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THE ACCULTURATION OF JUDO IN THE UNITED STATES DURING THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

BEYOND THE 'MATCH-BASED' HISTORICAL POINT OF VIEW

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ABSTRACT

In Japan, the history of the overseas diffusion of judo tends to be depicted ethnocentrically. In particular, the success of its spread has often been discussed the same way as victory or defeat in war, through the historical view that the origin and legitimacy of judo was prescribed essentially. What is drawn there is nothing but the history of cultural conflict without reconciliation. The purpose of this article is to re-examine such an ossified historical view from the viewpoint of cultural transformation. This article deals with 'negotiations' by both sides in terms of acceptance and transmission and the variations of judo generated through these processes. The focus is the United States and the time period is that of the Russo-Japanese War, which is when judo was transmitted to foreign countries for the first time. This article focuses on three key dimensions: 1) Discussing the role expected of judo in modern Japan by paying attention to the ideal of '*kokushi*'. 2) Some meanings given to judo in the recipient society are shown in relation to jujutsu or jiu-jitsu, which were accepted ahead of judo. 3) Two opportunities for cultural change of judo are shown. One is jiu-do based on the needs of the recipient's society while the other is judo as devised by judo practitioners themselves.

The Acculturation of Judo in the United States during the Russo-Japanese War

Kotaro Yabu

INTRODUCTION

This article treats Kodokan judo as a modern cultural practice that emerged together with the new Meiji nation-state. Established in 1882, Nihonden Kodokan Judo (hereafter 'judo' or 'Kodokan') posed a contrast with jujutsu: the latter encompassed hundreds of competing traditional schools (largely viewed as outdated) whereas the former was largely centralized and was soon accepted as a distinctly modern cultural practice [Guttmann and Thompson 2001: 9-104; Inoue 2004].

Yamashita Yoshitsugu (1865–1935)[1] (along with other instructors in the United States) pioneered the spread of judo outside Japan. According to Murata Naoki, after a spectacular performance in the United States, Yamashita 'left such a profound mark in the history of Judo that it is no exaggeration to state that no one else played a greater role' [Murata 2011: 68].

Japanese accounts of the diffusion of judo overseas often focus on victory or defeat in matches to gauge Japan's effectiveness in spreading its culture beyond its borders. One example states:

> **The first step towards spreading judo is to triumph over local fighters. It is an inevitable ordeal or destiny to gain a victory, as seen from the cultural characteristics of the martial arts, especially in spreading the arts throughout international society.**
> **[Murata 2011: 86-87]** [2]

For descriptive purpose, this article will refer to this viewpoint as the 'match-based historical point of view'. Based on this historical view, Yamashita's efforts are described as follows:

> **Yamashita Yoshitsugu, a pioneer in spreading judo outside Japan, relied on the skills he honed at the Kodokan to fight against martial artists (wrestlers and boxers) in the United States. Victory in battle was the only way to get red-haired and blue-eyed Westerners to recognise the power of judo. There was no choice but to win. Furthermore, Yamashita had to prove the superiority of judo techniques in the United States for all to see, just as he had proven the strengths of judo to the martial arts world with the complete victory of judo over traditional jujutsu [in Japan].**
> **[Murata 2011: 66]**

The issue here is how the match-based historical view considers the diffusion of culture as a zero-sum game. Coupled with ethnocentricity, the spread of judo outside Japan becomes coloured by dichotomies such as enemy/ally, orthodoxy/heresy, and spreading/receiving. To overcome this tendency toward ethnocentricity in Japanese sports, the Japan Society of the History of Physical Education and Sport advocates 'combining how Japanese people view modern and traditional Japanese sports with how people from other cultures view Japanese sports' [Abe 2005: 40-41].

This points to the importance of understanding conditions on the receiving side as well when discussing cultural diffusion. Research on this abounds in the history of American judo[3]; when discussing the spread of judo outside Japan, meanwhile, it is essential to consider the history of jiu-jitsu as it developed in the Unites States. (I have written 'jiu-jitsu' here rather than 'jujutsu' for reasons on which I will elaborate below.) Although jiu-jitsu played a role in laying the groundwork for the acceptance of judo, this historical fact is mostly overlooked in the history of Japanese judo, because jiu-jitsu was viewed as an obstacle in the spread of 'legitimate' judo. However, this article will focus not on the degree to which the 'true nature' of judo was accurately transmitted but on the significance of cultural diffusion on a global scale.

This article has two objectives in response to the extant research discussed above. The first objective is to stand the match-based historical view on its head as I shift attention to the historical facts overlooked in such a view and to investigate the significance of this. Rather than focusing on whether the efforts at diffusion were successful, the second objective is to use historical records from both sides to investigate the spread of judo outside Japan, giving ample attention to the various ulterior motives on the part of those disseminating judo while considering how it took root in foreign soil.

The reasons for targeting the United States during the Russo-Japanese War are as follows. First, the overseas diffusion of judo and jujutsu started at the turn of the last century. The background was 'Japonism' in the latter half of the 19th century and Japanese migration abroad. Compared to judo, whose dissemination was organized and systematic, there are many cases of the spontaneous, 'unplanned'/'unmanaged' spread of jiu-jitsu by general immigrants.

1 Note: All Japanese names within this article are written with the surname first.

2 This assertion can be taken as representative of the general view, especially given Murata's status as a noted judo researcher and his positions as Head of Directors of the Japanese Academy of Budo and curator of the Kodokan Judo Museum and Library. Note that this article relies on the colophon included in this document for information on Murata's personal history.

3 For some especially compelling examples, see Joseph Svinth's study of Yamashita's activities while staying in the United States, which is supported by primary historical materials [Svinth 2003: 47-59]; Thomas Green's work on the activities of Tomita Tsunejiro (1865–1937) and Maeda Mitsuyo (1878–1941) in the United States, which covers the same time period as Yamashita's activities [Green 2003: 61-70]; and Brusse and Matsumoto's widely respected, and arguably definitive, work on the history of American judo [Brusse and Matsumoto 2005].

Second, the Russo-Japanese War was not just a bilateral war surrounding the imperialistic rule of Northeast Asia. Japan was supported by Britain while Russia was supported by France and Germany. The United States observed the situation with interest while maintaining neutrality. The eyes of the world focused on Japan and Russia, especially as the dominance of Japan was reported. The secrets of its strength were sought. In this context, special attention was paid to Japanese martial arts.

Third, the United States is the country where the overseas instruction of judo first took place. There were several reasons why judo pioneers like Yamashita Yoshitsugu were able to work smoothly in the United States. One is that American investors were seeking to forge ties with Japanese society, both domestically and internationally, especially given the wide interest in the Manchurian Railway. Another relates to the exchange of different kinds of students. For instance, the principal destination of elite Japanese students when studying abroad at that time was the United States. At the same time, there was also exchange between the US and Japanese Navies dating from the beginning of the Meiji era. Many students of the Kodokan ended up becoming international students or naval officers.

Finally – perhaps most importantly in relation to this article – judo was welcomed and accepted so easily because nothing (at least of Japanese origin) stood in its way. That is to say, jujutsu did not effectively play the role of judo's forerunner in the USA. Of course, jujutsu was introduced slightly earlier than judo. Judo was sometimes even considered to be one style of jujutsu. Yet Kano Jigoro, the founder of judo, actively militated against the idea that judo and jujutsu (or jiu-jitsu) were closely related. Indeed, it will be helpful at this point to turn to Kano's view on this matter.

1
JUDO'S IDENTITY

A Method for Cultivating Kokushi

Kano Jigoro (1860-1938) trained in two schools of jujutsu during his student days, ultimately developing an approach that he believed went beyond the physical training methods and martial skills that they offered. After graduating from Imperial University (now the University of Tokyo), Kano pursued a career as an educator, seeking to instill educational value into jujutsu. He ultimately named his martial art judo. He sent his best disciples to institutions of higher education and to military academies in an attempt to spread judo throughout Japan.

Kano's goal was to cultivate '*kokushi*' – patriots who would dedicate themselves to national development. For example, during a lecture in 1889, Kano insisted that judo was a means to strengthen patriotism, that Japan could obtain power on a par with any country in the world through judo, and that Japan's progress and traditions would earn the admiration of the rest of the world [Kano 1889: 88-135].[4] For this reason, Kano worked hard to exhibit judo as a form of culture suited to these objectives inside and outside Japan. In other words, Kano needed to present judo as a form of culture that had both a certain nationality, that would make it suitable for study by kokushi, while also being impressive enough to be accepted, especially in the West.

The same might be said for the bushido, of course. In pre-modern times, bushido was the norm only for the samurai class, but in modern times, bushido came to be invoked and deployed as the morality of the nation. Bushido thus developed a double character. On the one hand, for the Japanese, it indicated the uniqueness of Japan. On the other hand, bushido was regarded as very similar to Western chivalry. A famous work by Nitobe Inazo, *Bushido: Samurai Ethics and the Soul of Japan*, was actually originally written in English, and was published in the United States in 1899. It was only after this book was widely accepted in the West that a Japanese translation was at last published in 1908.

Distance from Jujutsu

Kano's naming of his martial art was a two-fold attempt to distance it from jujutsu as part of his cultural strategy. First, by positioning judo as an evolution of jujutsu, Kano gained the historical legitimacy appropriate for a martial art carrying the name '*Nihonden*' (that is,

4 This lecture was held in 1889 by the Dai Nippon Kyoiku Kai, Japan's first nationwide educational organisation.

'transmitted to Japan from ancient times') [Yabu 2011: 116-137]. In this, he referenced the Japanese origin of jujutsu. In pre-modern Japanese history, jujutsu was often considered to be derived from China, a view that registered Japan-China relations at that time. However, Kano overturned this point of view, repositioning jujutsu as very much a part of *Japanese* history. Kano also actively communicated this message to the Western world.

In other words, this approach was nothing other than the effort to enable judo to be recognized by the West as a practice based on Japanese culture and history. This was important because, arguably, in modern Japan, it was difficult at that time for Japanese agencies and authorities to value their own cultures without some kind of approval and acknowledgement from the West. (In this respect, Kano and Nitobe's attempts share similar features.)

After *relating* judo to a strategically deliberate understanding of jujutsu as essentially Japanese, Kano's second strategy was to *differentiate* the two. On many occasions, he stressed that he considered jujutsu to be an outdated practice that had failed to modernise. For example, in 1927, Kano described conditions during the early days of the Meiji era as follows:

> **When I began to teach judo, jujutsu was a dying form. The pride of old was no longer in evidence among the teachers of jujutsu … People were appearing who did performances for money, just like in some kind of music-hall show. In the West, apparently there were many cases of [such teachers] giving lectures to the public for fees. Now, while I am sure that they did not face public contempt for working in this spirit, people may very well have [inwardly] looked down on them, because they were performing [jujutsu] for money as a public spectacle, making it into an amusement.**
> **[Kano 1927: 95]**

When Kano founded the Kodokan, he aimed to establish judo as a means to cultivate a new generation of elites. Therefore, he criticised the contemporary state of jujutsu and made a decisive break from it.[5] In other words, he stereotyped jujutsu as culturally vulgar and disparaged the people who gathered in the spectacle in order to promote judo by contrast.

The Russo-Japanese War and the 'Victory' of Judo

The superiority of judo was also shown by the depiction of judo's victory in actual competitions. One prominent example was the overwhelming victory of Kodokan practitioners over jujutsu schools during a martial arts tournament held by the Metropolitan Police Department in 1885 to select a martial art to teach police officers [Maruyama 1939: 142-143]. Although the details of this tournament are unclear even today, judo's victory became legendary and was cited as proof of its superiority over jujutsu.

This discourse of victory ultimately shifted from the arena of 'judo versus jujutsu' to 'judo practitioners versus foreigners'. One example is an anecdote involving Hirose Takeo, a naval officer who was a prominent judo player and who was ultimately deified as a 'military god' for sacrificing himself to protect his men during the war. While studying in Russia as a student, Hirose confronted a rude Russian-commissioned officer, subduing the man without injuring him [Maruyama 1939: 165-166].[6]

No historical records support these apocryphal stories, but that is beside the point. What is significant is that the opponents in these accounts are Russian and that these accounts were produced against the backdrop of the Russo-Japanese War. Also noteworthy is that these stories depict battles of character rather than mere skill. It was easy to connect these stories of situations where a small Japanese judo practitioner (who understands decorum and morality) is able to easily dispense with a large foreign man (who is arrogant and insolent) to the events of the day – and thereby provide implicit justification for the Russo-Japanese War.

This is not the place to parse such apocrypha. The point is that a discursive pattern was established suggesting that war and cultural struggle were the same. In other words, the overseas diffusion of judo became bound to ideas and discourses on Japan's status and fortunes.

5 On the other hand, establishing judo as the **guardian** of jujutsu enabled Kano to strategically encompass jujutsu [See Yabu 2017: 1-15].

6 Another anecdote claims that Kano, on returning to Japan from a visit to Europe, pinned down a Russian military officer. See Andreas Niehaus's article in this issue for more on Kano legends.

2
THE MISSION OF JUDO PRACTITIONERS

Judo Practitioners Travel to the United States and Engage in 'Matches'

Judo first spread to the United States when Samuel Hill (1857–1931), an executive at Great Northern Railway, sought a judo teacher for his son.[7] At this time, Yamashita Yoshitsugu travelled to the United States thanks to the influence of an exchange student learning judo from him. Tomita Tsunejiro and Maeda Mitsuyo travelled to the United States the following year.

After beginning his efforts in the United States in December 1903, Yamashita obtained the support of Japanese Naval personnel, who were welcomed to the centre of politics in the United States. Among them was another fan of judo named Takeshita Isamu (1870–1946). Through March and April 1904, Yamashita went on to teach judo to other Americans, including President Theodore Roosevelt (1858–1919). After winning promotion test matches held at the White House and the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis, Maryland, Yamashita began teaching judo at the academy in January 1905. He returned to Japan around the end of April 1906.

Tomita travelled to the United States with Maeda – a young and promising member of the Kodokan – as his assistant. After arriving in the United States in December 1904, Tomita's group attempted to emulate Yamashita's success in spreading judo to the United States Naval Academy. However, a test match held by Tomita ended in defeat, crushing their ambitions.

According to the match-based historical view, Yamashita (who achieved victory during his matches) was a success while Tomita (who was defeated) was a failure. Tomita's defeat is considered a 'regretful incident' [Murata 2011: 86] in the history of judo and has been explained away by the argument that Tomita was too old and nervous to win. However, this is unconvincing when considering that Yamashita achieved victory under largely the same conditions.

It is important to determine the causal relationship between victory and defeat in matches and success or failure in the spread of judo. Certainly, Tomita and Maeda failed to establish a solid foundation from which to spread judo. However, this does not mean that efforts to spread judo were derailed. Developments after this 'defeat' are discussed in the latter part of this article.

An 'Evangelist' for the Ideals of Judo

While in the United States, Yamashita viewed his stay as a suitable opportunity to repay his debt of gratitude to Kano, which he had longed to do for some time [Mitajuyukai 1933: 22-23]. Tomita shared this sentiment. These sentiments indicate the Confucian relationship between teacher and pupil, of unquestioningly venerating one's master. These men equated judo with Kano, and both took it upon themselves to behave as evangelists for Kano's ideals. Their efforts to spread judo are thus akin to diffusion or proselytising.

Kano, for his part, expected this of them. Below is an excerpt from a letter Kano sent to Yamashita while the latter was in the United States:

> **Right now we are at the important stage of spreading judo to America, so please apply yourself fully in making sure that you [Yamashita] do all you can to create a permanent foundation [for judo]. You are now in another land as the public face of judo, so of course you will be much in the public eye there. This means, Yamashita, that everything you do will influence the future of judo. Thus, you must be sure to be on your absolutely best behavior in your dealings with others. You must think of the future and act with the greatest prudence at every turn. I [Kano] passionately want to present you to the American people, Yamashita, not merely as a teacher of the technical values of judo, but as a person whose nobility of character has been fostered through the practice of judo.**
> **[Yokoyama 1941: 313]**

It is important to investigate how judo was interpreted by American society at the time. Many articles written when judo was first brought to the United States describe it as a martial art with a long history derived directly from jujutsu, which was perfected as a form of culture for gentlemen by an instructor named Kano Jigoro, who truly represented modern Japan.[8] Whether this was actually based on the discourse of Yamashita and others in this age – the heyday of 'yellow journalism' – is another matter. The description of judo, however, is largely accurate.

7 This story may well be a (problematic) simplification. It is likely that Hill had a different intention in mind. Hill was looking for cheap railway labourers at the time, and was close to Furuya Masajiro, a prominent figure in Japanese-American society.

8 The following is a selection of such articles: Boston Globe, Dec. 1904; Washington Times, Jan. 1905; New York Daily Tribune, Jan. 1905; Van Welt Daily Bulletin, Jan. 1905; Washington Times, Jan. 1905; Los Angeles Herald, Jan. 1905; Breckenridge News, Feb. 1905; San Francisco Call, Feb. 1905; Washington Post, Jun. 1905.

Jiu-Jitsu Fever

At the same time, an investigation of the entire period of the Russo-Japanese War reveals an overwhelming number of articles that confuse jujutsu and judo, or that view judo as a subset of jujutsu [Yabu 2009: 13-26]. This is explained by the fact that the United States was embroiled in 'jujutsu fever' at this time. However, this form of jujutsu was similar to but different from Japanese jujutsu. This is why I refer to the jujutsu created and developed in the United States as 'jiu-jitsu' – a spelling that evokes the American spelling and hence the 'Americanised' practices. The fever that gripped society during this time should therefore be referred to as 'jiu-jitsu fever' [Brousse and Matsumoto 2005: 28-32; see also Yabu 2010: 12-60].

An American named John J. O'Brien (1867–?), who studied jujutsu in Nagasaki, had already planted the seeds for the acceptance of jiu-jitsu in 1900. Although unknown in Japan, he taught jujutsu to President Roosevelt at the end of 1902 (prior to Yamashita's instruction), and his efforts were often reported in the local media.[9]

With the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War, the media constantly covered jiu-jitsu, which was commonly reported as the secret behind Japan's superiority on the battlefield. For example, an article covering Japan's advance on the Liaodong Peninsula reported: 'The Japanese are applying the principles of jiu-jitsu to the art of war, and have thrown the garrison of Niu-Chwang with all economy of force' [*New York Times*, 12 May 1904]. Similar articles are too numerous to mention.

Three men were especially important in providing exposure to jiu-jitsu at this time: Higashi Katsukuma (1881–?), Harrie Irving Hancock (1868–1922), and the enigmatic K. Saito (about whom I will have more to say in what follows). Higashi was a martial artist whose exploits were frequently reported from the end of 1904 onwards. Hancock, a novelist, published six jiu-jitsu texts over the course of the war which were eventually translated and published throughout Europe. Saito was given a page in the National Police Gazette (a sports journal popular among the public) to introduce jiu-jitsu over a period of at least one year.

Rather than being viewed merely as an impractical form of culture to be admired, jiu-jitsu was received together with the desire to improve one's body during the imperialist age. It gained particular attention as a popular, and commercial, means to reform physical culture at the time. In summary, the American public was already prepared for jiu-jitsu fever.

9 For details of O'Brien's efforts in Nagasaki and the United States, see Yabu [2012: 43-56].

3
JIU-JITSU AND JIU-DO

Judo Lies Buried

Although it was historically prior in the USA, judo was often described by comparing it to jiu-jitsu. For example, one article quotes Professor Yamashita: 'A man who only knows jiu-jitsu may unwillingly make cruel use of it and not know how to restore his victim … [Conversely,] judo teaches a higher study of the body' (New York Times, 2 Jan. 1905). Another article quotes Tomita: 'Jiu-jitsu, he [Tomita] said, is an almost extinct art and a savage one that [should be] extinct. The real art of self-defense is ju-do … "Ju-do" means "gentle art"' [*New York Times*, 6 Apr. 1905].

Although Kano's authority enabled him to largely control the discourse about jujutsu in Japan, this was not the case in the United States. It was not just that commercial sporting amusement – which Kano rejected – had already gained popularity and acceptance in the United States; rather, jiu-jitsu was rapidly developing within American society as a form of 'internal foreign culture' which reflected the desires of the public. In other words, it was no longer just a matter of cultivating the right kind of 'external self-culture' from the perspective of the Japanese side. No Japanese person, including Kano, could control this newly emerging American discourse.

Judo, as a new foreign culture, was gradually incorporated as a part of jiu-jitsu. For example, on the subject of the cancellation of judo instruction in Annapolis, it was reported:

> **One year ago the craze to acquire a thorough knowledge of the Japanese art of self-defense was paramount. The results of matches in the last six months, in which American wrestlers demonstrated that the native art was superior to the Japanese arm, leg and body twists, convinced the cadets that jiu-jitsu had been greatly overrated.**
> **[*San Francisco Call*, 3 Apr. 1906]**

Similarly, according to The Boston Globe:

> **'I [Admiral Sands] expect to make an adverse report upon the Japanese method when I am called upon to act. A man is more apt to be injured or abused. I think it is a trick … I do not think that intentional injury is the spirit of sport.**
> **[*Boston Globe*, 7 Feb. 1906]**

Numerous similar articles exist.[10] Of course, this does not represent the 'defeat' of judo. As jujutsu became jiu-jitsu, there was also the opportunity for judo to be transformed for local tastes as jiu-do. Ironically, perhaps, judo began transforming into jiu-do in the aftermath of jiu-jitsu fever.

Strawman Verification

In the context of general consumption, jiu-jitsu was advertised as being superior to the local physical exercise culture that already existed. However, simple curiosity transformed into unease and wariness on the back of Japanese aggression during the initial stage of acceptance, and jiu-jitsu ultimately needed to be verified in public.

One such incident was a match between Higashi and a professional wrestler, which was described as a public test [*Evening World*, 6 Apr. 1905]. As expected, Higashi was defeated in front of several thousands of spectators during a match in April 1905 at Grand Central Palace in New York. That same month, O'Brien demonstrated jiu-jitsu during the 14th Annual National Convention of the American Physical Education Association, with analysis performed by an expert. The analysis indicated no significant difference between jiu-jitsu and Western wrestling and confirmed that current anatomical knowledge could explain how jiu-jitsu worked [*The New York Times*, 20 Apr. 1905].

The defeat of jiu-jitsu was a sign of public unease, and in extreme cases, the outcome was predetermined. In other words, this strawman verification represents putting those concerned with the 'ordering of culture' at ease. Doing so was the first step towards incorporating the internal foreign and local cultures. Beside these processes, judo gained attention as a new 'product' to replace jiu-jitsu, as the value of the latter had by then decreased. For example, in an article written immediately after Higashi's defeat, the enigmatic Saito raised an issue with the rules of the match, arguing (with reference to Yamashita) that jiu-jitsu would have defeated wrestling had there been no restrictions [*National Police Gazette*, 6 May 1905]. Borrowing arguments from Yamashita's fame, Saito presented jiu-do as a true culture superior even to jujutsu and concluded that the jiu-jitsu praised by Americans was merely a pale imitation.

The discourse that judo was superior to jujutsu was indeed the same as that of judo practitioners. But Saito's jiu-do was no longer the same as judo. In truth, Saito's real existence cannot be confirmed by any historical materials. When the Russo-Japanese War began, this man suddenly appeared on the surface of the most popular sports newspaper in the United States, and when the war ended, he also disappeared as if he had done his job. After all, the debate between jiu-do and jiu-jitsu was created by Saito as a strawman.[11] Perhaps this was a play within a play.

Jiu-do within Jiu-jitsu

After his defeat, Higashi collaborated with Hancock and gracefully transitioned from an adherent of jiu-jitsu to a practitioner of jiu-do. Together, they published *The Complete Kano Jiu-Jitsu (Judo)* in the autumn of 1905. As neither had any connection to the Kodokan, this volume must be regarded as apocryphal.

However, we should pay attention to the role played by this apocryphal volume in terms of cultural acceptance. It was widely translated and published throughout the West, and it continued to be reprinted after World War II. The volume had a certain influence all over the Western world as a textbook on jiu-do for quite some time. For example, Erwin von Bälz (1849-1913) – a major figure in the development of modern Japanese medicine and physical education – wrote the foreword for the German translation [Yabu 2011]. At the very least, the influence of this book should not be underestimated. By comparison, it should be noted that it was only in 1906 that the first official judo textbook written in a foreign language was published, and its publisher did not have much in the way of an international sales network.

Incidentally, this volume states that, in contemporary Japan, Kano-style techniques had attained supremacy in the martial arts world as the modern and perfected forms of jiu-jitsu, arguing that these methods were superior to existing jiu-jitsu. In other words, the authors regarded popular jiu-jitsu as inferior. It also insisted that Hancock truly understood Kano's style.

It is worth noting that, while the volume attempts to develop an image of jiu-do as superior to jiu-jitsu, like Saito, the opposite is true. For example, Higashi ends his endorsement as follows:

> **To make the matter clear I [Higashi] will state that *jiudo* is the term selected by Professor Kano as describing his system more accurately than *jiu-jitsu* does. Professor Kano is one of the leading educators of Japan, and it is natural that he should**

10 In the period of time most relevant to this article, the point had already been reached where judo was not even mentioned by name (e.g. see: **Salt Lake Herald**, Feb. 1906; **New York Daily Tribune**, Feb. 1906; **New York Tribune,** Mar. 1906; **New York Daily Tribune**, Apr. 1906; **Los Angeles Times**, Apr. 1906; **New York Daily Tribune**, Dec. 1906.

11 The representative of such strawmen would be Hashimura Togo. This virtual 'Japanese' character, created in 1907 by Wallace Irwin, maintained popularity in the United States for over 30 years. Regarding this point, the research by Uzawa is the most detailed [Uzawa 2008].

> **cast about for the technical word that would most accurately describe his system. But the Japanese people generally still cling to the more popular nomenclature and call it *jiu-jitsu*.**
>
> ***Jiu-jitsu*, or *jiudo*, is in Japan the art of the gentleman. It is not surprising, therefore, that the highest evolution of our ancient Japanese style of combat should come about in these days through the efforts of Professor Jigoro Kano. To him we owe much, and also to Messrs. Hoshino and Tsutsumi, who, by their toil, have rounded out the Kano system to its present perfection and supremacy.**
> **[Higashi in Hancock and Higashi 1905: vi]**

Here, the issue of jujutsu versus judo is handled as a difference in terminology, and Higashi grants them the same cultural identity as 'the art of the gentleman'. In this context, Kano is merely a man who developed a superior form of jujutsu. Furthermore, by concluding that Kano's invention was further modified by other jujutsu practitioners (Hoshino and Tsutsumi), Higashi depicts an image of jiu-jitsu that is ultimately superior to jiu-do.

4
MAEDA-STYLE JUDO

Maeda Mitsuyo, the Kokushi

While all the judo evangelists adhered to judo to repay their gratitude to Kano, there were also opportunities to transform their own practices. Some individuals, including Maeda Mitsuyo, reformed judo through their interactions with foreign cultures. Maeda's statements support the idea that he was a kokushi:

> **If [I] were to lose, I would dishonour not only judo, but Japan as well. I absolutely have to win [matches]. Furthermore, Japan's reputation is so great since the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War that I need to increasingly inspire myself.**
> **[Maeda in Susukida 1912: 444-445]**
>
> **There have been occasions where I have shown the certificate I received from the Japanese consul in New York [to my opponent]. You will not find the name 'Maeda Mitsuyo' written there. I have another name. Maeda Yamato. When I am granted a certificate, I call myself Nihon Maeda, so that I can fight matches with foreigners without damaging the reputation of judo in my role representing Japanese judo practitioners living overseas.**
> **[Maeda Susukida 1912: 402-403][12]**

However, Maeda did not represent Japan out of pride as a judo practitioner. He lost his official position after Tomita's defeat and had no stable means of earning a living. He was able to get by thanks to the support of the local Japanese immigrant community. Maeda eventually found new life in a judo vs. wrestling match. However, his real reason for fighting as an anonymous judo practitioner was both because he thought that defeat would besmirch the reputation of judo and because he 'consequently felt ashamed among his fellow countrymen' [Susukida 1912: 249-250].

Jiu-jitsu fever was considered problematic within the Japanese community, because 'Americans mistakenly believed that the many fraudulent judo practitioners were representative of the true nature and spirit of judo, and blindly accepted it as something dangerous' [Mizutani 1921: 494]. This presented an opportunity for increased anti-Japanese sentiment, directly impacting the livelihood of members of the community in local society. Therefore, Maeda's opinion was consistent with those of local Japanese immigrants.

In deliberate contrast to the match-based historical view, Maeda began spreading judo with the 'defeat' of Tomita. In other words, defeat meant the beginning rather than the end of the spreading activity; only its object and method had changed. With the initial plan of spreading judo to the US elite having come to a standstill, Maeda directly appealed to American mass society, placing himself within the Japanese community.

Certainly, in terms of the diffusion of judo, Kano did not have masses or immigrants in mind, yet this new focus is why Maeda was able to expand the range of his activities. This does not mean Maeda stopped acting as a kokushi. Rather, the kokushi nature exhibited by both men complimented one another insofar as Kano had focused on 'top-down' nationalism to cultivate the elite while Maeda supplemented this with a 'bottom up' campaign.

Nonetheless, even if we consider his economic hardship and righteous indignation as a kokushi, Maeda chose to disobey Kano's ideals. This is because these matches were generally held as entertainment, which Kano regarded with aversion. For example, Maeda's first match with other martial arts was held in July 1905 against a professional wrestler on Coney Island (New York's greatest amusement area at the time). In this respect, Maeda departed from Kano's vision of judo, even though he acted as Kano's ideal kokushi.

Maeda-style judo

There are other reasons why Maeda was able to challenge this style of match. He was a second-generation member of the Kodokan, and not as keen at repaying his gratitude to Kano as members of the first generation might have been. Maeda did not first encounter judo at the

12 'Yamato' is one of Japan's names or aliases. It is often used in the context emphasizing the ethnic homogeneity of Japanese and spirituality inherent in Japan, like 'Yamato Minzoku' and 'Yamato Damashii'. Japan is 'Nihon' or 'Nippon' in Japanese.

Kodokan, and his relationship with Kano only lasted around four years after he joined in 1897. Although Kano regarded Maeda highly, he chose Maeda to accompany Tomita, to whom Kano had entrusted the duty of explaining the ideals of judo.

With several matches in the United States under his belt, Maeda travelled to Europe, where he took part in many matches. He then travelled to Central America, ultimately arriving in Brazil after fighting many bouts. If his accounts are true, then he enjoyed a series of victories all over the world. However, the focus of this article is not on victory, but on how this kind of match functioned as a form of cultural exchange. Maeda, who arrived as an evangelist of Kano's judo, was ultimately baptised in a foreign culture and went on gradually to create Maeda-style judo. We can see this in the following:

> **I am now proposing the use of fingerless rubber boxing gloves … I truly believe that judo practitioners need to practice these [striking and locking techniques under special conditions] … I too would like to think about another form of judo, adding boxing and French kickboxing to Japanese judo. I wanted to put up signs for Conde Koma style Judo around Hibiya town, but…**
> **[Maeda in Susukida 1912: 262-263]** [13]

This article criticises the match-based historical view from the perspective that, in spreading judo, victory or defeat in matches is not directly connected to success or failure in the larger mission. However, this is not a denial of competition as a means to prove superiority. Maeda chose to popularise the superiority of judo among the masses through fighting for their entertainment and he discovered that he could do so by fighting his opponents on their own turf – and winning. Maeda put emphasis on throwing techniques [Susukida 1912: 256] because Kano felt that judo's speciality was throwing.[14]

Therefore, Maeda did not abandon Kano's judo. Some research suggests that Maeda served as a 'living guinea pig' [Nagaki 2008: 77] whose efforts allowed Kano to discover judo's value as a practical martial art. Unfortunately, this interpretation is reductionist. Kano was the founder of judo, but even his vision of the art was not all-encompassing. Maeda was able to transform judo by presenting it within a mass cultural context and by situating himself within the Japanese immigrant community in the United States.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is clear that in Japan judo was regarded as a practice for cultivating a kokushi. On the one hand, Kano has historically connected judo and jiu-jitsu, while, on the other hand, he claimed that judo was superior to jiu-jitsu, so that Judo stood as a practice suitable for a modern state. The judo practitioners who went to the United States acted as faithful evangelists of Kano, and their activities brought about certain results. But judo was often confused with jujutsu. Indeed, judo practitioners faced unexpected situations abroad. They had to fight jujutsu in places where Kano's influence and ability to control the social discourse was not available.

Moreover, this 'jujutsu' was 'jiu-jitsu': an 'internal foreign culture' and/or 'external self-culture'. This culture, created in a different society, was able to freely change its appearance in response to local needs. At the same time, negative images became attached to jiu-jitsu because of discussions surrounding the Russo-Japanese War. All of this influenced the fate of judo in the West.

Within this context, one judo practitioner explicitly tried to modify judo. This was Maeda, whose initial approach gradually began to change as he explored alternative possibilities within judo. This could occur because of the different environments withn which Maeda was operating.

As we examine the historical record it becomes clear that the 'match-based' theory of diffusion misses many of the most interesting aspects of the story. Was Yamashita winning a match really a 'success'? Was jiu-do a form in which the 'essence' of judo was lost? Or was it the other way around?

What is clear is that, in discussing the diffusion of Japanese martial arts, including judo and jujutsu, we have two points of view. One might be called 'generation', according to which a practice is regarded as having an indigenous nature based on its place of origin. From such a perspective, dynamism is lost through change. But here we fall into a trap of essentialism or ethnocentrism. The other point of view might be called 'negotiation', according to which evaluating the success or failure of dissemination is not to be approached the same way that one understands the outcomes of a war (even if the seriousness of martial arts may superficially resemble war). Culture is not the property of specially chosen people, and dissemination, incorporation, and modification do not take place in one fell swoop. Culture is always generated and negotiated in unexpected ways, and often via the works of unexpected people in overlooked places.

13 Conde Koma was Maeda's ring name. It means the Earl of Koryo and it was used when he fought in Mexico.

14 Kano 'realised after studying Kitoryu [a school of jujutsu] and realising the skill of its throwing techniques that [he] would need to focus on such techniques during judo training' [Kano 1926: 22].

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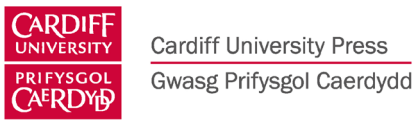

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