the history of Brazilian judo divides the introduction of the sport in Brazil into two branches: intentional and occasional. The intentional branch is centered on the pioneers, who used judo as a professional activity, introducing it through professional fighting. The second considers as the main introducers of judo in the country the immigrants, who didn't have judo as their primary means of living and used the practice as a way of promoting their own culture, and a way of socialization among immigrants. Regarding the occasional aspect, São Paulo, as the state to receive the largest number of Japanese immigrants, is usually regarded as the most important region for the beginning of this process of occasional introduction and dissemination of judo in the country [Virgilio 1994; Franchini & Del'Vechio 2007; Nunes & Rubio 2012; Mazzei & Cruz 2015].

Many judo pioneers from the occasional branch, however, did not live in the big centers of the capitals, but in the state of São Paulo (SP) countryside, and with large concentrations in the northwest and central-north regions of the state [São Paulo 1915], giving that it was

in these places that most of the Japanese immigrants worked and lived [Queiroz 1987]. Little is reported and documented about the relevance of these Japanese immigrants to judo dissemination in Brazil, that belonged to the first major immigration movement. This is historically situated between 1908 and 1941, when 188,309 Japanese entered Brazil [SBCJ 1992]. This first major immigration movement is comprised of two periods, the first being between the years 1908 to 1924, where transportation was subsidized by the Government of São Paulo with the arrival of 31,000 Japanese and; the second period, between the years 1924 to 1941, where transportation was subsidized by the Japanese government, with the arrival of 158,000 Japanese [Suzuki 1995].

The objective of this study is to demonstrate the importance of Japanese immigrants that lived far from large centers, in the dissemination of judo in São Paulo state through the historical study of the life of Shigeichi Yoshima (from this moment on, called Yoshima). Historical facts about the agricultural chemist Yoshima and his influence in the introduction of judo in the macro-region of Campinas are, then, presented in this study. The present work is justified by the scarce amount of information and documents on the life history of Professor Yoshima, more specifically on his life in the years prior to his arrival in Brazil and his judo historical background.

METHOD

This is a historical, analytical research [Thomas, Nelson & Silverman 2012]. Regarding its technical procedures, it is a qualitative, documentary and reviewed study. The present work was carried out through bibliographic review in books, magazine and newspaper articles, as well as research in databases such as: Kōdōkan Judo Institute (KJI), National Diet Library of Japan (<https://www.ndl.go.jp/>), Brazilian National Digital Library (<http://memoria.bn.br/hdb/periodico.aspx>) and scientific journals. Also, this study had contributions from documents of primary source acquired in the collection of the family of Shigeichi Yoshima and of José Almeida Borges, as well as documents from the collection of the judo association, denominated Associação Borges de Judo (ABJ).

This study seeks, through the micro-history approach, to expand the current understanding of the occasional branch of introduction and development of judo in Brazil. In this research the macro context in which the introduction of the occasional type occurred in Brazil was particularized through the life of Shigeichi Yoshima. Therefore, taking an interest, as Sharpe [1992] assesses, in the point of view of the 'common soldier' instead of the 'general', as well as trying to look at the past in the light of the experience of its own actors. Not only that, rebuilding through the understanding of micro-history (having as object of analysis the private, the personal, the lived) the basis that underlie and support the theoretical division of the introduction of Brazilian judo on two fronts (intentional and occasional). For this, we use, as Ginzburg [1991] suggests, a name as a guiding thread.

Regarding the perspective of the micro-historical approach, it is worth mentioning that it understands the individual from the perspective of his freedom of action within a context. In other words, despite having an underlying social perspective, social action is a portrait of the result of the individual's negotiation in face of his normative reality. In this way, microhistory seeks to reduce the scale of observation, in order to make a microscopic analysis of the case, therefore it is a procedure that seeks the particular case as a starting point [Levi 1992].

The micro-historical approach creates a focal point, bringing a *l'effect de réel* (reality effect) to social history, placing the experience of the real human being at the center of attention [Sziájtó 2011]. This approach brings the general closer to the particular and as Sziájtó [2011: 211] states: 'It is in this way that the level of the individual case and the level of the general will be linked [...] What we can gain is not only the more intimate knowledge of a person, but that of a past society as well'. Therefore, through the micro we seek to better understand the macro. As Port [2015] explains, the micro-historical approach demonstrates how ordinary people have agency, they are not just passive victims of impersonal forces that dominate their destiny. By looking at history 'from below', this study seeks to understand how individuals (in this case Yoshima) participated in the formation of supra-individual forces, as well as the structures that permeate society.

The results of this research considered the aspects of terminology used at the time, which did not have a discerning criterion for the use of the word 'judo' and / or 'jiu jitsu' in documents such as newspapers, as many Brazilians used these words interchangeably as having the same meaning. Another issue was that In Brazil, there was no standard form of writing for the term 'jiu jitsu', 'ju jitsu' or 'ju jutsu'. As explained by Borges [2011], the term jiu jitsu, commonly used in Brazilian books, magazines, and newspapers, until the early 1960s, refers to the content taught by most Brazilian teachers, who in turn were taught and trained by Japanese immigrants. The Japanese terms were transcribed using the Hepburn system [UH 2021; UT 2009]. The most important names of Japanese teachers / instructors and, the names of localities in Japan, were also transcribed and identified with the original ideograms found in the research.

YOSHIMA'S JUDO BACKGROUND BETWEEN 1915 TO 1941

Shigeichi Yoshima (重一吉間) was born on February 12, 1908, in the city of Kobe, Hyōgo prefecture, Japan, son of Hise Yoshima and Sute-matsu Yoshima [SSP 1973; Yoshima 2020]. In 1915, at the age of seven, he entered school, equivalent to elementary school I (shogakkō). He graduated from high school in 1927, (figure 1) at the age of 19, at Dai San Kōbe Chugakkō (第三神戸中学校) also known as sanko (三策) in Kobe-shi (神戸市), Hyōgo ken (兵庫県), near Osaka [Yoshima 2020; Yamasaki 2020]. The current name of the school being Hyōgo Kenritsu Kōbe Kōtōgakkō (兵庫県立長田高等学校) [HNHS 2020].

Shigeichi Yoshima's Trajectory in the Promotion of Judo in Brazil

Rafael de Camargo Penteado Borges & Gustavo Goulart Braga Maçaneiro



Figure 1: School yearbook of Shigeichi Yoshima

Shigeichi Yoshima appears in the first photo in the upper left corner, and in the *dōjō* already as a black belt, in 1927, at the age of 19, at school, Dai San Kōbe Chugakkō 第三神戸中学校 also known as sanko 三策 in Kobe-shi 神戸市, Hyōgo ken 兵庫県 [Sanko 1927].

Until 1948, the Japanese educational system was structured in a different way when compared to the current system, where *kōtōgakkō* and *daigaku yoka* worked as preparatory schools for prospective university students, equivalent to high school, lasting three years. After this period, the Japanese education system was reformed again until the current system was established after the Second World War [Abumiya 2012; Anderson 1975].

In 1929, at the age of twenty-one, Yoshima graduated from the former Kochi *Kōtōgakkō* (高知高等学校) public high school in Kochi-shi [KHS 2020; Yamasaki 2020; KKG 1928: 109]. At this school, Yoshima had the opportunity to practice judo and *kendō* at its *Jūkendōjō* (柔剣道場). Judo classes were taught by Ukita Toshio (浮田壽男) [KKG 1928: 87], professor of judo registered at the *Kōdōkan* Judo Institute [KJI 1928: 224], from now on, called only *Kōdōkan*. Currently, at the same location, the University of Kochi (高知大学), opened in 1949 [UK 2020]. In 1930, Yoshima moved to Tōkyō after joining the agricultural chemistry course at the Imperial University of Tōkyō [IUT 1933: 369] or, Tōkyō Teikoku Daigaku (東京帝國大學), also known as Tōdai (東大), the same university that Jigorō Kanō (嘉納治五郎), founder of Judo, entered in 1877 and graduated in 1881 [Kano 2009: 175].

At Tōdai, students founded the *dōjō* called Hobunkan, and started practicing with Tenjin Shin'yō-ryū Jujutsu professor Inoue Keitarō, in 1887 a *dōjō* was built for *kenjutsu* and *jūjutsu* practice. Later, Shirō Saigō (西郷四郎, 4 of February 1866 – December 1922), was invited to be the head instructor [Kano 2009: 137;167], together with Tomita Tsunejirō

and Ōkubo Yoshizaku as assistant instructors [Kano 2009: 167] when the judo club was formally founded. In 1897 the Tōdai Jūdō Club (東大柔道部) was founded [Kano 2009: 167, 176], with direct guidance from the *Kōdōkan* [Choi 2014: 183]. By then, Shirō Saigō had already graduated 4th dan, and was one of the main students of Jigorō Kanō, and therefore one of the main judo representatives, due to his great technical quality and physical conditioning [Kano 2009: 167].

Between 1918 and 1928, when Yoshima practiced judo in his schools' years, judo initiated a process of 'sportification' evident and encouraged initially by the technical schools of Japan and, later, by the Imperial Universities of Japan. One of the main characteristics of this early 'sportification' of judo, was the focus on *newaza* over *tachiwaza*, which started from the victory of the second higher school (*nikkō*) over the first higher school (*ichikkō*) in 1918. This fact left Jigorō Kanō dissatisfied, since the overuse of techniques in *newaza* by the champion school (*nikkō*) did not promote the elementary principles idealized by him. In June 1924, the *Kōdōkan* published a revision of rules, where judo established standard rules for championships, clearly limiting the use of *newaza*. Tsunetane Oda, at the time, manager of the *Nikkō* school, criticized Kanō and argued that the use of *newaza* was a valid method to win a fight [Nakajima 2014]. This discussion highlighted a divergence between the different rules that could be considered in competitive judo and was a determining factor in the process of making judo a sport. Until 1930, the Tōdai Jūdō Club, operated under the guidance of the

Kōdōkan through Kōdōkan's own nominated teachers, who in turn issued graduation certificates, hosted judo events, arbitrated competitions and published magazines. However, in 1930, when Yoshima entered the university, the leaders of the judo club cut all ties with Kōdōkan, and as a result, the club became dependent on alumni for training and competitions [Choi 2014: 183]. At the time, Tōdai, one of the seven imperial universities in Japan, started to adopt rules based on the type of judo developed in schools since 1914 (the so-called kosen jūdō, 高専柔道), with the objective of formulating the tournament of imperial universities called Teidai Taikai (帝大大会). On the other hand, Kōdōkan judo in the university club was practiced by the rules recommended by the 'Tōkyō Gakusei Jūdō Rengokai' or, Tōkyō jūdō Student Association until the year of 1930 [Nakajima 2014].

The close connection that the Kōdōkan had with Todai's judo club can be better understood by analyzing the club's instructors about the time Yoshima joined and attended the Imperial University of Tokyo. Shuichi Nagaoka 永岡秀一 (September 17, 1876 – November 22, 1952) started his career at the Takeuchi and Kito schools of jūjutsu, enrolled at Kōdōkan in 1893 and reached the 6th dan degree in 1904. One of the closest students to Jigorō Kanō, Nagaoka met the first generation of Kōdōkan, even defeating Sakujirō Yokoyama in 1899 at Kagami Biraki. In addition to being a professor at Kōdōkan and Tōdai [KJI 1930: 369], Nagaoka accompanied master Jigorō Kanō as an assistant on several trips, both in Japan and abroad. With a long career teaching in Japan and the West, he received his promotion to the 9th dan in 1930, and to the 10th dan in 1937 [Stevens 2013; KJI 2020b]. Kyuzo Mifune 三船久蔵 (April 21, 1883 – January 27, 1965) influential jūdōka, Mifune was part of the second generation of instructors at the Kōdōkan. He entered the Kōdōkan in 1903 and, at the age of 30, Mifune reached the 9th dan. After the death of Jigorō Kanō, he became the main instructor of Kōdōkan, being responsible, in large part, for the expansion of judo in the post-war period. Graduated to the 10th dan in 1945 [Stevens 2013]. Mifune taught judo classes at Tōdai until November 28, 1930 [Anonymous 1930; KJI 1930: 506; KJI 2020a]. Koyasu Masao 小安正男, was a judo professor at Tōdai [KJI 1933: 136] and at Tōkyō University of Commerce. Graduated as Kodansha (high graded practitioner), from Kōdōkan, he made a presentation, with Yamaguchi, of Koshiki no Kata to a large audience at Kagami Biraki, and in front of the then Kōdōkan president, Risei Kanō. It is part of the list of kodanshas presented in a documentary video by Hal Sharp, in a collection about the masters of Kōdōkan [Sharp 2013]. Other individual also connected to Todai's judo was Maruyama Sanzou 丸山三造 6th dan, Tōdai agriculture department official [KJI 1933: 347] who wrote the book of great historical value, 'dainihon jūdō-shi' [大日本柔道史, published in 1939].

In 1933, at the age of 24, Yoshima graduated from Tōdai [IUT 1933: 369], in the course of Chemical Agriculture (農芸化学) [Yamasaki 2020; UOT 2020]. According to reports collected in this research with the judo teachers Odair Antonio Borges (born in 1947, judo teacher, 8th dan, son of José de Almeida Borges) and Kiichi Watanabe (born in 1939, judo teacher, 6th dan); Yoshima, was graduated 3rd dan in Japan before arriving in Brazil, which can be confirmed in the signatures in

the diploma of José Almeida Borges from the year 1955 (figure 2).

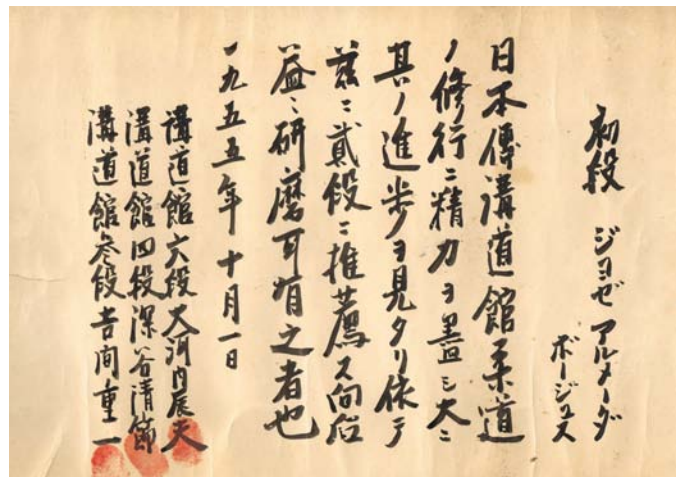


Figure 2: Diploma of José Almeida Borges

Graduation diploma of 2nd dan in judo of José Almeida Borges of October 1, 1955, (original size: 30 cm x 42.5 cm), with the signatures (from left to right) of Yoshima Shigeichi 3rd dan, Seisetsu Fukaya 4th dan and Tatsuo Okochi 6th dan, and their respective fingerprints. Photo: Associação Borges de Judo [ABJ 2020a]. Reproduced with permission of the ABJ.

THE ARRIVAL OF SHIGEICHI YOSHIMA IN BRAZIL

Yoshima's immigration to Brazil is directly related to the development of the Monte D'Este farm, or as it is still called today 'Tozan' 東山 farm. Attracted by the technology and development already existing in the city of Campinas and by the large concentration of coffee farms in the region, Hisaya Iwasaki, acquired Tozan Farm in 1927. The main objective was to bring cultivation technology, carry out agricultural experiments, expand the Mitsubishi group economic activities and create a model agricultural property outside Japan and, mainly, serve as a reference point for Japanese immigrants. In 1934, 'Indústria Agrícola Tozan Ltd', a manufacturer of products for Japanese cuisine was established in Brazil (Tozan 2021). The Iwasaki family hired agronomist Kiyoshi Yamamoto who arrived in Brazil on October 15, 1926 [INCI 2021], who remained as the farm manager from 1927 until after the Second World War [Bunkyo 2021; Tozan 2021]. According to reports collected in this research with Yoshima's son, Osamu Yoshima [2020], Shigeishi Yoshima's arrival to Brazil happened given the work contract with the Tozan farm, negotiated while he was still in Japan. According to these

reports, collected by the authors, the purpose of Yoshima's immigration was to work in the sake laboratory. Yoshima was hired to improve the process of the sake manufacture at Fazenda Monte D'Este, where he arrived on August 9, 1941 [SSP 1973]. It is of notice that Yamamoto, the farm manager, graduated from the Faculty of Agronomy from the Imperial University of Tokyo [Bunkyo Rural 2021], the same university and course as Yoshima graduated, indicating that the two could be somehow connected through the University.

As can be understood through this account, Yoshima was hired by a company that was already ran by Japanese owners and was chosen by his curriculum for a particular goal the company wanted to achieve in the sake production. This type of immigration was not the standard for Japanese immigrants. With regard to Japanese immigration, it should be noted that the vast majority of immigrants came to Brazil from rural areas and from economically disadvantaged sections of the population. Another characteristic is that, unlike many European immigrants, few Japanese immigrants initially settled in colonies isolated from the Brazilian population, because at first, they did not own the land on which they worked. For this reason, it was characteristic of these immigrants coming from Japan the tendency towards spatial mobility since the beginning of this process [Schaden 1980].

In February 1941, Yoshima embarked for Brazil together with his wife and two children, among them, Osamu Yoshima (1939-2020). They traveled on the ship Buenos Aires Maru [INCI 2020] and arrived in Brazil on March 12, 1941, as pointed out in the landing document, in the port of Santos, São Paulo [INCI 2020]. Yoshima arrives in Brazil in a turbulent moment for Japanese immigrants in Brazil. The Brazilian government policy of the 'Estado Novo' (New State), promulgated by the then President of Brazil, and dictator, Getúlio Vargas, began in 1937 and included several decrees, among them decree number 383 of April 18, 1938 that: 'prohibits foreigners from engaging in political activity in Brazil and takes other measures', including the prohibition of schools, clubs, associations and books [Brazil 1938a]; and subsequently decree 406 of March 4, 1938, which disposes clear rules for the entrance of foreigners in the country [Brazil 1938b]. These measures were strongly influenced by the approximation of Japan and Italy to the Nazi ideology in a moment that Brazil sought political alignment with the United States of America and allied countries. Such measures began to dismantle and restructure foreign organizations, mainly Japanese, which were growing rapidly and associated with the countries of the so-called 'axis' in the second world war. With Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor, USA, on December 7, 1941 [Lopes 2015] the policy of 'New State', initiated by Getúlio Vargas, further increased the repression on Japanese immigrants, prohibiting the language and the publication of books, closing schools and newspapers, and regulating everything referred to Japanese culture [Queiroz 1987: 595-599; Demartini 2000, Silva 2011]. One aspect that probably hindered the development of Japanese culture, including budô, in this case judô, which at the time was organized in the city of São Paulo by a federation called Hakkoku Jûkendô Renmei (伯国柔剣道聯盟) [Maçaneiro & Franchini 2020], was the closing of this organization by the government. On January 29, 1942, the activities of Hakkoku Jûkendô Renmei were terminated, due to the decree published

on page 70 of the Official Gazette of São Paulo on January 31 [DOMSP 1942: 70], and the interruption of diplomatic relations between Brazil and Japan, marking the end of the first major Japanese immigration cycle to Brazil.

After arriving in Brazil, Yoshima maintained his judo practice, and met judo instructors who founded the Hakkoku Jûkendô Renmei and would later form the Brazilian Kôdôkan Yudanshakai (black belt association) such as Tatsuo Okochi, Seisetsu Fukaya, and Ryuzo Akao, as well as São Paulo's judo federation, the first state judo federation of Brazil [Suzuki 1986; CCIB 2010]. It was through a common acquaintance that Yoshima and Jose Almeida Borges got to know each other and started to write the story of judo expansion in the Campinas region.

When Yoshima met José Almeida Borges (1921-1995), Borges was already a martial arts instructor (jiu jitsu, boxing, wrestling), and had dōjō located in Regatas Sports and Recreation Center where he started his teaching activities in Campinas in 1943. ([anonymous 1944; Campina 2013; DOMC 2014: 1; ABJ 2020b]. In 1949 José Almeida Borges, from this moment on known only as 'Borges', given changes on the Brazilian political circumstances was forced to transfer his dōjō to Clube Atlético Campinas, with the help of the Physical Education professor, president of Clube Atlético de Campinas, and student of Borges, Cezar Frazatto [Virgilio 1990: 15]. Pedro dos Santos, an employee at the Campinas Health Center and a friend of Professor Borges, frequently visited farms in the Campinas region to control vaccines and, on one of these visits, he mentioned to Borges that he met an employee of the Tozan farm named Shigeichi Yoshima that practiced judo [Virgilio 1990: 19]. On November 20, 1949, professor Borges invites Yoshima to come to his dōjō at Clube Atlético de Campinas to practice judo [ABJ 2020c], with the objective to learn more and improve his fighting techniques, which he has been practicing since the end of the 1930s. From that moment on, supported by Yoshima's technical knowledge, Professor Borges' dōjō starts to have the frequent presence of other great teachers from São Paulo, such as Messias Rodarte Correa (1925-2009), Arsênio Costa Vasconcellos Martins Martins (1925-2010) [Anonymous 2013: 60] from Fukaya dōjō; Seisetsu Fukaya [1913-1983] and, Ryuzo Akao, as recorded in the photos from the 1950s in the collection of the Borges de Judo Association (ABJ).

Given the initiative of Professor Borges and with the help of Yoshima and the Japanese colony, in April 27, 1952, the first judo Championship in the city of Campinas happened, with the participation of local judo Associations and also others from the cities of Jundiaí and São Paulo [Anonymous 1952a].

On October 9, 1952, Borges and Yoshima welcomed in Borges's dōjō the second official delegation from the Kôdôkan Institute of Japan [Anonymous 1952c; ABJ 2020d] in an initiative to promote judo in the Campinas region. On this date the delegation facilitated a workshop followed by a presentation at the Campinas Municipal gymnasium [Anonymous 1952e; Anonymous 1952f]. The Japanese delegation also held judo performances in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro [SIAN 1952].

On that day, the following were present: Osawa Yoshimi (大澤慶巳, 1926) Japanese absolute runner-up and currently graduated 10th dan in Kōdōkan. Professor Shinzo Takagaki (高垣信造, 1893–1977), director of Kōdōkan, graduated with 9th dan; Yoshihiko Yoshimatsu (吉松義彦, 1920–1988), 9th dan, Japanese absolute champion in 1952, 1953 and 1955, and world runner-up in 1956. Figure 3: Delegation of the Kōdōkan Institute of Japan in Borges dōjō.



Figure 3: Photo of delegation from Kōdōkan at Borges dōjō

October 9, 1952, the second official delegation of the Japanese judo delegation from the Kōdōkan Institute in Tokyo, visited Professor José Almeida Borges' dōjō, where they taught a class and made technical and Kata presentations. In the photo on the Borges dōjō, in order from left to right: Shigeichi Yoshima, Osawa, Takagaki, Yoshimatsu, and José Almeida Borges. Photo: Associação Borges de Judo [ABJ 2020d]. Reproduced with permission of the ABJ.

According to reports collected in this research with Osamu Yoshima, son of Shigeichi Yoshima, in 1959 Yoshima moved to São Paulo, to start a new job, in the pharmaceutical laboratory of Tatsuo Okochi, leader of the Kōdōkan judo group in Brazil. In São Paulo he continued his work as a judo instructor at the dōjō of Seisetsu Fukaya and, according to Suzuki [1986], Yoshima usually taught newaza classes. In 1962 Yoshima gave a speech for the Japanese Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Brazil as an employee of Okochi's company [CCIB 2010]. A possible reason for Yoshima's acceptance for changing to a new company and moving to the capital of the State might have been concerns with his children's education. As noted by Miyao [1980], Since the mid-1930s and after the war, the tendency for Japanese immigrants to migrate from the interior of the State of São Paulo to the periphery of the city of São Paulo has increased. The biggest motivation was the problem of educating their children. Japanese immigrants, concerned with the education of their children, and due to the cultural importance, the Japanese gave to education, perceived a need to migrate to the state capital, where there were better teaching conditions to provide the best level of instruction. Education was seen the immigrants as essential for survival in social life, and for social ascension.

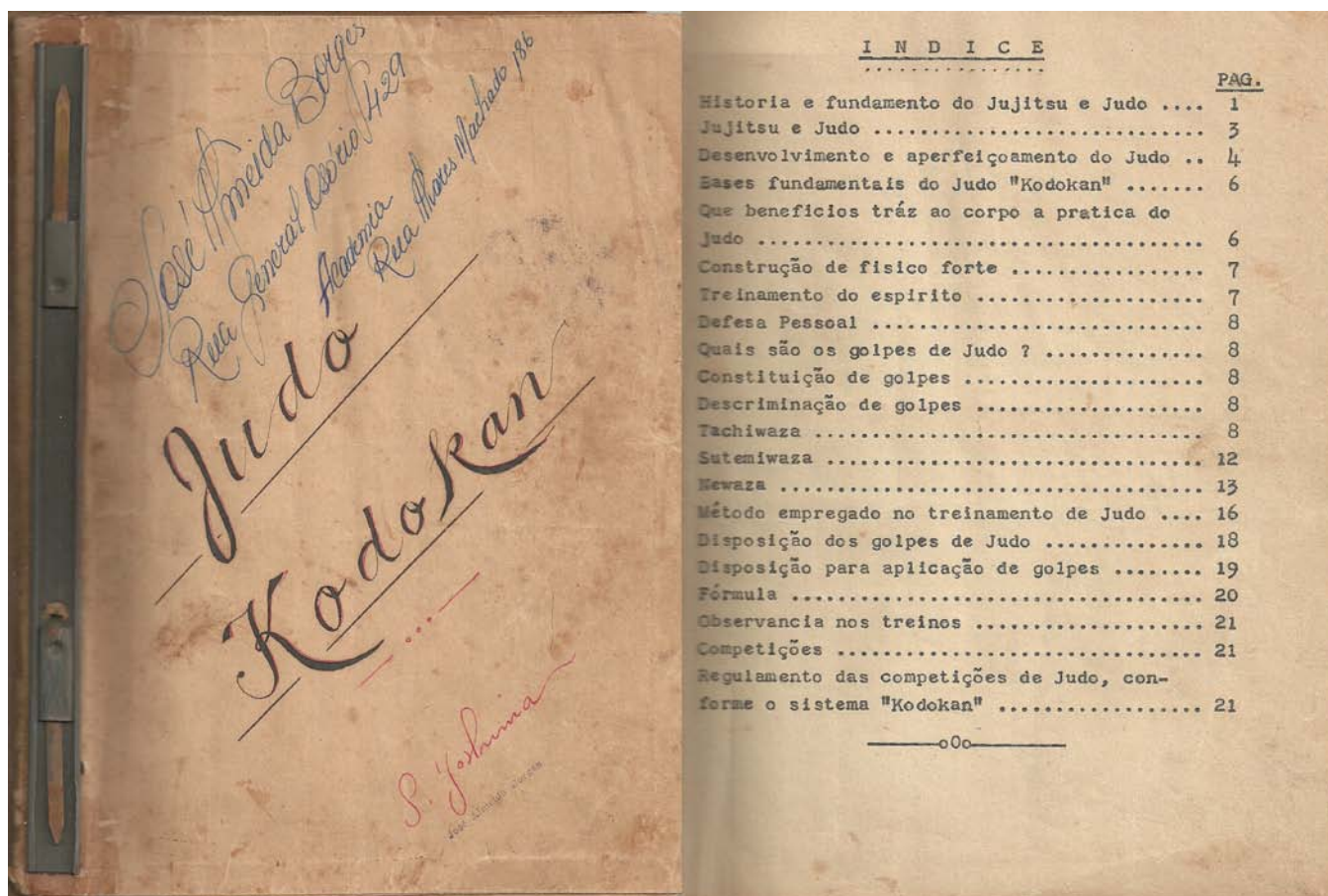
In March 18, 1969, the Brazilian Judo Confederation was founded [CBJ 2020] and, Yoshima was graduated 6th dan by the Kōdōkan on May 15, 1969 [KJI 2020c].

With the passing of Yoshima on November 24, 1980, at the age of 71, in the city of São Paulo, José Almeida Borges and Odair Antônio Borges, organized an open weight judo championship in his memory, that would happen a year later, in November of 1981, open to practitioners in the Campinas region and called 'Copa Shigeichi Yoshima de Jūdō' [Anonymous 1981a; Anonymous 1981b], with the presence of Yoshima's wife, Nobu Yoshima. The champion at that event was the athlete from the Associação Borges de Judo (ABJ), Antônio Ruas Junior, who received the trophy from Nobu Yoshima [Anonymous 1981c; ABJ 2020e].

NEWAZA AND KOSEN JUDO

As evidenced by Suzuki [1993], Yoshima had a preference for ground grappling (newaza). Later in his life, upon moving from Campinas to the capital of the state of São Paulo, Yoshima began to teach at the well-known and renowned Seisetsu Fukaya dōjō, ran by an experienced and recognized teacher, as well as a victorious athlete in competitions promoted by the Japanese community in the 30's [Maçaneiro & Franchini 2020]. Fukaya seems to have recognized this specialty and Yoshima's preference for ground fighting, as according to Suzuki [1993] Fukaya left the ground fighting classes in his dōjō to Yoshima. Possible background reasons, for this, already presented in this research are his connection with the school judo through kōchi kōtō gakkō, or even the judo club situation at the time of his entrance at Tōdai, a moment of transition and separation from the Kōdōkan, as previously mentioned in this study.

Another hypothesis could be that he had contact with the renowned professor, and newaza specialist, Tsunetane Oda. According to the accounts of Okada (2020), Tsunetane Oda (小田常胤, March 10, 1892–February 11, 1955), was sometimes at Tōdai teaching jūdō. Oda had his own dōjō called Shoshinkan (尚志館) located in Shinbashi, Minato-Ku, Tōkyō, at the same time as Yoshima was in Tokyo attending University [FSJC 2021]. These findings, might explain why José Almeida Borges' 1950s manuscript studies (figure 4), also signed by Yoshima, had a strong influence of Tsunetane Oda on pages 4, 5 and 6. According to the manuscript's direct quote, in the transcribed excerpt that will follow, the reasoning behind the practice focused on newaza is evident, as well as the concern to emphasize the teaching of ground fight as a combat strategy, attributed on the text to the way of thinking of Tsunetane Oda.



Judo manuscripts by José Almeida Borges, published in 1950. Left page, the cover and right page, the index [Borges JA 1950]. On the cover, we can see the signature of Shigeichi Yoshima, the same signature seen on your official immigration document; and the full name of José Almeida Borges written manually with his calligraphy. Photo: Associação Borges de Judo. Reproduced with permission of the ABJ. In the excerpt transcribed below, from Borges' manuscript (1950), in the subtitle 'development and improvement of judo' details about Tsunetane Oda are highlighted by Yoshima.

Only Mr. Oda (black belt of 8th category), at that time (1900 to

1910), 4th category looked at the techniques of the 'katamewaza' system, discovering and perfecting several varieties of techniques and counter attack for offensive and defensive, teaching it to his students. [Borges 1950: 4, author's translation]

In the same section of Borges' manuscript [1950], in the following page it is shown a connection with the events that occurred between the preparatory schools' tournaments in Japan, very well explained by Nakajima [2014].

Exalted with the success of Mr. Oda, the students belonging to the preparatory college for the Imperial University, in the western part of Japan, started a new exploration in this vast field of techniques that is the 'katamewaza' system, even drawing the attention of all the 'judo' masters of that era'. [Borges 1950: 5, author's translation]

The same portion of the manuscript details Tsunetane Oda's strategy on how to unite the techniques of nagewaza and newaza, for the transition to ground grappling, which allowed victory in disputes between the second higher school (nikkō) over the first higher school (Ichikkō) in 1918. It recognizes, as well, Oda as the one who realized a way to perfect judo by joining these two systems (Stand-up and ground fighting) [Borges 1950].

Following the direct mentions to Tsunetane Oda, in the subtitle 'Fundamental bases of Kōdōkan judo' it is possible to note a great deal of attention to guidance on techniques and conceptual approaches to fighting strategy in newaza. Borge's writing move to explain sutemiwaza and then, in the subtitle 'Fundamental bases of Kōdōkan judo', he briefly describes the use of 'do jime', clearly demonstrating that Yoshima also had knowledge of unconventional techniques in the newaza grappling. Borges [1950] keeps explaining the importance of newaza on the next title, 'Fundamental bases of Kōdōkan judo', emphasizing kansetsuwaza, showcasing the strategic and essential importance of ground grappling for jūdō, something he must have learned from Yoshima, as shown in this text. Also, it cannot be discarded the possibility that this manuscript was made through the direct supervision of Yoshima himself, as his signature is written in the front cover, and some notes in Japanese Kanji can be found throughout the text.

DISCUSSION

In this study, primary source records were found regarding Yoshima's formal education and judo training in Japan, as well as important dates that allowed the cross referencing of relevant information. The results of the research, when correlated to the Japanese immigration process in Brazil, allow us to infer that Professor Yoshima, when compared to many other judo teachers in Brazil, at that time, arrived with a more solid educational foundation as well as an important knowledge in judo, with his academic graduation at the Imperial University of Tōkyō, where he might have been graduated as 2nd dan of judo, since no records of this graduation were found [KJI 2020c]. Regarding the graduation of Yoshima in judo, the first record discovered was the completion of the school course, where in the photo of the judo club,

Yoshima was already wearing a black belt and his 3rd dan graduation appears in Borges' diploma in 1951. In 1958 he graduated from the Kōdōkan as 5th dan and, years later, in 1969, Yoshima was graduated 6th dan [KJI 2020c] by the Kōdōkan. Yoshima, had a peculiar education as a judo practitioner, influenced by important judo teachers of his time and their teaching aspects, which he practiced from the beginning of his school years until his university graduation. He had Ukita Toshio as his teacher (4th dan in 1928); Shuichi Nagaoka (8th dan in 1930); Kyuzo Mifune (7th dan in 1930); Maruyama Sanzou (6th dan in 1933); Koyasu Masao (6th dan in 1933), culminating in a solid judo background, and a profound and well-rounded knowledge, both for nagewaza and newaza, as well as kata. This knowledge was passed on to his acquaintance José Almeida Borges from 1949 onwards, creating the environment for judo promotion and development in the region of Campinas [ABJ 2020c].

As was previously noted, Yoshima had a preference for ground grappling, characteristic which is noted in the manuscript of Borges [1950: 5], also signed by Yoshima, showing that Yoshima was aware of the events leading to what is commonly known nowadays as kosen jūdō. The dispute between these two styles remained for years, and that can be demonstrated by the importance and relevance of the Imperial University of Tōkyō in trying to conduct its judo club in line with the 'Kosen style' of judo tournament and on the other hand, the 'Student Association of Tōkyō jūdō', being more aligned with the Kōdōkan Institute, in 'Kōdōkan jūdō' [Nakajima 2014; Choi 2014].

The importance and prominence of Tsunetane Oda for the development of newaza in judo was demonstrated and portrayed in other studies and documents [Oda 1919; Nakajima 2014]. The results of this research suggest the possibility that the preference in judo's ground fighting, as learned by professor Yoshima, could have been influenced by the context of the judo of his time, the institutions where he studied, as well as the system developed by Tsunetane Oda, considering the manuscripts of José Almeida Borges of 1950. There is a possibility that Yoshima met Oda through Tōdai or even having attended Tsunetane Oda's private dōjō, nonetheless this should be further investigated. While the connection with Oda cannot be proved, these notes corroborate with Yoshima's great appreciation and emphasis for the techniques in newaza [Suzuki 1993]. It can be stated that the influence that Yoshima experienced in the preparatory course for the university, and in the University itself, being part of the University's judo club in this turbulent period, contributed to his affinity with newaza.

Shigeichi Yoshima's arrival in Brazil was favored by the immigration policy between Brazil and Japan that began in 1908 [Suzuki 1995], Yoshima immigration occurs at the end of the second immigration period as explained previously. However, the moment Yoshima arrived, during the 'Estado Novo' policy presented many challenges for the Japanese community. Despite the political scenario being unfavorable to the practice of Japanese culture, Professor Borges, who became an acquaintance of Yoshima, started regular jiu jitsu classes at the Regatas Sports and Recreation Center in 1943, as shown in the results and, confirmed by the requisition letter and its approval for the beginning of classes of jiu jitsu [ABJ 2020f]. However, a few months after the start of the activ-

ities, Regatas Sports and Recreation Center destroyed the shed where classes were held. Such a sudden and truculent act was never clearly justified, but it is understandable if one considers the requirements for compliance with decrees 383 and 406 of 1938 [Brazil 1938a, 1938b).

Considering the socio-cultural scenario of the city of Campinas and its connection and proximity to the Japanese colony located in Tozan Farm, after the end of the President Getúlio Vargas New State dictatorship, it was important for José Almeida Borges to invite Yoshima to attend his dōjō from 1949 on, since this helped to facilitate the judo introduction in the region. On the other hand, through this partnership, Yoshima, felt safe in the post-war period, in attending places outside of the Japanese colony.

The most important fact attributed to the relationship between Yoshima and Borges was the presence of the official mission of the Kōdōkan Institute in Brazil in 1952. An interesting fact is that this same official mission visited the then President of Brazil, Getúlio Vargas in Rio de Janeiro, who was in his second term between the years 1951 to 1954. The entourage of the Kōdōkan institute, visited the city of São Paulo (SP) [Anonymous 1952b; DEESP 1952], and, also, the dōjō of José Almeida Borges, in the city of Campinas, which featured demonstrations of self-defense, nagewaza, newaza and shiai [Anonymous 1952e; Anonymous 1952f]. Despite Yoshima's move to the city of São Paulo in 1959, Professor Borges continued the teachings of judo and jiu jitsu in the city of Campinas, as well as continued spreading the art of judo in cities in the metropolitan region, training many teachers that would continue professor Yoshima's legacy in judo and Yoshima continued his activities by serving as a referee in tournaments [Suzuki 1986], teaching judo ground techniques in Fukaya's dōjō, and assisting the development of some important initiatives for the introduction of judo in Brazil [Anonymous 1952c; DEESP 1952].

CONCLUSION

This study documented the history of Shigeichi Yoshima, a Japanese immigrant and pioneer of Brazilian judo, who was part of the 'occasional type' of judo introduction in Brazil. Arriving in a time when Japanese immigrants faced difficulties due to the policies of the Brazilian government, because of the 'Estado Novo' policy, Yoshima was assisted by José Almeida Borges, a local martial arts instructor, to start his Judo's teaching career in the country. Having a solid judo background, Yoshima was instrumental for the introduction of judo in the region of Campinas. While he had learned judo from important and renowned Kōdōkan

members, some of them contemporaries and students of Jigorō Kanō, through this study it was found that he preferred newaza as practiced by the Kosen judo movement. As was the case with many immigrants, later in his life Yoshima moved to the capital of the state where he kept teaching judo and helped with the formation of judo institutions such as: Brazilian Kōdōkan Judo Yudanshakai, and Federação Paulista de Judo. Until now, Shigeichi Yoshima was not a pioneer who had his judo biography completely understood or mentioned in the main documents related to Brazilian judo history. Because of that, this study highlights the need and the importance of new research on the development of judo in Brazil, as it was done by the occasional branch of introduction pioneers' through the Japanese immigration process. By the biography of these pioneers one can better understand the context in which the development and introduction of judo in Brazil happened. Thus, through a micro-historical approach it was possible to better comprehend the context in which the occasional branch of judo's introduction happened in Brazil.

Acknowledgement:

Thanks to Professor Odair Antonio Borges, judo (8th dan) and jiu jitsu (7th dan), retired professor at the Catholic University of Campinas and University of São Paulo for his advices and testimony; Professor Kiichi Watanabe, judo (6th dan), from the Brazilian Kōdōkan judo Yudanshakai for his testimony and translation; Shunsuke Yamasaki, Professor in education and Research Center for Sport and Health Science, Konan University, Japan, for his research at Kōdōkan database and; Professor Tetsuya Nakajima, Associate Professor in the College of Education at Ibaraki University in Ibaraki prefecture, Japan. Abumiya, MI. 2012. 'Upper Secondary Education in Japan'. Available at <https://www.nier.go.jp/English/educationjapan/pdf/201209SE.pdf>. [Last accessed 4 November 2020].

REFERENCES

- Anonymous. 1930. 執筆者不明「柔道部から三船氏退く」『帝国大学新聞』363号, 帝国大学新聞社, 1930年12月8日, p.7.
- Anonymous. 1944. 'Em pleno desenvolvimento a seccao de Educação Física do Campineiro Regatas'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, June.
- Anonymous (a). 1952. 'Empolgou a primeira competição de judo em Campinas'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 28 April.
- Anonymous (b). 1952. 'Alcançou pleno êxito a competição de judo realizada no Pacaembu'. *A Gazeta Esportiva*, 06 October.
- Anonymous (c). 1952. 'Esplêndida noite de judo'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 09 October.
- Anonymous (d). 1952. 'Ecos da noite de judo'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 11 October.
- Anonymous (e). 1952. 'Esplêndida noite de Judo'. *Jornal Diário do Povo*, 11 October.
- Anonymous (f). 1952. 'Grandiosa noite de Judo'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, October.
- Anonymous (a). 1981. 'Os melhores judocas de Campinas na Copa Shig-ueishi Yoshima'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 20 November.
- Anonymous (b). 1981. 'Academia Borges e DMEFER realizam a copa de judo'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 11 November.
- Anonymous (c). 1981. 'Antonio Ruas venceu a copa Shig-ueishi Yo-shima'. *Jornal Correio Popular*, 27 November.
- Anonymous. 2013. 'Centro pró-memória. Caça ao tesouro de Arsênio Costa'. *Esporte Clube Pinheiros*, 180: 60. DOI: https://issuu.com/esporte-clubepinheiros/docs/ecp_180_web
- Anderson, RS. 1975. 'Education in Japan: A century of Modern Development'. Office of Education, Washington, D.C. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. USA.
- Associação Borges de Judo. 2020 (a). José Almeida Borges – Graduation diploma of 2nd dan. Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Associação Borges de Judo 2020 (b). Letter from José Almeida Borges sent to the president of Clube Cultura de Regatas e Nataçao in the city of Campinas, on November 16, 1943. Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Associação Borges de Judo 2020 (c). Personal manuscripts by Jose Almeida Borges. Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Associação Borges de Judo 2020 (d) Photo of the second official delegation of the Japanese judo delegation from the Kōdōkan Institute in Tokyo. October 9, 1952. Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Associação Borges de Judo 2020 (e). Official records of the Shigeichi Yoshima Cup. Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Associação Borges de Judo 2020 (f) Letter Collection of Associação Borges de Judo. Campinas, Brasil: ABJ.
- Borges, OA. 2011. 'Ju Jutsu, Ju Jitsu ou Jiu Jitsu? origens e evolução'. *Lecturas, Educación Física y Deportes*, 16(156). DOI: <http://www.efdeportes.com/efd156/ju-jutsu-ju-jitsu-ou-jiu-jitsu.htm>
- Borges JA. 1950. Judo Kōdōkan (manuscritos). Campinas, Brasil. pp. 1-2;4-6;12-15.
- Brasil. 1895. Tratado de amizade, de commercio e de navegação, firmado em Paris a 5 de novembro de 1895. Available at <https://www.ufrgs.br/memorialjapao/wp-content/uploads/2015/05/Tratado-de-Amizade-Comércio-e-Navegação.pdf> [Last accessed 08 November 2021].
- Brasil. 1897. DECRETO Nº 2.489 DE 31 DE MARÇO DE 1897. Available at <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/decret/1824-1899/decreto-2489-31-marco-1897-541131-publicacaooriginal-43531-pe.html> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].
- Brasil (a). 1938. DECRETO-LEI Nº 383, DE 18 DE ABRIL DE 1938 Available at <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-383-18-abril-1938-350781-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Brasil (b). 1938. Decreto-Lei nº 406, de 4 de Maio de 1938 Available at <https://www2.camara.leg.br/legin/fed/declei/1930-1939/decreto-lei-406-4-maio-1938-348724-publicacaooriginal-1-pe.html> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

BUNKYO RURAL. Available at <http://www.bunkyorural.com.br/index.php/quem-foi-kiyoshi-yamamoto/> [Last accessed at 11 October 2021]

BUNKYO Kiyoshi Yamamoto 1º Presidente (12/1955 até 07/1963). Available at <https://www.bunkyo.org.br/br/2013/11/25/kiyoshi-yamamoto-1-presidente-12-1955-ate-07-1963/> [Last accessed at 11 October 2021]

Campinas. 2013. 'Justificativa da biografia de José Almeida Borges'. July 5: Presidente da Câmara Municipal de Campinas.

Carvalho, DAM. 2019. Os meandros da imigração japonesa para a América Latina: das políticas abolicionistas ao 'ideal de branqueamento' na gênese dos discursos identitários nacionais no fim do séc. XIX.

Contraponto - Revista do Departamento de História e do Programa de Pós-Graduação em História do Brasil da UFPI. Teresina, v. 8, n. 2, p. 101-124.

CCIJB Câmara de Comércio e Indústria Japonesa do Brasil. 2010. 70 年記録集. São Paulo: 70 周年記念委員会 Available at <http://jp.camara-dojapao.org.br/upload/files/70%20Anos%20Final%20-%20JP.pdf> [Last accessed 29 April 2021].

Codato A. 2013. 'Os mecanismos institucionais da ditadura de 1937: uma análise das contradições do regime de Interventorias Federais nos estados'. *História*, 32(2): 189-208. DOI: <https://www.scielo.br/pdf/his/v32n2/a10v32n2>. <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-90742013000200010>
CBJ Confederação Brasileira de Judo. História do Judo. Available at https://cbj.com.br/historia_do_judo/ [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

CBJ Confederação Brasileira de Judo. 1986. Regras Oficiais. Rio de Janeiro: Grupo Palestra Sport. 3.

Choi, J. 2014. 'Cultivating Class: Tokyo Imperial University and the Rise of a Middle-Class Society in Modern Japan'. University of Pennsylvania.

Demartini, ZBF. 2000. 'Relatos orais de famílias de imigrantes japoneses: Elementos para a história da educação brasileira'. *Educ. Soc*, 21(72):

pp.43-72. DOI:<https://doi.org/10.1590/S0101-7330200000300004>.

DEESP. 1952. *A Grande competição brasileira do Judo*. Departamento do Esporte do Estado de São Paulo. São Paulo, São Paulo: DEESP.

DOMSP. 1942. Diário Oficial do Município de São Paulo. 31 de janeiro. 70.

DOMC. 2014. Diário Oficial do Município de Campinas Available at <http://www.campinas.sp.gov.br/uploads/pdf/387407461.pdf> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Franchini, E; Del'Vechio, FB. 2007. Tradição e modernidade no judô: histórico e implicações. In: Rubio, K et al. (eds). *Ética e compromisso social nos estudos Olímpicos*. Porto Alegre: Editora PUC-RS, pp.121-145.

Fukazawa, Masayuki. 2016. 軽業師竹沢万次の謎を追う＝サーカスに見る日伯交流史＝第1回＝明治3年頃に上陸、全伯公演？Nikkei Shinbun, 6 February [online access at: <https://www.nikkeishimbun.jp/2016/160206-71colonia.html>] [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

FSJC. Futami Shoshikai Judo Circle. 2021. About Us. Available at <https://23101092.wixsite.com/futamishoshikai/-about-us> [Last accessed 31 March 2021].

Ginzburg, C. 1991. *A micro-história e outros ensaios*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora Bertrand Brasil.

HNHS. Hyogo Nagata High School. 2020. Available at <http://www.hyogo-c.ed.jp/~nagata-hs/>. [Last accessed 3 July 2020].

IUT 東京帝国大学卒業生氏名録. 東京帝国大学, 1933, pp. 369.

INCI Instituto de preservação e difusão da história do café e da imigração Available at http://www.inci.org.br/acervodigital/upload/listas/BR_APESP_MI_LP_005751.pdf [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

INCI Instituto de preservação e difusão da história do café e da imigração Available at http://www.inci.org.br/acervodigital/upload/listas/BR_APESP_MI_LP_005413.pdf [Last accessed 11 October 2021]

Kano, R. 2009. Jigoro Kano and the Kōdōkan. An innovative response to modernization. Japan: Kano Risei. pp. 137;167;175;176.

Kawai, T. 1980. Italianos e sírio-libaneses: uma visão comparativa com os japoneses. In: Saito, H (org.) *A presença japonesa no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUSP, p. 153-172

Kobayashi, L. 2010. *Peregrinos do Sol: a arte da espada samurai*. São Paulo: Estação Liberdade.

KHS. Kochi High School. Available at [https://ja.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%AB%98%E7%9F%A5%E9%AB%98%E7%AD%89%E5%AD%A6%E6%A0%A1_\(%E6%97%A7%E5%88%B6\)](https://ja.m.wikipedia.org/wiki/%E9%AB%98%E7%9F%A5%E9%AB%98%E7%AD%89%E5%AD%A6%E6%A0%A1_(%E6%97%A7%E5%88%B6)) . [Last accessed 3 July 2020].

KKGI. 1928. 高知高等学校一覽. 第6年度(昭和3年—昭和4年) pp. 87;109.

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 1928. 柔道年鑑, 講道館文化会,昭和3至8, pp. 224

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 1930. 柔道年鑑, 講道館文化会,昭和5, pp. 369;506.

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 1933. 柔道年鑑, 講道館文化会昭和8, pp. 136;347.

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 2020a. Kōdōkan hall of fame. <http://kodokanjudoinstitut.org/doctrine/palace/kyuzo-mifune/>

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 2020b. Kodokan hall of fame. Available at <http://kodokanjudoinstitut.org/doctrine/palace/hideichi-nagaoka/> [Last accessed 26/04/2020].

KJI. Kōdōkan Judo Institute. 2020c. Kōdōkan database. [Last accessed July 2020].

Levi, G. 1992. Sobre a micro-história. In: Burke, P (org.) *A escrita da história: novas perspectivas*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, p.133-161.

Lopes. HFS. 2015. Rumo ao dia que mudou a guerra. *Relações internacionais* March 2015 45. pp. 137-143. Available at http://www.ipri.pt/images/publicacoes/revista_r/pdf/ri45/n45a10.pdf [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Maçaneiro, GGB; Franchini, E 2020 Hakkoku Jūkendō Renmei: Development of judo in Brazil. In: Seong-Yong P. & Seok-Yeol R. (eds.) *Traditional Martial Arts as Intangible Cultural Heritage: living heritage series*. Republic of Korea: ICHCAP pp. 53-64.

Masuda T. 2012. 木村政彦はなぜ力道山を殺さなかったのか Shinchosha, Tóquio.

Mazzei, L C; Cruz, ACC. 2015. Um Longo Caminho: Memória Institucional da Gestão do Judô no Brasil. In: Rocco JR., AJ; et al. (orgs) *Ensaio sobre Gestão do Esporte: reflexões e contribuições do GEPAE/EEFE-USP*. São Paulo: OJM.

MEC. Ministério da Educação e Cultura. 1982. Caderno Técnico-didático. pp. 15.

Miyao, S. 1980. Posicionamento social da população de origem japonesa. In: Saito, H (org.) *A presença japonesa no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUSP, p. 91-99.

Nakajima, T. 2014. 四帝大会成立成立過程における「柔道のスポーツ化」論の出現とその歴史的意味 1918 1928 年における学生柔道と講道館の関係に着目し. *Japan Journal Physical Education Health Sport Science*. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5432/jjpehss.13097>.

Nunes A. V.; Rubio K. 2012. As Origens do Judô Brasileiro: a árvore genealógica dos medalhistas Olímpicos. *Revista Brasileira de Educação Física e Esporte*, São Paulo, v.26, n.4, p.667-78 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S1807-55092012000400011>.

Oda, T. 1919. 柔道は斯うして勝て.

Okada, Toshizaku in <https://judoinfo.com/oda/> [Last accessed 5 June 2020].

Port, AI. 2015. History from Below, the History of Everyday Life, and Microhistory. In: Wright, JD (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences*, 2nd E, V. 11., Elsevier, p. 108-113. <https://doi.org/10.1016/B978-0-08-097086-8.62156-6>

Queiroz, TA. 1987. O Imigrante japonês. História de sua vida no Brasil. Available at <http://www.imigrantesjaponeses.com.br/iminbrasil/O%20Imigrante%20Japones.pdf> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Sasaki, E. 2006. A imigração para o Japão. *Estudos avançados* 20 (57) DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1590/S0103-40142006000200009>

São Paulo. Mapa do Estado de São Paulo - サンパウロ州地図 Available at <https://www.ndl.go.jp/brasil/pt/data/L/087/087-0071.html> [Last accessed 6 January 2021].

Sanko. 1927. 第三神戸中学校. 日本.

SSP. Secretaria de Segurança Pública. 1973. Ficha de Estrangeiro. Available at <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/3:1:3QSQ-G9KN-58ZV?i=674&cc=2140223&personaUrl=%2Fark%3A%2F61903%2F1%3A1%3AQK7J-X61Z> [Last accessed 9 April 2021].

Sekine, T. 2015. ブラジルの柔道の歴史 Available at <https://nipo-brasil.org/archives/11892/> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Schaden, E. 1980. Alemães e japoneses: uma visão comparativa. In:

Saito, H (org.) *A presença japonesa no Brasil*. São Paulo: EDUSP, p. 135-151

Sharp, H. 2013. Classic Judo Masters Vol. 1. DVD, BAB Japan CO. LTD.

Sharpe, J. 1992. A história vista de baixo. In: Burke, P (org.) *A escrita da história: novas perspectivas*. São Paulo: Editora UNESP, p. 39-62.

SIAN. Sistema de Informações do Arquivo Nacional Available at <http://sian.an.gov.br/> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Silva, SR. 2011. O Drama da Colônia Japonesa de Santos Durante a Era Vargas (1937 – 1945) In: *Anais do XXVI Simpósio Nacional de História – ANPUH*. São Paulo, Julho. Available at [http://www.snh2011.anpuh.org/resources/anais/14/1300849959_ARQUIVO_ODramadaColonial-JaponesadeSantosDuranteaEraVargas\(1937a1945\).pdf](http://www.snh2011.anpuh.org/resources/anais/14/1300849959_ARQUIVO_ODramadaColonial-JaponesadeSantosDuranteaEraVargas(1937a1945).pdf) [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

SBCJ. Sociedade Brasileira de Cultura Japonesa. 1992. *Uma Epopéia Moderna: 80 anos da Imigração Japonesa no Brasil*. São Paulo: HUCITEC. Available at <http://www.imigrantesjaponeses.com.br/iminbrasil/UMA%20EPOPEIA%20MODERNA%2080ANOS.pdf> [Last accessed 22 April 2021].

Stevens, J. 2013. *The Way of Judo: A Portrait of Jigoro Kano & His Students*.

Shambala: Boston & London.

Suzuki, E. 1993. *Meu Mestre e Eu - Memórias de uma Faixa-preta*. São Paulo - SP: Editora do Escritor.

Suzuki, E. 1986. *O pai da educação integral e o universo do Judô*. São Paulo - SP: Editora do Escritor.

Suzuki, T. 1995. A Imigração Japonesa no Brasil. *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* 39: pp. 57-65. DOI:<https://doi.org/10.11606/issn.2316-901X.v0i39p57-65>.

Szijártó, I. 2011. Four Arguments for Microhistory. *Rethinking History: The Journal of Theory and Practice*, 6:2, p. 209-215, DOI:10.1080/13642520210145644

Thomas, JR; Nelson, JK; Silverman, SJ. 2012. *Métodos de pesquisa em atividade física*. Porto Alegre: Artmed.

Tozan História. Available at <https://www.fazendatozan.com.br/a-historia> [Last accessed 09 October 2021].

UH University of Hawaii. 2021. Available at http://www.hawaii.edu/asiaref/japan/online/rom_hist.htm [Last accessed 27 May 2021].

UOT. Tokyo University. History. Available at <https://www.u-tokyo.ac.jp/en/about/history.html>. [Last accessed 3 July 2020].

UK University of Kochi. 2020. 大学の沿革 Available at <https://www.kochi-u.ac.jp/outline/enkaku.html> [Last accessed 3 July 2020].

UT University of Tokyo. 2009. Available at <http://park.itc.u-tokyo.ac.jp/eigo/UT-Komaba-Romanization-of-Japanese-v1.pdf> [Last accessed 20 May 2021].

Virgilio, S. 1990. *Judo Campinas História e arte*. Campinas: Stanlei Virgilio. pp. 15;19.

Virgilio, S. 1994. *A arte do judô*. Porto Alegre, RS: Rigel

Yamasaki, S. Personal archives. Japan, 2020.

ABOUT THE JOURNAL

Martial Arts Studies is an open access journal, which means that all content is available without charge to the user or his/her institution. You are allowed to read, download, copy, distribute, print, search, or link to the full texts of the articles in this journal without asking prior permission from either the publisher or the author.

The journal is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International License.

Original copyright remains with the contributing author and a citation should be made when the article is quoted, used or referred to in another work.



Cardiff University Press
Gwasg Prifysgol Caerdydd

Martial Arts Studies is an imprint of Cardiff University Press, an innovative open-access publisher of academic research, where 'open-access' means free for both readers and writers.
cardiffuniversitypress.org

Journal DOI

10.18573/ISSN.2057-5696

Issue DOI

10.18573/mas.i

Accepted for publication 16 January 2023

Martial Arts Studies

Journal design by Hugh Griffiths

Issue layout by Lucy Aprahamian

MAS.CARDIFFUNIVERSITYPRESS.ORG

TWITTER.COM/MASTUDIES

MARTIAL ARTS STUDIES

EDITORS

Paul Bowman
Lauren Griffith
Benjamin N. Judkins
Wayne Wong

To discuss publication or to submit
a paper please contact:
martial.arts.studies@gmail.com

EDITORIAL ADVISORY PANEL

Oleg Benesch *University of York*
Stephen Chan *SOAS*
Greg Downey *Macquarie University*
D.S. Farrer *University of Guam*
Adam Frank *University of Central Arkansas*
Thomas A. Green *Texas A&M University*
T. J. Hinrichs *Cornell University*
Leon Hunt *Brunel University London*
Felipe P. Jocano Jr *University of the Philippines*
Gina Marchetti *Hong Kong University*
Meaghan Morris *The University of Sydney*
Daniel Mroz *University of Ottawa*
Meir Shahrar *Tel Aviv University*
Dale Spencer *Carleton University*
Douglas Wile *Brooklyn College, CUNY*